Optimizing Indonesia's Digital Diplomacy through a Multitrack Peace Building Approach: A Case Study of the Palestine-Israel Conflict

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Article Info

Abstract

Digital diplomacy is used as an instrument to convey a country's foreign policy and national interests in responding to situations that occur globally. Indonesia through President Joko Widodo has implemented this to address the conflict between Israel and Palestine. However, President Jokowi's digital diplomacy through the official Twitter account (X) has not been optimal when viewed from the multitrack peace-building approach perspective. This study aims to optimize the implementation of Indonesia's digital diplomacy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through a multitrack peace-building approach. This research uses a qualitative method with a case study of President Jokowi's official Twitter account uploads related to the Israel-Palestine conflict. The results showed that Indonesia's digital diplomacy through President Jokowi's official Twitter account can be optimized through the involvement of middle-level leadership, especially the religion-based peace-building approach in the form of interacting with the Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council for Da'wah and Ukhuwah as well as Rais Syuriyah of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board, M. Cholil Nafis (@cholilnafis) and General Secretary of the Muhammadiyah Central Board Abdul Mu'ti accounts. In addition, at the grassroots level, leadership can be optimized by involving the Chief Trustee of the Nusantara Palestina Center, Abdillah Onim account and if possible, also

interacting with the Nusantara Palestina Center organization account considering that both of them continuously inform the latest conditions in Palestine.

INTRODUCTION

Digital tools are increasingly becoming an important aspect of diplomacy to facilitate various diplomatic interests. Indonesian Foreign Minister, Retno Marsudi sets out how digital instruments can be utilized for reasons of citizen protection, to promote peaceful messages, to strengthen economic cooperation, and as a tool to foster development. Digital innovation, particularly social media, will open up many opportunities for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) to achieve its foreign policy objectives. Digital diplomacy complements and adds value to Indonesia's principle of a freely active foreign policy. Using digital diplomacy to share information about what Indonesia has done to solve global or regional problems has raised the profile of Indonesian diplomacy. In essence, digital diplomacy has the benefit of expanding the reach of audiences (Triwibowo, 2023a).
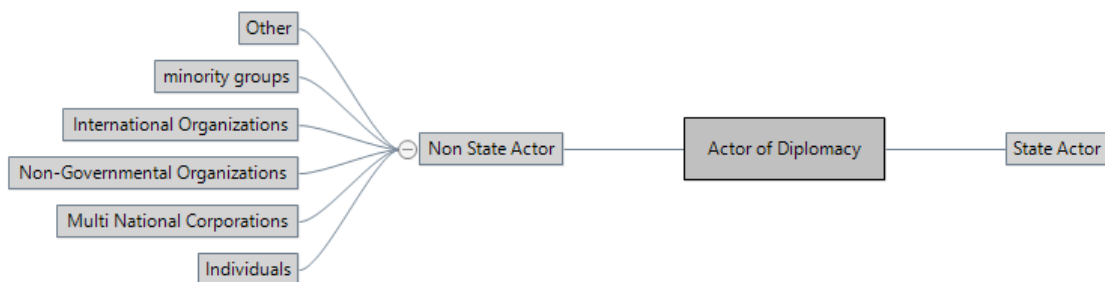

Figure 1. Actor of Diplomacy (Triwibowo, 2023a)

Actors involved in the diplomacy process are not limited to state actors, but also to non-state actors (Samad & Indrajit, 2022) such as individuals, multinational corporations (MNCs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), International Organizations, minority groups, and so on. One example of a non-state actor that conducts digital diplomacy is the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (Sagala & Baskoro, 2023; Samad & Permatasari, 2022). Thus, the empowerment of all actors in various diplomatic activities and international relations in the context of total diplomacy can be encouraged in an integrative and comprehensive manner can be realized, especially by utilizing various social media and other digital instruments (Putra, 2023).

Diplomacy is a tool for state actors to discuss an issue and negotiate to achieve national interests. The implementation of digital diplomacy during the pandemic shows that Indonesia always wants to contribute to every world challenge and provide solutions to current issues. Digital diplomacy implemented by the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs has been effective during the pandemic, because the pandemic has not become an obstacle in the international communication process carried out by Retno Marsudi (Panyuwa, 2023).

The Indonesian MoFA has taken digital diplomacy to the global realm by organizing the International Conference on Digital Diplomacy (ICDD) in 2021. Indonesian Foreign Minister, Retno Marsudi said that she emphasized three main points in the context of digital diplomacy. First, increasing trust in digital diplomacy by building a conducive

digital environment, free from cybersecurity threats, and maintaining data privacy. Second, bridging the digital divide between countries and among communities within a country. Third, optimizing the use of digital diplomacy to address various global issues (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

Indonesia is considered an active country in building interaction patterns through social media (see Figure 2). This can be seen from the Twitter accounts of the Indonesian Embassy in the Central African Region (Hasnu & Supratman, 2023). In addition, there is a lack of digital diplomacy conducted by the Indonesian Embassy and Consulate General in Australia, as the official and main representatives of the country. Indonesia needs to be much more active in digital diplomacy, as part of its efforts to achieve its domestic and foreign policy targets. The existence of accounts from various elements of the Indonesian government, including the account of the Indonesian MoFA, is a good start to improving Indonesia's digital diplomacy in the future (Ulfa, 2023).
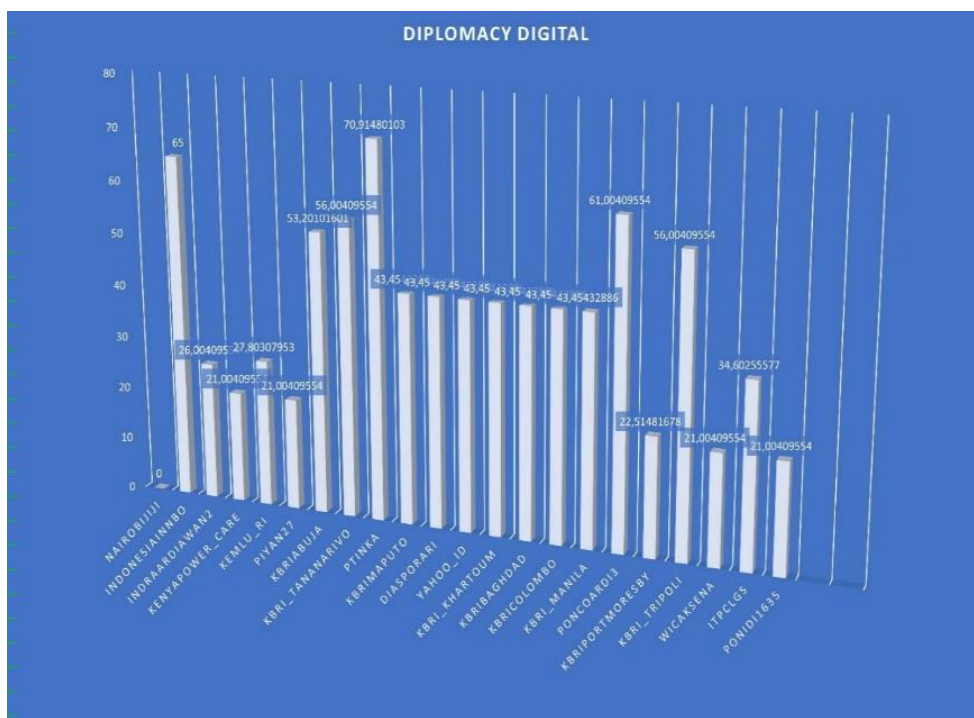

Figure 2. Indonesia-Central Africa Digital Diplomacy (Hasnu & Supratman, 2023)

Several researchers have explored digital diplomacy with varying research focuses. Research conducted that focuses on the MoFA social media activities on Twitter (@Kemlu_RI), Facebook (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), and Instagram (kemlu_ri) from 2020 to April 2022 shows that the Indonesian MoFA has conducted the early stages of digital diplomacy to disseminate information. This diplomacy is influenced by various factors that have a major influence on the MoFA' digital diplomacy action plan. Furthermore, MoFA has effectively used its social media as a state-to-public information dissemination channel, mostly to educate the domestic public about Indonesian foreign policies. The research also finds that digital diplomacy by MoFA is to garner support for Indonesian foreign policies from domestic constituents (Triwibowo, 2023b)

In detail, several social media accounts related to the Indonesian MoFA have been specifically examined. The results of the research on the @KemluRI Facebook account show that the absence of dialog or response from the @KemluRI Facebook admin to the comments and or questions of netizens makes the space for dialog limited and ultimately

closes the path for a common understanding of a domestic and foreign political issue that has been uploaded by @KemluRI Facebook. Facebook admins do not comment at all and do not answer questions from citizens, causing understanding and equality of perceptions and values to not occur (Kurniawati, Rachmawati, & Dewi, 2020).

Research on the Twiplomacy of the @Kemlu_RI account, the result is that the use of social media analysis tools in the form of Drone Emprit Academic (DEA) tends to be beneficial for Indonesia's digital diplomacy, such as top hashtags, top influencers, social network analysis, and the number of user engagement when compared to just disseminating Bali Democracy Forum (BDF) information in general. The data generated from the analysis process using DEA is useful for evaluating Twitter diplomacy through the #BDF2019 hashtag by @Kemlu_RI (Madu, 2021). In addition, the results of research on the @Menlu_RI Twitter account show that the delivery of messages through digital diplomacy carried out by the @Menlu_RI account is less than optimal because it does not involve domestic parties in each tweet and there is no effort to build two-way communication with other social media users. It is also exacerbated by the use of minimal hashtags so that the resulting reach is not maximized (Samad & Permatasari, 2023).

The MoFA' digital diplomacy is also followed by its staff abroad. The results show that digital diplomacy is important for the Indonesian government to support its representatives in carrying out various diplomatic functions. The research findings noted that Indonesian embassies located in major countries, such as Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom have the most followers. Other countries with significant followings are in Asia. Embassies that have been active in the Twitterverse for a long time have more followers, thus making a greater digital contribution to Indonesia's overall digital diplomacy. On the other hand, embassies that later join Twitter can also make significant digital contributions by actively tweeting and retweeting (Ifran, Prihatini, & Mursitama, 2023).

Digital diplomacy is used to convey a country's attitude in response to a conflict or crisis that occurs in several countries. Indonesia's digital diplomacy was used to address the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar. The Indonesian government conveyed 7 points of its attitude towards the crisis, including expecting the Government of Myanmar to take steps to restore security and provide humanitarian assistance (Triwibowo, 2023a). Indonesia also conducted digital diplomacy in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. In the statement, Indonesia called for military attacks in Ukraine to be stopped and prioritized a peaceful settlement through diplomacy. The statement was uploaded by the MoFA' official Twitter account (@Kemlu_RI) on the same day as Russia's announcement of invading Ukraine, on February 24, 2022 (Samad & Permatasari, 2022).

Besides the MoFA, Indonesia's digital diplomacy is also conducted by other non-state actors, such as President Jokowi's official Twitter account (@jokowi). President Jokowi tries to run several social media accounts to connect with more people through internet portals. However, Jokowi's social media gradually also serves as one of the foreign policy tools through digital diplomacy, not just a platform to take care of domestic affairs. When joining Twitter, Jokowi was mentioned by several world leaders (Syaifani & Qubba, 2017).

Based on the facts above, Indonesia's digital diplomacy in addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is still limited, the diplomacy carried out by Indonesia so far is in the form of consistency in fighting for independence and providing donations for the needs of the Palestinian people (Suratiningsih & Puspita, 2020) and Indonesia's role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through multitrack diplomacy (Solihin, Saragih, Setiawan, & Widodo, 2023). Recent research has not focused on the implementation of digital

diplomacy regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Therefore, this research aims to address this gap, by offering an analysis of the optimization of the implementation of Indonesia's digital diplomacy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through a multitrack peace building approach. This study aims to optimize the implementation of Indonesia's digital diplomacy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through a multitrack peace building approach.

METHODS

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study research type. Case study is a qualitative strategy through researchers examining events, activities, programs, processes, or one or more individuals in more depth. A number of cases are limited by activity and time so researchers collect detailed data through various data collection methods over some time (Creswell, 2016). This research focuses on examining Indonesia's attitude towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that occurred in 2023, especially after Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared war on Palestinian Hamas militants (Suratman, 2023). This research uses Joko Widodo's Official Twitter account (@jokowi) to be analyzed using concepts and theories such as digital diplomacy and multitrack peace building, and then the results are described based on the findings of @jokowi's posts related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Indonesia's attitude was studied through the digital diplomacy of President Joko Widodo's X or Twitter account (@jokowi). The reason this research uses the @jokowi account is because President Joko Widodo carries out digital diplomacy activities (Tahir & Putra, 2023) and Jokowi's social media serves as a tool for foreign policy through digital diplomacy. The reason this research examined the Twitter account (X) is that Twitter (X) is the most popular digital diplomacy platform, where a report from Twiplomacy 2018 revealed that 97 percent of member countries of the United Nations, have accounts and are Twitter users (Duncombe, 2018). In digital diplomacy, Twitter (X) is the most dominant digital platform among social networks (Saka & Ezgi, 2016).

In analyzing the data, this research uses the multitrack peace building approach developed by John Paul Lederach in his book entitled "Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies" (Lederach, 1997). In this theory, Lederach emphasizes the importance of the role of Track II which has the potential to be able to build infrastructure in order to maintain a sustainable peace development process in the long term. This assumption is based on the influence that Track II has which can reach Track I and Track III. Numerous cases also demonstrated the dependency of Track II activities on Track I developments. The findings show that Track II actors are also important players in peace building (Paffenholz, 2014).
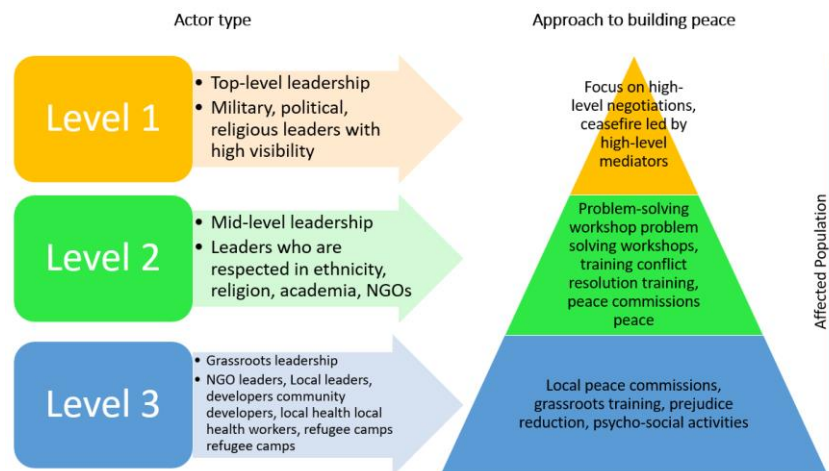
Figure 3. Processed by the Author from John Paul Lederech, Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies (Lederach, 1997)

In contrast to the multitrack diplomacy model which has 9 tracks (Solihin, Saragih, Setiawan, & Widodo, 2023), the multitrack peace building approach emphasizes the importance of leadership in 3 tracks for building peace in a conflict, namely top level leadership (track I), middle level leadership (Track II) and grassroots leadership (Track III). The approach by top-level leadership (Track I) is often called a 'top-down' approach, which focuses on efforts to achieve a ceasefire that will lead to broader political and negotiation efforts in support of peace. The middle-level leadership approach (Track II) is called the 'middle-out' approach, involving a group of leaders who have a decisive role in the conflict, which if integrated well will play a vital role in forming the infrastructure for achieving sustainable peace. Meanwhile, the grassroots leadership approach (Track III) is called a 'bottom up' approach, which involves local community leaders, where in many cases, people's boredom and exhaustion with conflict actually becomes a greater driving factor towards peace than the authorities' initiatives. This approach has been used to resolve issues such as the rejection of the expansion of the New Autonomous Region of Papua (Samad & Nurisnaeny, 2022) and Indonesia's role as Afghanistan's peace facilitator (Zattullah, 2022).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
Palestine-Israel Conflict

The Palestine-Israel conflict is one of the long-rooted conflicts which occurs nowadays. The conflict between the two countries has continued and triggered responses from several countries including Indonesia. Indonesia has always supported Palestine, especially when Indonesia became a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (2019-2020 period). Indonesia continues to fight so that the UN Security Council continues to pay attention to the Palestinian issue. Together with the non-permanent members of the UN Security Council, Indonesia initiated a Press Statement on Israel's illegal settlements in Palestine in 2019. In addition, Indonesia also initiated a Press Statement on the closure of Temporary Presence in Hebron (TPIH) in 2019. Indonesia's support for Palestine is also manifested through assistance and providing various capacity-building assistance to Palestine and humanitarian assistance of USD 1 million in 2019 from the Government of Indonesia for food aid programs and health services for Palestinian refugees through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Peace and humanitarian diplomacy will continue with the aim of making a concrete contribution to problem-solving, Indonesia always

wants to be part of the solution, one of which is peace in Palestine (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020).

In 2021, Lab 45 data shows that the news of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is news that receives significant exposure in the national online media on the topic of Foreign Policy (*Polugri*). The exposure of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict began to increase in the second week of May 2021 along with the riots at the Al-Aqsa Mosque (Sabana & Prihandoko, 2021).
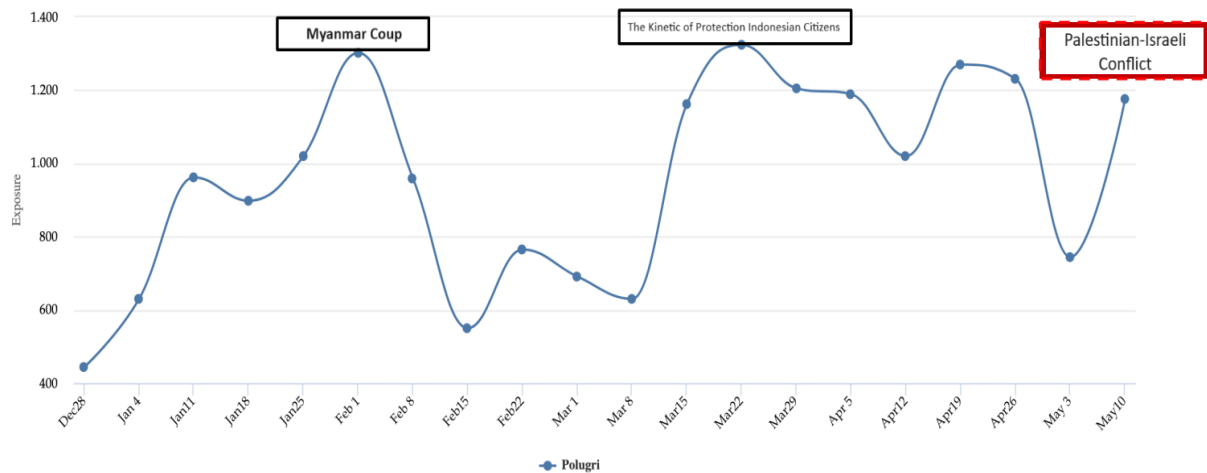

Figure 4. Significant Exposure to the Coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in Online Media January 1-May 16, 2021 (Sabana & Prihandoko, 2021)

The conflict triggered a response from netizens on social media Twitter as shown by the trending topic of several hashtags in Indonesia, including #SavePalestine trending on May 11, 2021. Through the hashtag #SavePalestine, some Twitter users tweeted prayers for the safety of Palestinians, while others used the hashtag to condemn Israeli military actions. #SavePalestine has appeared in 1.37 million tweets. Similar keywords related to the hashtag are also trending on Indonesian Twitter, including Israel (1.57 million tweets) and #AlAqsaUnderAttack (867 thousand tweets) (Nugroho, 2021). After a few days, hashtags about the conflict reappeared, such as #worldstandswithpalestine. Through these hashtags, Twitter users from various countries wrote to express their concern and support for Palestine. Twitter users or netizens also posted various photos showing the situation of Palestine which was attacked by the Israeli military. Some also posted photos of the Palestinians' resilience in the face of Israeli attacks (Prawira, 2021).

In response to the riots, President Jokowi together with the Prime Minister of Malaysia and the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam delivered a joint statement condemning Israeli aggression, asking the UN Security Council to guarantee Palestinian security and secure a two-state solution so that Palestine as an independent state can be realized. Specifically for Indonesia, there are four policy options in addressing the conflict, such as building mutual trust between actors, including among major countries, encouraging conflict resolution and a new normal in relations between Israel and Palestine, seeking a ceasefire between Israel and Palestine, and providing assistance to increase the capacity of good governance, especially to Palestine. In addition, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) together with all Islamic organizations in Indonesia strongly condemned the Israeli attack on Palestinians in Jerusalem (Sabana & Prihandoko, 2021).

Indonesia's Digital Diplomacy in Addressing the Palestine-Israel Conflict

The conflict escalated quickly after Palestinian Hamas' attack on October 7, 2023, on Israel's territory, which resulted in 300 Israelis killed as a result of the attack. Meanwhile, as a result of Israel's retaliatory attacks on the Gaza Strip, 232 Palestinians were killed and 1,697 were injured (Suratman, 2023). During the period of October 7-16, 2023, the Israeli-Palestinian war has caused around 4,100 fatalities and 16,100 injuries from both sides. As of the 10th day of the war, on Monday night (October 16, 2023), the number of Palestinian casualties was about twice as many as the Israeli casualties. According to data compiled by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), until Monday (October 16, 2023), the Palestinian casualties were mostly in the Gaza Strip, with around 2,808 people killed and 10,850 people injured. Meanwhile, in the West Bank, 58 people were killed and 1,176 were wounded. On the other hand, the death toll from the Israeli side amounted to 1,300 people, there have been no reports of additional new casualties since Thursday (October 12, 2023), and the wounded reached 4,121 people (Ahdiat, 2023).

Based on Lab 45's data mining for 3 days starting from October 7-9, 2023, the universe of tweets related to Israel vs Palestine shows that there are 6,733 accounts involved and thousands of accounts can be divided into 5 groups. First, the Palestinian supporter's group (9.89%) contained tweets about the confession of a Jew who supports the Palestinian resistance; Western hypocrisy towards Palestine, compared to Ukraine; Palestine is a territory occupied by Israel; and Israeli atrocities against Palestinians. Second, the Israeli government group (13.47%) contains statements from the Israeli Ministry of Defense regarding the initiation of resistance against Hamas; official Israeli government accounts showing victims of attacks; and Israeli Foreign Ministry statements about Hamas attacks. Third, the media group (13.47%) contains current reports on the war between Israel and Hamas; emphasis on the importance of the historical context of Israel's occupation in viewing Hamas attacks; news of Iran's support for Hamas; and comparing Western responses to Ukraine and Palestine. Fourth. The world politicians' group (23.91%) contains statements of condemnation and solidarity of various state leaders against Israel, such as the British Prime Minister, U.S. President, President of the European Commission, President of Canada, and many U.S. and U.K. politicians; Jeremy Corbyn demands de-escalation and an end to the Israeli occupation; U.S. influencers who blame Joe Biden for U.S. policy towards Iran. Fifth, the group of citizens supporting Israel (40.85) contained statements about the Israeli Prime Minister's statement that he would destroy Gaza; Hamas attacks on music festivals in Israel; Iran's role in Hamas attacks; Hamas received weapons from Ukraine; Hamas attacks were "barbaric"; Joe Biden triggered Hamas attacks due to Middle East policies; Muslim militants massacred women and children (Lab 45, 2023).

Table 1. Types of Groups that Post Content about the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Types of Groups	Content	Percentage
Palestinian supporter's group	- Confession of a Jew who supports the Palestinian resistance - Western hypocrisy towards Palestine, compared to Ukraine - Palestine is a territory occupied by Israel - Israeli atrocities against Palestinians	9.89%
The Israeli government group	Statements from the Israeli Ministry of Defense regarding the initiation of resistance against Hamas	13.47%

	• Official Israeli government accounts showing victims of attacks • Israeli Foreign Ministry statements about Hamas attacks	
The media group	• Current reports on the war between Israel and Hamas • Emphasis on the importance of the historical context of Israel's occupation in viewing Hamas attacks • News of Iran's support for Hamas • Comparing Western responses to Ukraine and Palestine.	13.47%
The world politicians' group	• Statements of condemnation and solidarity of various state leaders against Israel, such as the British Prime Minister, US President, President of the European Commission, President of Canada, and many US and UK politicians; Jeremy Corbyn demands de-escalation and an end to the Israeli occupation • US influencers who blame Joe Biden for US policy towards Iran	23.91%
The group of citizens supporting	• Statements about the Israeli PM's statement that he would destroy Gaza • Hamas attacks on music festivals in Israel • Iran's role in Hamas attacks • Hamas received weapons from Ukraine • Hamas attacks were "barbaric" • Joe Biden triggered Hamas attacks due to Middle East policies • Muslim militants massacred women and children	40,85%

Lab 45's data shows that the hashtag universe formed from hashtags uploaded by netizens related to Israel vs Palestine. A number of these hashtags are always in the top 10 categories for several days after the conflict begins. These hashtags are accompanied by information about the current situation of the conflict between the two countries, criticizing accounts that defend Hamas or Israel, and expressing the aspirations of netizens for the conflict to end soon.

Figure 5. Hashtag Universe about Israel vs Palestine (Lab 45, 2023)

In response to the conflict, the Government of Indonesia through the President of Indonesia expressed its stance through its official social media accounts, especially Twitter. In President Jokowi's official Twitter account (@jokowi), a video with a duration of less than one minute was uploaded by the @jokowi account with the narration "Indonesia urges that the ongoing war and acts of violence in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict area be stopped immediately to avoid further loss of life and property (October 10, 2023). Indonesia also takes immediate action to protect Indonesian citizens who are in the conflict area" (Widodo, 2023a).

Figure 6. President Jokowi's Statement on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Widodo, 2023a)

In the video, President Jokowi Widodo conveyed Indonesia's stance on the recurring situation of the Palestinian and Israeli conflict. President Jokowi Widodo said that Indonesia urges war and acts of violence to be stopped immediately to avoid increasing human casualties and destruction of property because an escalation of conflict could have a greater humanitarian impact. Jokowi asked the MoFA and related ministries to take immediate action to protect Indonesian citizens in the conflict area. Jokowi believes that the root of the conflict, namely the occupation of Palestinian territories by Israel, must be resolved immediately by the parameters agreed upon by the United Nations.

After 9 days, the @jokowi account uploaded a video addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (October 19, 2023). In the video, President Jokowi emphasized that Indonesia strongly condemns the violence that occurred in Gaza because it has caused suffering and more civilian casualties, including women and children. Indonesia also condemns the Israeli attack on Al Ahli Hospital, which is a clear violation of international humanitarian law. Due to this incident, Jokowi ordered the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia to attend the Foreign Ministerial Meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation Countries in Jeddah (October 19, 2023).

Figure 7. President Jokowi's Statement on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (Widodo, 2023b)

In the video uploaded by @jokowi, Jokowi asked the foreign minister to continue working on the evacuation of Indonesian citizens who are still constrained by field conditions. Jokowi emphasized that Indonesia will not remain silent if civilian casualties continue to fall, and if injustice against the Palestinian people continues to occur. Indonesia together with the Organization of Islamic Cooperation sends a strong message to the world to stop the escalation, to stop the use of violence, to focus on humanitarian issues, and to solve the root of the problem, namely Israel's occupation of Palestine. Jokowi asked the world to jointly build global solidarity to resolve the Palestinian issue fairly and set agreed international parameters. Indonesia will continue to voice this in various opportunities and international forums including during bilateral with the Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia and at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations-Gulf Cooperation Council (ASEAN-GCC) Summit.

The digital diplomacy carried out by President Jokowi through President Jokowi's official Twitter account shows that President Jokowi utilizes social media to convey messages of peace through research on the characteristics of Indonesia's digital diplomacy (Triwibowo, 2023a). This finding also corroborates the results of research on President Jokowi conducting digital diplomacy activities and making social media function as one of the foreign policy tools (Tahir & Putra, 2023). In this context, President Jokowi's official Twitter account conveys Indonesia's foreign policy in the form of implementing the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, namely implementing world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice. In addition, efforts to protect Indonesian citizens in conflict areas are efforts to carry out Indonesia's national interests by the mandate of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution in the 4th paragraph, namely protecting the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian blood spilled. This is also the priority of Indonesian diplomacy, namely the protection of Indonesian citizens or Indonesian citizens who are abroad.

Optimizing Digital Diplomacy through a Multitrack Peace Building Approach

President Jokowi's official Twitter account post emphasized several things in responding to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. First, evacuate Indonesian citizens who are in conflict areas. Second, stop the war and violence. Third, condemning the Israeli attack on the Al Ahli hospital. Fourth, inviting the global community to be jointly involved in resolving the conflict between the two countries by referring to international parameters.

Based on the uploaded narratives and videos, President Jokowi's official Twitter account applies digital diplomacy with the track I approach (top-level leadership) in the multitrack peace building approach (Lederach, 1997). This can be seen from the two videos of President Jokowi as head of state who conveyed Indonesia's position on the conflict between the two countries. In the video, President Jokowi's official Twitter account also informed netizens that other Track I leadership in the form of the MoFA had attempted to conduct diplomacy for the resolution of the conflict between the two countries through international forums such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and ASEAN-GCC. This shows that the Track I approach has been optimally utilized by President Jokowi's official Twitter account because it informs citizens about the efforts made by the Indonesian Government to end the conflict between the two countries by promoting diplomacy through global forums.

Both President Jokowi's official Twitter posts do not show digital diplomacy that contains efforts of middle-level leadership (Track II) and grassroots leadership (Track III). This study provides several alternatives to optimize digital diplomacy through a multitrack peace building approach, especially in middle-level leadership and grassroots leadership. This research explores the potential that President Jokowi's official Twitter can do by empowering existing resources.

At the middle level of leadership are leaders who are respected by various sectors. Indonesia can utilize leaders of Islamic community organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). This is done because Indonesia has solidarity with Palestine as a fellow Muslim-majority country or what is often called *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*. Indonesia is the country with the largest Muslim-majority population in the world. This corresponds to the position of Palestine, which is an Islamic country, with some of its population being Muslims as well. Thus, the relationship between the two countries tends to be more than political relations, but can also be interpreted as a manifestation of *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Brotherhood in Islam). This has an impact on good relations between the two countries and can have a positive impact on individual-to-individual relationships due to a sense of solidarity with fellow Muslims. In the context of digital diplomacy, the @jokowi account can carry out digital diplomacy activities in the form of mentioning the accounts of the Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council for Da'wah and Ukhuwah as well as Rais Syuriyah of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board, M. Cholil Nafis (@cholilnafis) and General Secretary of the Muhammadiyah Central Board Abdul Mu'ti (@Abe_Mukti) both simultaneously and partially in @jokowi's posts related to Islamic solidarity with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Table 2. Posts of @cholilnafis and @Abe_Mukti Accounts

Posts of @Abe_Mukti Accounts	Posts of @cholilnafis Accounts
Abdul Mu'ti @Abe_Mukti Dengan segala daya dan upaya, bangsa Indonesia memberikan dukungan perjuangan dan bantuan untuk bangsa Palestina. Sungguh luar biasa. Akan tetapi, jangan karena itu bangsa Indonesia melupakan arti penting persatuan dan saling membantu sesama di tanah air tercinta. 10.45 AM · 2 Nov 2023 · **5.313** Tayangan ◯ 1 ⟲ 31 ♡ 161 🔖 1 ⬆	**cholil nafis** @cholilnafis Yg teroris itu yg menyerang rumah sakit, membunuh ribuan rakyat dan menyerang serta mencaplok negara lain. Israel jelas kejam dan menjajah tapi mana HAM dan mana kemanusiaan serta mana negara beradab itu mau peduli? Kami tetap mendukung kedaulatan Palestina dg doa dan upaya 8.42 AM · 19 Okt 2023 · **49,3 rb** Tayangan ◯ 99 ⟲ 893 ♡ 2 rb 🔖 1 ⬆
https://twitter.com/Abe_Mukti/status/1719923683387727873	https://twitter.com/cholilnafis/status/1714819193227645431?

In addition, another activity that can be carried out by @jokowi is to comment or repost the organization's uploads related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict because both have issued statements in response to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as presented in Table 1. Through Ukhuwah Islamiyah and Islamic community organizations, the @jokowi account can implement peacebuilding on Track II, especially the religion-based peacebuilding approach by Zattullah research (2022). Specifically, actors on track II such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama organizations can maximize their activities related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by empowering their representatives abroad to garner international support for the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The results are then conveyed through the official Twitter social media owned by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in order to support the digital diplomacy carried out in Track I. This is certainly very useful in the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This is certainly very useful in conflict resolution because the influence possessed by Track II can reach Track I and the actors on Track II are important players in peacebuilding (Paffenholz, 2014).

Furthermore, at the grassroots leadership level (Track III) in the form of local communities, local NGOs, health workers, and refugee camp leaders. In the context of this research, the resources that can be utilized are health workers and leaders in refugee camps. In the context of this study, the @jokowi account can mention, comment on, or repost the uploads of the Chief Trustee of the Nusantara Palestina Center, Abdillah Onim (@Abdillahonim) relating to the current conditions in Palestine. The same thing is also conveyed on the Nusantara Palestina Center's social media account (@npc_id), including information on humanitarian assistance for the victims in Palestine.

Abdillah Onim is a humanitarian volunteer for Palestine who has been around since 2009 on a humanitarian mission in the Gaza Strip due to the 2008 Israeli aggression. Then in 2018, Abdillah Onim founded a humanitarian organization called Nusantara Palestina Center. The organization has organized humanitarian activities with various approaches such as education, charity, empowerment, and emergency. In this regard, the Nusantara Palestina Center has contributed a lot to community empowerment in the Gaza Strip such as sewing training, Qur'an memorization, skills training and self-development, assignment of humanitarian volunteer missions, and others (Nusantara Palestina Center, n.d.). For this reason, based on track III on the multitrack peace building, Abdillah Onim (@Abdillahonim) and the Nusantara Palestina Center (@npc_id) organization are parties who directly understand the situation and suffering of the community due to conflict, and are involved in the daily lives of the community.

Table 3. Posts of @Abdillahonim and @npc_id Accounts

Posts of @Abdillahonim Accounts	Posts of @npc_id Accounts
https://twitter.com/Abdillahonim/status/1717497845761052875	https://twitter.com/npc_id/status/1712070882565427280

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

Digital diplomacy conducted by Indonesia, especially Indonesian President Joko Widodo through the official @jokowi account, has been carried out to convey Indonesia's attitude towards the conflict between Israel and Palestine, including Indonesia's national interests to protect Indonesian citizens who are in conflict areas. However, digital diplomacy carried out by the official @jokowi account is only carried out at the top level of leadership (Track I) based on a multitrack peace building approach, while middle-level leadership and grassroots leadership are not involved, even though there are resources that can be utilized to involve both, such as middle-level leadership, especially the religion-based peacebuilding approach in the form of interacting with the account of the Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council for Da'wah and Ukhuwah as well as Rais Syuriyah of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board, M. Cholil Nafis (@cholilnafis) and General Secretary of the Muhammadiyah Central Board Abdul Mu'ti (@Abe_Mukti). Specifically, actors on Track II such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama organizations can maximize their digital diplomacy by garnering international support through their representatives abroad and then uploading on their official social media as a form of effort to strengthen their digital diplomacy as Track II actors while supporting digital diplomacy carried out by Track I considering that Track II has influence and important actors in peacebuilding. In addition, at the grassroots level leadership can be optimized by interacting with the account belonging to the Chief Trustee of the Nusantara Palestina Center, Abdillah Onim (@Abdillahonim) and if possible, also interacting with the Nusantara Palestina Center organization (@npc_id) considering that both of them continuously inform the latest conditions in Palestine.

This article has limitations because Indonesia's digital diplomacy is still being carried out in response to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, this paper recommends that other researchers carry out further research by comparing Indonesia's digital diplomacy with other countries and then identifying the advantages and disadvantages of each so that a digital diplomacy model that is suitable for responding to a conflict such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is obtained.

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