e-ISSN: 2279-0837, p-ISSN: 2279-0845.

www.iosrjournals.org

# Transforming West Papua: The Pivotal Role of Local Media in Shaping Democratic Landscapes

## Sorowai Indei Yufuai<sup>1</sup>, Yohanes Kore<sup>2</sup>

<sup>12</sup> (Okmin Papua University, Pegunungan Bintang, Papua Pegunungan, Indonesia)

#### Abstract

Under the title 'Transforming West Papua: The Pivotal Role of Local Media in Shaping Democratic Landscapes,' our study delves into the crucial role played by local media in advocating for community voices and fostering democratic values. Local media outlets in West Papua serve as conduits within the community, offering a platform for the expression of thoughts and the dissemination of up-to-date information. However, the development of media in this region grapples with numerous challenges, particularly due to the Indonesian government's concerns about the internationalization of the West Papua independence movement. This fear has led to increased censorship, violence against journalists, and the suppression of West Papuan voices. Such constraints contribute to the erosion of democracy in West Papua. Recognizing the significance of local media in the democratic process, it is imperative for all stakeholders to safeguard its development. Only through collective efforts can we ensure the realization of a broader democracy in West Papua.

Key Word: Local Media, Advocacy, West Papua.

Date of Submission: 02-01-2024 Date of Acceptance: 12-01-2024

## I. Introduction

Media plays a crucial role in fostering democracy in Indonesia, with the country incorporating journalistic regulations into the 1999 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia under Article 40 to guide and safeguard journalistic endeavors. However, the practical implementation of these regulations has presented journalists with a challenging journey, particularly in the face of political changes, especially in West Papua, which has a distinct history of integration with Indonesia.

Globalization has rendered information borderless, posing a challenge for the Indonesian government to maintain control over information within its communities. Today, Indonesian citizens transcend geographical limitations, becoming increasingly global. Information about West Papua, once confined to the local populace, is now accessible worldwide. However, the freedom of the press in West Papua remains questionable, as journalists and media companies continue to operate under intimidation.

The absence of press freedom jeopardizes a state's democratic classification, as it is the state's responsibility to safeguard this freedom, serving as a conduit for stories and ideas from its citizens. Local media functions as a reflection of the imagined society, depicting how the community perceives and responds to various issues (Anderson, 1983, 1991: 35). The establishment of local media significantly contributes to strengthening democracy. In West Papua, much of the media has emerged as an initiative of local individuals who are invested in the region's development (Tapsell, 2015). Effective protection for journalists is essential to fully realize democracy in Indonesia.

## **Statement of the Problem**

The intersection of media, democracy, and freedom of the press in Indonesia, particularly in regions such as West Papua, presents a complex landscape. Despite the constitutional embrace of journalistic regulations aimed at guiding and safeguarding journalism works, practical challenges persist for journalists navigating political changes. The globalization of information, while breaking down geographical barriers, raises concerns about the Indonesian government's ability to control and regulate information flow within its communities. This is further exacerbated in West Papua, where the unique historical integration with Indonesia adds another layer of complexity. The question arises as to whether the current state of press freedom, marked by intimidation and challenges faced by journalists and media companies, aligns with the principles of a democratic society. Exploring the dynamics of local media, its role in shaping perceptions within the community, and the initiatives taken by local individuals for media development in West Papua becomes essential to understanding the broader issue at hand. Ultimately, the statement of the problem centers on the

need to assess the current state of press freedom, its implications on democracy, and the role of local media in this intricate landscape, with a focus on West.

#### Significance of the Study

The study holds significant importance as it delves into the intricate dynamics of media, democracy, and freedom of the press in Indonesia, particularly focusing on the challenges faced in regions such as West Papua. Understanding the role of media in shaping democratic values, the impact of globalization on information flow, and the unique historical and political context of West Papua contributes to broader discussions on press freedom and democracy in the nation. By examining the practical implications faced by journalists and media companies, the study seeks to shed light on the potential threats to democratic principles. Furthermore, the exploration of local media initiatives in West Papua not only provides insights into the region's development but also underscores the importance of grassroots efforts in fostering democratic ideals. The findings of this study can inform policymakers, scholars, and practitioners about the current state of media freedom, contributing to the discourse on safeguarding democratic principles in Indonesia, with West Papua serving as a microcosm of the broader challenges faced by the nation.

## II. Literature Review

The literature surrounding the transformation of West Papua and the role of local media in shaping democratic landscapes provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of the region. Scholars and researchers have explored various facets, contributing to a nuanced understanding of the interplay between media, democracy, and the unique socio-political context of West Papua.

## **Media and Democratic Transitions**

Several studies highlight the crucial role of media in democratic transitions globally. Scholars such as Keane (1991) and Franklin (2006) emphasize how media functions as a catalyst for political change, shaping public opinion and fostering civic participation. Understanding the broader theoretical framework of media's role in democratic transitions serves as a foundation for analyzing the West Papua context.

## **Local Media Dynamics in West Papua**

Examining the specific characteristics of local media in West Papua is essential. The work of Swigger (2013) and Tapsell (2015) provides insights into the challenges and opportunities faced by media practitioners in the region. These studies shed light on the unique socio-cultural landscape, the influence of international factors, and the role of social media in shaping narratives about West Papua.

## **Media and Indigenous Movements**

Given the indigenous context of West Papua, exploring the intersection of media and indigenous movements becomes crucial. Ginsburg's (1991) work on indigenous media offers a comparative perspective, drawing parallels with global indigenous movements. Understanding how local media amplifies indigenous voices and aspirations contributes to comprehending its role in democratic transformations.

## **Challenges Faced by Local Media**

The challenges confronted by local media in West Papua, particularly in reporting sensitive issues, have been extensively discussed. The paradox of balancing freedom and constraints is evident in the works of scholars like Sirait (1999). This literature provides a backdrop for understanding the dilemmas faced by media practitioners and the implications for democratic discourse.

## **Internationalization of West Papua Issues**

The role of social media in the internationalization of West Papua issues is a contemporary dimension. Studies by Papademas (2011) and discussions on online citizenship (Swigger, 2013) offer perspectives on how digital platforms contribute to shaping global awareness and challenging dominant narratives, influencing democratic conversations.

## Media and Social Inequality

Exploring how local media addresses social inequality and economic injustice is crucial. Luwarso's (2008) insights into managing press freedom and the case of women's aspirations in Papua's markets provide a lens to understand media's contribution beyond information dissemination.

The literature review establishes a comprehensive foundation for investigating the transformative role of local media in West Papua's democratic landscapes. The synthesis of these diverse perspectives will inform the analysis and contribute to a nuanced understanding of the subject matter.

## III. Research Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research approach to investigate the pivotal role of local media in shaping democratic landscapes in West Papua. Utilizing a combination of primary and secondary data, the research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the intricate dynamics involved. The qualitative method is chosen to facilitate an in-depth exploration of the complex relationship between local media and democratic transformations in West Papua. This approach allows for a nuanced analysis, capturing the multifaceted nature of the subject. The study distinguishes between primary and secondary data sources. Primary data is obtained through direct engagement with local media outlets, journalists, and communities in West Papua. This firsthand information serves as a foundation for understanding the local perspective on democratic changes facilitated by the media. Secondary data sources include academic literature, reports, and articles related to West Papua, media studies, and democratic transitions.

The research employs a multifaceted approach to data collection, including direct interactions with local media practitioners, interviews, and participant observation. Content analysis of media outputs and historical archives will complement these methods, providing a comprehensive understanding of the evolving media landscape. The initial phase involves establishing connections with local media outlets and building rapport with journalists, editors, and community members. In-depth interviews will be conducted to capture the perspectives of key stakeholders. The process also includes content analysis of media coverage over specific periods, enabling a longitudinal examination of the media's role in democratic transformations. Content analysis serves as the primary method for data analysis. This involves systematically reviewing and interpreting the content of media sources, identifying recurring themes, framing patterns, and assessing the impact of media narratives on democratic discourse in West Papua. The analysis aims to uncover the underlying dynamics and contributions of local media to the democratic evolution of the region.

## IV. Result and Discussion

## The Constitution and The Performance of Media in Indonesia

Freedom of the press is an indispensable component in establishing a democratic nation. Amir E. Siregar argues that in a democratic country, press freedom is absolute; without it, there is no true democracy (Luwarso, Yayasan & Dewan 2008). Kees Brants and Katrin Voltmer (2011) underscore the media's significance as a crucial tool for mediation and decentralizing political communication. They critique modern democracy's shortcomings, particularly the inability of those in power to effectively communicate with their constituents. Additionally, Kees and Katrin (2011) question the availability of space for community perspectives and ideas to be expressed, challenged, and achieved consensually. The media is expected to mediate between interest parties and serve as an umbrella for people to express their interests as part of the democratic implementation. Indonesia constitutionally recognizes the press as a vital component of its democracy. The 1999 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in Article 40, Chapter 2, Section 3 states that press functions as a medium of communication, information, education, and social control. Section 4 guarantees the freedom of the press as the right of Indonesian citizens, ensuring that the national press is not subjected to censorship, bans, or broadcasting prohibitions. To uphold press freedom, the national press has the right to seek, obtain, and disseminate ideas and information. Freedom of the press serves as an indicator in measuring the level of democracy implementation, encompassing protection for various democratic rights.

However, freedom of speech in Indonesia requires more time for full protection. The growth of media corporations, especially in West Papua, was catalyzed by the collapse of the New Order era (1966–1998) and replaced by the Reformation era in 1998. During the New Order, media was centralized in Jakarta, with only 1.82% of media operating in West Papua and Maluku (Abar 1995). This centralization limited information about West Papua, contributing to its perceived backwardness. The government controlled all media through the Indonesian Press Association (PWI), restricting press freedom and communication between the government and the community. The prescribing of self-censorship further hindered communication. At the local level, local press plays a crucial role in reinforcing local interests marginalized by national interests. Franklin (2006) argues that local newspapers should provide independent and critical commentary on local issues, hold local elites accountable, and offer a forum for the expression of local views on community concerns. However, not all local media outlets are purely independent, as many operate under government censorship and self-censorship. The use of censorship goes against democratic values, leading to the marginalization of local voices and neglect of illegal acts by powerful actors within the state.

## **How Globalization Shapes Journalism Practices**

In our globalized world, the internet and social media have introduced a new dimension to journalism and its connection to locality. Globalization has facilitated real-time social interactions without physical copresence, effectively creating a borderless "global village" (Aldridge, 2007). The rapid dissemination of information empowers individuals to scrutinize the trustworthiness of media companies, highlighting the

importance of public trust (Aldridge, 2007). Concurrently, governments grapple with the structural transformation of the public sphere. Habermas conceptualizes the public sphere as spaces where information can be controlled and challenged by the bourgeoisie, separating them from the church and royalty in 18th-century British society. In the current context, this transformation alters the government's privilege of controlling information within its territory, reflecting a shift in the "social imaginary" of public spaces (McLaughlin, 2004: 160.18 in Aldridge, 2007, p. 18). Internet and social media platforms boast a significant consumer base. A 2023 report indicates a staggering 167 million social media users in Indonesia, a substantial increase from 47.03% in 2017, with an anticipated doubling to around 81.82% by 2026 (Goodstats, 2023). However, according to the Indonesian Internet Services Providers (APJII), there has been a decline in the percentage of internet users in West Papua, dropping from 68.03% in 2022 to 63.15% in 2023, with these figures likely also encompassing social media users.

The flexibility offered by the internet and social media allows people to consume content at their preferred time and witness events anywhere through streaming, enabling them to form their own judgments. However, without proficient journalistic skills, individuals may struggle to discern information presented in journalistic reports. In this context, the role of journalists becomes paramount, as they play a crucial part in translating and conveying events accurately, ensuring that the public is equipped to make informed decisions in this age of digital information abundance.

## **Challenge of Local Media in West Papua**

The challenge of local media in West Papua encompasses multifaceted issues arising from geographical constraints, limited resources, and political dynamics. In this remote region, the struggle for media outlets to operate effectively is compounded by infrastructural challenges, such as the availability of reliable internet connectivity and broadcasting infrastructure. Political complexities further impede the functioning of local media, with concerns over censorship and self-censorship influencing the freedom of press. The historical backdrop of West Papua, including its distinct integration into Indonesia, adds layers of intricacy to the media landscape. Limited access to resources and training opportunities for journalists in West Papua hampers the development of a robust and independent local media. The need for sustainable business models for media organizations becomes evident, requiring innovative approaches to overcome financial constraints. Navigating these challenges demands a nuanced understanding of the local context, collaboration with communities, and efforts to amplify the voices of West Papuans in the media sphere. Addressing these obstacles is crucial for fostering a vibrant and inclusive local media environment in West Papua.

Local media serves as a conduit for the unfiltered local perspectives, capturing the essence of cultural identity amidst political, geographic, and economic disruptions (Ginsburg, 1991). It unveils the current situation and absorbs aspirations from various societal strata, showcasing the diversity of perspectives within the community a reflection of Benedict Anderson's concept of an imagined community (Anderson, 1983, 1991: 35). This underscores how communities shape their identity and perceive the world.

In West Papua, numerous local media outlets were established to amplify local voices, overcoming challenges posed by limited press freedom. Many of these initiatives originated from the local populace invested in West Papua's development (Tapsell, 2015). The local media landscape in West Papua varies; some outlets boldly publish West Papuans' aspirations without censorship, while others adhere to strict censorship, often affiliated with government sponsorship. The dichotomy between self-censorship and maintaining media integrity is particularly pronounced in Indonesia's media industry, grappling with the demand for government openness for a broader democracy in West Papua. Amidst this dilemma, indigenous media emerges as a courageous voice, fearlessly exposing West Papuans' perspectives, at times conflicting with state interests and powerful actors. Consequently, local press workers face intimidation and surveillance from Indonesian authorities, with instances of torture and strict monitoring becoming distressingly common.

## Media in West Papua

Indonesia's responses to journalistic publications concerning the history of West Papuan integration have been shaped by a complex historical narrative. Despite Indonesia gaining independence in 1945, West Papua remained under Dutch control until its transfer to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) in 1962, leading to its eventual annexation by Indonesia in 1969. Consequently, the development of media in West Papua is predominantly post-annexation. Prior to this, international journalists, predominantly from the Netherlands, the United States, and Australia, reported on West Papua. Under President Sukarno's rule, starting in 1963, international media faced restrictions, requiring special visas to enter Indonesia. This impacted access to West Papua even before its official annexation in 1969. The marginalization of West Papuan voices during this period is evident in reports from international media outlets such as The New York Times and ABC, highlighting West Papuans' opposition to the Act of Free Choice in 1969. This information gained attention from some African countries within the African Block.

Following West Papua's integration into Indonesia, media restrictions were evident, particularly in addressing human rights abuses committed by state apparatus. Despite reported atrocities, national and local media often neglected to cover these events. For instance, the Guardian reported the Biak massacre in 1998 and massive immigration to Papua New Guinea due to fear of Indonesian military in the 1970s, events largely unreported in national media. The Indonesian reformation period, initiated after the collapse of the New Order, brought about special autonomy for West Papua under President Megawati Soekarnoputri. While this autonomy led to the proliferation of media outlets, it didn't fully transform press freedom in West Papua. The region faced different treatment regarding media coverage compared to other parts of Indonesia.

Even under President Jokowi's administration, promises to grant foreign journalists access to West Papua were met with challenges. In 2015, two French journalists were imprisoned, and foreign journalists needed permits from 12 Indonesian state agencies, known as the clearing house, to access Papua. The government's control over the internet and social media in West Papua was exemplified by the 2019 internet blockage in response to West Papuan protests against racism. The government also blocked pages containing materials related to the West Papuan independence movement.

## The Role of Media in West Papua and Democracy

Media has failed in advocating for human rights in West Papua regarding state actions throughout its history. As highlighted by Papademas (2011), mass media plays a crucial role in disseminating information about human rights violations, especially in conflict zones. Over the years, West Papuans have been victims of state interests conflicting with human rights, experiencing both armed conflicts and peaceful movements that led to human rights abuses against civil society. Despite around 500,000 West Papuans being killed by the Indonesian police and military, much of this went unreported by the media.

Initially, events in West Papua were overlooked by Indonesian media, citing lack of interest or insufficient newsworthy content. The presence of media in West Papua became a dilemma, with issues often neglected due to perceived lack of popularity or newsworthy information. However, Victor Mambor, former head of the Indonesian Press Alliance, argued that development in West Papua has been the fastest among other areas in the last decade, and the increasing violence and conflicts challenge the notion that West Papuan issues are not attractive enough. In the democratic media communication system, the establishment of public opinion becomes central. Indonesia, recovering from an authoritarian regime, where indoctrination and propaganda shaped public opinion, now faces a threat to the national government when public opinions, such as the perceived failure of Special Autonomy in West Papua, differ from the government's narrative.

Media in West Papua becomes a medium for people to express their ideas and voice concerns, particularly in advocating for development tailored to local needs. Local media, whether through social media or traditional channels, has the advantage of reaching remote areas and covering stories often neglected by larger media outlets. Despite being critical of the government, indigenous media workers in West Papua face challenges such as strict surveillance, harassment, and accusations of having independence agendas. The freedom of the media in West Papua is evident in their ability to express critiques and cover events that challenge the government and corporations. Intimidation against journalists has led to increased solidarity among media workers and activists, with information about human rights abuses and independence movements in West Papua spreading widely on social media. The internationalization of these issues poses a challenge to the Indonesian government, prompting discussions about creating a cyber war to counteract West Papuan freedom movements. In conclusion, the presence of local media in West Papua provides an opportunity for people to express their aspirations and depict the real conditions in the region, challenging the narrative often portrayed by larger media outlets and the government.

In this study, the crucial role played by local media in transforming West Papua has been unveiled, focusing on the transition towards a democratic landscape. The discussion begins by examining how local media in West Papua functions as a change agent, opening the door for public participation and expressing the aspirations of the local community. Engaging with a democratic perspective, the analysis reveals the dynamics between local media and the Indonesian government. Observations regarding the pivotal role of media in shaping public opinion, particularly in the context of democracy, depict an ongoing transformation where media becomes a significant determinant in shaping societal views.

This study, drawing insights from various sources including Tapsell (2015) and Swigger (2013), underscores the transformative power of local media in West Papua. Shedding light on its pivotal role in steering the region towards a democratic reformation, the discussion is framed by the works of Papademas (2011) and Siregar (2014). By delving into the intricate relationship between local media and the Indonesian government, as discussed by Prasetyo, the analysis, supported by insights from Mohamad (1989), exposes the evolving dynamics that position media as a potent force in shaping public opinion within the democratic framework. An emphasis is placed on the significance of local media as a catalyst for change, serving not only as an information conduit but as a conduit for the expressions of the marginalized and economically oppressed,

a notion supported by Ginsburg (1991) and Franklin (2006). The study, informed by the works of Luwarso, Yayasan & Dewan (2008) and Brants & Voltmer (2011), delves into the complexities faced by local media workers, navigating the delicate balance between journalistic freedom and the constraints imposed by surveillance and intimidation from security forces.

Moreover, the international dimension is highlighted, showcasing the instrumental role of social media in amplifying West Papua's issues globally. This aspect is analyzed through the lens of Swigger (2013) and the insights provided by Mahathir Mohammad regarding media's role in shaping opinions. In essence, this study concludes that local media in West Papua transcends its traditional role, emerging as a transformative agent in social and political spheres. This transformation, discussed in the works of Aldridge (2007), McLaughlin (2004), and Anderson (1983), paves the way for a more inclusive and responsive democratic landscape, attuned to the aspirations of the West Papuan community.

The importance of media in giving a voice to marginalized communities also takes center stage, illustrating how local media contributes to addressing economic inequality and injustice. Through the case of the aspirations of the Papua women's market, it becomes evident that media serves not only as an informer but also as a mediator for voices that might otherwise be overlooked. Furthermore, the study emphasizes the dilemma faced by local media workers. In their efforts to report on sensitive issues, such as the political aspirations for West Papua's independence, they encounter challenges of surveillance and intimidation from security forces. The paradox between freedom and limitations in local journalistic work serves as the foundation for understanding the complex dynamics on the ground. The importance of the international dimension is also considered, where social media plays a key role in internationalizing West Papua issues. By disseminating information through global platforms, local media can raise international awareness and challenge the narratives put forth by the Indonesian government. In conclusion, this study asserts that the role of local media in West Papua goes beyond being mere news disseminators; they act as catalysts for social and political change. Through this transformation, the path is paved for shaping a more inclusive and responsive democratic landscape that aligns with the aspirations of the West Papuan community.

## V. Conclusions and Recommendations

The study concludes that local media in West Papua plays a pivotal role in transforming the region's democratic landscape. Acting as an agent of change, it facilitates public participation and expresses local aspirations. The intricate relationship between local media and the Indonesian government highlights its critical role in shaping public opinion within the democratic framework. Despite contributing to addressing economic inequalities, particularly through cases like the aspirations of Papuan women in the marketplace, local media workers face complex challenges, navigating between journalistic freedom and constraints imposed by surveillance and intimidation from security forces. The international dimension, amplified through social media, further globalizes West Papua's issues, potentially leading to a media war between West Papua activists and the Indonesian government. In light of these findings, it is recommended to focus on media education and training, international advocacy, government engagement, legislative reforms, community empowerment, international solidarity, technological support, and public awareness campaigns to safeguard press freedom in West Papua and foster an environment conducive to a vibrant and transformative local media.

## References

- [1]. Abar, A. Z. (1995). 1966-1974 Kisah Pers Indonesia. Yogyakarta: Lkis.
- [2]. Aldridge, M. (2007). Understanding The Local Media. England: Open University Press.
- [3]. Brants, K., & Voltmer, K. (2011). Political Communication In Postmodern Democracy: Challenging The Primacy Of Politics. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- [4]. Curran, J., & Seaton, J. (2010). Power Without Responsibility: Press, Broadcasting, And The Internet In Britain. London: Routledge.
- [5]. Franklin, B. (2006). Local Journalism And Local Media: Contested Perceptions, Rocket Science And Parallel Universes. London & New York: Routledge.
- [6]. Ginsburg, F. (1991). 'Indigenous Media: Faustian Contract Or Global Village?'. Cultural Anthropology, 6(1), 92-112.
- [7]. Keane, J. (1991). The Media And Democracy. Cambridge, Ma: Polity In Association With Basil Blackwell.
- [8]. Luwarso, L., Yayasan, T., & Dewan, P. (2008). Mengelola Kebebasan Pers. Jakarta: Dewan Pers.
- [9]. Mohamad, M. (1989). 'The Social Responsibility Of The Press'. Press Systems In Asean States, 107-116.
- [10]. Papademas, D. (2011). Human Rights And Media. Bradford: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- [11]. Pemerintah Indonesia. Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia No. 40 Tahun 1999 Tentang Pers.
- [12]. Perrottet, A., & Robie, D. (2011). 'Media, Cultural Diversity And Community'. Pacific Journalism Review, 17(2), 148-186.
- [13]. Schudson, M. (1995). The Power Of News. Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press.
- [14]. Sirait, H. D. (1999). Melawan Tirani Orde Baru. Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen.
- [15]. Siregar, A. E. (2014). Mengawal Demokratisasi Media: Menolak Konsentrasi Membangun Keberagaman. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- [16]. Swigger, N. (2013). 'The Online Citizen: Is Social Media Changing Citizens' Beliefs About Democratic Values?'. Political Behavior, 35(3), 589-603.
- [17]. Tapsell, R. (2012). 'Old Tricks In A New Era: Self-Censorship In Indonesian Journalism'. Yogyakarta: Lkis.
- [18]. Tapsell, R. (2015). 'The Media And Subnational Authoritarianism In Papua'. Yogyakarta: Lkis.