

Scaling Globalization: The Circulation of Language Resources in Two Indonesian Global Social Movements

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ABSTRACT

This study explores two social movements in Indonesia to measure the extent to which the locals mobilize towards the center. This objective departs from two contradictory statements, namely 'Global Language' (Crystal, 2003; see also the issue of Linguistic Imperialism) which argues that globalization always moves towards the center and produces uniformity, and another statement which argues that globalization results in varieties and differences (Blommaert, 2007, 2010; Machin & van Leeuwen, 2003; Pennycook, 2006). Therefore, two significant global social movements in Indonesia were chosen in this article. The first one is the social movement of Tragedi Kanjuruhan which started from specific local issues and narratives, and the second one is Global Climate Strike social movement which started from global issues shared by people worldwide. Both social movements have a specific language rhetoric. It is shown through the languages used in each social movement which reflects locality and globality. To examine this mobilization, this study employs scaling or scale measurement as a method (see sociolinguistic scales from Blommaert, 2010; scalar practice from Canagarajah & De Costa, 2016), focusing on *scope* and *value* (horizontal and vertical measurement). From the analysis, it is known that the differences in linguistic resources contribute to different elements of locality and mobility which circulates with different motives. In the end, this study can offer valuable insights into understanding how global and local are mobilized in one example of globalization.

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1. Introduction

Globalization has brought wide ranges of change to almost every aspect of life including language. The changes are produced from the movement and mobility in the phenomena of globalization as stated that globalization is a process of movements across the boundaries of intercontinental and regional spaces (Blommaert, 2010; Irani & Noruzi, 2011; Katz & Anheier, 2006). During the movement, to where the language moves has become a complex subject of debate. The movement in globalization does not merely mobilize towards developed countries or the Western world, generating a uniformity and westernization as perceived commonly; rather, it also leaves its imprints on locals, producing varieties (Pennycook, 2006; Pieterse, 2004; Tomlinson, 2003). This view contradicts notions such as Global English (Crystal, 2003) and the superiority of western forms (westernization) as discussed in the context of linguistic imperialism. The

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terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' which divide the globe into two opposing poles based on their economic status and portray countries in South such as Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania as periphery or "Third World" countries (Dados & Connell, 2012; Odeh, 2010), also do not give justice to what is called 'center' and 'periphery'. Instead, it can lead to inequality by prematurely assuming that each movement in the phenomenon of globalization is moving toward what is commonly referred to as the center and dominant regions.

The concepts of "center" and "periphery" are fluid and negotiated, as not all movements in globalization are going exclusively toward the West or Global North. Therefore, the language movement in globalization is no longer said to be centripetal or going towards the center, but centrifugal (Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2006). The center can be shifted to any part of the world, highlighting the significance of locals in the mobility of language. In line with that, recent language research in globalization mostly explores the circulation of language movements which can produce shifts and results in linguistic varieties. Among them are Dong (2021) and Jiang et al. (2022). By perceiving the mobilization of language movements in the context of globalization as circulated or mobilized without specific directions, the movements are deemed to be complex and truncated. Borrowing the term 'truncated' by Blommaert (2010), the movement was said to involve various factors and create a complex circulation in mobility. Hence, it is imperative to identify those factors within both horizontal and vertical scope, including the concept of center and periphery, which results in shifts and linguistic varieties.

One of the ways to measure the mobility of language in the context of globalization, and to untangle this complexity, is by doing scaling or analysis of scale. Scaling globalization can help to unravel the complexity of globalization, as discussed in the paragraph above. Measuring circulation by scale analysis is a means to understand the ways various factors on globalization expand and reach the subsequent point (Blommaert, 2021; Stoeltje, 2017). It also helps to define the center and periphery as scaling analysis encompasses both horizontal and vertical movements, thereby the starting point can be defined. This study explores two Indonesian social movements which are circulated in globalized movements, namely the social movement of Kanjuruhan Tragedy and the social movement of Global Climate Strike. Although both are held in Indonesia and has expanded its reach to the international network, their circulations to reach the international network are different. One is rooted locally from the national accident – which later is called tragedy, and another one is initiated from Sweden by a youth environmental activist, Greta Thunberg. Both utilize different language devices to voice their concerns. Because of the different circulation occurred in two different social movements, as a result, both also produce different outcomes in regard to shifts and varieties in language. Therefore, backgrounded by those language mobilities in the context of globalization, this study aims to measure the circulation of language in globalization through scaling measurement in two distinguished social movements which took place in Indonesia.

Global Protests – Two Indonesian Social Movements

This section begins by explaining the general objective of protest. Protest is defined as an effort to make a difference of the current existing narratives by voicing their dissents (Chrisman & Hubbs, 2020; Gasaway-Hill, 2018; Price & Sabido, 2015). Consequently, the objective of protest lies in the change itself. All participants' dissents are directed to meet an alternative of the existing narrative being protested. In any social movements, the narratives always start from local (Gasaway-Hill, 2018; Pennycook, 2006). Despite their potential to mobilize and circulate in a globalized network, the starting point is local. When the narratives' circulations have reached to an international scope, as in global protests, a negotiation process arises between different cultures (Bräuchler, 2020). This negotiation process extends to every cultural aspect, including language, which circulates in global protests. Specifically, narratives are mediated by language. Hence, it is unavoidable that languages in global protests are prone to shifts caused by the circulation. The use of language in global protests is seen as a phenomenon of language shifts in the context of globalization. The following paragraphs explain the stance of two Indonesian social movements in globalized network, categorizing them as global protests.

Two selected Indonesian social movements explored in this study are the social movement of Kanjuruhan Tragedy and Global Climate Strike. Both are circulated in a globalized network. The first social movement started from an incident, later deemed as tragedy, resulting from clashes between soccer

supporters and the police. It led to hundreds of fatalities in the city of Malang, Indonesia. The widespread news about this tragic incident in numerous headlines across social media prompted global reactions. The unprecedented numbers of fatalities in the soccer world, both in Indonesia and globally, sparked condemnations from individuals worldwide towards the police and authorities. The condemnation has fueled a continuing protest until this day. The police were believed to be ignorant to the innocent audiences by constantly shooting the tear gas and locking up the exit gate (CNNIndonesia, 2022). The protesters also demanded justice for fair punishment for the actual perpetrators. The voices of crying for justice were channeled predominantly through posters. This local movement then evolved into a global protest as similar demands found resonance on an international scale as Katz & Anheier (2006) and Bräuchler (2020) also concur that global protests are a network of collective action and identity among participants transcending national boundaries.

On the other hand, the Global Climate Strike is a movement originated in a foreign country, Sweden, by an environmental activist, Greta Thunberg. This social movement, initially instigated by schoolchildren, has been acclaimed to be the largest climate protest in history (Lowery & Banjo, 2023). It spread worldwide and influenced people from various countries through universal demands they bring along – promoting green policy and the urgent actions of governments and policymakers. Indonesian also adopts the social movement under the local name ‘Aksi Jeda Iklim,’ a direct translation from Global Climate Strike, which is held annually. While aligned with the core demands of the origin, the Global Climate Strike in Indonesia highlights specific climate concerns within the country. The demands oftentimes contradict with the Indonesian governmental action such as the construction of Indonesian new capital city, which is believed to contribute to deforestation (BBCIndonesia, 2022; WALHIIndonesia, 2023). This global protest, on the other hand, constructs a localized network through the specific climate demands occurring in Indonesia.

While the distribution and circulation patterns can vary, it is imperative to refer to the initial statement asserting that social movements originate at the local level. Social media contributes to this significance. Global social movements cannot be separated from the pivotal role of social media. It is aligned with Bräuchler (2020) who mentioned that global protests are mostly spread from social media with its powerful visibility. In the spread of both social movements in a globalized network in social media, hashtags were circulated. The spread of hashtags in social media is hard to measure and unfiltered. This opens participation to anyone to join those social movements, contributing to a truncated discourse. Thus, exploring the circulation of hashtags and other language sources can become a means to measure globalization. To achieve this, scale analysis was used.

Scaling Globalization

The truncated discourse of globalization, as mentioned previously, is unraveled by measuring the mobility of language resource and its various factors. It is achieved by doing a scale analysis. As language brings various intrinsic elements such as identity and social relations (Fairclough, 2001; Holmes, 2013; Kramsch, 1998), the scale analysis consists of analyzing horizontal and vertical scale; or the scope and value (Blommaert, 2021; Katz & Anheier, 2006). An analysis of horizontal mobility, or often referred to as scope, assesses distribution, availability, and access of language resources. Meanwhile, value as in vertical mobility analysis evaluates the social identity and relations of the actors protesting. This scale analysis can help to validate the circulation of language resources in the context of globalization. While the circulation of language resources results in shifts, it is all shaped by various factors both in the scale of vertical and horizontal. In addition, the circulation measured through scale analysis can portray the variety of shifts whether occurring in function, structure, and meaning (Blommaert, 2010). It can also determine the center and periphery within the circulation, ensuring that the circulation occurs in either the force of centripetal (mobilizing toward the center) or centrifugal (mobilizing away from the center).

2. Method

In this study, the exploration of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy and Global Climate Strike as global social movements involved a systematic and multi-layered methodological approach. These movements were chosen for their relevance and significance in the global context, representing diverse and powerful examples of how social protests manifest linguistically through posters. The data for this study were collected using Google search, a method chosen for its accessibility and broad reach. The search was

specifically limited to the first five pages of results, a common practice in digital research to ensure relevance and manageability of the data set. By focusing on the initial results, the study aimed to capture the most prominent and widely shared posters, reflecting the core messages and demands of these movements. The research was further narrowed by focusing exclusively on posters, a decision driven by the need to analyze clear and direct visual-linguistic expressions of protest. Posters, as a medium, are particularly rich in linguistic and semiotic content, often combining text, images, and symbols to convey powerful messages. This made them an ideal subject for a study aimed at understanding the language of protest. The contextual background of these posters was enriched through a combination of interviews and secondary sources, which provided insights into the motivations and interpretations of the protestors. These interviews, published in various online sources accessed through the Google search, were crucial in deepening the understanding of the posters' meanings beyond their surface content.

Once the data was collected, it was categorized based on spatial and temporal factors. The time of protest and the place of protest were key variables, as they provided a framework for understanding how the context influenced the content and style of the posters. This classification allowed for a more nuanced analysis, recognizing that the same movement could have different expressions depending on where and when the protest took place. The analysis phase of the study was divided into two main parts, each focusing on different aspects of scale. The first part, the scale analysis of scope or horizontal mobility, involved a quantitative and qualitative assessment of the posters' distribution across different areas. This included counting the number of posters, evaluating their public visibility, and analyzing the languages used. The scope analysis aimed to understand how these posters circulated within the global community, reflecting the spread and influence of the movements. The second part of the analysis, the scale of value or vertical mobility, focused on the social actors behind the posters. This involved examining the stances of individuals and groups participating in the movements, analyzing how their language use reflected their positions within the social hierarchy. Vertical mobility was understood in terms of how language in the posters represented shifts in power, status, and influence among the social actors involved in the protests. Together, these methodological steps provided a comprehensive framework for analyzing the linguistic landscape of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy and Global Climate Strike movements. By combining digital data collection, contextual analysis, and a dual-scale analytical approach, the study was able to offer deep insights into how language functions as a tool for social protest in a global context.

3. Result

Horizontal Mobility

The horizontal mobility of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy and Global Climate Strike movements reveals key insights into their geographic spread, public visibility, and linguistic diversity. Firstly, in terms of geographic spread, the Global Climate Strike movement, originating from a global context, has a broader international reach, encompassing 150 countries. In contrast, the Kanjuruhan Tragedy movement, although more localized, shows significant coverage within Indonesia, particularly in cities directly affected by the tragedy. This comparison underscores the idea that while global movements may have a broader reach, localized movements like the Kanjuruhan Tragedy are deeply rooted in their specific geographic and cultural contexts. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy's influence is primarily within Indonesia, but it extends its impact to other countries, particularly those involved in soccer, such as Germany and Qatar. Public visibility also plays a critical role in the effectiveness of these movements. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy movement demonstrates extensive public visibility, with posters displayed in a wide array of locations, from narrow alleys to city bridges, as observed in cities like Jakarta and Lampung (Nugroho, 2022; RasyaAbhirama13, 2022). This contrasts with the Global Climate Strike movement, whose visibility is often confined to specific protest spaces and is typically short-lived, lasting only for the duration of the protests. The lasting presence of Kanjuruhan Tragedy posters across various urban landscapes contributes to a sustained public awareness, whereas the Global Climate Strike's impact is more ephemeral.

Language use in these movements further highlights differences in their horizontal mobility. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy movement exhibits a richer linguistic diversity, incorporating local languages such as Javanese and the Malang-specific boso walikan. This linguistic variety not only reflects the movement's local roots but also emphasizes the cultural specificity of its messages as they circulate globally. On the other hand, the Global Climate Strike movement, despite its broader international scope, shows less linguistic

diversity, predominantly using Indonesian and English. This suggests that while the movement's reach is extensive, its linguistic expression is less varied, focusing on universal environmental themes rather than region-specific concerns. Semantic variations also differ between the two movements. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy movement's posters are characterized by a limited but potent vocabulary centered around demands for justice, with recurring terms like "dead," "bunuh," and "keadilan." This focused use of language underscores the movement's singular demand for accountability and justice. Conversely, the Global Climate Strike movement displays a broader range of semantic themes, reflecting the diverse environmental issues it addresses. This variation in semantic richness indicates that while the Global Climate Strike is linguistically less diverse, it encompasses a wider array of environmental concerns, adapting its messages to resonate with different local contexts within Indonesia, such as in the context of the upcoming elections (BBCIndonesia, 2022).

In summary, the analysis of horizontal mobility in these movements highlights the interplay between geographic spread, public visibility, and linguistic diversity. The Kanjuruhan Tragedy movement, though more localized, achieves significant public visibility and linguistic richness, whereas the Global Climate Strike movement, despite its global reach, shows more limited linguistic diversity and public visibility. These findings affirm Blommaert's (2010) notion of the co-existence of locality and mobility, demonstrating that the local context is crucial in understanding how social movements circulate and resonate within global networks.

Vertical Mobility

While the previous section depicts the distribution in terms of size and wideness, this section will cover the social identity and relations which contribute to the circulation of those two social movements in global networks. As protests start from the dissatisfaction of people about particular narratives (Chrisman & Hubbs, 2020; Price & Sabido, 2015), the participants of both social movements identified in this study belong to specific groups. Subsequently, it brings them identity as a part of that social group. The participants of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy movement are generally soccer fans, while the participants of the Global Climate Strike are people who have concerns about climate and environmental issues.

However, when the group membership becomes too exclusive, it can hinder the distribution to wider audiences. It can cause the social movements to be ineffective in terms of inviting more people to join their movements. Meanwhile, the wider the audience who joins the movement, the bigger the chance for the success of social movement as in the paradigm of new social movements (Oestereicher, 1979; Price & Sabido, 2015; Singh, 2010). Yet, it can be seen that both social movements are able to reach global networks since they have wide audiences. It relies on the sympathize people share on the issues. The relation between audiences in the social movement is equal. People share similar pains, concerns, and disappointments which make protest a solidarity-based social movement (Chrisman & Hubbs, 2020; Gasaway-Hill, 2018).

In the social movement of Global Climate Strike, it is easier to share solidarity since the demands about environmental issues are general enough to be experienced by all levels of society. Yet, the socio-economic disparities which backgrounded Indonesian society resulting to small numbers of uneducated Indonesian society (The World Bank, 2017) make the gap with the environmental issues. Hence, the circulation of language resources of the protest only occupies particular society. On the other hand, the circulation is distributed wider in the social movement of Kanjuruhan Tragedy. It is caused by the similar pains of losing a family member or their close ones shared between participants. Even though not all the protesters are soccer fans, the similarities they share make them label themselves as a part of the group. Hence, the density of circulation works in the latter social movement. As a result, although not by large numbers of participants like the Global Climate Strike, the density of circulation in the Kanjuruhan Tragedy movement can make the participants commit to the movement devotedly. Therefore, the temporal effects of this demands can last until 2024, on the day of Indonesian presidential election, just like what is mentioned in this sentence, "2024 GOLPUT: PILIHAN REALISTIS ATAS MATINYA KEADILAN DI +62" (Detik.com, 2023).

4. Conclusion

The discussion above reveals that globalization works in various means, particularly in the circulation of language resources within the two social movements explored in this study. Multiple factors contribute to this circulation, adding complexity to the discourse on globalization. To address this complexity, scale analysis was employed in the study to examine the circulation of language resources. This was achieved by measuring both the horizontal and vertical mobility of these resources. The analysis indicates that not all social movements that expand within global networks lead to a broader range of linguistic diversity. Horizontal mobility also reveals that internal aspects of language, such as semantic variations, do not always accompany the circulation, even when the language itself does. This suggests that while linguistic diversity is mobilized, lexical variety is often maintained.

Ultimately, the distribution of language resources in terms of width and density functions differently during circulation. This implies that the circulation of language resources is closely linked to the context and environment of social movements, which typically begin at the local level. This also reflects the multiple factors related to language use in social movements. While having monolingual policy in Indonesia language situation, this protest is intended to government which initiated the policy. Hence, almost all posters used monolingual Indonesian language to address their protests and disappointments. This also portrays how authorities control the power of individual language use. Future research could explore different contexts beyond global social movements to further understand the circulation of language resources in the context of globalization.

Declaration of Conflicting Interest

The authors state that there is no conflict of interest concerning the publication of this paper.

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