

# #PapuanLivesMatter in the Wake of #BlackLivesMatter: Relations of Collective Identity in Twitter Activism

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## Abstract

Collective identity, or a sense of ‘we-ness’ in relation or contrast with one another, is a crucial feature of social activism. Especially considering the rise of intersectional movements in today’s era, it is important to look into the role of collective identity in shaping online movements. This article intends to unravel the relations of collective identity in the Twitter activism #PapuanLivesMatter that emerged in the wake of #BlackLivesMatter. Thirteen tweets that carry the hashtags #PapuanLivesMatter and #BlackLivesMatter, either separately or together, were analyzed. The theory of appraisal from Martin and White was applied to identify how the tweets enact relations of collective identity by looking into the implicit and explicit evaluation of the text that relies on positive and negative classifications. The results show that the relations of collective identity in #PapuanLivesMatter during the rise of #BlackLivesMatter are congruent at the broad level and divergent at the group level. At the broad level, #PapuanLivesMatter and #BlackLivesMatter address the same issues and collectively work toward raising awareness for discrimination against black lives. Although #PapuanLivesMatter still maintains its representation of discrimination at the group level, it propagates ideologies and objectives that are exclusively directed for West Papuan causes, namely ethnic discrimination and political self-determination.

**Keywords:** *Collective Identity; Twitter Activism; Papuan Lives Matter; Black Lives Matter; Appraisal Theory*

## 1. Introduction

For the past decades, social media sites, such as Twitter, have become a platform to coordinate online activism. Through social media outlets, users are able to organize a collective mass of supporters. People of various races, ethnicities, and backgrounds can voice their messages and viewpoints on the cause they support. To expand campaign outreach, the audience uses hashtag, a “meaning-making” feature that enables people to diffuse certain narratives in regards to a specific topic while connecting with like-minded people (Lee, 2018). In fact, not only topic-based, hashtag has been utilized to ideologically express identity, beliefs, and group membership (Kreis, 2017). Hashtag, therefore, acts as a tool for reimagining group identities and collective identity-informing (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015; Konnelly, 2015). In general, collective

identity is defined as a shared sense of “we-ness” rooted in the pursuit of common goals that unify people to take action together.

A prevalent example of global activism that represents collective identity is the racial movement #BlackLivesMatter (#BLM), which surfaced on Twitter and reached its peak through the period of May to June 2020 after the death of 46-year-old African-American George Floyd in the case of police brutality (Nguyen et al, 2021). Beyond the United States, Twitter users across the globe from Germany, United Kingdom, South Korea, to Australia use the hashtag to show their solidarity in the global fight against racial injustice (Kirby, 2020).

Pertaining to the death of George Floyd, an African-American man, due to police brutality, the online protest #BlackLivesMatter took over Twitter from May to June 2020. The campaign

#BlackLivesMatter highlights the issues related to race, violence, and criminal justice (Anderson, Barthel, Perrin, and Vogels, 2020). The hashtag, which sparked worldwide attention, has since been adopted by West Papuan activists into #PapuanLivesMatter, urging the people to speak up against racial discrimination and violence that the West Papuans have long endured. By taking up the organizational forms of a pre-existing network, social movement agents become more aware, active, and committed to the sense of collective shared among them (Hunt & Benford, 1994).

The hashtag #BLM also influenced the birth of the activism #PapuanLivesMatter (#PLM) in Indonesia, which aims to raise international awareness for racial-induced conflicts in West Papua. Prominent activists inside and outside West Papua, ethnic Papuans, and social media audiences at the national and international scale began interacting with the hashtag on Twitter actively in late May 2020 (Varagur, 2020). Parallels have been drawn between the cases of police brutality in the United States and West Papua. On the other hand, differences between the two are also pointed out. While #BLM is concerned with eradicating systemic racial bias in the United States, #PLM is often associated with self-determination struggles, therefore spurring controversy. However, tweets surrounding #PLM do not always support separatism. Instead, the hashtag serves to address sympathy for the victims of discriminative abuse in West Papua (Wibawa, 2020).

Prior to #PLM, West Papuan activists have long engaged in social media activism through the Free West Papua movement. The advocates of West Papuan movements resort to social media platforms, most commonly Facebook and Twitter, to disseminate narratives and images of the human rights atrocities they face (Notley & Crosby, 2019). Researchers have found that despite the repressive media environment, social media has a significant role in fostering the birth of bottom-up regionalism

in West Papua (Robie, 2017; Titifanue et al., 2016), leveraging solidarity at the public level (Titifanue et al., 2020), and opening paths to collaboration outside of the land (Notley & Crosby, 2019). Even so, based on the aforementioned findings, little is known about the participation of social media users in the West Papuan activism, specifically in establishing the relations between #PapuanLivesMatter and the global movement #BlackLivesMatter.

With this research gap in mind, this paper aims to unravel the relations of collective identity as shown through the linguistic choices in the content of the tweets surrounding #PapuanLivesMatter during the rise of #BlackLivesMatter. The analysis was grounded in the discourse on Twitter, where the activism took place. In particular, a number of thirteen tweets throughout the period of May 29 to July 30, 2020 was collected as the corpus as this research with the help of a social media analytics tool called Intelligence Perception Analysis (IPA). Furthermore, the theory of appraisal (Martin & White, 2007) was applied to evaluate how the meanings and tone manifested in the tweets encapsulate the concepts of collective identity.

## 2. Theoretical Perspectives

### 2.1 Social movement: Collective identity

The concepts of social movement highlight agency. Social movement itself is defined as “a form of collective action that ultimately aims at transforming a social order” (p.421). At its core, social movement articulates social conflicts and collective identities, of us and others (Thörn, 2009).

Generally, collective identity refers to “a shared sense of ‘one-ness or we-ness’ anchored in either real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collective and in relation or contrast to one or more actual imagined sets of others” (Snow, 2001). It is generated by social actors who recognize themselves as a collective pursuing an identical interest in response to social, cultural, economic, and political challenges, breakdown, and

renewal (Melucci, 1989). In order to recruit participants, they strategically set up frames to portray the injustice of the condition in hope to encourage the realization of collective power that is potential in transforming the situation. They clearly point out the identities of the antagonists, depicting them as human decision-makers (Stryker et al., 2000). It is believed that collective identity is produced from the framing of opportunities and constraints, depending on the status and the strategy shared by an entire movement in which numerous individuals and organizations have different ideological and tactical schemes. There are three elements essential in shaping the collective identity of a movement: a shared 'we', a common contender, and a common view of the parties in the neutral position (della Porta & Diani, 2020).

Those who declare themselves as part of the collective do not completely have to be in agreement on beliefs, ideologies, goals, or interests in order to collaborate as a group. Crow (2010) notes that individuals in a social movement do not have to identify with the broader movement to which their organization belongs. There has been a debate regarding whether or not collective identity can occur both at the group and broad level. Melucci (1996), Taylor (1989), and Rootes (1999) suggest that collective identity tends to occur mostly at the group level. For others, collective identity is a feature of social movements that operate mainly at the movement level (Rudig & Diani, 1995). However, there has been a mismatch between definitions of collective identity. Although collective identity (in the singular) at the movement level does not exist, collective identities (in the plural) do, or the term 'shared interests' may also be applicable in this case (Saunders, 2008).

Central in the conceptualization of collective identity is identity work, which involves the development of a reciprocal identity between participants that express commonalities and differences with the reference groups. Hunt et. al (1994)

describes identity work in terms of protagonist framing, which is related to in and out of group identifications, and antagonist framing, which is concerned with the strategies for interacting with opponents. Further, Gamson (1997) claims that identity work can also occur between dominant or challenger social movement networks or within the circle of their network in an attempt of consolidation. This way, activists self-identify themselves as the members of the larger movement (Flesher Fominaya, 2010). Hence, the concepts of identities are often seen to be interactionally contingent as collective identity tends to be fluid, tentative, and transient (Snow, 2001).

The dimensions of collective identity consist of cognitive, emotional, and moral functions (Melucci, 1989; Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Each component is associated with a sense of moral virtue that are interrelated with perceptions and feelings. Similarly, collective identity is thought to be multi-layered, in which variations are found in its locus (Gamson, 1991; Stoecker, 1995). Three layers have been identified, which begin with the broadest and most inclusive layer, as in the case of social movement community or solidary group, then the constituent layer or the social movement layer, and finally the organizational layer. In principle, each layer is ingrained in the larger or more inclusive layer, thus resulting in a generalized, cohesive collective identity at the community or national scale. On the other hand, collective identity at one level does not automatically incorporate to another level, which means that they can be built around the organizational carrier of a movement without having to represent the broader movement. This, however, may lead to identity conflicts at the collective level (Snow, 2001)

It can be concluded that collective identity is cultivated out of empathy, and in turn, indicates feelings of devotion and enthusiasm to others. However, emotions tend to be overlooked in the field of social movement, even though they are embodied in every phase and aspect of a protest

(Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Vachhani & Pullen, 2019). In this case, narratives of individual activists or groups of activists can be a useful tool for research, as they employ a range of emotions in which different meanings of collective actions can be interpreted.

Several studies have explored the relationship between emotions and discourse. These studies adopt the theory of appraisal (Martin & White, 2007), in which emotions are read as either positive or negative depending on the context of the corpus that can appear either implicitly or explicitly. For example, a previous study on Twitter shows how users affiliate themselves with hashtag, a linguistic and social facilitative device to assert collective identity (Konnolly, 2015). Another research also summarizes how hashtag functions as a powerful tool in propagating ideologies and constructing meanings. In her case study, #BlackLivesMatter is shown to provoke anger, outrage, frustration, and sadness. Such emotions are triggered by the brutality toward black bodies carried out by institutionalized power that end up in the

deaths and misrepresentation of black men (D'Ambrosio, 2019).

However, none of the papers have discussed how relations of collective identity is formed by social media users, especially in the case of intersectional movements. Hence, this paper intends to fill this gap by analyzing the activism #PapuanLivesMatter that was prompted on Twitter during the rise of #BlackLivesMatter.

## 2.2 Appraisal Theory

The theory of appraisal considers how text construes attitudes. Attitudes are the resources to make positive or negative evaluations of phenomena (Droga & Humphrey, 2002). Relations between participants, in turn, will affect their choices of language; that is, in the speakers' relations to others, what they believe, how they believe, and what they know (Hood, 2004). Martin and White (2007) broke down appraisal into three categories: attitude (making evaluations), engagement (bringing other voices into the text), and graduation (scaling up or down evaluations).

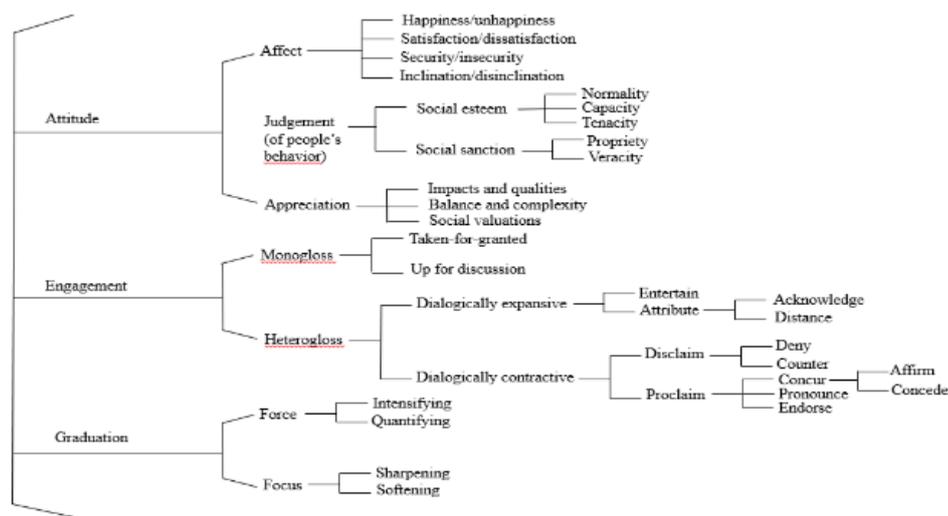
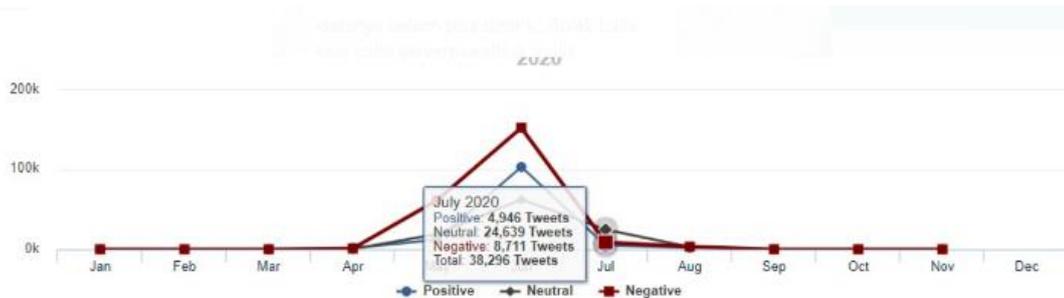


Figure 1. Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2007)



**Figure 2.** The engagement rate of #PapuanLivesMatter.

### 3. Method

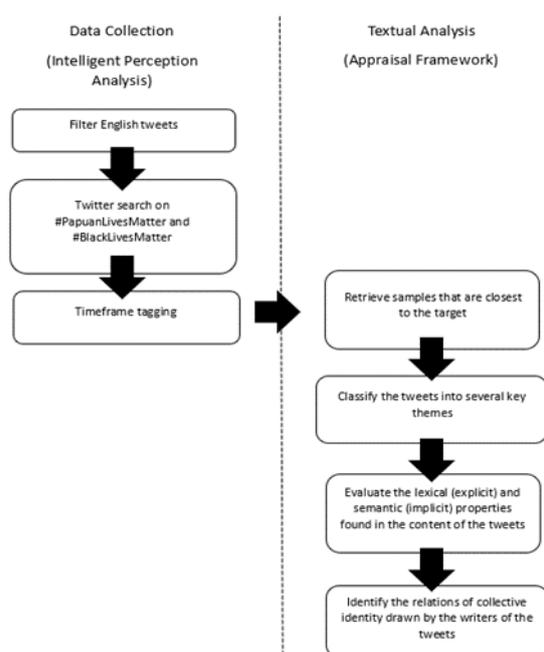
The method of this study is qualitative analysis. The analysis takes place on Twitter as it is one of the most used platforms to voice out #PapuanLivesMatter. The corpus that will be analyzed is a collection of tweets that carry the hashtag #PapuanLivesMatter and #BlackLivesMatter from May 29 to July 30, 2020, throughout which period the activism #PapuanLivesMatter receives an active rate of engagement, as shown by the graph (Figure 2).

The research is done in a couple of steps. The first stage is data collecting. In this process, tweets with the specified keywords in the English language will be filtered within the specified timeframe using a social media analytics tool known as Intelligence Perception Analysis (IPA). Samples that are closest to the target, or those that contain sentiments and emotions, will then be retrieved. The tweets will then be classified into several categories based on the main themes, i.e., discrimination, racism, and police brutality. In total, a reduced sample of 13 tweets are analyzed. The last and final stage is textual analysis which is carried by utilizing the appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2007).

Attitude analysis is conducted by examining the linguistic resources manifested in the tweets. The system of attitude is concerned with a range of ways by which the text or the writer attaches intersubjective values or evaluations by reference to affect, judgement, and appreciation. Each layer has either

positive or negative status, depending on whether or not the actions are culturally understood as good or bad. A text, in addition, can be presented explicitly by means of lexical items or implicitly by 'tokens' of attitude. Under these tokens, values are triggered by ideational meanings that have the capacity in the culture to evoke certain responses.

Engagement analysis is then applied to observe how the writer takes a position in the text. Similar to attitude, engagement occurs under positive or negative categories. The analysis of engagement involves communicative and rhetorical properties by which the text constructs certain degrees of evaluative or ideological contact with the prospective readerships. The text, therefore, enters into a relationship of greater or lesser alignment with a set of more or less convergent or divergent viewpoints put at risk by the solidarity between the writer and the audience. There are two forms of engagement, namely monoglossic or bare assertions and heteroglossic or dialogic statements. Finally, based on the findings of the two stages of textual analysis, the paper intends to unmask the relations of collective identity in the movement #PapuanLivesMatter and #BlackLivesMatter by drawing on the concepts compiled in the literature review.



**Figure 3. Conceptual Framework**

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1 The Congruence of #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter

Within the context of Twitter activism, #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter are classified as cause hashtags. The foundational function of such hashtags is to “advance a cause, raise awareness, or rally support for a particular social issue” (Konnolly, 2015, p.2). Henceforth, both #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter are congruent in that they both share the goal to build up awareness for issues related to discrimination, particularly on the grounds of *racism*. Mainly, cause hashtags deal with the process of ‘referring to other texts’. In the tweets that bring up #PapuanLivesMatter, Twitter users take up the stories of #BlackLivesMatter that serve as a guide to disseminate the narratives regarding #PapuanLivesMatter. Indeed, cause hashtags act as a tool of collective identity-informing. Observing the phenomenon of #PapuanLivesMatter, users establish the relations of collective identity by accentuating the

commonalities between #PapuanLivesMatter and its reference group, #BlackLivesMatter. They self-identify themselves as belonging to or being part of the broader movement.

Based on the analysis of 13 tweets, users on Twitter signify the relations of collective identity between #PapuanLivesMatter and #BlackLivesMatter either explicitly or implicitly. Collective identity is indicated by several dimensions, namely cognitive, emotional, and moral orientation (Melucci, 1989; Polletta & Jasper, 2001). It is found that moral and emotional dimensions are the most dominating in the narrative surrounding #PapuanLivesMatter. Appertaining to the Appraisal framework by Martin and White (2005), each dimension is related to a sense of moral virtue, which is generally articulated by *judgment* or behavior evaluation, associated with both *perceptions* and *feelings* which are indicated by *affect* or emotional evaluation as well as *appreciation* or quality evaluation. These attitudes will be examined through certain categories of language, such as presuppositions, lexical items, agency, and pronouns, which are employed by Twitter users to pass their personal sentiments and value propositions.

As noted by Ayers (2003), “shared definitions of right and wrong help a person link his or her beliefs to the larger group’s same belief, thus attaching the individual to the group” (p.151). Hence, in the act of tweeting, the users try to persuasively align the audience into the stream of the discourse with respect to the divergence and convergence of ideas. Hence, the analysis will take into account the *engagement* aspects of the tweets to discover the strategies deployed by Twitter users in framing their ideological and tactical differences. The results will be organized based on the main findings followed by the linguistic appraisals of the data.

#### **4.2 Representing Discrimination toward Black Lives**

Discrimination is defined as the unfair treatment of people based on groups, classes, or other categories (Amnesty International). Specifically, the discussion on #PapuanLivesMatter revolves around racial discrimination. Users on Twitter take a role in the process of meaning-making by portraying the cases of discrimination faced by West Papuans. West Papua, which refers to the western area covering half of the New Guinea island, has long been a site of systemic oppression under the control of the Indonesian government. The tension first arose in 1969, when Indonesia coerced West Papuans to vote for administrative integration with Indonesia instead of independence. Due to the lack of transparency in the process, activists in Papua until this day have been protesting for the freedom of West Papua. These strikes have been constantly suppressed by the Indonesian security forces. It is estimated that around 500,000 West Papuans have been killed due to the activities exacerbated by the Indonesian government (Robinson, 2012). Reporters from national and international news companies are banned from entering West Papua. This has resulted in West Papuan activists looking for alternatives to make their issues known to the public, such as through the internet. Social media enables West Papuan activists to spread the information about the situations in West Papua, enabling them to reach the global audience (Titifanue et al, 20xx). Today, in 2020, discrimination has become a topic that rose to prominence after the death of George Floyd in the United States, prompting the campaign #BlackLivesMatter to trend around the world. Making use of this momentum, West Papuan activists invented #PapuanLivesMatter to remind the wider audience that discrimination does not only occur in the United States, but also in

Indonesia. According to Stryker et al (2000), the framing of narratives depicting the injustice of the condition is vital to the formation of collective identity.

Collective identity is anchored in shared attributes or experiences, either imagined or real, among the agents who comprise the collective in relation or contrast to one or more sets of others (Snow, 2001). In the case of #PapuanLivesMatter which emerged in the light of #BlackLivesMatter, Twitter users strategically portray the comparisons between the acts of discrimination taking place in the United States and Indonesia. As argued by Melucci (1989), collective identity is generated from the pursuit of common interests in response to socio-cultural and political challenges.

Hashtag, as put by Zappavigna (2018), “can act in the service of homophily” in the sense that they are means to create communities of shared arguments and opinions that can result in the invention of a common identity. Notably, the community of #PapuanLivesMatter cultivates a common conception of black identities by which they constitute themselves as part of the ‘people’. Such identities will lead to a firmer basis for identification across class lines (Shelby, 2002). A key theme that is spread across the discourse on #PapuanLivesMatter is *identity alignment* with #BlackLivesMatter through shared problems and experiences of racial oppression against *black lives*. Contextually, this can be inferred from the word choices in the tweets (*restrained, stepped on, persecuted, and racism*). Here, black lives do not only comprise the African-Americans, but also the West Papuans. It can be implied here that the relations of collective here leans toward *plural* identities rather than *singular* through *shared* characteristic of skin color. For instance, Twitter users ascribe the identities of West Papuans using keywords such as *black* and *racial*,

in order to amplify the shared collectivity between both groups.

Most of the tweets in the domain #PapuanLivesMatter are found to be in agreement with the message that the hashtag carries, which is to shed light on conflicts of discrimination that not only take place in the United States, but also in West Papua. Interestingly, Twitter users express their agreement through the use of negative keywords. In expressing their values, they employ both implicit and explicit constructions. Explicit attitudes are conveyed in direct expressions characterized by words, phrases, and clauses. On the other hand, implicit attitudes are conveyed through metaphors, euphemisms, or rhetorical questions.

Mostly, the attitudes that are exhibited by the users on Twitter come in the form of *judgment*. In the theory of appraisal, judgement is the appraisal of human behaviors according to societal norms. Particularly, they inscribe *judgment of social sanction*, under which human behaviors are evaluated with respect to *propriety* or codes of ethics. Therefore, behaviors can be seen as either moral or immoral, socially acceptable and unacceptable, and so on. In addition, values of appreciation are also embedded in the tweets, but they do not appear as frequent. While judgment views human participants by means of their behaviors, appreciation typically views them by means of their characteristics. In responding to the cases of discrimination in West Papua, Twitter users turn to the fields of social valuation, which encompass meanings by reference to a set of social values they have currency in. For instance, acts of racial discrimination are thought to be *morbidity ugly*, as apparent in tweet (2) below. Hence, under the sub-system of appreciation, the *item appraised* here is regarded to induce harm.

It is noteworthy to add that Twitter users tend to express their emotions rather implicitly. While this may be contributed to a lack of data, the findings demonstrate

that the writers prefer to act out their criticism toward the immorality of racial discrimination. Negative judgmental values, in turn, evoke negative affective reactions. For instance, the lexical items *struggles*, *persecuted*, and *racism* carry negative connotations that trigger intense emotional impacts, such as anger and frustration. In this regard, the writers of the tweets do not only intend to ‘speak their own minds’, but simultaneously invite the audience to feel the same feelings and share the normative evaluations they are declaring (Martin & White, 2007).

In terms of engagement, most of the tweets are *heteroglossic*. Users on Twitter develop some sort of *heteroglossic backdrop* of prior utterances and external voices. As such, they focus on ingroup or outgroup relations by revealing the influence of #BlackLivesMatter. Moreover, through the use of hashtags, Zappavigna (2018) adds that they are “heteroglossic in meaning” since a tweet is a form of response to other posts in the social stream. Mostly, the tweets probe the domain *proclamation* and *entertainment*. Tweets that are categorized as *proclamation* are usually formulated in the form of *endorsement*. Under the sub-heading of *endorsement*, propositions are derived from outside sources and promoted by the authorial voice as correct and valid. On the other hand, *entertain* is the explicit presentation of a subjective idea that is attributed as belonging to external voices. In order to engage the audience, Twitter users usually take up *evidentiality* to provide the context in which #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter are perceived to be intersectional.

As seen in the tweets below, users on Twitter refer to the case of George Floyd to foreground the *shared experiences* between *black lives* in the United States and Indonesia. In particular, tweet (1) points out the similarities between the incident of George Floyd and Obby

Kagoya through the use of the words *restrained* and *stepped on* to imply that both of them are racially oppressed. In addition, by describing the victims of discrimination in West Papua as *black skin Papuans* (1) and *the persecuted racial group* (2), they further intensify the shared conceptions of *black lives* in association with their racial identity and *shared* skin color.

1. #GeorgeFloyd being restrained is similar to the 2016 case of Obby Kogoya, a Papuan man whose head was stepped on [attitude: judgment] by Indonesian cop, when his dorm was under siege [attitude: judgment] in Yogyakarta, Java Island #PapuanLivesMatter #BlackLivesMatter (link to article)...(cont) with #BlackLivesMatter and its Indonesian #PapuanLivesMatter dominate social media, it is an opportunity [attribution: entertain] to talk about the morbidly ugly [attitude: appreciation] elephant in the room: racism [attitude: judgment] against black skin Papuans.

2. George Floyd's murder has sparked [attribute: entertain] a global #BlackLivesMatter movement. In Indonesia, the movement has breathed new life [attribution: entertain] for #PapuanLivesMatter as the country is reminded [attribution: entertain] of the struggles [attitude: judgment] of the persecuted [attitude: judgment] racial group.

From the analysis of engagement, tweets (1) and (2) endorse #PapuanLivesMatter as the Indonesian counterpart of #BlackLivesMatter. However, whereas tweet (1) is classified as *proclamation*, tweet (2) is classified as *entertainment*. The writer of tweet (1) guarantees the validity of the information he is announcing by supporting it with a link to a specific article so that the readers can read it and possibly retweet it. On the other hand, tweet (2) *entertains* its proposition as belonging to an external voice, as apparent from the attributional words 'has sparked' and 'has breathed a new life'. As such, it can be inferred from both tweets that #BlackLivesMatter has

paved the way for initiating the discussion about racial struggles in West Papua.

Accordingly, *entertainment* is not only marked by negative locutions, but also by rhetorical questions. As exemplified by tweet (3), the expository question does not actually beg the addressee to supply an answer. The tweet, therefore, is considered to be *dialogically expansive*. Given that

#PapuanLivesMatter communes around shared values and beliefs toward racial discrimination, the writer of the tweet below can be seen as trying to invite the ambient readers to evaluate the proposition in the same way.

3. For my latest feature, I spoke with Papuans on how anti-racism protests in the US [attribution: entertain] w/ the #BlackLivesMatter movement is now shedding light on [attribution: entertain] long-standing racism [attitude: judgement] against Papuans in Indonesia. Think there's no racism here? Think again [attitude: judgment]. #PapuanLivesMatter

In addition, a great part of the tweets on #PapuanLivesMatter is alluded to police brutality. A previous study done by D'Ambrossio (2019) proves that police brutality is a prominent topic in the discussion of #BlackLivesMatter. Here, Twitter users project relations of collective identity by emphasizing that both #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter are in the same pursuit of a common issue. This is exemplified in tweet (4) below, in which parallelism is drawn between police brutality in the United States and in Indonesia.

4. police brutality fueled by racism isn't only happening in america. indonesia has a LONG history of letting racism build up in society without consequences [attitude: judgment]. let's FIGHT alongside our very own people. - petition: (link to petition) ... - donation: (link to donation)...(cont) also, if you're enraged [attitude: affect] by police brutality in united states, indonesian military and cops killed [attitude: judgment] west papuan folks too. 243 of

them, including CHILDREN. please seek justice for our people too!  
#PapuanLivesMatter

The writer of the tweet above also makes a number of negative attitudinal dispositions. The tweet contains *negative* criticism toward *Indonesia*, *Indonesian military*, and *cops* who are blamed for the police brutality done to the West Papuans. Indeed, *judgment* involves the evaluation of a human participant by reference to the participant's acts or dispositions. The negative judgment toward Indonesia is inscribed implicitly through 'tokens' of judgment. Under such tokens, judgmental evaluation is provoked by ideational meanings which nevertheless have the capacity to elicit negative judgmental responses. Meanwhile, negative judgment toward *Indonesian military* and *cops* is inscribed explicitly through the lexical item '*kill*'. Subsequently, the tweet also invokes affectual reactions that touch upon *antipathy* through the lexical choice '*enraged*'. In this sense, the writer tries to dialogically align the addressee to share the same affectual reactions as her. Thus, it can be concluded that the tweet above aims to seek support from the readers. This is further justified through the word '*fight*' which invokes a sense of anticipation. Furthermore, through the inclusive pronoun '*our brothers and sisters*', the writer attempts to bring out a sense of '*we-ness*' within the readers.

Additionally, other tweets are found to talk about *police brutality* without explicitly mentioning the issue. Accounting from the lexical items *killed* (4) and *violence* (5), it can be inferred that the tweets below are related to police brutality. Such affirmations can even be established without including #BlackLivesMatter, as in tweet (5). In retrospect, tweet (4), enacts the connection between the murder of George Floyd and the killing of Eden Armando.

5. There are many George Floyds in Indonesia [attitude: entertain]. @FebroFirdaus wrote that 19-year old Eden Armando Bebari was allegedly *shot* [attitude: judgment] and *killed* [attitude: judgment] by Indonesian security forces while fishing in his home town. There are many Edens in Papua. (link to media) #PapuanLivesMatter.

6. For anyone who thinks that the BLM movement is irrelevant in Indonesia, and that racism is only a major issue in the west. Don't forget about about our brothers & sisters in Papua who are STILL facing significant *discrimination* [attitude: judgment] & *violence* [attitude: judgment] from the military. #BLACK\_LIVES\_MATTER

Clearly, what is at work here is the dichotomy between good and bad, or the West Papuans and the Indonesian military or security forces. Henceforth, the identification of collective identity in the tweets above is imposed through *identity fields* in regards to *antagonist framing*. Antagonists are seen as the opponents or the enemies that have caused the problems the movement seeks to overcome (Benford, 2013). Moreover, the use of overlexicalisation or the reiteration of words under the same semantics leads to the climax of the brutality, e.g. *shot* (4) and *discrimination* (5). Such keywords are attributed by the writers as accusations of criminality, attached to *Indonesian security forces* (4) and *the military* (5).

Additionally, Twitter users provide *evidentiality*, such as in the form of quotation, as shown in tweet (4), in order to prove the information displayed as highly warrantable. Utterances can also be marked by *epistemic status*, as shown in tweet (5), in which the reliability of knowledge is dependent on the writer. Informational reliability, on the other hand, is not the only determining communicative motive that is principal in this context. For instance, tweet (5) can be interpreted as attempting to engage the putative readers to participate in the discussion about racial discrimination in

West Papua. Interpersonally, tweet (5) exudes affective responses through the use of the pronoun 'our' followed by the appraisal of West Papuans as 'brothers and sisters', thereby initiating a sense of 'we-ness' among the readers.

It is notable to add that the tweets on #PapuanLivesMatter do not always explicitly promote relations to #BlackLivesMatter. Tweets under this sub-category center on framing the narratives of discrimination that are specifically faced by West Papuan people. In this sense, collective identity exists in the singular form instead of the plural form. As explained by Snow (2001), collective identity can be built around the organizational carries of a movement without having to represent the broader movement. However, the findings suggest that such tweets are still relevant in the context of #BlackLivesMatter in that they both address discrimination.

In framing such narratives, Twitter users give *evidentiality* by referring to an external voice, for instance by including a first-hand report from the victim of the discrimination. This is prevalent in tweet (6), which features the story of Alex, a Papuan student who has been convicted of treason. The tweet, therefore, is considered to be *heteroglossic* since it is accredited to something that has been said before. However, the tweet is overridden by the monoglossia or the personal assessment from the writer. In the example below there is a clear contrast between the writer's positive attitude toward Alex, appraised for his 'breathhtaking bravery', and negative attitude toward the sentence of imprisonment that is charged to him, as appraised by the wordings 'a racist act' and 'unlawful'. In addition, the tweet below includes a link to a specific online article so that the audience can read it while sharing the same negative attitude toward the information diffused.

7. His bravery is breathtaking [attitude: appreciation]. Alex explains why the 10yr

sentence he faces in Indonesia for protesting against racism towards Papuans is a racist act [attitude: judgment]. And here is why it is unlawful [attitude: judgment]: (link to article) #BlackLivesMatter #PapuanLivesMatter #WestPapua #BebaskanTapolPapua

Evidentiality is also contextualized by referring to a past event, such as the case of *the 1998 Biak Massacre* in tweet (7), or an ongoing event, such as the case of *anti-racist activists trial in Kalimantan* in tweet (8). *The 1998 Biak Massacre* refers to the murder carried out by the Indonesian police against the West Papuans who were in the middle of demonstrating for independence (Cordell, 2013). On the other hand, the context of tweet (8) is tied to the hashtag #freebalikpapan7, which seeks to demand the release of seven West Papuan activists accused of treason at the district court in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan for their involvement in an anti-racism demonstration (Setiawan and Sutrisno, 2020).

8. Remember the 1998 Biak Massacre [attitude: judgment] #PapuanLivesMatter #BlackLivesMatter #NoJusticeNoPeace

9. Free the #westpapua anti-racist activists unjustly [attitude: judgment] under trial in Kalimantan now ! #makewestpapasafe #BlackLivesMatter #papuanlivesmatter #freetapolpapua #freethebalikpapan7

Similarly, the tweets impose negative judgment toward the incidents of the oppression, as described by the noun *massacre* (7) and the adverb *unjustly* (8), rather than a particular agent. In this sense, judgment is treated as an intensifier to strengthen the immorality of such acts. These negative intensifiers, in turn, give rise to sympathetic reactions as well as strong emotions, namely frustration and disgust. Consequently, hashtag can also be a tool to express emotions. An example is #NoJusticeNoPeace in tweet (7), which increasingly exudes feelings of

exasperation through the repetition of the word 'No'.

In order to understand the meanings of the tweets, it is important that the readers have sufficient information about the discriminative occurrences that the writers refer to. Moreover, through the entailment of competing hashtags, such as *#NoJusticeNoPeace* in tweet (6) and *#makewestpapasafe*, *#freetapolpapia*, and *#freebalikpapan7* in tweet (7), the writers persuasively align the audience to enter the domains of these hashtags, so that they can access more information about the stories on the topics that are broadcasted. The target of these hashtags, however, is different from that of *#BlackLivesMatter*, in that they exclusively advocate for the causes that are concerned with the discriminative acts toward West Papuan people. Although the tweets are tagged with *#BlackLivesMatter*, such inference merely functions to place those dialogues in the general field of racial discrimination. Given the collective power of *#BlackLivesMatter*, as claimed by D'Ambrossio (2019), grassroots activists tend to take advantage of the virality of the movement to diffuse their ideology and opinions. Henceforth, it can be argued that relations of collective identity in tweets (7) and (8) operate at the group level since they do not completely identify with the movement at the broad level.

In the sub-domain of group-level, it appears that collective identity is marked by *boundaries* as they emphasize shared perceptions and sentiments of the minority group to distinguish themselves from the dominant group (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). An example can be seen in the tweets below, which take on the themes of *systemic racism* and *police brutality*. The agencies that are held accountable for committing what the writers deem to be immoral acts, as inscribed by the word *perpetrator*, *unlawful*, and *unjust*, are the Indonesian government, security forces,

and TNI or the military. Thus, *police brutality* in West Papua is congruent with that in the United States as it is carried out by police officers. Despite such, the divergence between the two lies in the involvement of certain agents, such as the military and Indonesian government. However, this study is limited to analyzing the linguistic resources without taking into account the sociocultural determination behind these tweets, so further investigation into the matter cannot be completed.

10. *Indonesian Government denies all forms of systemic racism towards Papuans, despite an @amnestyindo report into suspected unlawful killings [attitude: judgment] by security forces and "spectacularly unjust" [attitude: judgment] sentences towards activists. My latest: #PapuanLivesMatter #BlackLivesMatter*

11. *Local authorities and communities have rallied to call for perpetrators (TNI) [attitude: judgment] to return the dead body as they want to do proper burial. Footage in this link: (link to article) #WestPapua #PapuanLivesMatter*

*Boundaries* are also evident in the promotion of *#FreeWestPapua* alongside *#PapuanLivesMatter* and *#BlackLivesMatter*, as in tweets (8) and (9). The political campaign *#FreeWestPapua*, which was invented by West Papuan activists, is divergent from *#BlackLivesMatter* in that it seeks to demand the rights to self-determination for West Papua. The online campaign *#FreeWestPapua* has become a safe space for the West Papuan activists to spread messages about the human rights violations in Papua. This is due to the media blackout that has been hindering the West Papuans in publicizing their concerns to the outside world. Thus, by appealing to the global power of *#BlackLivesMatter*, they are able to strengthen the remonstrance of the *#FreeWestPapua* movement. Nevertheless, *#FreeWestPapua* is still

congruent with #BlackLivesMatter as it addresses issues of discrimination.

Whereas #BlackLivesMatter primarily focuses on racial discrimination, #FreeWestPapua also puts forward issues of ethnic discrimination.

As an example, tweet (9) characterizes the victims as '*black indigenous people*' and the instance they go through as *ethnic cleansing*. In both tweets, the agency of the opposition is always clear: *the occupying Indonesian military* (7) or *the colonial Indonesian regime* (8) is held responsible for the atrocities against West Papuans and has always been. The divide between antagonist and protagonist is further focalized in tweet (10), as evident in the positive affectual response toward the people in solidarity and negative affectual response toward the perpetrators of the mistreatment, thereby invoking a sense of sympathy from the readers. In doing so, the writer creates a reciprocal identification between group members known as *identity fields* (Benford, 2013). There are three subdivisions under identity fields: antagonist, protagonist, and audience framing. Here, the writer establishes the notion of 'us' or the protagonist through the personalization of *my people* as well as 'others' or the antagonist by calling out the *colonial Indonesian regime*. Finally, when it comes to audience field, social movement figures frequently cast the observing public in the role of those in solidarity with the protagonist, as noticeable below (10).

12. *This is West Papua. Over 500,000 black indigenous people have been killed [attitude: judgment] by the occupying Indonesian military. The ethnic cleansing [attitude: judgment] continues to this day. #FreeWestPapua #BlackLivesMatter*

13. *It brings tears to my eyes [attitude: affect] when I see my people being treated like this by the colonial [attitude: judgment] Indonesian regime but it brings hope to my heart [attitude: affect] that so many people are finding out about #WestPapua and standing in solidarity.*

#BlackLivesMatter #PapuanLivesMatter  
#FreeWestPapua

These findings support the notion that at the group-level, tweets on #PapuanLivesMatter, do not necessarily incorporate to the broader level. Although the narratives still represent discrimination in the general scope, it is discovered that the relations are made rather implicitly as the tweets only include the struggles of West Papuans. This can be associated with the entailment of competing hashtags, namely #FreeWestPapua, #freebalikpapan7, and #NoJusticeNoPeace, that are exclusively purposed for demanding the liberation of West Papuans. Hence, the discourse in this sub-domain can be summarized to promote different ideologies and goals from that of #BlackLivesMatter. Indeed, hashtag links a wide range of tweets on a given topic regardless of whether or not they are contextually related with one another (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). In this way, #BlackLivesMatter has been reappropriated and recontextualized in the discourse of #PapuanLivesMatter. This is due to the nature of hashtag that is vulnerable to polarization, in that it integrates different sets of opinions and beliefs that struggle against one another to reach the visibility that determines the success of social media activism (Zappavigna, 2018).

## 5. Conclusion

Thus, the relations of collective identity based on the analysis of 13 tweets in the activism #PapuanLivesMatter that emerged in the light of #BlackLivesMatter are found to be congruent at the broad-level and divergent at the group-level. The tweets on both #PapuanLivesMatter and #BlackLivesMatter are divergent at the broad-level in that they are collectively in an effort to liberate black lives from shared experiences of discrimination, police brutality, and racism. At this stage, collective identities operate at the plural instead of the singular form. On the other

hand, the tweets are divergent at the movement-level as #PapuanLivesMatter is found to advocate for specific West Papuan causes, such as ethnic discrimination and political self-determination, although it still resonates with #BlackLivesMatter in advancing issues of discrimination. Hence, the sense of collective here is emphasized in the singular rather than plural form. In building the relations of the collective, by utilizing Martin and White's appraisal theory (2005) as the basis of this research, it is found that linguistic resources have a pivotal role in constructing meanings, disseminating narratives, and connecting discourses, as seen in the tweets on #PapuanLivesMatter that circulate around #BlackLivesMatter. In this study, the tweets on #PapuanLivesMatter are found to provoke a range of affectual reactions, namely anger, frustration, sympathy, and disgust, as coined by negative judgment toward the immorality of discrimination.

Indeed, relations of collective identity are interactionally contingent and fluid as they are built around the framing of opportunities and constraints, depending on the status and strategy of a movement in which various individuals and organizations express their commonalities and differences with the reference group (della Porta & Diani, 2020; Hunt & Benford, 1994; Snow, 2001). This is especially relevant in today's era as intersectional movements have been on the rise. Knowing no geographical boundaries, more social movements are starting to interact with one another through the recognition and identification of commonalities. They bring forth social justice issues all over the world, such as racial discrimination, gender inequality, and LGBTQ+ rights, in order to call for collective justice in the global scale. Thus, this study has contributed in showing how collective identity is crucible in fostering intersectional movements. Be that as it may, the scholarships on relations of collective identity in the scope of

intersectional movements have rather been scarce. Future studies can explore other intersectional movements to investigate whether or not the relations of collective identity are empowering or rather resisting. Alternatively, this research has the potential to be extended in the approach of critical discourse analysis for a more nuanced discussion in terms of the historical, political, and sociocultural determination behind these movements.

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