

The Diplomacy of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua in Internationalizing Human Rights Issues in Papua: A Transnational Advocacy Network Perspective

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Abstract: This study examines how the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) internationalizes human rights issues in Papua through transnational advocacy. Despite Indonesia's sovereignty over Papua, the ULMWP has successfully shifted the Papua issue from a domestic concern to a regional and international agenda, particularly within Pacific multilateral forums. Using a qualitative descriptive-analytical method grounded in Keck and Sikkink's Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) theory, this study analyzes primary data from interviews with diaspora figures and secondary data from organizational documents, media reports, and diplomatic communiqués. The findings reveal that the ULMWP employs four TAN strategies: (1) *information politics* through documentation of alleged human rights violations (e.g., *The Nduga Conflict* report) and social media dissemination; (2) *symbolic politics* by leveraging Melanesian identity and cultural performances to build solidarity with Māori and Aboriginal communities; (3) *leverage politics* by engaging regional actors such as the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) and Australian parliamentarians to exert moral pressure; and (4) *accountability politics* by demanding Indonesia comply with international human rights commitments. These strategies have successfully institutionalized the Papua issue within PIF communiqués and gained explicit state support from Vanuatu. However, the study finds that transnational advocacy has produced only moral and reputational pressure, not substantive Indonesian policy change on Papua's political status. This study contributes to the literature on non-state diplomacy, human rights advocacy, and Pacific regional politics, while also highlighting the limits of TAN in influencing sovereign states' core security policies.

Keywords: Non-State Diplomacy, Pacific Islands Forum, Papua Human Rights, Transnational Advocacy Network

A. Introduction

Human rights are universally recognized as fundamental values inherent to all human beings, regardless of ethnicity, religion, race, nationality, or any other socio-cultural background. These rights are considered inalienable and indivisible, meaning they

cannot be taken away under any circumstances because they originate from the inherent dignity of every individual rather than being granted by the state or any authority (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998; Sujatmoko, 2016). The modern global human rights regime began to take shape following the devastating consequences of World War II, which exposed the extreme consequences of unchecked state power and systematic violations of human dignity (Donnelly, 2013). In response, the international community sought to establish a universal framework that could serve as both a moral and legal guideline for the protection of human rights across nations. This effort culminated in the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, a landmark document that has since served as the cornerstone of international human rights law and norms.

Since its adoption, human rights have evolved beyond a purely normative ideal into a central issue within international relations (Risse et al., 1999). They function not only as ethical standards but also as instruments that influence global political interactions. States are increasingly expected to adhere to international human rights norms, and their compliance or non-compliance often affects their legitimacy and reputation in the global arena. Consequently, human rights issues are no longer confined within the domestic jurisdiction of states but have become a matter of international concern, frequently drawing the attention of global institutions and transnational actors. Organizations such as the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch play a crucial role in monitoring, reporting, and advocating for the protection of human rights worldwide (Sikkink, 2011). These institutions contribute to the construction of a global accountability system, in which states are subject to scrutiny not only by other states but also by non-state actors and civil society organizations.

However, despite the increasing institutionalization of human rights norms, their enforcement remains highly contested. One of the most persistent challenges lies in the tension between the principle of state sovereignty and the moral responsibility of the international community to intervene in cases of human rights violations. On the one hand, sovereignty grants state the authority to regulate internal affairs without external interference, a principle that remains central to the international system. On the other hand, the growing emphasis on universal human rights creates a normative obligation for the international community to respond to violations, even when they occur within the borders of sovereign states. This tension often leads to political dilemmas, particularly when human rights issues are framed as domestic matters by states seeking to avoid external scrutiny. As a result, human rights have become both a moral imperative and a political tool, frequently used in diplomatic negotiations, international advocacy campaigns, and global governance processes (Jackson & Sørensen, 2019).

The complexity of the relationship between sovereignty and human rights is clearly illustrated in the case of Papua, the easternmost region that was integrated into the

Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Papua's political history has been marked by contestation and conflict, particularly following its incorporation into Indonesia through the Act of Free Choice (PEPERA) in 1969 (Saltford, 2003). This process, which was conducted under the supervision of the United Nations, has remained a subject of controversy and debate among scholars, activists, and the Papuan people themselves (Chauvel, 2005). According to the New York Agreement, the determination of Papua's political status was to be carried out through a "one man, one vote" mechanism, ensuring that all eligible Papuans could directly participate in the decision-making process. However, in practice, the Indonesian government implemented a representative system, selecting 1,025 individuals to vote on behalf of a population of approximately 800,000. This deviation from the agreed-upon procedure has led many Papuans to question the legitimacy of the integration process. As a result of this contested historical foundation, Papua has experienced prolonged conflict characterized by political resistance, social unrest, and identity-based tensions (Hyndman, 2003). Various groups have emerged advocating for Papuan independence, ranging from peaceful political movements to armed resistance organizations (Ondawame, 2000). Over time, the conflict has escalated and resulted in significant human suffering, including casualties among civilians, security forces, and armed groups. Reports from international human rights organizations, particularly Amnesty International, indicate patterns of excessive use of force, arbitrary detention, and other forms of human rights violations allegedly committed by state security apparatuses (International, 2023). These reports suggest that the situation in Papua is not merely a matter of isolated incidents but reflects broader structural issues related to governance, security policies, and the marginalization of local communities.

In addition to the violence on the ground, the issue of access to information has further complicated the situation. The Indonesian government has often imposed restrictions on foreign journalists and international human rights organizations seeking to investigate conditions in Papua (Webster, 2001). Such restrictions have contributed to a lack of transparency and have fueled suspicions within the international community regarding the extent and nature of human rights violations in the region. Consequently, Papua has gradually transformed from a domestic political issue into an international concern, attracting attention from foreign governments, regional organizations, and global advocacy networks. This shift reflects the broader trend in which local conflicts become internationalized through the involvement of transnational actors who seek to bring global attention to issues that are otherwise marginalized within domestic political discourse.

Within this evolving context, the emergence of transnational advocacy actors has played a crucial role in shaping the international discourse on Papua. One of the most prominent actors in this regard is the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), which has positioned itself as a representative organization advocating for the rights and self-determination of the Papuan people. The establishment of the ULMWP was the result of a consolidation process involving several major Papuan

political organizations, including the West Papua National Council for Liberation (WPNCL), the Federal Republic of West Papua (NRFPB), and the National Parliament of West Papua (PNWP) (Papua, 2015). This unification was formalized through the Saralana Declaration on December 6, 2014, in Port Vila, Vanuatu (ULMWP 2015), marking a significant milestone in the coordination of Papuan political movements at the international level. Since its formation, the ULMWP has actively engaged in diplomatic efforts aimed at internationalizing the Papua issue (Lawson, 2016). The organization has participated in various regional and international forums, such as the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), and the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) (Wangge & Lawson, 2023). Through these platforms, the ULMWP seeks to raise awareness about alleged human rights violations in Papua and to garner political support from other states and international organizations. These efforts are not limited to formal diplomacy but also extend to broader advocacy strategies, including the use of media, public campaigns, and engagement with civil society networks. By framing the Papua issue as a matter of human rights and decolonization, the ULMWP attempts to resonate with global norms and values that emphasize justice, equality, and self-determination (Woodman, 2022). The role of the ULMWP as a non-state actor highlights the growing importance of transnational advocacy networks in contemporary international relations (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Unlike traditional state-centric diplomacy, these networks operate across borders and involve a diverse range of actors, including non-governmental organizations, activists, and international institutions. Through these networks, the ULMWP is able to amplify its voice and reach audiences that would otherwise be inaccessible. This ability to mobilize international support is particularly significant in the context of Papua, where domestic political space for dissent is often limited. As such, the ULMWP's activities provide a compelling case for examining how non-state actors utilize transnational networks to influence global discourse and political outcomes.

Despite the growing body of literature on the Papua issue, there remains a notable gap in understanding the specific mechanisms through which the ULMWP operates within transnational advocacy networks. Previous studies have largely focused on aspects such as digital campaigns, social media mobilization, Indonesia's foreign policy responses, and counter-propaganda strategies (Pedrason, 2022). While these studies provide valuable insights, they tend to overlook the broader analytical framework that explains how advocacy efforts are structured and implemented at the transnational level. In particular, limited attention has been given to the application of the four key dimensions of advocacy politics namely information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics as conceptualized by Keck and Sikkink (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). This gap is significant because these dimensions offer a comprehensive framework for analyzing how advocacy networks function and achieve their objectives. Information politics involves the generation and dissemination of credible information to influence public opinion and policy decisions. Symbolic politics refers to the use of symbols, narratives, and events to

frame issues in a way that resonates with broader audiences. Leverage politics focuses on the ability to mobilize powerful actors to exert pressure on target states, while accountability politics emphasizes efforts to hold states accountable to their commitments and norms. By applying this framework to the case of the ULMWP, this study seeks to provide a more nuanced and systematic understanding of how the organization internationalizes the Papua issue. This study addresses the following research questions: How does the ULMWP apply information politics to document and disseminate human rights violations in Papua?, How does the ULMWP utilize symbolic politics to build international solidarity?, How does the ULMWP engage in leverage politics to pressure Indonesia through regional actors?, How does the ULMWP employ accountability politics to hold Indonesia accountable to international commitments?

By addressing these research questions, this study aims to make both theoretical and empirical contributions to the field of international relations. Theoretically, it seeks to enrich the understanding of transnational advocacy networks by applying the framework of advocacy politics to a contemporary case study. This approach allows for a more systematic analysis of how non-state actors operate within the global political system and how they influence the behavior of states. Empirically, the study provides insights into the strategies employed by the ULMWP in its efforts to internationalize the Papua issue, thereby contributing to the broader literature on human rights advocacy and conflict internationalization. Furthermore, this study is expected to complement and extend existing research by moving beyond a narrow focus on digital diplomacy and media campaigns. Instead, it offers a more comprehensive perspective that integrates multiple dimensions of advocacy, highlighting the interconnected nature of information, symbolism, leverage, and accountability in shaping political outcomes. In doing so, the study not only addresses existing gaps in the literature but also provides a foundation for future research on similar cases in other regions. Structurally, this paper is organized into several sections to ensure a coherent and systematic presentation of the analysis. The first section introduces the research background and outlines the main issues addressed in the study. The second section reviews relevant literature and presents the theoretical framework used in the analysis. The third section explains the research methodology, including data collection and analytical techniques. The fourth section presents the findings and discusses them in relation to the research questions and theoretical framework. Finally, the last section provides conclusions and offers recommendations for future research and policy considerations.

B. Methods

This study employs a qualitative descriptive-analytical approach to examine the diplomacy of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) in its efforts to internationalize human rights issues in Papua (Creswell, 2014). This approach is considered appropriate as the research seeks not only to describe empirical

phenomena but also to interpret the underlying processes, meanings, and strategies embedded within transnational advocacy practices. By combining descriptive and analytical elements, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how non-state actors operate within international political structures, particularly in the context of human rights advocacy. Furthermore, the research incorporates a normative perspective to assess how such advocacy aligns with broader international norms and principles related to human rights and global justice.

In order to achieve these objectives, the study utilizes both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with selected informants who possess relevant knowledge, experience, or involvement in issues related to Papua, transnational advocacy, and international diplomacy (Bryman, 2016). These informants include individuals from academic circles, civil society, and observers of regional politics who are considered capable of providing informed perspectives on the research topic. The selection of informants was conducted using purposive sampling, which allows the researcher to identify participants based on their relevance and contribution to the research focus. This approach ensures that the data collected are not random, but rather contextually rich and aligned with the analytical needs of the study.

In addition to primary data, this study also relies heavily on secondary data to strengthen and contextualize the analysis. Secondary data were collected through a comprehensive review of academic literature, including journal articles, books, and previous research related to ULMWP, human rights issues in Papua, and transnational advocacy networks. Furthermore, the study incorporates data from organizational reports, policy documents, and media publications, which provide empirical evidence of ULMWP's activities and its engagement in international forums. These secondary sources play a crucial role not only in supporting the findings derived from interviews but also in enabling the researcher to triangulate information and enhance the overall validity and reliability of the study.

The data collection process was conducted during the period of 2024 to 2025, taking into consideration both the availability of informants and the accessibility of relevant data. Given the geographical dispersion of informants and practical constraints, interviews were carried out through online communication platforms. This approach allowed the researcher to maintain flexibility while still ensuring effective interaction with participants. The study employed a semi-structured interview format, which provides a balance between structure and openness (Kvale, 2007). On the one hand, this format ensures that the discussion remains focused on key research themes; on the other hand, it allows informants to elaborate on their perspectives, experiences, and interpretations in a more flexible and in-depth manner.

The interview process was designed to explore several core themes that are central to the research objectives. These include the strategies employed by ULMWP in

internationalizing human rights issues, the role of transnational networks in facilitating advocacy efforts, and the perceived effectiveness and limitations of such strategies in influencing international awareness and political pressure. Through this approach, the study aims to capture not only factual information but also the subjective interpretations and insights of informants, which are essential for understanding complex socio-political phenomena.

In terms of data analysis, this study applies thematic analysis as the primary analytical technique (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This method involves a systematic process of organizing, coding, and interpreting data to identify recurring patterns and meaningful themes. The analysis begins with the transcription and careful reading of interview data, followed by the identification of key concepts and categories that emerge from the data. These categories are then organized into broader themes that correspond to the analytical framework used in the study. In this case, the analysis is guided by the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) framework proposed by Keck and Sikkink, which emphasizes four main strategies: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics. By using this framework, the study is able to systematically link empirical findings with theoretical concepts, thereby strengthening its analytical rigor.

To ensure the credibility and validity of the findings, the study employs data triangulation by comparing information obtained from interviews with various secondary sources, such as academic studies, institutional reports, and media coverage. This triangulation process helps to minimize potential bias and enhances the reliability of the conclusions drawn. In addition, the researcher maintains a critical and reflective approach throughout the analysis to ensure that interpretations remain grounded in the data.

Ethical considerations constitute an important aspect of this research. All informants participated voluntarily and were informed about the purpose and scope of the study prior to the interviews. To protect their privacy and security, the identities of the informants are not disclosed in this study. The data collected are treated with confidentiality and are used solely for academic purposes. This approach is particularly important given the sensitive nature of the topic, which involves issues of human rights and political dynamics.

Finally, as some of the data, particularly interview materials and relevant documents, were originally in Bahasa Indonesia, a translation process was necessary to present the findings in English. The translation was conducted by the author with careful attention to maintaining the original meaning, context, and nuance of the information. This process involved not only linguistic translation but also contextual interpretation to ensure that the translated data accurately reflect the perspectives of the informants. By doing so, the study seeks to maintain both accuracy and clarity in communicating its findings to an international academic audience.

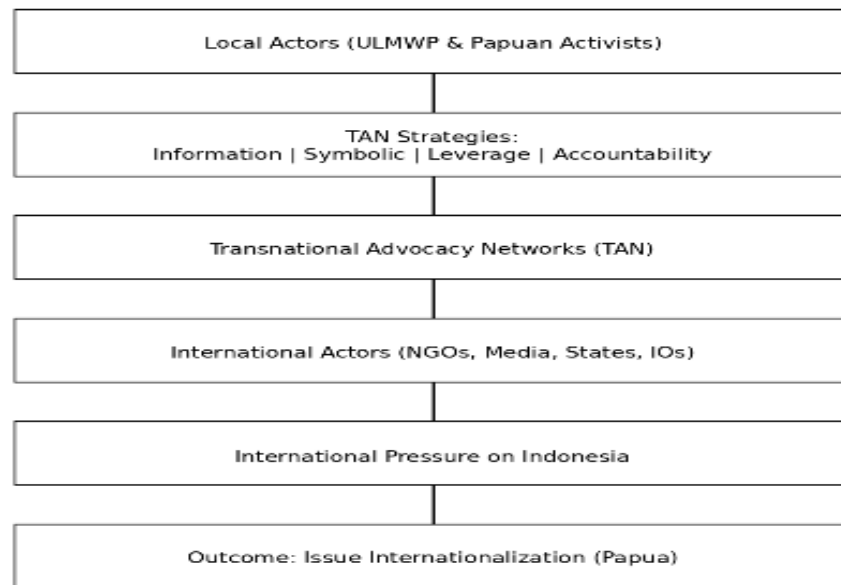


Figure 1. Analysis Model

C. Results and Discussion

1. Results

Information Politics: Documentation and Dissemination

The findings of this study demonstrate that the United Liberation Movement for West Papua has consistently utilized information politics as one of its primary strategies in internationalizing allegations of human rights violations in Papua. This strategy is reflected through the systematic documentation and dissemination of information concerning violence, forced displacement, arbitrary detention, and military operations occurring in several regions of Papua, particularly in Nduga. The organization compiled these reports into publications such as *The Nduga Conflict: A Papuan Humanitarian Tragedy* and *To Die or to Live*, both authored by Markus Haluk as Secretary-General of the ULMWP (Haluk, 2020, 2021). These publications contain narratives regarding humanitarian conditions, testimonies from victims and displaced communities, and claims concerning restrictions on civil liberties in Papua. In addition to printed publications, the ULMWP also distributed reports through digital channels to ensure wider international access. Information dissemination was further strengthened through collaboration with regional media outlets such as Radio New Zealand (RNZ) and advocacy platforms including Tapol (Cottle, 2009; Tapol, 2023). Social media platforms were also actively utilized to circulate visual documentation, political statements, and updates regarding developments in Papua to international audiences and diaspora communities (Cottle, 2009).

The interview findings further reveal that the dissemination of information conducted by the ULMWP was intended to challenge the dominant narrative promoted by the

Indonesian government regarding conditions in Papua. Informants emphasized that international exposure was considered essential because domestic channels were viewed as limited in accommodating criticism concerning human rights issues. One informant explained that the organization relied heavily on transnational communication networks to ensure that alleged violations in Papua would receive international attention. As stated by one diaspora activist interviewed in this study, "If the world does not hear what is happening in Papua, then the suffering of Papuans will remain invisible and ignored." This statement illustrates how information politics was not merely directed toward documenting events but also toward constructing international awareness and solidarity. Furthermore, several interviewees highlighted that digital media significantly accelerated the circulation of advocacy materials, particularly among younger audiences in Pacific countries and Australia. Consequently, information politics became an important mechanism through which the ULMWP attempted to transform local grievances into an issue discussed within broader regional and international forums.

Symbolic Politics: Culture and Identity

The findings also indicate that symbolic politics constituted another major dimension of ULMWP diplomacy. Rather than relying solely on political arguments, the organization consistently employed cultural identity and historical symbolism to build emotional connections with audiences in the Pacific region. In practice, the ULMWP emphasized narratives surrounding Melanesian identity, indigenous solidarity, and collective experiences of marginalization (Clifford, 2013). These symbolic narratives were particularly directed toward Māori communities in New Zealand and Aboriginal activist groups in Australia, both of which were perceived as having similar historical experiences related to colonization, racial discrimination, and cultural suppression. Informants explained that the use of shared indigenous identity enabled the Papua issue to resonate more strongly among Pacific civil society actors (MacLeod, 2015). Through this approach, the Papua issue was framed not only as a territorial or political conflict but also as a broader struggle concerning indigenous dignity, identity, and historical justice.

In implementing this symbolic strategy, the ULMWP and Papuan diaspora communities organized numerous cultural exhibitions, theatrical performances, musical events, and public commemorations in Australia and several Pacific countries. These activities were frequently conducted during symbolic occasions such as Human Rights Day and the December 1 commemoration, which is regarded by many Papuan activists as an important historical moment in Papuan political identity. Interview data reveal that cultural performances were intentionally designed to communicate emotional narratives concerning suffering, displacement, and resistance in Papua. One diaspora activist stated during an interview, "Every December 1 commemoration is not only about politics, but about reminding the world that Papuans still exist and continue struggling for dignity." This statement reflects how

symbolic politics functioned as a mechanism for sustaining collective memory and international solidarity. The findings also show that such cultural diplomacy enabled the ULMWP to engage audiences who might otherwise remain disconnected from formal political discussions regarding Papua.

Leverage Politics: Engaging Regional Actors

The study further finds that leverage politics played a significant role in the ULMWP's diplomatic efforts, particularly through attempts to engage influential actors and regional institutions in the Pacific. Australia emerged as one of the primary targets of these efforts due to its strategic influence within Pacific regional politics and its close diplomatic relations with Indonesia (Wangge & Lawson, 2023). The ULMWP and Papuan diaspora groups organized public campaigns, demonstrations, and political dialogues aimed at encouraging Australian actors to raise concerns regarding Papua. One significant example was the fundraising and advocacy event held in Darwin on August 2, 2015, attended by Julie Bishop, then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs. During this event, Papuan diaspora representatives raised issues concerning alleged human rights violations in Papua and urged Australia to play a more active role. In subsequent years, demonstrations involving diaspora groups also received attention from Australian political figures such as Sue Bolton and Mark Riley, both of whom publicly expressed concerns regarding transparency, media access, and humanitarian conditions in Papua.

In addition to Australia, the findings show that Vanuatu provided one of the strongest forms of state-level support for the ULMWP within the Pacific region (Lawson, 2016). Informants described Vanuatu as a critical diplomatic partner because the government openly supported discussions concerning Papua in regional and international forums. This support was reflected through Vanuatu's willingness to host the establishment of the ULMWP and permit the organization to maintain an office within its territory. Moreover, the Papua issue continued to appear within regional institutions such as the Pacific Islands Forum and the Melanesian Spearhead Group, indicating that the advocacy efforts of the ULMWP had succeeded in sustaining regional attention. However, the findings also reveal that support among Pacific states remained uneven, as several governments continued to prioritize diplomatic and economic relations with Indonesia. In relation to the statement concerning Lidia Thorpe, this study identifies that the event referred to public statements made in 2024 rather than 2025; therefore, the chronology has been corrected to maintain factual consistency and avoid speculative interpretation (Kirsch, 2010).

Accountability Politics: Naming and Shaming

The findings indicate that accountability politics was pursued by contrasting Indonesia's international commitments concerning human rights with reports

describing conditions in Papua. The ULMWP consistently highlighted Indonesia's ratification of various international human rights instruments and emphasized alleged inconsistencies between these commitments and realities experienced by Papuan communities (Sikkink, 2011). Through reports, testimonies, media statements, and international advocacy campaigns, the organization attempted to portray Indonesia as failing to fully uphold principles relating to freedom of expression, access to information, and protection of civilians. Informants stated that one of the primary objectives of these campaigns was to encourage international institutions and foreign governments to question Indonesia's compliance with international norms. Public demonstrations, advocacy reports, and diplomatic statements from Pacific actors were therefore utilized as instruments of moral and reputational pressure directed toward Indonesia.

The findings also demonstrate that regional institutional mechanisms increasingly reflected these accountability efforts. In particular, discussions concerning Papua were repeatedly included within official communiqués of the Pacific Islands Forum. The 54th PIF Leaders' Communiqué reaffirmed expectations that Indonesia fulfill its earlier commitment to facilitate a visit by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to Papua. The communiqué additionally encouraged cooperation between Indonesia, the PIF, and the MSG to support preparations for the proposed visit timeline toward 2026. Informants interpreted these developments as evidence that the Papua issue had become institutionalized within regional diplomatic discourse rather than remaining solely a domestic Indonesian matter. Nevertheless, the findings show that despite increased regional attention and symbolic pressure, these efforts had not yet resulted in substantive changes in Indonesia's sovereignty policy regarding Papua. The influence generated through accountability politics therefore remained primarily concentrated at the level of agenda-setting, diplomatic visibility, and moral pressure within international forums.

2. Discussion

The Boomerang Pattern in Action

The findings of this study illustrate the operation of the "boomerang pattern" conceptualized by Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink within the context of Papua advocacy (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). According to this framework, domestic actors who encounter limited access to their own government seek support from international allies, who subsequently exert external pressure back upon the target state. In the Papua case, local activists and the ULMWP experienced constraints in influencing Indonesian domestic policy directly; consequently, they relied on transnational advocacy channels involving diaspora groups, non-governmental organizations, international media, and Pacific regional actors. Information politics enabled the circulation of reports and testimonies beyond Indonesia's borders, while symbolic politics facilitated emotional identification between Papuans and indigenous

communities in the Pacific. These transnational interactions subsequently generated broader diplomatic discussions within institutions such as the PIF and MSG. The findings therefore demonstrate how advocacy networks can transform local grievances into issues receiving regional and international attention through external political and moral pressure.

Successes and Limitations of TAN in the Papua Case

The study further demonstrates both the achievements and limitations of Transnational Advocacy Networks in the Papua context (Wangge & Lawson, 2023). On one hand, the ULMWP successfully contributed to shifting the Papua issue from a predominantly domestic concern into a recognized regional and international agenda. This achievement is visible through the increasing frequency of Papua-related discussions in Pacific forums, the involvement of Australian parliamentarians and Pacific civil society actors, and the continued appearance of Papua within regional diplomatic communiqués. Symbolic and information politics were particularly effective in generating visibility, solidarity, and sustained advocacy networks. Furthermore, accountability politics enabled the issue to become embedded within institutional discussions concerning human rights and international monitoring mechanisms. On the other hand, the study also reveals clear limitations. Despite sustained international advocacy, there has been no substantive alteration in Indonesia's core sovereignty policy regarding Papua. The Indonesian government continues to frame Papua primarily as a domestic issue linked to territorial integrity and national security (Rutherford, 2012). Consequently, the impact of transnational advocacy has remained largely concentrated on agenda-setting and reputational pressure rather than direct policy transformation.

Comparison with Other TAN Cases

The Papua case also shares similarities and differences with other cases involving transnational advocacy networks, particularly East Timor Crisis and contemporary advocacy concerning Myanmar. Similar to East Timor, Papuan advocacy relies heavily on international solidarity campaigns, church networks, human rights organizations, and media dissemination to internationalize local grievances (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). In both cases, regional and international actors played important roles in amplifying allegations of violence and pressuring governments through moral and diplomatic mechanisms. However, unlike East Timor, Papua has not experienced comparable levels of unified international intervention or consensus among major powers regarding self-determination. In the Myanmar context, transnational advocacy has likewise emphasized documentation of violence and mobilization of international condemnation, yet the effectiveness of such advocacy remains constrained by geopolitical interests and state sovereignty considerations. These comparisons suggest that while TAN strategies may successfully increase international visibility and normative pressure, their effectiveness in generating

concrete policy change is strongly shaped by broader geopolitical configurations, regional diplomacy, and the strategic interests of states involved.

Limitations of the Study

Several limitations should also be acknowledged in this study. First, the research employs a single case study design focusing specifically on the diplomacy of the ULMWP, which limits the broader generalizability of the findings to other advocacy contexts. Although the Papua case provides important insights into transnational advocacy dynamics, different political environments may produce different outcomes. Second, the study relies significantly on publicly available documents, media publications, and interviews with selected informants. As a result, some findings are influenced by the perspectives and narratives presented by advocacy actors themselves. Third, this research does not independently verify allegations of human rights violations discussed within advocacy materials because access to primary field data in Papua remains limited. Consequently, the study focuses primarily on analyzing advocacy strategies and diplomatic processes rather than establishing factual verification concerning every reported incident. Despite these limitations, the research still contributes to understanding how non-state actors utilize information, symbolism, leverage, and accountability mechanisms to shape international discourse concerning human rights issues within contemporary international relations.

D. Conclusions

This study examined how the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) utilizes Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN) to internationalize human rights issues in Papua through information, symbolic, leverage, and accountability politics. The findings demonstrate that the ULMWP has systematically transformed the Papua issue from a domestic political matter into a regional and international human rights concern. In information politics, the organization disseminates reports on alleged human rights violations through publications such as *The Nduga Conflict* and *To Die or to Live*, collaboration with Radio New Zealand (RNZ), *tapol.org*, and the use of social media platforms. In symbolic politics, the ULMWP employs Melanesian identity, cultural performances, and engagement with Māori and Aboriginal communities to strengthen international solidarity. Through leverage politics, the organization has gained support from Vanuatu and increased regional attention within the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) and Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), although Australia's official position remains cautious. In accountability politics, the ULMWP contrasts Indonesia's international commitments with reported realities in Papua, contributing to continued regional pressure regarding the proposed visit of the UN Human Rights Commissioner by 2026. Theoretically, this study shows that TAN strategies are effective in shaping international discourse and embedding accountability mechanisms in regional institutions, despite limited influence on sovereignty-related

state policies. Practically, the findings suggest that Indonesia could reduce reputational pressure through more proactive engagement with Pacific civil society and international human rights mechanisms. Future research should examine TAN effectiveness in other human rights cases and the long-term evolution of Papua discourse in Pacific regional diplomacy.

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