



DIGITAL GEOPOLITICS IN INDONESIAN NETIZENS' PERCEPTION TO THE 2025 IRAN-ISRAEL WAR

Maziar Mozaffari Falarti^{1*}, Dina Yulianti², Muhammad Fikry Anshori², Deasy Silvy
Sari², Otong Sulaeman³

¹Faculty of World Studies; University of Tehran, Iran;

²Department of International Relations; Universitas Padjadjaran; Indonesia;

³Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Sadra; Indonesia.

*email: mmfalarti@ut.ac.ir

Abstract

The “12-Day War” between Iran and Israel in June 2025 sparked broad discussions on social media platforms, such as among Indonesian users on X (previously known as Twitter). In this study, the conflict is analyzed in the context of digital geopolitics and the perception of the conflict by the Indonesian digital publics. The article examines online discourse regarding military concerns, humanitarian solidarity, religious identity, and geopolitical anxiety in the context of Indonesia as a large Muslim society and Global South society. The study employs the concept of digital geopolitics and uses a mixed-method approach combining IndoBERT-based sentiment analysis, unguided topic modeling, and qualitative interpretive reading. The data used is in the form of tweets in the Indonesian language with a total of around 3,000 tweets from 13 June to 24 June 2025. The results highlight three prevailing discourses: escalation and tactical warfare, religious-humanitarian solidarity with Palestine and public concerns about wider global instability. The sentiment against Israel was overwhelmingly negative, across a variety of issues. The study finds that the digital public sphere in Indonesia can be described as a geopolitical space that is decentralized and where international conflicts are understood by local moral language, religious identity, and political awareness of the Global South. The article is a valuable addition to the literature of digital geopolitics by highlighting the growing role of the digital publics in Southeast Asia in shaping transnational political discourse.

Keywords: digital geopolitics; digital public sphere; Indonesia; Iran–Israel conflict; sentiment analysis

Introduction

Digital platforms have increasingly become central arenas in which international conflicts are interpreted, contested, and emotionally negotiated by transnational publics. In today's international relations, the state, diplomatic institutions, or traditional media are no longer the only intermediaries between geopolitical issues and narratives of war, morality, and global order; instead, these issues are refracted through networked digital environments in which ordinary users play a role in the construction of geopolitical narratives. Digital communication is an integral part of ongoing geopolitics, as platforms like X (formerly Twitter) allow governments, activists, religious communities, and citizens to express their competing interpretations of international events (Gombar, 2026; Merkouraki, 2024; Osondu-Oti et al., 2024). These platforms are not just spaces for the dissemination of information but rather digital public spaces in which identity, ideology, humanitarian motives, and political emotion come together (Pfister, 2019). In this context, public discourse can either reinforce, challenge, or complicate state narratives of foreign policy by amplifying alternative geopolitical and moral frames (Murphy & Costa, 2025a). Publics are increasingly engaged in the production of political meaning outside the state's institutional apparatus in decentralized communication systems (Castells, 2009; Schillemans, 2014).

The June 2025 “12-Day War” between Iran and Israel is a crucial case for the study of these dynamics. The event drew a lot of attention from around the world because of the simultaneous missile launches, cyber attacks, strategic communication, and the prospect of a regional escalation. The conflict quickly became a major geopolitical crisis that had regional, stability, energy security and global power competition implications for the international media. At the same time, the social media became extremely active venues for public interpretation, on which people engaged in discussions on the escalation of the war, on humanitarian issues, on the concepts of deterrence and on the broader legitimacy of international actors in the conflict. Digital reactions are not just spontaneous online commentary, but rather, they are grassroots geopolitical interpretations that are mediated by historical memory, ideology, and emotional affiliation (Duncombe, 2019b; Murphy & Costa, 2025b; Nasereddin, 2023; Yaser Ahmad et al., 2025).

Indonesia is a case in particular that is worth exploring in this context. Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim-majority democracy and an important voice in the Global

South, and has historically used its public voice to express strong solidarity with Palestine, and consistently to situate itself in broader anti-colonial and humanitarian discourses about West Asia. The opinions of the wider public in Indonesia often overlap with foreign-policy issues, such as those involving Muslim populations and issues of global justice. Indonesian digital activism is found to often arise from the intersection of religion, humanitarianism and anti-colonial memory in previous studies. Thus, the Iran–Israel issue, as it is discussed online in Indonesia, is not just a product of the instant emotional reaction, but also demonstrates the ways in which global geopolitical crises are understood through locally circulated moral lexica and transnational solidarities.

In this context, the digital public sphere is not just a communicative space, but a space where the negotiation of various understandings of international order, legitimacy, and geopolitical alignment takes place (Andriansyah, 2025; Fajriyah & Setiawati, 2025; Kusumalestari et al., 2026; Noormansyah et al., 2025; Prabandari & Darmawan, 2026).

While there is an increasing body of research on digital politics and social media, there are a number of gaps in the current literature. First, there is still a lack of studies on digital geopolitics and political discourse in online contexts from Global South societies compared to Euro-American contexts (Heeks et al., 2024; Oezkula & Reilly, 2023; Putri et al., 2024). Secondly, the research on the wars in the Middle East often highlights elites, state strategies, or regional security dynamics, neglecting to consider how local but symbolically engaged publics perceive these wars online (Bozbaş, 2025; Steel, 2015; Taufiq, 2025). Third, while the Israeli–Palestinian conflict has been the subject of much scholarly research in the field of digital media studies, the direct confrontation between the two countries, especially the June 2025 escalation, has not been studied systematically in the Southeast Asian context. Consequently, there has been little research on the role of the Muslim majority digital publics in building transnational geopolitical narratives about West Asia (Andriani & Himawan, 2025; Kusumalestari et al., 2026; Tri Widuri et al., 2026).

The article examines how Indonesian users reacted to the Iran–Israel “12-Day War” in June 2025 on X, and how the dominant discourses in these online reactions shaped the nature of the discussions. It investigates the sentiments of the users regarding the conflict and how sentiment is expressed, as well as the dominant discourses that structured online reactions, and how such expressions reveal wider Indonesian orientations towards West

Asian geopolitics and Global South solidarities. Specifically, the research questions are: (1) What were the sentiments of Indonesian X users in the Iran-Iraq conflict period in the middle of June 2025? (2) What religious, humanitarian, political and geopolitical themes guided these conversations, and (3) How do these expressions shed light on the changing role of Indonesia in the current geopolitical conversation on West Asia and the Global South?

To answer these questions, the article combines computational methods—namely sentiment analysis and topic modeling using IndoBERT along with interpretive reading of representative tweets to answer these questions. This mixed-method approach allows for the study not just to detect the thematic and emotional trends in large-scale digital discourse, but also to contextualize them in the geopolitical imagination of Indonesia. Thus, the article adds to the current discussion on digital public spheres, transnational solidarity, affective geopolitics and global international relations of the Global South. More generally, it illustrates how digital publics in the Southeast Asian region are increasingly involved in producing interpretations of international crises, which in turn extends the role of networked communication in the current international relations.

METHODOLOGY

Literature Review

Digital Geopolitics

Digital technologies expansion has greatly influenced the nature of international relations and the dynamics of power in international politics. This shift aligns with the growing prominence of digital international relations, where digital platforms and communication networks are increasingly influencing political communication, public opinion, and international relations (Bainus & Rachman, 2023). Digital geopolitics has been a growing concept to describe the impact of cyberspace, digital infrastructures, platforms, and information systems on geopolitical competition, sovereignty, and transnational interaction in recent years (Huskaj, 2023). Digital geopolitics is different from classical geopolitics, which mostly centers on territorial control and military strength, digital geopolitics is about the strategic influence of digital infrastructures and networked communication in creating global power relation (H. Liu & Miao, 2024).

Huskaj (2023) states that digital geopolitics is the analysis of interdependent information systems and cyberspace affecting political, military, economic, social, informational, and infrastructural systems in the global arena. From this point of view, digital technologies are not only seen as communication or economic modernization tools but are also considered as strategic infrastructures that can influence and shape international stability, political influence, and global governance. Likewise, Liu and Miao (2024) suggest that digital geopolitics is a product of digital transformation and geopolitical competition, as the digital network, data system, and technological innovation have increasingly become linked with national security, economic competition, and international power relations (Huskaj, 2023; H. Liu & Miao, 2024).

The idea of digital geopolitics is linked to the changing dynamics of sovereignty and international competition. The use of digital technologies has changed the geopolitical reality of the world by eroding the boundaries between the internal and external dimension of the state and traditional and modern power structures, impacting sovereignty and international competition (Zirojević, 2024). The digital geopolitics highlights the changes in sovereignty and international competition: power moves to the new "borderless" digital spaces governed by private actors, where data collection and analysis are now strategically important, and influence is exerted by hidden algorithms operating across borders and data flows (Kerim & Lambert, 2025). Artificial Intelligence and semiconductors are among the technologies that play a central role in geopolitical competition and contribute to national power and influence (Nikolić et al., 2025). The geopolitical contestation is characterized by the role of technologies such as AI, metaverse, and Web3 systems, which boost state capacities in terms of sovereignty, security, and leadership, influencing autonomy, resilience, and strategic influence (Hu et al., 2025). Digital geopolitics, therefore, is emerging as a key field where the control of technology, the governance of data, and the infrastructure of the digital world are becoming increasingly decisive in the redistribution of global power and the international politics of the future.

Digital geopolitics is different from traditional geopolitics in several ways. First, digital geopolitics works through transnational digital networks which extend beyond territorial boundaries, making cyberspace and digital infrastructure strategic domains of global competition (H. Liu & Miao, 2024). In the Indonesian context, digital platforms

have increasingly been utilized as instruments of agenda-setting, visibility management, and digital public diplomacy, highlighting the ways in which these platforms influence modern-day international communication practices (Hikmawan et al., 2024).

Second, geopolitical influence is no longer confined to the hands of the state, but also it is in the hands of digital platforms, multinational technology corporations, and networked publics that are active in the creation of geopolitical narratives and international discourse (Zirojević, 2024). Third, digital geopolitics is closely related to data governance, technological standards, cybersecurity and information sovereignty, in which digital infrastructures are increasingly used as tools of geopolitical influence and strategic power (Mann & Daly, 2020). Digital geopolitics is, overall, a reflection of the digitalization of international relations, in which power increasingly takes place via communication networks, data infrastructures, and digital narratives.

Research Method

Design

The design of this study is a mixed method which combines computational text analysis and interpretive reading. The combination is deliberate: while computational techniques help trace broad patterns across thousands of posts, interpretive methods are needed to understand how users embed political, religious, or symbolic meaning within their expressions (Freelon, 2014). X (formerly Twitter) is chosen as the platform to be studied because it provides quick and networked responses to geopolitical events and allows for the flow of transnational conversations (Duncombe, 2019c).

Data Collection and Timeframe

The dataset consists of 3,000 Indonesian-language tweets posted between 13 and 24 June 2025, the period in which online attention to the Iran–Israel “12-Day War” was most intense. The data set comprises of 3,000 Indonesian-language tweets from 13 to 24 June 2025, a time when attention was particularly high on the Iran–Israel “12-Day War” at the time. The set of predefined Indonesian keywords used as the basis for capturing tweets was derived from the political, religious and military aspects of the war, which are: *Iran*, *Israel*, *Netanyahu*, *Khamenei*, *Iran Syiah*, *Rudal Iran*, *Nuklir Iran*, and *Iran Zionis*. These terms were selected to encompass both actors and the symbolic frames through which

Indonesian users typically discuss West Asian conflicts. In order to analyze sentiment toward the domestic rather than the international, only tweets that were primarily in Indonesian were retained.

Preprocessing and Language Handling

Like most social media data, the raw tweets were filled with noise such as nonstandard word usage, emojis, long spellings, hyperlinks, and so on. The preprocessing pipeline thus included a lowercase operation, a URL/mention removal step, orthographic variation normalization and cleanup of extraneous punctuation. In Google Colab, tokenization, removing stopwords and stemming were performed using Sastrawi. Sastrawi was chosen because it is optimized for Indonesian morphology, improving the interpretability of the model's outputs. Google Colab provided the computational environment for a reproducible analytical workflow.

Sentiment Classification and Topic Modeling

The cleaned corpus was analyzed using IndoBERT, a transformer-based model developed specifically for Indonesian. IndoBERT classified tweets into positive, negative, or neutral sentiment categories and also generated three latent topics using an unguided topic modeling configuration. The mix enabled the study to chart the emotional register of public responses as well as the thematic clusters that structured these reactions. Visualizations showing sentiment distribution, topic frequency and term relevance were generated using Matplotlib.

Interpretive Reading and Discourse Analysis

IndoBERT has captured general trends, but it cannot capture the context fully because of the layers of meaning that can be given by symbolism, irony, or religious idioms. To tackle these, the study carried out interpretive reading of some representative tweets for each sentiment and topic cluster. Narratives of the war, connections between the war and Palestine and broader West Asian politics, and moral/humanitarian arguments were all attended to. The interpretive layer also examined identity markers, intertextual references, and the interplay between geopolitical commentary and religious meaning.

The computational and interpretive aspects offer a multi-dimensional perspective on how the Iranian users responded to the Iran–Israel “12-Day War”. The methodology illustrates the utility of combining language-specific machine learning tools with qualitative reading, especially when analyzing non-Western social media environments where cultural complexities shape political communication.

RESULT

The findings shown in this section are an example of the most common theme and mood patterns that appeared in Indonesian X users' conversations about the Iran-Israel war that occurred in June 2025. The analysis employs topic modeling and sentiment classification techniques based on the IndoBERT model to categorize the structure of online discourse and its sentiment, revealing the various interconnected narratives—such as those focusing on military tactics and scenarios, religious and humanitarian bonds, and general anxieties about geopolitical escalation and global instability that emerged from it.

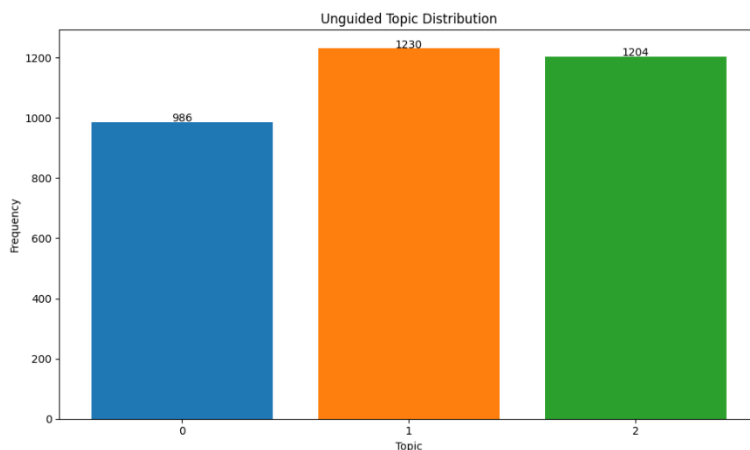
To systematically present these findings, this section is divided into four main components: (1) Unguided Topic Distribution, which outlines the overall distribution of the extracted topics; (2) Top 20 Keywords and Confidence per Topic, which identifies the dominant keywords and the model’s confidence levels within each topic; (3) Topic Distinctiveness, which examines the semantic uniqueness of each topic through TF-IDF analysis; and (4) Sentiment Distribution, which maps the emotional tendencies of Indonesian X users across the identified topics. Collectively, these findings demonstrate how social media platforms functioned as dynamic spaces in which Indonesian users interpreted and responded to international crises through political, moral, and emotional expressions.

Unguided Topic Distribution

The "Unguided Topic Distribution" bar chart in Figure 1 above illustrates the frequency of various conversational themes extracted from a dataset of Indonesian tweets regarding the Iran-Israel conflict. The bar chart reflects the total number of posts in X (Twitter) that were captured around the two-week period from June 13 to June 24, 2025. The bar chart categorized the public discourse into three distinct primary clusters based on the results of employing “IndoBERT” as the unguided topic modeling approach. The horizontal axis represents the three extracted topics with the following labels sequentially: Topic 0, Topic

1, and Topic 2. The vertical axis measures the frequency to indicate the total number of individual tweets that correspond to each specific topic category.

Figure 1 – Topic Distribution



Source: Authors, 2026

In general, a breakdown of the specific frequencies reveals engagement by the Indonesian X users across all three topics. Topic 1 is the most prominent topic by containing a total of 1,230 tweets. Next, Topic 2 follows closely with the total of 1,204 tweets. Last, Topic 0 represents the smallest group, with 986 tweets. The main takeaway from Figure 1 is the near-parity in volume between Topic 1 and Topic 2. This narrow margin suggests that the Indonesian Twitter conversation during this specific timeframe was heavily dominated by Topic 1 and Topic 2. Both topics are distinct, yet equally prevalent as the narratives from Indonesian X users. Meanwhile, Topic 0 captured a slightly lower share of the conversation by falling just below the 1,000-tweet threshold.

Top 20 Keywords and Confidence per Topic

The top 20 keywords of Topic 0 in Table 1 reveal a conversation centered entirely on the military, tactical, and aerial dimensions of the Iran-Israel conflict. Indonesian Twitter users within the Topic 0 were predominantly focused on the warfare tactics during the Iran-Israel conflict, specific weaponry employed by both Iran and Israel, and the involvement of the United States. Prominent keywords such as *rudal* (missile), *balistik* (ballistic), *drone*, *pesawat* (aircraft), and *senjata* (weapon) highlight the focus from Indonesian X users on the physical instruments of war. In addition to that, the presence of words like *serangan* (attack), *menyerang* (to attack), *pertahanan* (defense), and *udara* (air) contextualizes the conversation in Topic 0 around aerial combat and strategic strikes.

In addition, the use of the term *nuklir* (nuclear) points to an underlying concern or speculation in the public about extreme escalation. Further, the presence of the keywords *AS* and *Amerika* (United States) signifies that the Indonesian X users are looking at this conflict from a wider perspective of geopolitical context because the global powers are involved in the conflict.

Table 1 – Top 20 Keywords and Confidence per Topic

Topic	0	1	2
Keywords	<i>rudal, iran, israel, serangan, perang, nuklir, udara, militer, balistik, as, pertahanan, drone, pesawat, amerika, senjata, zionis, negara, wilayah, menyerang, lebih</i>	<i>zionis, iran, israel, perang, negara, palestina, syiah, islam, bukan, rakyat, yahudi, gaza, dunia, arab, amerika, dukung, semua, menyerang, melawan, kalian</i>	<i>rudal, iran, israel, perang, ga, gak, punya, zionis, mau, nyerang, buat, apa, negara, kalau, jadi, banyak, kena, emang, nuklir, lebih</i>
Average Confidence	0.8152	0.8189	0.8200
Minimum Confidence	0.5556	0.4934	0.4902
Maximum Confidence	0.9058	0.9115	0.9139

Source: Authors, 2026

The confidence statistics for Topic 0 validate the IndoBERT model’s reliability in categorizing the Indonesia X users’ posts. The topic has an Average Confidence score of 0.8152 (81.5% probability). That means the algorithm in the IndoBERT model was certain when assigning tweets to the topic 0. In addition to that, the Maximum Confidence score reaches 0.9058 (90.5% probability). That shows most of the conversation in Topic 0 has a military focus. Even the Minimum Confidence score of 0.5556 (55.5% probability) remains above the threshold of ambiguity for social media data. With that minimum confidence score, the IndoBERT model has a baseline of thematic consistency. Therefore, semantic cohesion and specific vocabulary reveal a segment of Indonesian users who are discussing the military maneuvers throughout the conflict.

While discussions in Topic 0 revolve around military tactical aspects of the Iran-Israel conflict, the keywords of Topic 1 in Table 1 reveal highly ideological and socio-political conversations. Topic 1, as the most voluminous topic with 1,230 tweets, highlights how Indonesian X users contextualize the conflict within broader religious and regional struggles. That is because most of the keywords in Topic 1 demonstrate a substantial emphasis on identity aspects. Terms such as *palestina* (Palestine), *gaza*, *islam*,

syiah (Shia), *yahudi* (Jews), and *zionis* (Zionist) indicate that the Indonesian X users heavily frame the Iran-Israel conflict through a religious identity. Indonesian X users also connect that directly to the broader ongoing Palestinian crisis by referencing broader geopolitical identifiers such as *arab*, *amerika* (America), *negara* (country), and *dunia* (world). The keywords also suggested public conversation among Indonesian X users regarding international alliances and the wider global impact of the conflict. Furthermore, the presence of polarizing verbs and pronouns in the top 20 keywords of Topic 1, such as *dukung* (support), *melawan* (fight or against), *bukan* (not), *rakyat* (people), and *kalian* (you all), reveals that Indonesian X users were actively engaged in the conversations. In short, Indonesian X users in Topic 1 are actively taking sides to Palestine, rallying support for Palestine, and challenging opposing viewpoints on this conflict within the X platform.

Numerically speaking, the confidence scores for Topic 1 highlight the prominence and clarity of the identity-based conversations among Indonesian X users. As the Average Confidence score slightly edged out Topic 0, the score of 0.8189 (81.8% probability) confirmed that the algorithm in the IndoBERT model successfully identified a cohesive underlying theme of identity in Topic 1. The Maximum Confidence of 0.9115 (91.1% probability) points out the definitive tweets that drive the identity-based narrative in the conversation among Indonesian X users. Compared to the Minimum Confidence of Topic 0, Topic 1 drops to 0.4934 (49.3% probability). The lower minimum confidence score might suggest the presence of shorter posts from Indonesian users to the X platform. Still, the average confidence score confirms that the identity theme is clear in Topic 1.

Topic 2 with volume that nearly matches Topic 1 highlights the everyday Indonesian X users' fear that the Iran-Israel conflict in West Asia could trigger a much larger confrontation on a global level. The top 20 keywords of Topic 2 reveal a substantial conversation that centered on general public anxiety about the widespread military escalation from West Asia to other regions or involving more actors. One thing that shows the clear characteristic of Topic 2 is how the conversation among Indonesian X users revolves around the intersection of military terminology and informal Indonesian vocabulary. The military terminology shown by keywords such as *rudal* (missile), *nuklir* (nuclear), and *perang* (war). Meanwhile the informal Indonesian vocabulary is shown by the following keywords: *ga* or *gak* (no or not), *nyerang* (attacking), and *emang* (is it or indeed). In addition to that, the presence of speculative and interrogative terms in the top

20 keywords of Topic 2, such as *kalau* (if), *jadi* (happen or become), and *apa* (what) suggests that Indonesian X users were actively debating hypothetical scenarios in their conversations. Especially, they were expressing deep concern over the consequences of the Iran-Israel conflict with the word *kena* (affect). Therefore, Topic 2 establishes the raw public reaction on the implications of the conflict for diverse hypothetical scenarios.

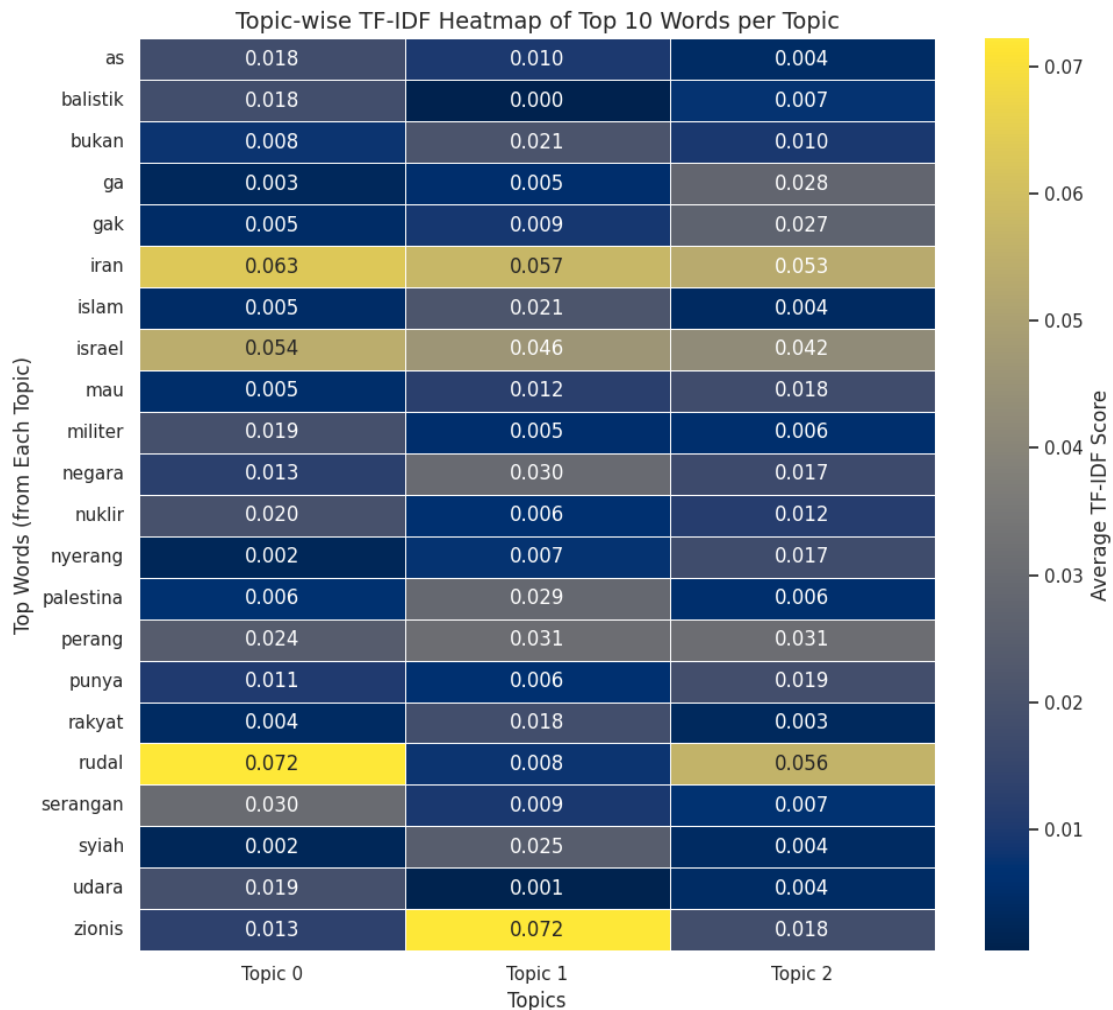
The confidence statistics for Topic 2 further validate the strength of this speculative conversation among Indonesian X users about the Iran-Israel conflict. Compared to Topic 0 and Topic 1, Topic 2 has the highest Average Confidence score with 0.8200 (82.0% probability). The score indicates that algorithms in the IndoBERT topic modeling found a consistent semantic pattern within Indonesian X users' conversations in Topic 2. In addition to that, Topic 2 has the highest Maximum Confidence with a total of 0.9139 (91.3% probability). That also represents the definitive pattern for the conversation about the fear of Iran-Israel conflict escalation. One thing to note about the dip of 0.4902 (49.0% probability) in the Minimum Confidence might highlight the informal Indonesian vocabulary in the conversation of Topic 2. Overall, Topic 2 provides the speculative aspect to the tactical focus of Topic 0 and the identity-based focus of Topic 1.

Topic Distinctiveness

Below, Figure 2 presents the Topic-wise Term Frequency-Inverse Document Frequency (TF-IDF) scores to offer a numerical and visual representation of the semantic distinctiveness between Topic 0, Topic 1, and Topic 2 in the Indonesian X users data during Iran-Israel conflict. On the right side, Figure 2 has a color scale with a range from dark blue for low relevance in the topic (0.000) to bright yellow for high relevance in the topic (0.072). The purpose of the colour scale is to clearly delineate how the top 20 keywords in all of the data are specifically distributed in each topic. In general, Figure 2 shows that the overarching conversations among Indonesian X users in each topic have subjects of the Iran-Israel conflict with the basic keywords revolving around the subject. That is shown by how the heatmap illustrates a shared proportional baseline on the keywords of *iran* and *israel*. The keyword *iran* maintains consistently TF-IDF scores across all of the topics with 0.063 in Topic 0, 0.057 in Topic 1, and 0.053 in Topic 2. Similarly, the keyword *israel* has proportional heat across the three topics with scores of 0.054 in Topic 0, 0.046 in Topic 1, and 0.042 in Topic 2. In addition to the keywords of *iran* and *israel*, another shared keyword component across the topics is the term *perang*

(war) with the consistent scores range of 0.024 in Topic 0, 0.031 in Topic 1, and 0.031 in Topic 2.

Figure 2 – Topic Distinctivness



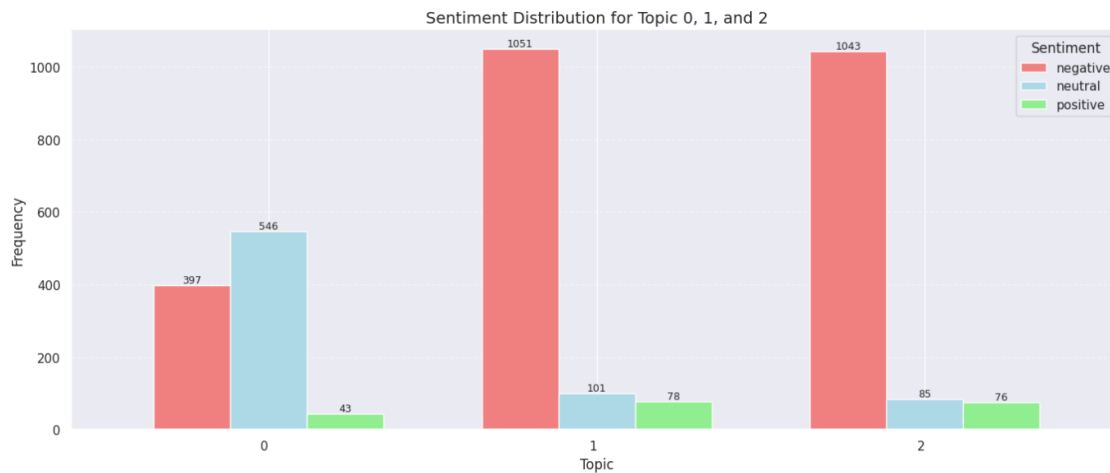
Source: Authors, 2026

Sentiment Distribution

Figure 3 presents the sentiment distribution for the collected data on Indonesian X users' conversation about the Iran-Israel conflict. The sentiment distribution above serves as the final layer to examine their conversations following topic distribution and distinctiveness analysis. That is because the sentiment distribution represents the emotional states of Indonesian X users' conversation by categorizing it into three main categories for each topic distribution. The three main categories in Figure 3 are negative with color-coded red, neutral with color-coded blue, and positive with color-coded green. With a clear color code for each sentiment in each topic, Figure 3 presents how the general tone of

Indonesian X users' conversation was shifting from one topic to another topic based on the subject matters.

Figure 3 – Sentiment Distribution



Source: Authors, 2026

The computational results demonstrate that Indonesian digital discourse on the Iran-Israel conflict did not only vary thematically but also emotionally and geopolitically in each of the topics identified. Topic 0 mostly showed an informational and tactical response, while Topic 1 and Topic 2 had more ideological, humanitarian, and anxiety-driven responses. These patterns suggest that Indonesian users did not engage with the conflict merely as distant observers of international events, but as active participants in the construction of geopolitical meaning within the digital public sphere. Thus, the next discussion will analyze the results of these findings with the perspective of digital geopolitics to analyze the Indonesian responses to the Iran-Israel conflict in June 2025 through the prism of online narratives, emotional expressions, and transnational solidarities.

DISCUSSION

The results of this research highlight the construction of digital geopolitics as a transnational digital network that has become the means for international political discussion in which societies across geographical distance can directly engage. The June 2025 war between Iran and Israel took place in West Asia, but Indonesian X users were actively involved in the discussions regarding military escalation, nuclear threats, humanitarian issues, and fears of wider geopolitical instability. The presence of keywords

related to the military in Topic 0, which include *rudal*, *balistik*, *drone*, and *nuklir*, suggests that Indonesian users were more than just passive receivers of information from abroad; they were active players in the production, interpretation, and dissemination of geopolitical narratives via digital platforms. These findings further support Liu and Miao's argument that digital geopolitics takes place on an interconnected network of digital infrastructures, in which geopolitical contestation is no longer limited to the traditional state-based diplomatic and military arenas but now extends to networked communication environments (L. Liu & Luo, 2021). In the current context, cyberspace represents a space of strategic communication in which international crises are being spread, translated and subject to emotional negotiation in a way that transcends the geographical.

The similarity between Topic 1 and Topic 2 also highlights how digital platforms can help to enable the transnational circulation of geopolitical narratives and emotional responses across borders. Discussions involving Palestine, Islam, Zionism, and fears of global escalation reveal that Indonesian users interpreted the conflict not only through military developments but also through broader religious, humanitarian, and ideological frameworks. This is consistent with Castells' concept of the network society, in which the power of communication is now decentralized, and publics have more opportunities to participate in meaning-making processes (Castells, 2009). Likewise, Chadwick declares that today's political communication is influenced by hybrid media systems in which digital media enable the rapid propagation of narratives to transnational audiences (Bailard, 2015).

In Indonesia, X facilitated the construction of a real-time geopolitical space for users, regardless of their distance from the conflict, and turned it into a digital public sphere in which global events became part of local moral lexicons and political consciousness in the Global South. As such, digital platforms are becoming increasingly important strategic fields of international competition where geopolitical narratives, ideologies and public feelings are rapidly moving across national borders.

The results also reveal that in the digital age, geopolitical influence is not exclusively the prerogative of states or formal diplomatic bodies but is now increasingly mediated by digital platforms and networked publics which actively contribute to international discourses. With the Iran–Israel conflict of June 2025, X served not only as

an avenue of communication but also as a decentralized form of geopolitical space where Indonesian users played a role in shaping, projecting, and challenging narratives about the conflict. In addition, previous research in the Indonesian context also shows that the digital platforms are increasingly used as tools of digital diplomacy and digital political communication, which allows the wider public to be part of the global political dialogue (Samad & Permatasari, 2023).

The dominance of Topic 1, characterized by keywords such as *Palestina*, *Islam*, *Zionis*, *Yahudi*, and *Gaza*, reveals that Indonesian users interpret the conflict from moral, religious, and humanitarian aspects rather than strategic aspects. The conversations here expose the ways in which digital publics help to produce geopolitical meaning, as they connect the present to the past, to ideology and to transnational solidarities. The digital public sphere is changing the nature of political communication by enabling greater democratization of access to the media, more amplification of various actors and identities, impact on political legitimacy and decision-making, and the challenge of traditional normative foundations via decentralized and sometimes less rational communication (Hänksa et al., 2020; Rasmussen, 2013; Schäfer, 2016).

Concurrently, digital platforms' involvement in organizing visibility, engagement, and the flow of information underscores the increasing impact of technological infrastructures on the current geopolitical landscape. With platforms such as X, narratives, emotional responses and political interpretations can be rapidly shared with transnational audiences, allowing geopolitical discourse to be generated through user-user interaction, algorithm-user interaction and digital communication. This is a context in which geopolitical narratives are not just created within official state communication or the mainstream media but also within the decentralized digital participation that is created by networked publics.

The negative sentiment patterns found in Topic 1 and Topic 2 illustrate the ways in which Indonesian users collectively shaped emotional and political reactions to issues of justice, war and human suffering in the digital public sphere. The findings corroborate the argument that digital platforms are becoming more complicated with respect to official narratives, and at the same time they are becoming more complicated with respect to other, alternative, moral and political narratives, which are shaped and amplified through geopolitical dynamics, which are interpreted in liberalist, realist and

constructivist frameworks (Khurana & Singh, 2026; Qiu, 2023). Thus, geopolitical action is increasingly taking place through digitally mediated interactions, through platforms, online communities and transnational publics in where the circulation and interpretation of international crises are actively shaped by these actors, but not exclusively by individual states.

The results also show that digital geopolitics is closely related to the strategic function of digital infrastructures in the circulation, visibility and interpretation of geopolitical information in transnational communication networks. In current digital settings, platforms like X are not only spaces where public debate can take place but also spaces that shape how geopolitical narratives are disseminated, amplified and consumed globally. Geopolitical and war-related narratives are actively constructed, directed, and disseminated by digital platforms and technology companies via algorithmic systems, infrastructural control, and symbolic approaches that shape global public opinion, military operations, diplomacy, and the development of anti-Western and/or competing political narratives (Irman et al., 2026; Noordenbos & Tuters, 2026; Vyas et al., 2025).

During the June 2025 Iran-Israel conflict, the vast proliferation of talk about military escalation, threats of nuclear war, and humanitarian crises shows how digital infrastructures are used to transport geopolitical information across borders in real time. Digital infrastructures at this time generate information borders and filters based on geolocation and language, as well as global, instant communication among states, refugees and other actors via digital platforms and mobile technologies (Latonero & Kift, 2018; Ochigame & Ye, 2021).

In this context, the prominence of military-related keywords in Topic 0 and the widespread emotional responses identified in Topic 1 and Topic 2 reflect how digital systems increasingly mediate public understanding of international crises (Duncombe, 2019a; Jevtović, 2025; Norman et al., 2024). In other words, digital technologies and infrastructures are reshaping governance and international relations by managing visibility, influencing information flows and strategic communication, and enabling digital diplomacy as a tool of geopolitical influence, global policy formation, and power transformation (Flyverbom, 2016; Mujkić & Avdić, 2026; Savaş, 2026). Overall, these findings confirm that digital geopolitics is no longer confined to state-centered territorial competition but increasingly operates through digitally mediated infrastructures that

shape global narratives, influence public perception, and redefine the dynamics of power, legitimacy, and international communication in contemporary conflicts.

At a broader level, these dynamics illustrate how struggles over information circulation and digital communication increasingly form part of contemporary geopolitical competition. The ability of digital platforms to rapidly disseminate conflict-related narratives enables geopolitical actors, online communities, and networked publics to influence public perception beyond traditional state-controlled communication channels (Aurelia et al., 2025; Irman et al., 2026). In the Indonesian case, the digital public sphere became a space where users collectively interpreted the Iran–Israel conflict through narratives of justice, insecurity, religious solidarity, and geopolitical anxiety (Budi et al., 2025; Qoirunnisa & Mustofa, 2024). Such processes demonstrate how information sovereignty in the digital era is increasingly shaped by platform-driven communication systems in which algorithms, data infrastructures, and transnational information flows influence how international events are framed and understood (Chung, 2026; Kanevskiy & Petrov, 2024). Control over digital infrastructures, data systems, and technological networks increasingly constitutes a strategic dimension of geopolitical power in the digital age (Flensburg & Lai, 2023; Lawton et al., 2023). Therefore, digital infrastructures themselves have become strategic arenas of geopolitical competition, as control over information circulation and narrative visibility increasingly shapes the formation of global public opinion and transnational political discourse.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the June 2025 Iran–Israel “12-Day War” was not only interpreted through conventional geopolitical institutions but also through Indonesia’s digital public sphere, where networked publics actively constructed narratives, emotions, and political meanings surrounding the conflict. The results of the analysis of the conversations in the Indonesian language on X using the IndoBERT-based topic modeling and sentiment analysis show that the Indonesian people were involved in the conflict through the interconnectedness of military, humanitarian, religious and geopolitical narratives. In the case of missile attacks, nuclear escalation, Palestine, Zionism, and global instability, discussions were not limited to information exchange and

acted as an interpretation of geopolitical processes on the grassroots level in transnational communication networks.

It also points to the growing role of digital public spheres as spaces of digital geopolitics in which geographically distant publics are directly involved in international political discourse. The war took place in West Asia; however, the crisis was actively reimagined and emotionally reacted to by Indonesian users in terms of humanitarianism, Islamic solidarity and fears of the potential spread of instability in the global arena. In this context, X functioned not merely as a social media platform but as a decentralized geopolitical space where online publics negotiated moral legitimacy, geopolitical alignment, and interpretations of international order. These findings reinforce the argument that contemporary geopolitics is increasingly mediated through digital infrastructures and networked communication systems that transcend territorial boundaries.

Concurrently, the negative sentiment overwhelmingly directed toward Israel and the relatively high level of religious and humanitarian sentiment indicate the ways in which the Indonesian digital publics positioned the conflict within broader Global South and Muslim-world perspectives. Indonesian users were not merely the receivers of international news, but they themselves were producers of transnational discourse on issues of justice, war, and human suffering. The results thus provide an insight into the ways in which ordinary people can shape geopolitical discourses along with states, media and political elites through digital spaces. The article builds on the existing literature on digital geopolitics and digital public spheres by making Indonesia a crucial context in the Global South, which is underrepresented.

Returning to the three research questions posed in the introduction, the findings can be summarized as follows. First, the analysis of sentiment expressed by Indonesian X users on the Iran–Israel confrontation indicates that negative sentiment was clearly prevalent in all three topics and overwhelmingly targeted toward Israel. Positive sentiment was minimal, while neutral sentiment was largely confined to Topic 0, reflecting informational and tactical engagement with the conflict. Second, regarding the themes that structured online discussion, three dominant thematic clusters were identified: military escalation and tactical warfare (Topic 0), religious-humanitarian

solidarity with Palestine (Topic 1), and public anxiety over broader global instability (Topic 2).

Third, on the subject of what these expressions say about Indonesia's geopolitical position, the results showed that the digital public sphere is a space for the geopolitical consciousness of the Global South and Muslim majority, which views international conflicts from a moral, humanitarian and anti-colonial perspective rather than only strategic perspectives. The findings above show that the Indonesian public is not an inactive audience of international affairs but a player in building geopolitical meanings across the globe. As for policy, the results highlight the religious and humanitarian frame of Indonesian public opinion on West Asian conflicts and urge the government and international actors to consider this in designing public diplomacy or soft power strategies for audiences from the Southeast Asia region.

Methodologically, this study also shows the effectiveness of the fusion of computational methods like sentiment analysis with the IndoBERT model and interpretive reading with the qualitative approach to get the big picture of discourse and culturally embedded meanings in multilingual digital environments. However, the study has a few limitations, such as the time scale of the study and the social media platform studied. Future studies could therefore explore the dynamics of different platforms, the changes over time of digital discourse, or comparative reactions from societies in the Global South to international crises. These would further illuminate the perception of digital geopolitical agencies in the digital age, as well as transnational solidarity and international relations.

DECLARATION

The authors used AI-based language editing tools only to improve the clarity, coherence, and grammatical accuracy of the manuscript, as the authors are not native English speakers. These tools did not contribute to the conception of the study, development of the arguments, design or execution of the analysis, interpretation of results, or any other substantive aspect of the research. All theoretical insights, analytical decisions, and conclusions presented in this manuscript remain solely the work and responsibility of the authors.

REFERENCES

- Andriansyah, Y. (2025). Youth Activism and Digital Advocacy: Indonesian Young Generation's Solidarity with Palestine. *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, xvii–xxxviii. <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol24.iss2.editorial>
- Bailard, C. S. (2015). *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*, by Andrew Chadwick. *Political Communication*, 32(3), 497–499. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2015.1050294>
- Bainus, A., & Rachman, J. B. (2023). EDITORIAL: Hubungan Internasional Digital (Digital International Relations). *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 8(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v8n1.1>
- Bozbaş, G. (2025). Contesting in Digital Public Spheres: Limits and Possibilities of Grass roots Diplomacy in MENA. *İçtimaiyat*, 9(2), 717–738. <https://doi.org/10.33709/ictimaiyat.1751414>
- Budi, N. S., Gultom, E., & Widjayanto, J. (2025). Implikasi Konflik Iran-Israel bagi Kebijakan Pertahanan Indonesia (Sebuah Refleksi Historis dari Pembelajaran Perang Diponegoro untuk Ketahanan Nasional). *Bappenas Working Papers*, 8(3), 405–421. <https://doi.org/10.47266/bwp.v8i3.468>
- Castells, M. (2009). *Communication Power*. <https://maestriacomunicacionibero.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/castells-power-in-the-network-society.pdf>
- Chung, C. H. (2026). Redefining Digital Sovereignty. *Technology and Regulation*, 2026, 57–70. <https://doi.org/10.71265/q0527965>
- Aurelia, D. R., Putri, F. A., Baenuri, J. B. P., Azizah, N. K., & Nathaniel, R. E. (2025). Dampak Kampanye Propaganda Digital AS terhadap Persepsi Publik Studi Kasus : Konflik Suriah Tahun 2020-2024. *Intellektika : Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa*, 3(1), 406–419. <https://doi.org/10.59841/intellektika.v3i1.2314>
- Duncombe, C. (2019a). Digital Diplomacy: Emotion and Identity in the Public Realm. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 14(1–2), 102–116. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-14101016>
- Duncombe, C. (2019b). The Politics of Twitter: Emotions and the Power of Social Media. *International Political Sociology*, 13(4), 409–429. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olz013>

- Duncombe, C. (2019c). The Politics of Twitter: Emotions and the Power of Social Media. *International Political Sociology*, 13(4), 409–429. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olz013>
- Andriani, A. D., & Himawan, I. S. (2025). Global Brand Narratives Amidst Pro-Palestinian Boycotts: A Critical Discourse Analysis in Southeast Asia. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 41(2), 384–404. <https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2025-4102-22>
- Fajriyah, N., & Setiawati, S. M. (2025). Indonesia's View: Eradicating Colonialism and Supporting Palestine. *Global South Review*, 7(1), 139. <https://doi.org/10.22146/globalsouth.96776>
- Flensburg, S., & Lai, S. S. (2023). Follow the Data! A Strategy for Tracing Infrastructural Power. *Media and Communication*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v11i2.6464>
- Flyverbom, M. (2016). Disclosing and concealing: internet governance, information control and the management of visibility. *Internet Policy Review*, 5(3). <https://doi.org/10.14763/2016.3.428>
- Freelon, D. (2014). On the Interpretation of Digital Trace Data in Communication and Social Computing Research. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 58(1), 59–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2013.875018>
- Gombar, M. (2026). Fragmentation of Digital Platforms in International Political Dynamics. *Medijske Studije*, 16(32), 67–88. <https://doi.org/10.20901/ms.16.32.4>
- Hänska, M., Bahiya, A., Amaral, F., & Sui, Y. (2020). Public discourse, political legitimacy, and collective identity: Cases from Iraq, Brazil and China. *Communications*, 45(s1), 560–585. <https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2020-2081>
- Heeks, R., Ospina, A. V., Foster, C., Gao, P., Han, X., Jepson, N., Schindler, S., & Zhou, Q. (2024). China's digital expansion in the Global South: Systematic literature review and future research agenda. *The Information Society*, 40(2), 69–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01972243.2024.2315875>
- Hikmawan, R., Fathun, L. M., & Astuti, W. R. D. (2024). Digital Public Diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Instagram Account @KEMLU_RI Indonesia's G20 Presidency in 2022. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 9(1), 178. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v9n1.7>

- Hu, Z., Zhang, C., & Galligan, D. (2025). Technology as Statecraft: Remaking Sovereignty, Security, and Leadership in a Multipolar Age. *Politics and Governance*, 13. <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.11743>
- Huskaj, G. (2023). Digital Geopolitics: A Review of the Current State. *International Conference on Cyber Warfare and Security*, 18(1), 152–161. <https://doi.org/10.34190/iccws.18.1.955>
- Irman, D., Vera, & Salih, Y. (2026). Artificial Intelligence and Digital War Communication: The Role of Algorithmic Media in Shaping Public Narratives During Global Conflicts. *International Journal of Humanities, Law, and Politics*, 4(1), 38–46. <https://doi.org/10.46336/ijhlp.v4i1.311>
- Jevtović, A. (2025). Political communication and the power of social networks in national crises related to color revolutions. *Nacionalni Interes*, 52(3), 125–146. <https://doi.org/10.5937/nint52-59106>
- Kanevskiy, P. S., & Petrov, K. Y. (2024). Digital Actors and Digital Platforms in the System of International Relations: Between Complex Interdependence and Online Sovereignty. *Journal of International Analytics*, 15(3), 37–56. <https://doi.org/10.46272/2587-8476-2024-15-3-37-56>
- Kerim, S., & Lambert, K. (2025). Navigating Power and Sovereignty in the Age of Digital Geopolitics. *Science, Art and Religion*, 4(4), 141–148. <https://doi.org/10.5005/jp-journals-11005-0109>
- Khurana, V., & Singh, B. (2026). Subaltern Voices in Digital Metanarratives: Power, Surveillance and Silence. *Journal for Research Scholars and Professionals of English Language Teaching*, 10(53). <https://doi.org/10.54850/jrspelt.10.53.003>
- Kusumalestari, R. R., Andalusia Neneng Permatasari, & Arbaiyah Satriani. (2026). A Social Network Analysis of Indonesian Online Conversations on the Palestine Conflict. *Al-i'lam - Journal of Contemporary Islamic Communication and Media*, 5(2). <https://doi.org/10.33102/jcicom.vol5no2.132>
- Latonero, M., & Kift, P. (2018). On Digital Passages and Borders: Refugees and the New Infrastructure for Movement and Control. *Social Media + Society*, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118764432>

- Lawton, T. C., Tonn Goulart Moura, S., Tobin, D., & Silva-Rêgo, B. (2023). Geopolitics of the Digital Economy: Implications for States and Firms. *AIB Insights*, 23(1). <https://doi.org/10.46697/001c.67966>
- Liu, H., & Miao, C. (2024). Digital geopolitics in a VUCA world: China encounters a new global order. *Global Policy*, 15(S6), 67–83. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13435>
- Liu, L., & Luo, Q. (2021). Exploration and thinking on collective protection system of floating nuclear power plant. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 1802(2). <https://doi.org/10.1088/1742-6596/1802/2/022030>
- Mann, M., & Daly, A. (2020). Geopolitics, jurisdiction and surveillance. *Internet Policy Review*. <https://doi.org/10.14763/2020.3.1501>
- Merkouraki, M. (2024). Turkey's Digital Public Diplomacy in the Age of Uncertainty. *International Journal of International Relations, Media and Mass Communication Studies*, 10(2), 41–54. <https://doi.org/10.37745/ijirmmcs.15/vol10n24154>
- Mujkić, S., & Avdić, M. (2026). Digital Diplomacy as an Instrument of Shaping Global Policy: Communication Strategies, Algorithmic Influence and Disinformation Challenges. *Revija Za Medicinske i Tehničke Nauke*, 35. <https://doi.org/10.59366/2831-1086.2026.4.7.35>
- Murphy, M., & Costa, C. (2025a). The digital public sphere, universities and intellectualising the public. *Studies in Higher Education*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2025.2500694>
- Murphy, M., & Costa, C. (2025b). The digital public sphere, universities and intellectualising the public. *Studies in Higher Education*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2025.2500694>
- Nasereddin, S. (2023). Impact of social media platforms on international public opinion during the Israel war on Gaza. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 35(1), 5–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2024.2415908>
- Nikolić, D., Stanojević, M., & Azdejković, M. (2025). International security and the geopolitics of industrial and defense technologies. *Megatrend Revija*, 22(3), 213–224. <https://doi.org/10.5937/MegRev2503213N>

- Noordenbos, B., & Tuters, M. (2026). The counter-hegemonic hegemon: A cross-platform analysis of a Kremlin-backed strategic narrative. *Platforms & Society*, 3. <https://doi.org/10.1177/29768624251411006>
- Noormansyah, R., Akhni, G. N., Widyantoro, S., Andini, A. N., Adinda, S. C., & Amalia, D. Z. (2025). Fatwa and Transnational Solidarity: Examining Faith-Based Movement in Indonesia in Addressing the Israel-Palestine Conflict. *Jurnal Kajian Peradaban Islam*, 8(2), 134–144. <https://doi.org/10.47076/jkpgis.v8i2.342>
- Norman, J., Ford, M., & Cold-Ravnkilde, S. M. (2024). The crisis in the palm of our hand. *International Affairs*, 100(4), 1361–1379. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iaae128>
- Ochigame, R., & Ye, K. (2021). Search Atlas: Visualizing Divergent Search Results Across Geopolitical Borders. *Designing Interactive Systems Conference 2021*, 1970–1983. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3461778.3462032>
- Oezkula, S. M., & Reilly, P. (2023). Where Is The Global South? A Systematic Review Of Geopolitical Representation In Digital Activism Research. *AoIR Selected Papers of Internet Research*. <https://doi.org/10.5210/spir.v2022i0.13065>
- Osondu-Oti, A., Agesin, J. O., & Olominu, O. (2024). Impacts of Twitter (X) Diplomacy on Contemporary International Relations. *Journal of Contemporary International Relations and Diplomacy*, 5(2), 110–127. <https://doi.org/10.53982/jcird.2024.0502.07-j>
- Pfister, D. S. (2019). *Networked publics and digital political communication*. *Communication Theory*, 29(4), 412–430.
- Prabandari, A., & Darmawan, A. B. (2026). Indonesia's Foreign Policy on Palestine and the Rohingya: Affective Solidarity and Strategic Ambivalence. *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 20(1), 71–94. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.20.1.2026.71-94>
- Putri, A. A., Susiyanto, Ledyawati, & Pakpahan, F. N. (2024). Mapping the Evolution of Digital Activism in Global South Societies: A Bibliometric Analysis (2014–2024). *Ethics and Law Journal: Business and Notary*, 2(2), 237–245. <https://doi.org/10.61292/eljbn.278>
- Qiu, J. L. (2023). Three Approaches to Platform Studies: Cobweb, Billiard Balls, and Ant Societies. *Social Media + Society*, 9(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051231193304>

- Qoirunnisa, F. Z., & Mustofa, M. Y. (2024). Hashtag War in Gaza: An Analysis of the Role of Indonesian Citizens in #JulidFisabilillah from the Transnational Conflict Dimension. *CONTENT: Journal of Communication Studies*, 2(1), 21–30. <https://doi.org/10.32734/cjcs.v2i1.16275>
- Rasmussen, T. (2013). Internet-based media, Europe and the political public sphere. *Media, Culture & Society*, 35(1), 97–104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443712464563>
- Samad, M. Y., & Permatasari, D. A. (2023). Diplomasi Digital Menteri Luar Negeri RI pada Konferensi Tingkat Tinggi Group-20 tahun 2021. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 7(2). <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v7n2.16>
- Savaş, C. (2026). Technological Revolution 4.0 in International Relations: Somewhere Between Interconnectedness and Fragmentation. *European Review of International Studies*, 12(2), 233–248. <https://doi.org/10.1163/21967415-bja10076>
- Schäfer, M. S. (2016). Digital Public Sphere. In *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication* (pp. 1–7). Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118541555.wbiepc087>
- Schillemans, T. (2014). The Hybrid Media System: Politics And Power. *Public Administration*, 92(4), 1110–1112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12108>
- Steel, H. (2015). Streets to screens: mediating conflict through digital networks. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(11), 1269–1274. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1072230>
- Taufiq, A. (2025). Analysis of Digital Media Framing in Aceh–North Sumatra News: Framing, Identity, and Power in the Representation of Regional Conflict. *Journal of Aceh Studies*, 2(2), 194–212. <https://doi.org/10.63924/joas.v2i2.241>
- Vyas, T., Pandey, S., Mandal, A., & Prasad, G. (2025). Tech Giants As Geopolitical Actors. *International Journal of Innovative Research in Technology*, 12(7). <https://doi.org/10.64643/IJIRTV12I7-189282-459>
- Tri Widuri, R., Eva Kalyana, L., & Nur Hidayat, M. (2026). Regional Digital Citizenship Caused by Conflict: Building Identity in the Seablings–Knetz Conflict in the Asean Digital Public. *Syntax Literate; Jurnal Ilmiah Indonesia*, 11(4), 3210–3219. <https://doi.org/10.36418/syntax-literate.v11i4.64241>

- Yaser Ahmad, Maleeha Nazim (Corresponding Author), & Aasma Nijabat. (2025). Framing Power And Conflict: A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Donald Trump's Posts On The Iran-Israel War. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and TESOL (JALT)*, 8(3), 1256–1264. <https://doi.org/10.63878/jalt1105>
- Zirojević, I. Z. (2024). Digital Transformation Of Geopolitics: New Tools, Actors, And Power Dynamics. *Kultura Polisa*, 21(3). <https://doi.org/10.51738/Kpolisa2024.21.3r.77z>