

Construcción de paz con las redes sociales: Análisis de caso de etiquetar a grupos separatistas como terroristas en Indonesia

Peacebuilding with social media: Case analysis of labeling separatist groups as terrorists in Indonesia

A. JUNAEDI KARSO

Department of government science
Faculty of social and political sciences
Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia
junaedi@unismuh.ac.id

TAWAKKAL BAHARUDDIN

Department of government science
Faculty of social and political sciences
Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, Indonesia
tawakkal.b.pasca18@mail.umy.ac.id
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6426-9840>

IQBAL AIDAR IDRUS

Department of public administration
Universitas 17 Agustus 1945 Jakarta, Indonesia
idrusiqbal@yahoo.com

ANIRWAN

Department of government science
Universitas Pancasakti Makassar, Indonesia
anirwan@unpacti.ac.id
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2399-2025>

MUHAMMAD TAKDIR

Department of Public Administration
Universitas Muhammadiyah Sinjai, Indonesia
takdirstisip@gmail.com

FREESCA SYAFITRI

Department on Development Economics
UPN Veteran Jakarta, Indonesia
freesca.syafitri@upnvj.ac.id

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Resumen: La idea de la paz ya se está discutiendo en el espacio digital. Alienta a este estudio a examinar la idea de construcción de paz en las redes sociales. Este estudio se centra en casos de cambio de etiquetas de grupos separatistas a grupos terroristas en Indonesia. El método de investigación utiliza un enfoque cuantitativo con análisis de contenido descriptivo con la fuente de datos proveniente de Twitter. La herramienta de análisis utilizada es Nvivo 12 Plus. Este estudio muestra que las redes sociales pueden ser una nueva alternativa para suprimir la propaganda separatista a través de narrativas contra el separatismo y el terrorismo. Las redes sociales también pueden formar un activismo que cambie lentamente las actitudes y respuestas del público al evaluar situaciones y problemas de seguridad nacional. La intensidad del uso de las redes sociales también plantea la idea de la consolidación de la paz en el posconflicto. Sin embargo, la consolidación de la paz no puede basarse únicamente en las redes sociales. Los supuestos convencionales también deben construirse utilizando un modelo de comunicación formal que involucre a las autoridades gubernamentales en el inicio de la reconciliación posterior al conflicto.

Palabras clave: Consolidación de la paz, lucha contra el separatismo, lucha contra el terrorismo, grupo separatista, redes sociales .

Abstract: The idea of peace is already being discussed in the digital space. It encourages this study to examine the idea of peacebuilding in social media. This study focuses on cases of changing labels from separatist groups to terrorist groups in Indonesia. The research method uses a quantitative approach with descriptive content analysis with the data source coming from Twitter. The analysis tool used is Nvivo 12 Plus. This study shows that social media can be a new alternative to suppressing separatist propaganda through counter-separatism-terrorism narratives. Social media can also form activism that slowly changes public attitudes and responses in assessing national security situations and issues. The intensity of using social media also raises the idea of post-conflict peacebuilding. However, peacebuilding cannot be based entirely on social media alone. Conventional assumptions must also be built using a formal communication model involving government authorities in initiating post-conflict reconciliation.

Keywords: Peacebuilding, Counter Separatism, Counter-Terrorism, Separatist Group, Social Media.

1. INTRODUCTION

Separatist actions in Papua, Indonesia, have been going on for a long time and are now a serious security problem (Trajano, 2010; Crowther, 2019). This situation prompted the government authorities to issue instructions stating that separatist groups in Papua had committed violence and were considered terrorist groups (Tsia & Hendriana, 2021) based on acts of violence and crime terrorizing their social activities. The label changing of separatist groups is an important indication that the Indonesian government deals with violence and terror. The Indonesian government has stated that it will not compromise with the Armed Criminal Group (KKB) in Papua, which has disrupted public security and order. Previously, KKB committed a crime against residents of the Sugapa District, Intan Jaya Regency, Papua, and the incident caused the surrounding civilians to flee. The labeling of armed groups as terrorist groups is considered the analysis of various parties, both inside and outside the government (Tsia & Noviana, 2021; Puspita, 2021).

However, the label changing has reaped various public responses on online social networks or social media. It has influenced public attitudes and awareness regarding national security issues on social media networks. Besides focusing on the existing problems, it underlies the narratives and a democratic spirit towards national issues. Digital technology, such as social media, has influenced the attitude of nationalism in different case studies (Mihelj & Jiménez-Martínez, 2021; White, 2020). Public response in online media proves the community's high interest to be involved cooperatively in assessing the social situation in Indonesia, especially on issues of national security. Various responses on social media show the tendency to this attitude. Social media platforms have facilitated the flow of information in images and GIFs in framing socio-political discourse to influence the emotional response of users (Duncombe, 2020; Zhuravskaya, 2019). The activism shown on social media can also be considered a way to initiate peace in crisis and conflict situations (Richmond & Tellidis, 2020; Grunewald & Hedges, 2020).

During crisis and conflict, peacebuilding is a critical initiation to bring about reconciliation. Peacebuilding involves national and international institutions (Autesserre, 2017). Other peacebuilding efforts can also formulate strategic policies (Ejdus & Juncos, 2018). These development efforts must be sustainable (De Coning, 2018). As for the environment, social relations and community capacity are considered quite influential in peacebuilding (Vaittinen et al., 2019). In Indonesia, issues of peacebuilding are important indicators in maintaining democratic life (Badruzaman & Vitón, 2021). This aspect must be initiated by the joint involvement of the government and civil society. However, seeing the current technology and social media, peacebuilding is considered to reach and attract many other social communities to engage collectively for a common goal.

So far, studies on cases of labeling separatist groups as terrorists in Indonesia have not been studied much, especially about peacebuilding issues and social media.

However, there are at least some trends from previous studies. First, social media has contributed positively to social engagement (Duncombe, 2017; Carr et al., 2020; Kennedy et al., 2021). Second, during armed conflict situations, social media affects various perspectives in social networks (Shim & Stengel, 2017; Makhortykh & Sydorova, 2017; Rice & Taylor, 2020). Third, activism using social media has the opportunity to mediate peacebuilding (Ragandang, 2020; Kasadha, 2020). Fourth, peacebuilding is considered an ongoing process to turn conflict into development opportunities for stakeholders (Shah et al., 2020). Fifth, initiatives to promote peacebuilding can be reviewed through social dialogue involving interest groups (Bhandari, 2019).

The purpose of this paper is to try to fill in the shortcomings of previous studies by carrying out an analytical approach in online social networks such as Twitter, which is specifically related to peacebuilding. Therefore, two questions are formulated: (a) What are the narrative and public response to the policies taken by the Indonesian government regarding the label change of separatist groups to terrorists on Twitter? (b) How do Twitter activists initiate peacebuilding? The answers to these two questions enable the finding of solutions to improve the social situation and become the material for evaluating the Indonesian government regarding national security and order issues, especially in reducing separatism and terror acts in Papua, Indonesia.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

This study used quantitative methods with descriptive content analysis with Twitter users as the research subjects. The research object was seen from the Twitter users' involvement in responding to existing problems regarding the label changing from separatist groups to be terrorist groups in Papua. The data source was taken from Twitter using the Ncapture feature. The data selection from Twitter was based on Twitter Search, focusing on searching keywords about separatist and terrorist groups cases in Papua, Indonesia (Keyword/Tweet: Terrorist in Papua). The selected data allowed a further exploration and analysis regarding public responses and activism on Twitter in initiating peacebuilding. Data based on Twitter Search on the keyword (Tweet: Terrorists in Papua) found 22322 Tweets captured, Captured on 06/05/2021.

The data collected was then transferred to Nvivo 12 Plus Software because this software provides space for researchers to store, manage, analyze, and maximize the visualization of data (Phillips and Lu, 2018). Furthermore, the data collected in the Nvivo 12 Plus software was then classified on the data and coded based on Text Search Query, Word Frequency Query, and Sentiment Analysis. Text Search Query allows researchers to search for frequently expressed words or phrases. Word Frequency Query to list the words that occur most often or words that are most commonly used. At the same time, Sentiment Analysis is useful for identifying

sentiment expressions. A visualization stage follows the results of the coding on the data graphs and tables including Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3, and Table 2. The data is then described and analyzed. The data analysis technique was carried out by assessing the involvement and response of social media users in the Twitter network to the change of labels on separatist groups into terrorist groups. These responses would analyze further to explore the peacebuilding ideas and narratives.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. The separatist movement in Papua, Indonesia

The separatist movement is identified as an attempt to break away from a country and be independent. In Indonesia, the separatist movement is a threat to national security. There have also been conflicts and separatism involving the Free Papua Organization (OPM) in this context. This separatism demands independence for Indonesia and other international communities (Sigar, 2020). Thus, cases of violence caused by the separatist movement are known to have been going on for quite a long time and generally concentrate on the idea of independence. It tends to pave the way for armed groups in Papua to fight for their actions with various forms of action, including acts of separatism that cause social unrest and conflict. The confirmed cases as major causes that contributed to the emergence of conflict are as follows.

Table 1: Cases and armed conflicts in Papua, Indonesia

Cases	Description
Wamena tragedy, 2000	The tragedy in Wamena on October 6, 2000, killed seven Papuans and 24 migrants. More than 5,000 residents of Wamena took refuge in police and military headquarters following the riots. Meanwhile, around 400 residents chose to move to Jayapura until conditions recovered temporarily.
Wasior case, 2001	On June 13, 2001, in Wonoboyo Village, Wasior, four civilians, Daud Yomaki, Felix Urban, Henok Marani, and Guntur Samberi, died. The Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (KontraS) records suspected they were killed by security forces who committed extrajudicial killings. In addition, 39 people were tortured in this incident, 5 people were forcibly disappeared, and one person was sexually assaulted. Komnas HAM classified this case as one of the cases of gross human rights violations after the reformation.

Wamena tragedy, 2003	This Wamena tragedy occurred in April 2003. At that time, several people managed to break into the weapons warehouse at the Wamena Kodim/1702 headquarters and brought 29 firearms along with 3,500 rounds of bullets. Two TNI soldiers and one of the burglars were killed. As for strengthening the troops in the pursuit, Dandim/1702/JWY requested 158 additional troops from Kopassus and Kostrad. During the pursuit, there were arrests, torture, ill-treatment, shootings and killings of civilians. They also set fire to residents' houses, churches, polyclinics, and schools which caused residents to flee. The Komnas HAM team that went to the field concluded that this incident was a serious human rights violation because it targeted civilians.
Cendrawasih University tragedy, 2006	Another serious human rights violation occurred on March 16, 2006. At that time, there was a prolonged demonstration related to PT Freeport Indonesia's refusal in Papua. There were dozens of deaths, both from students and the security forces.
Paniai tragedy, 2014	On 7-8 December 2014, a shooting incident occurred in a Paniai resident at the Karel Gobai soccer field, Enarotali, Paniai, Papua. Four residents were reported killed and 21 others injured as a result of the incident. The case is categorized as a gross human rights violation.
Demonstration against Racism, 2019	Several acts of racism against Papuan students in Surabaya and Malang, East Java, sparked the anger of the Papuan people. Demonstrations took place on a large scale in Papua and Jakarta. The demonstrations led to riots in various areas such as in Manokwari, Fakfak and Mimika.
Labeling Armed Groups as Terrorist Groups	The State Intelligence Agency (BIN) is now labeling the Papuan Armed Criminal Group (KKB) as a Separatist and Terrorist Group (KST) after the shooting that killed the head of the Papuan BIN.

Source: Tempo Magazine (Adyatama & Wibowo, 2021)

Table 1 above shows that the conflict in Papua has been going on for a long time and has led to separatism until now. Separatism refers to various efforts made by non-state actors, which are characterized by activism that is disruptive, threatening and potentially damaging the values of unity within the state. However, the data also shows that conflict is not always based on separatism, but there are other factors, namely racism and justice. It is an important aspect that must be a shared responsibility, especially the government in taking the initiative to accommodate the emergence of the values of unity and justice in the state.

The efforts taken by the Indonesian government in reducing cases and acts of separatism include asymmetric decentralization. Asymmetric decentralization is a central government policy given to certain regions, such as Papua, to run the government system and make specific policies (Lele, 2019; Barter & Wangge, 2021). Through this asymmetric decentralization, the Indonesian government has also succeeded in reducing separatism in Aceh Province because it involved elements of separatism in designing a plan. However, it tends to be ineffective in the Papua region because it only allows limited participation from separatist elements (Lele, 2021).

Based on the trend in the cases above, the labeling of terrorists for Papuan Armed Criminal Groups (KKB) is considered to meet the provisions in the law by looking at the basis of the government's determination of the Armed Criminal Groups (KKB) in Papua as Terrorist Separatist Groups (KST) following the definition of terrorism in Papua. in Law Number 5 of 2018.

“Terrorism is an act that uses violence or threats creating an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, which can cause mass casualties, and cause damage or destruction to vital strategic objects, the environment, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political or security motives.” (Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 2018, 2018).

Despite the label changing to become a terrorist, the Indonesian government is expected to remain present among the Papuans. It aims to minimize all forms of discrimination against the public's one-sided view of Papuans in general and is based on social justice for all citizens and regions in Indonesia. This situation requires an approach to welfare, development, and most importantly, how the government can improve the quality of life of the people so that people feel the presence of the state and are not influenced and instigated by propaganda from armed groups or separatism.

3.2. Narrative and public response on Twitter related to separatism-terrorism actions in Papua

Separatism in Indonesia, especially Papua, has been going on for a long time and has given rise to narratives and various public responses. The narratives and public responses are formed through the public sphere and give rise to various digital perceptions such as Twitter, especially when the label change of the separatist group turned into a terrorist.

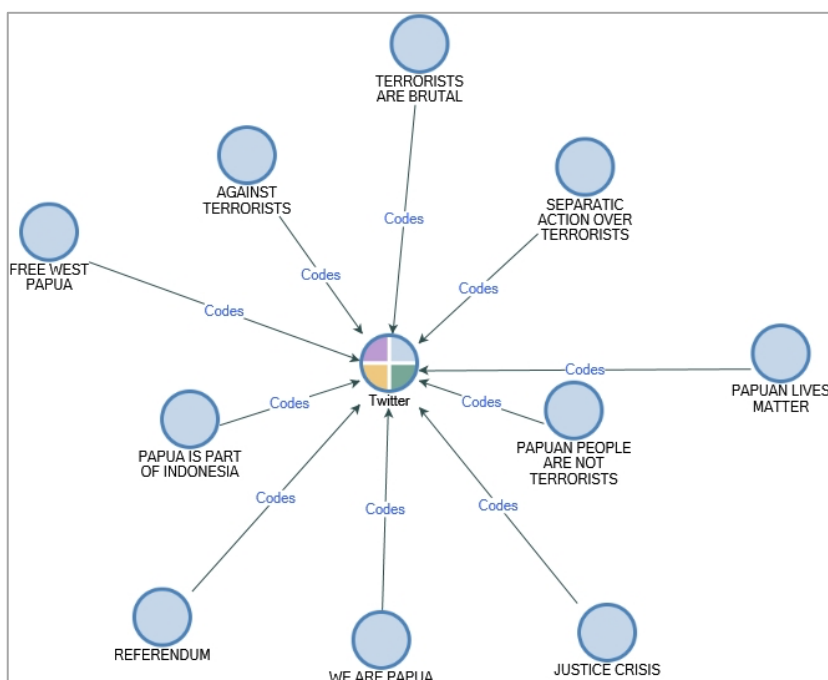


Figure 1. The narrative of the debate in the case of changing the label of a separatist to a terrorist

Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 Plus (2021)

Based on Figure 1, the intensity of the debate on Twitter is mostly about separatism in Papua, especially related to changing the label of separatist groups into terrorist groups. Some of the narratives and debates include about Papua is part of Indonesia, Papuan people are not terrorists, we are Papua, Papuan lives matter, against terrorists, separatist action over terrorism, terrorists are brutal, free west Papua, justice crisis, and referendum. Some of these narratives have become narratives that are often debated on Twitter social media and are quite dominant in influencing the interests and attitudes of Twitter users. From some of the narratives above, Papua is part of Indonesia seems to have an influential intensity among others. It is a public response in maintaining unity in the post-conflict social community, and at the same time participating in the rehabilitation of all aspects related to Papua. Thus, no generalized claims that corner Papua.

Besides creating various debate narratives, the changing label of separatism to a terrorist group also raises public sentiment. The sentiment revolves around the rejection of changing the label of terrorists, which is considered an authoritarian act and a form of the government's inability to overcome existing problems. On the other hand, the public also considers this step relevant by looking at the facts and history of the separatist actions going on for a long time.

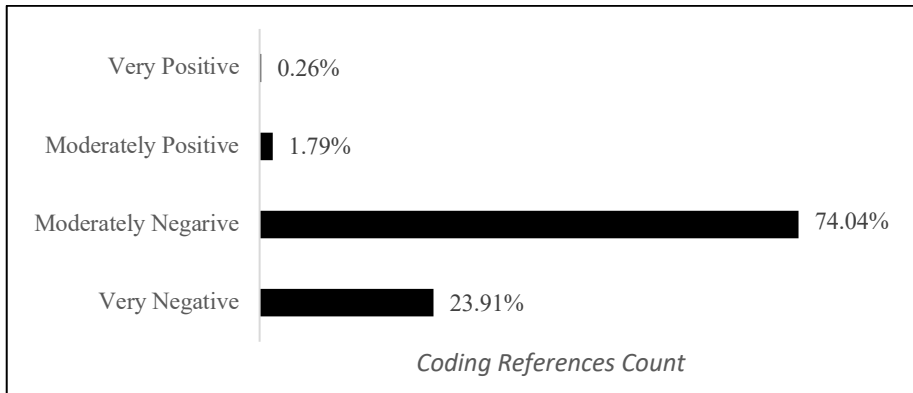


Figure 2. Number of sentiments and online social trusts related to the change in the terrorist label in Papua

Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 Plus (2021)

Based on Figure 2, public sentiment is dominantly negative. The negative sentiment is interpreted as a public response in assessing separatist actions that cause casualties and chaos in the social community. The public considers that the actions of armed groups in Papua are contrary to social values and norms. The diffusion of information related to label changing from a separatist group to a terrorist group is considered the center that influences public attitudes, sentiments and responses on Twitter. Besides public sentiment, there is another response from hashtags.

Hashtags with the symbol (#) on social media are increasingly popular, especially on Twitter. There are several advantages of using hashtags. It serves to spread information quickly, organize, design, build a trend, bind, inspire, summarize the discussion, and support any social discourse (Baharuddin et al., 2021; Medina-Molina & Rey-Moreno, 2017; Rauschnabel et al., 2019). Hashtags can also function as an organized intervention model that can initiate a new perspective in the discussion (Baharuddin, Qodir, et al., 2022; Baharuddin, Sairin, et al., 2022; Jubba et al., 2023; Lestaluhu et al., 2023; Luth et al., 2023; Rentschler, 2017). Hashtags in building a peace narrative are an important indicator of how social media and its users are integrated into peacebuilding through social media. The trend in the following data evidence this effort.

Table 2. The number of hashtags against acts of terror in Papua, Indonesia

Number	Hashtags	Number of hashtags
1	#teroriskkbpapuamakinbrutal (The KKB Papua terrorist are getting more and more brutal)	2433
2	#basmiterorisdibumicendrawasih (Eradicate terrorist)	729

3	#kstkejammelebihiteroris (Cruel more than terrorist)	232
4	#kkbpapuateroris (KKB Papua terrorist)	124
5	#ringkusteroris (arrest terrorist)	96
6	#papuaindonesia (Papua Indonesia)	79
7	#kkbmusuhnegeri (KKB the enemy of the country)	78
8	#kkbtherealterrorist (KKB the real terrorist)	64
9	#lawanterrorist (Counter terrorist)	63
10	#negerikrisiskeadilan (Crisis of justice)	51
11	#freewestpapua (free west papua)	46
12	#sikathabiskstpapua (Against the terrorist Papua separatist group)	40
13	#papuabagiannkri (Papua part of Indonesia)	37
14	#suarapapua (Voice of Papua)	35
15	#Indonesiamaju (Indonesia is progressing)	34

Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 Plus (2021)

Table 2 shows that the idea of peacebuilding can be transformed into social media, especially on Twitter. Peacebuilding maximizes the hashtags. Hashtags have a role in influencing the attitudes of other social media users towards a discourse. The hashtags that are most widely used are about armed groups and terrorists who are considered increasingly brutal. These hashtags tend to influence public attitudes and responses to be interested in the discussion. In general, the hashtags above describe violence, cruelty, discrimination, justice and law enforcement that must be fought and minimized through collective action. The hashtags above tend to message that Indonesia can fight violence and reduce the impact of these events, such as sentiment between Papua and other parts of Indonesia. The message seeks to initiate and create a common space to remain united and maintain mutual stability within the country. It is then considered to have sparked the peace movement on social media.

3.3. Peacebuilding activism on Twitter

Based on previous explanations, the public response on Twitter also basically supports peacebuilding by observing the intensity of social media users, either through discussion, narrative and post-conflict debate. In addition, other forms of activism were found, maximizing hashtags to spread messages and related information. There is a response and attitude of social media users and revising the debate, especially around the discussion on the referendum. A referendum is considered to underlie the various conflicts still happening in the Papua region seen from the trend of debate which is still triggering various responses as in the previous data (see Figure 1). The model and flow of peacebuilding on social media can be seen in Figure 3.

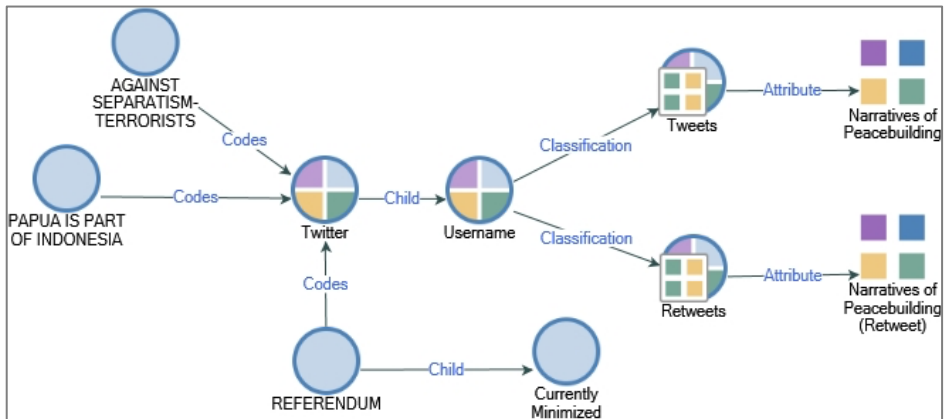


Figure 3. Peacebuilding model and counter-separatism movement on social media
Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 Plus (2021)

Figure 3 shows a narrative about the idea of peacebuilding on social media networks by social media users who are against the referendum that arose in the post-conflict debate, precisely during the period of changing the label of a separatist group to a terrorist group. A narrative slowly changes public perceptions and attitudes in online social networks to engage in joint activism. The attitude of social media users in building trends and managing information about Papua confirms that Papua is still part of Indonesia. Activism that uses social media as a counter-separatism media is considered capable of reducing forms of propaganda on social media. At a minimum, activism on social media will influence the public's response and attitude towards the importance of maintaining joint sovereignty. The narrative and counter-separatism also legitimize the Indonesian people's maintenance of national unity and security, primarily related to peacebuilding ideas.

The narrative about the referendum that often appears in debates on social media is considered post-conflict propaganda. This propaganda often appears and takes advantage of the momentum in the crowd and public attention on a case. There are findings that social media propaganda can be successful by influencing individuals and groups of social media users into discourse and supporting existing propaganda. Propaganda narratives are generally packaged and possible and take advantage of tweets (Mcdowell-smith et al., 2017). In this study, a counter-narrative in social media by building a collective narrative includes (Against separatism-terrorists) and narratives (Papua is part of Indonesia). This counter-narrative reduces the spread of post-conflict propaganda information to become more widespread on social media networks. A counter-narrative like this is critical to do during the crisis and post-conflict. The counter-narrative presents a campaign through a social media approach under a mission statement against and preventing violent extremism

through a humanization approach. Campaign effectiveness in this way is assessed as a proactive strategy (Macnair & Frank, 2017).

Based on the previous descriptions, peacebuilding on social media tends to be inclusive for all social media users influenced by the characteristics of social media, which tend to be open to everyone. In addition, the ability to access information becomes easy and stimulates users to get involved in developing discourse. Social media as an alternative to reconcile post-conflict social conditions is vital while looking at the wide geographical aspect of Indonesia and separate conflict areas. Thus, social media tends to be seen as a medium that can minimize these geographical aspects and encourage peacebuilding ideas and campaigns in several other areas.

Various campaigns have referred to aspects of peacebuilding in post-conflict Papua, such as the involvement of social communities, civil society, religious organizations, academics, and ethnic groups. The involvement of these groups aims as mediators in the idea of post-conflict peace and reconciliation. However, the results are still considered less than optimal, especially for violence (Pamungkas, 2017). Thus, social media is an alternative in peacebuilding campaigns, but social media cannot fully ensure peace in Papua. This study considers that the role of the government remains at the center of efforts to build peace in Papua. This study also emphasizes that the public's role, attitude, and participation, especially in online social networks, also remains important. High intensity in social media is considered part of the efforts campaigned for peace.

The Indonesian government has tried to reconcile post-conflict. As for conflict management in Papua, it is necessary to pay attention to several aspects, namely justice, *memoria passionis* and the reconstruction of Papuan identity. Justice has historically consisted of differing perceptions of independence between separatist groups and the government. This aspect is then considered to have initiated the pro-independence movement in conflict areas. Meanwhile, *memoria passionis* is a memory of the suffering caused by violence, poverty, and other social inequalities that are considered unresolved. The reconstruction of Papuan Identity consists of threats to local Papuan identity due to demographic changes and the low level of representation of indigenous Papuans in various forums and institutions involving their interests (Anriani et al., 2021). Therefore, the Indonesian government must consider these three aspects in initiating a new policy to accommodate all problems.

The complexity approach considers that peacebuilding must independently involve the ability and capacity of social institutions, followed by looking at the local cultural, historical and socioeconomic context (de Coning, 2016). The complexity theory approach emphasizes that the government's independence in negotiating peace is also very strategic and important. This study suggests the Indonesian government be able to take a stand, accommodate and at the same time participate in maintaining the diffusion of information independently to remain pro-active in maintaining the idea of peacebuilding. One aspect that needs to be considered is

maximizing social media as an information center to minimize hoax spread, and at the same time, maintain post-conflict social capital.

3.4. Online social capital post-conflict

Social media has been proven to have created a wider network within the online social community and influenced the relationship in assessing a case such as the conflict in Papua. Attachments that appear in online social networks slowly contribute to improving post-conflict social capital, which is characterized by the cooperative behavior of the community in taking a stand to promote the idea of peace. Maximizing the post-conflict social media facilitates a more solid network opposing the propaganda. During the transition period, the government and civil society organizations also continued to seek reconciliation with various approaches. This tendency is considered capable of influencing the public response on social media to evaluate every peace idea by government authorities. Every government effort will be exposed more quickly through news portals and spread on social media networks.

The idea of peace can go from public to digital, but this assumption cannot leave the conventional communication model that focuses on government response. The government's response and policies remain a priority in bridging the peace orientation needed after the conflict. The communication model by the government is an important aspect that needs to be done to initiate the acceleration of handling cases. The government's response naturally influences the public's response on social media to carry the same ideas in peacebuilding through campaigns and narratives on online social networks and reducing the post-conflict debate.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Communication models that use social media are considered a new alternative to reducing propaganda about separatism. Social media can form activism that slowly changes public attitudes and responses in assessing and developing national security issues. The intensity of using social media also raises ideas about post-conflict peacebuilding. As for the conventional assumptions that place ideas about post-conflict peacebuilding using a formal communication model, it is considered a model that remains important and a priority but still needs to be pursued optimally and continuously. The post-conflict dialogue between policymakers and other relevant groups remains important to bridge, mediate, and initiate reconciliation. The contribution of this research is helpful to see the tendency in the form of activism of social media users in initiating the idea of peacebuilding in online social networks, as well as being a consideration for the government and other relevant authorities in taking the same role. The drawback of this study lies in the difficulty of assessing whether the form of activism, public attitudes and responses in online social networks

is sustainable or only temporary. This study suggests that further studies be conducted to assess and ensure that peacebuilding activism on social media is temporary.

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