



Analysis of Securitisation and Political-Diplomatic Aspects in Indonesia's Policy on the 2019 Internet Shutdown in Papua

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Abstract

Digital democracy is currently developing very rapidly in various regions in Indonesia, especially the Papua region. This region presents an intriguing case for digital democracy because it is the only region that is still struggling, both politically-diplomatically and armed, to become independent from Indonesia. Issues such as historical problems, capitalism and development failures, political violence and human rights violations as well as the marginalization of indigenous Papuans are the main issues campaigned by pro-independence activists, both domestically and abroad through digital channels such as websites, WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. In 2019, when the racial riots that started in Surabaya and Malang spread to the Papua region, the Indonesian government adopted a policy to limit and even shut down internet access in Papua. The internet shutdown policy is the first time the Indonesian government has implemented it in Papua. This research uses a qualitative case study method by carefully analyzing the Indonesian government's policy of shutting down the internet in Papua during the riots in 2019. The findings of this study show that the Indonesian government securitized the riots that occurred in Papua in 2019. Using securitization theory, this study examines how the state discursively frames the Papuan issue as a security threat. It does this by examining how Indonesian authorities justified drastic measures like internet access restrictions by framing online hoaxes as existential threats. In conclusion, the internet shutdown implemented by the Indonesian government represents new form of security policy. It reflects a broader pattern of government measures in Papua, aimed at controlling the flow of information to the outside world. This control is intended to protect Indonesia's political and diplomatic interests and to maintain national sovereignty, although it comes at the cost of civil liberties.

Key Words: Racial Conflict, Securitization, Internet Shutdown, Papua Issue, Political-Diplomatic

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INTRODUCTION

On 16 August 2019 in Surabaya, there was a siege of the Papuan student dormitory by community organizations, including Pemuda Pancasila, FPI, FKPPI, as well as security forces such as Satpol PP, soldiers, and police. This incident was triggered by news that Papuan students broke the red and white flagpole and threw it into a ditch. Negotiations between security forces and Papuan students in the dormitory were conducted, but to no avail. As a result, security forces forced their way in and took the Papuan students to the police station for questioning. In his statement, a spokesperson for the Surabaya Papuan Student Alliance (AMP) said that Papuan students experienced intimidation, threats, and racial shouts (Nurhadi & Wibowo, 2019).

The incident in Surabaya quickly spread through social media and the internet to various regions in Indonesia, especially Papua. Papuans responded by staging demonstrations, demanding an apology from those who committed intimidation and racism in Surabaya. This issue then grew to include demands for a referendum to separate Papua from Indonesia. The demonstrations in Papua led to anarchic actions that caused material losses, such as burning public facilities, shops, and government buildings. In addition, the Governor of Papua in his statement, stated that the riots in Wamena caused more than 30 fatalities (KOMPAS.com, 2019). From the end of August to September, riots occurred in various regions of Papua, and could only be suppressed by the Government of Indonesia at the end of September 2019.

The Indonesian government responded to the unrest in Papua with several policies. First, security policy by sending an additional 6,000 soldiers and police to Papua since August 22, 2019 (Ariefana & Yasir, 2019). This policy is an approach the Indonesian Government frequently uses in dealing with various problems in Papua. However, this step is not the only policy implemented. On August 21, 2019, through press release No. 155/HM/KOMINFO/08/2019, the Government of Indonesia decided to slow down and disconnect internet access (internet shutdown) in Papua and West Papua (ELSAM, 2019). This policy was carried out on the grounds of accelerating the recovery of the security and order situation. The internet shutdown will last indefinitely, depending on the security conditions in Papua and West Papua. The National Police Chief stated that the riots in Papua were triggered by the many hoaxes circulating, both from within and outside the country, which became the basis for this internet shutdown policy.

The internet shutdown policy in Papua is the focus of this research for several reasons. First, this policy is interesting because it is the first time implemented by

the Indonesian Government in the solution to riots and conflicts in Papua. Second, this policy has political and diplomatic aspects that are important to study. Third, this research will critically evaluate the internet shutdown policy in response to the August-September 2019 riots in Papua.

The Papua issue is the last regional conflict faced by the Indonesian Government (Chauvel, 2021). Currently, Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) and its sympathizers use three main strategies. First, within Papua itself, the OPM carries out armed resistance which is now categorized by the government as Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata (KKB). Second, the OPM, activists and sympathizers use political actions such as demonstrations and protests. Third, abroad, the pro-independence Papuan diaspora has been consolidated in the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), with Papuan independence struggle figures who actively campaign and lobby international organizations, regional organizations, especially in the Pacific region, as well as states and civil society (Pamungkas & Rusdiarti, 2017).

Organisasi Papua Merdeka and its sympathizers take advantage of technological and information developments to spread the idea of Papuan independence and various facts about the Papua issue. Events in Papua quickly spread to other parts of Indonesia and the world through information technology. Papuan diaspora organizations such as ULMWP and Free West Papua Campaign (FWPC) have extensively used digital platforms and regional diplomacy to internationalize the Papua issue, especially in the Pacific (Titifanue et al., 2016). When the ULMWP applied for membership in the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) regional organization, the FWPC actively garnered support from the Pacific community. This campaign was carried out through various news reports, propaganda, and hashtags such as #ULMWP4MSG, which was quite influential in ULMWP's efforts (Samad & Permatasari, 2021).

Several roots of conflict encourage the OPM to fight for Papua's independence from Indonesia. According to the research results of the LIPI Papua Team, there are four to five main factors causing conflict in Papua (Widjojo et al., 2010). Those factors include historical issues, economic injustice, political violence, racism, and the marginalization of Indigenous Papuans (OAP) in various aspects. These analyses highlight long-standing systemic dissatisfaction among Papuans but remain largely within the framework of traditional security approaches. Situmorang further explained that there is an international dimension to the roots and factors that cause conflict in Papua, namely the issue of human rights, which has received the attention of many international actors (Situmorang, 2015).

The Indonesian government often portrays the Papuan conflict as a domestic issue, but it has unavoidable international ramifications. To internationalize the conflict, especially in the Pacific, pro-independence organizations have long depended on digital campaigns, diaspora mobilization, and transnational advocacy networks (Titifanue et al., 2016; Samad & Permatasari, 2021). The Papua issue is frequently brought up in the UN General Assembly by nations like Vanuatu and Solomon Islands, who present it as a matter of self-determination and human rights (Febriyanti & Roring, 2022). International NGOs that can keep an eye on and critique Jakarta's policies include Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, which puts further pressure on Indonesia's diplomatic stance.

In this way, Indonesia's 2019 internet shutdown policy should be interpreted as both a reaction to internal unrest and a component of its larger plan to shape the global discourse on Papua. The Indonesian government linked domestic security measures to more general issues of international legitimacy and diplomacy by limiting the digital circulation of information to keep disparaging depictions from reaching audiences abroad. Putting Papua in this larger framework demonstrates why the case is important for the study of international relations; it shows how local conflicts and online authoritarianism interact with international diplomacy and human rights standards.

Therefore, the development of digital democracy in Papua has become a field of contestation between the state and pro-independence actors, where access to information plays an important role in shaping public opinion, both domestically and internationally. In this context, the internet shutdown policy implemented by the Indonesian government in 2019 is not just a technical measure to control the security situation, but also a reflection of a broader strategy to maintain political stability and state sovereignty. By restricting the flow of information, the government seeks to control the narrative that develops amidst the increasing global attention to the Papua issue.

A reason why the Indonesian government's internet shutdown policy in Papua contributes more academic research is because of its impact on the developing discussion surrounding International Relations theories of securitization. Current studies on Papua have mainly focused on traditional aspects of security, such as military presence, human rights abuses, and the importance of global diplomacy (Chauvel, 2021). Research on internet shutdown in Indonesia has predominantly been positioned around human rights and legal issues (Satriawan et al., 2023; Zakaria & Dwicahyo, 2022). Hence, it is necessary to examine how the digital sphere itself is securitized as part of a state's strategy to contain separatist movements.

The Copenhagen School argues that securitization takes place when political figures raise matters above standard political discourse via 'speech acts' and exceptional actions. Although the framework has been extensively utilized in instances of migration, environmental issues, and terrorism (Balzacq, 2011), there has been little focus on how digital infrastructures are perceived as existential threats in separatist conflicts. This study examines the Papuan situation, extending securitization theory into the digital sphere and showing how the Indonesian government redefined online hoaxes as security threats warranting extreme actions like the internet shutdown. It shows that securitization has moved beyond discussions of physical or territorial dangers, now increasingly encompassing digital platforms as significant spaces for political conflict. The Papua case enhances the literature by connecting digital authoritarian methods with securitization theory, providing insights that apply not only to Indonesia but also to worldwide discussions regarding state reactions to digital dissent in separatist situations.

It is also important to review previous studies on the Papua issue. First, numerous previous researchers have conducted studies on the roots of the Papuan problem. BRIN has consistently continued to study the Papua issue with Pamungkas et al (2017), which explains the current situation and a more comprehensive study of the Papuan problem that the Indonesian Government has not been able to resolve. This study from BRIN is supported by McLeod (2015), who identifies five factors of Papuan resistance to Indonesia, which are historical issues, human rights violations, economic injustice, transmigration, and racism.

Elmslie provides a critical note regarding the violence experienced by indigenous Papuans that has occurred since the military occupation in 1962-1963, critically calling the violence genocide, but in this internet era the issue of human rights and genocide has spread to global awareness of genocide in the Pacific (Elmslie & Webb-Gannon, 2013). This opinion is supported by Anderson (2015), who explains that the Indonesian Government is carrying out colonization, slow-motion genocide and cold genocide with the destruction of Papuan groups that continues to occur slowly and over several generations.

Chauvel (2021) argues that in dealing with the Papuan conflict, the Indonesian government tends to focus on security policies, which in turn form a separate policy tradition in Papua. However, these studies still refer to classic security approaches, such as the deployment of security forces (TNI-Polri), and have not touched on security policies in the digital space, which is the main focus of this research. While the issue of internet shutdowns in Papua has been addressed in several studies, few

have examined it as a deliberate extension of digital security policy within broader state control mechanisms.

Second, the study of internet shutdowns in Papua has also been the subject of attention in previous studies. Satriawan et al. (2023) in their research revealed that internet shutdowns in Indonesia did not only occur in Papua in 2019, but also during the post-election riots in the same year. They argue that the government's policy of blocking internet access, both during the presidential election riots and in the Papua case, is wrong because it contradicts the principles of declaration, proportionality, urgency, and legality that must be obeyed, even in emergencies. Zakaria and Dwicahyo (2022) also highlighted that the policy of limiting internet access carried out by the Indonesian government in Papua and West Papua aims to reduce the spread of hoaxes and control the security situation after the riots triggered by acts of racism against Papuan students in Surabaya. However, the study found that the policy violates press freedom, both in the context of national and international law.

Furthermore, some studies examine the internet shutdown as part of Indonesia's securitization of online hoaxes. Antony Lee (2020) analyzed how online hoaxes and disinformation are represented as existential threats to Indonesia's national security, which in turn encourages the government to take securitization measures, including internet throttling and internet shutdowns. Through the Securitization Theory approach, this research identifies how political elites and special institutions in Indonesia constructed the threat narrative of hoaxes to justify extraordinary measures, such as internet blocking during and after the 2019 elections. However, this study focuses more on the securitization of hoaxes in the context of national politics at large and has not specifically examined the case of Papua as a region with unique political dynamics.

The journals above are important references for this research in building an academic understanding of the internet shutdown policy in Papua and to identify its differences from this research. While previous studies tend to highlight the human rights and legal aspects of the policy, this research will focus on the securitization efforts made by the Indonesian government in responding to the riots in Papua and analyzing them within the framework of a new security policy on the Papua issue. This paper argues that the internet shutdown was not merely a technical or administrative response, but a deliberate act of securitization by the state to manage and contain the unrest in Papua.

METHOD

This research employs a qualitative case study approach. According to Creswell, qualitative research with a case study design is carried out by thoroughly investigating a certain program, event, activity, process, or group of individuals within the limits of time and context that have been determined. Furthermore, Creswell suggests several main characteristics of case studies, namely: (1) identifying the “case” that is the focus of the research; (2) the case is a “system bound” by time and place; (3) case studies use various sources of information in their data collection to provide a detailed and in-depth description of the response to an event; and (4) in a case study approach, researchers will spend time describing the context or setting of a case. This approach is particularly suitable for this research because it allows for an in-depth exploration of complex social and political dynamics that cannot be fully captured through quantitative methods. By focusing on a specific case, the study can uncover nuanced insights and contextual factors that are essential for understanding the phenomenon under investigation. In conducting this research, the primary data sources consist of academic journal articles, complemented by credible news reports, official statements from the Indonesian government, and reports published by relevant institutions, which together provide a comprehensive and balanced foundation for analysis.

The research in this study seeks to deeply investigate the “internet shutdown” policy in Papua in 2019 and begins by collecting data and sources relevant to the research topic such as official government documents regarding the internet shutdown policy, journalists' accounts of racial riots as well as statements from the government and other actors. After that, a process of data reduction and chronological compilation is carried out to build a systematic understanding of the studied case study. Furthermore, this research will identify and analyze the internet shutdown policy implemented by the Indonesian government in Papua in 2019. The analysis will be conducted using the concept of securitization introduced by Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde, and Richard Ullman (Hadiwinata, 2017).

DISCUSSION

Internet shutdown in Papua through the concept of securitization

The incident at the Papuan student dormitory on August 16, 2019 in Surabaya triggered various mass actions and riots in Papua (Belarminus (ed), 2019). Responding to this incident, the Government of Indonesia announced through Press Release No. 154/HM/KOMINFO/o8/2019 on Monday, August 19, 2019,

which discussed the slowdown of internet access in some areas of West Papua and Papua. (Lembaga Studi & Advokasi Masyarakat, 2019)

Since 19th of August 2019, the Government of Indonesia has started to securitize the internet in Papua. The concept of securitization itself was introduced by the Copenhagen School, which seeks to expand the definition of threats to the state. If the traditional concept of threats focuses more on the military aspect, a redefinition is now required because various non-military threats can also disrupt national stability, security and sovereignty (Hadiwinata, 2017). In this study, the threat in question is hoaxes that spread quickly through the internet.

Richard Ulman in “Redefining Security” explains that the concept of state security can be redefined through two important aspects. First, there are threats that come unexpectedly and can damage the quality of life of citizens. Second, the threat limits the options the state has in recovering the situation to normal. This concept opens the possibility for non-military issues to be considered as new threats (Hadiwinata, 2017). The Copenhagen School's effort to expand and enhance the idea of security beyond its conventional military focus gave rise to this theory in the 1990s. Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde (1998) consider security as a discursive practice rather than an objective state, carried out when political actors present a problem as an existential threat necessitating drastic measures. In this sense, security is created rather than provided.

There are three main points of securitization. First, speech acts that dramatize threats are used by securitizing actors to turn issues into security concerns. Second, for securitization to be successful, the claim must be accepted by the target audience to support action. Third, securitization leads to drastic actions that deviate from standard political practices, like restricting or suspending civil liberties (Buzan et al., 1998). Securitization theory has been applied to study a variety of topics, such as terrorism, migration, and climate change. The idea emphasizes how states discursively construct threats to broaden the definition of security. Furthermore, it emphasizes the politics of language, demonstrating how power dynamics influence what constitutes a threat.

In the study of securitization, two main aspects need to be studied, namely the actors who do and the issues that are securitized. In the context of this case, the actor is the Government of Indonesia, especially the Ministry of Communication and Information, which is the main actor that conducts securitization, supported by several statements from the Indonesian National Police through the National Police Chief Tito Karnavian, as well as President Joko Widodo. In the concept of securitization, statements from these actors are a form of “speech act,” which is an

effort to dramatize threats by agents who have broad influence in society. This statement is an important step to convince the public that there is an issue or event that threatens the country or society, so that the government or designated agent has the legitimacy to take extraordinary or emergency action to overcome the threat.

Through statements from various government actors, it is clear that the Indonesian Government is trying to develop the spread of hoaxes on the internet related to the incident at the Papuan student dormitory in Surabaya which developed into riots in Papua into a securitization issue. The Ministry of Communication and Information officially stated that the policy to restrict internet access in Papua was triggered by hoaxes and was already in accordance with the rule of law in Indonesia (Rizkinaswara, 2019). The National Police Chief also added by saying that hoaxes spread by certain parties triggered the riots in Papua (Kurniawan, 2019). President Jokowi also confirmed that hoaxes were the cause of the riots in Papua by saying, "This anarchistic issue started and developed because of hoax news. Therefore, I ask that every time the public hears, every time they see it on social media, they should check it first, don't believe it immediately because it will disrupt security and political stability in each region" (Ihsanuddin, 2019).

Second, securitized issues, namely the spread of hoaxes that triggered riots in Papua from August to September 2019. Hoaxes and the internet were not initially a security issue. However, when the riots occurred, the Indonesian government stated that hoaxes that spread quickly through the internet were the main cause. Therefore, the government deemed that shutting down internet access in Papua was a necessary step to stop the spread of hoaxes. On 27 August 2019, a week after the policy was initiated, after holding a dialogue with various elements of society in Papua, the National Police Chief once again emphasized that the internet blocking in Papua aims to stop the spread of hoaxes played by certain interested parties. The President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, also supported the policies of relevant ministries and institutions, emphasizing that the internet blocking in Papua was carried out for the sake of the common good. On the other hand, many Papuans who are affected by this internet blackout policy feel restless because it creates a problem in the public service and economic sectors (Ombudsman, 2019). The international community has also raised concerns about this, for example Amnesty International, a renowned international human rights NGO, stated that the internet shutdown policy violates human rights to freedom of speech (Amnesty International, 2019).

Third, it is important to visually depict the securitization process. The following

graphic shows that the incident at the student dormitory in Surabaya on August 16, 2019 quickly spread to the Papua region, triggering various protests and demonstrations that led to riots in various areas in Papua. On August 19, 2019, the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Communication and Information began slowing down internet access in Papua. The spread of hoaxes through the internet, which is said to be the reason for the escalating unrest in Papua and also a justification for the internet shutdown, became a securitized issue for the Indonesian government. As tensions in Papua escalated, the government officially cut off internet access from August 21 to September 3, 2019. Internet access began to reopen gradually on September 4, 2019, and by September 13, 2019, internet access could be used in almost all areas of Papua.

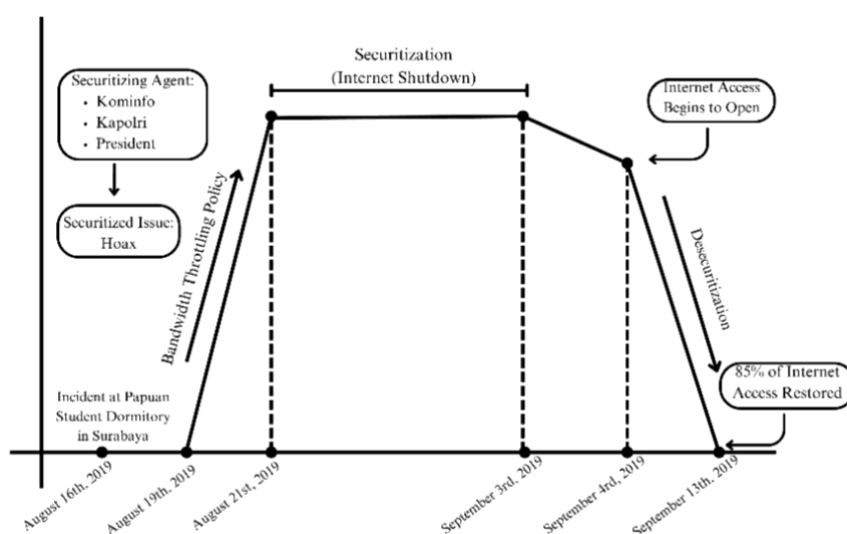


Figure 1. Analysis of the internet shutdown in Papua through the concept of securitisation

The referent object securitized here was the political stability and integrity of the Indonesian state, which was framed as being threatened by the quick dissemination of false information online. The government turned the hoaxes from a routine political dispute into a national security issue by presenting them as both disinformation and separatist mobilization tools. The fact that Papua's internet access was throttled and then completely cut off was an extraordinary measure. The Copenhagen School's idea of going “beyond the established rules of the game” is exemplified by this measure, which went beyond the scope of standard regulatory tools.

Thus, judging from the official press release and various statements issued, the Government of Indonesia concluded that hoaxes spread through the internet were

the main trigger of the riots that occurred in Papua. The government's subjective perception as a securitization actor, through “speech acts”, shapes the issue of hoaxes as something threatening, to try to make the issue of slowing down and disconnecting the internet acceptable and supported by the public.

The securitization of the Papuan issue is most evident in the language used by Indonesian state actors to defend extraordinary measures, even beyond the decision to restrict internet access. State officials reframed digital expressions of Papuan argument as actually dangerous and illegitimate by repeatedly designating online content as provocation, hate speech, and hoax news. There were two purposes for this discursive technique. By classifying pro-independence narratives as false and thus outside the parameters of appropriate political discourse, it first undermined their legitimacy. Secondly, it validated the internet shutdown as a reasonable, if not essential, security measure. By using language in a way that could be interpreted as censorship, the government was able to defend social stability and national unity. According to the theory of securitization, successful strategies involve persuading audiences that extraordinary measures are warranted in addition to enforcing them.

Additionally, the audience's acceptance was disputed and partial. The government's framing of the internet shutdown as a necessary measure to contain unrest was frequently replicated by mainstream media domestically (Safitri & Noviadhista, 2020). However, civil society groups like the Ombudsman and ELSAM denounced the measure as a breach of human rights and democratic principles (ELSAM, 2019; Ombudsman, 2019). Amnesty International also denounced the policy on a global scale for violating the right to free speech (Amnesty International, 2019). As stressed in more practice-oriented refinements of securitization theory, these contestations underscore the fact that securitization is not automatic but rather relies on a complex interplay of audiences.

Political-diplomatic aspects in the internet shutdown policy

The securitization of the 2019 riots in Papua through the internet shutdown had several important outcomes. Domestically, it expanded the boundaries of Indonesia's security policy by legitimizing the treatment of digital information, particularly hoaxes, as a direct threat to national stability and territorial integrity. At the same time, the policy produced political and diplomatic consequences internationally. By framing the unrest as misinformation-driven rather than rooted in historical grievances, the government sought to deflect human rights criticisms and reinforce its legitimacy in the global arena.

That being said, the motive of the Government's policy to slow down the internet or Internet Shutdown cannot be said to have been implemented *solely* to reduce the riots. First, regarding the spread of hoaxes as the main reason for the riots. It must be admitted that there were actually some hoaxes that spread which sparked the riots in Papua, but the question is why the riots occurred so quickly and spread in various regions in Papua. If one looks from a historical perspective, they will find a lot of dissatisfaction from the Papuan people themselves towards the Indonesian Government throughout the decades. This dissatisfaction is based on many issues, from marginalization, racism, exploitation of natural resources, to unfulfilled rights, which have often been a source of Papuan dissatisfaction with the Indonesian Government since 1969 when Papua was integrated into Indonesia (Koibur, 2024). Research conducted by Widjojo et al (2010), Pamungkas & Rusdiarti (2017), Elmslie (2013), Chauvel (2021), Maceod (2016) also explained that various policies and approaches to Papua such as political violence and human rights violations as well as exploitation of nature and marginalization of native Papuans have been going on for a long time, even since the joining of Papua to Indonesia which has caused native Papuan resistance to Indonesia and voiced Papuan independence from Indonesia.

This dissatisfaction lasted for decades and was passed down from generation to generation of native Papuans into *memoria passionis*, a concept that reflects the memory of suffering resulting from human rights violations under repressive Indonesian government policies. (Suryawan, 2012). Although Papua has been treated more favorably with the special autonomy policy since 2001, in reality there is still a lot of dissatisfaction, especially on racial issues and marginalization (Dewi, 2024). There is a desire to speak out for a better life that has been passed down from generation to generation. This dissatisfaction has already been ingrained, without any workable solution that not only benefits both parties, but also guarantees the rights of the Papuan people to be given more attention for a better life.

This dissatisfaction continues to build up and it is only a matter of time before it “explodes”. Like a time bomb that can explode at any time without warning. The siege of the Papuan student dormitory in Surabaya was only one of many incidents that triggered the anger of the Papuan people against the Indonesian government, but this incident was the one that then became a momentum for the Papuan people to fight back. It cannot only be said that the spread of hoaxes is the cause of the riots in Papua. The siege of the dormitory and the spread of hoaxes were merely the fire that lit the fuse of an anger that had been held back for decades.

Second, the author finds that the policy of slowing down the internet in Papua is also motivated by the International Political-Diplomatic aspect. Problems regarding the Papua issue are often used by other countries to corner Indonesia in

international forums. For example, countries from the Pacific region, such as Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Tonga, New Caledonia, Tuvalu, Nauru, and Marshall Islands are often voicing issues in Papua (Bayuseno, 2020). They raise various kinds of issues, ranging from human rights violations to the exploitation of natural resources, which in the end, these reasons often lead to efforts to voice their support for Papuan independence.

As a sovereign state, Indonesia feels that other countries, especially those supporting West Papua's independence, interfere too much in Indonesia's domestic affairs. So Indonesia often tries to prove this accusation wrong. For example, on several occasions, Indonesian diplomats often deal directly with refuting allegations from Vanuatu, which often addresses the Papua issue at high-level week meetings at UN Headquarters, New York, United States (Febriyanti & Roring, 2022). In addition, Indonesia also often uses tourism in Papua, especially in Raja Ampat as an opportunity to conduct soft power diplomacy (Suryanti & Sinaga, 2023). So, in addition to solely making revenue, tourism in Papua is also a way for Indonesia to invite global citizens to see firsthand the situation in Papua through tourism. The Indonesian government also continues to intensify melanesian cultural diplomacy abroad through various activities to emphasize that melanesian ethnicity in Papua is also a concern of the Indonesian government aimed at rebuilding a positive image of Indonesia which has been considered repressive towards melanesian culture in Papua (Bennadette et al, 2022).

These efforts are aimed at building a positive image of Indonesia regarding the Papua issue in the eyes of the international community. It is hoped that sentiments about Indonesia as a country that continues to commit political violence and human rights violations as well as other policies that are detrimental to the people of Papua can be minimized if not eliminated. These efforts would be undermined if the issue of racial riots that started in Surabaya and expanded rapidly to many areas in Papua were to spread internationally, either by journalists, netizens or figures who are trying to campaign on the Papua issue on social media. There have been many studies on the Papua issue campaign via the internet, such as Titifanue et al (2016), Samad et al (2021), Lantang et al (2020), and Macleod (2016) explaining that social media and the internet are significant media for spreading the Papua issue. Therefore, the authors see a connection between the internet shutdown in Papua and Indonesia's political-diplomatic aspects in the international arena. The Indonesian government deliberately limited internet access to ensure that information about the riots could still be controlled and not spread abroad, which would undermine Indonesia's political and diplomatic position on the Papua issue abroad. Framing the riots as being driven by hoaxes, rather than by long-standing structural grievances, allowed the government to present the unrest as a technical

issue rather than a systemic failure. Thus helping to maintain a more favorable image in the eyes of the international community and serving diplomatic agendas more effectively.

CONCLUSION

The Internet Shutdown policy that was implemented, apart from being controversial, is also a policy that is related to the concept of securitization and security. The government builds a securitization process by implementing the Internet Shutdown policy to prevent the spread of hoaxes. This new security policy opens a new insight into the current form of security policy. More importantly, it represents the emergence of a new security policy in Indonesia, where cyberspace is now integrated into the state's broader security agenda. This new security policy is clear proof that the study of securitization and national security continues to evolve over time with conditions that encourage the state to produce new security policies that are more relevant to the needs and interests of the country. It can be concluded that the Indonesian government is expanding the concept of national security and applying a new security policy in addressing the conflict in Papua through the internet shutdown, which explains the threat of the internet to the stability and territorial integrity of Indonesia.

However, it is important to look at this critically, that the Indonesian Government's claim to blame Hoaxes for the 2019 riots in Papua is very weak and ahistorical. The author concludes that these riots can very quickly erupt in various regions in Papua because of the long-term structure of disappointment of indigenous Papuans due to various failures of the Indonesian Government's policies in Papua. Furthermore, the political-diplomatic aspect of Indonesia in the eyes of the international community also played a role in the birth of the internet shutdown policy in Papua. The Indonesian government is trying to build a positive image and refute campaigns on the Papua issue abroad and it will be counterproductive if the issue of racial unrest in Papua spreads abroad which will further undermine and weaken Indonesia's diplomatic and political position. Thus, the securitization of the riots through the framing of hoaxes was not only a domestic security measure, but also a political-diplomatic strategy. By presenting the unrest as a problem of misinformation rather than long-standing structural grievances, the Indonesian government sought to delegitimize international criticisms and maintain its credibility in global forums.

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