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## Papuan Women and Their Culture: Reception Analysis of Cultural Identity Portrayed in *Noken Rahim Kedua* Documentary Film

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### ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify the meaning of Papuan cultural identity in *Noken Rahim Kedua* documentary perceived by Papuan women. Employing the phenomenological method and Stuart Hall's encoding-decoding theory, this research explores the encoding process by filmmakers and the decoding process by Papuan women through in-depth interviews. Overall, the four Papuan women are in a negotiating reading. They did not simply accept the meaning constructed by the filmmaker. Lacking women's involvement in the documentary, led them to perceive that the film does not fully represent the voice of Papuan women. Several dominant factors that influence the reception, including 1) Ethnic origin and cultural knowledge; 2) Family background; and 3) Surroundings or the environment. Regarding the values believed by the Papuan women, two significant findings emerged. First, all Papuan women viewers believed that gender equality is fundamental; however, one participant disagreed with the notion that men should not work. Second, all participants, the Papuan women, believed that culture should be preserved, and they are proud of it because it is an identity marker. However, one of the participants stated that culture does not need to be maintained if it is considered burdensome or disadvantageous. Future researchers are encouraged to explore ethnic diversity, and for future documentary filmmakers, multiple perspectives of Papuan identity must be incorporated.

Keywords: cultural identity, documentary film, gender, Papuan women, Stuart Hall's encoding-decoding.

### Introduction

In Indonesia, the relationship between cultural identity and women is an issue raised in the documentary film. For example, the documentary film *Perempuan Tana Humba* by Lasja F. Susatyo portrays about Belis traditions and culture in Sumba and their impact on women. The documentary film *Perempuan Tana Humba* highlights the position of women who are shaped by culture—women are seen as only being responsible for household matters and do not have the opportunity to do big things (Perwita & Istiyanto, 2021). This film also highlights the position of women who are influenced by cultural identities that seem not to be in favour of women. Cultural identity and gender are two interrelated things. The people of a particular culture determine the division of gender: what a specific gender should or should not do (Baker, 2004; Ghani, 2016).

UNESCO (2015), in its release entitled "Intangible Cultural Heritage and Gender," states that cultural identity plays a vital role in creating and spreading values and norms related to gender. In Indonesia, *noken* is a cultural identity that shapes gender divisions, especially for Papuan women, which has generated debates. First, the role of Papuan women as weavers of *noken*; even the maturity of Papuan women is measured by their ability to weave a *noken*. Meanwhile, anyone can weave *noken* regardless of gender (Marit, 2016). Second, the *noken* is used as a dowry. This practice is considered

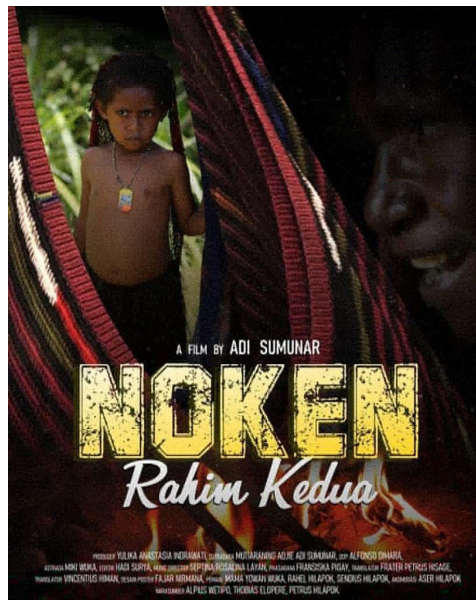


Figure 1. Poster of *Noken Rahim Kedua*  
(Imaji Papua, 2021)

marginalizes Papuan women and considers Papuan women as an object (Tetelepta, Sianipar, & Parama, 2021). Third, noken is considered a symbol of strength for Papuan women. Papuan women can carry garden produce and other items and their babies in their daily activities by using a noken hanging on their heads. However, this is considered to justify the patriarchal system adopted by the Papuan people, in which women work in the garden, process food, and sell their crops, but also they must take care of their children and household (Bonyadone, 2021; Pekei, 2012; Hardiningtyas, 2016).

The documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua* by director Adi Sumunar raises the topic of noken and Papuan women. In short, the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* tells about Mama Yowan's daily activities. She is described as a Papuan woman in the Baliem Valley with two children, one of whom is still a baby, but Mama Yowan still works in the kailyard and sells at the market while caring for her two children. The documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* can be said to try to portray the reality of Papuan women, although it needs to be admitted that a documentary film does not necessarily reflect reality. In other words, there is always a bias in documentary films—whether it is intentional or not, regardless of the topic of the documentary (Chiaruain, 2016; Rembulan & Swaradesy, 2022; Sun, 2016). As a representation of reality, films construct and reinterpret reality according to the codes, conventions, and ideologies of a given culture (Haqu & Pramonojati, 2022). In this case, although he raised the subject of noken and Papuan women, Adi Sumunar only included interviews with three male Papuan leaders who described the noken and its relation to Papuan women. Whereas documentaries should be a medium for marginalized people to speak out—allowing the subject of the documentary to give explanations and express their feelings (French, 2021). However, even if a film provides an honest and good-faith representation, it will inevitably remain a subject of endless debate (Hasan, Simatupang, & Saputro, 2018).

When viewed from its achievements on the national stage, the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua* seems to have received a positive response. Some of the successes are being included in the nomination category for “Best Short Documentary Film” at the 2021 Indonesian Film Festival (FFI),

as well as passing the curation of the Bali Makārya Film Festival 2021 and the 2021 Sumbawa Film Festival (Anastasia, 2022; Imaji Papua, 2021). However, after that, the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua* was not widely exhibited. This contradiction between the achievements and the distribution afterwards is exciting to examine.

Adi Sumunar (personal interview, 2022) stated that this was because the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* highlighted cultural identities that might be sensitive. The audience is an active consumer, so various responses will emerge regarding sensitive cultural issues because of differences in the audience's background. This confirms that meaning does not lie in the text but in how the reader interprets a text (Stokes, 2003). Thus, filmmakers need to understand cultural issues considered sensitive through the meaning of Papuan women viewers, as the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua* highlights Papuan women concerning noken as a Papuan cultural identity.

Previous studies were selected and arranged based on the topic, namely, the audience's meaning of documentary films and the use of reception analysis using Stuart Hall's encoding-decoding theory. This theory has provided a theoretical background that supports reception research, especially in studying audience reception in specific social and cultural contexts. This theory also contributes to how media texts are produced and how these texts are translated or reconstructed by the audience (Xie, Yasin, Alsagoff, & Ang, 2022). Concerning the film, Stuart Hall's theory has had a significant impact on inspiring filmmakers in production practices, such as choosing themes and aesthetic elements—especially those related to ethnic, diaspora, and minority issues (Prysthon, 2016). In addition, previous research on noken and Papuan women is also elaborated to enrich the understanding of noken as the Papuan cultural identity.

First, reception analysis research conducted by Mega Ayu Lestari and Turnomo Rahardjo (2017) with the title “Analisis Resepsi terhadap Film Dokumenter ‘Danau Begantung’ di Lanskap Katingan-Kahayan”. Lestari and Rahardjo (2017) established the Dayak community as a research subject that was considered an active audience because the Dayak community can understand the content of the documentary “Danau Begantung” based on their cultural context. Most respondents are in a hegemonic-dominant position, which means fully accepting the ideology presented in the documentary. Second, research conducted by Dionni Ditya Perdana (2020) with the title “Reception Analysis of Related Audience by watching ‘Sexy Killers’ the Documentary Film”. Perdana (2020) analysed the reception of related audiences who were businessmen and government officials, where the documentary “Sexy Killers” criticised mining companies and government officials who continue to maintain the coal mining business even though it can pose a dangerous threat to the environment. The study results show that most of the informants are in a negotiating reading, where the informants have various criticisms or views on certain parts of the documentary film “Sexy Killers”. Perdana's research (2020) is an impressive reference because it shows that businessmen and government officials, who are criticized, are not at all in opposition to the documentary “Sexy Killers”.

Although both of the research used reception analysis and Stuart Hall's encoding-decoding theory in studying documentary audiences, Lestari and Rahardjo (2017) did not analyze the encoding-decoding process holistically and tended to focus on decoding or revealing meaning from the side of the audience. On the other hand, Perdana (2020) tried to analyze the encoding process using Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis by limiting the analysis to certain scenes. Therefore, to fill ins the existing

research gap, this research also analyzes the encoding stage by conducting in-depth interviews with filmmakers for the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*.

There are two previous studies on noken and Papuan women, including “Fungsi, Makna, dan Eksistensi Noken sebagai Simbol Identitas Orang Papua” by Arie Januar (2017) and “Noken dan Perempuan Papua: Analisis Wacana Gender dan Ideologi” by Elisabeth Lenny Marit (2016). Although these studies did not use Stuart Hall’s reception analysis, these two studies are used to deepen the understanding of noken as a Papuan cultural identity and its relation to Papuan women.

The results of Januar’s research (2017) showed that noken is considered not only a traditional craft but also has high value for the people of Papua. Noken is widely used in the daily activities of the Papuan people as well as in formal events. Concerning women, noken is considered a benchmark for the maturity of Papuan women. Papuan women are said to be mature when they can weave a noken. In line with Januar’s research (2017), Marit (2016) also described that noken is often considered a symbol for the maturity of Papuan women. A socio-cultural construction has been built up among the Papuan people, who are in charge of weaving the noken, are the Papuan women. Marit (2016) explains that the gender role for Papuan women concerning noken is that Papuan women can carry out domestic, public, and social roles simultaneously.

Based on the background and research gaps listed above, this research then aims to find and to analyze the meaning of cultural identity by Papuan women in the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua*. By doing so, this research can become a means of reflection and reference for documentary filmmakers in the future.

The theories applied in this research are based on Stuart Hall’s encoding-decoding theory, as well as the theory of social construction from Berger and Luckmann. Hall focuses on the encoding-decoding process of the audience. He emphasized that consumption requires generating meaning—it is not taken for granted but created by the message’s recipient. There are stages in the encoding-decoding pattern initiated by Hall. At the encoding stage, the first meaning has been included in the text. When the text is displayed and consumed by the audience, the audience will compose meaning freely and produce a second structure of meaning. The forms created by text producers can differ from those in which text is enjoyed and consumed. The existence of misunderstanding arises from the lack of equality between the two parties in communicative exchanges. It is also caused by differences in production conditions and consumption conditions. Hall then identified three decoding positions: dominant-hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional. In short, the dominant-hegemonic position is an ideal position in which the audience interprets the text as intended by the producer. The negotiated position contains a mix of adaptive and oppositional elements, in which the audience accepts and critiques the message being conveyed at the same time. Meanwhile, an oppositional position occurs when the viewer rejects the message conveyed and chooses to oppose the message and then replaces it with an alternative code (Davis, 2004; Hall, Hobson, Lowe, & Willis, 2005; Newman, 2022; Rachmad & Bhakti, 2023).

In social construction theory, Berger and Luckmann distinguished reality as “reality” and “knowledge”; they emphasize that a reality for an individual is not necessarily a reality for another individual. Each group, community, or particular culture develops its knowledge about reality which is then referred to as social reality. The existence of communication also guides how humans in a

social environment act on these things (West & Turner, 2018; Littlejhon, Foss, & Oetzel, 2017). Meaning *can* and *does* change from time to time. In other words, what is considered appropriate at one time may not necessarily be considered appropriate at another time (Littlejhon, Foss, & Oetzel, 2017). A documentary is a form of mass media that often displays social constructions in society. Truth over reality is often applied as a standard for mass media content. However, this truth is difficult to define or assess (McQuail, 2010).

## Method

This research is descriptive qualitative research, in which qualitative research emphasizes the meaning, reasoning, and definition of a situation and is widely used to examine matters related to everyday life (Rukin, 2019). The paradigm used in this research is the critical paradigm which is based on the following three characteristics: first, the critical paradigm tries to understand the standard system that is taken for granted by society; second, the critical paradigm shows the existence of a form of social oppression and tries to provide an alternative to that system; and third, the critical paradigm seeks to combine theory with action—in the sense that normative theory should be implemented to encourage change for the better (Littlejhon, Foss, & Oetzel, 2017).

The method used in this research is phenomenology. Edmund Husserl considered that phenomenology gave birth to knowledge that could benefit human life. As a scientific method, phenomenology then looks at the phenomena experienced by humans as things to be studied. Phenomenology explains a phenomenon and its meaning for individuals by conducting interviews with several individuals (Hasbiansyah, 2009). Phenomenology aims to see the relationship or correlation between object and subject; the world and human thought; and other units (Zahavi, 2019).

The research subjects in this research were *Noken Rahim Kedua* filmmakers—producer, director, and assistant director—as well as four Papuan women viewers whose names have been changed to P1, P2, P3, and P4 with their data listed in the following table (Table 1). The selection of the four Papuan women was based on their varying ages, ethnicities, and places of residence. Consequently, these four respondents were able to comprehensively address the research question.

Table 1 Filmmakers Profile

OCCUPATION	DOMICILE
Producer	Yulika Anastasia
Director	Adi Sumunar
Assistant Director	Miki Wuka

Source: Research primary data, 2023

Table 2 Papuan Women Profile

CODE	ETHNICITY	AGE	EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	DOMICILE
P1	Serui	23	Currently studying undergraduate in Lampung	Student & cultural ambassador	Lampung, Indonesia
P2	Waropen	24	Graduated (Bachelor) in Yogyakarta	Unemployed	Yogyakarta, Indonesia
P3	Biak Numfor & Tehit	23	Graduated (Master) in New Zealand	Lab. Technician	Hamilton East, New Zealand
P4	Lani	20	Currently studying undergraduate in New Zealand	Student	Wamena, Indonesia

Source: Research primary data, 2023

## Result and Discussion

Using reception analysis based on Stuart Hall’s encoding-decoding theory, this research will focus on Papuan women viewers. However, to provide a holistic picture of the meaning embedded in the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua* the researcher first presented the point of view of the filmmakers of the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*.

### Filmmakers’ Point of View

The three filmmakers who were the informants in this study were Yulika Anastasia as the producer, Adi Sumunar as director, and Miki Wuka as assistant director. Yulika is the founder of Imaji Papua, an independent community in Papua that has produced several documentaries, including *Noken Rahim Kedua*. Yulika’s interest in Papua has made her decide to make documentaries that highlight various social issues in Papua through Imaji Papua.

“We see a lot of people out there talk about Papua, but it is difficult to imagine, at most talking about conflict. So, in my opinion, the documentary is the most suitable narrative medium. Although, indeed, it cannot represent all the issues in Papua at once” (Y. Anastasia, personal interview, 2022).

In line with Yulika, Adi believes that films, especially documentaries, are a powerful medium for narrating an issue. Armed with his broadcasting and film postgraduate education, Adi chose to narrate about Papua through documentary films because he considered that Papua could be fully represented when using documentary films.

Adi said that the community must start efforts to preserve Papuan culture immediately, especially among young people. This is because the culture of Papua is challenging to find and learn. After modernization, Papuan culture seems to fade. For example, Papuan women no longer use *noken* to carry their babies but they use *jarik* (Javanese term for batik cloth) instead. Miki believes that with a documentary about culture, the people of Papua—especially young people—can be motivated to preserve their culture (A. Sumunar, personal interview, 2022).

### *The meaning constructed by the filmmakers*

The cultural issue portrayed by the filmmaker is the noken which is used by Papuan women in mountainous areas to carry their babies. The idea for the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua* came from a photo uploaded on the Facebook page, which depicts a baby in a noken. In this upload, Adi saw many cornering comments, as if the mother made her baby uncomfortable because she was left in the noken (A. Sumunar, personal interview, 2022).

Adi wanted to illustrate that noken is a form of mother's love in Papua. Sincere affection is manifested in using the baby's noken material, which is softer than other noken used to carry garden produce, store food, and whatnot. The newborn will be put into the noken, carried by the mother in her daily activities until the baby grows and is considered capable of walking on his own—this is what the title *Noken Rahim Kedua* wants to convey, that noken is a “substitute” or “extension” from the mother's womb. However, Adi and Yulika feel that they are not very familiar with Papuan culture compared to Miki, the assistant director, whom a native of the Baliem Valley (A. Sumunar, personal interview, 2022; Y. Anastasia, personal interview, 2022).

“The noken, which we take up in the film, is one of the [manifestations] of Papuan women's dignity, especially in the mountainous part of Wamena. The woman's self-esteem is in the noken. So the noken is very valuable in traditional events or ceremonies” (M. Wuka, personal interview, 2022).

The filmmaker's interviews' results clarify that the noken, as a Papuan cultural identity, cannot be separated from Papuan women. On the other hand, the filmmaker did not reveal further the problems behind the noken and Papuan women. However, several dominant ideas are conveyed in the film, either explicitly or implicitly.

First, noken emphasizes the dual roles of Papuan women. Throughout the documentary, the audience is invited to follow Mama Yowan's daily life—from the house, the kailyard, and the village hall, to returning home. In the midst of the various jobs being done, Mama Yowan did not let go of her responsibilities as a mother by continuing to carry and care for her baby in the noken.

Not infrequently, Mama Yowan stopped working for a moment to breastfeed the baby she was carrying in her noken. Noken for babies is not used by Papuan men, so it is Papuan women who carry babies wherever they go. Even though they already use noken for babies, Papuan women still use another noken that functions to carry food or other items all at once.

Second, noken shows the strong self-worth of Papuan women. Mama Yowan is shown as a strong Papuan woman with a noken that supports her daily activities. The noken used by Mama Yowan was not just one, but several layers of noken at once. Even though Mama Yowan had to go through difficult geographical terrain—on foot—not once did the noken fall from Mama Yowan's head

Third, the domination of Papuan men over Papuan women. This can be seen when Mama Yowan's husband called Mama Yowan to come when her child was crying. Even though at that time, Mama Yowan was working in the kailyard while her husband was sitting and smoking on the edge of the kailyard. In addition, discussions at the village hall are also carried out by the men while the women prepare food in the kitchen.

### ***Papuan women viewers' background***

P1 is the youngest of five children, with two older brothers and two older sisters. P1 received a scholarship from the Papuan government since high school to continue her education outside Papua. Currently, P1 is still undergoing undergraduate studies, to be precise, in her sixth year. Besides studying, P1 is a Cultural Ambassador whose mission is to introduce Papuan culture widely; one of them is using a noken which she often combines with modern clothes. She is proud to wear noken to various places and events; moreover, many people are curious and need to learn about noken (P1, personal interview, 2022).

P2 does not open up too much and talks about herself. She grew up in a complete and harmonious family in which, according to her, there was almost no conflict. Her family supports all the life choices she makes. However, culture is the only thing that becomes a “fixed price”. P2 admits that she loves her identity and culture as a Papuan. She does not like Papuan women who straighten their hair to look prettier by Indonesian beauty standards. In addition, P2 feels that noken is a Papuan identity that young people should use more often without feeling embarrassed (P2, personal interview, 2022).

P3 received a scholarship from the governor of Papua to continue studying in New Zealand. P3 feels that education is a vital aspect in influencing perspective. A good and proper education will undoubtedly form a better mindset. Interestingly, P3 said that previously in her ethnicity, education was prioritized for men. P3 said that finally, after several generations, especially when the Bible had entered the land of Papua, women could go to school as they should (P3, personal interview, 2022).

P4 is still pursuing undergraduate education at a university in New Zealand, but she attended her lectures in Jayapura because of the pandemic and her lectures being held online. P4 does not say much about the background; however, she was very vocal about Papuan women. For her, Papuan women are powerful women. P4 says that women must be strong, independent, and have firm principles (P4, personal interview, 2022).

### ***Papuan women viewers' Point of View***

P1 said that the existence of the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* makes her proud because there is a film that explores culture more profoundly—not just showing how noken is used in the city.

“This film explains that for our brothers and sisters in the mountains, these noken are not just accessories but can also be used for things like carrying kailiyad produce, carrying a baby inside, or some are used for... have you ever seen pigs filled in there (noken) to get on the plane? It can be used for something else, not just as an accessory” (P1, personal interview, 2022).

P2 feels that it is essential for herself and other Papuan women to always be innovative and creative to maintain the culture. For her, the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* is a form of innovation to introduce Papuan culture, moreover, as an inspiration for Papuan women.

“Struggle, sacrifice, hard work, time that a mother fully gives to her children and husband. With her noken bag, mother gives energy to raise children while still looking for kailiyad produce and selling them to the market. With a noken bag and a mother's struggle, life can go on daily” (P2, personal interview, 2022).

For P3, the existence of the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua* provides insinuation for Papuan women who live in the modern era with all the sophistication that exists so that they often forget their identity and origins. P3 also reflected on her experience watching the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*. She remembers her mother's upbringing that she must be a strong and independent woman—not dependent on others, especially on men (P3, personal interview, 2022).

For P4, Papuan women are powerful. The patriarchal culture in Papua often makes Papuan women take on dual roles—meanwhile, men do not help much. This reality made P4 very sad and touched when she watched the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*.

“Mama [Yowan] has to work in the garden, market; yet she still has to take care of her child. Meanwhile, the man (Mama Yowan's husband) just sits and smokes cigarettes” (P4, personal interview, 2022).

### ***The decoding positions of Papuan women viewers***

Filmmakers try to collect various realities or facts related to cultural identity (in this case: noken) and Papuan women, then reconstruct these realities into a documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*. In other words, the reality regarding cultural identity and Papuan women in the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* is the result of the construction of reality by the filmmaker, which is formed based on the filmmaker's interaction with the surrounding environment, the filmmaker's knowledge, and the values that the filmmaker believes in.

On the other hand, the Papuan women viewers have also seen or even experienced the reality, which she believes is the truth; so when watching the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*, Papuan women viewers will compare it with the reality that they understand and experience. Berger and Luckmann have emphasized that a reality for an individual is not necessarily a reality for other individuals (West & Turner, 2018; Littlejohn, Foss, & Oetzel, 2017).

Based on the research result, no Papuan women viewers genuinely agree with or reject the cultural identity and relation to women featured in the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*; in other words, all Papuan women viewers tend to be in a negotiating position. Even though it has various meanings, there are common meanings among female Papuan viewers.

First, noken is interpreted as the identity of the Papuan people, especially Papuan women. P1, P2, P3, and P4 explained that noken is not just a traditional bag but an identity they are very proud of. This is in line with research conducted by Januar (2017) that noken has a high value for Papuan people. In addition, Pekei (2012) also said that if noken is only considered as a bag, then local wisdom has been abandoned. Noken is part of Papuan women. All Papuan women viewers interpret the noken as a symbol of the strength of Papuan women. Especially in the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua*. Mama Yowan is wearing multiple layers of noken on her head while going through steep and uneven roads. They also described how the noken was used by Mama Yowan who had to do domestic work and economic actors in the family. Noken is considered a form of responsibility for Papuan women, especially when they already have a husband. Noken owned by Papuan women, especially in the hinterland, will be used as well as possible to take care of the kailyard, take care of the children, and ensure that food ingredients are available for their families (Wahyudi, Dianing, & Dwi, 2016).

Second, all Papuan women viewers regret the lack of participation of women (in this case, Mama

Yowan) in films that tell about Papuan women and their culture. So, even though the meaning of *noken* as a Papuan woman's identity is conveyed, the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* cannot represent Papuan women one hundred percent.

“If, for example, filmmakers want to make films like this again... Personally, I want the women to talk. It is okay for men to talk, but I also want to see what a woman's perspective is like because it is women—not men—who take care of everything. I wondered, “*why aren't women speaking up?*” because it is the women who know what kind of life they lead.” (P3, personal interview, 2022).

All Papuan women viewers feel that Mama Yowan should really be involved in the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*. So that Mama Yowan can convey her feeling as a Papuan woman—who has to do household chores and still be the economic actor by farming and selling her kailyard produce at the market. Papuan women do *everything* is one form of social construction that occurs in Papua. The social reality that it is Papuan women are obliged to do household chores as well as become economic actors is a reality that has been formed in Papuan society. When they are still children, women will be directed to master various abilities that adult Papuan women must possess. Even when they are adults and pregnant, women are still obliged to go farming (Wahyudi, Dianing, & Dwi, 2016).

If examined, the lack of involvement of Mama Yowan and other Papuan women as subjects in the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* is influenced by the lack of female filmmakers participating. Women filmmakers' involvement in films about women is essential because it can have a more significant impact, especially for women viewers—where they will find it easier to identify their similarities with the subject (French, 2021). Jaye Reynold, a filmmaker and anthropologist, conveyed the same thing in the “If Not Us Then Who?” campaign (Amanda, 2019).

“This is not just a matter of perspective but a matter of balance; how do we use women's voices in film narratives so that they are not only dominated by male narratives.” (Jaye Reynold, in Amanda, 2019).

On the other hand, the lack of involvement of women filmmakers in the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua* can be caused by the small number of women filmmakers available, both regionally and nationally. Based on research conducted by the Asosiasi Pengkaji Film Indonesia (KAFEIN) in 2020, the involvement of women filmmakers in critical professions (such as producer and director) in national film production is at most twenty percent (Asosiasi Pengkaji Film Indonesia, 2022).

If it is drawn back to the issue of the meaning of cultural identity in the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*, each Papuan woman viewer has different views regarding the culture. P1 did not explicitly state how she saw culture, but P1 felt that culture needed to be introduced. P2 feels that culture needs to be maintained and does not even need to be changed. On the other hand, P3 has a different view, and P4 is in a more neutral position. For P3, harmful and troublesome culture does not need to be done. Even though there will be many opposed to it, this act needs to be done so that there is a change in the community. P4 said that culture had been passed down from generation to generation, so culture is an important thing—even though we live in a modern world, culture should not be forgotten. However, P4 added that what must be taken is a culture considered good.

### *The dominant factors influencing Papuan women viewers*

The viewers' background who become research subjects is native Papuan women. However, there are also differences in the background, such as ethnic origin, family background, religion, domicile, and whatnot. The dominant factors influencing Papuan women viewers include: 1) ethnic origin and knowledge of culture, 2) family, and 3) environment.

First, ethnic origin and knowledge of culture. These four Papuan women in this research come from four different ethnic groups. It makes the audience's view of the cultural identity presented become different—although if examined, the four sources have views that are mostly not contradictory to one another. P1 came from the Serui tribe, P2 came from the Waropen tribe, P3 came from the Biak Numfor and Tehit tribes, and P4 came from the Lani tribe. P1 said that she had never found noken making in Serui. To P1's knowledge, Papuan people who live in the mountains usually make noken. On the other hand, despite coming from three different tribes, P2, P3, and P4 have more or less the same knowledge of noken. For P2, noken is used to store agricultural products and carry babies and possessions. P3 added that in her tribe (Biak), noken were used to store dowry money, which was also used for traditional events. P4 made it clear that there are many similarities in the use of noken in each tribe and region. As stated in *Sekilas Papua* written by Papuan government (2022) that more than two hundred indigenous tribes in Papua have their own characteristics, such as different traditional clothes, different languages, use of different nokens, and whatnot.

The views of P3 and P4 on cultural identity and its relation to gender are very much influenced by their ethnic origins. Since the Bible (Christianity) entered Biak, gender equality has grown. On the other hand, P4 is more toward the values of the Lani tribe. As the Lani tribe considers women are a source of wealth and life—thus the Lani tribe highly respects women because they are the “spirits” or souls of the family and the surrounding community.

Second, family factors. Among the four informants, P3's views were influenced by family background. P3 often tells about the role of women, especially her mother and other female relatives, in their families. On the other hand, the grandfather of P3 is the Chieftain of the Biak Numfor Tribe, so of course, he has a significant role in bringing about change in the tribe. P3 also alluded to her father's role in his family—not only making a living but also doing household chores such as cooking and washing clothes.

Third, environmental factors. The four Papuan women had lived in Papua and migrated outside Papua to pursue their education. Two Papuan women pursued education abroad, while the other two pursued education outside the island (still within the territory of Indonesia). Different environments affect the views of Papuan women on various matters. P1 and P2, living in the country, provide views that are more or less the same as the values believed by most Indonesian people. For example, P1 feels that men have to work—in other words, men play the role of breadwinners in the family. This value is in line with the values believed by most Indonesian people. Based on a survey conducted by IDN in 2022, 84% of Gen Z think that men are the breadwinners (IDN Research Institute, 2022). On the other hand, P3 and P4, who live abroad, often compare their experiences abroad with the values shown in the documentary *Noken Rahim Kedua*. For example, P3 alludes to how mothers abroad can have an easier time management because they can leave their children in daycare while working. P4 provides an example of the division of household labor by its supervisor in New Zealand. When the

father works, the mother looks after the child and collects the child from school. When the father is done working, the mother prepares dinner, and the father replaces the mother to look after and put their child to bed.

Interestingly, despite having different educational backgrounds, the four Papuan women did not appear to have striking differences in views. This fact shows that education does not have a big role in influencing the meaning of culture by Papuan women viewers of the documentary “Noken Rahim”.

## Conclusion

In consuming a media text, the audience does not only act as a passive subject. The audience also gives meaning to the text they consume. In this case, all Papuan women viewers have the same shared meaning that noken is an identity of Papuan, especially for Papuan women. Noken is also agreed as a symbol of strength for Papuan women. Unfortunately, all viewers feel that the involvement of women in the documentary film “Second Noken Rahim” is lacking. The documentary tells about women and their culture; therefore, Mama Yowan should have been given a chance to convey her feelings. The dominant factors influencing Papuan women viewers include: 1) ethnic origin and knowledge of culture, 2) family, and 3) environment. Different educational backgrounds do not affect the values that Papuan women viewers believe.

There are also two exciting things regarding the values that Papuan women viewers believe. First, all Papua women viewers believe that gender equality is fundamental—that there should be a fair division of labor, especially in the household, and that women should have the right to vote and deliver their voice. However, on the other hand, a Papuan woman viewer disagrees if men do not work. In other words, men are obliged to work because they are the head of the family. Second, all Papuan women viewers believe that culture should be preserved and are proud of because it is an identity. However, a Papuan woman viewer says that culture does not need to be done if it is considered harmful and troublesome.

The researcher realizes that there are drawbacks, namely the diverse backgrounds of Papuan women viewers, considering that there are more than two hundred indigenous tribes in Papua—while this research only covers four of them. Therefore, the researcher suggests that future researchers involve various other tribes so that the research results can be more profound and provide an overview of the values believed by Papuan women from various other tribes.

On the other hand, this research alludes to the encoding stage of the documentary film *Noken Rahim Kedua* and finds the minimal involvement of women in the process of making a documentary film that voices women’s issues and their culture. The results of this study indicate that many meanings are then not conveyed and only partially accepted by Papuan women viewers. Therefore, future documentary filmmakers need to involve various perspectives in making documentary films. The documentary film must be able to represent the subject accurately. In addition, researchers see that support from stakeholders, for example, cultural and arts education institutions in Papua, is significant. The lack of female filmmakers suggests that Papuan women need more encouragement and support to voice their culture and express themselves independently and freely.

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