Connective Action and Meaning Formation in the Digital Era: A Case Study of the #Alleyesonpapua Campaign

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ABSTRACT

This study examines #AllEyesonPapua digital campaigns as a form of connective action in digital activism that develops organically through social media. This research uses a qualitative approach with interpretive paradigms and case studies to understand how meaning, collective emotions, and digital solidarity are formed in the digital space. Using the perspective of Social Construction of Technology (KST), this study emphasizes that social media is not neutral but rather a social space full of negotiation of meaning and power. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with informants who were actively involved in #AllEyesonPapua campaign interactions in the digital space and analyzed using thematic coding techniques. The results show that #AllEyesonPapua campaigns form digital solidarity through personalized narratives, evocative visual symbols, and strong emotional resonances. Social media acts as an affective space that allows for the expression of collective emotions and the articulation of meaning broadly. The findings also reveal that this campaign faces challenges in the form of stigmatization, digital attacks, and limited access to votes from directly affected communities.

KEYWORDS	#AllEyesonPapua; Collective Emotions; Connective Action; Digital Activism; Social Construction Technology; Social Media

INTRODUCTION

The advancement of digital communication technology over the past decade has revolutionized various forms of social interaction, including those within the realm of politics and social movements. Social media, originally developed as a means for personal networking and content sharing, has evolved into a new public sphere where people can express political opinions, form communities, and mobilize collective action rapidly and widely. This phenomenon has given rise to a new form of digitally based social participation known as digital activism, which refers to political engagement through the use of digital platforms to voice issues, disseminate information, and build solidarity across geographical boundaries.

Between 2016 and 2021, there was a significant increase in the number of digital activism campaigns conducted by social movement organizations in Indonesia, peaking between 2019 and 2021. Data compiled by researchers from the Institute for Advanced Research (IFAR), Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, recorded 3,873 digital activism campaigns on social media during this period. This surge was driven by social mobility restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic and the rise of public policies perceived as unjust and exacerbating social inequality. These circumstances encouraged civil society to become more active in utilizing digital spaces for collective action, with dominant issues including human rights, gender equality, and environmental protection. The most common forms of digital activism observed were information sharing, online protests, and a sharp increase in the use of webinars

as platforms for discussion and dissemination of socio-political issues during the pandemic (Yayasan Tifa, 2023).

Unlike conventional activism, which generally relies on formal organizations and hierarchical structures, digital activism offers a more fluid, individual, and spontaneous form of participation. One theoretical framework explaining this shift is the concept of connective action introduced by Bennett and Segerberg. In this model, collective action no longer depends on collective identity or command structures but rather on personal expressions linked through digital networks, individual narratives, and the use of social media features such as hashtags, visual posts, and algorithmic interactions. Connective action illustrates how individuals can feel connected to a social issue without formally joining an organization.

This transformation is not merely theoretical but visible in practice. Social movements such as #BlackLivesMatter protesting systemic racism in the United States, #MeToo calling for an end to sexual violence against women, and Indonesia's #ReformasiDikorupsi rejecting controversial legislative revisions are concrete examples of how social media functions as infrastructure for mobilization and discourse dissemination against injustice (Ince et al., 2017; Mendes et al., 2019; Lim, 2020). A similar phenomenon emerged in the #AllEyesonPapua campaign, a form of digital activism highlighting the seizure of indigenous lands by palm oil corporations and advocating for the rights of the Awyu and Moi indigenous peoples in Papua. This campaign leveraged the power of visuals, viral hashtags, interactive features such as Instagram's "Add Yours," and online petitions to build public pressure and foster cross-regional solidarity (Fajriadi, 2024; Utama, 2024; Wakang, 2024). With its horizontal, decentralized, and user-driven nature, social media provides an expansive arena for building digital solidarity and symbolic resistance against perceived oppressive or unjust power structures.

In this context, several studies have criticized the dominance of deterministic approaches in digital technology and activism research. For example, Kaun and Uldam (2018) argue that viewing social media as an automatic driver of social change overlooks structural aspects such as power relations, platform control, and digital access disparities that influence the success or failure of social movements. Meanwhile, Treré (2019) emphasizes the need to view digital practices as the result of complex interactions among technology, political imagination, and specific socio-cultural contexts. Within this framework, social media is not merely a technical tool but also a symbolic space where the negotiation of meaning, the production of collective identity, and the formation of political emotions take place. Thus, to fully understand the dynamics of digital activism, it is crucial to integrate technological, social, and affective dimensions.

In response to the limitations of deterministic perspectives that view technology in linear and objective terms, this study adopts the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) paradigm. Within this framework, social media is not positioned as a neutral instrument operating independently of social contexts but rather as a dynamic space where meanings are constructed through negotiations among users, institutions, and power structures. This perspective highlights that the use of social media in digital activism cannot be separated from the social relations and cultural dynamics that shape how technology is understood and utilized.

Furthermore, within the framework of connective action, social media functions not only as a channel for conveying aspirations but also as a medium for constructing collective meaning

and emotional resonance. Recent studies highlight that affective dimensions—such as personal narratives, visual symbols, and emotional interactions among users—play a central role in facilitating digital political engagement (Papacharissi, 2015). These elements build stronger networks of solidarity and encourage broader participation. Therefore, understanding digital activism requires a holistic approach that encompasses not only technological aspects but also the accompanying social, emotional, and cultural dimensions.

Drawing from the dynamics of the #AllEyesonPapua digital campaign, this study underscores the importance of reinterpreting digital activism within the context of connective action. This campaign demonstrates how social media functions not only as a communication tool but also as a social space enabling the formation of solidarity and collective expression that are fluid, spontaneous, and detached from formal organizational structures. Although numerous studies have examined the relationship between digital technology and social movements, most still emphasize instrumental aspects or short-term mobilization effects. This leaves room to explore how social relations, affective expressions, and meaning constructions shape more complex and contextual digital practices.

This research aims to understand how the #AllEyesonPapua campaign is interpreted, constructed, and sustained by its participants through social media. Using a qualitative approach and interpretive paradigm, the study explores the experiences and narratives of individuals involved in the campaign through in-depth interviews. The focus is directed toward patterns of digital participation, the role of collective emotions, and the ways in which symbols and narratives are constructed within digital spaces. By integrating social, emotional, and technological dimensions, this study seeks to provide empirical contributions to a more reflective and contextual understanding of digital activism practices, particularly in issues concerning marginalized groups such as Papua's indigenous communities.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative approach that focused on understanding meaning, experience, and social interaction within the specific context of the #AllEyesonPapua campaign. The interpretive paradigm guided the research, aiming to explore how digital activism and collective emotions were shaped through social media interactions.

A case study method was used to investigate this contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2018). The research was conducted through digital ethnographic observation on social media platforms (X/Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook) where the #AllEyesonPapua campaign actively circulated between August and October 2024. The object of this study was the form of connective action emerging on social media, resulting in collective emotions, while the subjects were individuals actively involved in or engaging with the hashtag #AllEyesonPapua across these platforms.

Data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews with three purposively selected informants who met criteria including active engagement with the campaign, willingness to share personal experiences, and diverse roles ranging from direct activists to general public participants. This sampling aimed to capture varied perspectives on the campaign.

Data analysis involved systematic coding following transcription of interviews. The coding process comprised open coding—assigning labels to significant transcript sections;

axial coding—exploring relationships among codes; and selective coding—identifying overarching themes that unified the categories (Saldaña, 2021).

To ensure trustworthiness, the study applied four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Amin et al., 2023; Dodgson, 2019; Rawhani, 2023). Credibility was enhanced by building rapport with informants during pre-interview sessions to encourage detailed and candid responses. Transferability was supported by providing rich contextual descriptions to allow readers to assess applicability to other settings. Dependability was addressed by documenting the research methods and analytical procedures for transparency and reproducibility. Confirmability was strengthened through member checking, enabling informants to validate the accuracy of findings and reduce researcher bias.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research is based on in-depth interviews with three informants with different backgrounds. First, an activist who is directly involved in developing #AllEyesonPapua activism from Greenpeace Indonesia who is part of an environmental advocacy organization and legal companion for the Awyu indigenous people. Second, an activist who is not directly involved in #AllEyesonPapua activism, but is active in other social justice issues. Third, a social media user from the general public who participated in the campaign. The selection of informants aims to capture a diversity of perspectives related to meaning, affective experiences, and forms of involvement in this digital campaign.

The findings show that #AllEyesonPapua functions as a digital interaction space that brings together various social media users through personal narratives, visual symbols, and collective affection. This campaign does not come from a single actor or formal organization, but grows organically through the concern of civil society that is spread, both from Papua and outside Papua. One of the informants from Greenpeace Indonesia stated, "If we talk about the tagline, it is from the public. But we are crafting a narrative about Awyu that from 2023. The first lawsuit from 2023, I am the legal representative of the Awyu Tribe. We accompany and document them. Almost all assets on social media, the source is from Greenpeace, or libraries, or media that go there."

Although Greenpeace Indonesia is directly involved in raising the issue of the Awyu Tribe and documenting cases of land grabbing, the #AllEyesonPapua itself is not structured in a structured manner. This digital initiative is understood as a public expression that arises spontaneously. The Greenpeace informant added, "We are not saying this is a Greenpeace issue. Because we believe that if we put ownership, it will be difficult for this hashtag to grow. So we openly invite friends to speak and sympathize." This shows that the organization actually takes on the role of a narrative lighter, not as a campaign owner.

Discussions on social media, especially on X, are the starting point for the formation of collective consciousness. One of the reflective moments was conveyed by the activist: "Previously, I was involved in a public discussion at X with some of Kpopers' friends, we talked about Palestine. There is one joke, why can we empathize with Palestine but we can't empathize with our close friends in Papua." This quote illustrates how collective empathy can be mobilized through cross-issue emotional connectedness, as well as how social media platforms become important spaces to bridge affective experiences and cross-community solidarity.

The public response and engagement that emerges outside of organizations like Greenpeace is seen by activists as a form of organic participation from civil society. These campaigns are not controlled by a single centralized entity, but rather evolve in response to individual awareness and empathy. One of the informants, AM, an activist who focuses on the issue of human rights violations in Papua, stated that public participation in this campaign reflects "the response of political awareness, as well as everyone's awareness in responding. They respect the struggles of indigenous peoples, and hashtags are an effort they can help."

Based on interviews, there are three main factors that drive the spread of #AllEyesonPapua on social media, namely narrative power, evocative visuals, and the right political momentum. The narrative developed by the activists displays a contrasting image of the Papuan people as dignified, peaceful, and spiritual in fighting for their rights with the image of 'violence' and 'separatist' inherent in the minds of the people. SBA explained, "We show that the Papuan people are willing to fight with dignity. They are not violent. They prayed in front of AM, they cried in front of the camera. It was surprising to the audience and resonated."

However, the visualization used in this campaign also sparked discussion among activists. One of the most viral symbols, the image of weeping eyes generated by artificial intelligence, is thought to have ambiguity of meaning. The SBA said that the visual was questionable, "It could mean crying. I don't think it's really representative. In the campaign, we don't sell sadness. From the beginning we agreed with the Awyu tribe to bring their story with dignity. We don't expose crying too much," he explained. However, he acknowledged that the use of eye symbols has universal power and allows a wider audience to feel connected. "Because it's the eyes, it's more universal, so many people are more relatable," he continued.

This kind of visualization becomes a fluid and open interpretation space. In the context of connective action, images or illustrations are not only a trigger for visual attention, but also an emotional articulation tool that can be interpreted personally by each audience. As explained by AM, "People can interpret through their imagination through pictures. Illustrations provide a sharp focus and can stir people's hearts, it can provide public empathy." Thus, visuals not only reinforce the narrative, but also become an important medium in building affective resonance that expands solidarity.

The momentum of the campaign also plays a big role in encouraging virality. The SBA emphasized that the emergence of this campaign coincides with the increasing public attention to the Palestinian issue, which creates emotional connectedness across issues and makes it easier for the public to associate the same sense of empathy for Papua: "The second trigger is the moment close to Palestine." The emotional connection formed between these issues bridges collective affection across communities.

Digital involvement then comes not only from activists, but also from influential social media users, such as APS who said, "I have a big enough platform, if I don't share people won't know. If I share, people share." This statement suggests that connective action is formed through the logic of individual participation, where content distribution is part of efforts to expand collective consciousness. Social media, in this case, provides an infrastructure for users to feel emotionally as well as functionally connected to the larger social movement.

However, the openness of social media as a space for participation also presents its own challenges in digital advocacy. Although access to the public is wider, vulnerability to counterattacks has also increased. AM, one of the activists who advocates for the Papuan issue,

revealed that every post he made was often replied to with racist comments, separatist stigma, and pressure from anonymous accounts that were allegedly bots. "If I post on social media, I will be scolded in comments with negative comments, racism. There is a lot of pressure from bot accounts, getting labeled/stigmatized to defend separatists," he said.

A similar pattern is also experienced by SBAs who are often accused of being foreign henchmen or receiving international funding. "It's called a foreign henchman, it's the most frequent response. Oh paid USA yes. Even though it is not and has nothing to do with it," he said. Narrow nationalist narratives are often an obstacle in gathering broader solidarity, where criticism of the state is automatically considered anti-NKRI. Not only that, the biggest challenge faced is how to provide space for the Papuan people themselves to have their voices. As the SBA explained, "The hardest thing is how to pass the mic to the real victim. It is difficult for us to give them spots, because they live in areas with bad signals, remote locations, and minimal budget allocation."

Thus, although social media provides a fast and widespread distribution channel, advocacy for the Papuan issue still faces structural obstacles, both in terms of technology and culture. Efforts to build digital solidarity through connective action must be faced with symbolic repression, nationalist bias, and limited infrastructure that make it difficult for the voices of the original victims to be accessed and presented directly.

Despite facing structural and symbolic challenges, #AllEyesonPapua shows that social media still has transformative power, especially in shifting public perception of the Papua issue and opening up space for cross-group solidarity. SBA, said that this campaign was a turning point for the younger generation to start seeing Papua from a more human perspective, "Friends in generation Z, the virality of the #AllEyesonPapua finally made them see Papua. If we check today, the virality of the Raja Ampat issue can also be boosted because last year Papua went viral. So finally they are familiar."

This shift occurs not only in the form of cognitive awareness, but also in emotional ones. AM emphasized that public resonance on this issue is a form of solidarity built from fellow citizens. "I think it is relevant, fellow people and actually it is one of the ways to build community solidarity," he said. Meanwhile, APS, a social media user with a sizable number of followers, stated that his involvement in this campaign made his friends who were initially indifferent become more aware. "My friends who may be ignorant know better. Because I also helped to let you know that Papua needs to be voiced. More to anger mixed with sadness. I can't do anything, just let me know that Papua is very urgent and must be supported."

The quotes show that social media, while not always able to present representation justice across the board, still plays an important role in expanding empathy, shaping collective awareness, and encouraging public participation in previously marginalized issues. The solidarity that is formed is not always formally organized, but is rooted in a shared affective experience that is curated through digital interactions.

Thus, the findings of this study show that #AllEyesonPapua represent a form of connective action that grows organically from affective interactions, individual participation, and narrative articulation on social media. The campaign not only brings together a variety of actors with different backgrounds, but also creates a space of digital solidarity that transcends geographical boundaries and formal identities of organizations. Personal narratives, visual symbols, and momentum are key elements in shaping the collective resonance that triggers

public engagement. However, the campaign also faces significant challenges, ranging from stigma and digital attacks to limited access to voices from directly affected communities. #AllEyesonPapua reflect the complexity of today's digital activism.

Discussion

Activism #AllEyesonPapua represent the practice of connective action in a tangible and contextual form. This campaign does not grow from a formal organizational structure, but from the interaction of social media users who respond to issues affectively and personally. This phenomenon reinforces the argument of Bennett and Segerberg that engagement in the digital age is more supported by horizontal relationships between individuals who are interconnected through shared values, emotions, and narratives. Social media plays an important role not only as a tool for disseminating information, but as a space for articulation of meaning, where solidarity is formed from fluid and non-binding participation (Kavada, 2018; Soriano & Cabanes, 2020; Trenz et al., 2020).

This configuration underscores the importance of understanding digital participation not as a uniform form of engagement, but as a spectrum that enables expression at different levels of depth (Park & Park, 2017; Liew et al., 2022). In this context, social media provides a structural prerequisite for the formation of horizontal connectivity that is affective and adaptive in nature, which not only expands the reach of movements, but also redefines who can be part of the movement itself (Cammaerts, 2021).

#AllEyesonPapua also shows how digital activism can develop without institutional ownership, but still has high mobilizing power (Tufekci, 2017). The main strength of this campaign lies in the dissemination of touching narratives, emotionally evocative symbolic visualizations, and their appearance at the right moment (Eriyanto, 2020; Prihabida & Tambunan, 2022). All three work as triggers for collective engagement that do not require a formal structure, but are rooted in the public consciousness shaped by everyday digital experiences. Connective action in this case arises because people feel moved, not because they are organized (Bennet & Segerberg, 2012).

The implication of this pattern is the need to see virality not just as the result of deliberate communication strategies, but as a social process that involves many triggerpoints and the intensity of public emotions. When narrative, visual, and time elements intersect appropriately, social media can facilitate spontaneous outbursts of solidarity (Budak & Watts, 2015; Zakky & Rifani, 2022). This also shows that the main strength of connective action lies not in coordination, but in resonance (Shahin & Ng, 2021).

Nevertheless, the success of connective action also relies heavily on platform algorithms and the volatile public attention. When the momentum has passed, participation can decrease drastically because there is no sustainability mechanism as in formal organizational structures (Tufekci, 2017). Therefore, although connective action is very effective in sparking awareness, it still faces challenges in maintaining the sustainability of the movement, especially in building long-term structural change (Singh & Patel, 2020).

In addition, #AllEyesonPapua shows that social media is not a neutral entity. The Socio-Technological Construction Perspective (KST) explains that the meaning and function of technology is always shaped through social interactions involving certain powers and interests. The 'crying eyes' symbol used in campaigns, for example, is interpreted differently by different

parties. Some see it as a universal form of expression, while others criticize it for not representing the narrative strategies maintained by indigenous communities. These differences in interpretation demonstrate the interpretive flexibility of digital artifacts, which is central to the KST approach.

This condition highlights the importance of understanding social media as a field for meaning contestation (Bakry & Kusmayadi, 2025). Visual artifacts such as images, hashtags, and videos serve not only as a medium of communication, but also as objects that are contested in the space of public discourse. Within the framework of KST, this shows how actors in relevant social groups have the capacity to direct or negotiate the meaning of campaign symbols strategically according to their respective goals.

Ultimately, #AllEyesonPapua assert that in the digital ecosystem, participation is no longer defined by membership or formal ideology, but by emotional resonance and the user's ability to produce as well as disseminate meaning. Connective action is not just a new form of participation that is easily accessible, but also an effective strategy in building solidarity across identities and geographical boundaries. However, as the results of the study show, this practice remains limited by access inequality, nationalist bias, and vulnerability to symbolic repression.

Therefore, the effectiveness of connective action in forming digital solidarity lies not only in the capacity of technology, but also in the extent to which users are able to create social relations that are resistant to fragmentation and polarization (Stewart & Schultze, 2019). This confirms that the strength of digital activism is not only in the speed with which it spreads messages, but also in its ability to form a collective space that is sensitive to differences and inclusive of marginalized experiences (Couldry, 2018).

CONCLUSION

The #AllEyesonPapua digital campaign exemplified *connective action* by organically building digital solidarity through personal narratives, striking visuals, and emotional resonance without relying on formal organizations. It demonstrated how social media serves not just as a communication channel but as an affective space for expressing and spreading collective emotions like anger, hope, and solidarity across society. Despite its successes, the campaign encountered challenges such as stigmatization, digital harassment, and limited direct representation of affected communities, revealing ongoing structural and symbolic barriers in digital activism. These findings highlight digital activism as a complex social practice influenced by technology, emotion, and power relations, and suggest future research should focus on centering marginalized voices through longitudinal ethnographic studies to assess the sustainability of connective action beyond viral moments. In particular, further investigation into the role of collective emotions and visual symbols in fostering digital solidarity around locally rooted yet globally resonant issues is needed. Methodologically, digital ethnography offers a valuable approach to examining interaction dynamics and meaning-making online. Practically, activists and civil society should harness personal storytelling, impactful hashtags, and compelling visuals to enhance engagement while addressing challenges like algorithmic biases and unequal digital access that affect participation and message reach.

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