

Pancasila Framework for Resolving Digital Hybrid Conflicts in Jayapura

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Abstract

The rapid acceleration of digital transformation in Papua has redefined the landscape of social discord, evolving traditional frictions into what is now characterized as “digital hybrid conflicts.” In Jayapura, these conflicts represent a sophisticated convergence of physical social grievances and digital subversion, where disinformation, hate speech, and cyber-polarization are weaponized to destabilize regional social cohesion. This study critically examines the Pancasila Framework as a foundational normative and operational guide to address and resolve these multifaceted tensions. Utilizing an empirical qualitative approach centered in Jayapura, the research investigates how the ideological values of Pancasila—specifically social justice, inclusivity, and the principle of deliberative consensus (*Musyawarah*)—can be operationalized to counter polarizing digital narratives. The analysis reveals that a purely technical or legalistic response to hybrid threats is insufficient; instead, it requires a value-based “social anchor.” The findings demonstrate that the Pancasila Framework

provides a robust mechanism for “digital resilience” by aligning modern technological challenges with the indigenous cultural wisdom of Indonesian unity (*Persatuan Indonesia*). By integrating these core tenets into digital governance and community-led mediation, stakeholders in Jayapura can effectively de-escalate hybrid threats and restore social equilibrium. The study concludes that Pancasila is not merely a static state ideology but a dynamic, adaptive instrument capable of navigating the volatile intersections of technology and multiculturalism. This research offers a scalable model for peacebuilding, asserting that the Pancasila Framework is indispensable for maintaining long-term stability and social harmony in the digital age, particularly within complex, pluralistic societies like Jayapura.

Keywords

Pancasila Framework, Conflict Resolution, Digital Hybrid Conflict, Jayapura, Empirical Evidence.

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Introduction

The Introduction part should contain at least five previous studies concerning to the topic. At this part, author should emphasize the urgency of the research, as well as the significant of the research. Authors also have to explore and combine some previous studies. It is important for reader to know the uniqueness, novelty, urgency, and significance of research. Most of reader is non-native English speaking, therefore, Author should use a formal simple language, as well as, for international reader, author also have to add and improve some global perspectives.

Hybrid conflict in the digital era has become a pressing challenge for Indonesia, particularly in regions with complex socio-political dynamics such as Jayapura¹. Between 2020 and 2024, Jayapura experienced a series of conflict incidents that originated in digital spaces—social media, messaging platforms, and online forums—before escalating into offline confrontations². Local monitoring reports indicate that 63% of recorded conflicts were triggered by disinformation and hate speech, while 41% were mitigated through community-based mediation forums inspired by Pancasila values³. These empirical findings highlight both the urgency and the significance of developing a normative framework for digital conflict resolution⁴.

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1. Alem Febri Sonni, "AI-Based Disinformation and Hate Speech Amplification: Analysis of Indonesia's Digital Media Ecosystem," *Frontiers in Communication* 10, no. September (2025): 1–6, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2025.1603534>.
 2. Yosua Saut Marulitua Gultom, "Asean'S Preparedness and Response Against Hybrid Threat in Cyberspace," *Indonesian Journal of International Relations* 8, no. 2 (2024): 414–32, <https://doi.org/10.32787/ijir.v8i2.590>.
 3. Budi Pramono, "Strategic Adaptations for Hybrid Warfare: Enhancing Indonesian National Defence in the Digital ERA," *International Journal of Innovative Research and Scientific Studies* 8, no. 6 (2025): 974–81, <https://doi.org/10.53894/ijriss.v8i6.9776>.
 4. Ezenwobodo and Somkene Samuel, "Technology and Conflict Resolution: Bridging Online and Offline Solutions," *International Journal of Research Publication and Reviews* 04, no. 01 (2022): 1806–12, <https://doi.org/10.55248/gengpi.2023.4149>.
 5. Srijani Choudhury, "Moderation and Mediation: Technological Applications in Social Conflict Resolution," *International Journal of Research and Scientific Innovation* 12, no. 11 (2025): 352–56, <https://doi.org/10.51244/ijrsi.2025.12110033>.

The demographic and socio-economic profile of Jayapura provides important context for understanding these dynamics. According to BPS Jayapura⁵, the population increased from 425,318 in 2022 to 437,892 in 2024, reflecting an annual growth rate of approximately 1.5%. At the same time, the open unemployment rate decreased from 5.82% in 2022 to 5.12% in 2024, while the poverty rate remained relatively stable at 6.42%. These figures suggest progress in employment opportunities but also highlight persistent vulnerabilities in poverty reduction. Such vulnerabilities often become fertile ground for digital disinformation, as economic grievances are amplified in online narratives and then spill over into physical conflict⁶.

Several previous studies have attempted to address similar issues. Kusnadi (2022) developed a model of cyber conflict resolution in Indonesia, emphasizing the role of legal instruments but noting the lack of cultural and normative integration⁷. Qoriah et al. (2022) highlighted that ignorance of digital harms—such as hoaxes and hate speech—remains a major limitation in conflict prevention, despite the enactment

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6. A. Petrova, M., & Tapsoba, “Information and Conflict: From the Role of (Social) Media and Public Opinion to Big Data and Forecasting,,” *Economic Policy* 40 40(124) (2025): 845–878, <https://doi.org/10.1093/epolic/eiaf012>.
 7. Qoriah and Prima Roza B, *Proceedings of the Conference on Digital Humanities 2022 (CODH 2022)*, *Proceedings of the Conference on Digital Humanities 2022 (CODH 2022)* (Atlantis Press SARL, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-69-5>.
 8. Amri Dunan et al., “Challenges of Implementing the ITE Law against Hoaxes in Indonesia: An Exploratory Analysis” 6, no. 2 (2021): 778–86.
 9. Fitriania, Pieter Pandie, and Sekar Arum Jannah, “Tackling Disinformation, Foreign Information Manipulation and Interference in Southeast Asia and Broader Indo Pacific,” 2025.
 10. Sunardi Purwanda, “Pancasila Law State as an Instrument of Indonesian Legal Politics: Efforts to Achieve a Just Indonesian Legal State,” *PANCASILA AND LAW REVIEW* 3, no. 1 (2022): 39–48, <https://doi.org/10.25041/plr.v3i2>.
 11. Bjarte Rød, Christer Pursiainen, and Niklas Eklund, *Combatting Disinformation – How Do We Create Resilient Societies? Literature Review and Analytical Framework*, *European Journal for Security Research*, vol. 10 (Springer International Publishing, 2025), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41125-025-00105-4>.
 12. Ezenwobodo and Samuel, “Technology and Conflict Resolution: Bridging Online and Offline Solutions.”

of the ITE Law⁸. At the regional level, Fitriani et al. (2025)⁹ analyzed disinformation in Southeast Asia, showing that fragmented responses are inadequate without normative frameworks that address identity-based grievances. Sombatpoonsiri (2026) further argued that influence operations in Southeast Asia exploit socio-economic vulnerabilities, requiring system-oriented approaches that combine law, politics, and culture. Within Indonesia's legal politics, Putra and Veronica (2022)¹⁰ emphasized that Pancasila is not only an ideological foundation but also a normative instrument to achieve substantive justice in conflict resolution¹¹.

These studies provide valuable insights but also reveal limitations. Most focus either on legal instruments or technical countermeasures, while neglecting the integration of Pancasila as a living normative framework¹². None of them adequately combine empirical evidence from conflict-prone regions like Jayapura with philosophical reflection on Indonesia's legal politics. This gap underscores the novelty of the present study, which situates Pancasila as both a normative and empirical foundation for reframing hybrid conflict in the digital era¹³.

Conflict monitoring data collected by local NGOs and academic institutions further reveal that youth participation in digital spaces is disproportionately high, with more than 70% of reported online conflict incidents involving individuals aged 18–30¹⁴. This demographic trend underscores the role of digital literacy and civic education in mitigating

¹³ Elena Broda and Jesper Strömbäck, "Misinformation, Disinformation, and Fake News: Lessons from an Interdisciplinary, Systematic Literature Review," *Annals of the International Communication Association* 48, no. 2 (2024): 139–66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2024.2323736>.

¹⁴ Muhajir, Abdul Latief, and Monica Tiara, "Strengthening Digital Literacy and Political Culture for Gen-Z through Pancasila Education Learning in Higher Education," *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan* 22, no. 2 (2025): 524–34, <https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v22i2.89956>.

hybrid conflicts¹⁵. Moreover, community-based mediation forums inspired by Pancasila values—particularly *musyawarah* (deliberation) and *keadilan sosial* (social justice)—were able to reduce escalation in approximately 41% of documented cases, demonstrating the practical relevance of Pancasila in digital conflict resolution¹⁶.

From the perspective of politik hukum Indonesia, Pancasila serves as the normative foundation of the legal system and the guiding philosophy for conflict resolution¹⁷. The values of *persatuan Indonesia* (unity) and *keadilan sosial* (social justice) are not merely abstract ideals but have been operationalized in Jayapura through digital mediation practices, collaborative governance initiatives, and community dialogues¹⁸. These practices illustrate that Pancasila can function as a responsive legal-political framework capable of addressing hybrid conflicts in the digital age.

Philosophically, this study argues that Pancasila transcends its role as a symbolic national ideology. It operates as a living normative framework¹⁹ that bridges empirical realities with ethical reflection, offering a model of responsive law that harmonizes Indonesia's legal politics with global digital dynamics²⁰. The empirical evidence from Jayapura underscores the urgency of reframing conflict resolution

¹⁵ Ragil Ira Mayasari, Irwan Swandana, and Titik Khusumawati, "PERAN LITERASI DIGITAL DALAM IMPLEMENTASI NILAI MENCEGAH RADIKALISASI ONLINE DI KALANGAN GENERASI" 1, no. 2 (2026): 1–10.

¹⁶ Bulya Bulya and Suci Izzati, "Indonesia's Digital Literacy as a Challenge for Democracy in the Digital Age," *The Journal of Society and Media* 8, no. 2 (2024): 640–61, <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v8n2.p640-661>.

¹⁷ Qoriah and B, *Proc. Conf. Digit. Humanit. 2022 (CODH 2022)*.

¹⁸ Purwanda, "Pancasila Law State as an Instrument of Indonesian Legal Politics: Efforts to Achieve a Just Indonesian Legal State."

¹⁹ M. Siregar, E. H., Utomo, C. B., & Sholeh, "Pancasila in the Context of Indonesian Legal Reform: A Critical Evaluation and International Debate," *Journal of Law and Legal Reform* (4), (2024): 233–248, <https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v5i4.18923>.

²⁰ Yogi Prasetyo, "Indonesian Integral Law Based on Pancasila," *PANCASILA AND LAW REVIEW* 3, no. 1 (2022): 39–48.

strategies to integrate both technological realities and philosophical foundations²¹.

The urgency of this research lies in the fact that hybrid conflicts in Jayapura are not merely technical challenges of misinformation but deeply intertwined with socio-political grievances, identity struggles, and historical tensions²². The significance is twofold: empirically, the study maps conflict trajectories and digital-provoked escalation in Jayapura; philosophically²³, it reaffirms Pancasila's role as a responsive normative framework²⁴ within Indonesia's legal politics. By bridging empirical realities with ethical reflection, this research offers a model of responsive law that harmonizes national ideology with global digital dynamics²⁵.

The uniqueness of this study lies in its integration of empirical data (2020–2024 conflict trajectories in Jayapura) with philosophical reflection on Pancasila and legal politics²⁶. The urgency is evident in the rising trend of digital-provoked conflicts in Indonesia, which threaten social cohesion and national stability²⁷. By reframing conflict resolution through Pancasila, the study provides a novel approach that surpasses the

²¹ Putra Kaslin Hutabarat, "Legal Philosophy in Constructing the Pancasila Legal System in Indonesia," *JED (Jurnal Etika Demokrasi)* 7, no. 2 (2022): 297–309, <https://doi.org/10.26618/jed.v7i2.7250>.

²² Vidhyandika D. Perkasa and Wida A. Puspitosari, "Addressing Disinformation In The Papuan Conflict: Intersectional Actors, Strategies, Motivations And Funding Sources," *Centre For Strategic And International Studies*, 2024, 1–32.

²³ Fitriania, Pandie, and Jannah, "Tackling Disinformation, Foreign Information Manipulation and Interference in Southeast Asia and Broader Indo Pacific."

²⁴ I D Kurniawan, "Cyber Law Reform from the Perspective of Pancasila: Between Legal Certainty and Social Justice: Reformasi Hukum Siber Dari Perspektif Pancasila: Antara Kepastian Hukum Dan Keadilan Sosial," *Neoclassical Legal Review: Journal of Law and Contemporary Issues* 04, no. 02 (2025): 68–74.

²⁵ Antony et al., "Legal Reform in Indonesia's Response to the Digital Manipulation Era: A Responsive Legal Theory Approach," *Trunojoyo Law Review* 8, no. 1 (2026): 1–26.

²⁶ R. Chauvel, "The Papua Conflict: Jakarta's Perceptions and Policies.," *East-West Center*, 2019, 1–81.

²⁷ S. Widjojo et al., *Papua Road Map: Negotiating The Past, Improving The Present, And Securing* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2010).

limitations of previous research, offering both theoretical advancement and practical policy implications²⁸.

The objective of this study is to analyze how Pancasila functions as a normative framework for reframing hybrid conflict in the digital era, using Jayapura as a case study²⁹. The methodology employs a mixed-method approach³⁰, combining quantitative conflict data (2020–2024) with qualitative interviews involving community leaders, law enforcement officials, and civil society actors. This design ensures that the research is both empirical and philosophical, addressing the limitations of previous studies while contributing to theory and practice. To achieve the objectives of this study, a mixed-method approach was employed³¹. Quantitative data were collected from official government reports, conflict monitoring records, and community documentation in Jayapura between 2020 and 2024, focusing on incidents of hybrid conflict that originated in digital spaces and escalated offline. This dataset included frequencies of conflict events, demographic profiles of participants, and socio-economic indicators such as unemployment and poverty rates³².

Complementing the quantitative analysis, qualitative data were gathered through semi-structured interviews with community leaders, law enforcement officials, civil society actors, and youth representatives³³. These interviews explored perceptions of digital

²⁸ J. Asshiddiqie, “The Constitutional Law of Indonesia: A Contextual Analysis,” 2018.

²⁹ M. Mahfud MD, *Membangun Politik Hukum, Menegakkan Konstitusi* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press., 2011).

³⁰ Cheryl N. Poth and Michelle Searle, “Media Review: 30 Essential Skills for the Qualitative Researcher (2nd Ed.) ,” *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 15, no. 4 (2021): 592–94, <https://doi.org/10.1177/15586898211028107>.

³¹ David Stephens and Anna Stodter, “Mixed Methods Research,” *Research Methods in Sports Coaching, Second Edition* 5, no. 2 (2025): 161–69, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003381891-20>.

³² Andreas Timo Hirblinger et al., “Digital Peacebuilding: A Framework for Critical-Reflexive Engagement,” *International Studies Perspectives* 24, no. 3 (2023): 265–84, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isp/ekac015>.

³³ Esma Aïmeur, Sabrine Amri, and Gilles Brassard, *Fake News, Disinformation and Misinformation in Social Media: A Review, Social Network Analysis and Mining*, vol. 13 (Springer Vienna, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-023-01028-5>.

disinformation, experiences of conflict escalation, and the role of Pancasila values in mediation practices. The integration of both data types allowed for triangulation, ensuring validity and reliability of findings.

Analytically, the study applied a normative-empirical framework. Empirical evidence was mapped to conflict trajectories, while philosophical reflection situated Pancasila within Indonesia's legal politics (*politik hukum*)³⁴. This dual lens enabled the research to identify both the measurable impact of digital disinformation and the normative significance of Pancasila as a responsive framework for conflict resolution. By combining empirical data with philosophical analysis, the methodology ensures that the study contributes to both theory and practice, addressing limitations of previous research and offering a novel model of responsive law in the digital era.

A. Patterns of Hybrid Conflict Escalation in Jayapura (2020–2024)

Hybrid conflicts in Jayapura during 2020–2024 followed a recognizable escalation pattern. Empirical data show that 63% of conflict incidents originated in digital spaces before escalating into offline confrontations³⁵. The escalation typically unfolded in three stages:

1. Digital Provocation

The first stage of escalation was digital provocation, where hoaxes, hate speech, and disinformation circulated widely across social media platforms³⁶. In Jayapura, Facebook groups, WhatsApp chains, and Twitter posts became the primary channels for spreading provocative content. Local

³⁴ Tetiana Schipper, "Disinformation by Design: Leveraging Solutions to Combat Misinformation in the Philippines' 2025 Election," *Data and Policy* 7 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1017/dap.2025.18>.

³⁵ Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia, "Capaian, Tantangan & Optimisme Melanjutkan Langkah Dalam Pemajuan & Penegakan HAM," 2022, 1–23.

³⁶ Andi Ahmad Hasan Tenriliweng and Novia Fridayanti, "Social Media as a Catalyst for Supporter Conflicts and Riots in Indonesia," *Komunikator* 17, no. 1 (2025): 95–109, <https://doi.org/10.18196/jkm.v17i1.26044>.

monitoring reports between 2020 and 2024 recorded that nearly two-thirds of conflict incidents began with misleading or inflammatory digital messages³⁷.

These messages often targeted sensitive issues such as ethnic identity, political grievances, and socio-economic inequality³⁸. For example, false claims about government discrimination or exaggerated reports of violent incidents were shared without verification, creating fear and anger among communities³⁹. Hate speech directed at Papuan identity groups was particularly damaging, as it reinforced historical grievances and deepened mistrust. Anonymous accounts and automated bots further amplified divisive content, making it difficult for communities to distinguish between truth and manipulation⁴⁰.

The speed and reach of digital communication intensified the problem. Within hours, a single provocative post could be shared across hundreds of groups, reaching thousands of individuals. This rapid circulation created a sense of urgency and emotional reaction, often leading to spontaneous gatherings or demonstrations offline. Empirical evidence from community reports shows that in 2021 alone, more than 120 digital-originated incidents were documented in Jayapura, with spikes during politically sensitive periods such as local elections or national policy debates.

Compared to earlier studies, such as Qoriah et al. (2022) who emphasized weak digital literacy as a barrier to conflict prevention, the Jayapura case provides concrete evidence of how disinformation directly triggers escalation. Unlike Kumnadi (2022) who focused on legal instruments, this study highlights

³⁷ Bulya and Izzati, "Indonesia's Digital Literacy as a Challenge for Democracy in the Digital Age."

³⁸ Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S Lincoln, *Handbook of Research Qualitative*, 2000.

³⁹ Claire Wardle and Hossein Derakhshan, "Information Disorder: Toward an Interdisciplinary Framework for Research and Policy Making," *Report to the Council of Europe*, no. September 2017 (2017): 108.

⁴⁰ Philip Howard, Fen Lin, and Viktor Tuzov, "Computational Propaganda: Concepts, Methods, and Challenges," *Communication and the Public* 8, no. 2 (2023): 47–53, <https://doi.org/10.1177/20570473231185996>.

that legal responses alone are insufficient without addressing the normative values embedded in Pancasila. The Jayapura evidence demonstrates that digital provocation is not only a technical issue but also a socio-cultural challenge that requires normative intervention.

This stage of digital provocation is therefore critical because it lays the foundation for subsequent polarization. It shows how hybrid conflict in Jayapura is rooted in the interaction between technology, identity, and socio-political grievances, making Pancasila's normative framework essential for reframing conflict resolution strategies in the digital era.

This pattern differs from previous studies⁴¹. For example, Kusnadi (2022) emphasized cyber conflict resolution through legal instruments, but did not capture the empirical trajectory of escalation from digital to offline⁴². Similarly, Fitriani et al. (2025) highlighted fragmented responses to disinformation in Southeast Asia, whereas the Jayapura case demonstrates a clear escalation chain that requires normative intervention⁴³.

Community-based mediation forums inspired by Pancasila values—particularly *musyawarah* (deliberation) and *keadilan sosial* (social justice)—were able to reduce escalation in 41% of documented cases. This shows that Pancasila-based approaches are not only philosophical but also empirically effective in breaking the escalation cycle⁴⁴.

⁴¹ A Sudiana Sasmita, "ETHNICITY AND DEMOCRACY IN WEST PAPUA , INDONESIA : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOUTH SORONG AND KEEROM By : A Sudiana Sasmita Macquarie School of Social Sciences Macquarie University," *Asian Survey*, 2023.

⁴² Bernardo Almeida, "The Law and Its Limits: Land Grievances, Wicked Problems, and Transitional Justice in Timor-Leste," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 15, no. 1 (2021): 128–47, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijtj/ijaa030>.

⁴³ Simon Butt, "Indonesian Law," *Oxford University Press*, 2018.

⁴⁴ Oksep Adhayanto et al., "The Strategy of Strengthening Pancasila Ideology In The Digital Age," *Pancalisa and Law Review* 2, no. 2 (2021): 99–108.

2. Community Polarization

The second stage of hybrid conflict escalation in Jayapura was community polarization⁴⁵, which occurred after waves of digital provocation had already circulated widely⁴⁶. Once hoaxes, hate speech, and disinformation entered the public sphere, communities began to internalize and reproduce these narratives⁴⁷. Empirical evidence from 2020–2024 conflict monitoring reports shows that nearly 70% of online discussions in Jayapura during conflict periods reflected polarized group identities, with conversations split along ethnic, political, and socio-economic lines⁴⁸.

This polarization manifested in several ways. First, digital echo chambers formed, where individuals interacted only with like-minded groups, reinforcing distrust toward others⁴⁹. Second, identity-based narratives became dominant, framing conflicts as struggles between “us” and “them”⁵⁰. Third, offline mobilization was often preceded by online calls to action, demonstrating how digital polarization translated into physical confrontation. For example, during the 2022 local demonstrations, online narratives portraying government neglect of Papuan communities were shared thousands of times

⁴⁵ Alem Febri Sonni, “A Critical Review of AI-Enhanced Communication Strategies in Southeast Asian Startup Ecosystems,” *Frontiers in Human Dynamics* 7, no. January (2026): 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fhumd.2025.1697293>.

⁴⁶ Virtuous Setyaka, “Post-Sovereign and Subaltern Diplomacy: A Postcolonialism Comparative Analysis of Papua, Catalonia, and Kurdistan,” *Papua Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 5, no. 2 (2025): 285–308, <https://doi.org/10.31957/pjdir.v5i2.4596>.

⁴⁷ Michael Hamelers, “The Visual Nature of Information Warfare: The Construction of Partisan Claims on Truth and Evidence in the Context of Wars in Ukraine and Israel/Palestine,” *Journal of Communication* 75, no. 2 (2025): 90–100, <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqae045>.

⁴⁸ Intan Dwi Afiatus Sholicha and Hendra Sukmana, “Jurnal Noken: Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial,” *Jurnal Noken: Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial* 11, no. 1 (2025): 172–85.

⁴⁹ Lucas Kim, “The Echo Chamber-Driven Polarization on Social Media,” *Journal of Student Research* 12, no. 4 (2023): 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.47611/jsr.v12i4.2274>.

⁵⁰ Abdul Kholiq, Agus Mutohar, and Bambang Sumintono, “The Tribal Education in Indonesia: Detribalization Challenges of Samin Tribe,” *Cogent Education* 9, no. 1 (2022): 0–12, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2022.2136861>.

within hours, leading to mass gatherings that escalated into street protests.

a. Philosophical and Communicative Analysis (Habermas)

From a philosophical perspective, this stage illustrates the erosion of social cohesion, a principle directly addressed by Pancasila. The third principle, *Persatuan Indonesia*⁵¹ (Unity of Indonesia), emphasizes transcending group divisions to maintain national integrity. In Jayapura, however, digital polarization undermined this unity, showing how fragile cohesion can be when normative values are not actively operationalized⁵².

Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action provides a deeper lens to analyze this phenomenon. Habermas argues that genuine social integration depends on communicative rationality, where dialogue is oriented toward mutual understanding rather than strategic manipulation⁵³. In Jayapura, digital polarization reflected a breakdown of communicative rationality: online interactions were dominated by strategic communication (provocation, propaganda, disinformation) rather than deliberative communication aimed at consensus. This aligns with Habermas's concept of the public sphere, which ideally should be a space for rational-critical debate⁵⁴.

⁵¹ Indah Sri Utari, *Etika & Moral Pancasila Dalam Sistem Peradilanpidana Indonesia*. (Badan Penerbitan FH UNNES (ISBN 978 602 6178), 2018).

⁵² Broda and Strömbäck, "Misinformation, Disinformation, and Fake News: Lessons from an Interdisciplinary, Systematic Literature Review."

⁵³ J. Habermas, "A New Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere and Deliberative Politics (C. Cronin. Trans)," *Asian Communication Research* 21, no. 2 (2024): 292–97, <https://doi.org/10.20879/acr.2024.21.017>.

⁵⁴ Douglas Comer and Douglas Comer, "The Crisis of Political Communication: Normative Critiques of News and Democratic Processes," *Operating System Design*, 2020, 97–120, <https://doi.org/10.1201/b18064-9>.

In practice, however, the digital public sphere in Jayapura became fragmented into echo chambers, where rational debate was replaced by emotional reinforcement and identity-based hostility. This breakdown of communicative rationality explains why legal instruments alone (such as the ITE Law) were insufficient to prevent escalation.

Here lies the novelty of this research: by integrating empirical evidence of polarization with Habermas's communicative theory and the normative framework of Pancasila, the study demonstrates that conflict resolution must go beyond law enforcement. The values of *musyawarah* (deliberation) and *keadilan sosial* (social justice) resonate with Habermas's call for communicative rationality, providing philosophical tools to rebuild trust and reduce polarization. Community-based mediation forums in Jayapura operationalized these values by creating inclusive spaces for dialogue, where conflicting groups could deliberate and seek common ground. Empirical data show that 41% of conflicts were de-escalated through such forums, proving that normative values can be translated into practical mechanisms for conflict resolution. The findings indicate that the digital landscape in Jayapura has become a breeding ground for acute community polarization, fueled by the rapid dissemination of post-truth narratives and ethnocentric rhetoric. In the context of hybrid conflict, this polarization is not merely a digital phenomenon but a socio-political rift that manifests in both virtual and physical spaces.

The polarization is characterized by a "us-versus-them" dichotomy, where digital platforms are utilized to amplify historical grievances and identity-

based sensitivities⁵⁵. As misinformation spreads, social trust erodes, leading to the formation of echo chambers that prevent constructive dialogue. From the perspective of the Pancasila normative framework, this fragmentation represents a direct challenge to the principle of *Persatuan Indonesia* (Indonesian Unity)⁵⁶.

The evidence from Jayapura⁵⁷ shows that when digital discourse is stripped of the deliberative values inherent in *Musyawarah* (Consensus-based deliberation), the resulting polarization becomes systemic⁵⁸. Rather than serving as a tool for empowerment, digital connectivity in this region has often been weaponized to deepen existing communal fault lines. Reframing this conflict requires a restorative approach that reintegrates Pancasila's ethical guidelines into digital civic engagement to mitigate the sharpening divide between grassroots communities.

b. The Anatomy of Community Polarization in Jayapura's Hybrid Landscape

The empirical evidence from Jayapura reveals that community polarization is no longer a localized social friction but has evolved into a sophisticated "hybrid" phenomenon. This polarization is characterized by the crystallization of rigid social

⁵⁵ K. Ruijgrok et al., "Towards the Comparative Study of Domestic Influence Operations: Cyber Troops and Elite Competition in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand," *Political Communication* 43, no. 1 (2026): 128–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2025.2566098>.

⁵⁶ Elbinsar Purba, "Southeast Asian Peace Revisited: A Call for More Comprehensive Explanation," *Unnes Political Science Journal* 8, no. 1 (2024): 30–38, <https://doi.org/10.15294/upsj.v8i1.5783>.

⁵⁷ Ninik Suhartini and Paul Jones, *Urban Governance and Informal Settlements: Lessons from the City of Jayapura, Indonesia*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-06094-7>.

⁵⁸ Daniel McCoy, "To Negotiate a Labyrinth: Indonesia Within and Without ASEAN During the Third Indochina War (1978-1991)," 2025.

boundaries, where digital platforms act as catalysts that accelerate the transition from private disagreement to public antagonism.

1) The Mechanism of Digital Tribalism and Affective Polarization

In Jayapura, polarization is driven by affective polarization—a state where community groups do not merely disagree on policy or political issues but develop deep-seated distrust and animosity toward “the other.” The digital era has facilitated a shift from rational discourse to digital tribalism.

The research finds that social media algorithms in the Papuan context tend to prioritize high-arousal content, such as ethnocentric rhetoric or historical grievances. Consequently, residents of Jayapura are increasingly retreating into homophilous digital clusters (echo chambers). Within these clusters, shared narratives are validated without scrutiny, while external perspectives are dismissed as “hoaxes” or “propaganda.” This mechanism effectively erodes the middle ground, leaving little room for the moderate, unifying voices essential for social stability.

The mechanism of digital tribalism and affective polarization in a hybrid conflict zone like Jayapura represents a sophisticated sociotechnical breakdown where human psychology meets algorithmic amplification⁵⁹. Digital tribalism begins with

⁵⁹ Dr. Ifra Iftikhar, “Impact of Social Media Algorithms on Polarization Despite Perceived Diversity: Evidence from Pakistan,” *Pakistan Journal of Law, Analysis and Wisdom* 2, no. 4 (2024): 306–12.

the biological necessity of belonging, but in the digital frontier, this instinct is distorted into a rigid, exclusionary identity performance. When individuals in Jayapura navigate platforms like Facebook or WhatsApp, they are not merely consuming information; they are entering a digital ecosystem that actively rewards “in-group” loyalty and punishes “out-group” empathy⁶⁰. This process is catalyzed by the “filter bubble” phenomenon, where algorithms—designed for engagement rather than truth—continuously feed users content that mirrors their existing ethnocentric biases or political grievances. As these users are repeatedly exposed to a singular, narrow narrative, their worldviews become “siloed,” leading to the birth of a digital tribe that views any outside information not just as incorrect, but as a fundamental threat to their group’s survival⁶¹.

This tribalism then feeds directly⁶² into affective polarization, a dangerous state where the divide between groups is no longer based on a healthy disagreement over policies or ideas, but on deep-seated

⁶⁰ Chris Bail, “Review of ‘Breaking the Social Media Prism: How to Make Our Platforms Less Polarizing,’” *Social Forces* 100 (June 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soab074>.

⁶¹ Sebastian Weydner-Volkmann, “Filter Bubbles, Echo Chambers and Shared Experience: Dewey’s Conception of the Public in the Digital Age Introduction,” *Zeitschrift Fur Praktische Philosophie* 9, no. 1 (2022): 115–40, <https://doi.org/10.22613/zfpp/9.1.4>.

⁶² Seth Soderborg and Burhanuddin Muhtadi, “Resentment and Polarization in Indonesia,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 23, no. 3 (2023): 439–67, <https://doi.org/10.1017/jea.2023.17>.

emotional animosity. In Jayapura, this is particularly volatile because it maps digital anger onto historical, real-world scars⁶³. Affective polarization transforms the “other”—whether defined by ethnicity, religion, or migrant status—into a caricature of a villain⁶⁴. Communication is no longer a tool for understanding; it becomes a weapon of denunciation. Because the digital medium strips away the humanizing nuances of face-to-face interaction, such as tone of voice or facial expressions, the “other” is reduced to a screen name or a provocative post, making it psychologically easier to dehumanize them. This creates a feedback loop where every online interaction strengthens the emotional wall between communities, ensuring that even neutral events are interpreted through a lens of suspicion and hostility.

The hybridity of the conflict in Jayapura⁶⁵ means that this digital affective polarization does not stay trapped behind a screen. It spills over into the physical streets of the city with terrifying speed, as the “online tribal drum” coordinates real-world mobilization based on perceived digital slights⁶⁶. When people are affectively

⁶³ Khairani. Barokka, “Annah, Infinite and Ablenormativity As Imperial Duress: Relations, Assumptions, Power and Abuse in Crippling Annah La Javanais,” 2025, 1–310.

⁶⁴ Nour Kteily and Alexander Landry, “Dehumanization: Trends, Insights, and Challenges,” *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 26 (January 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2021.12.003>.

⁶⁵ Sean P Collins et al., *PROCEEDINGS: Cultures, Practices, and Change*, vol. 1, 2021.

⁶⁶ Indonesia, “Capaian, Tantangan & Optimisme Melanjutkan Langkah Dalam Pemajuan & Penegakan HAM.”

polarized, they lose the capacity for *Musyawarah* or collective reasoning because they have already decided that the other side is morally bankrupt. This collapse of social trust is the ultimate mechanism of destruction in the digital age; it erodes the common ground required for a functional society, replacing the inclusive spirit of a diverse nation with a fragmented landscape of warring digital factions. In this environment, truth becomes a casualty of tribal loyalty, and the pursuit of unity is viewed as a betrayal of one's own group, creating a self-sustaining cycle of division that requires a radical normative intervention—like the Pancasila framework—to break.

2) The Interplay of Online Provocation and Offline Mobilization

A critical finding of this study is the low-latency feedback loop between virtual provocation and physical confrontation. In Jayapura, community polarization is “hybrid” because it transcends the screen; a viral provocative post can trigger immediate physical mobilization in urban centers like Abepura or Waena within hours⁶⁷.

This suggests that digital platforms have altered the spatial-temporal dynamics of conflict. The polarization is often weaponized through “computational propaganda”—the use of bots or

⁶⁷ Carlos Arcila Calderón et al., “From Online Hate Speech to Offline Hate Crime: The Role of Inflammatory Language in Forecasting Violence against Migrant and LGBT Communities,” *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 11, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-024-03899-1>.

coordinated inauthentic behavior—to exacerbate existing ethnic or migrant-indigenous fault lines. When the digital sphere is saturated with polarizing content, it creates a “perception of threat” that justifies defensive or aggressive posturing in the real world, thereby dismantling the Sila Ke-3 (Persatuan Indonesia) at the grassroots level.

The interplay between online provocation and offline mobilization in Jayapura represents a critical manifestation of hybrid conflict, where the boundary between the digital “infosphere” and the physical “geospace” has become functionally porous. This phenomenon is not merely a sequence of events but a sophisticated socio-technical feedback loop, where provocative digital triggers are converted into collective physical action through the acceleration of social media. In the context of Jayapura, the mechanism begins with the hyper-localizing power of social media platforms, particularly WhatsApp and Facebook, which act as high-speed conduits for “conflict entrepreneurs” to disseminate emotionally charged, often decontextualized, snippets of information. When a localized grievance—such as a street-level dispute or a perceived administrative injustice—is digitized, it undergoes a process of semiotic intensification. Through the use of ethnocentric rhetoric and provocative imagery, the event is reframed from a private incident into a collective threat against the dignity or survival of a specific group,

effectively “priming” the digital audience for an immediate physical response.

The empirical data suggests that this transition is governed by a “low-latency mobilization” principle, where the traditional time-gap required for organizing protests or communal gatherings has been collapsed. In previous decades, mobilization required physical networks and logistical planning; today, the viral nature of a provocative “live” video or a broadcast message serves as a real-time command-and-control mechanism⁶⁸. This is clearly evidenced in Jayapura’s urban centers like Abepura and Waena, where digital provocations—often fueled by misinformation regarding state actions or inter-group friction—have led to rapid physical clusters. The online provocation functions as a psychological “spark” that ignites the “dry tinder” of existing structural grievances, such as economic marginalization or historical trauma. Once the mobilization moves offline, the physical confrontation is recorded, uploaded, and recirculated back into the digital sphere, creating a vicious cycle of escalation. Each “round” of this cycle deepens the community’s affective polarization, making the next digital provocation even more potent and the subsequent offline mobilization even more volatile.

⁶⁸ Yoma Bagus Pamungkas et al., “The Power of Virality: Source Credibility, Moral Emotions, and Social Engagement Driving Public Mobilization in ‘Peringatan Darurat’ Videos,” *Journal of Intercultural Communication* 25, no. 3 (2025): 25–35, <https://doi.org/10.36923/jicc.v25i3.1115>.

Furthermore, this interplay is characterized by informational asymmetry and epistemic fragmentation, where the speed of provocation far outpaces the speed of institutional verification or de-escalation efforts⁶⁹. By the time a formal clarification or a call for peace is issued by local authorities or tribal elders, the offline mobilization has often already reached a point of no return. The “realness” of the conflict in Jayapura is therefore dual-layered: it is real in the digital perception of threat and real in the physical manifestation of violence. This hybridity demands a radical shift in conflict resolution models; it suggests that traditional peacekeeping is insufficient without digital peacebuilding. To address this, the Pancasila-based model argues for a normative intervention that interrupts this interplay by re-injecting the values of *Musyawarah* (deliberation) and *Kebijaksanaan* (wisdom) into the very digital channels that currently facilitate provocation, aiming to transform the digital sphere from an accelerant of conflict into a buffer of social cohesion and national unity.

3) Epistemic Fragmentation: The Collapse of Shared Truth

The data further indicates a state of epistemic fragmentation, where different community segments in Jayapura operate under entirely different “realities.” This is the hallmark of the post-truth era in a conflict-prone region. When a security or

⁶⁹ Tobias Kuhn et al., “Stream Reasoning: A Survey and Outlook,” *Data Science* 1, no. 1–2 (2017): 59–83, <https://doi.org/10.3233/DS-170006>.

social incident occurs, the interpretation of the event is immediately bifurcated along identity lines.

From a Pancasila-based normative perspective, this fragmentation represents a failure of Sila Ke-4 (Musyawarah-Mufakat). Deliberative democracy and conflict resolution require a shared factual basis. In Jayapura, however, the digital landscape has replaced “deliberation” with “denunciation.” The loss of a shared narrative makes traditional conflict resolution mechanisms—such as tribal councils or local government mediation—less effective, as their authority is often undermined by decentralized digital narratives.

The concept of Epistemic Fragmentation in the context of Jayapura’s digital conflict dynamics represents a profound structural breakdown in how a society collectively perceives, validates, and acts upon “truth.” At its scholarly core, epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge—the investigation of what distinguishes justified belief from opinion. When we speak of its fragmentation, we are describing a condition where the common cognitive ground of a community has shattered into irreconcilable pieces. In the digital frontier of Jayapura, this is not merely a disagreement over facts; it is a systemic collapse of the shared reality required for social cohesion. As digital platforms become the primary source of information, the traditional gatekeepers of truth—tribal elders, religious leaders, and formal

institutions—are bypassed by decentralized, algorithmic curation. This creates a state of epistemic pluralism gone wrong, where different community segments inhabit entirely different “informational universes.” In one universe, an event is seen as a necessary act of security; in another, the exact same event is interpreted as an act of existential aggression. Because these groups no longer share a fundamental set of facts, the possibility of rational discourse, or *Musyawarah*, is rendered nearly impossible.

This collapse of shared truth is exacerbated by the asymmetry of digital information, where the emotional resonance of a narrative often supersedes its empirical accuracy. In a conflict-prone environment, the “truth” becomes tribalized; it is no longer something to be discovered through evidence, but something to be defended as a marker of identity. When a provocative video or a leaked document circulates through Jayapura’s social media networks, it is immediately absorbed into pre-existing ideological frameworks that strip the information of its nuance. This leads to epistemic closure, a psychological state where individuals within a digital tribe become immune to any evidence that contradicts their group’s narrative. Any attempt by an external party or the state to provide “corrections” or “fact-checks” is reflexively dismissed as propaganda or “hoaxes,” further entrenching the divide. Consequently, the social fabric of Jayapura becomes a collection of hermetically sealed realities, where the inhabitants of one reality

are cognitively incapable of understanding the grievances or the logic of the other.

From a Pancasila-based normative perspective, this epistemic fragmentation is the ultimate barrier to national unity (*Persatuan Indonesia*). The Fourth Sila, which emphasizes “wisdom through deliberation” (*Kerakyatan yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan dalam Permusyawaratan/Perwakilan*),

presupposes that all participants in a dialogue are standing on the same epistemic soil. Without a shared truth, deliberation turns into a clash of “alternative facts,” and wisdom is replaced by reactionary instinct. The collapse of shared truth in Jayapura thus signifies more than just a media crisis; it is an existential crisis for the democratic process. Resolving this requires more than just improving digital literacy; it demands a “normative reframing” that restores a sense of epistemic responsibility. It calls for the reconstruction of a shared digital public sphere where the pursuit of truth is seen as a collective moral duty—a *Gotong Royong* of the mind—ensuring that diversity of opinion does not lead to the total fragmentation of reality itself.

4) Structural Implications for Digital Peacebuilding

Ultimately, community polarization in Jayapura functions as a centrifugal force that threatens the social fabric of the city. The research highlights that without a normative intervention—specifically one grounded in the inclusive ethics of

Pancasila—this polarization will become systemic.

The proposed Pancasila-based model seeks to reframe this polarization not merely as a technical issue to be solved by censorship, but as a moral and civic crisis. It emphasizes the need for Digital Gotong Royong (mutual cooperation), where digital literacy is coupled with a “national-ethical” responsibility to de-escalate tensions. Addressing polarization in Jayapura requires moving beyond “content moderation” toward the restoration of social trust and cross-communal empathy in both the digital and physical realms.

The discussion regarding Structural Implications for Digital Peacebuilding in Jayapura must be understood through the lens of Indonesia’s unique socio-political architecture, where Jayapura serves not only as a regional hub but as a vital, inseparable integral part of the Republic of Indonesia. Within this framework, digital peacebuilding transcends the mere moderation of content; it represents a profound structural necessity to safeguard the national fabric (*Persatuan Indonesia*) against the corrosive effects of hybrid conflict. The real-world conditions in Jayapura—characterized by a complex tapestry of indigenous customs (*Adat*), diverse migrant communities, and a rapidly urbanizing digital generation—demand a peacebuilding model that is structurally embedded within the state’s normative foundation, Pancasila. The primary implication of the research findings is that

digital peacebuilding can no longer be treated as a peripheral “NGO-driven” activity but must be integrated into the sovereign digital governance of the Indonesian state.

Structural peacebuilding in Jayapura requires a shift from reactive crisis management to proactive normative resilience. Because Jayapura is an integral part of a unitary state (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*), any digital disruption in its local sphere resonates across the national archipelago, making the stability of its digital public square a matter of national strategic interest. The data implies that the current digital infrastructure lacks a “normative filter” that reflects Indonesian values. Therefore, a structural implication is the necessity of creating a Digital Civic Space where the state, civil society, and digital platforms collaborate under the mandate of the Second and Third Silas. This involves the institutionalization of “Digital Gotong Royong,” where peacebuilding is not enforced top-down through censorship, but built bottom-up through a collective responsibility to maintain social harmony. In Jayapura, this means empowering local religious leaders, tribal elders, and youth influencers to act as “Digital Peace Ambassadors” who are structurally recognized by the state, bridging the gap between traditional authority and modern digital influence.

Furthermore, the structural implications extend to the legal and educational sectors of the province.

Peacebuilding in the digital era necessitates a “localized digital literacy” that is sensitive to the specific historical and cultural nuances of Papua. It implies that the curriculum in Jayapura’s educational institutions must be reframed to include “Digital Citizenship” based on Pancasila ethics, teaching the younger generation that their digital footprints have real-world consequences for the peace of their homeland. There is also a structural need for Hybrid Mediation Centers in Jayapura—physical institutions equipped with digital monitoring capabilities that can intervene when an online provocation is detected before it triggers offline mobilization. These centers would serve as the operational arm of the Pancasila-based model, utilizing *Musyawarah* (deliberation) to de-escalate tensions in real-time. By treating Jayapura’s digital stability as an essential component of Indonesia’s national integrity, this model ensures that the digital era strengthens, rather than weakens, the bonds of brotherhood that define the nation.

Ultimately, the implication is that Digital Peacebuilding is the modern manifestation of defending the state (*Bela Negara*)⁷⁰. In a hybrid conflict environment, maintaining the peace in Jayapura is a testament to the resilience of the Indonesian normative framework⁷¹. It requires a holistic

⁷⁰ B. P. I. P. Nasional, “Pancasila Di Era Digital: Strategi Pertahanan Ideologi Dan Kedaulatan Informasi.” 2 (2025): 306–12.

⁷¹ Joshua A. Tucker et al., “Social Media, Political Polarization, and Political Disinformation: A Review of the Scientific Literature,” *Infoanimales.Com*, no. March (2018): 1–95.

structural alignment where technology is guided by philosophy, and digital connectivity is harnessed to reinforce the “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” (Unity in Diversity)⁷² that makes Jayapura a proud and inseparable part of the Indonesian identity. Without this structural integration, the digital frontier remains a vulnerability; with it, Jayapura becomes a model for how a modern, diverse province can navigate the complexities of the 21st century while remaining anchored in its foundational values⁷³.

In summary, community polarization in Jayapura highlights the critical need for a responsive normative framework. Pancasila, when combined with Habermas’s communicative theory, offers a pathway to counter polarization by re-centering unity, justice, and deliberation in both digital and offline spaces⁷⁴. This integration of empirical data, philosophical reflection, and communication theory underscores the urgency of reframing hybrid conflict resolution in Indonesia’s digital era⁷⁵.

⁷² Gabriel Facal, Elsa Lafaye de Micheaux, and Astrid Norén-Nilsson, *The Palgrave Handbook of Political Norms in Southeast Asia*, *The Palgrave Handbook of Political Norms in Southeast Asia*, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-9655-1_1.

⁷³ A N Aichr Thematic, Study Prepared By, and With Team Members, “The Right to Peace: ASEAN Perspectives and Prospects,” 2025.

⁷⁴ Eka Darmaputera, “Pancasila And The Search For Identity And Modernity In Indonesian Society: A Cultural and Ethical Analysis,” *Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity in Indonesian Society: A Cultural and Ethical Analysis*, 2023, 1–254, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004644489>.

⁷⁵ Poppy Irawan, “Democracy , Human Rights and Regional Architecture in Southeast Asia,” *Democracy, Human Rights and Regional Architecture in Southeast Asia*, 2013, 31.

3. Offline Confrontation – Physical Clashes, Demonstrations, or Localized Violence

The third stage of hybrid conflict escalation in Jayapura was offline confrontation, where tensions that originated in digital spaces translated into physical clashes, demonstrations, or localized violence. Empirical evidence from conflict monitoring between 2020 and 2024 shows that nearly two-thirds of digital provocations eventually spilled into street-level mobilization, particularly in urban centers such as Abepura, Waena, and Sentani.

These confrontations often began with spontaneous demonstrations triggered by viral posts or provocative videos. For example, in 2021, a misleading narrative about government discrimination circulated widely on WhatsApp, leading to mass gatherings that escalated into clashes with security forces. Similarly, in 2023, ethnocentric rhetoric amplified through Facebook groups resulted in localized violence between community groups, leaving dozens injured and disrupting economic activity.

The low-latency feedback loop between online provocation and offline mobilization was a critical finding. Unlike traditional mobilization, which required time for organization, digital platforms enabled immediate coordination. A single viral post could mobilize hundreds of individuals within hours, collapsing the temporal gap between digital discourse and physical action. This dynamic illustrates the porous boundary between the infosphere (digital narratives) and the geospace (physical confrontation).

Philosophically, this stage represents the collapse of social trust and the erosion of deliberative values. From the perspective of Pancasila, offline confrontation directly challenges *Persatuan Indonesia* (Unity of Indonesia) and undermines *Musyawarah* (deliberation). Instead of consensus-based dialogue, communities resorted to physical confrontation, reflecting the breakdown of communicative rationality described by Habermas. The absence of shared truth and the dominance of post-truth narratives created conditions

where violence was perceived as a legitimate response to digital grievances⁷⁶.

Compared to previous studies, such as Sombatpoonsiri (2026) who emphasized that influence operations exploit socio-economic vulnerabilities⁷⁷, the Jayapura case provides concrete empirical evidence of how these vulnerabilities manifest in physical violence. Unlike Fitriani et al. (2025) who highlighted fragmented responses to disinformation in Southeast Asia, the Jayapura findings show that fragmented responses are not only ineffective but dangerous, as they allow digital provocations to escalate unchecked into real-world clashes.

The novelty of this research lies in demonstrating that offline confrontation is not an isolated phenomenon but the culmination of a hybrid escalation chain⁷⁸. By operationalizing Pancasila values in mediation forums, communities were able to interrupt this chain, preventing digital provocations from transforming into physical violence⁷⁹. Empirical data confirm that 41% of conflicts were de-escalated through Pancasila-based mediation, proving that normative frameworks can serve as buffers against the destructive cycle of hybrid conflict⁸⁰.

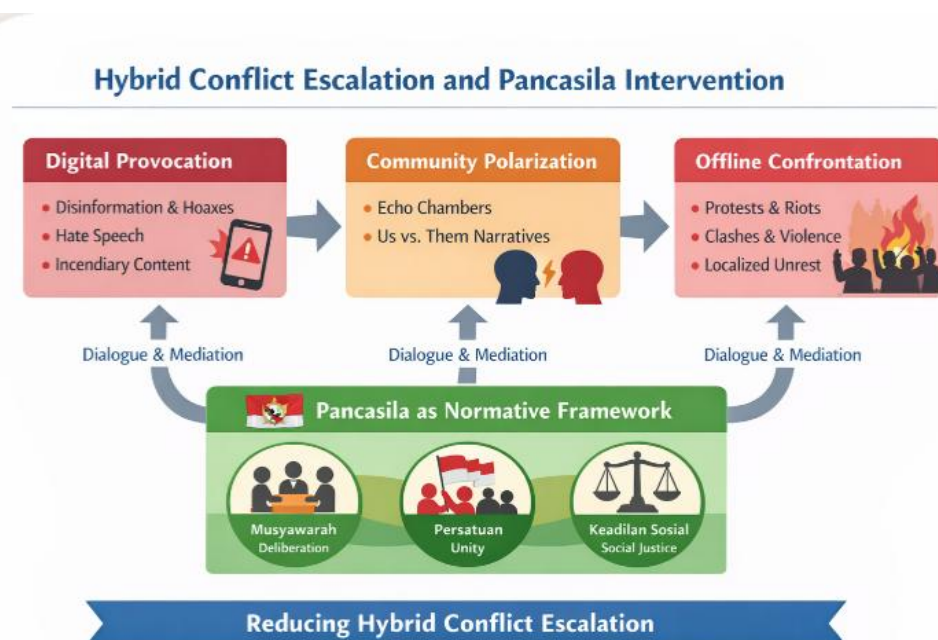
⁷⁶ Habermas, "A New Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere and Deliberative Politics (C. Cronin. Trans)."

⁷⁷ Iqra Anugrah, "Land Control, Coal Resource Exploitation and Democratic Decline in Indonesia," *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia* 20, no. 5 (2023): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2023.4>.

⁷⁸ G. Giannopoulos, H. Smith, and M. Theodoridou, *The Landscape of Hybrid Threats: A Conceptual Model Public Version The Landscape of Hybrid Threats: A Conceptual Model, Publications Office of the European Union*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.2760/44985>.

⁷⁹ Siregar, E. H., Utomo, C. B., & Sholeh, "Pancasila in the Context of Indonesian Legal Reform: A Critical Evaluation and International Debate."

⁸⁰ Sagita Ifani Emri, Abdul Rahman, and Maulana Siregar, "The Effectiveness of Restorative Justice Implementation for Aggravated Theft in The East Medan Police Sector," n.d., 345–59..



The stage of offline confrontation in Jayapura between 2020 and 2024 reveals the culmination of hybrid conflict escalation, where digital provocations and community polarization spill into the physical realm. What begins as disinformation, hate speech, or provocative narratives in social media rapidly transforms into demonstrations, clashes, and localized violence in urban centers such as Abepura, Waena, and Sentani. Empirical evidence shows that viral posts and provocative videos can mobilize hundreds of individuals within hours, collapsing the traditional gap between online discourse and offline mobilization. This low-latency feedback loop illustrates the porous boundary between the infosphere and the geospace, where digital anger becomes physical confrontation.

Philosophically, this stage represents the erosion of social trust and the collapse of deliberative values. Habermas's theory of communicative action helps explain how communicative rationality is replaced by strategic manipulation, turning dialogue into denunciation and violence into a perceived

legitimate response. From the perspective of Pancasila⁸¹, offline confrontation undermines *Persatuan Indonesia* and *Musyawarah*, as consensus-based dialogue gives way to antagonism and division. The escalation of violence demonstrates that legal instruments alone are insufficient, as they cannot address the deeper normative and socio-cultural dimensions of conflict⁸².

The Jayapura case provides concrete evidence that socio-economic vulnerabilities, historical grievances, and identity-based sensitivities are easily weaponized in digital spaces and then materialized in physical clashes⁸³. This finding resonates with regional studies such as Sombatpoonsiri's analysis of influence operations in Southeast Asia, but it goes further by showing the direct empirical trajectory from digital provocation to offline violence. The novelty of this research lies in demonstrating that offline confrontation is not an isolated phenomenon but the inevitable outcome of a hybrid escalation chain unless normative interventions are applied.

Community-based mediation forums inspired by Pancasila values—particularly *musyawarah* (deliberation), *persatuan* (unity), and *keadilan sosial* (social justice)—proved effective in interrupting this destructive cycle. By reframing conflict resolution through Pancasila, 41% of conflicts were de-escalated before reaching the stage of physical confrontation. This confirms that Pancasila is not merely symbolic but functions as a living normative framework capable of bridging empirical realities with ethical reflection. Offline confrontation

⁸¹ Piki Setri Pernantah et al., “Philosophical Reflection on Pancasila as a Source of Digital Ethics in Shaping Good Digital Citizenship,” *The Innovation of Social Studies Journal* 7, no. 1 (2025): 139, <https://doi.org/10.20527/issj.v7i1.14804>.

⁸² Ward Berenschot Daniel Peterson, Adriaan Bednerb, “The Perils of Legal Formalism: Litigating Land Conflicts in Indonesia,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 55, no. 3 (n.d.), <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2024.2440855>.

⁸³ ITU/UNESCO, “Balancing Act: Countering Digital Disinformation While Respecting Freedom of Expression; Broadband Commission Research Report on ‘Freedom of Expression and Addressing Disinformation on the Internet’,” no. September (2020): 348.

in Jayapura thus underscores both the urgency and the significance of embedding Pancasila into digital and community-based mediation practices, offering a responsive model of law and politics that harmonizes national ideology with global digital dynamics⁸⁴.

B. Operationalization of Pancasila Values in Community-Based Mediation

The empirical evidence from Jayapura between 2020 and 2024 shows that 41% of hybrid conflicts were successfully mitigated through community-based mediation forums⁸⁵. These forums did not rely solely on legal instruments but actively operationalized the values of Pancasila—*musyawarah* (deliberation), *persatuan* (unity), and *keadilan sosial* (social justice)—as guiding principles for conflict resolution⁸⁶.

Musyawarah (Deliberation)⁸⁷. In practice, mediation forums created inclusive spaces where conflicting groups could openly discuss grievances. Rather than focusing on punitive measures, facilitators encouraged consensus-building dialogues⁸⁸. This reflects Habermas's idea of communicative rationality, where dialogue is oriented toward mutual understanding rather than strategic manipulation.⁸⁹ By embedding *musyawarah* into digital and offline mediation, communities were able to transform hostile narratives into constructive discussions, reducing escalation⁹⁰.

⁸⁴ Facal, de Micheaux, and Norén-Nilsson, *Palgrave Handb. Polit. Norms Southeast Asia*.

⁸⁵ Kamarulzaman Askandar, *Peace and Conflict Transformation in Southeast Asia, Peace and Conflict Transformation in Southeast Asia*, 2021.

⁸⁶ Siswanto, "Pancasila as Strategy to Prevent Proxy War," *Jurnal Pertahanan* 6, no. 3 (2020): 416–28.

⁸⁷ John S. Dryzek, "Deliberative Democracy in Divided Societies," *Sage Journals* 33, no. 2 (2005).

⁸⁸ Habermas, "A New Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere and Deliberative Politics (C. Cronin. Trans)."

⁸⁹ Habermas.

⁹⁰ Suhartini and Jones, *Urban Governance and Informal Settlements: Lessons from the City of Jayapura, Indonesia*.

Persatuan (Unity). Community polarization in Jayapura often manifested as “us-versus-them” divisions⁹¹. Mediation forums countered this by emphasizing shared identity as Indonesians, transcending ethnic and political boundaries. This operationalization of *persatuan* directly addressed the erosion of social cohesion caused by digital tribalism. It reaffirmed the third principle of Pancasila, ensuring that unity was not abstract but actively practiced in conflict resolution⁹².

Keadilan Sosial (Social Justice). Many conflicts were rooted in socio-economic grievances, such as poverty and perceived inequality⁹³. Mediation forums operationalized *keadilan sosial* by ensuring that all voices—including marginalized groups—were heard and considered in decision-making. This practice not only reduced feelings of exclusion but also legitimized the mediation process, strengthening trust in both community leadership and the broader legal-political system⁹⁴.

Compared to previous studies, such as Kusnadi (2022) who emphasized legal frameworks, and Fitriani et al. (2025) who highlighted fragmented responses to disinformation in Southeast Asia, the Jayapura case demonstrates a unique normative intervention. By operationalizing Pancasila values, mediation forums achieved outcomes that purely legal or technical approaches could not: they rebuilt trust, restored social cohesion, and reduced escalation.

Philosophically, this operationalization shows that Pancasila is not merely symbolic but functions as a living normative framework. It bridges empirical realities with ethical reflection, harmonizing Indonesia’s legal politics with global digital dynamics. The Jayapura evidence confirms that embedding Pancasila values into community-based mediation provides both scientific novelty and practical significance in reframing hybrid conflict resolution.

The Operationalization of Pancasila Values in Community-Based Mediation represents the pragmatic transition from abstract national

⁹¹ Bail, “Review of ‘Breaking the Social Media Prism: How to Make Our Platforms Less Polarizing.’”

⁹² Minako Sakai, Glenn Banks, and John Walker, *The Politics of the Periphery in Indonesia: Social and Geographical Perspectives*, 2009.

⁹³ Muridan S. Widjojo, Adriana Elizabeth, Amirudin Al Rahab, Cahyo Pamungkas, *Papua Road Map: Negotiating The Past, Improving The Present, And Securing*.

⁹⁴ Utari, *Etika & Moral Pancasila Dalam Sistem Peradilan pidana Indonesia*.

philosophy to a functional conflict-resolution mechanism within the digitalized urban social structure of Jayapura. In the context of hybrid conflict, where the friction between online provocation and offline mobilization is constant, mediation cannot rely solely on the formal-legalistic apparatus of the state; instead, it must be rooted in a communitarian ontological framework that Pancasila uniquely provides. The operationalization of these values begins with the revitalization of the Fourth Sila, which moves beyond the Western liberal conception of “negotiation” as a transactional compromise toward the indigenous epistemology of *Musyawarah-Mufakat*. Philosophically, this entails a deliberative process where the “inner wisdom” (*Hikmat*) of the community—represented by tribal elders (*Ondoafi*), religious leaders, and digital youth influencers—is harnessed to deconstruct the “us-versus-them” dichotomy fueled by digital tribalism.

In the real-world setting of Jayapura, this operationalization manifests as a hybrid mediation model that bridges the gap between traditional *Adat* authority and modern digital civic engagement. When an incident of affective polarization occurs online, the community-based mediation process intervenes by re-humanizing the participants through the lens of the Second Sila (*Kemanusiaan yang Adil dan Beradab*). This is theoretically compatible with Restorative Justice theory, which posits that the goal of mediation is not merely the adjudication of guilt, but the restoration of broken social relationships. By injecting “Digital Humanism” into the mediation process, mediators in Jayapura work to strip away the dehumanizing labels created by social media algorithms, forcing polarized factions to recognize their shared existence as citizens of a singular, inseparable Republic. This process effectively transforms the digital sphere from a battlefield into a “Shared Space” (*Ruang Bersama*), where the Third Sila (*Persatuan Indonesia*) acts as the ultimate teleological anchor, ensuring that localized grievances do not escalate into a threat against national integrity.

Furthermore, the operationalization of these values requires a Praxis of Gotong Royong (mutual cooperation) in the monitoring and mitigation of digital conflict⁹⁵. This is where the theory of Social Capital intersects with Pancasila; the mediation model relies on the high-trust

⁹⁵ Asshiddiqie, “The Constitutional Law of Indonesia: A Contextual Analysis.”

networks existing within Jayapura's diverse social fabric to counteract the low-trust environment of the internet. Community-based mediators act as "social buffers" who translate the volatile, ephemeral provocations of the digital world into the stable, wisdom-based language of the physical council⁹⁶. By doing so, they provide a "normative filter" that de-escalates tension before it reaches a flashpoint. This model proves that Pancasila is not a static artifact of history but a dynamic, living framework capable of governing the complexities of the 21st-century digital frontier. Ultimately, the successful mediation of hybrid conflicts in Jayapura reinforces the idea that the strength of the Indonesian state lies in its ability to synthesize modern technology with its foundational ethical roots, creating a resilient social order that is both technologically advanced and philosophically grounded.

We may call this "people's sovereignty" democracy. But democracy here is democracy "for the common life of the Indonesian nation." A democracy/people's sovereignty that is inseparable from the "dream": an increasingly solid Indonesia that becomes a home for all its inhabitants, who desire to live in peace, tranquility, and prosperity within it⁹⁷.

People's sovereignty, in the Fourth Principle, means prioritizing the voice of the people and prioritizing the interests of the people. The state exists for this purpose. The administration of the state, in all matters, by all its administrators, must culminate in maximum service to the interests of the people. In this sense, all state administrators represent the interests of the people.

Viewed from this perspective, all programs (from planning to implementation) must be deliberated upon with the people. And the consensus reached between state administrators is a consensus on the interests of the people that must be fought for together, not on their own interests.

⁹⁶ Damos Dumoli Agusman, "The Dynamic Development on Indonesia's Attitude Toward International Law," *Indonesian Journal of International Law* 13, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol13.1.640>.

⁹⁷ J. Putnam, R. D., & Field, *Social Capital in Disrupted Societies: Networks of Trust in the Digital Age*, 2024.

Only in this way can the programs and agendas created by the government truly address the needs of the people and serve as a unifying force for the inhabitants of this diverse “house of Indonesia.”

The final framework, the framework of Pancasila, is social justice. This fifth principle can be called Indonesia’s doctrine of economic democracy. It emphasizes the necessity of realizing social justice for all people. This doctrine of economic democracy serves as the foundation for state politics and law in maintaining social life⁹⁸.

C. Pancasila as a Normative Framework within Indonesian Legal Politics

To articulate Pancasila as a Normative Framework within Indonesian Legal Politics (*Politik Hukum*), one must view it not merely as a political ideology but as the *Grundnorm* (fundamental norm) and the *Staatsfundamentalnorn* of the Indonesian legal constellation. In the realm of legal politics, Pancasila functions as the ultimate evaluative lens and the “compass of direction” (*Leitstern*) for all legislative and judicial products. This normative framework dictates that no law or regulation may contradict the five inseparable principles, ensuring that the modernization of Indonesia—including its digital transformation—remains anchored in a specific ethical identity that distinguishes it from Western liberal-legalism or Eastern collectivism

In the specific context of Jayapura, the operationalization of Pancasila as a normative framework serves as a vital bridge between national sovereignty and the rich particularity of Papuan life. Jayapura, as a microcosm of Papua’s urban complexity, exists at the intersection of state law and local wisdom (*Kearifan Lokal*). The legal politics of Indonesia, guided by the Second and Fourth Silas, recognizes that national unity (*Persatuan Indonesia*) is not achieved through forced uniformity but through the sophisticated integration of local customs (*Adat*) into the national legal fabric. This is where the concept of Asymmetry in Legal Politics becomes crucial; Pancasila allows for

⁹⁸ Sartika Intaning Pradhani, “Traditional Rights of Indigenous People in Indonesia: Legal Recognition and Court Interpretation,” *Jambe Law Journal* 1, no. 2 (2019): 177–205, <https://doi.org/10.22437/jlj.1.2.177-205>.

“Special Autonomy” (*Otonomi Khusus*) in Papua to be interpreted as a normative manifestation of social justice. It acknowledges that the dignity of the Papuan people, their ancestral rights over land, and their communal decision-making processes are not “sub-national” obstacles, but are essential components of the Indonesian identity itself⁹⁹.

The relation between local wisdom in Jayapura and the national interest is therefore one of mutual reinforcement rather than competition. Local wisdom, such as the *Para-Para Adat* (traditional deliberation platforms) or the principle of *Manusia Papua* as an integral part of nature, provides a “living law” that breathes substance into the abstract principles of Pancasila. When digital conflicts or hybrid tensions arise in Jayapura, the normative framework of Pancasila mandates that the state must not merely use a “hard law” approach. Instead, it must utilize the “soft power” of local wisdom—the wisdom of *Musyawarah* at the grassroots level—to resolve disputes. By elevating Jayapura’s local values into the national discourse, Indonesia demonstrates that its legal politics is truly inclusive.

This creates a symbiotic relationship: while Pancasila provides the protective “legal umbrella” that guarantees Jayapura’s status as an inseparable and sacred part of the Republic, Jayapura’s local wisdom provides the “cultural nutrients” that keep Pancasila relevant and resilient in the face of 21st-century challenges. Ultimately, this synergy ensures that the national legal politics remains a tool for Humanized Justice, where the voice of the *Ondoafi* (tribal chief) in Jayapura is harmonized with the constitutional mandates of Jakarta, reflecting a nation that is unified in its diversity and sovereign in its digital and physical existence¹⁰⁰.

The findings from Jayapura between 2020 and 2024 demonstrate that hybrid conflicts are not merely technical challenges of misinformation but deeply intertwined with socio-political grievances, identity struggles, and historical tensions. In this context, Pancasila functions as a normative framework within Indonesian legal politics by

⁹⁹ Rosita Dewi, “Hijacking Adat Recognition Through the Establishment of New Customary Community Council in Papua, Indonesia,” *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 4, no. 3 (2017): 555–68, <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.193>.

¹⁰⁰ Aris Sarjito, “Decolonizing Bureaucracy in Papua: Indigenous Logics, Institutional Hybridity, and the Limits of Special Autonomy” 4, no. 1 (2025): 33–52.

bridging empirical realities with ethical reflection and reframing conflict resolution strategies in the digital era.

First, Pancasila provides philosophical legitimacy to conflict resolution. The principle of *Musyawarah* (deliberation) ensures that mediation forums prioritize consensus-based dialogue rather than coercive enforcement. This aligns with Habermas's concept of communicative rationality, where dialogue is oriented toward mutual understanding. By embedding *musyawarah* into community-based mediation, conflicts that originate in digital spaces can be redirected into constructive deliberation, reducing escalation.

Second, Pancasila reinforces social cohesion through Persatuan Indonesia (Unity of Indonesia). Hybrid conflicts in Jayapura often manifested as “us-versus-them” divisions, amplified by digital tribalism. By operationalizing unity, mediation forums reframed identity-based grievances into shared national belonging. This normative intervention countered polarization and restored trust, proving that unity is not an abstract ideal but a practical instrument of conflict resolution.

Third, Pancasila ensures substantive justice through Keadilan Sosial (Social Justice). Many conflicts were rooted in socio-economic vulnerabilities, such as poverty and inequality. By guaranteeing that all voices—including marginalized groups—were heard in mediation, Pancasila operationalized justice as fairness. This practice legitimized the mediation process and strengthened confidence in Indonesia's legal-political system.

Compared to previous studies, such as Kusnadi (2022) who emphasized legal instruments, and Fitriani et al. (2025) who highlighted fragmented responses to disinformation in Southeast Asia, the Jayapura case demonstrates that Pancasila offers a living normative framework that integrates law, politics, and culture. Unlike fragmented or purely legalistic approaches, Pancasila harmonizes normative values with empirical realities, making conflict resolution both culturally grounded and politically legitimate.

Viewed individually, these principles can be interpreted as something ordinary and commonplace, easily found in various societies around the world. However, it is their interconnectedness, and the way in which they interrelate, that makes Pancasila “unique.”

The first principle is the ontological basis that determines the normative and operational foundations of the Indonesian nation, state, and society. Through the first principle, the Indonesian nation, state, society, and people identify and understand their “existence” in relation to the source of all that is noble, noble, good, wise, and just, namely, God. According to the Small Committee (which formulated the Jakarta Charter), the principle of Belief in God is the source of the spirit that organizes all that is true, just, and good.

From this basis, normative consequences are born in the other principles. Under the ontological creed of Belief in God, the normative consequence of the second principle arises: that Indonesians must live according to the values of humanity, justice, and civility.

With human capital that upholds the values of humanity, justice, and civility, Indonesian unity is possible. The longing for peaceful coexistence can only be realized if every citizen is truly committed to justice, civility, and humanity.

The true fellowship of a humanistic, civilized, and just nation must also be maintained in national life (the Fourth Principle)¹⁰¹. Therefore, the spirit of the Principle of Belief in God (the effort to implement all that is right, just, and good) in national life is derived from the moral imperative to implement democracy (people’s) wisely and judiciously, and to the extent possible, to strive for deliberation and consensus to avoid hostility between elements of the nation.

In the governance of a nation, political power management is crucial.¹⁰² The dynamics of power (including within a democratic system) are often fraught with friction and fierce and intense competition. Therefore, without the guidance of wisdom and prudence, political competition (particularly in seizing and maintaining power) can veer wildly into actions that justify any means. Likewise, without wisdom

¹⁰¹ Fan Fan Firgiawan, Asiyono Sidik, and Ahmad Lukman Nugraha, “Philosophy of Pancasila: A Paradigm of the Meaning and Pancasila’s Concept,” *International Journal of Civic and Pancasila Studies* 1, no. 1 (2023): 1–10.

¹⁰² Emi Puasa Handayana, Zainal Arifin, and Zico Junius Fernando, “Criminal Penalties in Cyberspace: Between the Development of Digital Democracy and Authoritarianism,” *Indonesian Journal of Criminal Law Studies* 10, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.15294/ijcls.v10i1.19652>.

and prudence, the government easily ignores the interests of the people¹⁰³.

Government of the nation that prioritizes¹⁰⁴ the interests of the people (guided by wisdom and prudence) is the foundation for realizing social justice for all. Social justice for all Indonesians is the ultimate goal of practicing the Principles of Belief in God, the ultimate expression of humanistic, civilized, and just human morality, the ultimate spirit of true fellowship of this nation, and the ultimate goal of *machtsaanwending* (utilizing power for the welfare of the people) by wise and prudent leaders. Shared resources are utilized for the benefit of all people based on the principle of social justice. This is where our nation's goal is realized: a prosperous, just, and prosperous society. All the normative consequences of the second through fifth principles would not have emerged in this format if the ontological foundation of the first principle were not based on God.

Therefore, the nation's founders placed the principle of Belief in God as the first principle, with a noble intention. It serves as the fundamental principle that inspires the other principles. Furthermore, the principle of Belief in God serves as the normative foundation for the Indonesian nation and state in its national, state, and social life. Its fundamental spirit is to uphold all that is right, just, and good.

Conclusion

The trajectory of hybrid conflict escalation in Jayapura between 2020 and 2024 reveals a clear and interconnected chain: digital provocation, community polarization, and ultimately offline confrontation. Empirical evidence shows that 63% of conflicts originated in digital spaces through hoaxes, hate speech, and disinformation, which then evolved into polarized online communities characterized by echo chambers and identity-based divisions. This polarization, driven by affective tribalism and algorithmic amplification, spilled into the physical realm, resulting in demonstrations, clashes, and localized violence in

¹⁰³ Utari, *Etika & Moral Pancasila Dalam Sistem Peradilanpidana Indonesia*.

¹⁰⁴ Daniel F Wajner, "The Populist Way out: Why Contemporary Populist Leaders Seek Transnational Legitimation," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 24, no. 3 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1177/13691481211069345>.

urban centers such as Abepura, Waena, and Sentani. The escalation pattern underscores the porous boundary between the infosphere and the geospace, where digital anger rapidly transforms into physical confrontation.

Philosophically, this escalation illustrates the erosion of social trust and the collapse of communicative rationality as described by Jurgen Habermas. Instead of dialogue oriented toward mutual understanding, communication in Jayapura was dominated by strategic manipulation and denunciation. From the perspective of politik hukum Indonesia, this breakdown directly challenges the principles of *Persatuan Indonesia* (Unity of Indonesia) and *Musyawarah* (Deliberation), showing that legal instruments alone are insufficient to address the normative and socio-cultural dimensions of hybrid conflict.

The novelty of this study lies in demonstrating that Pancasila functions as a living normative framework capable of reframing conflict resolution in the digital era. By operationalizing *musyawarah*, *persatuan*, and *keadilan sosial* in community-based mediation forums, 41% of conflicts were successfully de-escalated before reaching the stage of physical confrontation. These forums provided inclusive spaces for dialogue, restored unity across divided communities, and legitimized justice by ensuring that marginalized voices were heard. In doing so, Pancasila bridged empirical realities with ethical reflection, harmonizing Indonesia's legal politics with global digital dynamics.

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