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Dynamic Governance in Countering Terrorism in Indonesia: A Discourse Network Analysis on Online News Media

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Abstract. Countering terrorism involves new challenges amid the increasing use of information technology. This has implications for the emergence of various modes of terrorism that are increasingly disruptive. This research examined the use of dynamic governance in efforts to create dynamic and contextual policies in establishing comprehensive and targeted counter-terrorism programs. Qualitative methods were used with a discourse network analysis approach. The data were collected from online news media sources (Kompas.com and Okezone.com) about content related to countering terrorism between 2018-2020. The results of the study showed that only a few governance actors carried out comprehensive discourse on dynamic governance in countering terrorism. In addition, some of the systematization of the concept caused polemics among the stakeholders involved, so that not all actors were in agreement with the meaning of dynamic governance. This article recommends that, on the one hand, each actor must carry out benchmarking so that they have the same capacity in actualizing the concept of dynamic governance, while on the other hand, the government must pay attention to the participation of each actor in order to ensure a consistent paradigm is used in countering terrorism.

Keywords: counter terrorism, discourse network analysis, disruption, dynamic governance, policy contextualization

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1. Introductions

The phenomenon of terrorism has attracted public attention again along with its escalation as one of the biggest global problems in the 21st century. While historically terrorism is a classic phenomenon that can be traced back to the period of Revo-Warp France in the 19th century, it gained momentum, hysteria and euphoria global since the attack of the World Trade Center in New York at the beginning of the 21st century (1). This of course departs from the basic assumption that acts of terrorism in this era are a malignant pathology that threatens the existence of the nation-state. The results of the analytical interpretation and empirical manifestations of the US State Department Country Report on Terrorism (2) suggest that acts of terrorism are a determining factor in weakening geopolitical activities in Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen and Libya.

Law Number 5 of 2018 defines terrorism as a widespread terror situation caused by violent behavior or threats of violence so that it can cause many victims, and/or damage strategic vital objects, the environment, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political, or political motives. or security breaches. Terrorism is a crime against humanity that is based on values and generally appears in the form of an organized movement. The excesses of globalization such as the development of information technology plus the heterogeneity of society which increases the intensity of conflicts between interests and beliefs are the determinants in accelerating the spread of terrorism (3). As an integral part of the global community, especially with a high level of cultural heterogeneity and population structure, the portrait of Indonesia as a multicultural country is a locus that cannot avoid the penetration of terrorism. From 2000 until the end of 2015, the criminal terrorism that followed reached a total of 1,143 people, while in 2017 BNPT has detained about 1,400 people with details about 800 of which have been free and 600 others are still serving sentences or awaiting justice process (4). These numbers reflect that almost no year has passed for Indonesia without the emergence of terrorism cases.

Terrorism itself emerges from all causes were quite complex. (5) suggests that puritanical and scriptualist interpretations of religious values can be trapped in radical notions which at the culmination point become acts of terrorism. In addition, the roots of terrorism can arise from structural injustice. Terrorism is nothing but the dominating party, who alienates the weak with the support of formal legality, the power of arms, and the economy (6). There are two factors that cause terrorism: 1) marginalization in the political-social and economic fields which creates dissatisfaction due to "a feeling of being treated unfairly" and 2) Penetration of religious radicalism-religious extremism that exploits this sense of injustice. Eventhough it is not related to adherents of a particular religion, terrorism is still the enemy of security and peace so that the countermeasures must be carried out comprehensively.

Reflection on this comprehensiveness is reflected in the extent to which the regulatory framework and government culture are manifested. This is because there is a slice of responsibility that must be fulfilled by the government, namely in tackling a discriminatory environment and threats to social life (7). So that the rhythm of government performance must be able to compete with the movement of terrorist actors. Countering terrorism in Indonesia itself tends to be complicated due to several factors, including geographical factors and increasingly dynamic and changing terrorism networks (8). The power of terrorism with its network that still exists today arises because it has a high adaptability ability to be dynamic to the excesses of globalization. For example

ISIS is very intensive in spreading and propagating its teachings through social media on the internet to attract new followers in the hope of being able to carry out attacks in their respective regions independently (9). Therefore, the success of counter-terrorism by adjusting the various needs of the community in the future and the improvement of the problems and obstacles that arise today will be greatly influenced by the dynamic capabilities of the government.

In this position, good governance is one way to create an appropriate and complete handling of terrorism. The thing that needs to be known about governance in an institution is the lack of adaptability in capturing the dynamics of problems driven by the acceleration of globalization. From the aspect of Indonesian legislation related to terrorism, it is considered that it has not been able to cover all aspects of terrorism activities (8). Meanwhile, culturally, the public bureaucracy works based on Weberian principles guided by regulations, procedures, hierarchies, and controls to form the character of the Indonesian public bureaucracy that is less adaptive (10). This fact shows that there is a problem with governance so that it can hinder the prevention of terrorism in a comprehensive and well-targeted manner.

The concept of Dynamic Governance as one of the conceptions of governance is considered capable of triggering the responsiveness of the delivery of public services in capturing the dynamics of globalization without losing its contextualization in the working environment. The concept of Dynamic Governance is the organization's ability to continuously adapt policies and programs to the community consisting of three elements, namely thinking ahead, thinking again and thinking across (11). Dynamic Governance will be a solution in creating regulations and government culture that is responsive and dynamic to globalization so that it can be precise and complete in tackling terrorism.

The explanation above shows that efforts to study and internalize the concept of dynamic governance in this study will be reflected in decisions made by organizations in the national scope on the issue of counter-terrorism. In this position, a medium is needed that is able to compile information and data on a large scale. So this research will use new media as the research locus. This is inseparable from the community environment that has been affected by the penetration of technology and the internet, resulting in the consequence, that the community's important problems will be distributed in the new media space. New media (new media) is a terminology to explain the convergence between digital communication technology that is computerized and connected to the network with the internet as a concrete example (12). Government institution was in turn use the new media to create transparency and accountability. New media catalyze social

interactions and force government institutions to adapt to them (13). This is because the researcher will use indepth qualitative research and use the knife of governance analysis that requires communication with various parties. So the researchers not only need a new media which should be credible, but should be well balanced which gives the portion for the other provide a response to the discourse that arise. So that researchers will find not only discourse but also counter discourses that are dialectical to each other so as to produce indepth research construction. (14) states that online news media that is credible is part of the new media that has content character accurate, useful, comprehensive, and balanced (cover both side). Based on the consideration that anyway research is choosing online news media that is credible as a locus which would researched. An important role of the actor government late in tackling terrorism through policy interventions and the organizational culture concept of dynamic goverance on the one hand, and the emergence of a lot of discourse in online news medi a in a reciprocal relationship with the public to resolve the problem on the other side. This is the basis of this article's argument to focus on examining the discourse of government actors in online news media in dealing with terrorism.

This is also a research novelty because the literature review test through Scopus and Science Direct with the keywords terrorism and dynamic governance shows less than 100 research articles, while if you add the keyword discourse network analysis, this is the first time this research has been conducted. This article analyzes the findings of previous studies with similar themes, namely (1) "The Counterterrorism War Paradigm versus International Humanitarian Law: The Legal Contradictions and Global Consequences of the US "War on Terror " and (2) " The Move toward Dynamic Governance in Indonesian Public Service" (15,16). First article show related discourse countering terrorism in the United States with various paradigms including sistematisasinya, while the second related to the capabilities of dynamic governance in addressing public issues. However, the two studies do not have any connection and data collection methods that create bias because they are based on the government 's perspective only. The things that I changed in each of these studies were: (1) The focus of the issue on counter-terrorism and the contextualization of the object of study on government public policies in developing countries (Indonesia); (2) Focus on the issue of combating terrorism and analytical techniques used Discourse Network Analysis (DNA); (4) Focus on the issue of countering terrorism by collecting data on credible online news media so that narratives from outside the government are also adopted. This becomes the novelty of this research to be developed further. Therefore, this research will identify

related to Dynamic Governance in Countering Terrorism through discourse in online news media using Discourse Network Analysis (DNA).

a. Online News Media

The term online news media (media/online news portal) refer on the spot access to the content of journalism Air technology such as computers and smartphones that allows the community to be able to keep track of information that is desired to quickly and communicate minimal barriers. In other words, online news media is a new version of a printed newspaper, with a digital format as the basis for its presentation (17). Furthermore the limitation of online news media refers to journalism that can be accessed real-time as well as providing facilities for readers to interact with each other and discuss the credibility of the news editor that provides a link to the original news source.

However, the use of online news media is also quite challenging because not all online news media have adequate journalistic mechanisms. Excess negative are taken from the convenience of users in surfing in the online news media as well as the insensitivity of humans to filters values are taken by online news media (18). By because it was necessary prudence in the surf and take advantage of the type of online news media that bercecer on the internet so that the data and information that is obtained has a degree of validity are high. (19) mentions that the fake online news media (not credible) are commonly characterized with no body of law, address the editors do not clearly or even false, and not to omit the name of the responsible media. By since the election of the content in the online news media that safely is through the media mass, websites, and social media official who has identitias complete. (14) states that the selection of online news media that is credible will carry on providing content characterized by accurate, useful, comprehensive, and balanced (cover both side). Based on that consideration, this research also chooses the content to be researched.

b. Counter Terrorism

Efforts to overcome theorism must be carried out appropriately and comprehensively. (8) shows that the approach framework in combating terrorism can be divided into a soft approach and a hard approach. The hard approach is generally manifested in an offensive framework that includes the deployment of force or military, legal approaches and various policies and laws, as well as a defensive one, which includes all efforts of intelligence, infrastructure protection, border security, and others. While the soft approach bets on social, political, communication, and ideological dimensions. In general, the approach includes strategies to deal with radicalization and extremism, community involvement and participation, deradicalization, rehabilitation, social
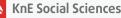
reintegration, and the role of civil society (20). The two major approaches in turn can be simplified into several phases, namely overcoming (soft approach), handling (hard approach), and recovery (rehabilitation and social reintegration) (soft approach) (8). Both approaches depart from the basic assumption that the factors that cause people to become terrorists are multidimensional.

The main axis of the law against terrorism is Law no. 5 of 2018. This law clearly states the relevant institutions. In fact, in the law, there is a special chapter on institutions which explicitly states that the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) is under the President to be responsible for counter-terrorism efforts. In that position, the central institution for eradicating terrorism in Indonesia is BNPT. Moreover, it turns out in the legislation also mentioned that the BNPT can organize coordination is intended to achieve synergies between institutions related. However, the institution of what course the question as institutions associated not described more advanced. Chairman BNPT said that at first, team synergy this involves seven dozen ministries and four ministries coordinator and the police, furthermore, it includes 27 ministries/agencies prior to include 34 ministries/agencies, in May 2018, it includes 36 ministries/agencies. Thus, in the future there may be changes in the number of ministries/institutions involved.

c. **Dynamic Governance**

Our status quo is in an era when the environment is constantly changing and full of uncertainty, relativeity is the nature of the organization that does not guarantee that it will continue to find a meeting point between planning and expected results, including guaranteeing the existence of the organization to continue to survive in the future. (21) calls this phenomenon a disruption, when innovations from various organizations appear slowly and suddenly can disrupt and replace the old system because it is easier to run and practical. The penetration of technology and the internet in public spaces has triggered the emergence of various disruption challenges that continue to escalate. Furthermore, (22) capture this phenomenon as an era full of VUCA (Volatile, Uncertain, Complex and Ambiguous) as a reflection of the dynamic, fluctuating, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous multilateral world conditions that result in difficulties to predict the future. This causes organizations to also be able to increase the ability to consistently learn, create transformative innovations, and be flexible to global challenges and developments that are difficult to predict. In that position the concept of governance is a dynamic to find the point of relevance and urgensitasnya to be manifested in order to meet the demands of globalization and the public through the organization of governance (governance).

(11) conceptualize Dynamic Governance based on dynamic capabilities indicators as the organization's ability to dynamically routines and resources or core capabilities to adapt to changes in technology and the environment, because this can have implications for the success of the organization in achieving its goals. Thus, three cognitive abilities emerge that can encourage learning to construct organizational dynamic capabilities, namely : (a) thinking ahead, (b) thinking again, and (c) thinking across. Thinking ahead is the ability to think ahead, showing the ability to think in projecting future conditions that can have an impact on organizational conditions. Thinking again reflects the ability and openness to think again by looking at previous policies, then evaluated and refined to maximize the achievement of goals. While Thinking across the ability and openness insights for cross-border thinking past the traditional boundaries by studying the experience of the idea and the concept of actors else that could be adopted in order to create innovative policies, contextual, and can be institutionalized.

2. Research Methods

In particular this study using the approach Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), which with the analyst is the discourse that consists of planning and implementation of government policies in the online news media based on consideration of the relevance and data needs. This technique will also visualize the discourse into a network. DNA is a combination of category-based content analysis and social network analysis. (23) said that DNA is a combination of discourse analysis with social network analysis to find out actor discourse systemically and relationally so that it becomes a qualitative-based content analysis. Some of the advantages of DNA are: (i) Can see which actors are involved in a discourse; (ii) Can see the relationship between actors and concepts in a discourse; (iii) Can see the relationship between actors and actors in a discourse; (iv) Can see the relationship of a concept with other concepts in a discourse; (v) Can see the sentiment of the concept in a discourse. The structure of discourse in various sources such as newspaper articles or internet media is the material so that this approach is able to map discourse systemically (24) (25). The online news media Kompas.com was chosen because it is the most trusted online news media version of Superbrands in 2019 (26). Meanwhile, Okezone.com is the most accessed online news media in Indonesia (27). Therefore, using these two media as research loci will be able to portray the dynamics of counter-terrorism in Indonesia in a representative and comprehensive manner.

Moreover, in collecting data, researchers used a crawling technique of selective crawling type with a time limit of 2018-2020. This is because the latest legal framework has emerged, namely the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018 which concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism. So that by limiting this time period, researchers will be able to capture the dynamics and innovations of counter terrorism that appear in accordance with the dynamic governance component. The concept of counter-terrorism can be narrated by various stakeholders from the government, parliament, law enforcement agencies, and NGOs. Each narrative that appears either explicitly or implicitly related to "counter-terrorism" is then grouped based on the actor's organization and re-analyzed with the concept of dynamic governance. Dynamic governance is an adaptive policy that results when a government builds dynamic capabilities in the form of thinking ahead, thinking again and thinking across capabilities. In these positions will be formed mechanism for construction of the data and the following information: 1) Thinking across in the narration tackling terrorism be seen from the word key : "cooperation", "experience sharing", "cooperating", "coordination", "hand in hand", "synergy", "joint", "joint decision", "audience", "involvement", and "meeting". 2) Thinking ahead on the counter-terrorism narrative, seen from the keywords : "MoU", " joint declaration", and " regulation ". 3) Thinking again on the counter-terrorism narrative seen from the key words : "it wasn't", "was", "if it was", and "evaluate". The researchers took these keywords because they have meanings that are relevant to the concepts of thinking ahead, thinking again and thinking across and representing news content. Researchers conduct a first review of all news content that this article gets. Based on the results of the review, the words that appear most often and have relevance to the researcher's concept are taken as keywords so that they have theoretical relevance and data representation.

The data that has been collected will go through the pre-processing stage for data selection, coding based on DNA database, and reduction based on statement type according to the research theme related to Countering Terrorism and Dynamic Governance. Furthermore, the data is exported according to the needs of the research objectives to be presented in the form of descriptive narratives and visualization of DNA networks in order to produce conclusions in this study

3. Results and Discussion

The Indonesian government as the party that has this articleity, resources, and responsibility in responding to terrorism as a threat to national security requires a culture

and policies that reflect Dynamic Governance to respond to the increasingly disruptive challenges of terrorism. While the main axis of the law against terrorism is Law no. 5 of 2018. This law mentions the relevant institutions. It is explicitly stated in Article 43E paragraph (2), "The National Agency for Combating Terrorism is the center of crisis analysis and control which functions as a facility for the President to establish policies and steps to deal with crises, including the mobilization of resources in dealing with terrorism". In that position, BNPT has become the leading sector in the conception of counterterrorism in Indonesia. BNPT can work with NGOs, TNI, Police, and Ministries/Agencies at the center and regions. So, in this article, we will focus on discourses from all these institutions using the analytical knife of Dynamic Governance which is reflected in the Online news media Kompas.com and Okezone.com com in June 2018-December 2020, to be narrated and visualized.

This article crawled news about "counter-terrorism" on Kompas.com and Okezone.com and got 1060 news content. Of all the news, this article sorts the news in the period June 2018-December 2020 so that there are 130 news content left. Then from the 130 news, this article sorts based on relevance to the substance of counterterrorism so that it becomes 100 news content. Based on this framework, this articles present and analyze data related to Dynamic Governance in countering Terrorism in Indonesia in the form of descriptive narratives and data visualization.

1. **Code Nodes Stakeholders**

This article makes the code nodes for each stokeholders in order to make it easier to perform the categorization of the identity of the actor in a complex network.

TABLE 1: Code Nodes Stakeholders

Organization Type	Stakeholders Organization
Leading Sector	BNPT (National Counter Terrorism Agency)
Ministry	Kemenkopolhukam (Coordinating Ministry Of Politic, Law And Human Right) Kemenlu (Ministry Of Foreign Affairs) Kominfo (Ministry Of Communication And Informatics) Kemenag (Ministry Of Religion) KemenKKP (Ministry Of Marine Affairs And Fisheries) KemenPANRB (Ministry Of Administrative Reform) Kemenhub (Ministry Of Transportation) Kemendagri (Ministry Of Interal Affairs) KemenkumHAM (Ministry Of Law And Human Rights) Kemendikbud (Ministry Of Education And Culture)
Security Agency	Polri (Indonesian Republic Police)
Militari Agency	TNI (Indonesian National Army)
Parliament	DPR (National People's Representative Assembly)
Judiciary	Kejaksaan (Attorney)

TABLE 1: Code Nodes Stakeholders

Organization Type	Stakeholders Organization
Nonstructural Presidential Agency	KSP (Staff Office Of The President) BPIP (Indonesian Ideology Development Agency)
Nonstructural Independent Agency	Komnas HAM (National Human Rights Commission) Kasn (State Civil Service Commission)
Non-Ministerial Government Agency	BKN (State Civil Service Agency) BIN (State Intelligence Agency)
BUMN	PT. Angkasa Pura I (Traffic services and business airports) PT. Pegadaian (Pawnshop)
NGO	Kontras (Commission For Missing Persons And Victims Of Violence) KMSR (Civil society coalition)

(Source: Data processed by researchers, 2021)

2. Code Edges

This article makes the code edges for each position of discourse stokeholders in order to make it easier to perform the categorization of the position of the actor in a complex network.

TABLE 2: Edges Code

Edge /Network	Information
Agreement	Agree on the concept. Actors meet this criteria when based on the results of crawling their narratives in online news media, either explicitly or implicitly mentioning the concept keywords and agreeing to them.
Disgreement	Disagree with the concept. Actors meet this criterion when based on the results of crawling their narratives in online news media, either explicitly or implicitly mentioning concept keywords but not agreeing to them.
Swing	Some agree and some disagree with the concept. Actors meet this criterion when based on the results of crawling their narratives in online news media, either explicitly or implicitly mentioning concept keywords which on one issue agree while on another issue they do not agree.

(Source: Data processed by researchers, 2021)

3. DNA visualization

Writers do visualization of the results if the DNA data with Visone application that displays 28 nodes (25 actors and three concept) and 39 edges (connections). The actors in this visualization are represented by each ' stakeholder organization ' that has a discourse on the concept of counter-terrorism in the online news media Kompas.com and Okezone.com. The discourse is then constructed with the concept of Dynamic Governance so as to produce the following visualization:
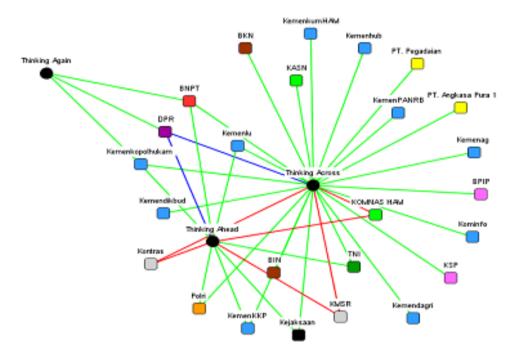
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Figure 1: Actor and Concept Visualization. *(Source: Data processed by researchers, 2021)*

a. **Affiliate Network Properties**

Affiliate Network is the relationship between the discourse of each actor and the concept. In this position, the following groupings can be made:

TABLE 3: Affiliate Network Properties

Affiliate Network	Thinking Across	Thinking Again	Thinking Ahead
Agreement	BNPT Kejaksaan TNI Polri Kemenkopol-hukam KemenKKP Kemenag Kemendagri KemenPANRB Kominfo Kemendikbud KemenkumHAM Kemenhub Kemenlu KASN BPIP BKN PT. Angkasa Pura 1 PT. Pegadaian BIN KSP	BNPT Kemenkopol-hukam DPR	BNPT KemenKKP Kemenlu TNI KSP Polri Kemenkopol-hukam Kejaksaan
Disagree-ment	Komnas HAM KMSR Kontras		KMSR DPR Kontras Komnas HAM
Swing	DPR		DPR
(Source: Data processed by researchers, 2021)			

b. **Centrality Property**

Centrality measures the extent to which a node contributes to the network. This can be seen by calculating Degree centrality. The degree centrality number shows

the accumulation of connections that a node has. Degree Centrality will calculate the weight of a node based on the number of connections formed between nodes in the network. This article calculates Degree Centrality using the analysis feature of the visone application and produces the following data:
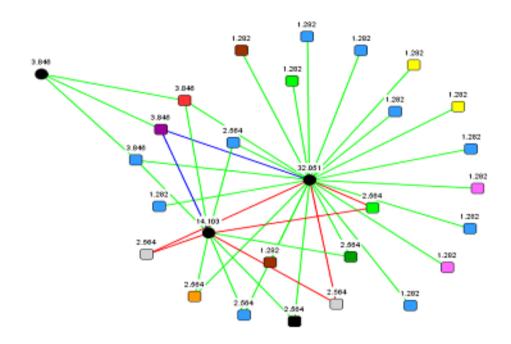

Figure 2: Centrality Property Visualization. *(Source: Data processed by researchers, 2021)*

The visualization show the level of contribution of each node (actors and concepts) in the network. The total network value is 100 which is fragmented in 25 actors and 3 concepts. Each value represents the level of relationship between the actor and the concept and the relationship between the concept and the actor. The higher the value, the more comprehensively each actor narrates the concept and each concept is narrated by the actor. In other words, this value indicates the number of connections owned by the node.

With a network structure consisting of 25 actors and 3 concepts and a standard total value of 100, the scale of the contribution level of all nodes in the network based on the visone application algorithm analysis produces 3 levels with the following interpretation:

Information :

Values and levels may change depending on the number and connectedness of the nodes (actors and concepts) entered, but if they are accumulated they will still be worth 100.

Based on the explanation above, the visualization displayed can be interpreted as follows:

TABLE 4: *Centrality* Value Description

Nodes Type	Centrality Value	Description/Level Centrality
Actor	1,282	Lower level where actors only narrate one concept
	2,564	Middle level where actors narrate two concepts
	3.846	Top level/comprehensive where actors narrate all three concepts
Concept	3.846	The lower level where concepts are least narrated
	14.013	The middle level where the concept is quite narrated
	32.051	The top level where concepts are most frequently narrated
(Source: Data processed with Visone, 2021)		

1) BNPT, the Ministry of Political, Legal and Human Rights, and the DPR are the most frequent actors in shaping discourses related to the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism in online news media with a network value of 3,846. In general, the three actors stated the most of the narrative keyword concepts, both explicitly and implicitly, which represented the ability of Thinking Across, Thinking Again, and Thinking Ahead in countering terrorism.

In particular, BNPT is the leading sector in the series of counter-terrorism in Indonesia so that it becomes the most authoritative actor in conveying the issue of counter-terrorism. This position also has implications for the magnitude of this articleity and resources possessed by BNPT in countering terrorism so that it has a large enough amplification power. In that position, both Kompas.com and Okezone.com were able to capture and use the amplification of the BNPT narrative on countering terrorism as online news media content on their respective platforms. Kompas.com and Okezone.com also captured and used amplification of the narratives of the DPR and Kemenkopolhukam as online news media content because the two institutions were representatives of the legislative and executive institutions in countering terrorism, respectively. Taking information from the two institutions will produce credible and balanced online news media content. Based on this practical reality, this is the argumentative basis for why BNPT, the Ministry of Political Law and Human Rights, and the DPR are the most frequent actors in shaping discourses related to the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism in online news media.

2) Other facts show that BUMN, Non-structural Presidential Institutions, Non-Ministerial Government Institutions, some Non-Structural Independent Institutions (KASN)), and some Ministries (KemenkumHAM, Ministry of Education and Culture,

KemenPANRB, Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Transportation, Communications and Information Technology, and Ministry of Home Affairs) are the least actors in forming a discourse related to the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism in online news media with a value of 1,282 in the network. In general, because these actors at least amplify the narrative keyword concepts, either explicitly or implicitly, which represents the ability of Thinking Across, Thinking Again, and Thinking Ahead in countering terrorism.

These actors are also peripheral stakeholders in the conception of counter-terrorism in Indonesia. The consequence of this position is that there is a lack of authority and resources in carrying out the task of countering terrorism in Indonesia. Even some of these actors are also only passive, where the policies taken are waiting for a catalyst from BNPT. In this position, both Kompas.com and Okezone.com only capture and use a little amplification of the narratives of these actors in relation to counter-terrorism as online news media content on their platforms. Based on this practical reality, this is the argumentative basis why BUMN, Non-structural Presidential Institutions, Non-Ministerial Government Institutions, some Non-Structural Independent Institutions (KASN)), and some Ministries (KemenkumHAM, Ministry of Education and Culture, KemenPANRB, Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Transportation, Communications and Information Technology, and Ministry of Home Affairs) are actors. the least in shaping discourse related to the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism in online news media.

3) However, there is an interesting finding that there are some actors who have a discourse frequency in the middle position so that the amplification value does not contribute much but is not small in the network. This is reflected in the amplification of the discourse on the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism in online news media by Komnas HAM, Kontras, KMSR, TNI, Police, Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KemenKKP), and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemenlu), each of which has value in a network of 2,564. In particular, Komnas HAM, Kontras, and KMSR as independent institutions but have strong resources because they are funded by the state have an attitude like the DPR which is often in opposition to government policies, resulting in national polemics. On a case-by-case basis, Komnas HAM, KMSR, and Kontras actively highlighted the issue of TNI involvement through Koopsus in countering terrorism which was considered a threat to democracy because it brought back the dual functions of the Armed Forces. This issue became a national polemic so that the discourse was repeatedly published on Kompas.com and Okezone.com. Police and TNI also have a sufficient frequency of discourse because they are directly related to national polemic issues such as Koopsus. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of

Marine Affairs and Fisheries are pilot projects for peripheral actors who, although they do not raise issues of national polemic, can actively discuss the concept of dynamic governance in countering terrorism. This fact shows that even though institutions that are in a peripheral position in the conception of counter-terrorism have minimal authority and resources in carrying out their task of counter-terrorism. However, this does not prevent each relevant actor from continuing to improve performance in countering terrorism so that the amplification of the narrative can be captured and used by online news media platforms.

4) Thinking Across is the most widely used concept by actors in the network to discuss the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism with a score of 32,051. This is because the ability to Think Across has been mandated by Law no. 5 of 2018 as the main legal axis in countering terrorism in Indonesia. In the institutional chapter of the Law, it mandates institutions and/or ministries to coordinate in formulating policies, strategies, and counter-terrorism programs under the coordination of the agency in charge of counter-terrorism affairs. Under these conditions, it is easy for all stakeholders to have a Thinking Across discourse in countering terrorism because it has been codified in the Act. Apart from that, there are also national polemics that have arisen because of the issue of Thinking Across dimensions, which is related to the Special Operations Unit. The polemic is certainly fresh content for online news media platforms on the one hand because it is crucial, while on the other hand it is able to increase platform ratings. These two conditions have implications for Kompas.com and Okezone.com which are able to capture and use the Thinking Across discourse in countering terrorism as online news media content on their platforms. The reality of praxis is the argumentative basis why Thinking Across is the concept most widely used by actors in the network to discuss the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism.

5) On the other hand, Thinking Again is the concept that is least used by actors in the network to discuss the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism with a value of 2,564. This is because on the one hand there is no explicit or implicit emphasis on Thinking Again's ability in the main legal axis of countering terrorism in Indonesia, while on the other hand there are no controversial issues that have become a national polemic so that it is urgent to publish and increase the rating of the Kompas.com and Okezone platforms. com.

6) This condition is different from Thinking Ahead which is in the middle quadrant as a concept used by actors in the network to discuss the concept of Dynamic Governance in countering terrorism with a value of 14,103. This is because even though Thinking Ahead's ability has also been mandated in the main legal axis of counter-terrorism in

Indonesia through institutional assignments to create long-term strategies. There have even been issues that have created a national polemic regarding the planning for the formation of the Special Special Forces through Presidential Regulation Number 42 of 2019. However, only some actors have the sensitivity to carry out long-term planning in countering terrorism. This condition has implications for narrative amplification that is not too strong, so that the frequency of narratives captured and used by Kompas.com and Okezone.com in online news media is in a position that is not small and not much.

The findings in the discussion above show that there is a disparity in competence among government actors involved in countering terrorism in Indonesia in relation to actualizing the ability to think across, think ahead, and think again. This can be traced from the fact that there is an imbalance in the discourse on the value of dynamic governance by the actors involved. Discourse is mostly segmented on the ability to think across. This reality has implications for counter-terrorism in Indonesia, which does not use the values of dynamic governance in an even-institutionalized manner. This is also reflected in the fact that only BNPT, Kemenkopolhukam, and the DPR have a comprehensive discourse on using dynamic governance values in counter-terrorism efforts.

In addition, the frequency of discourse on government actors is heavily influenced by the availability of legal-formal responsibilities and national issues that give rise to polemics. This fact has implications for the emergence of disparities in the degree of centrality or discourse value of each actor in the network. BNPT, Kemenkopolhukam, and the DPR are the actors who narrate the most dynamic governance discourses in countering terrorism in Indonesia. This is because apart from being the core institution of counter-terrorism in Indonesia, the actor is also actively involved in the Koopsus issue discourse that raises various polemics.

The discussion above, especially in the descriptive recap section, also shows that there is no significant difference between Kompas.com and Okezone.com in publishing content on counter terrorism. The two media both construct counter-terrorism as a multidimensional and multi-sectoral issue that must be resolved collaboratively. The media also constructs the need for a soft approach, such as economic and religious empowerment in addition to the hard approach. Both media place content about Koopsus which has become a national polemic with the highest frequency of publication. Some of the content also has the same substance with different content as reflected in the narratives of the Attorney General's Office and the Police. The difference between the two is that Kompas.com captures and publishes more discourse on counter-terrorism from independent actors such as Komnas HAM, Kontras, and KMSR than Okezone.com.

4. Conclusion

The conclusions of this study are compiled using the explanations in previous chapters, background narratives, and problem formulation as reference points so as to produce the following constructions:

1. After the enactment of Law no. 5 of 2018   as the juridical axis in overcoming theorists, there are 25 actors who make discourses about their conceptions in countering terrorism in the online news media Kompas.com and Okezone.com. When highlighted using the knife of dynamic governance analysis, only BNPT, DPR, and Kemenkopolhukam discuss each indicator comprehensively (Thinking Across, Thinking Ahead, Thinking Again). The distribution of discourse is dominated by Thinking Across ability in countering terrorism with a percentage of 32,051, while Thinking Again ability in countering terrorism is the concept that is the least discussed by all actors with a percentage of 2,564. This fact shows that the actualization of dynamic governance in counter-terrorism has not been actualized equally by every actor of counter-terrorism in Indonesia.

2. There is a disparity in discourse sentiment on the actualization of dynamic governance in countering terrorism in the online news media Kompas.com and Okezone.com. Ability Thinking Again become the most stable concept, because all the actors are considering shows the agree ment (to agree). While the ability to Think Across and Thinking Ahead reflects the discourse of discourse, because all actors who are discussing are divided in the choice of agree ment and disagreement (reject). There is even a division that occurs in one actor, namely the DPR, so that the discourse shows the swing option (some support, some reject). Each discourse discourse occurs because of different paradigms in countering terrorism. This can be seen from the issue that sparked the discourse, namely the formation of Koopsus (Special Operations Command)/ Koopsusgab (Joint Special Operations Command) as a forum for TNI involvement in countering terrorism. Supporting actors rely on the argument that the TNI must be involved in the counter-terrorism process because there is an urgency in the lack of resources to prevent or take action against terrorists that are growing due to the information media. While the supporting actors rely on the argument that the involvement of the TNI in countering terrorism will actually degrade democratic values and create overlapping authorities because it has been implemented by BNPT and Densus 88 (Polri). In this position, not all indicators of dynamic governance can be accepted by actors involved in counter-terrorism.

3. There is a disparity in competence among government actors involved in countering terrorism in Indonesia in relation to actualizing the ability to think across, think ahead, and think again. The discourse is mostly segmented on the ability to think across because it has become the mandate of the main legal axis to counter terrorism in Indonesia in Law no. 5 of 2018. On the other hand, only BNPT, the Ministry of Political Law and Human Rights, and the DPR have a comprehensive discourse on using dynamic governance values in counter-terrorism efforts.

4. In addition, there is a disparity in the frequency of discourse of government actors which affects the degree of centrality or the percentage of discourse of each actor in the network. BNPT, the Ministry of Political, Legal and Human Rights, and the DPR are the actors who narrate the most dynamic governance discourses in countering terrorism in Indonesia. This is because apart from being the core institution of counter-terrorism in Indonesia, the actor is also actively involved in the Koopsus issue discourse that raises various polemics.

5. Suggestion

Based on the various findings in the discussion and conclusions section of this study, the suggestions that this article can put forward are as follows:

First, not all actors have a discourse on the actualization of Thinking Ahead and Thinking Again capabilities in countering terrorism. In fact, the concept of dynamic governance must be comprehensively constructed so that actors and policies can continue to exist in the era of disruption and VUCA. So actors who already have a comprehensive discourse must conduct benchmarking   with other actors so that each stakeholder has the same paradigm in countering terrorism.

Second, the systematization of each dynamic governance indicator has many variations which often lead to polemics. The formation of Koopsus/Koopsusgab became a concrete phenomenon. So that every policy-making made by the government and the DPR as a derivative of the ability to Think Across, Thinking Ahead, and Thinking Again in countering terrorism must involve the participation of other actors involved.

Third, the role of independent non-structural institutions and NGOs is important in controlling the policies made by the government and the DPR. Substantial criticism needs to be given to the policy realm, but must still support the Thinking Across, Thinking Ahead, and Thinking Again paradigms in countering terrorism.

Fourth, academics who wish to conduct research on similar themes should pay attention to the policies of other actors involved in order to produce comprehensive information, because counter-terrorism is multi-sectoral.

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