The Role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: A Civil–Military Cooperation (CIMIC) Perspective

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This paper scrutinises the assimilation of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia – TNI) into civilian structures to shape a harmonised civil–military cooperation (CIMIC) in post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives. Acting as a crucial state apparatus, the TNI confronts a spectrum of threats, upholds national integrity, and follows Law No. 34/2004 by promoting soft power in non-combative military operations. Notwithstanding concerns raised by peace activists regarding potential human rights breaches during armed interventions, peacebuilding heavily depends on trust-building, which is a key catalyst for stakeholder cooperation. In contradiction to activists' apprehensions, 2022 surveys reveal an impressive public trust level of around 93% towards the TNI. This robust public confidence sets a promising stage for the active engagement of the TNI in peacebuilding. To ensure effective participation, the TNI must demonstrate human rights commitment and adaptability to civilian protocols and guarantee non-repressive methodologies in peace missions. Leveraging its soft power, the TNI can cultivate productive alliances with civil institutions via joint ventures under civilian supremacy within a regulated CIMIC construct. The theory of change offers a unique perspective on the intertwined dynamics of civil–military collaboration, public trust and soft military power in peacebuilding, steering state policy outcomes. These are shaped by the government's ability to reshape military duties devoid of military overreach. In conclusion, civilian control over the military materialises through shared accountability in peacebuilding endeavours, encapsulated within the CIMIC framework.

Keywords: *trust-building, soft power, peacebuilding, CIMIC, social conflict*

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Introduction

Indonesia is a diverse country of various cultures, ethnicities, languages and religions. As a unitary state, the primary threat it faces is the potential disintegration of the nation. Failure to address these differences adequately can lead to social conflicts, resulting in social change. Over the last two decades, Indonesia has experienced several social conflicts, including the Sampit–Madurese dispute resulting in massacres, the Lampung–Balinese conflict due to socio-economic gaps, the separatism of the Aceh independence movement, the religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Ambon, and the independent Papua separatist organisation due to social development gaps.

Social conflicts are the term used to describe large-scale disputes that gain public attention. Conflict arises when different interests, goals, values, needs, expectations and social beliefs clash. As Berger and Luckman noted, ideological conflicts can escalate and become malicious.[2] Conflicts tend to escalate when one group perceives another as a threat to their power and sees any progress made by the other group as a loss for themselves. These intergroup disputes, particularly between groups of varying sizes and power levels, can be classified as micro or macro-level conflicts to help determine the appropriate intervention methods with lasting consequences for how these groups are treated in society. Conflicts at the micro or macro level are believed to stem from similar psychological factors. These include attitudes, behaviour and contradictions, the three fundamental components of conflicts.[3] To address these problems, the government must work together to prevent and decrease any resulting conflict.

The *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (TNI), also known as the Indonesian National Armed Forces, has a crucial role in maintaining political stability. The TNI is empowered by Law No. 34/2004 to mediate social disputes and participate in military operations during both wartime and peacetime scenarios while adhering to strict regulations. The military upholds democracy, civil supremacy, human rights, and national and international legal frameworks to serve the country's best interests. It is vital in protecting the nation and its people from conventional and asymmetrical security threats, including social conflicts that could lead to separatist movements.

Despite this, the involvement of the TNI in peacebuilding missions has elicited a certain degree of apprehension among peace advocates. This scepticism primarily stems from concerns about potential human rights violations that could transpire in the wake of armed interventions. However, it is paramount to acknowledge that the TNI, in its endeavours, remains resolutely committed to fostering peace, adhering to the rule of law, and safeguarding the dignity and rights of all individuals it seeks to protect.

The discernible dichotomy between the robust public trust in the TNI, as corroborated by 2022 surveys, and the apprehensions raised by peace activists highlights the pressing need to address this issue, re-evaluate the role of the TNI, and investigate the prospects of Civil–Military Cooperation (CIMIC) in peacebuilding efforts. Furthermore, the TNI, in collaboration with civil authorities and other security agencies, works to confront

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[2]   BERGER–LUCKMAN 1966.
[3]   GALTUNG 1997.

unconventional security challenges, an effort that promises significant benefits for conflict resolution. This article aims to delve into the potential strategies and approaches the TNI could implement in these missions, focusing on ensuring respect for human rights and fostering trust among conflicting parties.

Understanding conflict

Conflicts can have various causes, including conflicting material interests, absence of benefits, contrasting identities, ideological or spiritual differences, stereotypes, prejudices, interpersonal issues, insufficient knowledge and experience in resolving differences. Conflict is an interaction between actors (individuals, groups, organisations) where at least one actor senses incompatibilities between their thinking, imagination, perception, and/or feeling and those of the others. The factors underlying conflict are threefold: interdependence, differences in goals and differences in perceptions. According to Galtung, conflict is a dynamic process in which structure, attitudes and behaviours constantly influence one another.[4] Meanwhile, Wall argues that conflict is when two or more parties attempt to frustrate attaining the other's goals.[5]

Understanding the natural causes of conflict involves recognising the various stages of conflict: before it starts, during its occurrence and after it concludes. Glasl presents a staircase model that offers a framework for comprehending conflict dynamics, specifically focusing on how conflicts can escalate and de-escalate.[6] This model consists of several steps, beginning with a discussion of the underlying contradiction, progressing to heightened hostility, and ultimately culminating in a violent phase where the involved parties seek to eliminate each other. It can be likened to climbing a staircase, where each step necessitates effort and perseverance. According to this model, if a conflict remains unresolved, it can intensify over time. Nevertheless, reversing the escalation requires more time and energy than descending the stairs. The further one drops, the more challenging it becomes to resolve the conflict independently.

To establish enduring and secure peace in a post-conflict situation, it is essential for the involved parties to mutually agree on tackling the fundamental causes of the conflict, which can be traced back to various forms of structural violence. Galtung suggests that addressing structural violence requires adopting an approach emphasising peace through cooperation.[7] This entails replacing conditions characterised by exploitation, elitism and isolation with requirements that prioritise fairness, harmony and interdependence, which are more compassionate. In simple terms, attaining peace does not involve segregating or isolating opposing parties. Instead, it necessitates promoting effective communication and collaboration across all segments of society while encouraging interdependence and exchanging ideas and resources among organisations and individuals.[8]

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[4]   GALTUNG 1997.
[5]   WALL 1985.
[6]   GLASL 1999: 84–85.
[7]   GALTUNG 1975a.
[8]   GALTUNG 1975b.

Correctly identifying and comprehending the potential reasons behind a conflict is crucial for effectively resolving it, and it is an essential component of conflict analysis. Conducting a thorough analysis of the conflict is crucial, as it enables the development of appropriate interventions. Typically, interventions are implemented during the active conflict phase rather than before or after. This is primarily due to the crisis that inevitably emerges during the conflict. Nevertheless, the intervention during the pre-and post-conflict stages can be immensely valuable in preventing violence and, consequently, mitigating the impact of the conflict phase.

CIMIC: A concise overview

CIMIC, a strategy pioneered by NATO in the late 1990s, has become essential for merging military and civilian efforts in conflict and post-conflict areas. This doctrine emphasises the importance of building strong collaborations between military organisations and civilian groups, such as international bodies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), local governments and civilians.[9] CIMIC principles are the foundation for civil–military interactions (CMI) during operations and are essential for commanders, staff and troops to follow. By adhering to these guidelines, a well-rounded operational strategy can be developed.

CIMIC aims to achieve mission objectives by working with non-military stakeholders in operational zones and promotes positive relationships between military organisations and civilian entities through a comprehensive approach. Ideally, all parties involved should work together seamlessly. However, if this is impossible, interactions should be carefully planned to avoid negative outcomes in operations or civilian settings. This approach ensures that each stakeholder can progress without encountering obstacles and minimises unintended conflicts.

CIMIC adopts a comprehensive approach to military operations that extends beyond traditional warfare. This approach empowers military units to engage in missions that involve dispensing humanitarian aid, supervising reconstruction efforts and spearheading development initiatives. It also recognises the military's obligation to maintain security. This two-fold responsibility is designed to be cohesive rather than contradictory. By embracing this broader role, military entities can enhance the resilience and stability of societies grappling with post-conflict situations, thus improving the prospects of achieving enduring peace and sustainable progress.

Executing CIMIC principles as actionable strategies presents its own set of challenges. To effectively deploy CIMIC, it is crucial to establish seamless coordination, clearly defined roles, and equitable resource distribution amongst military and civilian factions.[10] However, achieving these prerequisites in convoluted, ever-changing and demanding scenarios is challenging. Military personnel must also be versatile and attuned to civilian traditions and requirements, which requires profound training sessions to equip them with

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[9]   NATO Standard AJP-3.19 2018.
[10]   DE CONING 2017: 145–160.

the necessary skills. Additionally, reconciling military goals with humanitarian tenets such as neutrality, impartiality and independence often poses collaboration hurdles. The effective role of CIMIC in peace initiatives requires an added layer of complexity to achieve mutual comprehension and respect for each stakeholder's principles and limitations.

The role of CIMIC in peacebuilding

In conflict or post-conflict environments, stability and development are crucial. CIMIC acknowledges that military forces alone cannot handle all the complex challenges and needs in such situations. Collaborating and engaging with civilian authorities, NGOs and local communities can help military forces leverage their unique capabilities and resources while benefiting from civilian actors' expertise, knowledge and relationships. The CIMIC activities aim to reduce the adverse effects of military operations on the civilian population and promote trust and confidence between military and civilian actors.

CIMIC has various roles in supporting peacebuilding efforts. These include effective law enforcement, assisting with the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants, and providing security sector reform assistance. Additionally, CIMIC facilitates the delivery of humanitarian aid and development assistance to communities affected by conflict. This support includes logistical aid, protection of aid workers and coordination with NGOs to address the population's immediate needs, such as food, water, healthcare and shelter. CIMIC also plays a crucial role in rehabilitating and developing essential infrastructure in post-conflict areas, including reconstructing roads, bridges, schools, hospitals and other critical facilities. Furthermore, CIMIC supports peacebuilding efforts by contributing to local institutions' and communities' capacity building and training. Military forces provide training and mentorship to local security forces, support establishing effective governance structures, promote human rights and the rule of law, and facilitate community reconciliation and dialogue processes. By engaging with local communities, CIMIC fosters positive civil–military relations and trust-building between military forces and the civilian population. This interaction helps overcome cultural barriers, reduce tensions and build mutual trust, which is essential for sustainable peacebuilding. Lastly, CIMIC promotes information sharing and coordination among military forces, civil authorities, NGOs and other relevant actors to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the local context, avoid duplication of efforts, and enable effective collaboration in implementing peacebuilding strategies.

Using a multidimensional and collaborative approach, CIMIC in peacebuilding acknowledges the significance of civilian expertise, local ownership and inclusive decision-making processes. It combines military capabilities, civilian resources and knowledge to contribute to sustainable peace, reconciliation and the long-term development of post-conflict societies. CIMIC is crucial in promoting effective collaboration, mutual understanding and synergy between military and civilian entities, ultimately leading to stability, peacebuilding, and the well-being of affected populations.

Trust-building: A crucial element in post-conflict peacebuilding

In situations of violent conflicts, rebuilding trust becomes a critical element in the process of peacebuilding. The pivotal role of community trust in government agents, both military and civilian, cannot be ignored when it comes to successful peacebuilding activities. Trust is the very foundation on which relationships between different agencies are built. Institutions that are trusted can establish lasting peace and earn enduring legitimacy.

Although the TNI was once viewed as oppressive, it is vital to establish trust with civil society. Recent surveys indicate that the TNI enjoys an exceptionally high level of trust among the public. According to the Indonesian Political Indicators (IPI) survey conducted on 24 June 2022, 93.2% of the respondents expressed trust in the TNI. Furthermore, on 27 September 2022, a study by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) revealed that 93.5% of the respondents were satisfied with the performance of the TNI in upholding democracy.[11] With such remarkable trust and satisfaction, TNI has a solid foundation to enhance its professionalism continually. Despite unfavourable portrayals by the media and activists, the public's confidence in the Indonesian military remains unwavering. This trust would benefit the successful involvement plan of the TNI in peacebuilding initiatives.

In terms of a collective understanding of security, soldiers are increasingly challenged to do their job amidst civilian society. The military needs sufficient understanding, capabilities and possibilities to meet these challenges. The military must cooperate with civilians to achieve successful peacebuilding after a conflict. This collaboration helps address trust, professionalism and human rights issues. However, differing viewpoints between civilian and military leaders can harm confidence in the community. Therefore, it is vital to demonstrate to civilians that the TNI is a dependable partner in peacebuilding efforts aligned with the civilians' objectives.

There exists a diversity of viewpoints regarding the collaboration between civilians and the military in peacebuilding. While some contend that conflict resolution should be the responsibility of the military, others posit that political engagement is vital and that societal factors and contexts must be considered before deploying the military. If military intervention is deemed necessary, it should be initiated early and gradually withdrawn. Furthermore, minimal force should be prioritised during the initial stages to avoid adverse political ramifications.

Evaluating the implementation of post-conflict peacebuilding in Indonesia

To effectively apply CIMIC in Indonesia, adherence to established norms and universal rules governing the military's involvement in post-conflict peacebuilding endeavours is crucial. The conduct of the TNI is guided by Law No. 34/2004, which outlines the responsibilities and principles that the TNI must uphold. This includes operating as

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[11]   Antara 2022.

professional soldiers aligned with the nation's political policies, strongly emphasising democratic principles, civil supremacy, human rights, adherence to national legislation, and ratified international laws. Article 2 d. of the law explicitly outlines the commitment of the TNI to these principles. Article 6 c. also highlights the role of the TNI in restoring state security in disruptions caused by security disturbances. Furthermore, Article 7 (2) b. states that the TNI engages in military operations other than war to support peacebuilding efforts, aligning with foreign policy objectives and assisting regional government tasks. As a result, the involvement of the TNI in post-conflict peacebuilding is constitutionally grounded, and their role in peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding emerges as both legitimate and lawful within this framework. The question remains the identification of the standard norms and universal rules the Indonesian military can adopt to guide their engagement in post-conflict peacebuilding endeavours.

There has yet to be an instance where TNI were asked to participate in post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives by a civilian entity. Human rights advocates have often pointed to TNI as instigators of human rights abuses and barriers to peacebuilding efforts. This perception is likely due to the TNI's repressive reputation and association with forceful tactics. It is crucial to note that the TNI's mandate, under the Pancasila ideology and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, is to safeguard the

nation's territorial integrity, protect the people from threats, and preserve national unity through warfare and other military operations. Hence, all missions undertaken by the TNI are directed by the political choices of civilian leadership for the state's welfare. However, the involvement of the TNI in national conflicts has been limited to prevention and tactical execution, excluding any post-conflict recovery efforts.

To tackle conflicts, Indonesia has implemented several strategies. Key contributors in conflict mediation have been the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs and international bodies. Legal avenues have also been pursued to address social tensions. In an attempt to grant more power to local communities, Indonesia has adopted a policy of decentralisation. Entities like the Ministry of Education and Culture, religious groups and NGOs have initiated programs fostering intercultural and interfaith dialogue. Peacebuilding efforts have included reconciliation measures, notably truth and reconciliation commissions. Economic programs have been launched to target poverty and inequality, recognised as the underpinning causes of conflict. In more extreme cases, deploying security forces has been necessary to maintain peace, though this has led to some claims of human rights violations.

Civil–military interaction post-conflict: Indonesia's experience

From the beginning of the 2000s, the TNI has moved towards a more cooperative stance with civilian groups, aiming to establish connections, promote shared comprehension and pursue shared peacebuilding objectives.[12] This change in military tactics is a notable

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[12]   Laksmana 2011: 63–83.

shift from traditional military practices, recognising the vital importance of civilian participation and collaboration in ensuring enduring peace and consistent growth.

After the Aceh conflict concluded in 2005, the role of the TNI in post-conflict peacebuilding became prominent. During this transition, the TNI extended beyond their conventional security functions to significantly aid in the disarmament process, a vital step in moving from conflict to peace. They also took on the significant challenge of helping reintegrate ex-combatants back into society. To successfully handle this task, the TNI employed a method that incorporated diplomacy, meticulous planning, patience and extensive reintegration programs.[13] Additionally, the TNI was instrumental in restoring crucial infrastructures such as roads, schools and hospitals, re-establishing critical services, rejuvenating the local economy, and bringing a semblance of normalcy to the citizens.[14] The TNI also adopted CIMIC strategies during this period, emphasising cooperative peacebuilding efforts and enhancing ties between military units and civilian entities, including global peacebuilding bodies. Research indicates that such strategies have effectively fostered partnerships between military and civilian stakeholders, addressed the complexities of post-conflict peacebuilding, and fostered a collaborative and trusting environment.[15]

The significant involvement of the TNI in peacebuilding, while crucial, has not been without its hurdles and contentious points. Detractors point out the potential for the role of the TNI in post-conflict scenarios to intensify strains, particularly in areas with strained civil–military relationships, possibly weakening the essential trust-building activities for peace processes.[16] Additionally, the historical stance of the TNI in conflict mediation, often perceived as oppressive, has shaped peace activists' views, amplifying their reservations about the military's peacebuilding role. Apprehensions about possible human rights breaches tied to the activities of the TNI in peacebuilding emphasise the imperative need for the military body to adhere to human rights, maintain legal principles and synchronise its actions with civilian guidelines.[17] This depiction, primarily propelled by peace activists, raises significant challenges for the TNI, rooted in the belief that military intervention is fundamentally at odds with peacebuilding. Yet, the situation appears to be more layered, given the public's substantial trust in the TNI. It implies that despite criticisms, the TNI has earned a reputable societal status, laying a solid foundation for its future peacebuilding endeavours.

In the complex post-conflict landscape of Indonesia, the role of the TNI in peacebuilding is undebatable. A strengthened relationship between civilians and the military, increased civilian oversight over military actions, and integration of a human rights-focused approach in peacebuilding initiatives are pivotal for sustained peace and stability.[18] For the TNI to address these matters adeptly, it is essential to manifest a genuine dedication to human rights, showcased by its adherence to civilian standards, especially during peace missions. Introducing measures to build trust – emphasising transparency, holding

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13   KINGMA 1997: 151–165.
14   BARAKAT–ZYCK 2009: 1069–1086.
15   CASPERSZ–WALLIS 2006: 1–26.
16   SCHULZE 2007.
17   Human Rights Watch 2006.
18   TADJBAKHSH–CHENOY 2007.

individuals accountable for past misdeeds and providing assurances against oppressive actions towards conflicting parties – can be highly beneficial. Concurrently, the TNI ought to utilise its soft power effectively by deepening ties with civilian entities in collaborative projects, emphasising civilian leadership. Such tactics can help nurture an environment favourable to civil–military relations, mitigating existing negative views and redefining the place of the TNI in the overarching peacebuilding framework. Indeed, the interplay of human rights, building trust within the community, and fostering robust civil–military collaborations are vital for the positive impact of the TNI on Indonesia's peacebuilding initiatives. Grasping these intricacies is central to this study, offering a perspective to assess and steer the forthcoming peacebuilding actions of the TNI.

Civilian concerns about the involvement of the TNI in peacebuilding missions

The history and dynamics of the relationship between the TNI and civilians have evolved over the years, yet a shadow of mistrust continues to linger among a segment of the civilian population. This mistrust primarily stems from historical episodes and perceptions regarding the involvement of the TNI in human rights violations. There are several reasons why civilians may harbour doubts or prejudices towards the TNI, especially when considering their involvement in peacebuilding missions:

- Historical involvement in governance. Under the "*Dwifungsi*" policy of the Suharto era, the military had defensive and governance roles. During this period, military personnel were involved in both security and civil bureaucracy, leading to potential conflicts of interest and unchecked power.[19] Such dominance in political and civil spheres contributed to an environment where abuses could occur without adequate checks and balances.
- Allegations in conflict zones. Regions like Aceh, Papua, and West Papua have been flashpoints for tensions between separatist groups and the Indonesian state. There have been persistent allegations of human rights abuses by security forces in these areas.[20] Whether substantiated or not, such accusations contribute significantly to the public's perception of the TNI.
- Past lack of accountability. In the past, there were limited mechanisms in place to hold military personnel accountable for alleged misconduct or human rights abuses. This perceived impunity could exacerbate civilian concerns about the actions of the TNI, especially in regions with ethnic, religious or political tensions.
- Transitioning roles and modernisation. As the TNI has been retracting its role from politics and undergoing modernisation, there has been a push toward external defence. However, given the historical context, some civilians may still associate the TNI with its previous internal security roles, leading to concerns about potential overreach in peacebuilding missions.

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[19] Mietzner 2006.
[20] Hernawan–Indarti 2008.

Involving the TNI in peacebuilding missions brings both challenges and opportunities. While the military's expertise can be invaluable in maintaining stability and rebuilding conflict zones, it is crucial to address the legacy of mistrust to ensure that such missions are both effective and perceived positively by civilians. Efforts toward transparency, accountability, and community engagement can go a long way in building trust and collaboration.

Examining the involvement of the TNI in post-conflict peacebuilding through the lens of the theory of change

According to the "theory of change", action X will lead to outcome Y, and as such it provides a structured framework to assess and understand the potential integration of the TNI into peacebuilding efforts. It facilitates an in-depth exploration of the relationships between CIMIC, public trust, the application of non-aggressive military power, and their potential influences on state policies. This theory presents a testable hypothesis for the anticipated process of change. It comprises two components: the "if" and the "then", suggesting a pathway for the military to align with civilian-led post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives through non-violent interventions. This method is an analytical tool to trace the evolution of the roles and functions of the TNI as they incorporate civilian methodologies. Intervention efforts should focus on the root problem or contradiction that instigates and exacerbates the conflict.

Galtung views conflict as a dynamic process where structure, attitudes and behaviours constantly change in relation to each other.[21] Accordingly, he posits that resolving conflict requires transforming relationships between the parties involved, much like the principles of civil–military cooperation. Consequently, it becomes plausible to consider the involvement of the TNI in post-conflict peacebuilding missions through cooperation with civilian institutions. This prospect remains unexplored in Indonesia. This approach gains relevance in a military context that is increasingly adopting cooperation with non-military personnel and organisations.

Civil–military relations are conceptualised as the interaction between political and military leadership, with the key question being civilian supremacy over the military.[22] Thus, TNI is portrayed as a "political army" – a term used for military institutions that see their involvement in – or control over – domestic politics and government affairs as an essential aspect of their legitimate duties.[23] This characterisation suggests the enduring presence of the TNI as a political force in Indonesia. As a "political army", the TNI has a significant tie with the nation's destiny, places a priority on order, and incorporates these elements into a comprehensive military doctrine.[24]

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[21]   Galtung 1997.
[22]   Rukavishnikov–Pugh 2003: 131; Feaver 1999: 211; Burk 2002: 7.
[23]   Koonings–Kruijt 2002.
[24]   Koonings–Kruijt 2002.

Bland's theory of shared responsibility proposes that civilian control of the military is established and maintained through the shared responsibilities of civilian leaders and military officers, influenced by a set of principles that have evolved nationally.[25] Concurrently, Schiff's concordance theory asserts that civilian control is achieved when the military, political elites and the general populace have a cooperative relationship and agree on four key factors: the social composition of the officer corps, the political decision-making process, recruitment methods and military style.[26]

Huntington maintains a distinct separation between civilian and military groups, where civilians act as political masters, and the military's primary role is to safeguard society from external threats.[27] From a sociological standpoint, the principle of civilian supremacy and the level of political culture relate to the military's predisposition, motivation and opportunity to intervene, among other potential factors.[28] The primary focus of military organisations is internal and external control. However, these arguments predominantly explore how the military integrates with civilian structures, often leading to a merging of the two.

A more comprehensive dialogue is needed to understand how norms and practices shape the relationship between military leaders and civilian authorities in the context of peacebuilding missions. This discourse can yield academically robust insights and be easily understood by a wider audience.

Strategies for enhancing the involvement of the TNI in post-conflict peacebuilding

TNI faces a fundamental challenge: a narrative promulgated by peace activists that perceive military power as inherently incompatible with peacebuilding efforts. In contrast, the significant public trust in the TNI suggests an established societal credibility that could underpin their potential role in peacebuilding. To ameliorate these issues, the TNI should display an unwavering commitment to human rights and an ability to operate under civilian guidelines during peacebuilding missions. Possible confidence-building measures encompass initiatives promoting transparency, holding individuals accountable for any past misconduct, and providing assurances to parties involved in conflicts against the institution of repressive practices.

The synergy between military and civilian entities can culminate in holistic and enduring solutions for areas plagued by discord, setting the foundation for socio-political tranquillity and economic growth. CIMIC acts as a linchpin, addressing the cultural, procedural and resource-driven disparities that might hinder a cohesive peacebuilding strategy. In essence, the pivotal role of CIMIC is highlighted by its capability to balance the immediate security priorities of military units with the enduring development

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[25]   Bland 1999: 7–25.
[26]   Schiff 1995: 7–24.
[27]   Huntington 1985.
[28]   Janowitz 1964; Finer 2002.

aspirations of civilian stakeholders. This collaborative endeavour facilitates swift conflict resolution and fosters prolonged restoration, rebuilding and advancement in areas affected by war. This emphasises the practical and strategic relevance of CIMIC in the aftermath of conflicts.[29]

Merging military assets with civilian know-how within the framework of CIMIC presents avenues for enhanced cultural comprehension. These disparate groups' inherent exchanges and discussions can deepen mutual appreciation, dismantling existing cultural and communicative divides.[30] This appreciation transcends simple collaboration, affecting societal dynamics. Significantly, the augmentation and adept execution of CIMIC approaches can play a key role in restoring public confidence, especially in areas with a history of fractious civil–military relations. By rigorously upholding human rights, cultivating a collaborative ethos with civilian bodies, and positively impacting community well-being, military units can pave the way for societal healing.[31] Such a potential shift in public sentiment and confidence illuminates the immense value of intensifying the role of CIMIC in peacebuilding initiatives.

While CIMIC presents inherent challenges, its potential for growth is vast. This potential primarily rests in the continuous learning, adapting and refining cycle, drawing from past experiences and acquired lessons. Incorporating these learnings into military doctrine and training evolution is pivotal. At the same time, civilian organisations can significantly benefit from a deeper insight into military outfits' operational nuances and limitations. This reciprocal process of education and comprehension strengthens the bond between these two vital peacebuilding cornerstones. Simultaneously, the TNI could augment its soft power by partnering with civilian institutions under the aegis of civilian supremacy; thus, the TNI could counter the prevailing narrative and underscore its potential value in these crucial endeavours by effectively demonstrating its capacity in conflict resolution and peacebuilding missions.

Conclusions

The Indonesian military is undergoing a significant transformation in response to non-traditional security challenges, specifically social conflicts. Concerning the role of the armed forces in these challenges, it is vital to ensure adherence to the rule of law during the execution of their duties. An overzealous role of the armed forces could compromise and infringe upon universally respected norms, including human rights and the responsibility to protect civilians from mass atrocities and crimes against humanity. Concrete decisions from political authorities should be explicitly provided regarding the armed forces' tasks, particularly in peacebuilding to deter illegitimate role allocation. Such decisions should be balanced with the roles of civil institutions in managing peacebuilding missions

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[29]   Pugh et al. 2004.
[30]   Bryden–Hänggi 2005.
[31]   Tadjbakhsh–Chenoy 2007.

and highlight the critical role of the TNI in post-conflict peacebuilding in Indonesia, emphasising the importance of CIMIC in fostering sustainable peace and stability.

The nature of the mission and the blend of civil–military organisational components necessitate careful consideration in the planning and execution of command-and-control arrangements in peacebuilding forces. The TNI must adapt its culture and integrate mechanisms that evolve duties based on values and heritage to engage civilian leaders and communities, showcasing the inherent military identity, skill and capabilities within the armed forces. Additionally, trust, a pivotal element in relationships affecting individuals and organisations, should form the cornerstone of successful civil–military cooperation, mandating prioritisation of trust-building efforts preceding mission execution. Civil–military activities necessitate an interdisciplinary approach, and the collaboration between military and civilian institutions in post-conflict peacebuilding efforts should commence with political policy outcomes drawn from the government's capacity to modify the military's responsibilities, missions, organisation, and the application of force, all independent of military interference or domination.

In summary, while there are worries about human rights violations, the involvement of the TNI in peacebuilding after conflicts is showing potential. The public has faith in the ability of the TNI to use peaceful methods to achieve stability. However, for the TNI to continue gaining public support and make progress in Indonesia's peacebuilding efforts, they must prioritise human rights and follow civilian guidelines. To ensure the successful integration of the TNI into these missions, it is imperative that civilian leaders and military officers work together within the CIMIC framework.

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