
JLIC – Issue 9.2 (2024)



Journal for Literary & Intermedial Crossings

Issue edited by:

Michael Rosenfeld, Janine Hauthal, Hannah Van Hove,
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Vrije Universiteit Brussel

JLIC is the journal of the Centre for Literary and Intermedial Crossings (CLIC)
Vrije Universiteit Brussel



Journal for Literary and Intermedial Crossings

ISSN: 2506-8709

Journal homepage: <https://clic.research.vub.be/journal>

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Issue: 9.2

Published online: 15 March 2026

To link this article: <https://clic.research.vub.be/volume-9-issue-2-2024>

To cite this article: Pinilla Duarte, Elizabeth, and Pablo Valdivia. "Metaphoricity of 'War' and 'Peace' in Twitter Narratives in the Aftermath of the Peace Agreement in Colombia." *Journal for Literary and Intermedial Crossings*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2024, pp. 15–37.



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Metaphoricity of 'War' and 'Peace' in Twitter Narratives in the Aftermath of the Peace Agreement in Colombia

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This article explores the role of metaphoricity in shaping narratives of war and peace in social mobilization on Twitter (now X) and its impact on the meaning-making of endangered social leaders in Colombia after the 2016 Peace Agreement. By analyzing tweets tagged with #NosEstánMatando from 2018 to 2020, we investigate how metaphorical framings contribute to public claims for justice and influence cultural imaginaries. Using Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), we examine how war is conceptualized as a persistent condition, a force, a state, a relationship, and a place, while peace is framed as a journey, a goal, a struggle, health, a structure, and a victim. These metaphorical patterns reveal how social mobilization constructs digital narratives that both challenge and reproduce dominant discourses of violence, justice, and reconciliation. Our findings highlight the significance of metaphorical analysis in understanding public discourse and collective action in post-conflict societies.

Keywords: metaphoricity, post-conflict Colombia, peace, war, Twitter narratives

This article explores how the metaphorization of 'war' and 'peace' in Twitter (now X) narratives of social mobilization contributes to the public discourse surrounding endangered social leaders after the Peace Agreement (PA). According to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, social leaders in Colombia include a diverse range of activists, such as community leaders, Afro-Colombians, indigenous people, environmentalists, journalists, and women's rights defenders. This study examines how social mobilization on Twitter responded to the increasing violence against social leaders following the PA—violence driven by factors such as demands for the implementation of the accord, environmental justice, and land redistribution (Ávila).

Social mobilization refers to collective actions by individuals, communities, and organizations advocating for social or political change. In Colombia, social mobilization has played an important role in denouncing violence, demanding justice, and shaping public discourse, mainly through rallies and digital activism. Between 2018 and 2020, large-scale demonstrations emerged in response to the killing of social leaders, with the hashtag #NosEstánMatando amplifying the movement on social media. This digital mobilization not only functioned as a tool for organizing protests but also shaped narratives of war and peace, influencing public perceptions of violence, justice, and reconciliation.

Here, we propose to study the metaphorical framing within Twitter messages tagged with #NosEstánMatando [#TheyAreKillingUs] from 2018 to 2020. Our overarching

goal is to examine whether and how the domains of 'war' and 'peace,' pervasive in the historical imaginaries of Colombia, reflect potential conceptual frameworks built for social mobilization and the public's claim for justice on Twitter. This exploration is set against the backdrop of the complex historical legacies in Colombia and its ongoing struggle for social justice and reconciliation following the PA with the ex-guerrilla group FARC (Revolutionary Forces of Colombia).

Drawing upon Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), according to which metaphors are cognitive tools that contribute to the meaning-making of abstract concepts in light of other concepts that are more concrete (Burgers; Landau; Thibodeau), we pay particular attention to the potential impact of metaphoricity in the semantic construction of Twitter messages about social leaders. Specifically, we use the conceptual framework established by Pablo Valdivia's work on the Spanish transition to democracy. We also engage with Ning Yu's work to deepen the conceptualization of justice as belonging to a moral domain. These theoretical perspectives inform our investigation into how metaphoricity influences the formation and articulation of social and political imaginaries in digital mobilization contexts.

The research design presented in this article highlights the role of metaphoricity in shaping cultural narratives, focusing on the interplay of factors that contribute to the construction of social and political imaginaries. A cultural narrative is a collective story shared by a community that shapes and reflects its values, beliefs, and social practices. In many cases, such metaphorical frames (Brugman 188) incur a resignification and mediation of complex societal issues. As such, our exploration includes examining the portrayal of social leaders in online discourses as central figures in the narrative processes associated with the PA. Building on the conceptual framework established by Valdivia ("Narrating Crises and Populism in Southern Europe"), the study engages with the concept of regimes of metaphors as a critical lens for exploring the architecture of metaphoricity in cultural narratives. Valdivia asserts that these regimes play a significant role in developing complex conceptual frameworks that articulate cultural narratives. Regimes of metaphors in the article refer to structured sets of interrelated metaphors that dominate and shape cultural narratives and public discourse. They help explain how specific metaphorical patterns become pervasive and effective in framing experiences and events within a specific cultural and social context. As such, we frame the terms 'war' and 'peace' as metaphorical devices guiding the Twitter public imaginaries when approaching violence and the murder of social leaders, especially in the post-agreement time. The timeframe both captures narratives concerning marginalized and endangered communities and coincides with the ongoing effects of the PA between the Colombian government and the ex-guerrilla group FARC, a critical semiotic event in the Colombian-mediated construction of the post-conflict context (Hernández).

Theoretical Approach

For this study, we adopt a mixed-method approach. The rationale behind selecting the digital environment for this research is that, despite technological disparities in Colombia, the data shows evidence of high engagement of Colombian users on social platforms such as Twitter (Bianchi). Social protest uses Twitter as a means of denunciation and to support calls for participation in rallies (González-Bailón and Wang). Furthermore, hashtags are well-documented and traceable in terms of their pervasiveness during mass rallies and protests (Ames and McDuffie; Johansson and Scaramuzzin; Dobrin; Xiong et al.; González-Bailón et al.).

Moral cognition provides a theoretical background to our study on narratives of social mobilization, which call for justice and protection of social leaders in the context of the post-agreement time in Colombia. Justice is an abstract moral concept involving judgments about what is fair, proper, and equitable. According to Ning Yu (4), moral cognition encompasses the cognitive processes and mechanisms by which humans make moral judgments. Furthermore, just as other abstract concepts, justice lacks concrete referents in the physical world. CMT suggests that abstract concepts are highly metaphorical and can be understood as metaphorical systems. For example, as Lakoff and Johnson explain in chapter 14 of their book *Philosophy in the Flesh*, moral concepts can be understood through metaphors that relate to physical and social experiences. The authors introduce metaphorical systems such as moral strength and moral accounting, according to which morality is understood as a discipline and transaction, respectively. In related works, Johnson discusses other metaphors such as MORALITY IS A JOURNEY, MORALITY IS BALANCE, MORALITY IS HEALTH, and IMMORALITY IS DISEASE (*The Body in the Mind and Moral Imagination*). Furthermore, Ning Yu emphasizes the concept of metaphorical systems as integral to how we make sense of the world; they are structured as sets of metaphors that share a common conceptual framework or domain (chapter 2). He also explains that moral metaphor systems are characterized by their source domains, rooted in embodied experiences. Accordingly, the author draws upon physical, visual, and spatial subsystems of metaphors to explain the moral system. In table 1, we sum up Yu's conceptual framework.

Table 1**Metaphorical moral subsystems according to Ning Yu's framework**

Physical subsystem	Visual subsystem	Spatial subsystem
MORALITY IS HEALTH	MORALITY IS LIGHT	MORALITY IS HIGH
MORALITY IS BEAUTY	MORALITY IS BRIGHTNESS	MORALITY IS UPRIGHTNESS
MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS	MORALITY IS CLARITY	MORALITY IS DIRECTIONAL
Example: "healthy society," "corrupt individual"	Example: "beacon of morality," "dark deed"	Example: "high moral ground," "sinking into corruption"

Each of these subsystems entails a binary opposite, signifying the lack of morality; for instance, IMMORALITY IS DISEASE, IMMORALITY IS DARKNESS, IMMORALITY IS LOW. Yu further explains that the systematicity of metaphors can be seen as composing complex networks, wherein several linguistic metaphors can be interpreted by one conceptual metaphor, and several conceptual metaphors can correspond to a single linguistic metaphor. These networks feature horizontal and vertical linkages: horizontal linkages involve metaphors that share common source or target domains, while hierarchical linkages involve lower-level (more concrete) metaphors inheriting the structure and properties of higher-level (more abstract) metaphors.

For our analysis of the metaphoricity in Twitter narratives, the systematicity of the metaphorical conceptualization explained above can also be interpreted through the MELT (Metaphor Field-Loop Theory) model proposed by Valdivia ("Conflictive Cultural Narratives" 58-63). According to the author, *metaphoricity* refers to the specific configuration and operationalization of metaphors within a text or discourse, which is critical in shaping cultural narratives, emotions, and behaviors. This concept of metaphoricity emphasizes the dynamic and interactive nature of metaphors as they function within complex informational systems, influencing how individuals and communities interpret and respond to various situations, especially in contexts of crisis and conflict. Several aspects are key to interpreting the concept, i.e., metaphoricity is *dynamic* and operates within a field of complex forces; additionally, metaphors can be enhanced *bi-directionally*, meaning that they influence and are influenced by broader cultural narratives; metaphoricity affects both *long and short-term memory functions* by recalling past experiences to provide immediate interpretations; metaphoricity involves *analogical cognition* and *activate psycho-emotional states*, and finally, metaphoricity is part of a broader *regime of metaphors*, where certain metaphors are conventionalized

and become dominant for the shaping of cultural narratives (Valdivia, "Conflictive Cultural Narratives" 58-63).

Narratives of War and Peace in Colombia

In the Colombian context, narratives related to war have continuously been pervasive in the public imagination, permeating beliefs and actions. According to María Victoria Uribe, the metaphorization of war is used to create dramatic and evocative narratives that can influence public perception and justify ongoing conflicts. Expressions such as 'the bloodshed,' 'the aggressions,' and 'the atrocities' serve to evoke strong emotional responses and maintain a sense of perpetual conflict and hostility. Importantly, metaphors of 'war' and 'peace' are not only descriptive but are deeply embedded in the cultural and historical context of Colombia, making them powerful tools for political and social manipulation (Uribe 1-6). The metaphorization of peace, by contrast, aims to inspire hope and reconciliation but often struggles against the entrenched narratives of conflict. Expressions such as 'reconciliation,' 'forgiveness,' and 'harmony' are used to counterbalance war narratives but are frequently overshadowed by more evocative and dramatic war metaphors.

María Victoria Uribe has stated that violence is framed within the Colombian collective consciousness as a symptom that struggles with symbolization and clashes over the peace process. Uribe highlights a series of evocative uses of metaphoricity, such as the conceptual articulation of 'surviving time,' which describes how past fears and conflicts continue to influence the present. This is mainly through the ambiguous role of tropes that both represent and conceal identities and intentions. According to the author, there are two categories of violence: one associated with the internal, armed conflict and another, more elusive kind, characterized as shadowy and covert, carried out by influential factions within the Colombian elite.

As we previously mentioned, the PA marked a relevant semiotic event that could contribute to the renovation of cultural narratives in the country. In other words, the PA can be seen as a semiotic device—a mediator within the sociopolitical network (Latour 39)—capable of shaping and influencing processes of meaning and interpretation. Scholars such as Natalia Hernández and Miguel Gualdrón (n5) have posited the accord as transformative, entailing a social and political solution to the conflict. Nevertheless, the peace process unfolds amid opposing forces that dispute interpretations of peace, diverging from the idealized notion of a post-conflict phase (Rodríguez; Georgi), which may contribute to negative outcomes in the aftermath of the agreement, such as the murdering of social leaders. Isabel Rodríguez presents a four-dimensional interpretation of peace, each concept correlating with distinct understandings of conflict. The first interpretation signifies a transition from war to peace, coupled with the recognition of the 'Other' (the (ex)combatant) by trying to shift the divide between 'us' vs. 'them'. The second interpretation adopts a military standpoint and relates to security assurance, prioritizing territorial control, citizen security, and economic interests in line with a

neoliberal perspective. However, as Rodríguez notes, this perspective dismisses the need for structural reforms. The third interpretation originates from a territorial viewpoint, perceived by the government and FARC as a means of self-legitimization. Peasant, black, and indigenous communities advocate for the final interpretation, which encompasses environmental and social justice to achieve peace.

These definitions address the complexities of the peace process and varying perspectives, reflecting different interests, ideologies, and approaches to accomplish peace, mainly seen in the contraposition of and as a transition *from* war. Similarly, Richard Georgi (174) highlights the fluidity of the concept and challenges the linear conception of peace as a transition from war that the PA entails. As Georgi argues, the narrative of *the war on terrorism* held since Alvaro Uribe's presidential administration (2002-2010) could not be backed up after the signing of the accord, but the conflict still evolved. By interviewing human rights defenders—many of whom are social leaders—about the concept of peace, the results revealed that they perceive the peace process as a hegemonic crisis, leading to the stifling of the process and reluctance to institute security guarantees (Georgi 187).

In this article, we aim to explore the metaphoricity of 'war' and 'peace' in shaping narratives of social mobilization against the endangerment of social leaders in the aftermath of the PA. Before delving into our analysis, we recall several expressions representing the metaphorization of war by a paramilitary at the beginning of the 2000's (Estrada). Our purpose is to compare the potential similarities and differences of the metaphorical systems by both opposite narratives in two different historical moments:

"Lo que tenemos es una guerra irregular" [What we have is an irregular war]

"Lo que tenemos es una guerra sucia" [What we have is a dirty war]

"La guerra es terrible" [The war is terrible]

"Cuando llega la guerra y toca la puerta de su casa es para quedarse" [When the war arrives and knocks on the door of your house, it is there to stay]

"Un día yo dije que la guerra es para ganarse y punto" [One day I said that the war is to be won, period]

"Es previsto el escalamiento de la guerra por estrategia y por posicionamiento" [The escalation of war is anticipated due to strategy and positioning] (Estrada 121)

In his analysis, Estrada examines specific war-related metaphors such as 'irregular war,' 'dirty war,' and 'war knocks on your door' to show how these metaphors frame narratives and justify paramilitary actions. Additionally, Estrada (122-25) notes a particularly telling expression in the last expression listed above, which suggests that war is a calculated risk

undertaken that can be played like a game. This formulation strategically distances the perpetrators from accountability.

We argue that these expressions by the paramilitary represent an architecture or system encompassing a pervasive regime of metaphors (Valdivia, "Conflictive Cultural Narratives" 58-63) that includes conventionalized metaphors as already studied by María Victoria Uribe and that can form part of the superordinate metaphors: WAR AS A FORCE and WAR AS AN INESCAPABLE REALITY. Under these top-level metaphors (Yu), more specific metaphors can be mapped, including *war as an unpredictable entity*, *war as a moral contamination*, *war as a destructive force*, *war as an uninvited intruder*, *war as a strategic game*. Consequently, the metaphoricity conveyed by these expressions can be seen as a cultural narrative in which war is both a strategic game and an inevitable, necessary endeavor. These war metaphors, crafted to explain the conflict in Colombia from the perspective of one of its perpetrators, not only construct a narrative but also permeate the public imagination and influence everyday actions, as Estrada and Uribe suggest.

Method

In this article, we examine the use of the hashtag #NosEstánMatando [#TheyAreKillingUs], which initially emerged in several countries, notably Mexico, to raise awareness about violence against women. Over the years following the Peace Agreement (PA), this hashtag has evolved into a broader symbol of social mobilization against various forms of violence and injustice. For example, the use of this hashtag dramatically peaked during the 2019 rallies in Chile. In Colombia, activists adopted the hashtag #NosEstánMatando to protest the widespread violence and killings of social leaders. Particularly during the massive rallies of 2018 and 2019, which were part of the National Strike (Paro Nacional), this hashtag highlighted the violence and alleged human rights violations occurring during these demonstrations. Originally triggered by proposed labor and tax reforms, these protests quickly expanded to address broader societal issues, including inequality, corruption, and violence against social leaders, indigenous peoples, farmers, and former FARC combatants undergoing reintegration under the PA. The hashtag also served as a means to express solidarity with victims of violence and to elevate both national and international awareness of the country's critical situation (True and Riveros-Morales 14).

We propose a scalable methodology that integrates situated and constructivist approaches, combining distant and close reading techniques (Jensen et al.). For this purpose, we used NVivo 12 (Jackson and Bazeley), a software tailored for computational qualitative-quantitative analysis. Initially, we collected a dataset of 598,580 tweets and retweets that used the hashtag, employing the free software Mozdeh (Thelwall) from January 1, 2018, to December 31, 2020. The next step involved data cleaning, during which we removed duplicates, resulting in a refined dataset of 121,215 entries. After the

data collection and cleaning processes, we conducted a term frequency analysis using NVivo 12 to begin our examination.

To start exploring the field domains enacted by social mobilization narratives, we also detected synonyms (table 3) related to the terms most frequently found in the first step. This protocol aimed to capture a comprehensive range of languages, themes, and sentiments in the tweets and to unveil conceptual associations with the listed terms that potentially enacted a metaphoricity of the most frequent terms (table 2) present in the tweets.

A third step involved using word tree maps for the terms 'guerra' [war] and 'paz' [peace], created with NVivo 12, as shown in figure 1 below. Word tree maps are strategic tools for visually analyzing the language surrounding a central term, revealing patterns and how these terms are contextually embedded within the discourse. By examining the branching phrases that emanate from the central word, we can detect non-literal uses indicative of metaphorical interpretations. This method helped us identify phrases and contexts that suggest metaphoricity, thereby illuminating the broader narrative themes captured in the tweets.

Results and Discussion

Table 2

High-frequency detection of occurrences in 121.215 tweets using the hashtag #NosEstánMatando

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
líderes	11190	0.59
sociales	9841	0.52
país	7441	0.39
vida	6784	0.26
paz	4117	0.22
violencia	3901	0.20

asesinados	3706	0.20
pueblo	3389	0.18
mujeres	3149	0.17
asesinato	3091	0.15
muerte	2567	0.13
guerra	1566	0.08
indígenas	1301	0.07
lideresas	1286	0.07

As shown in table 2, several more frequent terms are related to the subject of the narratives studied here: the denunciation of crimes against social leaders and their interpretation by social mobilization. As such, the more frequent terms are connected to conflict, i.e., 'violencia' [violence], 'asesinato' [killing], 'muerte' [death], and 'guerra' [war]. Other highly frequent terms relate to an opposite field domain, i.e., 'vida' [life] and 'paz' [peace], and are closely interconnected to other concepts related to the victims of the killings such as 'líderes' [leaders], pueblo [people], 'mujeres' [women], 'indígenas' [indigenous] and 'lideresas' [female leaders].

Table 3

High-frequency detection of occurrences and similar words in 121.215 tweets using the hashtag #NosEstánMatando

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
líderes	13109	0.69	#líderes [#leaders], lidera [leads], lideraba [was leading], liderados [led], lideramos [we lead], lideran [lead], liderando [leading]
sociales	14189	0.38	izquierda [left], socialismo [socialism], socialista [socialist], socialmente [socially]
país	12570	0.24	#estado [#state], #nación [#nation], pueblo [people], pueblos [peoples]
asesinados	23320	0.21	asesinada [murdered, fem.], asesinado [murdered, masc.], cargado [charged, masc.], eliminados [eliminated, masc. pl.], homicidios [homicides], matando [killing], sacrificaron [sacrificed]
mujeres	3270	0.17	#mujeres [#women], @mujeres [@women], mujeres [women]

indígenas	2616	0.07	#indígena [#indigenous], nativas [native, fem. pl.], nativos [native, masc. pl.]
asesinato	14249	0.11	#asesinato [#murder], #muertes [#deaths], crimen [crime], homicidios [homicides], pesadilla [nightmare]
líderesa	1798	0.10	#lideresa [#female leader], #lideresas [#female leaders]
guerra	1573	0.08	#guerra [#war], @guerra [@war], #caricatura [#cartoon], guerras [wars]
paz	7830	0.04	#casado [#married], #paz [#peace], casa [house], serenidad [serenity], torre [tower], villa [villa]
vida	13092	0.04	#ser [#to be], #sustentación [#support], #vidas [#lives], alimentación [nutrition], alternativa [alternative], caminar [to walk], camino [path], cepa [strain], existencia [existence], sostener [to sustain], sostenible [sustainable], vivos [alive]
violencia	7124	0.03	#fuerza [#strength], @furia [@fury], canibalismo [cannibalism], feroces [ferocious], intensidad [intensity], ira [anger]
muerte	8492	0.03	#cadáver [corpse], #desaparición [disappearance], #fallecimientos [deaths], cuerpo [body], decesos [deaths], desaparición [disappearance], difuntos [deceased], extintos [extinct], fallecen [die], obituario [obituary]

Table 3 presents several terms identified by NVivo as similar (see similarity words cross-reference in appendix 1) for each of the words featured in table 2. Notably, in contrast to the data in table 2, the associated words exhibit different values when comparing frequencies and weighted percentages. For example, while 'paz' [peace] appeared more frequently than 'guerra' [war] in table 2, the weighted percentage suggests that 'guerra' had a higher relative frequency. However, the set of similar words is richer for 'paz,' which is associated with terms such as 'serenidad' [serenity] and 'seguridad' [safety]. Additionally, the term 'torre' [tower] appears to hold metaphorical potential, as it is commonly linked to defense but can also signify a place of refuge when associated with peace. It is also noteworthy that, aside from 'paz,' the terms with the highest number of associated synonyms are 'asesinados' [murdered] and 'muerte' [death], highlighting the complex conceptual mapping dynamics present in the dataset analyzed for this study.

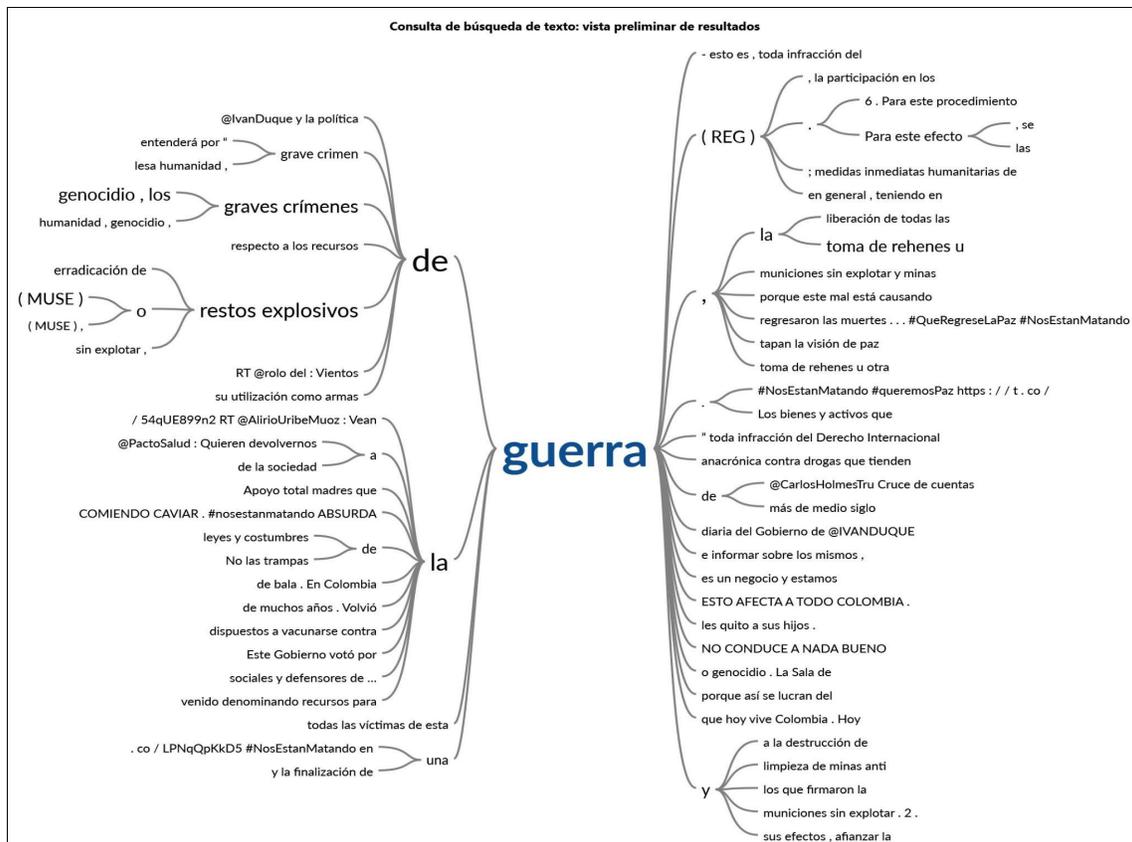


Fig. 1. Word Tree Analysis of 'guerra' [war] in 121,215 Tweets Featuring #NoEstánMatando (extract).

A regime of metaphors can be detected by analyzing the metaphoricity of the word tree of 'guerra' [war] visualized in figure 1. The spotlighted metaphors (figure 2) form a regime articulating the collective experience of conflict and its aftermath in Colombia. This regime entails the top-level metaphor (Yu 40-44) or central conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 3-17): WAR IS A PERSISTENT CONDITION. This metaphor organizes and gives coherence to the surrounding metaphors, each highlighting different aspects of the impact of the conflict and the way it is conceptualized: WAR IS A STATE ("country tired of a disgraceful war"), WAR IS A RELATIONSHIP deeply embedded in society ("sons and daughters of war"), WAR IS A destructive and uncontrollable FORCE or ENTITY ("nightmare of ceaseless violence"), and WAR IS A PLACE to which people are repeatedly drawn back ("cycle of returning to conflict").

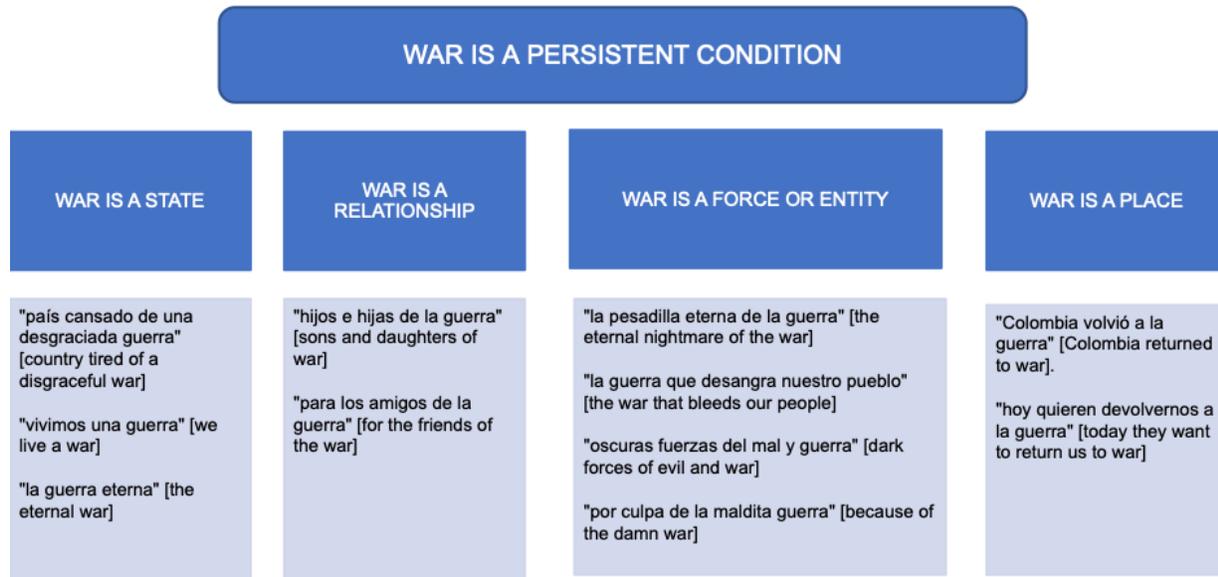


Fig. 2. Metaphoricity of 'war' in narratives of social mobilization.

The metaphoricity depicted in figure 2 illustrates a system with vertical and horizontal linkages (Yu 40-44). This system comprises a regime of metaphors pervasive in the Colombian imagination, used to articulate and respond to situations such as the recent increase in the murders of social leaders following the PA. However, this regime is inherited from other contexts and narratives, creating a sense that violence and war are permanent conditions or inescapable realities driven by unpredictable, non-human forces.

As previously discussed, the paramilitary narrative frequently employs metaphors that frame war as inevitable and enduring. This central metaphor reappears in statements such as: "Cuando llega la guerra y toca la puerta de su casa es para quedarse" [When war arrives and knocks on the door of your house, it is there to stay]. Although perspectives on war originate from different experiential viewpoints, both paramilitary discourse and social mobilization narratives converge on the idea that war leaves a lasting imprint on individuals and societies, marking them indelibly.

While the paramilitary perspective is pragmatic—rooted in firsthand experiences of waging and enduring warfare—it highlights a direct confrontation with the permanence of war. In contrast, similar metaphors used in tweets suggest a broader, collective experience of the impact of war. Thus, both narratives employ war metaphors, but for different purposes: the paramilitary uses them to justify their actions, whereas social leaders' tweets express indignation, a call for justice, and an elaboration on grief.

In this context, the visual subsystem (Yu 50-51) further reinforces these metaphors, particularly through expressions such as 'the eternal nightmare of war' and 'dark forces of evil and war'. These phrases metaphorically map the properties of light (or its absence) onto the causes and effects of violence and conflict, emphasizing the elusiveness of its perpetrators.

We also analyzed a word tree for *peace* to deepen the semanticity and metaphoricity around this concept in the studied tweets. Appendix 3 shows the most salient phrases derived from the word tree. Based on the content, we can interpret the metaphoricity of *peace* based on a system of metaphors shown in figure 3. Our study coincides with María Victoria Uribe in that the metaphorical configuration of war contains more expressions than peace. However, in terms of systematicity, we found two differentiated conceptual domains: PEACE IS A JOURNEY, and PEACE IS AN ENTITY. The studied Twitter narratives depict peace through metaphors emphasizing its aspirational, fragile, and active dimensions. Both central and top-level metaphors highlight the ongoing struggle, effort, and care required to achieve and maintain peace.

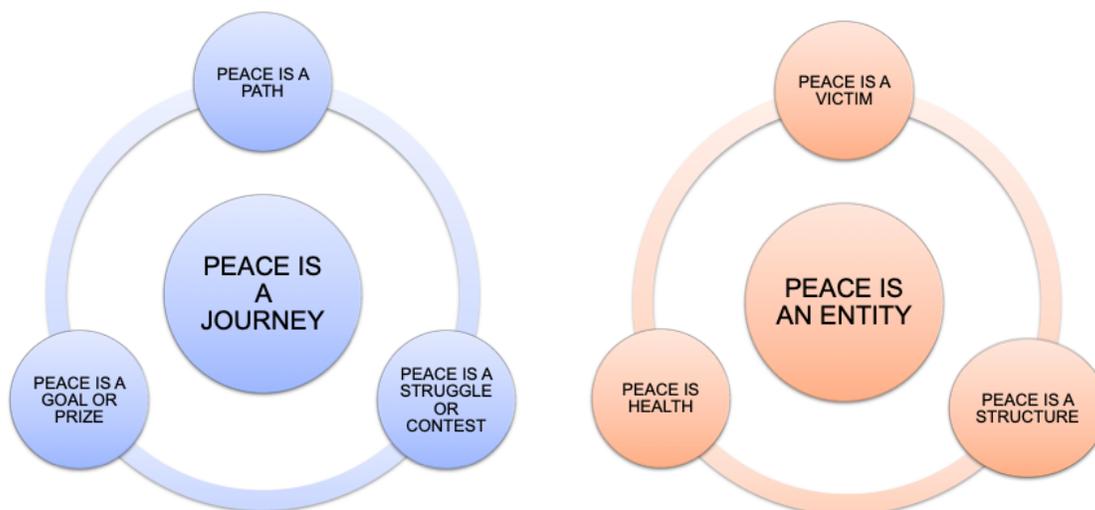


Fig. 3. Metaphoricity of *peace* in narratives of social mobilization.

The framing of peace with the second-level metaphors of path, goal, and struggle reflects the enduring aspirations of social mobilizations.

PEACE IS A PATH frames peace as a direction or route that must be followed, as seen in expressions such as "it is the path to peace" and "achieve progress towards peace". These metaphors suggest that peace is not a static state but a dynamic process requiring continuous movement and progress. PEACE IS A GOAL conceptualizes peace

as an objective that individuals and communities strive to attain, illustrated by phrases such as "they continue to reach peace" and "I work for peace".

The metaphoricity of peace suggests that while peace is a desired state, it is fraught with challenges and requires continuous effort and protection. This duality in the metaphorization of peace highlights the emotional and cognitive complexity involved in the narratives of social mobilization against the endangerment of social leaders. This framing underscores the need for sustained efforts to nurture and defend peace in Colombia amidst the enduring legacy of conflict and violence.

The second conceptual system, PEACE IS AN ENTITY, more clearly represents the moral cognition of justice and peace. This regime portrays 'peace' as something tangible that can be built, nurtured, and protected while underscoring the constant threats and setbacks faced in the post-agreement period.

PEACE IS HEALTH suggests that peace is fragile and vulnerable to deterioration, much like health, and thus needs continuous care and effort to sustain it. Expressions such as "Colombia agonizes the hope for peace" liken peace to a state of well-being, implying peace is precarious and requires nurturing and protection.

PEACE IS A STRUCTURE frames peace as something that must be actively established and maintained. This metaphor is reflected in expressions such as "defense and construction of peace," which depict peace as something that can be built and safeguarded. Such language suggests that peace is not static but rather the result of sustained efforts to create and uphold stability.

PEACE IS A VICTIM frames peace as something that is harmed or threatened, requiring vigilance and protection. Expressions such as "peace for Colombia has been murdered" and "peace, we are the ones who lay down the dead" personify peace as a victim of violence and conflict. This metaphor emphasizes the disruptions of peace and the association between peace and its perceived fragility.

Conclusion

Analyzing metaphors in Twitter narratives tagged with #NosEstánMatando reveals significant insights into the conceptualization of war, peace, and the experiences of endangered social leaders in Colombia following the PA. This study highlights how the metaphorization of 'war' and 'peace' by social mobilizations on Twitter contributes to the broader meaning-making processes and shapes the public's understanding of violence, justice, and reconciliation. In the context of the PA, CMT emerges as a powerful lens through which we can explore the intricate dynamics of peacebuilding and reconciliation (Lakoff). Thus, using a computational-assisted mixed research methodology, our research has explained and analyzed how metaphoricity intersects with the portrayal of endangered social leaders within this theoretical framework. In this regard, metaphors are not mere linguistic tropes but cognitive tools that shape our understanding of complex phenomena. By drawing on familiar experiences, metaphors

allow us to grasp abstract concepts more concretely. In the case of the PA, metaphors become bridges between the intangible (peace, justice) and the tangible (daily life, conflict zones). When we speak of 'healing wounds' or 'bridging divides,' we invoke metaphors that evoke physical sensations and spatial connections. These metaphors guide our perception of the peace process.

In addition, metaphors transcend cultural boundaries. They tap into shared human experiences and emotions. In the Colombian context, healing, rebuilding, and transformation metaphors resonate across diverse communities. However, the universality of metaphors also carries risks. Hidden biases may lurk within seemingly innocent expressions. For instance, portraying victims as "broken" or "scarred" can unintentionally perpetuate victimhood narratives. Moreover, metaphors must be situated within the specific historical, social, and political context. What works metaphorically in one setting may not translate seamlessly elsewhere. Consequently, while metaphors facilitate understanding, they can oversimplify complex realities. The danger lies in overgeneralization. Not all wounds heal similarly, and not all bridges span equally. For this reason, it is key to recognize that metaphors carry cultural baggage. Interrogate their implications and consider alternative perspectives.

In sum, in response to our initial research question of how the metaphorization of 'war' and 'peace' in Twitter (now known as X) narratives by social mobilization contribute to the meaning-making of endangered social leaders after the PA in Colombia, we can conclude that a particular regime of metaphors, as demonstrated by this article, is fundamentally orientating the public perception of the notions of war, peace, and justice in the digital arena. This framing had critical consequences in the configuration of the PA and its aftermath, the concept of 'securitization' being a potential future avenue for further research that escapes the specific limitations and scope of the present research. Additionally, we would like to note that a mixed research methods approach using a scalable reading protocol has been particularly effective when studying complex semiotic events, such as narratives emerging in the aftermath of the PA. Future lines of inquiry will further develop, test, and hone the promising and fruitful approaches offered in this work that must be transposed and replicated under similar conditions to those tested in this study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
líderes	13109	0.69	#lidere, #lídere, #líderes, #líderes, lidera, lideraba, lideraban, liderada, lideradas, liderado, liderados, lideramos, lideran, liderando, lideranzas, liderar, lideraron, lideras, lidere, lidere, lidereaban, lideren, lideres, líderes, líderes, lideró
sociales	14189	0.38	#izquierd, #izquierdas, #sociale, #sociales, #socialismo, @izquierda, @social, izquierda, izquierdas, izquierdista, izquierdistas, izquierdo, izquierdos, izquierdosos, social, social', social', sociale, socialled, sociales, sociales', sociales', socialismo, socialista, socialistas, socialmente
país	12570	0.24	#estado, #nación, #naciones, #pais, #país, #puebla, #pueblo, #pueblos, @pais, @pueblo, estadía, estadista, nacion, nación, naciona, naciones, pais, país, paisa, paisas, países, países, puebl, puebla, pueblada, pueble, pueblo, pueblos
asesinados	23320	0.21	#asesin, #asesina, #asesinad, #asesinada, #asesinadas, #asesinado, #asesinados, #asesinan, #asesinando, #asesinaron, #asesinas, #asesino, #asesinos, #eliminaciones, #eliminados, #mat, #matan, #matando, #matar, #mataron, @mat, @matas, asesin, asesina, asesinaba, asesinaban, asesinad, asesinada, 'asesinada, asesinadas, asesinado, asesinados, asesinamos, asesinan, asesinando, asesinándola, asesinandolos, asesinándolos, asesinandonos, asesinándose, asesinándose, asesinar, asesinara, asesinaran, asesinarán, asesinaras, asesinarla, asesinarlas, asesinarle, asesinarlo, asesinarlos, asesinarne, asesinarlos, asesinaron, asesinars, asesinas, asesinaste, asesine, asesinen, asesines, asesino, asesinó, asesinos, carga, cargaba, cargada, cargado, cargados, cargamos, cargan, cargando, cargar, cargaría, cargarla, cargaron, cargen, cargo, cargó, cargos, carguen, elimina, eliminaban, eliminación, eliminaciones, eliminada, eliminadas, eliminado, eliminados, eliminamos, eliminan, eliminando, eliminar, eliminarla, eliminarlo, eliminarlos, eliminarnos, eliminaron, eliminas, elimine, eliminemos, eliminen, eliminó, eliminos, homic, homicida, homicidas, homicidos, mat, mata, mataba, mataban, matada, matado, matados, matados, matáis, matamos, matan, matando, matando', matando#todaslasvidasimportan, matando', matándola, matándolas, matándolas, matandolo, matandolos, matándolos, matandonos, matándonos, matándose, matar, matara, matará, matáramos, mataran, matarán, mataras, matarás, mataría, matarían, matarla, matarlas, matarle, matarlo, matarlos, matarme, matarnos, mataron, matarse, matas, mataste, mate, maté, matememos, maten, mater, mates, matías, mato, mató, sacrificada, sacrificadas, sacrificado, sacrifican, sacrificando, sacrificar, sacrificarán, sacrificaron
mujeres	3270	0.17	#mujeres, @mujeres, mujere, mujeres, mujeres'

indígenas	2616	0.07	#indigena, #indígena, #indigenas, #indígenas, @indigenaen, indigena, indígena, indigenas, indígenas, indígenas, indígenas, indigenistas, nativas, nativo, nativos
asesinato	14249	0.11	#asesinato, #asesinatos, #crime, #crimen, #homicidio, #homicidios, #muerte, #muertes, #muertos, asesinat, asesinates, asesinato, asesinató, asesinatos, crim, crím, crime, crimen, 'crimen, crímen, crimes, homic, homicida, homicidas, homicidi, homicidio, homicidios, homicidos, muert, muert@, muerta, muertas, muerte, muerted, muertes, muertes", muerto, muertos, muertos', pesadilla, pesadillas
líderesa	1798	0.10	#líderesa, #líderesas, #líderesas, líderesa, líderesa, líderesas, líderesas, líderesas, líderesos
guerra	1573	0.08	#guerra, @guerra, @guerro, guerr, guerra, 'guerra, guerra#caricatura, guerras
paz	7830	0.04	#casado, #caso, #paz, #quinta, #quinte, @cas, @casa, @casas, @chal, @chalado, @paz, @villa, cas, casa, casa', casada, casadas, casado, casar, casarse, casas, case, casería, caserío, casí, caso, casos, chal, chala, chalar, chale, chalé, finca, fincas, fince, paz, paz', paz', 'paz', paz', quinta, quinter, quinto, reposo, serena, serene, serenidad, sereno, serenos, torre, torres, villa, villada, villas
vida	13092	0.04	#anime, #puta, #puto, #régimen, #ser, #sustentación, #vida, #vidas, #viv, #viva, #vivas, #vivir, @alterna, @alternoso, @cep, @ser, @vid, @viva, @vivas, @vive, alimenta, alimentación, alimentado, alimentador, alimentamos, alimentan, alimentando, alimentar, alimentarse, alimento, alimenten, alimento, alimentos, alterna, alternativa, alternativas, alternativo, alternativos, alterno, alternos, anima, animación, animadas, animador, animan, animas, anime, animé, anímico, animo, animó, ánimo, animos, ánimos, camin, camina, caminaba, caminado, caminamos, caminan, caminando, caminar, caminará, caminarán, caminaré, caminaremos, caminaron, caminas, camine, caminé, caminemos, caminen, camines, camino, camino', caminos, cepa, existencia, existencias, existente, existentes, fletes, lozano, manutención, parr, parra, pólvora, polvorosa, prostitución, prostituida, prostitutas, prostituido, prostituidos, prostituyendo, prostituyó, put, puta, puta', puta', putada, putamente, putas, puteadas, puteamos, putear, putearas, putearlo, puteen, putería, putió, puto, putos, regimen, régimen, sera, seran, sere, seres, sostenemos, sostener, sostenerse, sostenes, sostenía, sostenible, sostenida, sostenido, sosteniendo, sosteniéndonos, sostenimiento, sustenta, sustentable, sustentado, sustentan, sustentando, sustentan, sustento, vid, víd, vida, vida', vidad, vidas, vide, viv, viv@, viva, vivamos, vivan, vivar, vivas, vive, viven, vives, viví, vivía, vivíamos, vivían, vivida, vividas, vivido, vividos, viviendo, viviendola, viviera, viviéramos, vivieran, vivieron, vivimos, vivimos, vivió, vivir, vivir", vivirá, vivirán, vivirás, viviremos, viviríamos, vivirla, vivirlas, vivirlo, vivirlas, vivirse, viviste, vivo, vivos, "vivos"
violencia	7124	0.03	#fuerz, #fuerza, #violenci, #violencia, #violencia#mahchista, #violenciad, @fuerz, @furia, @violencio, acometió, bravío, canibales, canibalismo, encarnizando, feroces, fuerz, fuerza, fuerzar, fuerzas, furia, furiosas, intensa, intensamente, intensidad, intensiva, intensivo, intensivos, intenso, intensos, ira, irá, vehemencia,

			vehemente, vehementemente, violenci, violencia, violencia', vióencia, violencias, violencio
muerte	8492	0.03	#cadáver, #desaparición, #fallecimientos, #falleció, #muerte, #muertes, #muertos, @cadavid, agonizante, cadaver, cadáver, cuerp, cuerp@, cuerpa, cuerpas, cuerpo, cuerpos, deceso, decesos, defunción, defunciones, desaparicion, desaparición, desapariciones, difunta, difunto, difuntos, extinta, extintas, extinto, extintos, fallec, fallece, 'fallece', fallecen, fallecer, falleces, fallecí, fallecid, fallecida, fallecidas, fallecido, fallecidos, fallecieron, fallecimiento, fallecimientos, falleció, muert, muert@, muerta, muertas, muerte, muerted, muertes, muertes", muerto, muertos, muertos', obituario

Appendix 2

Examples of the phrases related to the term *guerra* [war] according to the word tree extracted with NVivo12

Colombia volvió a la guerra	[Colombia returned / to / the / war]
hoy quieren devolvernos a la guerra	[today they want to send us back / to / the / war]
nos quieren condenar /a /la /guerra	[they want to condemn us / to / the / war]
activista, hijo /de/ la/ guerra	[activist, son / of / the / war]
cambió el foco /de/ la/guerra	[he changed the focus / of / the / war]
hijos e hijas/ de/ la/ guerra	[sons and daughters / of / the / war]
la pesadilla eterna/ de/ la/ guerra	[the eternal nightmare / of / the / war]
para los amigos/ de/ la/ guerra	[for the friends / of / the / war]
que ser enemigo/ de/ la/ guerra	[to be an enemy / of / the / war]
un nuevo huérfano/ de/ la/ guerra	[a new orphan / of / the / war]
y el recrudecimiento/ de/ la/ guerra	[and the intensification / of / the / war]
un hijo herido/ por/ la/ guerra	[a son wounded / by / the / war]
un país permeado/ por/ la/ guerra	[a country permeated / by / the / war]
la cabeza de esta horrible /guerra	[the head of this horrible / war]

la nueva víctima de la / guerra	[the new victim of the / war]
país cansado de una desgraciada / guerra	[country tired of a wretched / war]
refleja la continuidad de la/ guerra	[it reflects the continuity of the/ war]
#somosdefendamoslapaz "vivimos/ una/ guerra	[#weareletsdefendpeace "we live / a / war]
diariamente son parte de / una/ guerra	[daily they are part of / a / war]
nuestros líderes asesinados en / una / guerra	[our leaders killed in / a / war]
oscuras fuerzas del mal/y/ guerra	[dark forces of evil / and / war]
por culpa de la/ maldita/ guerra	[because of the/ damned/ war]
la guerra/ eterna	[the eternal /war]
la guerra/ que/ desangra nuestro pueblo	[the war / that / bleeds our people]
la guerra/ inicia de nuevo. eso busca	[the war / starts again/ that's what it seeks]
la guerra/ le arrebató lo más preciado	[the war / takes away the most precious]
la guerra/ nunca se fue/ la ausencia	[the war / never left/ the absence]
la guerra/ que/ ha consumido nuestro país	[the war / that / has consumed our country]
la / guerra / #MaríaDelPilarHurtado #DueleColombia #NosEstanMatando	[the / war / #MariaDelPilarHurtado [#ItHurtsColombia #TheyAreKillingUs]
la / guerra / #NosEstanMatando / #MaríaDelPilarHurtado Lo siento por	[the / war / #TheyAreKillingUs / #MariaDelPilarHurtado I'm sorry for]
la / guerra / #MariaDelPilarHurtado	[the / war / #MariaDelPilarHurtado]
la / guerra / #ParoNacional7Agosto	[the / war / #NationalStrike7August]
la / guerra /pero no... solamente somos mujeres	[the / war / but no... we are just women]
la / guerra /solo es una idea...#NosEstanMatando	[the / war / is just an idea... #TheyAreKillingUs]
la / guerra / contra / líderes de derechos humanos	[the / war / against / human rights leaders]

Appendix 3

<i>Hace trizas/el/acuerdo/ de/ paz</i>	[shattering the peace agreement]
<i>Colombia agoniza la esperanza/ de/ paz</i>	[Colombia agonizes the hope / of / peace]
<i>a las calles, Colombia quiere/ paz</i>	[to the streets, Colombia wants / peace]
<i>la defensa y construcción / de/ paz</i>	[the defense and construction / of / peace]
<i>que nos dejen vivir/ en / paz</i>	[let us live / in / peace]
<i>grito de Colombia pidiendo/ paz</i>	[cry of Colombia asking for / peace]
<i>que le cumplía a/ la / paz</i>	[that he fulfilled to / the / peace]
<i>quienes le apostaron a/ la/ paz</i>	[those who bet on / the / peace]
<i>esperanza y luchamos/ por/ la/ paz</i>	[hope and we fight / for / the / peace]
<i>objetivo de volver trizas/ la/ paz</i>	[goal to shatter / the / peace]
<i>vencer la muerte/ ganar/ la/ paz</i>	[Defeat death / win / the / peace]
<i>y el campo, buscar/ la/ paz</i>	[and the countryside, seek / the / peace]
<i>es el camino para /una/ paz</i>	[It is the path for / a / peace]
<i>trabajo por/ una/ paz</i>	[I work for / a / peace]
<i>siguen intentando alcanzar/ la/ paz</i>	[they keep trying to reach / the / peace]
<i>lograr el avance hacia/la/ paz</i>	[to achieve progress towards / the / peace]
<i>paz/ la/ recuperación del sentido común</i>	[peace / the / recovery of common sense]
<i>paz/ la/ transición hacia el posconflicto</i>	[peace / the / transition to post-conflict]
<i>paz/ libre de sangre y desigualdad</i>	[peace / free from blood and inequality]
<i>paz/ nacimos siendo diferentes</i>	[peace / we were born different]
<i>paz/ por/ Colombia ha sido asesinada</i>	[peace / for / Colombia has been murdered]
<i>paz/ por nuestros muertos</i>	[peace / for our deceased]
<i>paz/ somos quienes ponemos los muertos</i>	[peace / we are the ones who suffer the deaths]
<i>paz/ cada muerte es un mensaje</i>	[peace / each death is a message]
<i>paz/ la paz el único camino</i>	[peace / peace the only way]

paz/con/ inclusión social

[peace / with / social inclusion]

paz/con/ justicia social

[peace / with / social justice]

paz/ debe ser una responsabilidad de

[peace / should be a responsibility of]