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A New Restorative Justice Paradigm in the Sociology of Islamic Law in Indonesia: Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah's Responses to Corruption Cases

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Abstrak: Penelitian ini mengkaji munculnya paradigma keadilan restoratif dalam kerangka sosiologi hukum Islam di Indonesia, dengan fokus pada potensi penerapannya dalam kasus korupsi serta respons dari dua organisasi Islam terbesar, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Muhammadiyah. Melalui pendekatan kualitatif yang memadukan analisis normatif dan sosiologis, penelitian ini mengeksplorasi prinsip-prinsip hukum Islam klasik bersama data empiris dari wawancara dengan tokoh-tokoh keagamaan. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa keadilan restoratif—yang menekankan rekonsiliasi sosial, pemulihan hak korban, dan reintegrasi pelaku—selaras dengan konsep Islam seperti sulh (rekonsiliasi), islah (perbaikan), maslahah (kepentingan umum), dan 'afw (pengampunan). NU mendukung keadilan restoratif dengan penekanan pada pemulihan aset dan pengawasan moral oleh ulama, sedangkan Muhammadiyah menekankan pentingnya reformasi hukum dan pendidikan antikorupsi. Keduanya menolak penerapan keadilan restoratif sebagai celah impunitas, serta menekankan perlunya transparansi, sanksi yang proporsional, dan akuntabilitas etis. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa model keadilan restoratif yang berakar pada nilai budaya dan etika teologis Islam dapat memperkuat legitimasi, efektivitas, dan inklusivitas sistem hukum antikorupsi Indonesia, sekaligus menjembatani etika normatif Islam dengan reformasi hukum modern.

Kata Kunci: Keadilan Restoratif, Korupsi, Sosiologi Hukum Islam, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah

Abstrak: This study investigates the emergence of a restorative justice paradigm within the sociology of Islamic law in Indonesia, focusing on its potential application in corruption cases and the responses of the two largest Islamic organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Employing a qualitative methodology that integrates normative and sociological approaches, the research analyzes classical Islamic legal principles alongside empirical data from interviews with key religious figures. The findings reveal that restorative justice—emphasizing social reconciliation, victim restitution, and offender reintegration—is congruent with Islamic concepts such as *sulh* (reconciliation), *islah* (reform), *maslahah* (public interest), and 'afw (forgiveness). NU supports restorative justice with moral and theological safeguards, emphasizing asset recovery and community oversight, while Muhammadiyah highlights the need for systemic legal reform and civic education. Both organizations caution against using restorative mechanisms as a means of impunity and stress the importance of transparency, proportional sanctions, and ethical accountability. The study concludes that a culturally grounded and theologically informed model of restorative justice can enhance the legitimacy, efficacy, and inclusivity of Indonesia's anti-corruption legal framework, offering a bridge between Islamic normative ethics and contemporary justice reform.

Keyword : Restorative Justice, Corruption, Islamic Legal Sociology, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah

INTRODUCTION

Restorative justice is a legal concept that focuses on restoring losses suffered by victims, rehabilitating offenders, and repairing social relationships disrupted by criminal acts. This concept offers an alternative to the criminal justice system by emphasizing restorative justice, as opposed to the retributive approach, which focuses more on imposing sanctions as a form of punishment for crimes committed. The restorative justice approach aims to repair the harm caused, not only as punishment for the perpetrator, but also to create peace and repair damaged social relationships.²

In many countries, restorative justice has been applied in various types of cases, especially those involving minor to moderate crimes.³ This approach is gaining popularity because it is seen as a more humane and efficient way to resolve cases, involving dialogue between the parties involved, namely the perpetrator and the victim. This gives the perpetrator the opportunity to understand the impact of their actions and take responsibility for the harm caused, while the victim is given the opportunity to receive compensation for their losses.⁴ In Indonesia, the concept of restorative justice has also been applied in several aspects of the law, one of which is in juvenile justice. Based on Law No. 11/2012 on the Juvenile Justice System, children in conflict with the law are given the opportunity to resolve their cases outside of court through mediation between the perpetrator and the victim. The aim is to reduce the negative impact of the judicial process on the psychological development of children, as well as to provide children with the opportunity to repent and improve. This approach aims to avoid further criminalization of children involved in minor crimes.⁶

Regardless of its application in juvenile justice, restorative justice remains controversial in corruption cases. Corruption is considered an extraordinary crime with far-reaching impacts on the national economy and public welfare. Therefore, many parties feel that the application of restorative justice in corruption cases has the potential to reduce deterrence and weaken efforts to eradicate corruption. Corruption causes huge losses to the state and the people, and is often considered the main cause of social injustice in society.8

Restorative justice in the context of corruption is considered controversial. Some argue that the application of this approach can help restore state losses and provide perpetrators with an opportunity to rectify their mistakes. However, there are concerns

¹ Daniel W. Van Ness, dkk., Restoring Justice An Introduction to Restorative Justice (New York, 2022).

²Rifqi Alif Darmawan dkk., "Analysis of the Effectiveness of the Application of Restorative Justice in Criminal Cases in Indonesia," Journal of World Science 3, no. 5 (31 Mei 2024): 567-72, https://doi.org/10.58344/jws.v3i5.612.

³ Dan Van Ness, "An Overview of Restorative Justice Around the World," t.t.

⁴Daffa Ladro Kusworo dan Maghfira Nur Khaliza Fauzi, "Hybrid Restorative Justice: Optimizing Cessation Of Prosecution The Case Theft Through Restorative Judicial House," Ins Poenale 3, no. 2 (21 Oktober 2022): 115–28, https://doi.org/10.25041/ip.v3i2.2714.

⁵Faiz Rahman, "Contextualizing Restorative Justice through Diversion Mechanism: A Study of Indonesia's Juvenile Justice System," j-Indonesian Law Review, 2019, h. 5.

⁶Ani Purwati, Penyelesaian Perkara Pidana Anak Melalui Diversi Perspektif Benefit Principle (Yogyakarta: Genta Publishing, n.d.).

⁷Dewi Asri Puanandini, Danu Supriatna, dan Fahmi Idris, "Tindak Pidana Korupsi Sebagai Kejahatan Luar Biasa Serta Penegakan Hukum Terhadap Tindak Pidana Korupsi Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Dampak Serta Upaya Pemberantasan," t.t.

Muhammad Siddiq Armia dkk., "Criticizing the Verdict of 18/JN/2016/MS.MBO of Mahkamah Syar'iyah Meulaboh Aceh on Sexual Abuse against Children from the Perspective of Restorative Justice," AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial 17, no. 1 (29 Juni 2022): 113-35, https://doi.org/10.19105/allhkam.v17i1.4987.

⁹ Lapatawe B. Hamka, Muhammad Basir-Cyio, dan Aminuddin Kasim, "Reevaluation of the Concept of State Losses in Corruption (Analysis in the Perspective of Restorative Justice)," International Journal of

that the application of restorative justice in corruption cases could give perpetrators an opportunity to avoid the punishment they deserve. Many worry that such policies could give the impression that the law in Indonesia is unfair, and only oppresses the lower classes while those at the top can avoid appropriate sanctions. 10 Mahfud MD, for example, emphasizes that the application of restorative justice in corruption cases must be done with great caution. 11 This approach should not be used to reduce the punishment for corruptors without ensuring full restitution of state losses. This is important to ensure that justice is served and to avoid the impression that the law only serves to protect certain groups. Additionally, he stressed that justice for the public must remain the top priority. If restorative justice is applied in corruption cases, there must be guarantees that perpetrators are held fully accountable for the losses they cause and that there are clear deterrent effects. Justice for the people, especially those harmed by corrupt practices, must remain a priority to ensure that the law is seen as a fair and impartial instrument.¹² On the other hand, Sulantoro argues that restorative justice can accelerate the recovery of state finances, reduce the burden on the state budget in the judicial process, and prevent the recurrence of corruption. However, his research also reveals concerns that the application of restorative justice may reduce deterrent effects, thereby encouraging an increase in corruption cases.¹³

However, Indonesia's legal system remains heavily oriented toward a retributive justice paradigm, which emphasizes punishment as a form of retribution. ¹⁴ This approach is based on the assumption that humans have freedom of action, so violations of the law must be met with strict punishment. However, this paradigm is deemed not fully aligned with the goal of eradicating corruption, as it does not provide room for the recovery of state assets that have been damaged by corrupt actions. Therefore, the restorative justice approach is proposed as an alternative that focuses on repairing state losses through a more cooperative process involving various stakeholders. Meanwhile, Arsya Yustisia Zahra et al. offer a more moderate approach. They argue that although restorative justice does not eliminate criminal sanctions, its application can be a factor in mitigating the punishment of perpetrators who voluntarily return state losses. However, restorative justice can only be applied in certain cases, especially those involving small losses and not repeated offenses. ¹⁵

Research and Innovation in Social Science 06, no. 12 (2022): h. 513-519, https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2022.61229.

¹⁰Aminuddin Kasim, Abdul Mutholib Rimi, dan Abdurrohim, "Restorative Justice to Prevent Village Fund Corruption Crimes: A Constitutional Law and Indonesian Criminal Law Perspective," *International Journal of Criminal Justice Science* Vol 18, no. 1 (t.t.): 98.

¹¹Bambang Sugeng Rukmono, Pujiyono Suwadi, dan Muhammad Saiful Islam, "The Effectiveness of Recovering Losses on State Assets Policy in Dismissing Handling of Corruption," *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System* 4, no. 2 (27 Mei 2024): h. 309, https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v4i2.259.

¹²Tutuko Wahyu Munulyo, FK2H Law Review 2021: Dinamika Perkembangan Hukum HAM, Hukum Internasional dan Pembangunan Hukum di Indonesia (Jember: UPT Penerbitan Universitas Jember, 2021).

¹³Murpraptono Adhi Sulantoro, "Penerimaan Prinsip Keadilan Restoratif pada Tindak Pidana Korupsi dalam rangka Penyelematan Keuangan Negara" 1 (2021): 139–40.

¹⁴Pardomuan Gultom, "Analisis Sosiologi Hukum Terhadap Kemungkinan Dapat Diterapkannya Restorative Justice dalam Perkara Tindak Pidana Korupsi di Indonesia," *Jurnal Hukum dan Kemasyarakatan Al-Hikmah* 3, no. 1 (t.t.): 156.

¹⁵Arsya Yustisia Zahra et al., "Pendekatan Keadilan Restoratif Sebagai Alternatif Penyelesaian Tindak Pidana Korupsi," *Jurnal Usm Law* Review 6, no. 3 (December 14, 2023): 1250, https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v6i3.6758.

The application of restorative justice in corruption cases in Indonesia still faces major challenges. 16 This is due to the fact that the positive legal system is still oriented towards criminal sanctions as a form of deterrence, while the sociological approach of Islamic law and religious organizations emphasizes aspects of restoration and social balance. The integration of these two approaches can be an innovative solution in handling corruption cases in Indonesia, while maintaining a balance between strict punishment and effective efforts to restore state finances. ¹⁷ This situation highlights the need for a paradigm shift in the handling of corruption cases. A retributive approach that focuses solely on punishment is not effective in overcoming state losses or preventing the recurrence of similar crimes. Therefore, there is a need to consider the application of restorative justice principles, which prioritize the recovery of losses, the restoration of social relations, and the sustainability of state finances. This approach not only aims to return lost state assets, but also to reduce the cost of law enforcement, strengthen social deterrence, and build a justice system that is more responsive to the needs of society. 18

In this context, religious civil society organizations have a very important role to play. As institutions with significant moral influence, they play a role in educating the public about the importance of applying principles of justice in law, as well as reminding the government of the importance of strict law enforcement against perpetrators of corruption. Religious organizations can provide a broader perspective on whether a restorative justice approach in corruption cases is consistent with the principles of justice that apply in society.¹⁹

METHOD

This research employs a qualitative method with a combined normative and sociological approach to examine the concept of restorative justice within the context of Islamic legal sociology in Indonesia, particularly in cases of corruption. It also explores the responses of two major Islamic organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The normative approach is used to analyze the conceptual and legal foundations of restorative justice, both from the perspective of Indonesian positive law and from classical and contemporary Islamic legal literature. The analysis focuses on statutory regulations, religious fatwas, and core Islamic legal principles such as sulh (reconciliation), islah (reform), maslahah (public interest), and 'afw (forgiveness).

Meanwhile, the sociological approach is applied to understand how restorative justice values are perceived, accepted, and practiced by Muslim communities, particularly through the attitudes and views of religious organizations. Empirical data were gathered through in-depth interviews, observations of public discourse, and official documents from both organizations.

Interviews were conducted with representatives from two major Islamic organizations in Indonesia: Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The purpose of these interviews

¹⁶Thomas Procter-Legg, Jonathan Hobson, dan Ernest Quimby, "Restorative Justice and Social Justice: An International Perspective," Contemporary Justice Review 27, no. 2-3 (2 Juli 2024): 218-38, https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2024.2414953.

¹⁷Imam Syafi'i dan Mohamad Solihin, "Studi Komparatif Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Positif Tentang Tindak Pidana Korupsi Di Indonesia," JURISY: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah 2, no. 1 (4 Oktober 2022): 143-66, https://doi.org/10.37348/jurisy.v2i1.161.

¹⁸ Abu Hapsin dan Nazar Nurdin, "Diat and Peace Money in the Crime of Culpable Homicide," Al-Ahkam 32, no. 2 (30 Oktober 2022): 189–210, https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2022.32.2.12413.

¹⁹ Nelvitia Purba dkk., "Double Track System for Child Convictions for Sexual Violence In North Sumatera: Perspective of Restorative Justice," Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam 8, no. 2 (31 Juli 2024): 1216–38, https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i2.23000.

was to gather perspectives from each organization related to the research topic. The table below presents the informants' names, positions, institutions, gender, and the type of interview conducted.

Table 1 Informant Data

No	Name	Position	Place of origin	Gender	Age	Type of Interview
1	Mohammad Adnan	Khatib Syuriah of PBNU	Central Jakarta	Male	47s*	Can Restorative Justice in corruption cases align with Islamic legal principles, and how should it address the balance between deterrence and asset recovery?
2	Ma'mun Murod Al- Barbasy	Rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta and Chairman of the Forum of Rectors of Muhammadiyah- Aisyiyah Universities	Bekasi, West Java	Male	51s*	In your view, how can Restorative Justice effectively address systemic corruption in Indonesia, and what specific legal or institutional mechanisms are needed to ensure its success?

The data analysis process follows the interactive model proposed by Miles and Huberman, which consists of three main stages:

- 1. Data reduction, which involves selecting and focusing on data relevant to the research focus.
- 2. Data display, which involves organizing information into thematic narratives and representative quotations from both primary and secondary sources.
- 3. Conclusion drawing and verification, a reflective process of connecting empirical findings to the theory of Islamic legal sociology and the Indonesian legal context.

To ensure the validity of the research findings, triangulation of sources and methods was employed. This includes cross-verifying data from normative literature, interview results, and organizational documents. This strategy aims to ensure that interpretations are accurate, in-depth, and academically accountable. With this approach, the research is expected to provide a comprehensive understanding of the potential and challenges of implementing restorative justice within the Islamic criminal law system in Indonesia, as well as how religious perspectives shape a more inclusive and socially just legal paradigm.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Restorative Justice in Corruption Crimes: An Islamic Legal Sociology Perspective

Restorative justice is an alternative approach in the legal system that emphasizes the restoration of losses caused by criminal acts.²⁰ This approach focuses on dialogue and reconciliation between perpetrators, affected communities, and victims to create a more comprehensive justice. In the context of corruption crimes, restorative justice aims to directly restore losses to the state, encourage perpetrators to acknowledge their mistakes,

t.t.

²⁰Hambali Talib dkk., "Policy Restorative Justice as Alternative Criminal Justice System in Indonesia,"

and create a deterrent effect that can be felt by the community.²¹ Principles such as reconciliation, restoration, collaborative justice, and perpetrator responsibility are the foundations of this approach.²² One advantage of restorative justice over the conventional justice system is its more inclusive approach. The retributive system used in conventional justice is generally oriented toward punishing perpetrators through imprisonment or fines, without adequate focus on restoring harm or social impact. In contrast, restorative justice allows all parties to contribute to the case resolution process, creating solutions that benefit victims and the community. This approach can also reduce social resistance by promoting dialogue that leads to consensus.²³

Restorative justice is an approach in the criminal justice system that involves victims and communities in determining a fair resolution for offenders.²⁴ In the modern criminal justice paradigm, the interests of victims are usually represented by public prosecutors on behalf of the state, reflecting the nature of criminal law as part of public law.²⁵ The restorative model allows the parties involved to collaboratively resolve the consequences of criminal acts in pursuit of a shared and constructive future. ²⁶ Currently, this model is increasingly being adopted in law enforcement practices, from policing to prosecution and adjudication.²⁷

Article 70 of the new Indonesian Criminal Code embodies this shift by allowing for the withdrawal of punishment under certain conditions, such as when the victim's losses are minimal and restitution has been made by the offender.²⁸ A key characteristic of restorative justice is the active participation of victims in the resolution process.²⁹ However, not all crimes have individual victims. In crimes such as gambling, drug abuse, and corruption, the aggrieved party is often the state or the wider community, posing challenges in identifying or representing the "victims." While corruption is categorized as an "extraordinary crime" that has a destructive impact on the legal system and social order, the restorative justice approach offers an alternative paradigm in addressing it. Based on the theory of Restorative Justice proposed by John Braithwaite, criminal acts are not only seen as violations against the state, but also as violations against individuals and society, so that their handling must be directed at restoring losses, repairing social relations,

²¹Shadd Maruna, "Desistance and Restorative Justice: It's Now or Never," Restorative Justice 4, no. 3 (September 2016): 289-301, https://doi.org/10.1080/20504721.2016.1243853.

²²Adebobola Omowon dan Alaba Samson Kunlere, "Restorative Justice Practices: Bridging the Gap between Offenders and Victims Effectively," World Journal of Advanced Research and Reviews 24, no. 3 (30) Desember 2024): h. 2768-2785, https://doi.org/10.30574/wjarr.2024.24.3.3978.

²³ce The Role of Restorative Justice in Modern Criminal Justice Administration," Gilbert, AZ (blog), September 23, 2024, https://www.park.edu/blog/the-role-of-restorative-justice-in-modern-criminaljustice-administration/?utm_source

²⁴Putri Indah Mubihanti, "Restorative Justice As An Alternative Form Of Criminal Case Resolution," Fox Justi: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum 15, no. 02 (2025): h. 277.

²⁵Edi Yunara dan Taufik Kemas, "The Role of Victimology in the Protection of Crime Victims in Indonesian Criminal Justice System," Mahadi: Indonesia Journal of Law 3, no. 01 (28 Februari 2024): h. 63-78, https://doi.org/10.32734/mah.v3i01.15379.

²⁶Retno Hariati dan Abdul Kholiq, "The Urgency of Restorative Justice Principles in Law Enforcement Efforts against Defamation Crimes through Social Media Twitter in Indonesia," Journal of Law, Politic and Humanities 4, no. 4 (14 Mei 2024): h. 390-399, https://doi.org/10.38035/jlph.v4i4.369.

²⁷Kevin Strom, "Research on the Impact of Technology on Policing Strategy in the 21st Century, Final Report," RTI International Police Executive Research Forum, September 2017, h. 34.

²⁸Muchamad Iksan dkk., "Fulfilling the Restitution Rights of Crime Victims: The Legal Practice in Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies 12, no. 4 (5 Juli 2023): h. 152, https://doi.org/10.36941/ajis-2023-0101.

²⁹Ivo Aertsen dkk., "Restorative Justice and the Active Victim: Exploring the Concept of Empowerment," Temida 14, no. 1 (2011): h. 5-19, https://doi.org/10.2298/TEM1101005A.

³⁰Felipe Freitas Falconi dkk., Victims of Corruption: Back for Payback (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2024), https://doi.org/10.1596/40818.

and actively involving the affected parties in the resolution process. In this context, efforts to recover state losses, return assets obtained through corruption, and rehabilitate the social and economic rights of the community are key indicators of the success of corruption handling, replacing the old paradigm that focused more on punishment alone. Thus, the restorative approach is believed to be more capable of realizing substantive social justice than simply relying on criminal punishment of perpetrators.³¹

To ensure that the application of restorative justice in corruption cases is effective and not counterproductive, strict criteria must be applied. Restorative justice can only be applied in cases of corruption that cause minor losses to the state, are committed by first-time offenders, and are accompanied by full restitution of the losses incurred. In addition, perpetrators must receive social sanctions, such as restrictions on their right to hold public office. This step is essential to prevent distortion of the principle of accountability, maintain deterrent effects, and ensure that restorative justice supports the value of restoration without diminishing the preventive function of criminal law.³²

However, restorative justice in corruption cases has weaknesses.³³ This approach has the potential to be abused by perpetrators with political or economic power, thereby risking a reduction in the deterrent effect that should arise. Additionally, the complexity of corruption cases, which often involve multiple parties with far-reaching impacts, can pose challenges in reaching a fair agreement. Therefore, the implementation of this approach requires strict supervision and transparent mechanisms to ensure that the objectives of justice are achieved. In Indonesia, the implementation of restorative justice in corruption cases faces several significant challenges.³⁴ Existing laws and regulations do not fully support the use of this approach, especially for crimes with widespread impacts such as corruption. In addition, public opinion, which tends to demand harsh punishment for perpetrators of corruption, often acts as a social barrier to the implementation of restorative justice. This situation is exacerbated by low public trust in the ability of the legal system to handle corruption cases fairly and transparently. This approach allows for the rapid recovery of state losses while reducing the burden on the courts. 35 Restorative justice can also speed up the resolution of cases that are often delayed due to lengthy court proceedings.³⁶ Furthermore, this approach has the potential to strengthen social values through a process of dialogue and deliberation that actively involves the community.³⁷

Given the high cost of investigating and handling corruption cases, which often exceeds the value of state losses recovered, the application of restorative justice principles should be considered as a strategic alternative in order to promote the efficiency of law

³¹ Yudha Trishananto dkk., "Formulating Policies for Halal Tourism in Indonesia Based on Islamic Law," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, no. 1 (23 Juli 2024): 47–70, https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i1.47-70.

³² Toha Andiko, Zurifah Nurdin, dan Efrinaldi Efrinaldi, "Implementation of Restorative Justice in a Customary Court in Rejang Lebong District, Bengkulu, Indonesia: A Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'ah Review," *JURIS* (*Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah*) 23, no. 1 (22 Juni 2024): 93–106, https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i1.12008.

³³Vega Pratama, "Restorative Justice in Criminal Acts of Corruption," *Law and Justice* 6, no. 1 (25 Mei 2021): h. 34-45, https://doi.org/10.23917/laj.v6i1.12541.

³⁴Abdul Halim, "The Application of Restorative Justice in Civil Dispute Resolution: Potentials and Challenges in Indonesia," *AL-MANHAJ: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial Islam* 5, no. 1 (20 Juni 2023): h. 883-890, https://doi.org/10.37680/almanhaj.v5i1.2729.

³⁵ Adriaan Lannit, "Taking Restorative Justice Seriously," 69 Buff. L. Rev. 635 69, no. 3 (Mei 2021): h. 637.

³⁶ Anas Maulana dkk., "Inheritance Rights of Nasabiyyah Children Born Out of Wedlock According to Islamic Family Law," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 7, no. 2 (10 Oktober 2024): 444–61, https://doi.org/10.22373/ujhk.v7i2.25072.

³⁷ Deni Setiyawan dkk., "Law Enforcement of Sexual Violence on Social Media: An Islamic Restorative Justice Perspective," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar'iah* 17, no. 1 (11 April 2025): 90–111, https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v17i1.28185.

enforcement and optimize state financial recovery. Based on an economic analysis of criminal behavior as proposed by Becker, Ogus, and Abbott, the application of restorative justice principles in corruption cases has the potential to distort law enforcement. Corruptors, who act rationally, are likely to continue engaging in corruption if the probability of being caught is low and the legal consequences are limited to asset recovery, thereby increasing the risk of future corruption incidents.³⁸

Furthermore, from the perspective of Islamic legal sociology, restorative justice can be analyzed using the theories of *sulh*, *islah*, and *maslahah*.³⁹ There is a connection between restorative justice and these concepts. The following table illustrates this relationship:

Table 2 Relationship between Principles in Islamic Law and the Concept of Restorative Justice

Principles in Islamic Law	Explanation	Relevance to Restorative Justice in Corruption Cases
Sulh (Reconciliation)	Refers to the settlement of dispute through dialogue and reconciliation between the disputing parties.	Emphasizes the importance of reconciliation between perpetrators and victims, with the aim of creating a fair and acceptable solution for all parties.
Islah (Relationship repair)	Focuses on efforts to create peace by repairing relationships damaged by conflict or crime.	In corruption cases, perpetrators are given the opportunity to repair the damage caused, both materially and socially.
Maslahah (Public interest)	Prioritizing the benefits to the wider community in every decision made.	The return of state losses by perpetrators of corruption can be used to finance programs that support community welfare, ensuring benefits for the community as a whole.

From the perspective of Islamic sociology of law, the harmony between Islamic law and the concept of restorative justice can be seen from their emphasis on dialogue, restoration, and social reconciliation.⁴⁰ Islamic law does not view justice as merely the imposition of punishment, but rather aims to create social harmony and repair broken relationships within society. Restorative justice, which prioritizes dialogue, the involvement of victims and perpetrators, and a focus on restoration, aligns closely with these values. Basic principles in Islam such as islah (peace and restoration of relationships), taubat (opportunity to repent and improve oneself), and *maslahah* (creation of public welfare) teach that true justice is achieved not only through retribution, but through restoration and social reconstruction.41 The restorative approach also reinforces the principles of substantive justice taught in Islamic law. In many cases, punishment does not always provide the best solution to resolve conflicts. Instead, deep dialogue and value-based resolutions are often more effective in creating sustainable justice. 42 The integration of

³⁸Sulantoro, "Penerimaan Prinsip Keadilan Restoratif pada Tindak Pidana Korupsi dalam rangka Penyelematan Keuangan Negara."

³⁹Zainuddin, "Restorative Justice Concept on Jarimah Qishas in Islamic Criminal Law," Jurnal Dinamika Hukum 17, no. 3 (24 Oktober 2017): 335, https://doi.org/10.20884/1.jdh.2017.17.3.826.

⁴⁰Gholin Noor Aulia Sari dkk., "Tinjauan Filosofis Keadilan Restoratif dalam Lensa Teori Keadilan," dalam Book Chapter Hukum dan Politik dalam Berbagai Perspektif Jilid 3, t.t., h. 255.

⁴¹Albert W Dzur, Olson, dan Susan M, "The Value of Community Participation in Restorative Justice.," Journal of Social Philosophy, 35, no. 1 (2024): h. 89, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9833.2004.00218.x.

⁴²Noval Ramadhan, Uu Nurul Huda, dan Wawan Kurniawan, "Implementation of Restorative Justice in Discontinuing Prosecution of Assault Criminal Acts (A Case Study at the Public Prosecutor's Office of Garut)," t.t.

these values into restorative justice provides a great opportunity to create a legal system that is more responsive to the needs of society. By combining the principles of substantive justice, restorative justice can be an effective approach in overcoming various challenges in the settlement of corruption cases. In addition, this approach also encourages a change in legal culture that is more oriented towards dialogue, restoration, and sustainability.⁴³

In practice, Islam provides ample room for dispute resolution through deliberation (*sulli*), prioritizing peaceful resolution before imposing punishment. For example, in cases of jinayat (serious crimes), Islamic law allows for *diyat* (compensation) as an alternative to qishash (retaliation), as long as the victim or their family agrees.⁴⁴ This shows that restoring losses can be a higher priority than simply punishing the perpetrator. In the context of corruption, the application of a restorative approach, such as the return of corrupt assets and the restoration of the socio-economic rights of the community, reflects the spirit of *maslahah mursalah*, which is the principle of taking the law to achieve the common good.⁴⁵

In modern criminal law, Restorative Justice is an approach that emphasizes victim restoration, offender responsibility, and community involvement in resolving cases fairly. 46 This concept aligns with Islamic legal principles, which emphasize aspects of justice, balance, and social restoration in resolving legal conflicts. In Islam, justice does not merely mean imposing appropriate punishment on the perpetrator but also considering the well-being of the victim and the broader community. Principles such as justice ('adl wa ibsan), peace (sull'), and the opportunity for offenders to repent (tawbah) are the main foundations of the Islamic legal system, which is in line with Restorative Justice. From the perspective of Islamic sociology, society has an important role in upholding justice and preventing crime through a system of social supervision or hisbah. 47 Restorative justice, which involves the community in the case resolution process, reflects this principle. In corruption cases, the application of restorative justice can reduce the negative impact on society by ensuring the return of corrupt assets for the public interest. This is in line with the concept of maslahah mursalah, which is an effort to achieve the welfare of the people, so that justice is not only retributive but also constructive for social life. 48

Basic Islamic values, such as *islah*, *tawbah*, *maslahah*, have a strong correlation with restoration rather than retribution. Theoretically, *islah* and *maslahah* refer more to actions that restore harmony, repair damage, and reform individuals and society. *Islah* prioritizes the restoration of relationships over punitive measures, while repentance is sincere repentance, which demands accountability, restitution, and a commitment not to repeat the wrong. Islamic jurisprudence views that corruption disrupts the balance of society (fitrah) and recovering stolen assets "repairs" (*islah*) the damage by returning resources to

⁴³Dyajeng Ayu Musdalifah dkk., "Dehumanisasi Penerapan Hukum Pidana Secara Berlebihan (Overspanning Van Het Strafrecht) Berdasarkan Teori Social Engineering," t.t.

⁴⁴mira Maulidar, "Korelasi Filosofis Antara Restorative Justice Dan Diyat Dalam Sistem Hukum Pidana Islam," *At-Tasyri': Jurnal Ilmiah Prodi Muamalah*, January 19, 2022, 143–55, https://doi.org/10.47498/tasyri.v13i2.856.

⁴⁵ Ali Sodiqin, "Legal, Moral, and Spiritual Dialectics in the Islamic Restorative Justice System," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 21, no. 2 (30 Desember 2021), https://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/ahkam/article/view/22675.

⁴⁶Habibul Umam Taqiuddin dan Risdiana Risdiana, "Penerapan Keadilan Restoratif (Restorative Justice) Dalam Praktik Ketatanegaraan," *JISIP (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Pendidikan)* 6, no. 1 (30 Januari 2022), https://doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v6i1.2972.

⁴⁷Ahwan Fanani and Tika Ifrida Takayasa, "Hisbah in Public Moral and Marketplace Control: From Historical to Indonesian Contexts," *Hikmatuna: Journal for Integrative Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (June 30, 2022): 40–54, https://doi.org/10.28918/hikmatuna.v8i1.4666.

⁴⁸Noor Rizqiya Fimaulidina, "Konsep Restorative Justice Dalam Penyelesaian Tindak Pidana Ringan Tinjauan Maslahah Mursalah Al-Syatibi," *Al-Inṣāf - Journal Program Studi Ahwal Al Syakhshiyyah* 2, no. 2 (June 30, 2023): 77–90, https://doi.org/10.61610/ash.v2i2.30.

society. Meanwhile, Islamic law takes the view that retributive punishment (e.g., imprisonment) alone cannot address systemic damage; instead, restoration directly benefits society. Furthermore, social law theory emphasizes the role of law in achieving social justice and cohesion. Therefore, from this perspective, repairing damage through dialogue, restitution, and reconciliation is more effective.⁴⁹ When linked to these basic Islamic principles and social legal theory, both prioritize healing victims and communities over punishing offenders. The example includes diyah (blood money) in Islamic law compensates victims' families, balancing justice with societal healing. Therefore, returning trillions of rupiah for the welfare of the people is more just than just imprisoning corruptors without asset recovery.

From a social theory of law perspective, as articulated by Roscoe Pound, law functions as a means of social engineering (law as a tool of social engineering). This means that law should ideally be used to improve and build social structures, not merely to impose sanctions. A legal system overly focused on retributive punishment risks exacerbating social harm without addressing the root causes, whereas a restorative approach can strengthen social solidarity, restore public trust, and rehabilitate societal structures disrupted by crime. Islam also emphasizes the balance between justice and compassion within its legal system.⁵⁰ Restorative justice can be a solution to achieve a more humane and effective justice system in Indonesia. This approach is expected to provide greater benefits for all parties involved, including victims, perpetrators, and the wider community.⁵¹ In this case, restorative justice provides space for perpetrators to take responsibility and get a second chance, provided they meet certain conditions, such as returning state losses and not repeating their actions.⁵² This approach can also prevent overlapping legal problems, such as overcrowding in correctional institutions and ineffective punishments that do not contribute to social rehabilitation.⁵³

Thus, the implementation of Restorative Justice in the Indonesian legal system can be considered a more comprehensive form of justice enforcement, especially in cases involving public interest such as corruption.⁵⁴ As long as the implementation of this concept adheres to the principles of justice in Islam and considers the broader social impact, Restorative Justice can be a solution that not only punishes perpetrators but also restores the well-being of society.⁵⁵ Therefore, this approach has strong relevance in the Islamic legal system and can serve as an alternative to enhance the effectiveness of law

⁴⁹ John Braithwaite, *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁵⁰Rona Salsabila, Ulfaniatul Hasanah, and MF Hidayatullah, "Ontologi Ekonomi Islam: Kajian Atas Nilai Dan Tujuan Ekonomi Dalam Perspektif Islam," n.d.

⁵¹Ahmad Faizal Azhar, "Penerapan Konsep Keadilan Restoratif (Restorative Justice) Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana Di Indonesia," n.d.

⁵²Boniek Juventus, Andry Syafrizal Tanjung, dan Ismaidar Ismaidar, "Implikasi Hukum Penerapan Restorative Justice pada Tahap Penuntutan Perkara Tindak Pidana Pencurian," JIIP - Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan 7, no. 5 (7 Mei 2024): 5056–64, https://doi.org/10.54371/jiip.v7i5.4413.

⁵³Curt T. Griffiths dan Danielle J. Murdoch, Strategies and Best Practices against Overcrowding in Correctional Institutions (Vancouver, British Columbia: International Centre for Crimina Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy, 2009).

⁵⁴Orin Gusta Andini, Nilasari Nilasari, dan Andreas Avelino Eurian, "Restorative Justice in Indonesia Corruption Crime: A Utopia," Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum 31, no. 1 (13 April 2023): h. 80, https://doi.org/10.22219/ljih.v31i1.24247.

⁵⁵Rizky Fajar Solin, Hafsah Hafsah, dan Ramadhan Syahmedi Siregar, "Pelaksanaan Restorative Justice di Kejaksaan Negeri Dairi dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam," Al Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan 18, no. 6 (22 November 2024): 4156, https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v18i6.4155.

enforcement in Indonesia.⁵⁶ The following table summarizes the application of Restorative Justice in modern criminal law and its alignment with the principles of Islamic law.⁵⁷

Table 3
The Application of Restorative Justice in Modern Criminal Law and Its Compability with Islamic Legal Principles

Aspect	Restorative Justice	Islamic Legal Principles
Main Objectives	Victim restoration, perpetrator responsibility, community involvement in case resolution.	Emphasizing justice, balance, and social restoration in resolving legal conflicts.
Justice	Justice that is not only retributive but also constructive for society.	Justice that includes justice ('adl wa ihsan), peace (sulh), and social welfare.
Role of Society	Society is involved in the case resolution process.	The community has a role in social supervision (hisbah) to uphold justice.
Asset Recovery	Return of assets for the public interest.	The principle of maslahah mursalah, which aims to bring benefits to the people.
Opportunity to Repent	Providing opportunities for perpetrators to take responsibility and reform themselves.	Perpetrators are given the opportunity to repent and restore the rights they have violated.
Balance between justice and compassion	Maintaining a balance between punishment and opportunities for reform.	Islam emphasizes a balance between justice and compassion (rahmah).
Excessive punishment	Excessive punishment can be avoided, especially those that have the potential to cause social stigma.	Excessive punishment is not recomended if the perpetrator shows good faith to improve themselves.
Efficiency of the Legal System	Reducing overlapping legal issues and overcrowding in correctional institutions.	Islam prioritizes efficiency in law enforcement, by not delaying justice.
Islam prioritizes efficiency in law enforcement, without delaying justice.	Providing solutions to restore the welfare of the people by recovering state losses.	The concept of restorative justice is in line with efforts to address corruption fairly and restore public losses.

Based on the above information, in order to ensure that the implementation of restorative justice does not lead to impunity, it is necessary to design a strict and measurable monitoring mechanism. One step that can be taken is to establish an open mediation process that is supervised by an independent and authorized institution or authority. This supervision aims to ensure that all stages of mediation are carried out in a transparent, fair, and accountable manner, and that the rights of victims are fully respected. In addition, consideration should be given to the application of additional social sanctions against

⁵⁶Sumardi Efendi, Khairil Akbar, dan Muhadi Khalidi, "Menjelajahi Hukuman Pidana: Tinjauan Komparatif Hukum Islam dan Indonesia," *Jurnal Studi Islam UQAHA* 1, no. 1 (Maret 2025): h. 13-22, https://f uqaha. ibnusantara.com/index.php/fqh/article/view/2.

⁵⁷Shinta Nur Ramadhanti, Alifia Nurensa, dan Syahror Adjani Rianto, "Konsep Restorative Justice Dalam Perbandingan Hukum Pidana Di Indonesia Dengan Hukum Islam," 2022.

⁵⁸ Mohamad Revaldy Fairuzzen, S. H. Dr. Hj. Asmak Ul Hosnah, dan Abil Arya Putra, "Menelusuri Akar Masalah: Faktor Penyebab Angka Kriminalitas Anak Di Bawah Umur," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Jurisprudence, Economic and Legal Theory* 2, no. 4 (7 November 2024): 1947–57, https://doi.org/10.62976/ijijel.v2i4.737.

perpetrators of criminal acts that are resolved through restorative justice mechanisms. Such social sanctions may include the publication of the perpetrator's identity in a limited environment, certain restrictions on social or political rights, or other proportionate forms of restriction, in order to emphasize the moral and social consequences of the criminal act committed.⁵⁹

The final outcome of the restorative justice process also needs to be evaluated systematically. This evaluation should assess whether the victims have been fully restored, whether the perpetrators have demonstrated a sense of responsibility, and whether there has been a deterrent effect. This periodic evaluation is important to ensure that restorative justice is not merely an administrative procedure, but also an effective instrument in building social justice and preventing the recurrence of crime.⁶⁰

Thus, a comprehensive monitoring plan serves as a safeguard against the risk of impunity in the implementation of restorative justice. This approach ensures that even though cases are resolved in a non-punitive manner, perpetrators still face real moral and social accountability. Strict monitoring, proportionate social sanctions, and periodic evaluation will strengthen the credibility of restorative justice as a justice mechanism that is not only oriented toward recovery but also toward preventing future violations. In the long term, these efforts will contribute to the formation of a more restorative and just legal culture in Indonesia.

Religious Organizations' Responses to Restorative Justice in Corruption Cases

Corruption is an extraordinary crime that has a widespread impact on the social,⁶¹ economic,⁶² and political life of a country.⁶³ This practice not only harms the state's finances but also undermines public morality and trust in the government and legal institutions. Various efforts continue to be made to eradicate corruption, both through repressive legal approaches and alternative approaches such as Restorative Justice.⁶⁴ In its development, the concept of Restorative Justice has gained significant attention as a solution for addressing corruption cases by emphasizing the restoration of losses caused by criminal acts, rather than merely punishing the perpetrators.⁶⁵ This approach has sparked various responses from religious organizations, which play a strategic role in shaping legal awareness and ethics within society. 66

In Indonesia, the two largest religious organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, have also shared their perspectives on this issue. M. Adnan, Katib Syuriah

⁵⁹ Mariani Mariani, "Pengaturan Rujuk Di Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam Dan Singapura," *ISLAMIC* ANDLAWSTUDIES 6, no. https://doi.org/10.18592/jils.v6i1.6825.

⁶⁰ Nuraida Fitri Habi dkk., "Prioritizing Restorative Justice in the Settlement of the Sumbang Besak Adultery Case in Babeko Village, Jambi," El-Mashlahah 14, no. 2 (30 Desember 2024): 343-60, https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v14i2.8030.

⁶¹ Nandha Risky Putra dan Rosa Linda, "Dampak Perubahan Sosial Terhadap Masyarakat dari Kejahatan Korupsi," Integritas : Jurnal Antikorupsi 8, no. 1 (25 Juni 2022): h. 13-24, https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v8i1.898.

⁶² Benjamin Powell, G.P. Manish, dan Malavika Nair, Corruption, Crime and Economic Growth (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2024).

⁶³ Della Porta, D dan Vannucci, A., "Efek Sesat dari Korupsi Politik," Studi Politik 45, no. 3 (2018): h. 524, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00094.

⁶⁴ Peter Genger, "Memerangi Korupsi Dengan Tradisi Keadilan Restoratif Afrika: Langkah-langkah yang Disarankan Untuk Nigeria," Jurnal Kriminologi dan Studi Keadilan Afrika 11, no. 1 (2018): h. 6.

⁶⁵Thomas Procter-Legg, Jonathan Hobson, dan Ernest Quimby, "Keadilan Restoratif dan Keadilan Sosial: Perspektif Internasional," Tinjauan Keadilan Kontemporer 27, no. 2-3 (2 Juli 2024): 218-38, https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2024.2414953.

⁶⁶ Sriwiyanti Sriwiyanti, Wahyu Saefudin, dan Siti Aminah, "Restorative Justice for Juvenile Offenders in Indonesia: A Study of Psychological Perspective and Islamic Law," Journal of Islamic Law 2, no. 2 (4 Agustus 2021): 168–96, https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v2i2.335.

PBNU, highlighted the fiqh aspect in upholding justice against corruptors, while Prof. Dr. Ma'mun Murod Al-Barbasy, M.Si., Rector of Muhammadiyah University Jakarta, emphasized the importance of legal reform to make the implementation of Restorative Justice effective. Both perspectives aim to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how justice can be upheld in the handling of corruption cases.⁶⁷

NU Perspective: Moral Justice and Fiqh Principles

Mohammad Adnan, Katib Syuriah PBNU⁶⁸, stated during the interview that: "emphasized that Restorative Justice in corruption cases must be in line with Islamic legal principles that maintain a balance between individual rights, community rights, and the rights of Allah (*haqqullah*). This framework is consistent with classical Islamic legal principles such as *dar' al-mafasid muqaddam ala jalb al-masalih* (preventing harm takes precedence over securing benefits)." However, balancing divine rights with societal needs is complex. For example, if Restorative Justice prioritizes asset recovery but neglects punitive measures (e.g., imprisonment), it risks undermining deterrence, a primary societal right. ⁶⁹

Adnan argues that Restorative Justice in corruption cases should not exempt punishment unless there is full restitution (assets + fines). This reflects the fiqh ushul principle of "avoiding greater harm by enduring lesser harm." "Lesser harm" includes recovering stolen assets and imposing fines to repair losses, while "greater harm" includes allowing corrupt actors to avoid accountability, eroding public trust, and normalizing corruption. This approach challenges the soft model of Restorative Justice that prioritizes reconciliation over material justice. In secular legal systems, Restorative Justice often focuses on dialogue and rehabilitation, but Islamic law requires Restorative Justice to meet stricter requirements (e.g., restitution as a prerequisite for pardon). 70

Adnan also argues that forgiveness for corruptors can only be granted if all corrupt assets are returned along with fines or additional penalties. Without this, justice becomes unequal and public trust in the law weakens. Adnan highlights three main rights in Islamic law:

- 1. The right of individuals (victims, in this case the state and society) to demand justice.
- 2. The right of society to deterrence in order to maintain social order.
- 3. The right of God as the ultimate supporter of justice.

Adnan's conditions for pardon (return of assets + fines) reflect the principle of the Qur'an: "Except for those who repent before you defeat them; know that Allah is Forgiving and Merciful" (Quran 5:34). However, mercy cannot override the rights of society; corrupt actors must demonstrate genuine reform. This raises theological and practical dilemmas. For example, if a corrupt official repents but cannot repay all assets due to financial ruin, does Islamic law permit alternative sanctions? How is the sincerity of repentance measured?

⁶⁷ Doli Witro, "State Islamic University Students' Perceptions of Israel Affiliated Products: A Study After the Fatwa of Indonesian Ulema Council No. 83 of 2023 Concerning the Law on Support for the Palestinian Struggle," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, 12 Juni 2024, 145–60, https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v18i1.10554.

⁶⁸ Mohammad Adnan, Restorative Justice Berdasarkan Respon dari Tokoh Nahdhatul Ulama, t.t., Kampus Pascasarjana UIN Syarif Hidatullah, Jakarta.

⁶⁹ Haris Fadilah, Nur Azmi As'syifa Munirah, dan Rahmatul Magfirah, "Studi Komparatif Hukum Donor Sperma Perspektif Hukum Perdata Konvensional Dan Hukum Perdata Islam," *Interdisciplinary Explorations in Research Journal* 2, no. 2 (1 Juni 2024): 611–20, https://doi.org/10.62976/ierj.v2i2.517.

⁷⁰ Sunbal Islam Chaudhary, Usman Asghar, dan Muhammad Afzal, "Examining Restorative Justice: Different Approaches in Islamic Customary Law and International Practices," *PAKISTAN ISLAMICUS* (An International Journal of Islamic and Social Sciences) 04, no. 02 (2024): h. 44.

Adnan's framework diverges from secular Restorative Justice models, which focus on victim-perpetrator mediation and community healing, often downplaying punitive measures, but aligns with Islamic legal ethics. It also resonates with global anti-corruption norms (e.g., UNCAC) that emphasize asset recovery.⁷¹

This section discusses Mohammad Adnan's perspective on the application of Restorative Justice (RJ) in corruption cases, particularly from an Islamic legal framework. Adnan emphasizes the necessity for RJ to align with Islamic legal principles that balance individual, societal, and divine rights. He argues that RJ should not exclude punishment unless there is full restitution of stolen assets and fines, as this would prevent the "greater harm" of eroding public trust and normalizing corruption. Adnan further asserts that forgiveness for corrupt actors is contingent upon complete asset recovery, aligning with the Our'anic principle of mercy, but also maintaining societal justice. His approach challenges secular models of RJ by integrating stricter requirements for pardon, ensuring that justice remains both material and spiritual. This framework not only reflects Islamic law but also resonates with global anti-corruption norms.

Muhammadiyah Perspective: Legal Reform and System Effectiveness

Meanwhile, Ma'mun Murod Al-Barbasy (Rector of UMJ)⁷² stated during the interview that: "highlighted the root causes of corruption as a chronic disease of bureaucracy that requires structural legal reform. According to him, Restorative Justice can be effective if implemented with strict mechanisms, such as first, Recovery of state losses through the return of corrupt assets. Second, Limiting the political rights or positions of perpetrators. And thirs Monitoring integrity throughout the restoration process."

He referred to the success of similar systems in England and Wales, New Zealand, Australia, and Colorado, United States.⁷³ In an effort to create a criminal justice system that is more responsive to the needs of victims, perpetrators, and communities, these countries have adopted a Restorative Justice approach that offers an alternative to traditional punishment mechanisms, with a focus on dialogue, restoration of losses, and restoration of social relations. Each region demonstrates different implementation models, both in terms of policy, stages of implementation within the legal process, and the types of cases that can be resolved through RJ. The following table summarizes how some countries that have incorporated RJ principles into their legal systems.

Table 4 Implementation of Restorative Justice (RJ) in England and Wales, New Zaeland, Australia, and Colorado, United States.

No	Country/Region	Implementation of Restorative Justice	Special Notes
1	England and Wales	 Each region (PCC) funds Restorative Justice services for victims. Use in all stages of the legal process, for all types of offenses. Police can resolve minor cases and non-criminal incidents through Restorative Justice. 	Restorative Justice can be used even if the victim does not wish to participate.

⁷¹ Islamul Haq dkk., "Unlocking The Potential of 'Kalosara': An Extensive Analysis of Adultery Instances Dispute Resolution in the Tolaki Tribe through the Lens of al-Ishlah Concept," Al-Risalah: Forum Sosial Kemasyarakatan 24, Hukum Dan no. 1 (30 Juni https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i1.1488.

⁷² Ma'mun Murod Al-Barbasy, Restorative Justice Berdasarkan Respon dari Tokoh Muhammadiyah, t.t., Rektorat Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta.

⁷³ Ian D. Marder, "Developing restorative justice in law, policy and practice: Learning from around the world," Blog, Penal Reform International (blog), 10 Januari 2019.

No	Country/Region	Implementation of Restorative	Special Notes
110	Country/ Region	Justice	opecial rotes
		4. Youth Offender Teams (YOTs) use Restorative Justice for juvenile offenes.	
		5. Legislation: Crime and Courts Act 2013, Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014.	
2	New Zaeland	 Mandatory to delay trials to offer Restorative Justice (for both juveniles and adults). Used for a wide range of crimes, including serious crimes. Restorative Justice service are community-based and government-funded. 	Initial implementation was delayed due to inadequate service capacity.
3	Australia	 Varies between states. Australian Capital Territory: Special Restorative Justice Unit, including sexual violence and family violence. Queensland and South Australia also implement Restorative Justice. Restorative Justice pilot project for sexual violence cases in Victoria (2015). 	Queensland discontinued police-Ied Restorative conferences, but interest in Restorative Justice remains high.
4	Colorado, United States	 The Restorative Justice Coordinating Council (RJCC) supports Restorative Justice training and programs. Special funds from offender fines (\$10) for Restorative Justice. Restorative Justice is used throughout the juvenile justice process. Restorative Justice policies in the prison system. 	Victims have the right to be informed about Restorative Justice; pre-sentencing evaluations for young offenders are mandatory.

However, he criticized the weaknesses of the Indonesian legal system, such as corruptors who still control businesses from prison or are released by paying a sum of money. For Muhammadiyah, religious organizations must actively build moral and legal awareness among the public, not only as policy watchdogs but also as ethical guidelines in understanding social justice.

Ma'mun Murod Al-Barbasy emphasis on structural legal reform underscores the systemic nature of corruption in Indonesia. By framing corruption as a "chronic disease of bureaucracy," he highlights the inadequacy of addressing individual cases without overhauling the institutional framework. This is in line with institutional theory, which argues that corruption thrives in environments with weak accountability mechanisms and discretionary power. Muhammadiyah's focus on systemic changes such as asset recovery,

⁷⁴ Paul DiMaggio dan Walter W. Powell, "Kandang Besi Ditinjau Kembali: Isomorfisme Kelembagaan dan Rasionalitas Kolektif di Bidang Organisasi (Diterjemahkan oleh G. Yudin)," *Jurnal Sosiologi Ekonomi* 11, no. 1 (2010): h. 34-56, https://doi.org/10.17323/1726-3247-2010-1-34-56.

⁷⁵ Pamela S. Tolbert dan Lynne G. Zucker, "Pelembagaan Teori Kelembagaan," dalam *Mempelajari Organisasi: Teori & Metode* (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road, London EC1Y 1SP Inggris: SAGE Publications Ltd, 1999), h. 169-184, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446218556.n6.

political rights restrictions, and integrity oversight reflects the recognition that a legalrational system (à la Max Weber) is essential for prevention.⁷⁶

Although NU and Muhammadiyah differ in emphasis (NU on figh and moral aspects, while Muhammadiyah on systemic reform), both agree that Restorative Justice is not a path to impunity. Its implementation must adhere to the following principles:

- 1. Sanction imposition: the return of corrupt assets must be accompanied by additional sanctions (fines, revocation of rights).
- 2. Transparency: the process must be monitored by an independent body to prevent manipulation.
- 3. Multidimensional restoration: not only material losses, but also trust and public governance.

In short, the responses of NU and Muhammadiyah reflect the dialectic between Islamic principles and modern legal realities. Restorative justice is not a substitute for punishment, but a complement that emphasizes holistic restoration. By integrating the values of 'adl, maslahah, and structural reform, this approach can be a progressive solution as long as it is implemented transparently and accountably. The role of religious organizations as moral guardians and agents of change remains crucial in creating a clean and integrity-based government.

Ma'mun Murod Al-Barbasy argues that corruption in Indonesia is a "chronic disease of bureaucracy" that requires comprehensive legal reforms. He believes that Restorative Justice (RI) can be effective if applied with strict mechanisms such as asset recovery, restrictions on political rights, and integrity monitoring. Al-Barbasy highlights successful RJ models in England, Wales, New Zealand, Australia, and Colorado, which focus on victim restoration and offender accountability. He also criticizes the weaknesses of the Indonesian legal system, where corruptors may still exert influence from prison or avoid punishment by paying bribes. Muhammadiyah's focus on systemic legal reforms and integrity aligns with Al-Barbasy's view that addressing corruption requires institutional change. Both NU and Muhammadiyah agree that RJ must not be used as a path to impunity but must be part of a broader system of justice that includes sanctions, transparency, and multidimensional restoration. In conclusion, the integration of Islamic principles with modern legal practices can offer a progressive solution to corruption, provided it is implemented transparently and accountably.

Religious Organizations' Recommendations for Restorative Justice in Corruption Cases

Based on interviews with two leaders from NU and Muhammadiyah, with an emphasis on justice, transparency, and corruption prevention, restorative justice in corruption cases has received attention from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. NU recommends selective implementation, greater asset recovery, and supervision by religious scholars and the community to prevent abuse. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah emphasizes additional penalties, justice without discrimination, as well as bureaucratic reform and anti-corruption education. The perspectives of NU and Muhammadiyah, the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, offer valuable insights into the ethical and practical dimensions of applying Restorative Justice in corruption cases. Their views reflect a balance between moral responsibility, the enforcement of law, and community involvement in upholding justice and integrity. This perspective also highlights the

⁷⁶ Lawrence, C, "Institusi dan Organisasi (Edisi ke-2)," Teknologi Informasi & Orang 16, no. 3 (nd): h. 378, https://doi.org/10.1108/09593840310489430.

importance of contextualizing legal mechanisms within Indonesia's cultural and religious values to ensure their effectiveness and public acceptance.⁷⁷

The following table summarizes the strategic recommendations of both organizations in the implementation of Restorative Justice in corruption cases:

Table 5
Recommendations from Religious Organizations for the Implementation of Restorative Justice

Aspect	Nahdlatul Ulama	Muhammadiyah
Selektive Application	Only applied in certain conditions that benefit the community, with clear limitations and criteria.	It must be enforced strictly and without discrimination, and should not only benefit the elite.
Asset recovery	Perpetrators must return assets worth more than the amount of corruption, including fines and compensation for the community.	It is not enough to simply return assets; there must be additional penalties such as revocation of political rights and a ban on holding public office.
Supervision	Strict monitoring by intellectuals, academics, and community organizations is needed to ensure that this mechanism is not abused by the political elite.	There must be legal certainly so that this mechanism does not become a loophole to slow down or weaken the rule of law.
Moral Approach and Rehabilitation	Perpetrators must undergo moral rehabilitation based on religious values, such as social repentance and community service.	Restorative justice must be accompanied by anti-corruption education and bureaucratic reform to prevent corruption early on.
Principles of Justice	It must emphasize substantive justice and not become a loophole to void severe punishment.	Justice must be applied without discrimination, so that ordinary people can also obtain equal justice in other legal violations.
Corruption Prevention	Restorative justice must be part of efforts to prevent orruption, not just resolve cases that have alredy occured.	Reform of the bureaucratic system and transparency in state financial management must be strengthened so that corruption does not recur.

The recommendations by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah reflect their different ideological orientations and institutional priorities, while converging on the core principles of justice, accountability, and systemic reform. NU's emphasis on selective enforcement and moral rehabilitation is in line with its traditionalist (ahlussunnah) roots, which prioritize, first, *maslahah* (public interest): NU's call to return assets "greater than the amount damaged" reflects the Islamic legal maxim "repelling harm takes precedence over securing benefits" (dar' al-mafasid muqaddam ala jalb al-masalih). This ensures that Restorative Justice serves the welfare of society, not individual leniency. Second, Ulama Oversight: Utilizing religious authority (ulama) reflects the concept of hishah (public moral oversight), in which ulama act as guardians of ethical governance.⁷⁸

On the other hand, Muhammadiyah's focus on bureaucratic reform, anti-corruption education, and non-discriminatory justice stems from a modernist, rationalist tradition that

⁷⁷ Setinawati et al., "Kerangka Moderasi Agama: Studi Sosio-Teologis tentang Peran Agama dan Budaya dari Perspektif Indonesia," *Ilmu Sosial & Humaniora Terbuka* 11 (2025): 5–6, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2024.101271.

⁷⁸ Ğāsir Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah sebagai Filsafat Hukum Islam: Pendekatan Sistem*, ed. Ğāsir Auda (London: The International Inst. of Islamic Thought, 2008).

focuses on two aspects: first, the supremacy of law; that is, its demand for "legal certainty" and "additional punishment" in line with Max Weber's legal-rational authority, where an impersonal system ensures accountability. Second, systemic prevention: Anti-corruption education reflects the modernist emphasis on institutional transformation over individual moralism.⁷⁹

Table 6 Recommendations

Aspect	Nahdatul Ulama	Muhammadiyah
Asset	Return assets + fines > amount stolen. Based	Return assets + criminal sanctions. Reflects zajr
recovery	on tawbah (repentance) as material	(prevention) to prevent recidivism.
	restitution symbolizing spiritual	
	accountability.	
Supervision	Ulama and community oversight. Rooted in	Legal certainly. Prioritizes formal institutions
	wilyat al-faqih (guardianship of the ulama)	over informal oversight, refleting distrust of
	in moral governance.	Indonesia's politicized bureaucracy.
Moral vs.	Moral rehabilitation. Emphasizes islah	Bureaucratic reform. Targeting structural
Systemic	(reform) through religious values.	incentives for corruption (e.g., a chaotic
		financial system).
Principles of	Subtantive justice. Prioritizing outcomes	Non-discriminatory justice. Demanding equality
Justice	(public interest) over procedural rigidity.	before the law, criticizing elite impunity.

In an effort to strengthen the implementation of restorative justice in Indonesia, it is important to show that this approach has gained widespread acceptance from the community, including from major religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, and others. This acceptance is a key factor in building social legitimacy for restorative justice as an alternative to criminal justice. Public and religious acceptance of restorative justice is more likely to occur under certain conditions, such as in cases involving offenders with low levels of culpability, victims who desire a peaceful resolution, or cases that are strongly relevant to the principles of restorative justice in religious teachings and local cultural values. NU and Muhammadiyah, which are known for promoting the values of deliberation, peace, and restoration of social relations, have the potential to become key supporters in promoting the legitimacy of restorative justice at the grassroots level.

The active involvement of these religious organizations, both in providing moral advocacy and in participating directly in the mediation process, will ensure that restorative justice mechanisms operate within a culturally and religiously acceptable framework. As a result, public trust in this process will increase, strengthening its social acceptance and reducing resistance to the paradigm shift from retributive justice to restorative justice. In the long term, this acceptance will not only accelerate the institutionalization of restorative justice, but also expand its scope as an integral part of a national legal system that is more oriented towards social restoration and reconciliation.

CONCLUSION

This study confirms that restorative justice is not merely a technical alternative in criminal case resolution, but offers a new direction in the renewal of the Indonesian legal paradigm, particularly within the field of Islamic sociology of law. As an approach emphasizing the restoration of social relations and the strengthening of community roles in the justice process, restorative justice brings a spirit of reconciliation and moral empowerment that is highly relevant amid the crisis of legitimacy and overload of the formal justice system. Values such as sulh (reconciliation), islah (social improvement),

⁷⁹ James L Peaccock, Memurnikan Iman: Gerakan Muhammadijah dalam Islam Indonesia (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press., 1978), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9781469635163_peacock.

maslahah (public interest), and 'afw (forgiveness) make restorative justice highly compatible with the ethos of Islamic law, which is not solely oriented toward punishment but toward the restoration of the social and spiritual structure of society.

Within the framework of Islamic sociology of law, forgiveness ('afw) is not merely an individual act, but part of a social mechanism that affirms the importance of harmony, acknowledgment of wrongdoing, and restoration of relationships among members of society. Forgiveness is seen as both a spiritual and social means of reducing resentment and rebuilding community solidarity, which is essential in the restorative justice paradigm. Therefore, granting forgiveness in this context does not eliminate justice but enriches its meaning through a more humanistic and transformative approach. In the context of extraordinary crimes such as corruption, this approach challenges the dominant retributive paradigm by opening space for restoration that addresses material, moral, and social dimensions comprehensively. However, its implementation requires a mature institutional design, progressive regulations, and strong socio-political control to prevent it from being used as a means of covert impunity. Without transparent oversight and clear norms, this concept can be misused by powerful actors to avoid substantive accountability.

The constructive response from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah is an important reflection that this approach can gain moral legitimacy if guided by ethical values and principles of substantive justice. NU emphasizes the aspects of fiqh and public morality, while Muhammadiyah is more grounded in the logic of institutional reform and the supremacy of rational law. Both view restorative justice as a means of improving the legal system, not an escape from criminal responsibility.

Thus, restorative justice has the potential to be a fair middle ground between punishment and forgiveness, between legal certainty and social welfare. If synergized with Islamic values, including the dimension of forgiveness as a form of social spirituality, as well as the principle of justice in legal sociology, this approach can bring about a more down-to-earth legal transformation that is aligned with human values. Therefore, restorative justice is not only worthy of implementation but must also be developed as part of the grand vision of reconstructing Indonesia's Islamic legal system to be responsive, inclusive, and transformative.

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