

Political campaign analysis of #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram: Comparative perspective

Allymatul¹, and Nurdin^{2*}

¹Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia, email: allymatul@gmail.com

²Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia, email: nurdin.fisip@upnvj.ac.id

*Corresponding author

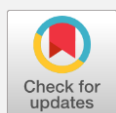
Article Info

Article history:

Submission: 2026-04-12

Accepted: 2026-05-23

Published: 2026-06-11



This is an open access article distributed under the CC BY-SA 4.0 license

Copyright © 2026, the author(s)

ABSTRACT

This research compares the political campaigns of the Instagram hashtag activism movements #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter in their efforts to combat racism and discrimination. Using a qualitative netnographic approach grounded in the theory of contentious politics, the study evaluates the effectiveness of both digital campaigns in encouraging political and institutional change in the United States and Indonesia. Data were collected through literature review, documentation, and netnographic analysis of Instagram content from both movements. The findings reveal that #BlackLivesMatter successfully gained broad political support in the United States and encouraged institutional reforms within the police system to support anti-racism and anti-discrimination policies. In contrast, #PapuanLivesMatter has not effectively transformed public social consciousness in Indonesia. This limitation is associated with the political interests of pro-independence Papuan elites seeking separation from Indonesia, which reduced broader political and public support for the movement. Despite these differences, both hashtag activism movements contributed to raising global awareness of racism and discriminatory practices within identity politics across various countries, including the United States and Indonesia. This study contributes to the field of contentious politics by demonstrating that hashtag activism can function as a digital political communication strategy for governments and social movements in addressing social, economic, and cultural issues in the digital era. Furthermore, the research enriches the concept of digital politics by showing that hashtag activism can enhance public political participation, as well as the transparency and accountability of political institutions at both national and local levels.

Keywords:

hashtag activism; political campaign; contentious politics

Please cite this article in APA style as:

Allymatul, & Nurdin. (2026). Political campaign analysis of #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram: Comparative perspective. *Jurnal Inovasi Ilmu Sosial dan Politik (JISoP)*, 8(1), 94–107. <https://doi.org/10.33474/jisop.v8i1.25244>

INTRODUCTION

This research will examine issues related to the comparison of contentious politics carried out by the #BlackLivesMatter and the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram social media in the fight for racial equality. In the 20th century, the development of communication technology, especially social media, has fundamentally changed the way people participate in social movements (Lampley, 2025). Social movements are no longer entirely dependent on mass mobilization in physical spaces but rather occur in digital spaces where narratives, symbols, and identities can be disseminated massively in a short time (Aarts, 2013). Social media is not only a means of communication and self-expression, but also a new arena in the form of politics to make claims and resistance between citizens, political actors, and institutions of power in the context of claims for social justice (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). Hashtag activism is a form of digital activism that utilizes social media such as Twitter and Instagram as a communication strategy to gain public support for issues and problems of racism and discrimination (Bari, 2025; Goswami, 2018; Sudirman et al., 2024).

The digital activism strategy of campaigning #BlackLivesMatter shows how hashtag activism is utilized by Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook users in demanding racial justice, equality, and anti-discrimination in the United States and other countries in the world (Xie et al., 2023). The Black Lives Matter (BLM) digital activism on Instagram uses the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter as a global symbol of the fight against racial injustice and violence against the Black community in the United States. This movement was sparked by the murder of George Floyd at the hands or knee of a police officer in the city of Minneapolis, USA, in May (Yamamoto, 2022). An eyewitness recorded what happened to Floyd and posted it on social media for the world to see. This phenomenon sparked public outrage and spontaneous racial justice movements in major US cities (Y. A. Panjaitan & Janah, 2022).

Tens of thousands of people marched in protests in London and other British cities, in Paris and across France, and in Berlin, Madrid, and Rome. In Belgium, protesters demanded the removal of streets and public squares named after King Leopold II, who presided over colonial atrocities in the Congo so barbaric that they spawned an international protest movement in the early twentieth century. In the country's capital, Brussels, protesters burned and defaced statues of Leopold. In Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, protesters demanded justice for Floyd and Iyad Halek, a Palestinian man with autism who was killed by Israeli police on May 30 (Ramos & Braga, 2025). In Bethlehem, protesters chanted Black Lives Matter, Palestinian Lives Matter. In Australia, tens of thousands of demonstrators in Melbourne, Sydney, and Canberra condemned the mistreatment of Indigenous Australians who are subjected to disproportionate arrests and detentions. Since 1991, 434 indigenous people in the country have died in police custody. Protesters carry images of Floyd at a demonstration in Istanbul against police brutality (Gaines, 2022). In addition, the use of hashtags (#) such as #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter also strengthens digital activism by connecting thousands of users in one global conversation space. Through hashtags, political visibility becomes more than just an image, transforming into a transnational solidarity network that transcends geographical and political boundaries. This movement is covered on social media with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter and has inspired global citizens to build solidarity across regions in raising the issue of systemic racism, as well as urging structural changes in the American police and legal system (Yamamoto, 2022).

Starting from the phenomenon of the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism, which has changed the political order marked by police reform in several areas of America, it became an inspiration for the Indonesian people, especially Papuans, to form the #PapuanLivesMatter digital activism on Instagram (Kusumaryati, 2021). This movement first emerged in the University of Papua student dormitory in Surabaya, which was

surrounded by police, who believed they had torn down the Indonesian flag. However, the police did not investigate further and had no evidence of the students' wrongdoing. When the police surrounded the dormitory, they insulted the students with racist remarks and attacked them with tear gas. This incident led to riots that resulted in at least 33 deaths and the displacement of at least 8,000 indigenous Papuans and other Indonesians. However, this case is just one of many in the history of harassment against Papuans, including the killing of Papuans in Enarotali in 2015 and in Wamena in 2012. Violence is often met with violence, similar to what happened in the US. This movement is a protest movement to fight racism against Papuans and demand justice for Papua and the Papuan people (Yamamoto, 2022). Since these phenomena began, Papuans have used the hashtag #Papuanlivesmatter to articulate their demands. The Papua Lives Matter digital activism demonstrates the power of digital media in spreading anti-racism protests (Y. A. Panjaitan & Janah, 2022). Activists have used #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram to visualize Papuan identity, embracing the Morning Star flag, passionate facial expressions, and solidarity quotes, as a way to voice their opposition to racial discrimination. These images serve a dual purpose: representing the suffering of Papuans while simultaneously strengthening the collective identity of the Papuan people in the digital space. Thus, Instagram has become a medium for those who have been marginalized to gain visibility and recognition in national public discourse (Highfield & Leaver, 2016). However, unlike many #BlackLivesMatter digital activism in Western countries that dominate social media, the #PapuanLivesMatter digital activism has spread to several parts of the world with much less social media coverage (Yamamoto, 2022). These two examples of digital activism show how contentious politics is transforming in the digital era, both globally and in West Papua specifically (Mapston, 2018; Simone, 2024).

Research examining #Blacklivesmatter and #Papuanlivesmatter hashtag activism has been widely conducted in previous research. There are several approaches, perspectives, and methodologies for studying the digital activism of #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter. Research on digital activism #Blacklivesmatter with a social media approach discusses the effectiveness of X (Twitter) and Instagram used by users to campaign for digital activism to strengthen interactions between users, disseminate information, promote action, and critical discourse by using hashtag activism, to gain public support (Edrington & Lee, 2018; Gao, 2025; Ince et al., 2017). Meanwhile, several studies related to #Papuanlivesmatter digital activism examine digital activism on Instagram related to the black consciousness campaign as a political movement (Kusumaryati, 2021), Papuan identity collectivism (Y. A. Panjaitan & Janah, 2022), pro-government disinformation campaigns (McRae et al., 2022), the spread of racist narratives against Papuans (Webb-Gannon, 2023), and critical and balanced discourse on the biased information of the Indonesian government's anti-racism policies in Papua (Taqwa, 2023). Based on previous research, both #Blacklivesmatter and #Papuanlivesmatter, research gaps that can still be studied are with a political comparison approach, including both the similarities and differences of the two hashtag activism on Instagram. Researchers will examine campaign strategy by comparing political aspects in two digital activism campaigns through hashtag activism on Instagram, which is the object of research. This study aims to examine the political aspects of the similarities and differences in digital activism strategies through the hashtag activism #Blacklivesmatter and #Papuanlivesmatter on Instagram. Based on the problem explanation, this study aims to answer the research questions about how the political campaign strategy through hashtag activism #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter impacts public support in a comparative perspective.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach using a netnographic design, which is an adaptation of ethnographic methods to examine online communities and cultural practices (Kozinets, 2010). Operationally, netnography was applied through non-participant observation of public posts on Instagram, in which the researcher acted as an observer without directly engaging in community interactions. The units of analysis in this study are Instagram posts, including photos, videos, Reels, and infographics that use the hashtags #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter, given that Instagram is a visually-based platform relevant for examining the digital campaign strategies of these two social movements. Besides data and information collection, this study used literature studies and documentation. Data collection through literature studies attempted to compare the findings of several journal articles relevant to the research conducted (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The type of data obtained from the literature review consisted of supporting data related to research findings on the hashtag activism #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter to fill research gaps and provide research contributions.

Primary data collection was conducted from November 11, 2026, to January 11, 2026, using the RapidMiner application to identify the 50 most popular posts for each hashtag based on the number of likes and comments. This time limit was important to ensure the data's contextual relevance to the dynamics of the two social movements studied. The collected data were then analyzed using the researcher's inference notes as a form of interpretive field notes, in which the researcher systematically recorded interpretations of the post content. The documentation collection technique was carried out by analyzing photos and videos on Instagram social media related to the murder of George Floyd and the violence against Papuans in Indonesia, which triggered a digital social movement through hashtag activism on Instagram.

The data collection technique involved the following steps. First, the researcher defined several research questions related to the #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter movements on Instagram. Second, the researcher engaged with the community by selecting hashtags from Instagram posts frequently featuring #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter content. Third, the researcher collected research data and analyzed the findings using researcher inference notes. The author used this type of field notes to interpret Instagram posts related to the #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter movements that had been observed. Fifth and sixth, in the final stages, the researcher presented the research results and wrote them in a research report that had been compiled with theory. These six steps can be summarized into three steps: Entrée, Data Collection, and Analysis-Interpretation (Kozinets, 2010).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study explain the similarities and differences in digital activism through hashtag activism on Instagram between #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter. The results of the study using the netnography method are shown in comparisons represented through numbers and words using the RapidMiner platform. The results of RapidMiner on the hashtag activism #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter produce data and information on digital political activities. In the hashtag activism #BlackLivesMatter, the political campaign that went viral on Instagram discussed, among others, the marginalization of black people, the murder of George Floyd, the commemoration of George Floyd's death by the police, and the representation of Black Lives Matter in the United States. The distribution of the political campaign through #BlackLivesMatter has reached a total of 465,513 views and 664,688 likes on Instagram. Meanwhile, the political

campaign of hashtag activism #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram covers the topics of PapuanLivesMatter Resistance, Calls for Solidarity for Independence, Violence against Papuans, and Negative Stigma against Papuans. This political campaign theme has reached 250,173 views and 108,250 likes on Instagram. The political campaign themes favored by Instagram users in the BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism focused on the marginalization of Black people and the murder of George Floyd. The political campaign themes most viewed by Instagram users in the PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism were related to calls for independence and resistance. Word cloud images from these two hashtag activism that were frequently discussed by Instagram users were related to digital political movements such as racism, Black people, police brutality, justice, solidarity, victims, discrimination, and violence.

Table 1. #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism in Instagram

Hashtag Activism	Political Campaign	Views	Likes	Word Could Image
#BlackLivesMatter	- Marginalization of black people	232,114	225,601	- Racism
	- Police killing of George Floyd	28,669	236,199	- Black
	- Commemoration of George Floyd's death by police	8,776	26,006	- People
	- BlackLivesMatter Representation	195,954	176,882	- Police Brutality, Justice
#PapuanLivesMatter	- PapuanLivesMatter Resistance	67,400	80,511	- Solidarity
	- Call for Solidarity for Independence	129,515	17,338	- Racism
	- Violence against Papuans	8,731	3,060	- Victims
	- Negative Stigma of Papuans	44,527	7,341	- Discrimination
				- Violence
				- Solidarity

Source: RapidMiner processing by Researchers from November 11, 2025, to January 11, 2026

Contentious Politics and Hashtag Activism in Instagram

The theoretical framework used in this research is contentious politics, a form of politics that emerges when citizens or community groups make collective claims against authorities, the government, or other powerful actors. The indicators that serve as the main pillars in understanding contentious politics are as follows: mobilization is the process of gathering resources and members for collective action. Political Opportunity Structure (hereinafter abbreviated as POS) is an external factor within a political system that influences the tactics and success of social movements. Framing is the process by which contentious political actors formulate and disseminate particular interpretations of an issue to mobilize public support. Repertoires are the set of tactics or methods commonly used by a group to advance claims collectively (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015).

Social movement supporters use political campaign mobilization through hashtag activism on Instagram as a form of collective action to spread effective political demands to the ruling regime (Herrmann et al., 2023; Maulana et al., 2025). The political opportunity structure is a determining factor in the continued effectiveness of hashtag activism to encourage changes in regime policy in addressing social unrest and public trust (Nkemdilim, 2024; Sudirman et al., 2024). Framing becomes the agenda-setting tool of social movements in disseminating political campaigns to garner public support. Hashtag activism on Instagram is an effective medium in convincing the public of their political agenda in influencing state policy to protect citizens from physical violence (Ifepe, 2025; Maulana et al., 2025). Hashtag activism on Instagram has become an effective digital strategy in inviting the public, the middle class active on social media, to actively participate in supporting political demands against the ruling regime (Schlogl, 2022; Sudirman et al., 2024). The political demands conveyed by activists and social groups supporting anti-racism and anti-discrimination through the hashtag activism #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter

are highly relevant for measuring the effectiveness of these two hashtag activism from a comparative perspective.

Analyzing and Comparing the Political Campaign of #BlackLivesMatter and the #PapuanLivesMatter Hashtag Activism on Instagram

To determine the success and failure of the #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism, an analysis was conducted using the theory of contentious politics (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). This theoretical analysis will help explain and compare the similarities and differences between the two digital activism campaigns on Instagram in gaining public support. The concepts being compared include mobilization, political opportunity structure, framing, and repertoires. The results of the theoretical analysis in examining these two phenomena will show the process of stages of political campaign strategies through hashtag activism on Instagram in gaining public support for the political struggle of groups supporting digital-based social movements.

First Stage: Mobilization

Digital activism on Instagram has been used by #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter support groups to mobilize resources for collective action and gain public support. In the context of contentious politics, mobilization is the stage in which activists mobilize previously passive individuals or groups to become active participants in the political struggle. Both hashtag activism have become a medium for supporters to convey anti-racism and anti-discrimination political campaigns in both the United States and Indonesia. The strengthening of Black Lives Matter hashtag activism was mobilized using visual narratives during street demonstrations, movement symbols, and political campaign footage to organize the masses. Supporters of this movement utilized Instagram to disseminate political campaigns more quickly to the public. The public response and support for the Black Lives Matter political campaign justified the supporters of this digital movement in filing charges against those responsible for the murder of George Floyd.

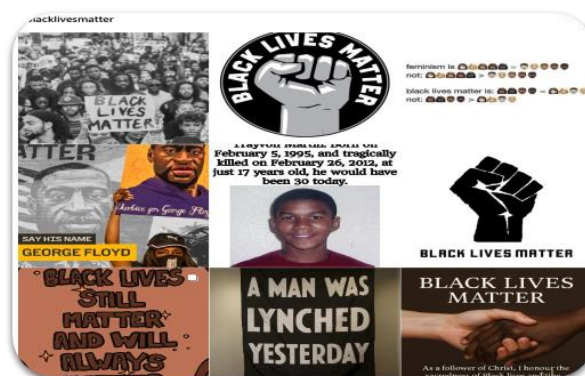


Figure 1. Instagram #BlackLivesMatter

Meanwhile, the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism is a global impact of the #BlacklivesMatter anti-racism movement in the United States after the killing of George Floyd by police brutality in 2020. In addition, the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism was also influenced by the issue of racism and violence against Papuan students in Surabaya in 2019. Supporters of the anti-racism and discrimination movement used the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram to mobilize their masses. Supporters of the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag movement campaigned for political demands to the Indonesian government. In reality, the political campaign conveyed through the

#PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism is often used by pro-independence groups to separate Papua from Indonesia and become an independent country.



Figure 2. Instagram #PapuanLivesMatter post

Second Stage: Political Opportunity Structure

The effectiveness of the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism in mobilizing resources to disseminate information about violence against Black people in general and the momentum of George Floyd's murder, which sparked large demonstrations in America and spread to other countries, has opened up a structure of political opportunity. This concept is a collective action that arises not only from dissatisfaction but also from political conditions that enable or limit opportunities for collective mobilization (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). This mobilization of collective action in digital spaces has advanced to a second stage, leveraging public support in digital spaces such as Instagram to campaign against racism and fight discrimination against Black people. The #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram leverages a unique opportunity structure in America, drawing on the African-American community, the history of civil rights, and the tradition of racial mobilization as catalysts for digital activism (Taraktas et al., 2025). The political campaign of #BlackLivesMatter supporters on Instagram, which contains protests against police brutality against Black people, is effective in rallying public support for anti-racism and anti-discrimination policies in the United States (Chang et al., 2022; Phillips, 2022).



Figure 3. #BlackLivesMatter action on Instagram

Meanwhile, the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram was inspired by the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag, capitalizing on the momentum of global support for the fight against racism and discrimination against Papuans. West Papuan activists created the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag on Instagram to remind the wider public that discrimination occurs not only in the United States but also in West Papua. The main theme in the

#PapuanLivesMatter discourse is the alignment of identity with #BlackLivesMatter through shared issues and experiences of racial oppression against Black people. Most posts using the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag highlight discriminatory conflicts occurring not only in the United States but also in West Papua (Y. A. Panjaitan & Janah, 2022).



Figure 4. #PapuanLivesMatter action on Instagram

Third Stage: Framing

The third stage in a political campaign strategy, after the political opportunity structure is established, is the framing of political messages. Framing is the process by which political actors construct meaning by formulating and disseminating specific interpretations of an issue to mobilize public support. It is a way to define a situation, identify problems, assign blame, and offer solutions. Framing serves to transform individual grievances into legitimate public issues worth pursuing (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015).

The framing used by the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram encompasses political messages such as racism, Black people, police brutality, justice, and solidarity. The #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism utilizes identity framing not only in terms of Black versus white race, but also an intersectional framework encompassing gender, LGBTQ+ identity, immigrants, and social inequality. Framing is done through infographics, visual posts, personal narratives, and tweets as a way to provide meaning, build solidarity, and spread the message to a wide audience.



Figure 5. Word frequency of #BlackLivesMatter on Instagram processed by researchers with RapidMinner

Meanwhile, the political campaign framed by the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram centers on narratives of racism, discrimination, victimization, and solidarity with Papuans. This political campaign frames racist messages against Papuans as a group experiencing unfair treatment within the social structure of Indonesian society. This political campaign frames discriminatory treatment against Papuans. This campaign is

players (Stephen Jackson Jr.), actors (Jamie Foxx), activists/writers (Shaun King), and photographers (Modern Gentleman), all of whom have large followings, demonstrate the movement's global reach by non-American entities such as public figures, demonstrating not only the movement's global reach but also the role played by international organizations in collaborating with US-based journalists and photographers as a successful network of actors (Chang et al., 2022).

In the context of #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism, the hashtags used are #PapuanLivesMatter, #FreeWestPapua, and #StopRacism, posted using Stories for quick updates, live broadcasts for discussions, and Reels for educational or performative videos. These hashtags are used to connect experiences of violence, racial discrimination, and human rights violations in Papua into a collective narrative. The use of these hashtags allows the Papuan issue to transcend national boundaries and gain support from an international activist network (Simone, 2024). The #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism tactic relies more on digital community networks, online solidarity, and individual support than on large-scale offline actions. This emphasizes the bottom-up nature of the movement and its heavy reliance on social media as an alternative public space (F. Panjaitan & Janah, 2022).



Figure 8. Use of the hashtags Instagram #PapuanLivesMatter, #FreeWestPapua, and #StopRacism

The Political Implications of #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter Hashtag Activism on Instagram

The political implications of the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism have influenced social and institutional transformation in the United States, spurring legal and policy changes. Public protests, both through street demonstrations and on Instagram with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, have successfully forced the state to value justice and protect victims of violence. This hashtag activism, supported by the American people, has succeeded in reforming the institutional policing system to be less discriminatory, particularly against Black people (Upadhyay & Trifiro, 2021; Williams et al., 2021). The effectiveness of conveying the campaign against physical violence in the case of George Floyd's death through hashtag activism on Instagram demonstrates improvements in political and social power relations. Political power is demonstrated by the mobilization of social movements through street demonstrations that have forced the state, both federal and state, to better protect citizens from physical violence (Ifepe, 2025). While social power has given citizens the freedom to engage in direct political communication with their representatives in legislative bodies, the use of virtual platforms like Instagram has become an integral part of political communication and engagement in the United States, particularly among those concerned with social change (Waterhouse, 2022).

The #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism phenomenon in Indonesia has implications for strengthening the politics of solidarity, collective identity, and moral legitimacy for groups supporting

digital action movements (Kurniawan & Hully, 2025). Furthermore, the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism has politically strengthened global pressure on Indonesia to pay more attention to the human rights of the Papuan people. This global and international pressure poses a challenge for the Indonesian government to better humanize the local Papuan community. The Indonesian government must have a transparent and humane international political strategy in dealing with separatist movements amidst increasing demands and global political campaigns criticizing human rights violations in Papua. This strengthening of global citizen pressure coincides with the increasing influence of social media, especially Instagram, in influencing global citizen awareness and collective action against acts of violence by the military and police. The biggest challenge for the Indonesian government is how to maintain domestic political legitimacy because the state exists to protect all citizens, including the Papuan people (Zulham, 2025).

CONCLUSION

There are several similarities and differences between these two hashtag activism in Instagram within the theoretical framework of contentious political analysis as an analysis of activism in the digital space. First, the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism utilizes mobilization that begins with large-scale protests, which are then displayed on Instagram. Meanwhile, the #PapuanLivesMatter activism is more mobilized online because demonstrations carry higher risks. Second, the #BlackLivesMatter activism leverages long-standing experience of political opportunity structures related to discriminatory treatment and racial conflict experienced by Black people in the United States. This contrasts with the #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism, which leverages political opportunity structures based on sensitive issues among members of a particular community seeking independence from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Third, the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism frames identity, intersectionality, immigration, and social inequality to gain public support from United States citizens. Meanwhile, #PapuanLivesMatter activism frames economic injustice, racial discrimination, social justice, and identity equality as embedded in and leveraged by the powerful political interests of the Free Papua separatist movement. Fourth, the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism successfully pressured the US federal government to enact anti-racism and anti-discrimination policies. This hashtag activism then led to similar demands in other countries where black people experience racist and discriminatory treatment. PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism, on the other hand, relies more on digital community networks, online solidarity, and the support of individual human rights activists than on large-scale demonstrations supported by the Indonesian public.

This study concludes that the #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram has generally raised global awareness in addressing the culture of racism and discriminatory treatment in identity politics in the United States and Indonesia, as well as other countries. The effectiveness of #BlackLivesMatter and #PapuanLivesMatter hashtag activism on Instagram in conveying political campaigns has similarities and differences. In general, the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism succeeded in gaining public support for demands for anti-racism and anti-discrimination. Meanwhile, #PapuanLivesMatter activism is a domino effect of strengthening global public support for the same case in the United States. The #BlackLivesMatter hashtag activism strategy has succeeded in gaining political support from the United States citizens in pushing for changes in police institutions to support anti-racism and anti-discrimination. At the same time, #PapuanLives Matter failed to encourage the transformation of social consciousness in Indonesia due to the continued political interests of pro-independence Papuan elites in forming their own country and separating from Indonesia. This research contributes to enriching the study of contentious politics by utilizing hashtag activism that can be applied to explain political communication strategies for ruling regimes at the global, national, and

local levels in addressing economic, social, and cultural problems in the digital era. This research also contributes to the concept of digital politics that, in the digital communication era, the use of hashtag activism can increase public political participation in electoral politics and transparency and accountability of political institutions, such as central and regional governments, in governance.

REFERENCES

- Aarts, N. (2013). Castells, Manuel (2012). Networks of outrage and hope - social movements in the Internet age. *International Journal Of Public Opinion Research*, 25(3), 398–402. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edt020>
- Bari, S. I. (2025). The role of social media in shaping modern-day activism. *Bangladesh Journal of Bioethics*, 16(1), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.62865/bjbio.v16i1.131>
- Chang, H.-C. H., Richardson, A., & Ferrara, E. (2022). #JusticeforGeorgeFloyd: How Instagram facilitated the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests. *PLoS One*, 17(2), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0277864>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (H. Salmon (ed.); Writing Ce). SAGE Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429469237-3>
- Edrington, C. L., & Lee, N. M. (2018). Tweeting a social movement: Black Lives Matter and its use of twitter to share information, build community, and promote action. *Journal of Public Interest Communications*, 2(2), 289. <https://doi.org/10.32473/jpic.v2.i2.p289>
- Gaines, K. K. (2022). Global black lives matter. *American Quarterly*, 74(3), 626–634. <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2022.0042>
- Gao, X. (2025). *Power struggles over hashtags: A critical discourse analysis of the black lives matter movement on Twitter* (M. Rogat (ed.)). Linköping university.
- Goswami, M. P. (2018). Social media and hashtag activism. In *Liberty Dignity and Change in Journalism* (pp. 252–262). Kanishka.
- Herrmann, C., Rhein, S., & Dorsch, I. (2023). #fridaysforfuture – What does Instagram tell us about a social movement? *Journal of Information Science*, 49(6), 1570–1586. <https://doi.org/10.1177/016555152111063620>
- Highfield, T., & Leaver, T. (2016). Instagrammatics and digital methods: Studying visual social media, from selfies and GIFs to memes and emoji. *Communication Research and Practice ISSN:*, 2(1), 47–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2016.1155332>
- Ifepe, V. O. (2025). *Hashtag police brutality: The role of social media activism in anti-state violence social movements* [Carleton University]. <https://doi.org/10.22215/etd/2025-16648>
- Ince, J., Rojas, F., & Davis, C. A. (2017). The social media response to Black Lives Matter: How Twitter users interact with Black Lives Matter through hashtag use. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(11), 1814–1830. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1334931>
- Kozinets, R. V. (2010). *Netnography: Doing ethnographic research online*. SAGE Publications.
- Kurniawan, M. I. N., & Hully, H. (2025). The role of social media in the formation of collective consciousness and contemporary social movements. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 3(3), 186–192. <https://doi.org/10.55681/ijssh.v3i3.1513>
- Kusumaryati, V. (2021). #Papuanlivesmatter: Black consciousness and political movements in West Papua. *Critical Asian Studies*, 53(4), 453–475. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2021.1963794>
- Lampley, K. W. (2025). Black theology and #BlackLivesMatter: The contemporary struggle for freedom and justice. *Black Theology*, 23(2), 99–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14769948.2025.2535138>

- Mapston, B. N. (2018). *Digital activism and contemporary social movements: A case study of the black lives matter global network*. Pennsylvania State University.
- Maulana, R., Nindia, N. F., & Afifah, A. (2025). Collective action in digital activism: How hashtags mobilize social movements. *Mahogany Journal De Social*, 2(1), 33–43. <https://doi.org/10.37899/mjds.v2i1.220>
- McRae, D., Quiroga, M. del M., Russo-Batterham, D., & Doyle, K. (2022). A pro-government disinformation campaign on Indonesian Papua. *Harvard Kennedy School Misinformation Review*, 3(5). <https://doi.org/10.37016/mr-2020-108>
- Nkemdilim, V. (2024). The role of Social media by advocacy groups in influencing public opinion and driving change; A global perspective. SSRN. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.13407.98725>
- Panjaitan, F., & Janah, M. (2022). #PapuanLivesMatter: Aktivisme digital dan konstruksi identitas kolektif. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 25(3), 212–228. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.64521>
- Panjaitan, Y. A., & Janah, L. N. (2022). #PapuanLivesMatter in the wake of #BlackLivesMatter: Relations of collective identity in twitter activism. *Journal of Election and Leadership (JOELS)*, 31(1), 37–55. <https://doi.org/10.31849/joels.v3i1.8840>
- Phillips, M. K. (2022). *The fight for equality: Black lives matter, success, & social media*. University of San Francisco.
- Ramos, R., & Braga, S. (2025). “I can’t breathe”: Uma análise do fluxo da hashtag #BlackLivesMatter no Twitter brasileiro e norteamericano. *Cadernos Gestão Pública e Cidadania*, e91992. <https://doi.org/10.12660/cgpc.v30.91992>
- Schlogl, L. (2022). *Digital activism and the global middle class: Generation hashtag*. Routledge.
- Simone, A. (2024). The after-lives of no arrival: How Papuans make their lives matter. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 42(3), 319–337. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02637758231192210>
- Sudirman, Rosmilawati, S., Toun, N. R., & Riyanti, N. (2024). Hashtags, resistance, and reform: the global rise of digital activism. *Sinergi International Journal of Communication Science*, 2(4), 237–248. <https://doi.org/10.61194/ijcs.v2i4.681>
- Taqwa, A. Z. (2023). *The representation of #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram from some western netizen’s point of views and its counter discourses: Critical discourse analysis*. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim.
- Taraktaş, B., İrsoy, O., & Üsküdarlı, S. (2025). A comparative analysis of online mobilization through slogan specificity: The case of the countermovements to #BlackLivesMatter. *New Media & Society*, 28(6). <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448251336421>
- Tilly, C., & Tarrow, S. (2015). *Contentious politics* (2nd ed.). Oxford University.
- Upadhyay, A., & Trifiro, B. M. (2021). Legislative agenda-setting power of social media #BlackLivesMatter and the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act of 2020. *The Agenda Setting Journal*, 5(2), 292–313. <https://doi.org/10.1075/asj.21006.upa>
- Waterhouse, J. C. (2022). *#BlackLivesMatter: critical political implications of Twitter discourse in the wake of George Floyd*. University of Tennessee at Chattanooga.
- Webb-Gannon, C. (2023). #Papuanlivesmatter: how a narrative of racism has elevated West Papua’s decolonisation movement. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 27(6), 1050–1073. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2022.2057959>
- Williams, J. B., Mezey, N., & Singh, L. O. (2021). BlackLivesMatter: From the protest to policy. *Georgetown Law Faculty Publications and Other Works*, 28(1), 103–167. <https://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/facpub/2421/>
- Xie, C., Liu, P., & Cheng, Y. (2023). Praxis, hashtag activism, and social justice: a content analysis of #StopAsianHate narratives. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 33(2), 121–

127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2023.2180529>

Yamamoto, N. (2022). Peripheral insiders: Papuans and Indonesian nationalism. *Journal of Law, Politics, and Sociology*, 95(2), 193.

Zulham, M. (2025). Indonesia's diplomacy management in defending papua as part of NKRI. *Journal of Social Political Sciences JSPS*, 6(1), 25–36.
<https://doi.org/10.52166/jsps.v6i1.242>