

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION, INSTITUTIONALIZATION, AND PEACEMAKING CRIMINOLOGY APPROACH IN COUNTERING TERRORISM IN INDONESIA



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Abstract

The problem of counterterrorism in Indonesia continues to evolve, including institutional challenges and coordination effectiveness, terrorism funding, implementation of deradicalization efforts, and the political dimension of terrorism. It is important to discuss this phenomenon through a criminological approach that emphasizes the sociological paradigm. Previous studies have limitations in explaining social construction, institutional challenges, and offering Peacemaking Criminology approach in a more comprehensive and efficient counterterrorism effort in Indonesia. This research was conducted using a qualitative approach through thematic analysis of literature review on 57 previous studies. This research found four important findings. First, there are limited preventive detention clauses and communal or sectarian violence in Indonesia. Second, terrorism financing comes in various forms, poor coordination, and no comprehensive approach involving relevant stakeholders. Third, the complexity of efforts to deradicalize terrorism prisoners in correctional institutions. Fourth, the uncertainty in determining the status of terrorism due to political considerations. Peacemaking Criminology approach in this research offers a new solution to counter terrorism in Indonesia by targeting the root of radicalization through emancipative community development and discussing institutional challenges and ways to overcome them.

Keywords: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, BNPT, Deradicalization, Peacemaking Criminology

INTRODUCTION

The issue of terrorism continues to evolve along with the dynamics of global terrorist groups and technological advances. Various countries define and classify terrorism based on their respective perspectives that cause variations in the global context. However, in general, terrorism is a tactic of political violence used by state and non-state actors to achieve political, ideological, economic, or religious goals through fear or intimidation (Ashford 2012; Kervalishvili 2022; Reuveny & Thompson 2010). The tactics of bombings, assassinations, and suicide attacks are the most commonly employed to force governments to meet terrorist demands (Guler & Demir 2021; Reuveny & Thompson 2010).

The Institute for Economics & Peace (2024) published a *Global Terrorism Index* report that shows Indonesia has experienced a decrease in the impact of acts of terrorism with a low category at number 31 in the world. The percentage of deaths due to acts of terrorism in Indonesia consistently decreased by 22% in the period 2022-2023. Globally, there was a significant change in the ranking of countries most affected by terrorism, where Burkina Faso became the country with the highest impact from terrorism for the first time, with deaths from terrorism increasing by 68% or 1,907 victims. A quarter of all terrorism deaths globally occurred in Burkina Faso.

Overall through 2023, 3,350 terrorism attacks were recorded with the death rate at its highest level since 2017. The biggest downward trend in terrorism since 2007 has been in Iraq, Afghanistan and Nigeria but the epicenter of terrorism has shifted from the Middle East and northern Africa to sub-Saharan Africa (Institute for Economics & Peace 2024). The complexity of the terrorism problem is also due to the correlation between organized crime. *The Global Terrorism Index* notes this correlation is particularly strong in certain areas, such as the Sahel region of sub-Saharan Africa with artisanal mining, drug trafficking, kidnapping, providing security for criminal groups and transportation of illicit goods. Gold mining is even a major factor in the Jamaat Nusrat Al-Islam wal Muslimeen (JNIM) group in Burkina Faso's territorial expansion.

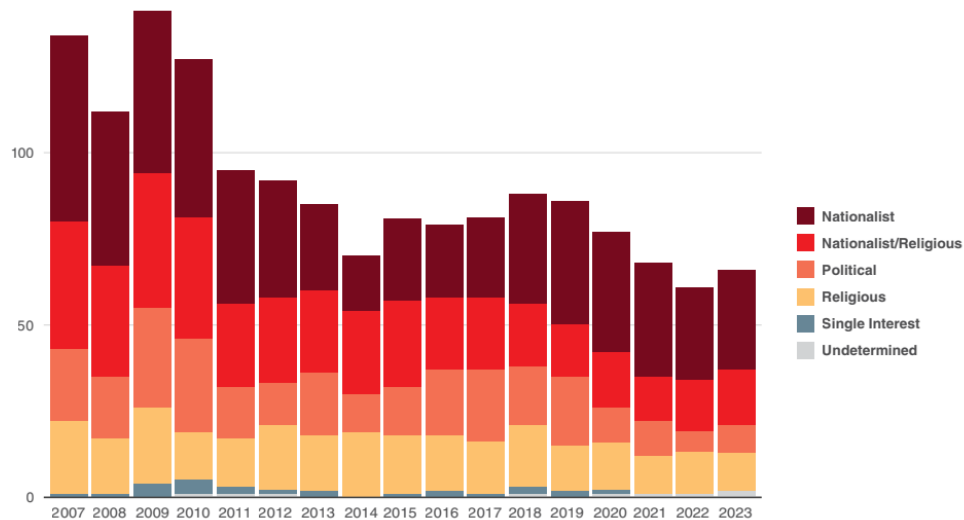


Figure 1: Number of Active Terrorist Groups

Source: *Institute for Economics & Peace (2024)*

In Indonesia, counterterrorism involves many institutions including the Indonesian National Police (Polri), the Indonesian National Army (TNI), and civil society through a coordinating body known as the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). As of December 9, 2024 there were 194 terrorism convicts in Indonesia (SDP Kumham 2024) and the police recorded 181 terrorism arrests since 2023 until November 14, 2024 (Mumpuni 2024).

The definition of terrorism in Indonesia is very complex and diverse which is influenced by various social, political and legal factors, despite having an anti-terrorism law since 2002, the definition of terrorism in Indonesia is still considered ambiguous and inconsistent in various contexts and its application (Nuswanto, 2019). The Indonesian government uses two approaches to fight terrorism. The first is through hard approaches such as law enforcement, military and intelligence. The second is a soft approach with deradicalization and outreach. This dual approach reflects the complexity of defining and dealing with terrorism in the country (Mahmutarrom, Sumarwoto, & Ifrani 2020; Setiyono 2021). Meanwhile, the United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as the planned use of unlawful violence to instill fear for political, religious, or ideological purposes (Guler & Demir 2021; Reuveny & Thompson 2010).

Countering terrorism around the world is unlikely to be uniform due to the complexity and different backgrounds of the problem, especially for sympathizers or combatants who fall into this radical movement. Previous studies are limited to discussing terrorism from the legal and security aspects (Budiyono, 2024; Fenton & Price, 2016; Suatmiati & Kastro, 2020), the psychological impact and rational motivation of terrorists

(Chitadze 2022; Clément 2021; Marchment and Gill 2020), and the issue of international cooperation in countering terrorism (Acharya and Acharya 2007; Hegemann 2015). There is a lack of literature that discusses how social construction, institutional challenges, and studies that present *Peacemaking Criminology* approach integrated in counterterrorism policy in Indonesia that is more comprehensive and based on restorative justice. This is presented through the analysis of four important research questions. First, what are the institutional challenges in countering terrorism? Second, what is the funding of terrorism and collaborative approach to counterterrorism? Third, what are the successes and obstacles of terrorist deradicalization? Fourth, how is the political dimension in terrorism labeling? In line with these questions, this research is also based on the argument that counterterrorism in Indonesia requires a more comprehensive approach through the examination of institutional challenges and the development of terrorism today.

METHODS

This study explores the current issues of terrorism in Indonesia with reference to institutional challenges. The main objective is to provide an overview of the latest challenges and offer alternative solutions that can be provided by looking at the handling of terrorism from various other countries in the world. This study is guided by three main considerations. First, Indonesia during 2022-2024 has recorded zero terrorism attacks. Second, there is a decline of terrorism groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS that affect their affiliates around the world. Lastly, counterterrorism institutions in Indonesia need to continue to develop to face new challenges of terrorism.

This research uses a qualitative approach through thematic analysis of literature review by promoting a *criminological* paradigm that discusses crime sociologically through analysis of *Peacemaking Criminology* Theory. This method was chosen because it allows researchers to gain in-depth and structured insights. Furlong & Lester (2023) this method can adapt to a variety of contexts and research questions. Moreover, literature review overcomes the problem of time constraints, reduces costs and increases efficiency without compromising the data collected (Vindrola-Padros and Johnson 2020). The data for this article relies on secondary data through reading Scopus indexed journal articles with a consistent search for terrorism handling issues in Indonesia, international reports on the development of global acts of terrorism, and websites relevant to the discussion in this research.

| Main Theme | Literature Source |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Institutional Challenges | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Suatmiati & Kastro (2020): Discusses legal and institutional approaches in Indonesia. - Gilli & Tedeschi (2022): Efficiency of anti-terrorism institutional strategies in the European Union. - Ghosh et al. (2017); Kuwali (2022); Niemi et al. (2018): Integration of education and anti-terrorism policies. - National Violence Monitoring System (2024): Number of communal and sectarian violence in Indonesia. - Nuswanto (2019); Suryana (2019); Werner & Lambsdorff (2020): Violence that is not labeled as an act of terrorism. - Smidt (2020); Ellis & Abdi (2017): Dialogical approach and community social relations. - Warnick (2024): Collaborative models for resilience and prevention. |
| Terrorism Financing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Biswas & Sana (2019): Sources of terrorism financing. - Pati et al., (2023): A critique of legal disparities in Indonesia. - Wang & Chen (2024); Winer (2008): Strategies for tackling terrorism financing. |
| Institutional Collaborative Approach | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sila & Fealy (2022); Subagyo (2021); Citrawan & Nadilla (2019): Institutional coordination issues in Indonesia. - Schroeder (2012): Coordination efficiency of anti-terrorism agencies in the United States. - Department of Homeland Security (2007): Strengthening the integrated framework. - Painter (2016): Evaluative efforts of cooperation achievements. |
| Deradicalization Success | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Milla et al., (2020); Webber et al., (2020): Attitude change approach. - Masyhar et al. (2024): Economic approach. - Barton & Vergani (2022): A comprehensive approach. |

| | |
|---|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subagyo (2021): The pentahelix model involves academia, business, community, government and media. - Hwang (2023): Civil society-based deradicalization. - Pujiyono & Rukmono (2020): Entrepreneurship program for ex-terrorists. |
| Deradicalization Problem | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gaes & Camp (2009); Maulana, Indriana, & Goei (2022): Safety issues and rehabilitation success. - Subagyo (2021): Lack of media and business involvement. - Suarda (2020): Officer qualifications, infrastructure and sustainability of the prison program. - Silke (2023): The spread of radical networks in prisons. - Thompson & Hart (2021): Propaganda of terrorist groups. - Davidenko (2019); Mulcahy et al., (2013); Rushchenko (2019) : Growth of terrorist groups outside prison. - Riyanta et al., (2021); Webber et al., (2020): Institutional challenges of de-radicalization. |
| The Political Dimension of Terrorism Labeling | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Yunanto & Damayanti (2024): Political aspects of OPM terrorist labeling. - Nuswanto (2019) ; Baele et al., (2019): The impact of ambiguity in defining terrorism. - Carver & Harrie (2017); Chou (2016): Political considerations in terrorist labeling. - Murshid, Alhalalmeh, & Rahamneh (2023): The ambiguity of the definition of terrorism. - Barrinha (2011); Davis (2014): The political instrumentalization of terrorist enclosures. - Carver (2016); Husain (2021): The socio-political context of terrorist labeling. - Indridason (2008); Lee & Tominaga (2024): The international and domestic politics of terrorist labeling. |

Table 1. List of Data Sources

Source: Processed by the Author

Data analysis in this research is focused on three processes. First, data reduction process is conducted to rearrange the data into a more systematic form based on the problems of counterterrorism in Indonesia indicated by secondary data by grouped based on; institutional challenges; terrorism funding; collaborative approach; terrorism deradicalization; and political dimension of terrorism labelling. Second, the data verification process is conducted to obtain conclusions from the tendency of the data that has been reduced and thematically categorized. Third, the process of describing the data that has been obtained is then displayed as an offer of solutions to research problems. From these three processes, the next step is to analyze the data inductively as a basis for interpreting the data that has been collected. Data interpretation is done by re-presenting and reflecting the data based on the contemporary problem of terrorism in Indonesia. The process and stages of analysis allow for the conclusion of a solution to the contemporary problem of terrorism in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Institutional Challenges in Counterterrorism

The police through Densus 88 becomes the main actor in law enforcement against terrorism along with Kejaksaan Agung (Attorney General's Office) and the judicial system. In this existing model, Suatmiati & Kastro (2020) assessed that within the framework of legal and institutional approaches, Indonesia needs to adopt a preventive detention clause that allows the detention of terrorist suspects without adjudication when necessary. In comparison, under the Internal Security Act (ISA) in Singapore and Malaysia, preventive detention can be carried out as long as it is determined to be a national security threat.

In the European Union, out of four institutional anti-terrorism strategies - decentralization, intelligence cooperation, uniform political cooperation, and political unification - Gilli & Tedeschi (2022) found that intelligence cooperation increases the likelihood of efficient defensive policies compared to political cooperation. As well as the need to engage and educate the public about the risks of terrorism can also help in the early detection and prevention of radicalization itself in Indonesia has been implemented. Integrating education into anti-terrorism policies is also considered effective in overcoming the psychological and intellectual appeal of narratives spread by terrorists

(Ghosh et al. 2017). Educational institutions in Finland and Africa play an important role in preventing violent extremism by fostering values of peace and tolerance (Kuwali 2022; Niemi et al. 2018).

Other forms of terror that threaten the integrity and unity of the nation include communal and sectarian violence. Indonesia has experienced various forms of communal violence related to ethnic and religious tensions. The National Violence Monitoring System (SPNK) recorded 622 incidents of identity-related violence in Indonesia during the period 2018-2023 (National Violence Monitoring System 2024). Nuswanto (2019) notes that various attacks that occur and are quite impactful are not always labeled as terrorism such as combatants in Papua to the community. Violence against the Ahmadiyah and Shia minority groups that resulted in vigilante actions (Suryana 2019) and also the post-Ambon conflict that was characterized by discrimination and issues of prosocialitas between Muslim and Christian communities (Werner and Lambsdorff 2020).

The state should organize intergroup dialogue so as to help reduce bias and reinvigorate coordination between community groups, with the goal of reducing the risk of conflict escalation (Smidt 2020). Collaborative models involving law enforcement, emergency services, businesses, schools, health services and the general public are considered to foster resilience and prevent violence (Warnick 2024). Strengthening social connections and building resilience to violent extremism can also be done by involving communities in research and decision-making processes (Ellis & Abdi 2017).

Collaboration between police, government, non-government and community organizations can address a variety of well-managed risk factors. It is expected to stop the path of de-radicalization through violence and communal or sectarian conflict. The government should also address other social factors such as discrimination, social cohesion, inequality and marginalization that can reduce the attractiveness of political violence in Indonesia.

Terrorism Financing and Collaborative Approaches

Challenges are also present in preventing the development of terrorism groups in Indonesia. For example, financing, fundraising of terrorism in the world revolves around private donations, corporate profits, charity organizations and unauthorized funding source activities that involve other types of crimes such as drug trafficking, arms smuggling, fraud, kidnapping and extortion (Biswas & Sana 2019). Therefore, the

banking system also needs to more closely monitor and cooperate in seeing the flow of funds that are potentially suspected of funding terrorism. Pati et al., (2023) mentioned that there are significant gaps in the law enforcement framework in dealing with terrorism financing effectively in Indonesia.

BNPT and related institutions need to monitor non-profit organizations that in many countries are used for terrorism funding. Such as setting warning indicators, strengthening internal management, and increasing international cooperation and information sharing (Wang & Chen 2024). Six of the seven offers Winer (2008) in *Countering terrorist finance: A work, mostly in progress*, the author assesses that it can alleviate terrorism financing, unless making US law enforcement a truly global entity.

The offer is to implement a country-specific strategy to ensure global cooperation, particularly with state-sponsored terrorism; undermine terrorist-affiliated charities by replacing the social services they provide; regulate all domestic financial sectors; tackle bulk currency smuggling and high-value commodities; revive UN support for anti-terrorist financing; and improve domestic law enforcement and international cooperation.

Nonetheless, the challenges of terrorism financing will continue to evolve along with technological advancements. Therefore, strategy adaptation and continuous policy evaluation are required by relevant institutions to be able to face the latest challenges.

The effectiveness of coordination between BNPT and counter-terrorism units is hampered by poor coordination and the absence of a comprehensive approach involving relevant stakeholders (Sila & Fealy 2022; Subagyo 2021). For example, the deradicalization program is considered not fully effective due to the lack of involvement of business actors and the media, which play a very role in funding and spreading anti-radicalism narratives (Subagyo, 2021). The problem is rooted in distrust and hostility towards BNPT from radicalized communities (Sila & Fealy 2022). Similarly, when terrorism matters are related to the duties and functions of other institutions such as immigration that emphasize intelligence and border surveillance to prevent terrorism activities (Citrawan & Nadilla 2019).

Letting go of the debate of the United States' political considerations in labeling terrorism, it is recognized for effectively developing a comprehensive homeland security strategy in addressing the threat of terrorism. After Al-Qaeda's attack on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001, the US significantly improved its homeland security by establishing the *Department of Homeland Security*, which is tasked with consolidating more than 40 federal agencies.

The restructuring aims to address bureaucratic competition, improve task sharing and intelligence coordination (Schroeder 2012). It provides a unified framework focused on preventing and stopping terrorist attacks, protecting critical infrastructure, responding to incidents, and strengthening the foundation for long-term success (Department of Homeland Security 2007). They also conduct a homeland security review every four years outlining the missions of the *Department of Homeland Security* which include terrorism prevention, border security, immigration law enforcement, cyber security, and enhancing national readiness and resilience (Painter 2016).

Deradicalization Implementation: Successes and Obstacles

High security levels in prisons can hinder rehabilitation by fostering a hostile environment (Gaes & Camp 2009; Maulana, Indriana, & Goei 2022). In addition, the effectiveness of de-radicalization programs relies heavily on the preparedness and training of prison officers (Suarda, 2020) even radical networks within prisons can lead to the planning and execution of terrorist plans (Silke, 2023). Prisons are also used by terrorist groups as a propaganda tool to gain support and attract new members by framing their imprisonment as part of a wider ideological struggle and representing oppression and resistance that can help legitimize their cause (Thompson and Hart 2021).

Deradicalization efforts for terrorism inmates in super maximum security prisons present complex challenges. The culture that portrays prison as a form of resistance and legitimization of extreme actions not only makes it difficult to deradicalize in prison but also the increase of terrorist group members outside prison (Davidenko 2019; Mulcahy et al. 2013; Rushchenko 2019). Meanwhile, terrorist prisoners related to ideological extremism require various approaches such as attitude change (Milla, Hudiyana, and Arifin 2020; Webber et al. 2020) and economic (Masyhar et al. 2024).

The challenges of correctional institutions in carrying out deradicalization occur due to institutional problems (Riyanta, Rahayu, and Mamoto 2021; Suarda 2020; Webber et al. 2020) while deradicalization efforts are considered to require a more comprehensive method (Barton and Vergani 2022; Riyanta et al. 2021). In other words, the challenges of correctional institutions in carrying out the deradicalization of terrorist inmates appear in very complex but contextual aspects, thus affecting the success or failure of the deradicalization of inmates.

Deradicalization solutions are claimed to be more successful outside correctional institutions. The pentahelix model in Indonesia is considered to be the best capital in

carrying out deradicalization involving academics, business, society, government and the media. This model according to Subagyo (2021) shows that the involvement of businesses and the media is very important to provide financial support and create anti-radicalism narratives. Civil society-based programs that focus on professional development and personal interaction have shown greater success than formal programs (Hwang 2023). For example, micro and small entrepreneurship programs help ex-terrorists integrate into society by meeting their basic needs and reducing the appeal of radical ideologies (Pujiyono & Rukmono 2020). Meanwhile, prison-based programs include religious classes, training, discussions, and counseling for terrorism inmates. However, prison programs have major challenges including the personality of the inmates, readiness of prison officers, program sustainability, infrastructure issues, and lack of collaboration mechanisms (Suarda 2020).

Political Dimension in Terrorism Labeling

The next problem is the uncertainty in determining the status of terrorism. This can be seen through the government's decision to label the West Papua National Liberation Army - Free Papua Organization (TNPPB-OPM) group as a terrorist group. Yunanto & Damayanti (2024) assessed that the decision was a political decision made to overcome political and security challenges during the discussion of the revision of the Special Autonomy Law in the DPR and the implementation of PON XX in Papua and West Papua provinces. The decision-making process consisted of several security and law enforcement agencies with different responsibilities and interests. This resulted in different labeling approaches. This ambiguity in defining terrorism has led to inconsistent application of the law. Even Nuswanto (2019) in *Terrorism as Socially Constructed Crime in Indonesia* says this ambiguity can result in stigmatization and victimization of individuals based on appearance or social environment.

When referring to the Papua case, Yunanto & Damayanti (2024) mentioned that there are differences of opinion in labeling TNPPB-OPM, which starts from the Armed Separatist Group (KSB), Security Disturbance Movement (GPK), and Armed Separatist Criminal Group (KKSB) to terrorism due to many political and historical factors. For example, when the labeling of KKB/KKSB changed to terrorism due to the shooting of a one-star general of the National Intelligence Agency (BIN) in 2021.

There are three legal and political purposes for labeling TNPPB-OPM as a terrorist group. First, is as a resistance to the OPM political faction movement abroad. This is done

to destroy the reputation of the Papuan separatist movement both at home and abroad and humanitarian discrimination terrorism which leads to difficulties in attracting the international community, international recognition and support. Second, to influence the domestic and international community to exclude the OPM as a self-determination entity and degrade its reputation as a freedom fighter group. Thirdly, it is the adoption of a more effective and substantial proactive prevention approach as terrorism legislation by which the government seeks to address security challenges and simultaneously address political tensions (Yunanto & Damayanti 2024) .

However, the term terrorist itself is considered to have strong normative and political weight that can shape public attitudes and policy preferences. For example, an experimental study by Baele et al., (2019) entitled *What does the "terrorist" label really do? Measuring and explaining the effects of the "terrorist" and "Islamist" categories* shows that labeling violent acts as "terrorist" or "Islamist" significantly affects the perceptions and policy preferences of research participants. Terrorist labeling has the potential to be a rhetorical tool that feeds the political discourse of governments and politicians (Carver & Harrie 2017). In the United States, for example, the government's designation of groups as terrorists often reflects political considerations. Groups that are considered legitimate political competitors and also target weaker states are less likely to be labeled as terrorists. Such considerations indicate political calculations (Chou 2016).

There are many challenges in disentangling the politics and labeling of terrorism. The author summarizes them in the table below.

| Challenge | Explanation |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Definition ambiguity | The term terrorism is broad and can have different meanings in different contexts, making it difficult to determine a universally accepted definition. This vagueness allows for political and ideological differences that influence the labeling of terrorism (Murshid, Alhalalmeh, & Rahamneh 2023). |
| Political instrumentalization | The use of the terrorist label is considered a powerful rhetorical tool in political discourse to delegitimize opponents such as the Kurdistan Workers' Party in Turkey (Barrinha 2011). As well as post-terrorism policies that are |

| Challenge | Explanation |
|--|---|
| | considered to have a political cohesion drive and security bias under the guise of counter-terrorism are considered to distort the rule of law and civil liberties (Davis 2014). |
| Context socio politics | Media and politicians are considered to often use socio-political labeling when discussing terrorism, which can influence public perception and policy. The framing of terrorism can also be influenced by race and identity politics (Carver 2016; Husain 2021). |
| International and domestic politics | Terrorist activities can significantly impact domestic politics by affecting government formation and stability (Indridason 2008) . The process of designating groups as terrorist organizations is influenced by security threats and political relationships (Lee & Tominaga 2024). |

Table 2: Political Dimensions of Terrorism Labeling

Source: Prepared by the author (2024).

Discussion

The Construction of Terrorism Narratives

To counter-narratives that portray violence as a solution to individual vulnerability, counter-narratives through this approach need to be developed to challenge the rationalization of violence. These interventions aim to reconstruct stories and reduce the risk of violent radicalization (Carthy et al. 2020). For example, tripartite peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding models of nonviolent responses to acts of violence are useful for narrative construction in understanding and responding to terrorism (Wagner 2006).

The construction of this new narrative helps to structure reality and reduce the complexity of terrorism is considered to have become a powerful tool in shaping public perceptions and policy responses with new security measures (von der Burg and Krasmann 2024). This is because the portrayal of terrorism in narratives often emphasizes the threat and the need for repressive security responses rather than reconciliation (Argomaniz and Vidal-Diez 2015).

Peacemaking through constructive analysis has highlighted the role of narratives in

shaping policy and practice. The United States' work in Afghanistan through diplomacy demonstrates how narratives influence and legitimize coercive peacemaking approaches and reshape the conflict landscape (Theros 2023). While designing effective counter-narratives requires careful consideration of the socio-political context and specific approaches within dominant terrorism narratives, the challenge lies in creating interventions that are grounded in experience and contextual relevance (Aggarwal 2017; Carthy et al. 2020). Integrating terrorism narratives within criminological theory involves understanding the strong interplay between ideology, motivation and operational choices such as the role of external mitigating influences and the need for approaches to accommodate evolving threats. Ultimately, such understanding helps develop a more comprehensive approach to counterterrorism (Fussey 2011).

Restorative Approach to Counterterrorism in Peacemaking Criminology

The interaction between terrorism and peacebuilding offered by *Peacemaking Criminology* can be implemented through the view of creating emancipatory forms of peace. It involves reconciling various actors and addressing the root causes of conflict (Richmond and Tellidis 2012). The offerings of *Peacemaking Criminology* approach can be integrated through more humane and effective counter-terrorism policies by focusing on rehabilitation and trust rather than the use of pre-emptive violence (Fuller and Wozniak 2017).

This approach has been used in prison de-radicalization efforts with a peaceful conflict resolution model. Through promoting tolerance and inclusiveness, building a sense of compassion for diversity, and promoting responsible community practices (Ruizyamuza and Ravagnani 2018). Correspondingly, *Peacemaking Criminology* emphasizes the transformation of violent relationships into balanced and respectful interactions. This perspective argues that violence used to stop other violence will lead to more violence. Therefore, it is necessary to promote policies that respond to terrorism without violence and empathy (Pepinsky 2018).

One of them can be done by viewing ex-terrorists as individuals who can change, not as potential threats that can arise at any time. Rehabilitation and reintegration efforts are carried out by emphasizing humane treatment to encourage the creation of an environment for ex-terrorists to return to society. The community in particular should be involved in the rehabilitation process to build trust and reduce the stigma (Fuller and Wozniak 2017; Pepinsky 2018).

Although counterterrorism policy in Indonesia has been facing a dilemma of balancing uncompromising operations or a *hard approach* with softer social programs (Satria and Sumpter 2022). The involvement of civil society organizations (CSOs) such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah is an effective solution to bridge people's distrust towards the government, by utilizing personal relationships, family pressure, and material incentives to reduce radicalization (Sila and Fealy 2022). To help address the social and ideological factors that contribute to terrorism (Sitter and Parker 2014).

Meanwhile, armed insurgencies in some countries are resolved through negotiation and political dialog. As such, this approach has attempted to address the underlying political grievances that fuel terrorist acts (Fenwick and Phillipson 2012). The government can signal to supporters of terrorist groups that there are non-violent ways to address their demands (Byman 2006). Such peace processes have occurred in Northern Ireland, where a wide-reaching political dialog with paramilitary groups resulted in a significant reduction in the use of violence, even in a deep-rooted conflict (Dixon 2014). In contrast, the conflict in Sri Lanka proved the government had to address grievances and demands to prevent the escalation of what was initially a peaceful political discourse into terrorism and then into civil war (Samarasinghe 2021).

In an effort to realize a restorative approach, the *Peacemaking Criminology* paradigm encourages reconciliation and efforts to heal the suffering of victims through the involvement of victims and perpetrators. This restorative justice practice can help the impact of terrorism and support long-term peace. Based on the argument that terrorism has a very close relationship with complex political, economic, and social contexts and can only be overcome through peace efforts (Belldani, 2019). Although this view has obstacles in integrating into the criminal justice system which often focuses on punitive measures alone (Fuller & Wozniak, 2017). However, Ghana through its *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC) has shown that *restorative justice* and *Peacemaking Criminology* can bridge victims, communities, and offenders better than traditional criminal prosecution, thus promoting political stability and community development (Ame and Alidu 2010).

CONCLUSION

This study shows the complexity of counterterrorism issues in Indonesia that emerge in institutional challenges, funding and collaborative approach to

counterterrorism, challenges in terrorist deradicalization efforts, and politicization in terrorism labelling. This context can be seen through four important findings of this research. Firstly, there are limited preventive detention clauses and communal or sectarian violence in Indonesia. Second, terrorism funding comes in various forms, poor coordination, and no comprehensive approach involving relevant stakeholders. Third, the complexity of efforts to deradicalize terrorism prisoners in correctional institutions. Fourth, the uncertainty in determining the status of terrorism due to political considerations. These four findings illustrate the reality of counterterrorism that comes with the challenges of social construction, institutionalization, and lack of restorative approach.

The *Peacemaking Criminology* approach offered by this research in countering terrorism and its institutional challenges provides a new contribution to the studies on countering terrorism in Indonesia. Furthermore, this approach is expected to solve the root causes of radicalization through emancipative community development. In addition, this research presents a discussion on new challenges and ways to overcome them.

This research also has a weakness in the data collection process which is only carried out through thematic literature review. In other words, the data obtained and presented in this research is the result of a literature review of known studies. However, the weaknesses in this research are expected to be the basis of future studies, especially for criminology studies that want to explain the challenges and evaluate counterterrorism in Indonesia by collecting richer data from the involvement of relevant institutions. Through this process, it is hoped that a more comprehensive knowledge of the challenges of counterterrorism in Indonesia can be obtained, so that it can be responded to in the form of more effective and efficient policies.

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