JURNAL ILMU KEPOLISIAN

(Police Science Journal)

Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian (JIK) is published by the College of Police Science, Lemdiklat Polri and is intended as a medium of information and a forum for discussing issues related to Police Science. Our academic journal is a source of reference, both for experts, academics, practitioners, or anyone who is interested in expressing the results of their thoughts and research in the form of scientific articles to the wider community on all matters relating to Police Science. Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian is published in print edition P-ISSN: 2620-5025 (https://issn.brin.go.id/terbit/detail/1522224491) and online edition E-ISSN: 2621-8410 (https://issn.brin.go.id/terbit/detail/1532313039). Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian has been accredited based on the Decree of the Director General of Higher Education, Research and Technology of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia Number 79/E/KPT/2023, dated May 11, 2023.

Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian contains research articles and reviews on disciplines related to Police Science, namely Law, Social Science, Sociology, Administration, Criminology, and others. In addition, Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian also includes many research and reviews on Police Science in a broader sense. The editors invite experts, academics, practitioners, or anyone who is interested to express the results of their thoughts and research in the form of scientific articles to the wider community. Based on the decision of the Director General No.177/E/KPT/2024 concerning the accreditation ranking of scientific journals for the second period of 2024, the Journal of Police Science is accredited with Sinta 2.

Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Optimization Of Sistem Manajemen Kinerja For Improved Investigator Outcomes In The Indonesian National Police

Egidio Fernando Alfamantar[1], Muhammad Alif Fadillah[2]

[1]Special Detachment 88 Polri, Indonesia
[2]University of Leeds, Leeds, United Kingdom
Email Corresponding Author: egidiofernando007@gmail.com
Email Author 2: Dnhz1553@leeds.ac.uk

Abstract

This study investigates the effectiveness of the Sistem Manajemen Kinerja (SMK) in enhancing investigator performance to uphold Polri Presisi values within the Karawang Resort Police. Polri Presisi emphasizes predictive, responsible, and transparently equitable policing, essential for maintaining public trust and operational integrity. Recent incidents of police-involved violence and unprofessional conduct underscore critical challenges in aligning police practices with Presisi ideals. Employing a descriptive analysis approach utilizing data from 2022 to 2024 at Karawang Resort Police, the study reveals significant gaps in Sistem Manajemen Kinerja utilization, including inadequate socialization, mentorship challenges amidst heavy workloads, and underutilization of evaluations for personnel development. Recommendations focus on forging collaborative training partnerships with academic institutions, international training for supervisors, and enhancing information technology to bolster investigative capabilities. Implementing these recommendations aims to elevate investigator performance and overall operational effectiveness at the Karawang Resort Police, which is crucial in navigating contemporary policing challenges while adhering to Polri Presisi standards in the dynamic landscape of Industry 4.0.

Keywords: performance management system, polri presisi, investigator performance, law enforcement, organizational effectiveness

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian National Police (INP) holds and runs the well-known "*POLRI PRESISI*" initiative, which emphasizes a data-driven approach to policing aimed at enhancing security and maintaining public order. This initiative, summarised in the acronym *Presisi* (*Prediktif, Responsibilitas, dan Transparansi Berkeadilan* - Predictive, Responsible, and Equitably Transparent), underscores the importance of responsible conduct by police officers in executing their duties with sensitivity and fairness (Komjen Pol. Drs. Listyo Sigit Prabowo, M.Si, 2021).

The urgency of elevating the caliber of INP personnel is underscored by the necessity of addressing widespread public dissatisfaction and scrutiny. Data indicates a troubling trend: 155 instances of unprofessional conduct by investigators in 2021, followed by a decrease to 111 in 2022 and a subsequent rise to 162 in 2023 (Propam Polri, 2023). These figures highlight persistent deficiencies in investigator performance, undermining public trust and failing to meet the stringent standards set forth by the *Presisi* values.

The Sistem Manajemen Kinerja (SMK) Polri is a systematic framework intended to evaluate, oversee, and improve the performance of Indonesian police personnel across all ranks. SMK Polri is established to offer a precise, methodical, and equitable method for assessing individual and team performance, enabling the organization to synchronize personal aspirations with overarching institutional goals. This approach establishes precise performance indicators and targets for each officer, from junior staff to senior positions, ensuring clarity on organizational tasks and expectations. The objectives of SMK Polri are various. Initially, it seeks to create explicit standards of performance and conduct, ensuring that officers fulfill both the technical needs of their responsibilities and the ethical and professional norms upheld by police. Secondly, SMK Polri serves as a mechanism for ongoing enhancement, wherein systematic assessments facilitate the identification of strengths and developmental needs, hence enabling focused training, mentorship, or modifications to enhance performance. Moreover, SMK Polri advocates for equity in career advancement; assessments are grounded in objective standards, thereby mitigating bias in promotion, reward, and disciplinary decisions.

SMK Polri is not merely an instrument for assessing human performance; instead, it is a strategic framework that directly supports and reinforces the Presisi (Predictive, Responsiveness, Transparency, and Justice) values essential to Polri's mission. SMK facilitates the integration of individual officer objectives with the overarching goals of Polri, fostering a culture of continual improvement that reflects each component of Presisi. SMK enhances Presisi's predictive capabilities by establishing explicit aims and analyzing previous data to anticipate potential difficulties and preparedness, improving proactive policing initiatives. SMK prioritizes the assessment and promotion of prompt, practical solutions to developing difficulties, ensuring that individuals are evaluated not only on efficiency but also on their capacity to act rapidly and judiciously in crucial situations. Furthermore, SMK's focus on transparency is in perfect harmony with the Presisi principle of transparency, as the system is founded on explicit, open criteria and quantifiable indications, enabling officers to comprehend precisely what is required of them and how they are advancing. This transparency promotes a culture of integrity and responsibility, as officials are assessed through objective and rigorous procedures. Ultimately, by anchoring performance evaluations in equitable and just standards, SMK bolsters Presisi's justice element, guaranteeing that promotions, awards, and

disciplinary measures are determined by objective performance metrics rather than subjective considerations.

Enhancing investigator performance becomes crucial for organizational integrity and restoring public confidence in police investigation capabilities. Moreover, effective human resource management is pivotal in creating environments conducive to personnel growth and alignment with organizational objectives (Busro, 2018). As the INP navigates the complexities of the Police 4.0 era, achieving these goals necessitates robust systems that effectively guide policy and ensure sustained high performance among staff. Individual performance significantly impacts organizational success and is influenced by motivation levels, organizational systems, performance indicators, continuous improvement initiatives, and job satisfaction factors (Atatsi et al., 2019; Bonache & Noethen, 2014; Darvishmotevali & Ali, 2020; Lele et al., 2024; Nisar & Rasheed, 2020; Santa Maria et al., 2021; Triansyah et al., 2023)

With a workforce exceeding 447,000 employees as of the second quarter of 2023 (www.polri.go.id), the INP requires systematic, integrated, and objective measures to monitor unit and personnel performance effectively. Of particular concern are investigators, who have been given persistent public criticism regarding investigative efforts. The Karawang Resort Police, servicing a densely populated capital area with diverse challenges, exemplifies the critical need for quality personnel and supportive work environments. As of 2024, the Karawang Resort Police comprises 1.264 personnel, including 1.218 police officers and 46 civil servants (Intel Dasar of Karawang Resort Police, 2024). However, challenges persist in implementing effective Performance Management Systems (PMS) at this level, hindering efforts to promote effective investigator performance and uphold the Presisi values.

This study seeks to investigate the effectiveness of the Performance Management System in improving investigator performance to uphold the *Polri Presisi* values. Specifically, the research aims to reveal and explore strategies such as performance planning, coaching, and evaluation within the Criminal Investigation Unit at the Karawang Resort Police.

METHODS

The methodology adopted for this manuscript is descriptive analysis, aiming to provide in-depth explanations and focus on the research object based on data while avoiding general analysis (Creswell, 2014; Sugiyono, 2009). Therefore, this study discussed key issues based on data from Karawang Resort Police from 2022 to 2024, presenting detailed elaborations based on the author's experience to understand core issues and their resolution strategies.

In gathering data, the author applied the concepts of Environmental Scanning (ES) and Organizational Health Audit (OHA) as described by Kearns in Setyo (2022). ES involves crucial methods for planners or decision-makers to observe their organization's environment, thereby identifying external data that could impact organizational decisions regarding opportunities and threats. On the other hand, OHA is a thorough research process into organizational health conditions to identify strengths and weaknesses and allocate resources effectively in decision-making processes. This research collected data through interviews with key personnel at Karawang Resort Police, such as the Head of Human Resources and the Criminal Investigation Unit, and document research from various sources, including Resort Police official documents such as strategic plans, financial reports, scholarly publications, legislative regulations, and online sources.

For data analysis, the author utilized the Humphrey's SWOT Analysis (1974), which further was used to select alternative strategies for planning activities over different time horizons—short, medium, and long term. The SWOT analysis framework evaluates external factors consisting of weaknesses and threats alongside internal factors comprising strengths and opportunities. The EFAS-IFAS and SFAS frameworks were also employed as foundations for designing development plans.

The Grand Theory of Performance Management System

In understanding the dynamics of organizational performance, Gunawan (2006) introduces a nuanced perspective through the Performance Management System often known as SMK (abbreviation of *Sistem Manajemen Kinerja*). This framework, encompassing a cycle of three interlinked stages, is a cornerstone in contemporary management practices. Each stage—Performance Planning, Performance Coaching, and Performance Evaluation—serves not only to align individual efforts with organizational objectives but also to foster continuous improvement and development.

The first stage is Performance Planning, which aims to set performance targets that align with the organization's plans through mutual agreement between supervisors and subordinates. This collaborative process fosters joint commitment and a sense of ownership, clearly defining job responsibilities and expectations for the individual in the position. Performance Planning establishes a strong foundation for subsequent performance management stages by ensuring clarity and alignment with organizational goals.

The second stage is Performance Coaching, which involves ongoing discussions and support to help individuals achieve their performance targets in line with organizational objectives. Supervisors observe and document subordinates' work during this stage, guiding them to overcome obstacles and achieve targets. The feedback provided not only assists in overcoming immediate challenges but also informs the planning of necessary training and development programs to enhance

competencies. Supervisors emphasize and support effective behaviors, ensuring that individuals are equipped to meet and exceed performance expectations.

The final stage is the Performance Evaluation, where supervisors evaluate the actual performance achieved by comparing it with the established work plan. This evaluation provides valuable feedback, forming the basis for identifying which competencies need further development in the next cycle. By systematically reviewing performance and providing constructive feedback, the organization ensures continuous improvement and development of its workforce, aligning individual growth with organizational success.

However, setting quantitative goals ("WHAT") is often straightforward compared to the nuanced process of setting qualitative competency goals ("HOW"). Therefore, setting and developing too many competencies within one period is not recommended, as it can demotivate employees and be challenging to implement. Focusing on a limited number of priority competencies significantly enhances individual and organizational performance and is more effective (Rehman et al., 2023). By concentrating on a few key competencies, organizations can achieve a more feasible and effective improvement in performance. Such a focused approach may allow employees to develop and master competencies without feeling overwhelmed, leading to a more positive and productive work environment (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2021; Burnett et al., 2020). Developing and achieving a limited number of competencies provides a more substantial domino effect in improving overall performance. The performance management system operates within a cyclical framework, typically spanning one year. This cycle consists of three stages: Performance Planning, Performance Coaching, and Performance Evaluation. Each stage builds on the previous one, ensuring continuous development and alignment with organizational goals. Organizations can enhance employee performance and drive long-term success by following this structured approach.
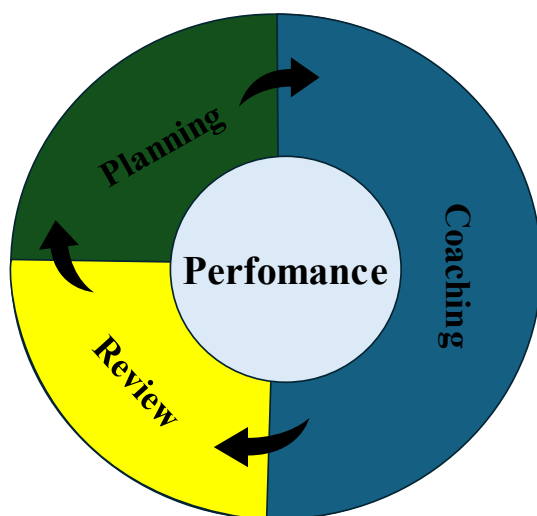
Figure 1: Performance Management System by Gunawan (2011)

Middle Theory

Effective organizational performance hinges on robust planning, guidance, and evaluation strategies. Middle theories in management provide essential frameworks for leaders to collaboratively plan workloads, guide performance towards goals, and evaluate outcomes. These theories ensure alignment, foster mutual understanding, and promote proactive problem-solving within teams, which is crucial for achieving organizational success.

According to Bacal (1999), performance planning involves a collaborative process in which leaders and employees jointly plan workloads over a specified period. This process aims to align perceptions of job success, establish measurement criteria, and strategize solutions for potential obstacles. Its core objective is to ensure mutual understanding between superiors and subordinates, fostering a sense of ownership and commitment to organizational goals. This approach contrasts with directive-driven management, emphasizing shared responsibility and engagement in achieving workplace objectives. Moreover, as defined by Passmore et al. (2013), performance coaching focuses on facilitating systematic improvements in employee work performance, personal growth, and life experiences. This theory underscores the role of leaders in fostering an environment conducive to continuous development and achieving measurable outcomes aligned with organizational goals. In addition, performance evaluation involves methodically assessing individual or group tasks against predetermined standards or agreements (Simanjuntak, 2011). This evaluation serves the dual purpose of providing performance feedback and identifying improvement areas. It is crucial for organizational management to maintain standards and foster a culture of continuous learning and development.

Applied Theory

Applied theories offer actionable insights into critical areas such as external supervision, cooperation dynamics, control mechanisms, and organizational accountability in organizational management. These theories illuminate how organizations navigate challenges, maintain oversight integrity, foster productive collaborations, and uphold accountability standards. Understanding these theories is essential for implementing strategies that enhance organizational efficiency and stakeholder trust.

Filstad and Gottschalk (2011) describes that external supervision involves community oversight to ensure accountability and integrity within institutions such as law enforcement. This approach emphasizes transparency and responsiveness to community concerns, thereby bolstering public trust and safety through active engagement in policing practices. After that, Steward (2006) elaborates on cooperation theory, which underscores the pivotal roles of communication,

coordination, and collaboration in achieving collective goals and addressing organizational challenges. Effective teamwork and shared responsibility are essential for achieving optimal outcomes and adapting to dynamic environments.

Moreover, control theory entails the systematic monitoring and regulation of organizational activities to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in goal attainment (Jones & George, 2003). This theory offers valuable insights into managerial practices to maintain operational standards and optimize organizational performance through informed decision-making and strategic oversight. In addition, Gibelman and Gelman (2001)) elaborate on organizational accountability, emphasizing the duty of organizations to report outcomes and uphold ethical standards to external stakeholders accurately. This concept underscores the critical role of transparency, integrity, and leadership in cultivating a culture of accountability within organizational contexts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Factual Condition of *Polri Presisi*

Since its launch, *Polri Presisi* has brought about significant changes in the structure and organizational culture of the police force, including improvements in handling criminal cases and disciplinary enforcement within the police force itself. Citizen involvement has also been strengthened through participatory programs that enable residents to contribute to crime prevention and mitigation efforts. Despite achieving several milestones, *Polri Presisi* faces several challenges. One is enhancing public awareness and engagement to support law enforcement efforts, particularly in combating corruption and transnational crime (Japriyanto et al., 2022; Mitchell, 2016; Pamungkas, 2019; Yuliantiningsih et al., 2022). Additionally, there is a continuous need to strengthen oversight systems and disciplinary enforcement within the police force to prevent abuses of power and human rights violations.

The latest evaluation of the *Polri Presisi* program based on the analysis from the fourth quarter Precision post analysis of the fourth quarter of 2023 period November to December 2023 indicates that all planned activities under *Polri Presisi* have been executed optimally, with 17 activities achieving a 100% target completion rate and an average achievement per activity of 99.5%. West Java Regional Police was recognized as the top-ranking unit in the Precision quick win analysis, achieving the Best Regional Police status, followed by South Sumatra Regional Police and Jambi Regional Police.
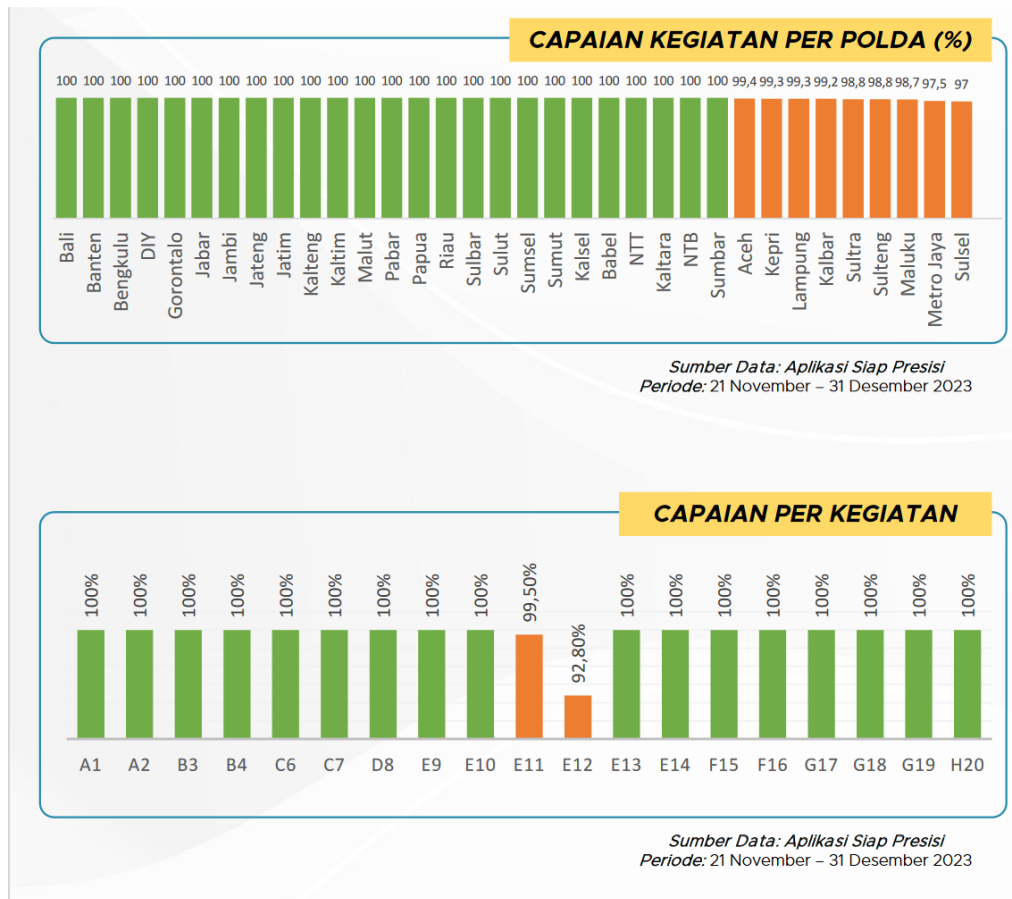
Figure 2: Results of the Fourth Quarter 2023 *Polri Presisi* Program

Based on the data above, the achievements reflected in the implementation of the *Polri Presisi* Program have shown commendable progress toward meeting targets. One notable initiative includes the development of highly skilled human resources. Therefore, human resource development is closely linked to enhancing work performance, particularly among investigators, as discussed in this study. However, it is noteworthy that while there has been significant progress in reporting on the *Polri Presisi* program, unit reports consistently highlight challenges such as personnel shortages and case resolution capabilities within law enforcement functions. Therefore, this remains an ongoing area for continuous improvement, essential for addressing existing challenges effectively.

Factual Condition of Investigator Performance

The performance of investigator personnel stands at the forefront of Indonesia's law enforcement landscape, shaping the nation's approach to combating crime. Recent data on investigator performance reveals significant strides across multiple fronts. According to the year-end report released by the Chief of Indonesian National Police in December 2023, INP had resolved 203,293 cases out of 288,472 reported crimes, marking a commendable 72% success rate (Year-end Release by Chief of Indonesian National Police, 2023). This achievement underscores the dedication and competence of the investigators in tackling increasingly intricate criminal challenges.

Furthermore, forensic technology and data analytics advancements have bolstered investigative capabilities, facilitating more efficient and thorough case resolutions. However, the data also highlights persistent challenges that demand attention, including the imperative for enhanced inter-agency collaboration among investigators and other law enforcement bodies. Upholding ethical standards and integrity throughout investigations remains paramount, alongside addressing obstacles such as insufficient evidence, human resources shortages, and technological limitations. Besides that, to strengthen investigators' capabilities, investments in comprehensive training, educational initiatives, upgraded infrastructure, and technological resources are imperative. These measures enhance investigative prowess and uphold fairness and effectiveness in law enforcement efforts that benefit the broader community.

As the Karawang Resort Police continues to pursue excellence in crime resolution, the ongoing commitment to improving law enforcement outcomes remains steadfast, guided by the pursuit of justice and public safety.

Table 1. Crime Resolution Data for Criminal Investigation Units of Karawang Resort Police

NO	UNIT	2022			2023		
		CRIME TOTAL	CLEARANCE CRIME	CLEARANCE RATE (%)	CRIME TOTAL	CLEARANCE CRIME	CLEARANCE RATE (%)
1	**Criminal Investigation Unit**	15	35	233%	21	36	171%
2	**Narcotics Unit**	115	130	113%	141	128	91%
	TOTAL	130	165	127%	245	240	101%

Source: Performance Report of Government Agencies (Performance Report of Government Agencies) of Karawang Resort Police, 2023

Based on the information presented above, it is evident that the resolution of cases reported to Karawang Resort Police has been maximized, with case resolutions exceeding the number of reports received in 2023. However, these favorable performance metrics raise questions regarding the accuracy of the reported number of police reports—whether all incidents have been appropriately reported. Furthermore, despite the good performance indicators, concerns persist regarding the adequacy of personnel and individual competencies within the criminal investigation unit, as highlighted in the Karawang Resort Police's accountability performance report for 2023. Factors affecting law enforcement performance include shortages in qualified investigators, insufficient capabilities among precinct-level investigators in case disclosures, and backlog from previous years (Performance Report of Government Agencies of Karawang Resort Police, 2023). This finding suggests that performance reports may not necessarily provide an objective and factual assessment but instead aim to achieve favorable evaluations or meet targets set by higher authorities. If not addressed, this situation could significantly impact the performance of the criminal investigation unit

of Karawang Resort Police, as it fails to accurately assess performance and identify appropriate solutions based on data for future organizational improvement and progress.

Moreover, investigators at Karawang Resort Police play a crucial role in maintaining public safety and order through various tasks, including investigating and prosecuting criminal cases. Their responsibilities include gathering evidence and information by interrogating suspects and witnesses and conducting surveillance and scene examinations. These tasks require specialized skills to manage often sensitive and complex situations, primarily uncovering the truth and providing strong evidence for subsequent legal proceedings. In fulfilling their duties, investigators must also regularly report case developments to superiors and relevant agencies. Effective coordination among institutions, including prosecutors and courts, is crucial in achieving swift and fair justice. Additionally, investigators are involved in crime prevention activities by providing community outreach and education. Their performance is evaluated based on the number of cases successfully solved, the quality of investigations, and public satisfaction with case handling.

Factual Condition of the Performance Management System

In analyzing the factual condition of the performance management system to improve the performance of investigators at Karawang Police Department, this script employs the Performance Management System Theory. According to Gunawan (2006), a performance management system is a work cycle consisting of performance planning, performance coaching, and performance evaluation. Additionally, the factual condition related to the performance management system in the criminal investigation unit at Karawang Resort Police, in terms of the number of investigators and their competencies, is as follows:

Table 2. Data on Personnel Numbers and Education Levels at the Karawang Resort Police Criminal Investigation Unit

	Commissioned Officer	Non-Commissioned Officer	Civil Servants	
Number of Members of Karawang Police Criminal Investigation Unit	7	86	2	
	Bachelor's Degree	Master's Degree	Vocational/ Senior High	Specialized Training
Number of Legal Support and Education and development Members of The Criminal Investigation Unit of Karawang Resort Police	43	9	43	8

Source: Karawang Resort Police' HR Division, 2024

Based on the above table, the number of personnel in the Karawang Police Criminal Investigation Unit is 93, which includes seven commissioned officers and 86 non-commissioned officers. However, this total does not meet the determined staffing plan (DSP) of 120 personnel as

stipulated in Regulation Number 2 of 2021 concerning the Organization and Work Procedures at the Resort Police and Sector Police levels. This shortfall indicates additional staffing needs to align with the regulatory requirements and ensure optimal operational efficiency.

Furthermore, the educational quality of personnel in the criminal investigation unit includes 9 with a master's degree, 43 with a bachelor's degree, 43 with a vocational or senior high school education, and eight with specialized investigator training. Notably, only nine personnel hold a master's degree, highlighting a significant need for further educational and specialized training initiatives to enhance the unit's overall effectiveness and capability.

Besides the quality of personnel, achieving the expectations and objectives within the Karawang Police Department requires adequate, independent, and reliable facilities and infrastructure. Below is the quantity of facilities and infrastructure owned by the Criminal Investigation Unit at the Karawang Police Department to support the execution of its duties and functions:

Table 3. Facilities and Infrastructure of the Criminal Investigation Unit at Karawang Police Department

NO	FACILITIES & INFRASTRUCTURE	QUANTITY	CONDITION
General Building and Room Facilities		1	Good
Office Equipment	Computer	35	Good
	Printer	4	Good
	Photocopy Machine	1	Good
Vehicles	Four-Wheel Vehicles	5	Good
	Two-Wheel Vehicles	12	Partially Non-functional
Firearms	Long-Barreled Guns	12	Good
	Short-Barreled Guns	17	Good
	Bulletproof Vests	9	Good
Crime Scene Identification Equipment		2	Good

Source: Criminal Investigation Unit, Karawang Police Department, 2024

Based on the table above, it is evident that while the facilities and infrastructure owned by the criminal investigation unit at Karawang Police Department are in generally good condition, they remain limited and inadequate given the increasing workload and complexity of current threats. To address this, it is crucial to utilize the existing performance management system centrally managed by the Human Resources Division of the Indonesian National Police Headquarters. This system will analyze and provide an overview of the factual conditions in task execution, facilitating continuous

improvement in the future. These efforts are essential to enhance operational capabilities and ensure effective law enforcement within the community.

After detailing the quantity and quality of personnel, as well as the facilities and infrastructure, the budget support data for investigation and inquiry at the Karawang Resort Police based on the Budget Execution List (DIPA) is outlined below:

Table 4. Data on Budget and Planning for the Criminal Investigation Unit

NO	DESCRIPTION	2023 (in Rupiah)	2024 (in Rupiah)
1.	Implementation of Identification, Investigation, and Inquiry of Crimes	33,275,000	36,602,000
2.	Enforcement of General Crimes	5,387,661,000	5,926,427,000
3.	Enforcement of Narcotics Crimes	1,565,837,000	1,722,420,000
4.	Enforcement of Corruption Crimes	830,544,000	913,598,000
5.	Operational Support for Investigation and Inquiry of Crimes	23,292,000	25,621,000
6.	Coordination and Supervision of PPNS	9,982,000	913,598,000
TOTAL		7,850,591,000	8,635,648,000

Source: Karawang Police Department Report, 2023

The table above illustrates that the Budget Needs Plan (DIPA) allocates funds for criminal investigation and inquiry at Karawang Resort Police in 2023, aligning with operational budget requirements as specified. However, the current budget allocation still falls short compared to the number of criminal reports filed by the public. This poses a challenge for investigators in achieving performance targets for case resolution. It is crucial for leaders and investigators to collectively address this issue in performance planning, fostering a shared understanding of these constraints and seeking solutions to mitigate their impact on organizational performance.

Given various weaknesses, limitations, and other challenges hindering investigator performance improvement, it is imperative to consider measures for enhancement collectively. With an online and integrated performance management system in place, it is hoped to serve as a platform providing insights into the performance of each investigator within the criminal investigation unit of Karawang Resort Police. The performance management system guides both generic and specific performance planning initiated by superiors and subordinates. It includes performance mentoring through supervision and guidance during tasks, culminating in periodic evaluations by the investigator's superiors and peers. Further insights into factual conditions regarding issues in performance planning, performance mentoring, and performance evaluation within the performance management system of Karawang Resort Police are detailed below.

Performance Management System Analysis

Performance planning between leaders and subordinates

An ideal performance planning process involves communication between supervisors and subordinates to determine actions aligned with organizational goals. For the police force, performance planning must refer to organizational goal guidelines such as the Strategic Plan (Renstra), Work Plan (Renja), Organizational Structure and Job Descriptions (SOTK), and job responsibilities. However, the current condition of the criminal investigation unit at the Karawang Police Department reveals that the process of creating specific performance evaluations does not adequately refer to Renstra and Renja. All performance planning is made identical, generically, specifically, and managed by the online Performance Management System admin. Consequently, the objective of creating dynamic performance planning as a communication tool between subordinates and supervisors is not effectively achieved. Therefore, improvements in performance planning are necessary to enhance investigator performance, including:

a. **Supervisors' Communication in Performance Planning.** Supervisors, particularly officers, must effectively communicate specific elements in the performance planning process. This involves clearly defining roles, expectations, and objectives to align with organizational goals. Effective communication ensures that subordinates understand their responsibilities and how their tasks contribute to the organization's broader objectives.

b. **Awareness of the Importance of Performance Planning.** There is currently a lack of awareness regarding the importance of performance planning in facilitating subsequent work processes. Both supervisors and subordinates must recognize that detailed and well-thought-out performance plans are crucial for guiding daily activities and achieving long-term goals. Training and continuous education on the significance of performance planning can instill this awareness.

c. **Precision in Performance Planning.** Inaccurate performance planning leads to misinterpretation of tasks, resulting in activities not aligning with the organization's targets and goals. It is essential to ensure that performance plans are specific, measurable, achievable, relevant, and time-bound (SMART), which helps translate organizational goals into actionable tasks for personnel.

d. **Impact of Inadequate Planning.** When performance planning is not aligned with targets, and there is a lack of understanding, personnel tend to work according to their own discretion, leading to activities that cannot be adequately evaluated. This issue underscores the necessity for comprehensive performance planning that is understood and agreed upon by both supervisors and subordinates. Proper planning ensures accountability, facilitates performance evaluation, and helps identify areas for improvement.

Performance coaching from leaders

Performance coaching involves providing direction and monitoring the execution of tasks by investigators in the criminal investigation unit at Karawang Police Department. In the context of investigative duties, performance coaching is conducted through regular analysis and evaluation (monthly and weekly) and case reviews, which are already established as part of the case-handling mechanism.

Table 5. Implementation of Leadership Briefing and Case Reviews in 2022 and 2023

No.	Activity	Description	2022	2023
1	Leadership Briefing	Monthly	18	25
2	Case Reviews	Regularly	76	90

Source: Criminal Investigation Unit, Karawang Police Department, 2024

Based on the data above, it is identified that performance coaching conducted by the investigators' supervisors through leadership sessions and case reviews has increased. Leadership sessions rose to 25 in 2023, and case reviews increased to 90 in 2023. The factual conditions related to performance coaching in the criminal investigation unit at Karawang Police Department are as follows:

a. **While performance coaching is ongoing, it has become a routine process, lacking individualized focus, which diminishes its effectiveness.** This is due to the large number of reports, causing the investigators' supervisors to focus on general solutions for case resolution without being able to delve deeply into the performance of individual investigators. To improve this, it is essential to prioritize individual attention by developing a system where supervisors can dedicate time to address individual investigators' specific needs and challenges. Additionally, reducing the administrative burden by streamlining administrative tasks will allow supervisors more time for meaningful coaching sessions.

b. **The problem-solving process from supervisors to subordinates is not optimal, particularly for specific criminal reports requiring** specialized skills, such as cybercrime and economic fraud. To enhance this aspect, providing specialized training sessions for investigators on emerging crime trends and advanced investigative techniques is crucial. Furthermore, engaging experts in specialized fields to offer advice and support to investigators dealing with complex cases can significantly improve the problem-solving process.

c. **Frequent changes in investigators' supervisors lead to inconsistent quality in leadership, resulting in less effective performance coaching for subordinates.** To mitigate this issue, implementing policies to ensure longer tenures for supervisors will help maintain consistency in coaching. Additionally, developing standardized protocols for performance coaching can ensure uniformity regardless of supervisory changes, providing investigators with a stable and effective coaching environment.

Performance evaluation by leaders

Performance evaluation by investigators' supervisors plays a crucial role in the career development of investigators. Open and objective evaluations foster personnel with high motivation and dedication in carrying out their duties. Performance evaluations should compare actual performance with the initial agreements, ensuring they are conducted objectively without any ulterior motives. The data on performance evaluations in the Performance Management System for members of the criminal investigation unit at Karawang Police Department is as follows:

Table 6. Performance Evaluation of Criminal Investigation Unit Members Based on Performance Management System Scores

No	Year	Above 74	Below 74	Total
1	2022	86	9	95
2	2023	88	7	95

Source: Criminal Investigation Unit, Karawang Police Department, 2024

From the table above, it can be identified that performance evaluations by investigators' supervisors have been conducted. However, the process has not been entirely objective, indicating that the evaluations are almost uniformly distributed, thus not optimally motivating criminal investigation unit personnel to improve their performance. The factual conditions of the performance evaluation stages are as follows:

a. **Performance evaluations are underutilized for identifying personnel issues.** For example, challenges in handling cybercrime cases could prompt the need for specialized training, identified through a thorough evaluation. Leveraging evaluations effectively can pinpoint areas needing additional support or training to enhance operational effectiveness.

b. **Leadership should better emphasize the importance of performance evaluations in career development.** Supervisors must actively advocate for regular assessments, highlighting their role in personal and professional growth and linking them to long-term career objectives. This proactive approach can foster a culture where evaluations are seen as integral to professional advancement.

c. **Performance evaluations often serve as procedural requirements for promotions or educational selections rather than driving continuous improvement.** They should be part of an ongoing process to enhance overall performance, providing feedback that guides development and addresses issues before they significantly impact operations. Integrating evaluations into routine management practices can ensure sustained organizational growth and effectiveness.

SWOT Analysis on Factors Affecting Performance Management System

Factors influencing the performance of law enforcement agencies, particularly the Karawang Resort Police, encompass both internal and external dimensions.

Table 7. Strengths and Weaknesses Analysis Results

Strengths	Weaknesses
• Committed leadership for performance improvement through rewards and punishments.	• Unclear Performance Management System goals and targets.
• Polri Presisi Road Map for excellent HR in the Police 4.0 era.	• Subjective evaluations by leaders compromise accountability.
• High motivation and commitment among criminal investigation members.	• Lack of career development interest among some members.
• Continuous supervision through leadership directives.	• Conventional culture hinders communication.
• Training on performance management systems for effective implementation.	• Limited Performance Management System socialization and communication.

As can be seen from the table above, internally, strengths within the Karawang Resort Police include proactive leadership committed to enhancing personnel performance through structured reward and punishment systems.

Implementing the Polri Precision Transformation Roadmap, emphasizing human resource excellence in the era of Police 4.0, underscores a strategic alignment towards modernization and efficiency. Motivation and commitment among criminal investigation unit members remain high, supported by rigorous supervision and task control mechanisms. However, internal weaknesses such as ambiguous goals within the Polri performance management framework and subjective leadership assessments pose challenges. Cultural norms favoring hierarchical structures hinder effective communication and planning processes, potentially impeding performance optimization. Addressing these internal dynamics through targeted training initiatives and improved communication strategies is crucial for fostering a cohesive and effective law enforcement environment within the district.

Table 8. Opportunities and Threats Analysis Results

Opportunities	Threats
• Government commitment to Good Governance and Clean Governance	• Media reports on misconduct by investigators.
• Advancements in Information Technology support	• Lack of synergy with partner institutions affecting evaluations
• Implementation of a Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies for effective performance by Karawang Resort Police	• Low legal awareness and discipline in the public
• Public demand for fair law enforcement	• Globalization impacts law enforcement dynamics.

Opportunities	Threats
• Collaboration with academic institutions in Karawang for performance management research.	• Insufficient external supervision for Karawang Resort Police investigators.

From the above table, it can be seen that, externally, opportunities arise from governmental policies promoting Good Governance and Clean Governance and advancements in Information Technology (IT) support. Additionally, frameworks such as the Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies underscore the district police's responsibility to achieve effective and stable performance. Public demand for equitable law enforcement and collaborations with local academic institutions further bolster the potential for enhancing operational practices. Conversely, external threats include negative media portrayals highlighting instances of authority abuse and misconduct among police investigators, which erode public trust and perception. Insufficient coordination with partner agencies and limited legal awareness within the community compound these challenges, necessitating adaptive approaches in performance management to navigate globalization impacts effectively.

Comprehensive Problem-Solving Strategies

Analysis of Strategy

External factors

The following data, Analysis of External Factors Analysis Summary (EFAS) and Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) for External Factors, highlights critical opportunities and threats facing the Karawang Resort Police, offering a clear framework for strategic planning and resource allocation to optimize operational effectiveness.

Table 9. External Factors Analysis Summary (EFAS)

NO	ITEMS	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
	OPPORTUNITIES			
1	Government commitment to Good Governance and Clean Governance	0.089	7	0.623
2	Advancements in Information Technology support	0.100	8	0.800
3	Implementation of a Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies for effective performance by Karawang Resort Police	0.112	6	0.672
4	Public demand for fair law enforcement	0.094	7	0.658
5	Collaboration with academic institutions in Karawang for performance management research.	0.105	8	0.840
	SUB-TOTAL	**0.5**		**3.593**
	THREATS			

NO	ITEMS	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
1	Media reports on misconduct by investigators	0.090	2	0.180
2	Lack of synergy with partner institutions affecting evaluations	0.113	3	0.339
3	Low legal awareness and discipline in the public	0.093	2	0.186
4	Globalization impacts on law enforcement dynamics	0.079	4	0.316
5	Insufficient external supervision for Karawang Resort Police investigators.	0.125	4	0.500
	SUB-TOTAL	**0.5**		**1.521**
	TOTAL	**1.00**		**5.114**

Table 10. Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) for External Factors

NO	ITEMS	A	B	C	D	E	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
	OPPORTUNITIES								
1	Government commitment to Good Governance and Clean Governance	1.00	0.87	0.85	0.85	0.85	0.089	7	0.623
2	Advancements in Information Technology support	1.14	1.00	0.85	1.16	0.85	0.100	8	0.800
3	Implementation of a Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies for effective performance by Karawang Resort Police	1.16	1.16	1.00	1.16	1.14	0.112	6	0.672
4	Public demand for fair law enforcement	1.16	0.85	0.85	1.00	0.87	0.094	7	0.658
5	Collaboration with academic institutions in Karawang for	1.14	0.85	0.87	1.14	1.00	0.105	8	0.840

NO	ITEMS	A	B	C	D	E	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
	performance management research.								
	TOTAL						**0.5**		**3.593**

THREATS

NO	ITEMS	A	B	C	D	E	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
1	Media reports on misconduct by investigators	1.00	0.75	0.75	1.5	0.75	0.090	2	0.180
2	Lack of synergy with partner institutions affecting evaluations	1.33	1.00	1.66	1.33	0.66	0.113	3	0.339
3	Low legal awareness and discipline in the public	1.333	0.6	1.00	1.25	0.666	0.093	2	0.186
4	Globalization impacts on law enforcement dynamics	0.666	0.75	0.8	1.00	0.8	0.079	4	0.316
5	Insufficient external supervision for Karawang Resort Police investigators.	1.333	1.5	1.333	1.25	1.00	0.125	4	0.500
	SUB-TOTAL						**0.5**		**1.521**
	TOTAL						**1.00**		**5.114**

Among the identified opportunities, collaboration with academic institutions for performance management research stands out, with the highest score being 0.840. This underscores the strategic importance of leveraging research partnerships to refine and improve performance management practices within the police department. Following closely is the support from advancements in Information Technology, scoring 0.800, highlighting the critical role of IT in modernizing operational capabilities and efficiency. Government commitment to Good Governance and Clean Governance follows with a score of 0.623, signaling a substantial foundation that can be further optimized to enhance governance standards within the organization. The public's strong demand for fair law enforcement, scoring 0.658, reflects a significant expectation for equitable practices in policing. Lastly, the Performance Accountability System implementation scores 0.672, indicating progress in accountability measures but with room for improvement in achieving full effectiveness.

In terms of threats, insufficient external supervision for investigators emerges as the most pressing concern, with a score of 0.500, highlighting the critical need for enhanced oversight to improve investigative practices and outcomes. The lack of synergy with partner institutions, scoring 0.339, poses a moderate threat by hindering effective performance evaluations and collaborative efforts across agencies. Globalization impacts law enforcement dynamics with a score of 0.316, illustrating challenges in adapting to evolving global trends in policing. Media reports on investigator misconduct and low legal awareness and discipline in the public score 0.180 and 0.186, respectively, indicating lesser immediate impact but remaining factors to consider in maintaining operational integrity.

Internal Factors

The following data—Analysis of Internal Factors Analysis Summary (IFAS) and Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) for Internal Factors—highlights critical opportunities and threats facing the Karawang Resort Police, offering a clear framework for strategic planning and resource allocation to optimize operational effectiveness.

Table 11. Internal Factors Analysis Summary (IFAS)

NO	ITEMS	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
	STRENGTHS			
1	Committed leadership for performance improvement through rewards and punishments.	0.106	8	0.848
2	Polri Presisi Road Map for excellent HR in the Police 4.0 era.	0.095	7	0.665
3	High motivation and commitment among criminal investigation members.	0.094	8	0.752
4	Continuous supervision through leadership directives.	0.106	6	0.636
5	Training on performance management systems for effective implementation.	0.099	7	0.693
	SUB-TOTAL	**0.50**		**3,594**
	WEAKNESSES			
1	Unclear Performance Management System goals and targets.	0.074	4	0.296
2	Subjective evaluations by leaders compromise accountability.	0.104	2	0.208
3	Lack of career development interest among some members.	0.095	2	0.190
4	Conventional culture hinders communication.	0.110	3	0.330
5	Limited Performance Management System socialization and communication.	0.116	4	0.464

SUB-TOTAL	0.50	1.488
TOTAL	**1.00**	**5.082**

Table 12. Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) for Internal Factors

NO	ITEMS	A	B	C	D	E	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
	STRENGTHS								
1	Committed leadership for performance improvement through rewards and punishments.	1.00	1.14	0.87	1.14	1.16	0.106	8	0.848
2	Polri Presisi Road Map for excellent HR in the Police 4.0 era.	0.87	1.00	1.16	0.87	0.87	0.095	7	0.665
3	High motivation and commitment among criminal investigation members.	1.14	0.85	1.00	0.85	0.87	0.094	8	0.752
4	Continuous supervision through leadership directives.	0.87	1.14	1.16	1.00	1.16	0.106	6	0.636
5	Training on performance management systems for effective implementation.	0.85	1.14	1.14	0.85	1.00	0.099	7	0.693
	SUBTOTAL						**0.50**		**3,594**
	WEAKNESSES								
1	Unclear Performance Management System goals and targets.	1.00	0.66	0.8	0.75	0.66	0.074	4	0.296
2	Subjective evaluations by leaders compromise accountability.	1.5	1.00	0.8	1.5	0.66	0.104	2	0.208
3	Lack of career development	1.25	1.25	1.00	0.75	0.75	0.095	2	0.190

NO	ITEMS	A	B	C	D	E	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
	interest among some members.								
4	Conventional culture hinders communication.	1.33	0.66	1.33	1.00	1.33	0.110	3	0.330
5	Limited Performance Management System socialization and communication.	1.5	1.5	1.33	0.75	1.00	0.116	4	0.464
	SUBTOTAL						**0.50**		**1.488**
	TOTAL						**1.00**		**5.082**

In analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the criminal investigation unit at Karawang Resort Police based on their scores, several key insights emerge. Committed leadership for performance improvement through rewards and punishments stands out as the top strength, scoring 0.848. This underscores the effectiveness of leadership in driving performance enhancements through clear incentives and consequences. Following closely is the *Polri Presisi* Road Map, scoring 0.665, highlighting its role in shaping a highly skilled workforce aligned with the demands of the Police 4.0 era. High motivation and commitment among criminal investigation members score 0.752, reflecting a strong dedication to duty and operational excellence within the unit. Continuous supervision through leadership directives scores 0.636, indicating robust oversight mechanisms supporting operational consistency and standards adherence. Training on performance management systems scores 0.693, underscoring efforts to equip personnel with the necessary skills to implement performance strategies effectively.

On the other hand, weaknesses include unclear goals and targets within the Performance Management System, scoring 0.296, suggesting a need for clarity to align performance efforts with organizational objectives. Subjective evaluations by leaders, scoring 0.208, pose a risk to accountability and fairness in performance evaluation. Lack of career development interest among some members scores 0.190, highlighting challenges in fostering long-term professional growth and commitment. Conventional culture hindering communication scores 0.330, signaling barriers that impede open dialogue and collaborative planning. Limited socialization and communication of the Performance Management System score 0.464, indicating gaps in disseminating crucial information and expectations effectively.

Analysis of Organizational Position

Based on the results of the IFAS (Internal Factor Analysis Summary) and EFAS (External Factor Analysis Summary) calculations, the organizational assessment underscores the critical need

to optimize the performance management system. This optimization is aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of investigators in achieving the objectives set forth by Polri Presisi. The IFAS and EFAS calculations yielded weighted scores of 5.114 for internal and 5.082 for external factors, respectively.
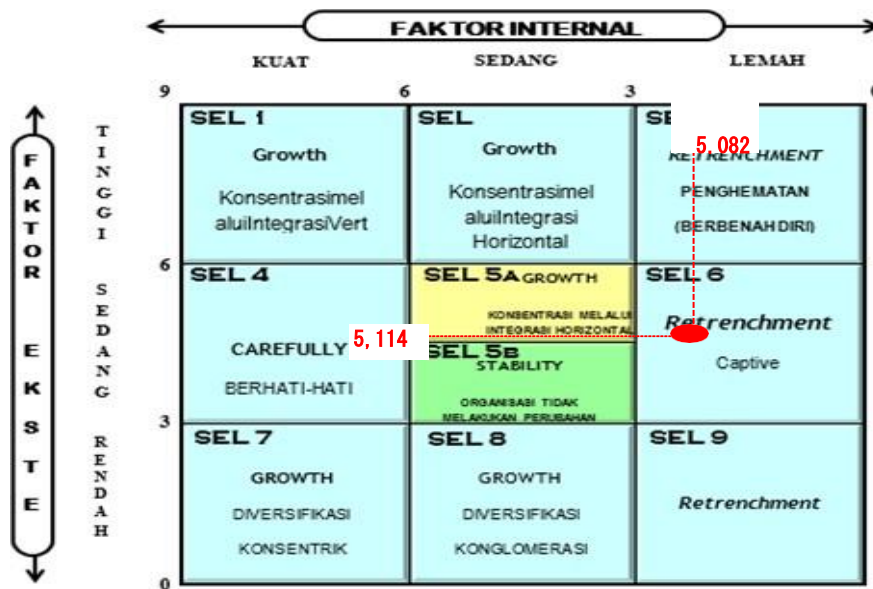
Figure 4.1: Organizational Position

When these scores are combined, the intersection point is situated in cell 5A (Growth) on the strategic planning matrix, indicating a focus on concentration through horizontal integration. This strategic position highlights the imperative for refining the performance management system to better align with organizational goals and external demands. Therefore, it is evident that further optimization of the performance management system is essential to empower investigators and facilitate the effective realization of *Polri Presisi*'s objectives.

Strategic Factors

Table 13. Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (SFAS)

NO	KEY STRATEGIC FACTORS	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE	SHORT	MEDIUM	LONG
A	Optimizing of Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies for effective performance by Karawang Resort Police	0.105	4	0.420			
B	Optimizing external supervision	0.109	4	0.436			

NO	KEY STRATEGIC FACTORS	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE	SHORT	MEDIUM	LONG
C	Optimizing evaluation analysis activities and leadership sessions	0.106	3	0.318	■		
D	Strengthening cooperation with other agencies in case handling	0.098	6	0.588		■	
E	Enhancing objective evaluations by leaders	0.094	3	0.282	■		
F	Advancements in Information Technology support	0.095	8	0.760			■
G	Strengthening socialization and communication of the Performance Management System	0.098	6	0.588		■	
H	Utilizing collaboration with academics	0.095	8	0.760			■
I	Committed leadership for performance improvement through rewards and punishments.	0.098	2	0.196	■		
J	Organizational culture change	0.104	8	0.832			■

Table 14. Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) SFAS

NO	KEY STRATEGIC FACTORS	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
A	Optimizing of Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies for effective performance by Karawang Resort Police	1.00	0.66	0.75	1.25	1.33	1.25	1.25	1.33	0.83	1.16	0.105	4	0.420
B	Optimizing external supervision	1.5	1.00	0.66	1.33	1.2	1.25	1.25	0.83	1.25	0.83	0.109	4	0.436
C	Optimizing evaluation analysis activities and leadership sessions	1.33	1.5	1.00	0.8	0.75	1.25	0.83	0.83	1.2	1.25	0.106	3	0.318
D	Strengthening cooperation with other agencies in case handling	0.8	0.75	1.25	1.00	1.33	1.25	1.16	0.83	0.85	0.8	0.098	6	0.588

NO	KEY STRATEGIC FACTORS	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	WEIGH	RATING	SCORE
E	Enhancing objective evaluations by leaders	0.75	0.83	1.33	0.75	1.00	0.85	0.83	0.85	1.16	1.16	0.094	3	0.282
F	Advancements in Information Technology support	0.8	0.8	1.33	0.8	1.16	1.00	0.8	1.25	1.16	1.14	0.095	8	0.760
G	Strengthening socialization and communication of the Performance Management System	0.8	0.8	0.85	0.85	1.2	1.25	1.00	1.33	0.75	0.83	0.098	6	0.588
H	Utilizing collaboration with academics	0.75	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.16	0.8	0.75	1.00	0.83	0.75	0.095	8	0.760
I	Committed leadership for performance improvement through rewards and punishments.	1.2	0.8	1.16	1.16	0.85	0.85	1.33	1.2	1.00	0.8	0.098	2	0.196
J	Organizational culture change	0.85	1.2	1.25	1.25	0.85	0.87	1.2	1.33	1.25	1.00	0.104	8	0.832
												1.00		

Note: *Green represents short-term, yellow represents medium-term, red represents long-term*

Formulation of Strategy

The vision articulated in this study is "Realizing *Polri Presisi* by enhancing investigators' performance through optimizing the Performance Management System." To achieve this vision, the mission focuses on three key areas: optimizing performance planning, performance guidance, and performance evaluation, all aimed at enhancing the performance of investigators. The objectives align closely with these mission areas, emphasizing optimizing planning, coaching, and evaluation to improve investigator performance.

The policies to support this strategy involve several key government and police regulations. These include implementing Government Regulation No. 18 of 2021, which outlines the national medium-term development plan for 2021-2025 and serves as a foundation for national development, including the public performance management system. Additionally, Government Regulation No. 11 of 2017 on Civil Servant Performance Management provides a framework for the goals and methods of using the Performance Management System (PMS) to enhance the performance of Karawang Police investigators. Implementing Chief of Police Regulation No. 2 of 2018, which guides the stages in the PMS cycle, ensures continuous and optimal results. Furthermore, the Chief of Indonesian National Police Regulation No. 7 of 2021 on performance appraisal of police officers establishes a basis for objective, transparent, and acceptable assessments within the working environment of Karawang Police investigators.

Given the organization's strategic position in quadrant 5a (Horizontal Integration Strategy), the operational translation is "Optimizing." This strategy is pursued through ten selected strategic factors, namely: a) optimizing the Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and (Performance Report of Government Agencies; b) enhancing external supervision; c) improving analysis and evaluation activities and leadership sessions; d) strengthening objective leadership assessments; e) utilizing advancements in information technology; f) enhancing the socialization and communication of the PMS; g) strengthening cooperation with other agencies in handling criminal acts; h) fostering collaboration with academics; i) optimizing the reward and punishment system, and; j) transforming the conventional organizational culture.

Implementation of Strategy

The following tables highlight actionable plans for implementation, which have been divided into three phases: short-term, medium-term, and long-term strategies.

Table 15. Short-term strategies (0-3 months)

Strategy	Objective	Program	Performance Indicators
Optimizing analysis and evaluation activities and leadership hours	Enhance supervision and control in each stage of an investigation.	Supervision and control of investigators' superiors. Sharing knowledge on Performance Management System objectives and methods for unit performance improvement.	Increased achievement of investigator performance according to workload targets and SOP timelines, resulting in more effective work.
Strengthening objective leadership assessments	Develop leadership awareness of the benefits of objective assessments in the Performance Management System for performance improvement.	Regular controls from Resort Police leaders to the Chief of the Criminal Investigation Unit on Performance Management System performance evaluation.	Increased awareness and knowledge among Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit leaders and officers in performance evaluation.
		Sharing knowledge from the HR department of the Regional Police to the officers of the	

Strategy	Objective	Program	Performance Indicators
		Criminal Investigation Unit of Karawang Resort Police about the objectives and methods of the Performance Management System for enhancing unit performance.	
Optimizing Reward and Punishment	Optimize the commitment of Resort Police Karawang leadership in implementing Performance Management System outcomes through awards for high-performing personnel and penalties for violations.	Open assessments related to awards. Performance Management System scores are used as indicators for awards to enhance personnel performance.	Increased work motivation among Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit investigators to fulfill tasks effectively and avoid violations.

Table 16. Medium-term strategies (0-6 months)

Strategy	Objective	Program	Performance Indicators
Optimization of Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies	Understand the demands of superior public service by planning, performance guidance, and precise performance evaluation for personnel.	Increase member involvement in improving the Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies scores. Increased personnel responsibility to maintain Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of	Increased personnel involvement in achieving Resort Police Karawang's overarching goals to maintain the annual Performance Accountability System for Government Agencies and Performance Report of Government Agencies scores.

Strategy	Objective	Program	Performance Indicators
		Government Agencies scores.	
Enhancing external supervision	Optimize external supervision as feedback in performance guidance for performance improvement.	Collaboration with local legal NGOs to oversee prominent case investigations.	Efficient investigation processes by Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit with external oversight providing input.
		Receiving input for future improvements from external sources.	Increased public trust due to the open handling of cases by the Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit.
Strengthening cooperation with other institutions in case handling	Enhance effectiveness in case handling.	Visits to partner institutions such as OJK, financial institutions, and private entities.	Facilitated case handling with timely assistance from collaborating institutions.
		Established communication and collaboration in joint case handling.	Exchange of actionable information for joint case handling.
		Personnel assigned as liaisons to these institutions.	Performance evaluation for personnel fostering communication and liaison roles with these institutions.
Strengthening Performance Management System Socialization and Communication	Achieve proper performance management system implementation that is aligned with organizational goals.	Periodic socialization from Polda HR to Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit personnel on Performance Management System objectives, direction, and methods.	Improved understanding and application of the Performance Management System within the Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit, enhancing investigator performance.
		Communication between the HR department and the Criminal Investigation	

Strategy	Objective	Program	Performance Indicators
		Unit regarding the application of the Performance Management System	

Table 17. Long-term strategies (0-12 months)

Strategy	Objective	Program	Performance Indicators
Utilizing Information Technology Advances	Improve investigator performance through technology-based mentoring.	Implementing technology in investigator performance enhancement, such as optimizing CCTV in examination rooms and Zoom meetings for investigations.	Improved Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit personnel performance with IT-based supervision and control.
		Optimizing electronic investigation management program as a tool for evaluation	Decreased public reports on misconduct and unprofessional case handling by the Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit.
Utilizing cooperation with various academic institutions in Karawang for research to improve the implementation of performance management systems.	Strengthen leadership capabilities in implementing performance management systems at Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit by expanding cooperation networks to enhance investigator performance.	Partnerships with educational and training institutions specializing in developing adaptive performance management systems beneficial to the organization.	Knowledge of appropriate Performance Management System implementation within the organization, enhancing Karawang Criminal Investigation Unit performance.
		Frequent discussions with academics regarding the Performance Management System	Improved quality in each stage of the Performance Management System cycle from appropriate performance planning facing challenges, the

Strategy	Objective	Program	Performance Indicators
			working relationship decreased.
Transformation of organizational culture from conventional to modern and adaptive.	Change in mindset and culture within the Criminal Investigation Unit of Karawang Resort Police.	Implementing the Performance Management System accurately according to organizational goals and objectives becomes an accurate performance assessment indicator for personnel.	The existence of organizational culture change is reflected in work patterns and workplace relationships, and there are decreased public complaints regarding the investigation process.
		Strengthening the commitment of the Police Chief to use the Performance Management System according to its objectives, thus reducing subjective evaluations of personnel.	
		Recognition and acceptance of Performance Management System evaluations in the workplace increase members' motivation to work well and foster a growing adaptive work culture.	

CONCLUSION

Optimizing performance planning to enhance investigators' performance is crucial for addressing current inefficiencies. Challenges such as insufficient awareness of its pivotal role in workflow efficiency, errors in plan formulation leading to misinterpretations, and inadequate communication among team members diverting from organizational objectives underscore the need for strategic intervention. Therefore, proactive measures should focus on robust socialization of the Performance Management System, fostering partnerships with academic institutions for research-driven improvements, and bolstering inter-agency collaboration in case management. Improving

investigators performance through performance mentoring also requires focused optimization. Challenges include routine mentoring processes amidst heavy workloads, suboptimal problem-solving strategies by supervisors in complex cases, and turnover affecting mentoring consistency. Addressing these requires maximizing external supervision, enhancing analytical and evaluative practices, and leveraging technological advancements for effective oversight. Optimizing performance evaluation to elevate investigators' effectiveness remains paramount. Challenges such as underutilization for personnel assessment and task issue identification, inadequate leadership in motivating personnel through evaluations for career growth, and perceptions of evaluations solely for promotional purposes highlight the need for strategic improvements. Enhancements should focus on rigorous leadership assessments, refining reward and discipline mechanisms, maximizing the effectiveness of Performance Accountability and Reporting Systems, and fostering a shift from conventional to adaptive organizational cultures.

RECOMMENDATION

In order to significantly enhance the operational effectiveness of the Karawang Resort Police, particularly within its criminal investigation unit, the following strategic recommendations are proposed:

a. **Collaboration for Advanced Training Programs.** The Chief of the West Java Regional Police, specifically the Head of the Human Resources Bureau, should initiate collaborations with universities and academic experts through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). This collaboration should aim to initiate comprehensive training programs focused on implementing a modern performance management system. Such a system must be designed to meet the dynamic challenges of the Industry 4.0 era, ensuring that the police force is well-equipped to handle the complexities of modern-day policing.

b. **International Training for Officers and Supervisors.** Officers and supervisors within the investigation unit are advised to be given opportunities to train abroad. This international exposure will allow them to study diverse methods of performance management systems and understand their practical applications. The knowledge and best practices acquired from these experiences should then be disseminated throughout the Karawang Resort Police organization, fostering a culture of continuous improvement and excellence.

c. **Enhancement of Information and Communication Technology.** The Chief of the West Java Regional Police, Attention: Head of the Facilities and Infrastructure Bureau, is recommended to prioritize enhancing information and communication technology capabilities. This should include acquiring and integrating advanced technologies such as state-of-the-art CCTV systems, integrated command centers, and sophisticated crime analysis applications. These technological advancements are expected to significantly enhance the investigative

capabilities and overall performance of the police force, enabling it to address contemporary law enforcement challenges effectively.

By implementing these strategic recommendations, the Karawang Resort Police can achieve higher operational effectiveness and be better prepared to meet the demands of modern law enforcement.

REFERENCES

Atatsi, E. A., Stoffers, J., & Kil, A. (2019). Factors affecting employee performance: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Advances in Management Research*, *16*(3), 329–351. https://doi.org/10.1108/JAMR-06-2018-0052

Bacal, R. (1999). *Performance management.* McGraw Hill.

Bhowmick, S., & Mulla, Z. (2021). Who gets burned, and when? The role of personality, job control, and organizational identification in predicting burnout among police officers. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, *36*(2), 243–255. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-020-09407-w

Bonache, J., & Noethen, D. (2014). The impact of individual performance on organizational success and its implications for the management of expatriates. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *25*(14), 1960–1977. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2013.870287

Burnett, M. E., Sheard, I., & St Clair-Thompson, H. (2020). The prevalence of compassion fatigue, compassion satisfaction, perceived stress, their relationships with mental toughness, individual differences, and the number of self-care actions in a UK police force. *Police Practice and Research*, *21*(4), 383–400. https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2019.1617144

Busro, M. (2018). *Teori-teori manajemen sumber daya manusia*. Prenada Media.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Sage.

Darvishmotevali, M., & Ali, F. (2020). Job insecurity, subjective well-being, and job performance: The moderating role of psychological capital. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *87*, 102462. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2020.102462

Filstad, C., & Gottschalk, P. (2011). Performance evaluation of police oversight agencies. *Policing and Society*, *21*(1), 96–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2010.540653

Gibelman, M., & Gelman, S. R. (2001). Very public scandals: Nongovernmental organizations in trouble. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *12*, 49–66. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011242911726

Gunawan, B. (2006). *Membangun kompetensi Polri: Sebuah model penerapan manajemen SDM berbasis kompetensi*. Yayasan Pengembangan Kajian Ilmu Kepolisian.

Humphrey, A. S. (1974). Getting management commitment to planning: A new approach. *Long Range Planning*, *7*(1), 45–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/0024-6301(74)90078-8

Japriyanto, J., Banjarani, D. R., & Mahdewi, R. (2022). Money laundering as a transnational crime problem and the ideas of legal policy reformation in Indonesia. *Corruptio*, *3*(1), 21–32. https://doi.org/10.25041/corruptio.v3i1.2604

Jones, G. R., & George, J. M. (2003). *Contemporary management*. McGraw Hill.

Lele, S., Patil, S., & Shinde, R. (2024). Empirical investigation on determinants of in-charge police officer's job satisfaction and task performance. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-024-09658-x

Mitchell, J. (2016). Transnational organized crime in Indonesia: The need for international cooperation. *Brawijaya Law Journal*, *3*(2), 176–199. https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.blj.2016.003.02.05

Nisar, S. K., & Rasheed, M. I. (2020). Stress and performance: Investigating relationship between occupational stress, career satisfaction, and job performance of police employees. *Journal of Public Affairs*, *20*(1). https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.1986

Pamungkas, D. (2019). How do police overcome money laundering? Study analysis of the role of the Central Java Regional Police Department on money laundering cases. *Journal of Law and Legal Reform*, *1*(1), 25–34. https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v1i1.35416

Passmore, J., Peterson, D. B., & Freire, T. (2013). The psychology of coaching and mentoring. In J. Passmore, D. B. Peterson, & T. Freire (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Handbook of the Psychology of Coaching and Mentoring* (pp. 1–11). Wiley Blackwell.

Rehman, A., Ganesan, Y., & Haron, H. (2023). *What is a priority for an organization: Environmental, social and governance or sustainable corporate governance* (pp. 167–191). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3346-4_8

Santa Maria, A., Wolter, C., Gusy, B., Kleiber, D., & Renneberg, B. (2021). Reducing work-related burnout among police officers: The impact of job rewards and health-oriented leadership. *The Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles*, *94*(3), 406–421. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032258X20946805

Simanjuntak, P. J. (2011). *Manajemen & Evaluasi Kinerja*. Lembaga Penerbit Fakultas Ekonomi UI.

Sugiyono. (2009). *Metode penelitian kuantitatif, kualitatif dan R&D*. Alfabeta.

Triansyah, F. A., Hejin, W., & Stefania, S. (2023). Factors affecting employee performance: A systematic review. *Journal Markcount Finance*, *1*(2), 118–127. https://doi.org/10.55849/jmf.v1i2.102

Yuliantiningsih, A., Hartiwiningsih, Suherman, A. M., & Latifah, E. (2022). From illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing to transnational organized crime in the fishery from an Indonesian perspective. In *ASEAN International Law* (pp. 481–502). Springer Nature Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-3195-5_27

The Role of ASEANAPOL in Tackling

Human Trafficking Issue in Indonesia in 2021-2023

Gesang Qa'id Najibah Najib[1], Mansur Juned[2]

[1,2] Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, The National Development University "Veteran" of Jakarta, Indonesia
Email Author 1: gesangqaid@gmail.com
Email Author 2: mansurjuned@upnvj.ac.id

Abstract

This research discusses the role of ASEANAPOL in assisting Indonesia in tackling human trafficking issue by using cases that took place throughout 2021-2023 through series of its agendas and activities. This research uses Clive Archer's role theory which states that international organizations have roles in arenas, instruments, and actors. The method used in conducting this research is descriptive qualitative method with the data obtained from literature review, official documents analysis, interviews with the relevant actors, and secondary sources that relevant to the research topic. The findings of this research reveal that ASEANAPOL has a significant role in assisting Indonesia in tackling human trafficking issue by utilizing its instrument, arena of expertise, and relevant stakeholders to facilitate meetings and exchange information. The maximization of functions can be conducted if the decision-makers of each member state could create a strong legal framework in order to enable some flexibility for ASEANAPOL to deal with human trafficking cases that arise. This research concludes that it is fundamental to acknowledge ASEANAPOL's role in human trafficking eradication in Indonesia. Therefore, this research recommends the Indonesian government, ASEAN member states, and ASENAPOL to further develop a system with a firm commitment and legal framework to ensure human trafficking eradication is well-executed.

Keywords*: human trafficking, Indonesia, ASEANAPOL*

INTRODUCTION

Globalization brings not only the positive impact to the relationships among countries, but also the negative impacts in the form of transnational crime, which is considered as one of the issues that threaten national security and regional stability (Coyne & Bell, 2011), supported by communication technology, economic integration, etc. Koster (2009) states that it would be challenging to find the starting point of the emergence of globalization. However, Cunningham (2009) argues that there was a phenomenon of globalization development in the 1990s where certain borders had been opened up and several countries adopted free trade and regional economies schemes by removing trade barriers among countries.

Although transnational crimes appear to have the negative effect of globalization, the crimes were actually already rampant even prior to the introduction of globalization to the international community. The advancement of technology, the opening of borders, and the rise of business networks have made transnational crimes a new phenomenon that is far more deadly, widespread, and difficult to investigate. According to Boer (2010), categories of transnational severe organized crimes include fraud, forgery, money laundering, human smuggling, human trafficking, drug trafficking, stolen vehicles, environmental crime, cybercrime, child pornography, illegal arms trafficking, and terrorism. With its cross-border nature that involves multiple jurisdictions, the need for formal cooperation between countries often hinders effective response.

A particular concern in the transnational crime is human trafficking, which is often referred to as the crime of modern slavery as it degrades the value of human life (Judith Farbey, 2007) and a violation of human rights. In the development of the democratic atmosphere, liberal political thinkers and constitutional authorities understood that there are fundamental rights that every individual is entitled to where they can fully develop their personality for the purpose of welfare for all humanity (SAHOO, 2012).

The typical scheme of human trafficking is that the victim is deceived with certain lures or promises or even be coerced, and it leads to human exploitation. Human trafficking is different from undocumented immigrants or human smuggling, which oftentimes a voluntary act by the individual themselves, and the smuggling will end once the person in concern has reached their destination. Victims of human trafficking, on the other hand, are usually divided into several types of exploitation, such as sexual exploitation, forced laborers with disproportionate wages or no wages at all, and human organ trafficking.

Human trafficking is also classified as a non-traditional security issue. In General Assembly Resolution 66/290 of 10 September 2012, 3rd paragraph, the United Nations General Assembly has approved an approach related to Human Security at the UN with 6 points, which states in the first point, "*…the right of everyone to live freely and with dignity, free from poverty and despair. All individuals, in particular vulnerable groups, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with equal opportunities to enjoy all their rights and to develop their full human potential.*" Human trafficking falls into the type of personal insecurity that makes human trafficking as one of the urgencies in the issue of human security ("Human Handbook Security," 2016).

According to Emmaline Soken Huberty (2023), there are ten causes of human trafficking, namely poverty, lack of education, demand for cheap labor, lack of human rights protection, lack of legitimate economic opportunities, cultural factors, conflict and natural disasters, lack of safe migration options, fraud and intimidation, and profit. Indonesia faces a significant issue with human trafficking, driven by extreme poverty and unemployment rates, which makes Indonesia ranked as one of the most vulnerable ASEAN countries to this crime.

According to ASEAN Statistical Yearbook (2022), Indonesia had a poverty rate of 10.1% in 2021, translating to around 27.6 million people living below the poverty line. The country also recorded the highest vulnerability that is reflected in human trafficking statistics: between July 5 and August 14, 2023, where the Indonesian Trafficking Task Force reported 757 cases, with 2,425 victims, including cases of forced labor, commercial sex work, and child exploitation (KEMENPANRB, 2023).

Table 1. ASEAN Below Poverty Level and Unemployment

Country	2018		2019		2020		2021	
Indonesia	9.8%	7,073,4	9.4%	7,104.4	9.8%	9,767.8	10.1%	9,102.1
Malaysia	-	504,3	5.6%	508,2	8,4%	711	-	733
Filipina	16.7%	2,324	-	2,259.1	-	4,500	18.1%	3,711.7
Vietnam	6.8%	1,105.5	5.7%	1,108.2	4.8%	1,233.3	4.4%	1,488.5

Source: ASEAN Statistical Yearbook 2022

Note:
Below Poverty Levels (in percentage)
Number of Unemployment (in thousand)

ASEAN acknowledges the severity of human trafficking as a regional issue and addresses it in platforms like the AMMTC and SOMTC. However, as ASEAN itself lacks in law enforcement, it relies on ASEANAPOL, a forum established in 1981 which facilitates police cooperation across ASEAN nations. Through ASEANAPOL, member countries can more effectively collaborate on investigations, information sharing, arrests, and extraditions to combat transnational human trafficking.

The author reviews several previous studies that discuss topics that intersect with this research to deepen the analysis. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 55/25 defined human trafficking as the recruitment, transportation, transfers, harboring, or receipt, of people through force, fraud, or deception, with the aim of exploiting them for profit. One of the main problems about trafficking is how the practice often equated with human smuggling which make it impossible to impose the right sentence based on the law of human trafficking (Organisasi Perburuhan Internasional, 2004).

This research examines ASEANAPOL's role in tacking human trafficking in Indonesia （2021-2023） through the lens of international organization, which have expanded post-WWII to address global issues across security, trade, and more. According to Archer (2001), international organizations are formal structure formed by agreement among two or more countries or non-state actors to pursue shared interest. Key criteria include multi-country membership, a focus on shared goals, and a structured foundation. Archer further classifies these organizations into typed such as IGOs, NGOs, etc. According to Archer's classification, ASEANAPOL is considered as TGO.

Formed in 1981 in Manila by the heads of police department from five Southeast Asian countries, ASEANAPOL aims to enhance police professionalism and strengthen cross-border cooperation in addressing transnational crimes. This organization plays a crucial role in facilitating intelligence sharing and coordinating cross-border investigations among its members, enabling a swift response to regional security threats like human trafficking. ASEANAPOL also holds annual

conferences to discuss the transnational crimes operations, issues Joint Communiques, and implements training and capacity-building programs, modeled after INTERPOL, to support cross-border investigations across Southeast Asia. One of the transnational crimes handled by ASEANAPOL is human trafficking.

Literature related to the role of international organizations against human trafficking is found in the paper from Khairi (2021), which explains the efforts made by ASEAN against human trafficking. In addition, Iskandar & Nursiti (2021) also discuss the role of international organizations looking at case studies of the increase in human trafficking cases in Indonesia in 2020 by looking at IOM and ASEAN as active actors in making various efforts. Then, in the paper, Qiao & Oishi (2018) explain the transfer of policies from the UN to ASEAN in the case of Traffick in person (TIP).

From these three previous studies, there are differences with the object of this research, which focuses on the role of ASEANAPOL in handling human trafficking cases. Not only that, the writing of Isratn et al. (2015), that focuses on the causes of the alarming increase in human trafficking in the South Asia region, also analyses international conventions, regional conventions, and domestic laws of countries that deal with human trafficking. Another study by Silvia (2020) uses descriptive qualitative research, placing the International Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime established by the United Nations (UN) as the basis for the protocol for handling transnational crimes. The author can take examples from previous research that analyzed international institutional conventions to get a primary picture related to the analysis of the ASEANAPOL federated forum for combating human trafficking in Indonesia.

On the other hand, the author also looked at a journal written by Pamungkas (2017) to see ASEANAPOL's efforts against one of the crimes, namely drug trafficking. This study further examines the role played by ASEANAPOL concerning narcotics trafficking in Indonesia. Pamungkas explains that ASEANAPOL had made various efforts to eradicate transnational crimes by conducting several programs and meetings. The study's results also became the author's material to examine the role of ASEANAPOL in handling the transnational crimes in ASEAN. However, differences lie in Pamungkas's research was focused on drug trafficking cases, while this research is attempting to evaluate the ASEANAPOL's role in tackling human trafficking cases.

The previous research mentioned above are expected to assist with this research as references as similarities of their research topics intersect with this research's interest. This also provides direction to ensure a proper examination of the research problem formulation, namely the role of ASEANAPOL in handling human trafficking in Indonesia in the 2021-2023 period. In this research, the concept of international organizations is used to examine the role of ASEANAPOL in dealing with human trafficking, especially in Indonesia in 2021-2023. According to Archer, an International Organization can be defined as, "*a formal and sustainable structure formed by agreement between members (governmental and non-governmental) of two or more sovereign states with the aim of achieving the common interests of the members.*" (Archer, 2001) Archer's concept of International Organizations

explains the essence of the organization's role in discussing and solving problems. In his book, Archer outlines three main roles that International Organizations can play, they are instruments, arenas, and actors.

This research is a qualitative study which emphasizes an approach in which theories and categorizations emerge from data collection and analysis (Alan Bryman, 2012). The focus is on an in-depth understanding of the meaning ascribed to a social or humanitarian problem by individuals or groups (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Based on the opinions of Alan Bryman and Creswell, it can be said that this research focuses on the search for meaning, concepts, and holistic phenomena, so that the context of the problem studied through a phenomenological approach is understood by the meaning of an event or phenomenon which is different from quantitative research benchmarks by emphasizing descriptive Case Studies, where research aims to identify a phenomenon in detail in the reality that occurs through events or activities carried out.

Qualitative research consists of various forms of data sources such as interviews, observations, documents, and audiovisual information (Creswell, 2018). This study divides data sources into two types, namely primary and secondary data, where the primary data is obtained from interviews conducted by the author with Brigadier Zahara Ulfah as a staff member of the International Organization Subdivision, NCB INTERPOL Indonesia, Divhubinter POLRI, who discussed the perceived role of ASEANAPOL.

In addition, primary data was also obtained from official documents such as meeting reports, laws, and other official documents relating to the role of ASEANAPOL in handling human trafficking cases in Indonesia. Meanwhile, secondary data are acquired from previous research, websites, books, media, and the other sources as the basis of reference for research to strengthen the arguments of the primary data obtained by the author in analyzing the phenomena that occur from ASEANAPOL's role in handling human trafficking cases in Indonesia in the 2021-2023 period. The data will then be analyzed using data analysis techniques with the Miles and Huberman model, which analyses qualitative research data into three main stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion / verification (Prof. Dr. A. Muri Yusuf, 2014).

DISCUSSION
Human Trafficking in Indonesia

Cases of human trafficking crimes are indeed very detrimental to the victims, both material and immaterial. Material losses can be calculated based on the cost spent by the victims on medical treatment, accommodation, etc. Meanwhile, immaterial losses are in the form of life pleasure, mental conditions, and lives that cannot be liquefied into money (Dr. Riki Perdana Raya Waruwu, S.H., 2017). In human trafficking cases, immaterial losses are the highly likely potential to occur. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime states that there are at least eight impacts that can result from human trafficking (UNODC, 2008), these include :

1. Physical Impacts

In actual practice, cruel exploitative activities accompanied by inadequate living support can lead to violence and or side effects for victims physically that have temporary (such as injuries or minor health problems) to permanent impacts (such as severe health problems, paralysis, and disability).

2. HIV/AIDS

Many cases of human trafficking led to sexual exploitation, such as becoming a prostitute or experiencing unwanted sexual exploitation. This trend does not rule out the possibility of spreading HIV/AIDS within the scope of the victim. The loss will be felt by the victim in the healing process, which takes a lot of time and money for the victim. In previous studies, it has also been found that as many as 22.9 percent of human trafficking victims in South Asia are HIV/AIDS positive, especially there are victims at the early age category.

3. Mental Illness

The constant anxiety, fear, and pain of exploitation in human trafficking also impacts the mental health of the victims. The worst situation is that victims suffer from psychological trauma or PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder), anxiety, depression, and other psychological illnesses that are deeply imprinted on victims and interfere with the survival of victims.

4. Child Victims

The vulnerability of child victims is also a cause for concern when it comes to harmful treatment. The age of children can affect their life chances, as physical and sexual abuse and violence can affect permanent behavior in infancy. Neglectful treatment of children can also lead to malnutrition and hunger.

5. Substance Abuse

Human traffickers have a high chance of treating victims as they wish without regard for human rights. The possibility of victims being treated inhumanely can lead to opportunities for victims to be given addictive substances, psychotropic substances, other illegal drugs, and also alcoholic beverages. As a result, victims who receive such treatment can experience side effects from excessive substance abuse, such as organ damage, overdose, malnutrition, and death.

6. Impact on behavior

Prolonged physical and mental abuse also affects the victim's behavior, which impacts physical and emotional responses. As a result of experiencing extreme trauma over an extended period, their capacity to act is reduced. As a result, the victim will find it difficult to socialize, usually characterized by the victim's difficulty in explaining what happened to the authorities.

7. Stigma

The social response to victims, especially those who experience sexual exploitation or psychological health problems, also has an impact on victims of human trafficking. The social environment is supposed to help the victim's healing process, but this will increase the victim's pressure due to the social pressure experienced by the victim.

8. Recovery

Repatriation and social reintegration for victims of human trafficking is a complicated process because it requires a long and complicated period. There is no guarantee of recovery for the victims. The physical and psychological harm caused by the inhumane practice of human trafficking makes it difficult for victims to return to society. This means that it will be difficult for victims to live a normal life again.

Figure 1. Human Trafficking Cases in Indonesia

The trend of increasing cases every year makes human trafficking a serious crime and has an urgency for relevant stakeholders. Post-COVID-19 pandemic a significant increase of human trafficking cases occurred in 2022 and continued to increase in 2023; even in the 2021-2023 period, the cases exceed 100% every year. The pandemic that affected Indonesian citizens whose economy has been affected by layoffs, reduction of employment, and economic pressure during the pandemic, creating a situation where people flock to find opportunities to get out of this pressure.

The situation created by the pandemic increases the vulnerability of the victims which attract human traffickers to operate to recruit potential victims who can be exploited. The task of the relevant stakeholders becomes more demanding and strategic plan is needed to tackle the issues as the challenges faced in overcoming human trafficking crimes require different schemes to investigate and prosecute.

The human traffickers have a variety of ways to lure potential victims and/or force them into the human trafficking practice. Most human trafficking cases started with an offer of working abroad. However, there will be irregularities in the process where the actors of human trafficking take advantage of the government's procedural laxity to avoid detection by misusing travel documents such as passports, visas, and other documents (Arbar, 2023). This document abuse is usually in the form of falsifying SKCK, certain certifications, and visas. This is intended to be able to send victims of human trafficking out of Indonesia's borders with falsified permit approval. In June 2020, findings by Polda Metro Jaya on the act of falsifying seafarer certification proved that human traffickers try to falsify the documents of their victims (Kompas, 2020).

Furthermore, the common modus operandi of the traffickers is the non-conformity of the provisions regarding the work practices or contracts offered. The traffickers did not provide a clear work contract to the potential victim, or the contract is only provided in a foreign language that the victim did not understand. Thus, the victim agreed or signed by force or already (Arbar, 2023). The very similar tragedy happened to 1,047 students who were the victims of the Ferienjob Program, where they were offered the internship opportunities in Germany.

The Directorate of Public Crime of the Criminal Investigation Unit of the National Police received a report from the Indonesian Embassy in Berlin concerning four students who participated in the Ferienjob program. The investigators of the Directorate of General Crimes of the Criminal Investigation Unit of the National Police spoke to the local mass media, Detiknews news, that the students were trapped in the human trafficking, lured by promotion by PT. CVGEN and PT. SHB. The victims were later on asked to pay a sum of money for documents such as LoA (Letter of Acceptance) and Working Permit, and charged a bailout of 30-50 million Rupiah with a refund scheme from deducting work wages every month.

Upon arrival in Germany, the victims were forced to agree to a work contract in German, making it difficult for the students to understand the clauses of the contract. However, the student signed the employment contract with the consideration that they were already in Germany, only for later they learned that the contract contains a clause to burden the lodging and transportation costs during their stay in Germany on them (Santoso, 2024).

On another case that occurred in Sambas, West Kalimantan, shows that the phenomenon of human trafficking in Sambas occurs in various forms, such as migrant workers, labor exploitation, and sexual exploitation, which has a main modus operandi, one of which is sending non-procedural workers, meaning that migrant workers do not fulfill the procedures of migrant workers as they should so that the practice of unpaid labor exploitation or violent practices can possibly occur (Atem, 2017) The prevalence of human trafficking in Sambas makes them top in the rankings with cases of migrant workers and runaways.

The Sambas case shows a pattern that the perpetrators or intermediaries of human trafficking, mostly, have relationships with the victims which makes it easier for them to gain the victims' trust. That situation is exacerbated by the fact the victims who were working with the status of domestic assistants offered in Sambas did not receive an equal treatment as the workers who work in manufacture and agriculture industries by the official agents which leads to the victims' passport detention, salary deductions, and unmet minimum wages as common things committed by human traffickers to their victims added with more pressure and threats if the victims try to report or escape.

Other than that, the victims of human trafficking are also tied by debt bondage as a bailout for accommodation or documents which entraps the victims to keep working in order to be able to pay off the debt they owe (IOM UN Migration, 2020). The cases in Sambas is a reminder that human trafficking that can occur anywhere and anyone can be the perpetrator of human trafficking, such as relatives,

friends, and neighbors. Job offers or direct approaches to potential victims through social media is the modus operandi of human trafficking.

There is 167 million social media users, or 60% of the population in Indonesia in January 2023 (Widi, 2023). With such a high amount social media user in Indonesia, the perpetrators will put any efforts to entrap the victims into believing the false offers displayed on social media. Indonesia's low literacy rate, with only 0.001% according to UNESCO (Devega, 2017), worsens this situation as the potential victims tend to believe any kind of news they receive through social media, including false information that leads to human trafficking, such as job recruitment advertisements, direct invitations through Instagram, Facebook, Line, Twitter, and WhatsApp platforms, and dating applications via short messages (Salsa, 2021).

The VOA Indonesia reported that as many as 1,138 Indonesian citizens were repatriated by the government from Cambodia. Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi stated, "*for the case in Cambodia, I immediately jumped in and held talks with various authorities in Cambodia. With good cooperation and support from the authorities in Cambodia, Indonesia managed to repatriate 1,138 Indonesian citizens (WNI) victims of human trafficking who were employed in online frauds from Cambodia.*" Unfortunately, detailed explanation on how many victims affected by online frauds and entangled in other motives, the government's attention on online frauds eradication has increased proven by Indonesia raising the issue of online scams at the 42nd ASEAN Summit (Wardah, 2023).

The Action of the Indonesian Government in Handling with Human Trafficking

The crime of human trafficking has caused extreme losses for the victims in Indonesia. According to data provided by BP2MI, 55 bodies of Indonesian citizens who were the victims of human trafficking have been repatriated to East Nusa Tenggara since January 2023, and as many as 3,600 Indonesian citizens suffer from disabilities, depression, and memory loss as the impact of human trafficking (MPR-RI, 2023). The Indonesian government take a more significant action in human trafficking eradication in the country, as they recognize the vulnerability of Indonesian citizens to human trafficking due to the habit of migrating to improve living standards, high rate of poverty and unemployment, low level of education, as well as increasing transnational crime networks (Gugus Tugas PP-TPPO, 2019).

The development of human trafficking cases in Indonesia has become alarming. In the 2015-2019 period, according to the performance report of the PP-TPPO Task Force, the Bareskrim recorded that there are 2648 victims of human trafficking, with 297 cases of commercial sex workers, and 222 cases of Indonesian migrant workers dominated by adult female as the respondent. SIMFONI PPA (Online Information System for the Protection of Women and Children) recorded 2,605 cases of human trafficking in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recorded the number of human trafficking cases involving Indonesian citizens in the 2016-2020 period consecutively as many as 478 cases (2016), 340 cases (2017), 164 cases (2018), 259 cases (2019), and 383 cases (2020) (MPR-RI, 2023).

According to the Director of Indonesian Citizens Protection, Judha Nugraha, in a press conference at the National Police Headquarters on Tuesday (4/4/2023), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs found that the trend of human trafficking cases rose into 752 cases in 2022 compared to the previous year, 2021, which recorded 361 cases (Akbar, 2023). The increase continued in 2023, with a total of 1,061 reported cases involving 3,363 victims (BARESKRIM POLRI, 2024). The Indonesian government responds to the human trafficking cases through the implementation of Law No. 21 of 2007 on the Eradication of the Human Trafficking in Persons, passed by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, to ensure the application of human trafficking laws to protect the victims is in effect today.

Furthermore, Law Number 7 of 1984 concerning the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women and Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection are also passed into law by the Indonesian govern. The existence of such laws that directly regulate the human trafficking eradication will enhance the law enforcement efforts' effectiveness of to catch the perpetrators of human trafficking and provide a deterrent effect on the perpetrators as they will be subjected to punishment if the event intersects with the sentence of the law which is expressly stated in the law itself (Apeldoorn, 2001).

Article 2 paragraph 1 of Eradication of the Human Trafficking in Persons Law rules that,

"*Any person who recruits, transports, shelters, sends, transfers, or receives a person with the threat of violence, use of force, kidnapping, detention, forgery, fraud, abuse of power or vulnerable position, ensnared debts or gives payment or benefits despite obtaining the consent of the person who holds control over another person, for the purpose of exploiting such person in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, shall be punished with imprisonment a minimum of 3 (three) years and a maximum of 15 (fifteen) years and a fine of at least Rp120,000,000.00 (one hundred and twenty million rupiah) and a maximum of Rp600,000,000.00 (six hundred million rupiah).*"

Meanwhile, Article 16 and Article 17 of Eradication of the Human Trafficking in Persons Law state that if the crime of trafficking in persons is committed by an organized group, each perpetrator of the crime of trafficking in persons in the organized group shall be sentenced to the same crime as referred to in Article 2 plus 1/3 (one-third), and if the criminal act as referred to in Article 2, Article 3, and Article 4 is committed against a child, then the criminal threat is increased by 1/3 (one-third).

Besides the effort to strengthen the legal framework, The Indonesian government also actively providing holistic support in the form of rehabilitations for the victims of human trafficking, including health and social rehabilitation, reintegration, and repatriation for trafficking victims through social protection houses and trauma centers. The PP-TPPO Task Force also actively conducts coordination with relevant institutions to ensure effective implementation.

In their 2019 Performance Report, Gugus Tugas PP-TPPO (2019), under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Framework, provides that the rehabilitation, repatriation, and reintegration efforts for the victims of human trafficking have been progressing into a better outcome, as the Task Force claimed that as many as 1,975 victims have been put under Indonesia's protection within the period of 2015-2019. Several programs to empower the victims of human trafficking are also carried out by the Social Welfare Institution (LKS), assisting as many as 3,710 people in 15 districts/cities.

The Ministry of Social Affairs, on the other hand, has handled 2,541 victims of human trafficking through social rehabilitation in collaboration with the Trauma Center Protection House (RPTC). However, the PP-TPPO Task Force expresses that they still experience some obstacles in running the programs, such as limited number of protections for the victims in the areas of origin, transit, and destination, lack of coordination between central and regional parties, trainings for human resources that are deployed to carry out tasks in the field of social rehabilitation of victims of TPPO have not shown any significant impact, case assistance-related to legal proceedings, lack of victims assistance, and victims identification for officials and/or staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the repatriation process is hampered due to the condition of the victim, and preventing the recurrence of human trafficking papers on the same case.

The Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) issued various policies to support the current Government's vision, which are applied to 9 BP2MI priority programs that intend to eradicate syndicates that send illegal Indonesian migrants abroad, which is the main focus of the BP2MI Strategic 2020-2024 in the first year of (Andiani & Juned, 2024). Indonesian government is also actively building collaboration in both regional and global in their effort to eradicate human trafficking. It is proven by Indonesia's participation in the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime by signing the Convention on December 15, 2000, in Palermo, Italy (DPR RI, n.d.).

This Convention focuses on the prevention, protection of victims, and prosecution of human traffickers which is later ratified through Law No. 5 of 2009, passed on January 12, 2009, by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In the regional level, Indonesia strengthens its stance in combating human trafficking by initiating the formation of ACTIP (ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Person), held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, on November 21, 2015. The agreement is later ratified through Law Number 12 of 2017, passed by President Joko Widodo.

ACTIP aims to establish a strong relationship among ASEAN countries in handling human trafficking crimes. Furthermore, Indonesia also reaffirms its stance on human trafficking eradication by being active in the Bali Process, an international inter-regional forum covering Europe, Asia, the Americas and Africa that was established in 2002 to discuss immigration issues related to transnational crimes such as people smuggling and human trafficking (IOM, n.d.). The last conference of the Bali Process was held on February 10, 2023, in Adelaide, Australia, which has eight focus areas, namely law enforcement, stakeholder engagement, information sharing and public information campaigns,

irregular migration and related transnational crimes, border management, victim protection and migration management, return, and reintegration, and finally coordination and support (The Bali Process, n.d.).

Role Of ASEANAPOL

In practice, every case of human trafficking will be followed up directly by each country concerned. This leaves ASEANAPOL with an indirect role in combating human trafficking case in the region. Meanwhile, human trafficking that occurs in Indonesia do not only happen within ASEAN territory, but Southeast Asia land also possesses the potential to become the transit points for human trafficking practices, according to the performance report of the PP-TPPO Task Force. Subsequently, the report found a pattern of human trafficking routes that include Malaysia and Singapore as the transit countries for the victims to be transferred to the Middle East (Gugus Tugas PP-TPPO, 2019).

Based on that report, the existence of ASEANAPOL as an organization that discusses the issue of transnational crimes, including human trafficking, is important in assisting Indonesia to formulate strategies in dealing with human trafficking cases that occur within the Indonesian jurisdiction. In addition, the relationship between the police institutions of each ASEANAPOL member country is also the main reason that ASEANAPOL is a strategic international organization for Indonesia.

ASEANAPOL's regional cooperation in combating human trafficking has continually increased, as many measures are taken to eradicate human trafficking in Southeast Asia. The trend of human trafficking continues to recede every year. Thus, the main focus of ASEANAPOL's mission is to produce more effective regional cooperation, especially in combating transnational crimes in Southeast Asia. ASEANAPOL itself has the following functions:

1. Prepare and implement joint work plans agreed at the ASEANAPOL Conference through Joint Communiques.

2. Facilitate and coordinate cooperation in the exchange of cross-border intelligence information.

3. Facilitate and coordinate joint operations and other activities, including criminal investigations, building and maintaining databases, training, and capacity building through some technical support.

4. Provide support and assistance in the organization of the ASEANAPOL Conference.

5. Prepare proposals and annual reports of activities for the ASEANAPOL executive committee.

   (Pinatih et al., 2023)

From the functions mentioned above, ASEANAPOL seeks to play a significant role in combating transnational crime in the Southeast Asian region by continuing to facilitate and coordinate problems that arise. The role of ASAENAPOL can be seen from the activities or efforts to overcome the issues faced. Following the idea of international organizations, which are the result of efforts to bring order to relations and build cross-border ties between countries where organizations are able to

express their desire to play a role in carrying out their functions so that the role to be played by the international organization will affect the functions carried out (Archer, 2001). Based on the functions of ASEANAPOL listed in the Joint Communique, the author concludes that ASEANAPOL has a role in facilitating information exchange, meetings, and other criminal technical support. By adopting the theory of the role of international organizations put forward by Archer, it can be said that ASEANAPOL can be categorized into three roles, which include ASEANAPOL as an arena, instrument, and actor in dealing with human trafficking practices that occur.

Role as an Arena

Archer argues that the role as an arena of International Organizations can be seen in activities such as providing meetings for members to discuss, argue, and cooperate to discuss a problem faced and create a decision in solving the problem (Archer, 2001). Furthermore, in its role as an arena, ASEANAPOL has the main task of facilitating and coordinating the cooperation in the cross-border information exchange, especially related to international crime issues. The annual conference organized by ASEANAPOL, called ASEANAPOL Conferences, is a form of implementation of this main task.

In the conference, ASEANAPOL facilitates the ASEAN member countries in discussing transnational crime issues. The ASEANAPOL Conferences are held alternately among member states as a forum to facilitate the exchange of information related to transnational crimes, including human trafficking. In order to meet the expectations in combating transnational organized crime, ASEANAPOL also invites observers from police agencies of other countries outside of ASEAN and other institutions, which are expected to expand knowledge related to transnational organized crime intelligence information.

The results or resolutions of the conference will later be formed into a Joint Communique, which will be adopted by the member states. The ASEANAPOL's joint communique has been adopted by the member states, which includes the issue of human trafficking as one of the main topics in the ASEANAPOL Conference led to the 29th ASEANAPOL Conference in Hanoi, Vietnam, in 2009, where the Terms of Reference for the Establishment of the ASEANAPOL Secretariat was approved, and Kuala Lumpur was appointed as the permanent seat of the Secretariat. The ratification of the *ToR* resulted in a resolution where human trafficking became one of the critical issues discussed in point 8.4 on human trafficking.

In a related development, in 2021, ASEANAPOL held a *Virtual Dialogue on the Issues of Tackling Trafficking in Persons* meeting with the Vietnam Police as the chair of ASEANAPOL at the time. During the dialog, each member country shared their recent human trafficking cases as an analysis of the modus operandi of human trafficking during the pandemic (ASEANAPOL, 2021). This Virtual Dialogue was carried out in preparation for ASEANAPOL to face human trafficking cases post

COVID-19 Pandemic, which discussed cases that occurred to fight syndicates of human trafficking crimes in the Southeast Asia region.

The results of the joint draft resolution are the basis for the formulation of discussions for the 40th ASEANAPOL Conference. The meeting was also intended to follow up on the implementation of the phase 1 concept note on training in countering human trafficking and also the implementation of the Joint Committee of the 39th ASEANAPOL Conference in Vietnam based on the ASEANAPOL Joint Communique to foster good and intensive cooperation between member and observer countries (NCB-Jakarta, 2021). Along with this meeting, the interviewee explained that ASEANAPOL carried out this activity in response to existing emergencies because different priorities depend on the trend of cases that occur every year. So, the virtual dialogue in 2021 was carried out in response to the urgency.

Between the two meetings, there are capacity-building programs for the law enforcement officials to develop their capacity in handling or preventing transnational crime cases (Dasopang & Juned, 2023) in the form of e-ADS or seminars on handling transnational organized crime cases across borders between countries, especially in ASEAN. In facilitating e-ADS, ASEANAPOL Database System Technical Committee meeting was held, and at the 38th meeting held in Vientiane, Laos, on February 13-14, 2024, the status of the system and the possibility of upgrading the e-ADS 2.0 system were discussed (Anas, 2024).

Previously, on September 13, 2017, ASEANAPOL launched the new development of the e-ADS 2.0 system during the 37th ASEANAPOL Conference in Singapore, which will facilitate better connectivity and information exchange among ASEAN Member States. The database system upgraded to e-ADS 2.0 includes several new features, such as an announcement portal, an electronic library to display multimedia content, a discussion forum, and an event calendar as a way forward in accelerating connectivity between security forces for better sharing of practical information and statistical information (Parameswara, 2017). Furthermore, the conference also recognized the need to leverage technology and creativity in policing, which aligns with the conference theme, "Powered by Innovation: Strengthened by Partnerships."

The development of e-ADS 2.0 has also had a positive impact on the information exchange process; Lieutenant General Chhay Kimkhoeun mentioned this at the 37th ASEANAPOL Database System Technical Committee (ADSTC) meeting in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, who commended the launch of e-ADS 2.0 in reflecting the advanced technological advancements of ASEAN Police. Towards that goal, all delegates were conceptualized to formulate workable principles in establishing the most relevant mechanism for mutual benefit in addition to gathering ideas in developing a Term of Reference (*ToR*) for the future Electronic ASEANAPOL Database System (e-ADS) (Anas, 2023).

Brigadier Zahara Ulfah, a staff of the International Organization Subdivision, POLRI's Divhubinter, explained that e-ADS has the same server as I 24/7 to provide a secure network. POLRI can utilize the modules available from e-ADS in its use to follow up on human trafficking cases as the

system has been integrated with INTERPOL's I-24/7 network, which certainly makes it easier for ASEAN member state police to access INTERPOL's "Notice" data that can be related to human trafficking cases.

Police Chief of Criminal Investigation, Commissioner General Ari Dono Sukmanto, in a written statement on Thursday, September 14, 2017, emphasized that the e-ADS system is one of the solutions to exchange information in facing the challenges of transnational crime. Thus, the creativity of law enforcement officials is needed to tackle the perpetrators (Salim, 2017). Brigadier Zahara also explained the use of e-ADS, which is considered quite effective in combating human trafficking considering how safety the data requests and data input into e-ADS.

Moreover, a capacity-building program for member-state investigators is also constructed by ASEANAPOL. Brigadier Zahara informed that ASEANAPOL has two annual meeting programs, *first*, the ASEANAPOL Training Cooperation Meeting (ATCM), just held in Laos on June 19-22, 2024, discussed the training planning needed by all member countries in 2024-2025. Indonesia proposed several issues, including drugs, fraudulent travel documents, and TPPO or human trafficking, and with the other ASEAN member countries and the ASEANAPOL secretariat, Indonesia formulated one training session to tackle human trafficking cases. The follow-up of this decision will be implemented in the JASPOC (Joint ASEAN Senior Police Officer Course) meeting, which will be held in Laos later.

Second, the interviewee explained that ASEANAPOL cooperates with capacity-building academies such as JCLEC (Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperation) in Semarang, which is supported by AFP (Australian Federal Police) and the Indonesian government. In the ASEANAPOL Bulletin 12th Edition, a Stakeholders Coordination Meeting (SCM)-JCLEC is conducted annually, and on 9 June 2022, the ASEANAPOL Secretariat was also invited and attended the JCLEC-SCM held in Semarang, Indonesia, to discuss the JCLEC program for 2023 (ASEANAPOL, 2023).

The meeting focused on Southeast Asian program priorities that may have linkages with JCLEC in 2023 and also identified perceived or confirmed opportunities for multilateral cooperation with other stakeholders in 2023. The ASEANAPOL Secretariat proposed that JCLEC acknowledge the possibility of providing capacity building or training with specific participants from ASEANAPOL Member States (AMCs).

Role as an Instrument

Archer defines the role of being an instrument as the use of the organization, where members will use it to achieve their interests. (Archer, 2001). It is common in Archer's view that this role is often misused for personal or national interests. If liberalism perspective is used, it can be understood that organization as an instrument can also be an effort made by a country to increase the urgency of the problems faced by each member country. An example is the issue of human rights, which struggled to develop due to colonialism, colonization, and social status until the end of World War II.

The post-war stability, fortunately, has fostered the international community's attention in highlighting human rights issues that have experienced essential development until today. The development of these issues also periodically attracts the attention of countries that will struggle in using organizations as their instruments to highlight human rights issues. The human trafficking faced by Indonesia, with ASEANAPOL's assistance, also includes the continuation of fighting for the promotion and protection of human rights as stated in the 1st and 4th paragraphs of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. Therefore, the increasing trend of human trafficking nationally encourages Indonesia to utilize ASEANAPOL as an instrument in answering the problems faced by the government to eradicate the practice of human trafficking.

Although it seems as if Indonesia is concerned with its national interests in fighting human trafficking practices, the human trafficking eradication is also supported by the other ASEAN member countries as they also experience the same problem in dealing with human trafficking cases beyond the considerable number of cases that occur. ASEANAPOL's role can be categorized as an instrument by Indonesia, considering that a forum can be built to discuss the practice of human trafficking, and the output is in the ASEANAPOL Joint communique related to commitments in handling human trafficking.

On the other side, handling human trafficking cases requires a series of joint cooperation of international community. The Director General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Cahyo R. Muzhar, stated in a public lecture at Dwijendra University Bali, that Mutual Legal Assistance (MLA) and Extradition are important components for ASEAN countries to be used in the investigation or prosecution of transnational crimes (Humas Administrasi Hukum Umum Kemenkumham, 2024). It is also intended as an instrument amid legal differences between ASEAN countries that need to be bridged to enhance regional cooperation. In the issue of *extradition* and *Mutual Legal Assistance*, ASEANAPOL has a role as an instrument proposed by Archer to create a situation for the exchange of information and ease of extradition and MLA requests. Police-to-police relationships established due to the formation of close relationships among ASEANAPOL member countries can be used as an instrument by the Indonesian government. Therefore, extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance requests are facilitated due to the police-to-police relationship. The interviewee added that coordination requests can be made easier because ASEANAPOL member states have established close relationships. The relationship is established by ASEANAPOL meetings, influencing the police-to-police network and making it easier for POLRI to approach when assistance is needed.

Role as an Actor

Archer argues that international organizations can be independent actors in dealing with problems (Archer, 2001). The point of this statement is that the neutrality created in the concept of International Organizations is important for ASEANAPOL to mediate a problem where the external parties are unable to have influence in it. This role is crucial in the sustainability of international

organizations, because the concept of international organizations itself is for the common good. If the organization's neutrality cannot be guaranteed, then the organization's sustainability will be hampered due to bias toward one party.

While ASEANAPOL has designed a scheme for the organization's sustainability to become an independent actor, the ASEANAPOL Conference held annually is one of the concepts in creating neutrality. The creation of the Joint Committee as one of the products of the conference was based on the conclusions of the discussions that take place. There is also a signing by member states with the intention of ensuring that each party has agreed on what is written on the Joint Communique. ASEANAPOL conferences are also held in turn in each member state so that each member state has the opportunity to prepare for and lead the continuity of the conference.

On the other hand, the rotation is also adapted to select the chairperson of ASEANAPOL, which can be led by any Chief of Police of a member country or a designated party and/or related to the issues discussed by ASEANAPOL. The agreement shows that ASEANAPOL wants to try to create a neutral environment in the organization's continuity so that the decisions or policies produced will not harm one party or member state in its implementation.

CONCLUSION

The poor trend of human trafficking cases in Indonesia over the past 3 years has prompted the Indonesian government to put extra efforts to reduce the human trafficking cases that occur internationally. The presence of the ASEAN Association of Police (ASEANAPOL) as an organization of police unions of ASEAN member states has played a very important role in addressing the challenges of human trafficking in Indonesia. ASEANAPOL has provided an important platform for exchanging intelligence information, training law enforcement officers, coordinating cross-border operations and facilitating meetings between member states. This not only strengthens Indonesia's capacity to deal with cross-border crimes such as human trafficking but also expands the network of cooperation essential to countering complex human trafficking networks.

It can be concluded that ASEANAPOL, as a regional police forum in Southeast Asia, has a significant role in efforts to tackle human trafficking. By adopting the theory of the role of international organizations proposed by Clive Archer, ASEANAPOL acts as an instrument, arena, and actor. In the role as an instrument, Indonesia and ASEANAPOL include the continuation of fighting for human rights. Furthermore, in its role as an arena, ASEANAPOL has the main task of facilitating and coordinating cooperation in the exchange of cross-border intelligence information, especially related to international crime issues.

Through the annual conference and other meetings facilitated by ASEANAPOL, member states can discuss transnational crime issues, especially human trafficking. In the case of human trafficking in Indonesia, ASENAPOL has created an arena or provided a platform for dealing with human trafficking. At the same time, ASEANAPOL itself has designed a scheme for the organization's sustainability so that it can become an independent actor. The scheme of changing hosts and structural

leadership in ASEANAPOL illustrates the effort to make the country an independent actor. The rotating hosts and structural leadership scheme in ASEANAPOL illustrate the effort to give member states equal opportunity and highlight the organization's neutrality in its functions.

However, when viewed from these three roles, ASEANAPOL dominates in the role as an arena as its main task is merely to facilitate meetings among ASEAN member states in discussing the issue of transnational crimes, especially human trafficking. It is proven that ASEANAPOL often facilitates meetings such as the ASEANAPOL Conference, ATCM, JCLEC-SCM, Virtual Dialogue, and ASEANAPOL Database System Technical Committee Meeting.

Regular meetings, such as the ASEANAPOL Annual Conference, provide an opportunity for member states to exchange information, share the best practices, and develop joint policies. In the context of human trafficking, cross-border coordination facilitated by ASEANAPOL is crucial; Brigadier Zahara also mentioned the ASEANAPOL Workplan always to discuss the trend of transnational crime, especially human trafficking, which has increased after the COVID-19 pandemic. Through this mechanism, the secure and efficient exchange of intelligence information can support joint operations and coordinated law enforcement. ASEANAPOL also plays a role in developing joint policies that include operational guidelines, standard procedures, and law enforcement protocols.

The challenge of ASEANAPOL is the communication among institutions dealing with human trafficking, as countries in Southeast Asia have different systems and organizational structures in handling crime issues. Nevertheless, with strong cooperation and continued collaboration in eradicating human trafficking, can be a high potential for the sustainability and effectiveness of ASEANAPOL as an organization that is responsible as a forum for information exchange.

REFERENCES

Akbar, A. (2023). *Kemenlu Sebut ada Peningkatan Kasus TPPO di Indonesia sepanjang 2022*. Detik News. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-6656287/kemlu-sebut-ada-peningkatan-kasus-tppo-di-indonesia-sepanjang-2022

Alan Bryman. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (Fourth). Oxford University Press Inc.

Anas, M. (2023). *The 37th ASEANAPOL DATABASE SYSTEM TECHNICAL COMMITTEE (ADSTC) MEETING 2023*. ASEANAPOL.Org. http://ww.aseanapol.org/display/2023/06/02/the-37th-aseanapol-database-system-technical-committee-(adstc)-meeting-2023

Anas, M. (2024). *38th ASEANAPOL Database System Technical Committee (ADSTC) Meeting Lao PDR 13-14 February 2024*. ASEANAPOL.Org. http://ww.aseanapol.org/display/2024/03/05/38th-aseanapol-database-system-technical-committee-(adstc)-meeting-lao-pdr-13-14-february-2024

Andiani, D., & Juned, M. (2024). *Cooperation Between Indonesia And Taiwan In Supporting The Protection Of Runaway Indonesian Migrant Workers In Taiwan*. *4*(2), 232–243.

Apeldoorn, P. D. M. L. J. Van. (2001). *Pengantar Ilmu Hukum* (O. Sadino (Ed.); 29th ed.). Pradnya Paramita.

Arbar, T. F. (2023). *Polisi Beberkan 6 Modus Pelaku Jebak Korban Perdagangan Orang*. CNBC Indonesia. https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230731182345-4-458886/polisi-beberkan-6-modus-pelaku-jebak-korban-perdagangan-orang

Archer, C. (2001). *International Organizations* (Third Edit). Routledge.

ASEAN Statistical Yearbook. (2022). Asean Statistical Yearbook 2022. *ASEAN Secretariat*, *1*. https://www.aseanstats.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/ASYB_2022_423.pdf

ASEANAPOL. (2021). *ASEANAPOL Bulletin* (J. Getamala (Ed.); 11th Editi). ASEANAPOL Secretariat.

ASEANAPOL. (2023). *Aseanapol Bulletin* (N. H. Ngoc (Ed.); 12th Editi). ASEANAPOL Secretariat.

Atem. (2017). 'TKW' SEBUAH PERANGKAP PERDAGANGAN PEREMPUAN (MENELISIK FEMONENA HUMAN TRAFFIKING DI KABUPATEN SAMBAS). *REHEEMA: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak*, *4*(1), 46–53. https://jurnaliainpontianak.or.id/index.php/raheema/article/view/832

BARESKRIM POLRI. (2024). *Data Penanganan TPPO Bareskrim dan POLDA Jajaran Tahun 2023*. Satu Data Indonesia. https://katalog.data.go.id/dataset/data-tppo-th-2023

Boer, M. den. (2010). New Mobile Crime. In *The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203859483.ch25

Coyne, J. W., & Bell, P. (2011). The role of strategic intelligence in anticipating transnational organized crime: A literary review. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, *39*(1), 60–78. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlcj.2011.02.003

Creswell, J. W. (2018). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches* (V. Knight (Ed.); 4th ed.). Sage Inc.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed

Methods Approaches. In H. Salmon (Ed.), *SAGE* (Fifth). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Cunningham, H. (2009). Mobilities and enclosures after Seattle: politicizing borders in a "Borderless" world. *Dialectical Anthropology*, *33*(2), 143–156. https://doi.org/10.1007/s 10624-009-9110-0

Dasopang, F. F., & Juned, M. (2023). KERJA SAMA INDONESIA-AMERIKA SERIKAT PADA BIDANG CAPACITY BUILDING DALAM MENGATASI TERORISME. *Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional LINO*, *03*(01), 1–14. https://doi.org/E-ISSN 2797-0485

Devega, E. (2017). *TEKNOLOGI Masyarakat Indonesia: Malas Baca Tapi Cerewet di Medsos*. Kominfo. https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/10862/teknologi-masyarakat-indonesia-malas-baca-tapi-cerewet-di-medsos/0/sorotan_media

DPR RI. (n.d.). *Pengesahan United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (Konvensi Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa Menentang Tindak Pidana Transnasional Yang Terorganisasi)*. Dpr.Go.Id. Retrieved June 18, 2024, from https://www.dpr.go.id/jdih/index/id/521

Dr. Riki Perdana Raya Waruwu, S.H., M. . (2017). *Perluasan Ruang Lingkup Kerugian Immaterial*. https://kepaniteraan.mahkamahagung.go.id/artikel-hukum/1458-perluasan-ruang-lingkup-kerugian-immaterial-oleh-dr-riki-perdana-raya-waruwu-s-h-m-h

Emmaline Soken Huberty. (n.d.). *10 Causes of Human Trafficking*. Humanrightscareers.Com. Retrieved July 12, 2023, from https://www.humanrightscareers.com/issues/10-causes-of-human-trafficking/

Gugus Tugas PP-TPPO. (2019). *Laporan Kinerja Gugus Tugas PP-TPPO 2015-2019*. https://aseanactpartnershiphub.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/IN-NPA-Report-2015-2019-Bahasa.pdf

Human Handbook Security. (2016). In *United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security*. United Nations. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315289854

Humas Administrasi Hukum Umum Kemenkumham. (2024). *Dirjen AHU Tegaskan MLA dan Ekstradisi Menjadi Instrumen Penting Dalam Penegakan Hukum Pidana Internasional*. Portal AHU. https://portal.ahu.go.id/id/detail/75-berita-lainnya/4230-dirjen-ahu-tegaskan-mla-dan-ekstradisi-menjadi-instrumen-penting-dalam-penegakan-hukum-pidana-internasional

IOM. (n.d.). *Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime*. IOM UN Migration. Retrieved June 19, 2024, from https://www.iom.int/bali-process-people-smuggling-trafficking-persons-and-related-transnational-crime

IOM UN Migration. (2020). *Profil Perdangan Orang di Daerah Perbatasan Kalimantan Studi Pada Kabupaten Sanggau, Sambas, Kapuas Hulu, dan Nunukan* (I. I. Counter-Trafficking Unit (Ed.)). International Organization for Migration (IOM) Indonesia. https://indonesia.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl1491/files/documents/Profil%2520Perdangan%2520Orang%2520di%2520Daerah%2520Perbatasan%2520Kalimantan.pdf

Iskandar, N. (2021). Peran Organisasi Internasional dan Regional dalam Penyelesaian Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia Perdagangan Orang di Indonesia. *Jurnal HAM*, *12*(3), 385. https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2021.12.385-404

Isratn, S., Efat, J., & Anisuzzaman, S. (2015). Human Trafficking in South Asia : Application of Anti Trafficking Laws and The States' Duty to Protect Human Rights of The Victims. *International Journal of Business, Economics and Law*, *7*(4), 53–61. http://ijbel.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/KLIBEL7_Law-21.pdf

Judith Farbey. (2007). HUMAN TRAFFICKING: MODERN DAY SLAVERY. *Pluto Journals*, *48*, 1–23. https://www.jstor.org/stable/42947265

KEMENPANRB. (2023). Satgas TPPO Tetapkan 901 Tersangka Kasus Perdagangan Orang. In *menpan.go.id*. https://www.menpan.go.id/site/berita-terkini/berita-daerah/satgas-tppo-tetapkan-901-tersangka-kasus-perdagangan-orang

Khairi, N. F. (2021). UPAYA ASEAN DALAM MENANGANI MASALAH PERDAGANGAN MANUSIA DI ASIA TENGGARA. In *Anterior Jurnal* (Vol. 20, Issue 2).

Kompas. (2020). *LPSK: Pelaku Perdagangan Orang Juga Lakukan Pemalsuan Dokumen*. Kompas.Com. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2020/08/03/14221421/lpsk-pelaku-perdagangan-orang-juga-lakukan-pemalsuan-dokumen?page=all

Koster, P. de B. and F. (2009). Sticking Together or Falling Apart? In *Solidarity in an Era of Individualization and Globalization* (pp. 101–124). Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-333-98553-3_6

MPR-RI. (2023). *Tindak Pidana Perdagangan Orang: Negara Harus Hadir Melindungi Warga dari TPPO* (6th ed., Vol. 37). Media Informasi dan Komunikasi Konstitusi.

NCB-Jakarta. (2021). *Pertemuan ASEANAPOL Virtual Dialogue on the Issue of Tackling Trafficking in Person*. NCB-INTERPOL Indonesia. https://interpol.go.id/berita32.php

Organisasi Perburuhan Internasional. (2004). *Pedoman Informasi: Perdagangan Perempuan dan Anak Perempuan*. International Labor Office.

Pamungkas, A. P. (2017). Peran ASEANAPOL dalam Pemberantasan Peredaran Narkoba di Indonesia. *Journal of International Relations*, *3*(2), 91–99.

Parameswara, P. (2017). *ASEAN's New Police Database Takes Shape Amid Terror Fears*. The Diplomat. https://thediplomat.com/2017/09/aseans-new-police-database-takes-shape-amid-terror-fears/

Pinatih, N. K. D. A., Mahendra, Y. C., & Purwanti, A. (2023). Aseanapol Dan Tantangan Human Trafficking Di Kawasan Asia Tenggara: Studi Kasus Thailand Dan Kamboja. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik (JISIP)*, *12*(3), 437–450. https://doi.org/10.33366/jisip.v12i3.2804

Prof. Dr. A. Muri Yusuf, M. P. (2014). *Metode Penelitian : Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan Penelitian Gabungan* (Suwito (Ed.); Pertama). KENCANA.

Qiao, G., & Oishi, N. (2018). Policy transfer from the UN to ASEAN: the case of trafficking in persons. *Policy Studies*, *40*(2), 131–149. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2018.1538488

SAHOO, P. C. (2012). SLAVERY, MANU, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute*, *72*(73), 451–456. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43610723

Salim, H. J. (2017). *Kabareskrim Minta ASEANAPOL Manfaatkan Sistem Elektronik*. Liputan 6. https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/3094603/kabareskrim-minta-aseanapol-manfaatkan-sistem-elektronik?page=2

Salsa, S. N. (2021). Mutual Legal Assistance Dalam Penyidikan Tindak Pidana Perdagangan Manusia Melalui Media Sosial Sebagai Kejahatan Terorganisasi Transnasional. *National Conference on Law Studies (NCOLS)*, *2*(1). https://conference.upnvj.ac.id/index.php/ncols/article/view/1539

Santoso, A. (2024). *Bareskrim Bongkar Perdagangan Orang Modus Magang Ferienjob ke Jerman*.

Detiknews. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7250374/bareskrim-bongkar-perdagangan-orang-modus-magang-ferienjob-ke-jerman

Silvia, E. M. (2020). Upaya Penanggulangan Kasus Perdagangan dan Penyelundupan Manusia Sebagai Kejahatan Transnasional Terorganisir. *Inicio Legis*, *1*(1), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.21107/il.v1i1.8821

The Bali Process. (n.d.). *About The Bali Process*. Baliprocess.Net. Retrieved June 19, 2024, from https://www.baliprocess.net/about-the-bali-process/

Undang-Undang (UU) Nomor 21 Tahun 2007. (2007). In \. Pemerintah Indonesia. http://digilib.unila.ac.id/4949/15/BAB II.pdf

UNODC. (2008). An Introduction to Human Trafficking: Vulnerability, Impact and Action. In *United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime*. https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/An_Introduction_to_Human_Trafficking_-_Background_Paper.pdf

Wardah, F. (2023). *1.138 WNI Korban Tipuan Online di Kamboja Telah Dipulangkan ke Indonesia*. VOA Indonesia. https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/wni-korban-tipuan-online-di-kamboja-telah-dipulangkan-ke-indonesia-/7080250.html

Widi, S. (2023). *Pengguna Media Sosial di Indonesia Sebanyak 167 Juta pada 2023*. Dataindonesia.Id. https://dataindonesia.id/internet/detail/pengguna-media-sosial-di-indonesia-sebanyak-167-juta-pada-2023

Art of Reading Signs: Police Intelligence and Early Detection Strategy for Election Threat Management

Muh. Adam Sjam[1], Muhammad Sabir[2], Muh. Akbar Fhad Syahril[3], Kairuddin Kairuddin[4], Aksah Kasim[5]

[1,2,3,4,5] Faculty of Law Andi Sapada Institute of Social Sciences and Business, Parepare, Indonesia
Email Corresponding Author: akbar9.a9@gmail.com[3]

Abstract

This study examines the performance of Intelligence and Security Unit of Pare-pare Police Resort in anticipating potential security threats during the 2024 Regional Elections using the early detection strategy in order to figure out the effectiveness of the strategy and its suitability with applicable provisions. Utilising both normative and empirical approach, this study analyses the laws and regulations using field observations. The findings of this research shows that the Intelligence and Security Unit has implemented a comprehensive strategy following applicable laws and regulations but it still faces challenges in the digital era. Increasing the capacity of big data analysis, social media monitoring, and information-sharing mechanisms among institutions are needed to anticipate security disturbances in the future election. This strategy has the potential to be a model for other regions in Indonesia, although it still requires continuous improvement and adaptation of technology.

Keywords*: early detection, election security, police intelligence*

INTRODUCTION

General Election is the essential aspect in realizing people's sovereignty in Indonesia that is carried out directly, publicly, freely, discreetly, honestly, and fairly once in every five years. As a democratic country, Indonesia routinely organises Elections to elect a President and Vice President, members of the Regional Representative Council , House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as Provincial and Regional House of Representatives (Siagian, 2022).

However, in its implementation, it is important to recognise the vulnerabilities of election to the disturbances that can hinder or even thwart the smoothness of the election process. These vulnerabilities can appear in the forms of manipulation of voters' data, the spread of false information or hoaxes, money politics, and pressure on voters that can damage the integrity of the election (Duty & Ware, 2024). In addition, security challenges are also a serious concern, including threats of violence or intimidation that can disrupt order during the election.

Social conflict triggered by sensitive issues, such as the discrimination against ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup during the elections is the tactic that exploits the differences in the community for political gain (Kasim & Heridah, 2020). This practice is oftentimes used by some political candidates during their campaigns that encourage voters to vote them by weighting on the candidate's ethnicity or

religious background, rather than their quality as the people's representative and their goals. For example, spreading messages that prohibit voting for leaders from a particular religion or ethnic group, or spreading negative rumours about candidates from the minority groups. This tactic can also involve the use of certain religious or cultural symbols to attract support or trigger anti-group sentiment.

The impact of this discriminatory act is very damaging as it can divide the society, divert attention from substantial issues, and ultimately threaten the integrity of the democratic process itself. This phenomenon can trigger horizontal conflicts, worsen social polarization, and damage long-term community cohesion. The use of discrimination against ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup narratives not only distracts attention from substantive issues but also creates political and social inequality. As the results, voter participation from minority groups may decrease, thereby reducing the representation and legitimacy of election results. Ultimately, the discriminatory act has the potential to produce leaders who tend to prioritize the interests of certain groups, rather than society as a whole, thus hampering development and shared progress.

Efforts such as early detection and warning are needed to fight these threats to realize the national goals of protecting the entire Indonesian nation and maintaining the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia as mandated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution (Wangsajaya, 2023). This is increasingly important considering the complexity and dynamic of development of strategic environmental situations and conditions are getting higher (Heri, 2019).

The General Election Supervisory Agency of the Republic of Indonesia has published an Election Vulnerability Index for the 2024 Election which reveals some regions are categorized as very vulnerable. One of which is Pare-pare city in South Sulawesi that stands at the 5th position in the list of the most vulnerable districts/cities, particularly on the issue of the neutrality of the Civil Apparatus. This ranking highlights the vulnerabilities in organising the election in Pare-pare city that require serious attention and anticipatory steps. The related stakeholders need to take strategic steps to ensure the neutrality of Civil Apparatus and maintain the integrity of the election process, so that it can take place fairly and transparently.

Several factors that are of concern in Pare-pare City's local election include its position as a transit city which geographical conditions bordering several districts and the characteristics of its heterogeneous society. In addition, there are also issues such as land reclamation disputes, potential discrimination-based conflicts, the spread of fake news and hate speech on social media, as well as the presence of former terrorist convicts who are vulnerable to radicalism (Asriyani et al., 2021).

In order to anticipate these potential disturbances, the optimal efforts are required from the Police Security Intelligence to detect them (Asba et al., 2022). The Police Security Intelligence as an integral part of the organic function of the Indonesian National Police has the task of carrying out intelligence activities and operations, including investigations, security, and deployment in the security sector to support the implementation of the duties of the Indonesian National Police (Renggong & Madiong, 2021).

This study aims to analyse the strategies implemented by the Pare-pare Municipal Police Intelligence and Security Unit in conducting early detection of potential security disturbances before and during the 2024 Regional Election in the Pare-pare City area by using a normative legal research method to examine regulatory aspects related to the role of intelligence and security in maintaining election security (Irwansyah, 2020) (Syarif et al., 2024). This approach is hoped to provide a deeper understanding on the effectiveness of early detection strategy and how this mechanism can be adjusted to the dynamics of the existing threats that continue to develop during the election period (Juliardi et al., 2023).

The empirical research method is also deployed to explore factual data in the field related to the implementation of the early detection strategy by the Pare-pare Municipal Police Intelligence and Security Unit. By combining both normative and empirical research methods, a comprehensive picture hopefully could be obtained to map the vulnerabilities of Pare-pare city in organising its local election and the effectiveness of the early detection strategy implemented by the Pare-pare Municipal Police Intelligence and Security Unit.

Moreover, the results of this study are expected to assist related stakeholders in making a better security plan, and also increasing the knowledge about security and the implementation of elections in Indonesia, which may improve the security of democratic process of people's sovereignty, as well as provide new ideas for the experts and related stakeholders in the field of security and election implementation.

The urgency of this research lies in the urgent need to create a conducive environment for the implementation of elections, amidst increasingly complex challenges. This research not only provides academic contributions, but also practical contributions in efforts to maintain stability, security, and public order which are important foundations for national development and public trust in the democratic process. Although strategies are available, research on the adaptation of these strategies to digital threats is still limited, which is what this research aims to answer.

DISCUSSION

The early detection strategy is a comprehensive and well-organized approach, in line with Law No. 17 of 2011 concerning State Intelligence. This strategy is implemented by the Pare-pare Municipal Police Intelligence and Security Unit in the 2024 Regional Election that covers key aspects, such as investigation, security, and information gathering to ensure a comprehensive coverage of potential security threats.

However, the rapid development of the information system, technology, and digital world appears to be the existing issues for the Police Intelligence and Unit in conducting early detection of security threats in the election. Modern threats such as fake news, election fraud, and identity issues require more flexible handling methods and the use of the latest technology. It is important for the officers in-charged to improve their competence in analysing the big data to be able to face these challenges well.

In addition, it is necessary to establish a proper way of sharing information among the security team, election supervisors, and election organizers. This can be done by setting a joint cooperation where the related stakeholders agree on the types of information that is allowed to be shared, the means to share the information, and the security measures need to be taken, or their contingency plan. This type of integrated and secure information system will be very helpful in implementing the early detection strategy.

Furthermore, a joint team consisting of the security team members, election supervisors, and election organizers may also improve the ability to detect and handle threats. These steps, are not only intended to secure the election in Pare-pare city, but can also be an example for other regions in Indonesia to create a safer and more orderly election throughout the country.

In carrying out its duties, the Pare-pare Municipal Police Security team follows a set of rules issued by the Chief of the Indonesian National Police. The early detection process is mandated to be conducted through collecting information from various sources, processing and analysing information to find signs of threats, and submitting the results of the analysis in the form of a complete report to the leadership. This process is required to ensure that every potential threat can be recognized and handled promptly.

The results of the information analysis will be systematically distributed to the related working units in order to put the preventive actions or necessary interventions in place timely. This distribution process is carefully managed by assessing the urgency and relevance of information in each working unit to allocate the resources effectively and efficiently. With this approach, the Intelligence and Security Unit can increase the preparedness and responsiveness in dealing with various potential security threats to the election process, so that the election can take place in a safe and conducive atmosphere.

However, it is still necessary to improve the information sharing means among the related stakeholder in the election to ensure the rapid exchange of critical information and the emerging threats can be tackled immediately. Establishing clearer rules and using technology to share data securely can greatly improve the ability to detect and address issues early. Additionally, using sophisticated data analysis methods and tools to monitor social media can provide a better understanding of potential security issues. This will allow teams to take a pre-emptive action before issues become more serious.

By continuously refining these processes and integrating technological advancements, the Pare-pare Police Intelligence and Security Unit can become a benchmark for election security practices. One of the concrete steps taken in preparation for the 2024 Regional Election is to check the readiness of personnel as reported on July 8, 2024. Pare-pare Municipal Police Chief, AKBP Arman Muis, reported that he has checked the condition and readiness of the personnels at the Pare-pare Municipal Police Headquarters. On that occasion, the Police Chief emphasized the importance of preventing disturbances to public order, maintaining neutrality, and taking humanistic and persuasive actions. This approach is in line with the principles in Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, especially regarding the protection of citizens' political rights in elections.

Early detection efforts are also carried out through collecting information from establishing communication with community leaders and sub-district governments. The purpose of this step is to invite the community to participate in maintaining a conducive security and social order situation. In addition, the Police Security Intelligence Unit carries out mapping of potential vulnerabilities in the Pare-pare city area, following the main duties and functions of Police Security Intelligence as regulated in the Regulation of the Chief of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia Number 22 of 2010 concerning the Organizational Structure and Work Procedures of Organizational Units at the Regional Police Level.

This structured and collaborative approach is designed to ensure that the election takes place safely, peacefully, and following the principles of democracy and human rights. These efforts are not only aimed to protect the physical integrity of the election process, but also to strengthen the public trust in the democratic system, thereby creating a conducive environment for inclusive and fair political participation. Cross-sector coordination is one of the main strategies implemented by the Pare-pare Municipal Police. This is reflected in the discussion forum held in Pare-pare on March 5, 2024, where various stakeholders, such as General Election Supervisory Agency, General Election Commission, and local governments met, shared information, and formulated joint anticipatory steps.

The Intelligence and Security Unit of the Pare-pare Municipal Police conducted an in-depth analysis of the information obtained to produce accurate intelligence reports that are submitted to the leadership as a consideration in making policies related to election security, as mandated by the Regulation of the Chief of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia Number 20 of 2006 concerning the Principles of the Implementation of the Regional Police as a Basic Operational Unit and Regulation of the Chief of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia Number 21 of 2006 concerning the Principalities of the Implementation of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia Sector as an Operational Spearhead.

The Pare-pare Municipal Police Security Intelligence is also committed to implementing the principles of good governance, including transparency, and accountability in carrying out their duties. This commitment is reflected in efforts to build public trust through a humanistic and persuasive approach, as emphasized by the Pare-pare Police Chief in his instructions to all personnel. With this approach, it is hoped that the relationship between the police and the community can be better established so that a conducive and safe environment is created. The National Police Security Intelligence has shown success in handling Civil Apparatus's non-neutrality during the regional elections through various efforts. Although the details of the case were not published in detail to maintain the confidentiality of the operation, Police Security Intelligence succeeded in carrying out early detection, monitoring social media, and covert operations to uncover violations (2024). Close coordination with General Election Supervisory Agency and Civil Apparatus was also carried out to handle the case effectively. In addition to repressive actions, Police Security Intelligence also focuses on preventive efforts through education and socialization. This success is not only in taking action but also in

prevention, which contributes significantly to maintaining the integrity of the regional elections and the neutrality of Civil Apparatus.

Cooperation with various parties such as election supervisors, election organizers, and local governments is also a key strategy to ensure election security. They share information and make joint plans to anticipate problems. This cooperation not only increases readiness but also makes the public more confident in the election process.

The early detection strategy implemented by Police Security Intelligence of Pare-pare Resort Police also takes into account the rapid development of information technology. Pare-pare Police Chief emphasized the importance of the Police officers to master the information technology. This is in line with the need to increase the capacity of Police Security Intelligence personnel in big data and social media analysis, considering the increasingly complex development of threats in the digital era. Mastery of this technology is very important to detect and respond to threats effectively and efficiently.

Pare-pare Police Intelligence Unit is trying to improve its effectiveness by implementing good governance principles and utilizing the latest technology. The goal is to strengthen the ability to detect and handle threats early, as well as create a safer environment. However, there are still challenges in implementing this strategy, especially because of the increasingly diverse threats such as security issues, fake news, election fraud, and identity issues.

To address this, it is important to create clear Standard Operating Procedures for the Intelligence Unit team. These Standard Operating Procedures will help them identify and handle threats more effectively. In addition, it is also necessary to improve the team's ability to analyse big data and monitor social media, given the ever-evolving digital threats.

Using clear Standard Operating Procedures and improved technological capabilities, it is expected that Pare-pare Police Intelligence Unit can be better at detecting and handling threats. This method of working will not only ensure security during the election but can also be an example for improving security in other areas. Implementing this model in various places can create a safer environment overall. With a proactive and data-based approach, the Intelligence Unit can be more effective in preventing problems before they become big. This can also increase public trust in Pare-pare Police Intelligence Unit because they can feel more secure and faster problem handling.

Overall, the early detection strategy implemented by Pare-pare Police Intelligence Unit shows a serious effort in anticipating potential security disturbances in the 2024 Regional Election. An approach that prioritizes prevention, cross-sector coordination, and in-depth analysis is the right step according to applicable provisions. However, continuous evaluation and improvement are needed to deal with the dynamics of threats that continue to develop ahead of and during the Regional Election.

The strategy implemented by Pare-pare Police Intelligence Unit follows the principles set out in State Intelligence Law, Regulation of the National Police Chief on the Principles of the Implementation of the Regional Police as a Basic Operational Unit, and Regulation of the National Police Chief on the Principles of the Implementation of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia Sector as the Operational Spearhead. This can be seen from the results of an in-depth analysis of the strategy.

However, there are still opportunities to improve the effectiveness of this strategy, especially in the use of information technology. The use of technology for big data analysis and social media monitoring can still be improved. One way that can be considered is the application of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and machine learning in the intelligence analysis process. This method has been implemented by several developed countries and has been proven to increase accuracy and speed in detecting threats earlier. Some countries that have adopted AI technology in their police force include:

1. The United Kingdom, which uses AI for predictive crime mapping and video analysis.

2. The United States, where several police departments are using AI to predict crimes and identify potential suspects.

3. The European Union is implementing a project using AI to detect organised crimes.

By adopting similar technology, Pare-pare Police Intelligence Unit has the potential to further enhance its early detection capabilities, as has been done by these countries. In addition, strengthening the capacity of Police Security Intelligence personnel in digital literacy and cyber analysis needs to be a top priority, considering the increasingly complex threats in the digital space that can affect the dynamics of elections. With the increasing use of information technology in various aspects of life, the ability to analyse digital data effectively is very important. Therefore, training and skills development in this area need to be intensified. These steps are expected to increase the effectiveness of early detection strategies and ensure the security and smooth running of elections. By utilizing advanced technology and increasing personnel capacity, it is expected that potential threats can be identified and handled more quickly so that the integrity and smooth running of the election process are maintained.

Going forward, it is critical to improve the effective information exchange mechanism between Police Security Intelligence, General Election Supervisory Agency, and General Election Commission, as mandated by the Election Law. This collaboration must maintain the confidentiality of sensitive intelligence information while strengthening the early warning and detection system to address potential security threats during the 2024 Regional Election in Pare-pare City. A strong legal framework, perhaps through a Joint Regulation between the Chief of Police, the Head of General Election Supervisory Agency, and the Head of General Election Commission is critical to support this development. The regulation must clearly define the types of information that can be exchanged, the exchange procedures, and the mechanisms to ensure information security.

Furthermore, creating a unified information system for real-time data sharing among these agencies is essential, with a strong focus on data security and privacy. Implementing blockchain technology can be a viable solution to ensure the integrity and security of exchanged data, as it offers benefits such as immutability and transparency. In addition, forming a joint team consisting of personnel from Police Security Intelligence, General Election Supervisory Agency, and General Election Commission to collaboratively analyse potential threats can significantly increase the effectiveness of early detection efforts. This initiative aims not only to strengthen the early detection system in Pare-pare City but also to become a best practice model for other regions in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Pare-pare Police Intelligence and Security Unit has implemented a comprehensive approach and is following applicable provisions, including State Intelligence Law and National Police Regulations of the Republic of Indonesia. This strategy includes information collection and analysis, cross-sector coordination, and personnel readiness checks. However, it is necessary to increase the capacity of personnel in big data and social media analysis, as well as develop a more effective information exchange mechanism between Police Security Intelligence, General Election Supervisory Agency, and General Election Commission. Continuous improvement and adaptation to technological advances are essential to ensure the security and smooth running of elections in Pare-pare City and other regions in Indonesia.

SUGGESTION

Based on the research results, it is recommended that stakeholders in election security develop a more integrated and technology-based early detection system. Prioritizing the application of big data analysis and artificial intelligence (AI) in monitoring social media and identifying threats is important. The formation of a joint cross-agency team consisting of Police Security Intelligence, General Election Supervisory Agency, and General Election Commission personnel for collaborative threat analysis can increase the effectiveness of early detection. Initiating joint regulations between institutions for the exchange of intelligence information is needed to strengthen the legal framework for coordination. Continuous capacity-building programs in digital literacy and cyber analysis are essential to anticipate threats that continue to develop in the digital space.

REFERENCES

Asba, P., Syahril, M. A. F., & Makkarawa, I. (2022). The Pollution of The Role of The Polri in The Prevention of Commotion in Demonstration. *Traditional Journal of Law and Social Sciences*, *1*(02), 53–72.

Asriyani, A., Ambarwati, A., Nurdin, M. N. I., & Darmawansya, A. (2021). Quo Vadis Fungsi Kepolisian dalam Penanganan Penyebaran Paham Radikalisme dan Intoleransi. *JUSTISI*, *7*(2), 137–154.

Duty, K., & Ware, J. (2024, Oktober). *Understanding the Threats to U.S. Election Security in 2024*. https://www.cfr.org/expert-brief/understanding-threats-us-election-security-2024?

Heri, E. I. (2019). Tantangan Pengembangan SDM Polri di Era Revolusi Industri 4.0. *Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian*, *13*(2), 16–16.

Irwansyah, I. (2020). Penelitian Hukum: Pilihan Metode & Praktik Penulisan Artikel. *Yogyakarta: Mirra Buana Media*, *8*.

Juliardi, B., Runtunuwu, Y. B., Musthofa, M. H., TL, A. D., Asriyani, A., Hazmi, R. M., Syahril, M. A. F., Saputra, T. E., Arman, Z., & Rauf, M. A. (2023). *METODE PENELITIAN HUKUM*. CV. Gita Lentera.

Kasim, A., & Heridah, A. (2020). The Region Governance Review of Barru Regency to Actualize Good and Clean Governments. *Amsir Law Journal*, *1*(2), 61–69.

Renggong, R., & Madiong, B. (2021). *Intelijen Kepolisian Negara dalam Mewujudkan Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat*.

Siagian, R. (2022). *Penyelesaian Kasus Kecelakaan Lalu Lintas Oleh Anak Dibawah Umur Melalui Restorative Justice (Studi Penelitian Di Polres Binjai)*.

Syarif, M., Ramadhani, R., Graha, M. A. W., Yanuaria, T., Muhtar, M. H., Asmah, N., Syahril, M. A. F., Utami, R. D., Rustan, A., & Nasution, H. S. (2024). *Metode Penelitian Hukum*. Get Press Indonesia.

Wangsajaya, Y. (2023). *Meningkatkan Kewaspadaan Nasional Terhadap Proxi War*. PT. RajaGrafindo Persada-Rajawali Pers.

Zulkarnaini. (2024, Januari 15). Menpan and RB: Sanctions for CIVIL APPARATUS Violating Neutrality in Elections. *KompasId*. https://www.kompas.id/baca/english/2024/01/11/en-menpan-rb-sanksi-Civil Apparatus-yang-melanggar-netralitas-di-pemilu

Undang-Undang No. 17 Tahun 2011 tentang Intelijen Negara

Undang-Undang No. 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum

Undang-Undang No. 39 Tahun 1999 tentang Hak Asasi Manusia

Peraturan Kepala Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 22 Tahun 2010 Tentang Susunan Organisasi dan Tata Kerja Satuan Organisasi Pada Tingkat Kepolisian Daerah

Peraturan Kepala Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor Pol. 20 Tahun 2006 Tentang Pokok–Pokok Penyelenggaraan Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Resor Sebagai Kesatuan Operasional Dasar Dan Peraturan Kepala Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor Pol. 21 Tahun 2006 Tentang Pokok–Pokok Penyelenggaraan Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Sektor Sebagai Ujung Tombak Operasional

Realism Dominance in Indonesia's Security Governance: An Analysis of Law No. 2/2002

Fitri Adi Setyorini[1], Maretha Syawallin Umarach[2]

[1]International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Jenderal Soedirman University, Banyumas, Indonesia
[2]International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta, Bantul, Indonesia
Email Author 1: fitri.adi@unsoed.ac.id

Abstract

This study analyzes Indonesia's domestic security paradigm through Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, applying realism, liberalism, and constructivism approaches. Using quantitative content analysis, the study evaluates themes such as actors, authority, budget, governance, and outputs within the law. The findings highlight a predominant focus on the realism approach, characterized by state-centric actors, regulation-driven governance, and outputs emphasizing law enforcement and public security. In contrast, liberal and constructivist perspectives, which prioritize non-state actors and community-oriented policies, are underrepresented. This gap underscores the challenges of balancing centralized authority with democratic principles and human rights. The study identifies potential risks, including militaristic tendencies and public distrust, stemming from this realist-heavy framework. It suggests reforms to integrate democratic governance and community engagement principles, fostering trust and collaboration between the police and the public. These insights contribute to broader discussions on security governance in transitioning democracies.

Keywords: domestic security, law no. 2 of 2002, paradigm, police, realism

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of globalization has led to increased crime within society. These crimes can be in the form of kidnapping, human trafficking, arms smuggling, fraud, and so on, which threaten the security and order of the state. The context of domestic security legislation in Indonesia is very complex and continues to develop along with political, social, and economic dynamics. One of Indonesia's main foundations in the context of domestic security legislation is the 1945 Constitution, which serves as the basis for all government policies and actions. The 1945 Constitution affirms the state's commitment to the Indonesian people's sovereignty, territorial integrity, security, and welfare. Since its independence in 1945, Indonesia has faced various domestic security challenges, including rebellion, ethnic conflict, terrorism, and other security issues. The Indonesian government has implemented several laws and regulations to maintain domestic security and stability in response to these challenges (Keping, 2018a).

In addition, Indonesia has formed a tool used to protect and maintain the security and order of its country. This tool is often known as the state security apparatus. Indonesia has a state security apparatus called

the Indonesian National Police. The police in Indonesia have been formed since the Majapahit Kingdom era with the name Bhayangkara. After Indonesia's independence, the National Police Agency (BKN) was formed by the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) on 19 August 1945. Then, on 1 July 1946, the position of the police was strengthened by the issuance of Government Decree No. 11/80/1946 Djawatan Polisi Negara, which is directly responsible to the prime minister. Since then, every 1 July has been commemorated as Bhayangkara Day. In 2002, the Indonesian government passed Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, which stipulates the institutional separation between the Indonesian National Police and the Indonesian National Army by their respective roles and functions (Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2019).

In 2016, the Indonesian National Police reached 436,432 personnel, ranked 2nd as the most significant police force in the world after China (Ridhwan Mustajab, 2023). In addition, according to an international research institution (Gallup's Law and Order), Indonesia was ranked 9th out of the ten safest countries in the world in 2018 (World Justice Project, 2015). Indonesia also ranked 9th in enforcing fundamental rights, 11th in terms of order and security, and 7th in enforcing regulations out of 193 countries in the world (World Justice Project, 2015). Based on the rankings obtained, Indonesia is included in the category of the safest countries in the world. Creating an orderly and safe environment is inseparable from the efforts made by the Indonesian National Police. The police are essential in dealing with threats and disturbances within the country. In general, the police are a state apparatus that maintains public security and order, enforces the law, and provides protection, shelter, and services to the community (Dau et al., 2021). The police function helps realize a just, prosperous, and civilized civil society based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

Political developments and social changes in Indonesia have also influenced the direction of domestic security policy. Along with the democratization transition since the 1998 Reformation, there have been efforts to strengthen the principles of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law within the framework of domestic security. However, challenges such as corruption, political turmoil, social inequality, and religious radicalism remain the main focus in formulating security policy in Indonesia. In this regard, domestic security legislation continues to adapt to face the complex dynamics of Indonesian society and anticipate rapidly evolving threats.

The scope of international relations has its perspective on security issues. The perspective and approach used will influence our perspective on security issues. International relations has three types of classical approaches to view security issues: realism, liberalism, and constructivism. The realism approach views security issues as more critical issues in international relations. Realism views the state as the leading and most crucial actor (state-centric). Moreover, international relations are more anarchic because no government is above the state, so conflicts will occur more quickly. Conflict can be avoided by having a balance of power (Suryadi Bakry, 2022).

The liberal approach views the state as not the leading actor in international relations. Other actors who have a role in international relations include individuals, non-government organizations (NGO) and multinational corporations (MNC). Liberals agree that the world is conflictual, but peace can be achieved through cooperation, enforcement of human rights, and democratic governance. Meanwhile, the constructivist

approach states that immigration is not an issue that arises by itself but rather comes from the results of social construction. Constructivism consistently links immigration with ideas and norms. Therefore, for constructivists, the issue of immigration can run peacefully if the actors involved share ideas (Lesly Gijsbert Christian Hosang, 2011). The three approaches presented above are often used by countries to view an issue and make a policy. Therefore, the author intends to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the perspectives and approaches used by the Indonesian government to view the issue of security and order through Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police.

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to understanding how domestic security paradigms influence the operational and strategic frameworks of national institutions, particularly the police force. In the current global context, where threats such as terrorism, transnational crime, and social unrest are increasingly interconnected, a strong and adaptive domestic security framework is crucial. Law No. 2 of 2002 provides a case study to explore how Indonesia balances centralized authority with evolving democratic principles in its approach to security governance. By applying a theoretical lens of realism, liberalism, and constructivism, this study offers a nuanced understanding of the law's impact on both institutional performance and public trust. Such an analysis is particularly relevant for nations transitioning toward democratic governance, as they often grapple with reconciling security imperatives with human rights and civil liberties (Bayley, 2006).

Moreover, the study addresses critical gaps in the existing literature by focusing on the institutionalization of security policies in post-reform Indonesia. While much has been written about the democratization process in Southeast Asia, there is limited research on how these political changes affect domestic security frameworks at the operational level. By evaluating the emphasis on state-centric approaches within Law No. 2 of 2002, this study illuminates the inherent tension between traditional realist paradigms and the increasing demands for community-oriented policing and accountability (Hinton & Newburn, 2009). This has broader implications for policy reforms, particularly in strengthening institutional capacity and fostering collaboration between law enforcement and civil society. Such insights are invaluable for policymakers and practitioners aiming to build security frameworks that are both effective and inclusive.

The theoretical framework of this study draws from the realist, liberal, and constructivist paradigms to analyze Indonesia's domestic security approach. Realism, with its emphasis on state sovereignty, centralized authority, and institutional strength, has traditionally dominated security policies worldwide, including in Indonesia. Scholars argue that realist approaches prioritize state-centric measures such as law enforcement, surveillance, and military preparedness, often at the expense of inclusivity and societal welfare (Waltz, 1979). In contrast, liberal approaches advocate for broader participation in security governance, emphasizing human rights, community involvement, and the role of non-state actors. Meanwhile, constructivism highlights the importance of shared norms, values, and societal perceptions in shaping security policies, offering a nuanced perspective on the role of culture and identity in governance (Keohane & Nye, 2001). These paradigms provide a comprehensive lens for examining the strengths and limitations of Law No. 2 of 2002 in addressing Indonesia's security challenges.

Comparative studies of security paradigms in Southeast Asia offer valuable insights into alternative approaches that could complement Indonesia's realist-heavy framework. For instance, the Philippines employs a hybrid model combining traditional enforcement with community-based policing, fostering local partnerships to address security issues collaboratively (Modise & Modise, 2023). Similarly, Thailand's security policies incorporate elements of human security by addressing socio-economic vulnerabilities, particularly in conflict-prone southern regions (Dan & Mulyana, 2020). These examples demonstrate the potential of integrating liberal and constructivist elements to enhance trust, reduce conflict, and address root causes of insecurity. Comparing Indonesia's approach with such models underscores opportunities for reform, particularly in adopting inclusive and participatory mechanisms to balance state authority with societal engagement.

In a global context, countries like Norway and New Zealand provide examples of comprehensive security frameworks that align state authority with community-oriented governance. Norway's independent oversight body for law enforcement ensures accountability, while New Zealand's focus on restorative justice exemplifies a commitment to societal well-being (Grabosky, 2007). These practices highlight the importance of transparency, inclusivity, and adaptive governance in building resilient security frameworks. For Indonesia, incorporating lessons from these models could help address challenges related to militarization, public trust, and human rights, aligning its policies with international best practices. By situating Indonesia's approach within a broader global and regional discourse, this study contributes to understanding the interplay between theoretical paradigms and practical governance in achieving sustainable security.

METHOD

This study employs a quantitative content analysis method, aimed at measuring the frequency of occurrence of signs, symbols, and meanings related to the content of Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police. In this study, the analysis focuses on five main indicators: actors, authority, budget, governance, and output. These indicators are analyzed through three theoretical approaches, namely realism, liberalism, and constructivism. The three approaches are realism, liberalism, and constructivism. The author has formulated three hypotheses to analyze the measurement results. First, the regulation of order and security in Indonesia uses a realism approach. Second, it uses a liberal approach. Third, it uses a constructivist approach. To provide a clearer understanding of the stages in this research, the following is a detailed description of the procedures used:

Data Collection

The primary data in this research is the text of Law No. 2 of 2002. This document was selected for its central role in shaping Indonesia's domestic security framework. Words, phrases, and symbols relevant to the five indicators were extracted for analysis. To strengthen the interpretation, secondary sources such as academic literature, journal articles, and government reports on domestic security and police policies in Indonesia were also consulted.

Indicator Determination

The five indikator consist of actors, authority, budget, governance, and output—were chosen to represent critical dimensions of domestic security policy. *Actors* encompass the individuals and institutions involved, highlighting the focus on state versus non-state roles. *Authority* measures the concentration of power and decision-making processes, reflecting the extent of centralization. *Budget* evaluates the financial resources allocated to security operations, emphasizing the state's priorities. *Governance* analyzes the management mechanisms and adherence to democratic principles. Finally, *output* assesses the intended results of the policy, including law enforcement, public order, and security. These indicators are crucial for understanding how Law No. 2 of 2002 operationalizes its security goals and aligns with different theoretical approaches.

Data Coding and Categorization

The coding process involved systematically identifying and categorizing words, phrases, and symbols in the law's text according to the five indicators and three theoretical approaches. For instance, terms such as "state," "police," and "authority" were categorized under realism, while "community" and "cooperation" were linked to liberalism and constructivism. To ensure accuracy, a coding manual was developed, specifying the criteria for each category. Two independent coders were employed to conduct the analysis, and their results were cross-checked to minimize subjectivity.

Quantitative Analysis

The categorized data were analyzed quantitatively by calculating the frequency of occurrences for each indicator and approach. The dominant theoretical approach was determined based on the relative prevalence of the coded terms. For example, frequent references to state-centric governance and institutional authority suggested a dominant realism approach. The liberal and constructivist elements were identified based on terms emphasizing inclusivity, cooperation, and normative frameworks.

Validity and Reliability

To ensure the validity and reliability of the results, several measures were implemented. First, the coding manual was refined through pilot testing on a sample of the text. Second, intercoder reliability was assessed using Cohen's Kappa, which yielded a high agreement level of 0.87, indicating strong consistency between coders. Third, a triangulation process was carried out by comparing the results with findings from secondary sources, such as academic discussions on Indonesia's security policies, to confirm the robustness of the interpretations.

Interpretation of Results

Following the analysis, the results were interpreted in relation to the study's hypotheses. The findings reveal which theoretical approach—realism, liberalism, or constructivism—is most dominant in Law No. 2 of

2002 and how this dominance reflects broader policy trends. For instance, the prevalence of realism may indicate a focus on centralized state authority and institutional strength, while the limited representation of liberalism and constructivism highlights the need for more community-oriented and cooperative security policies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Republic of Indonesia National Police

The police's role is to realize a just, prosperous, and civilized civil society based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. On 8 January 2002, the Indonesian Government passed Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police as a basis for the police to carry out their roles and functions. According to Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, the police are all matters relating to the functions and institutions of the police by laws and regulations (UU No. 2 Tahun 2002 Tentang Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2002). Police activities are carried out by police members who are civil servants at the Indonesian National Police. The Indonesian National Police has approximately 436,423 personnel, ranked 2nd as the most extensive police in the world after China (Gede Nadi Jaya, 2016).

The author uses five indicators to analyze the perspectives and approaches used by the Indonesian government in viewing security and order issues through Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police. The five indicators are actors, authority, budget, governance, and output. Then, the author groups the use of words, sentences, and symbols related to the five indicators into three approaches: realism, liberalism, and constructivism. The following are the results of the analysis conducted by the author.

Actor Analysis

Table 1. Measurement Results of Actor Indicators in Law No. 2 of 2002

Approach	No	Actor	Word Count
Realisme	1	State	224
	2	Police	255
	3	Chief of Indonesian Police	39
	4	Government	21
	5	Officials of Indonesian National Police	22
	6	President	30
	7	Investigators	15
	8	MPR	15
	9	Civil Servants	11
	10	DPR-RI	16
	11	Prosecutors	3
	12	Investigators	2
	13	Civil Servants Investigators	6
	14	Assisstant	3
	15	Members of Indonesian National Police	56
	16	Indonesian National Police Code of Ethics Commission	11

	17	Indonesian National Army	6
	18	National Police Institution (National Police Commision)	11
		Total	**746**
		Percentage	**84.5%**
Liberalism	19	Individu/People	104
	20	Agency/Institution	19
		Total	**123**
		Percentage	**14%**
Constructivism	21	Other Countries	3
	22	Organizations	5
	23	Bilateral and Multilateral Agreements	2
	24	Conventions	1
	25	*International Criminal Police Organization* (*ICPO-Interpol*)	2
		Total	**13**
		Percentage	**1.5%**
Total Actor Indicators			**882**

Based on the results of the analysis listed in Table 1, Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police emphasises the role of state actors more than non-state actors. The analysis shows that realist actors get more results than liberal and constructivist actors. The state, government, and president use realist actors, evidenced by government institutions, such as the Indonesian National Police Code of Ethics Commission and the National Police Institution (National Police Commission). The use of realist actors has a percentage result of 84.5%, liberal actors have a percentage result of 14%, and constructivist actors have a percentage result of 1.5%. Police activities as realist actors are more emphasized on domestic security issues that aim to create public order, law enforcement, and security.

The dominance of state actors in Indonesia's domestic security framework, as revealed by the analysis, underscores a traditional approach where the state and its institutions hold primary responsibility for maintaining law and order. This paradigm prioritizes hierarchical authority, centralized decision-making, and institutionalized enforcement mechanisms, often at the expense of inclusivity and adaptability. While this approach may ensure swift and coordinated responses to security threats, it tends to marginalize the role of non-state actors, including community organizations, civil society, and local leaders, who are pivotal in addressing localized security issues. Such a top-down strategy risks alienating the very communities it seeks to protect, fostering perceptions of an authoritarian system that prioritizes control over collaboration (Hinton & Newburn, 2009).

The limited representation of non-state actors in the security framework not only reflects a structural gap but also signals missed opportunities for fostering trust and cooperation between the police and the public. Community participation is critical in modern security governance, as it allows for more nuanced, context-sensitive approaches to conflict resolution and crime prevention. For example, community policing initiatives, which emphasize partnerships between law enforcement and local communities, have proven effective in many contexts worldwide in building mutual trust and enhancing security outcomes. By integrating non-state actors into policy development and operational practices, Indonesia could bridge this gap, creating a more

inclusive and sustainable security model that aligns with democratic principles and human rights commitments (Bayley, 2006).

Authority Analysis

Table 2. Results of Authority Indicator Measurement in Law No. 2 of 2002

Approaches	No	Authority	Word Count
Realism	1	Separation	3
	2	Rejection	2
	3	Court	5
	4	Prohibit	2
	5	Arrest	1
	6	Detention	1
	7	Search	1
	8	Seizure	2
	9	Examination	7
	10	Investigation	26
	11	Guarding	1
	12	Taking	1
	13	Escort	1
	14	Regulation	7
	15	Supervision	6
	16	Eradication	1
	17	Defense	2
	18	Determining	4
	29	Enforcement	4
	20	Termination	10
	21	Service	11
	22	Consideration	6
	23	Criminal	23
		Total	**127**
		Percentage	**74%**
Constructivism	24	Educating	1
	25	Guidance	16
	26	Community Service	2
	27	Help	1
	28	Protection	7
	29	Prevent	2
	30	Protect	2
	31	Maintenance	5
	32	Overcome	2
	33	Prevention	7
		Total	**45**
		Percentage	**26%**
		Total Authority Indicators	**172**

Based on the analysis results in Table 2, it can be explained that the authority in Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police emphasizes the realism approach. This realism authority is proven by using the words investigation, search, inquiry, confiscation, and other actions by realist actors. Meanwhile, using words representing the constructivist approach only has a percentage of 26%. Law No. 2 of 2002

guarantees the Indonesian National Police to conduct investigations, inquiries, confiscations, searches, arrests, and other actions. Actions based on this realist approach aim to create public order, law enforcement, and create security.

The dominance of realist authority in Law No. 2 of 2002 indicates a preference for centralized control and enforcement mechanisms as the primary tools for maintaining public order. This approach is effective in addressing immediate threats and ensuring compliance through the rule of law, especially in a state transitioning toward greater institutional stability. However, such reliance on enforcement can overlook the importance of preventive strategies that address the root causes of insecurity, such as social inequality, unemployment, and lack of access to education (Bayley, 2006). Preventive approaches, including community policing and early intervention programs, could complement the enforcement framework, creating a more balanced and sustainable security model. Research on community policing in various democracies has shown that involving local stakeholders not only fosters trust but also enhances the police's ability to gather actionable intelligence and preempt potential threats

Moreover, the absence of a strong emphasis on community-based strategies in the current framework risks alienating the public and perpetuating a perception of the police as an authoritative rather than collaborative force. Building public trust requires engagement with local communities, particularly in areas prone to social unrest or historical mistrust of law enforcement. Incorporating liberal and constructivist elements into policy, such as participatory governance and inclusive decision-making, can mitigate this gap. Studies in transitioning democracies, such as South Africa and Brazil, illustrate the effectiveness of community engagement in reducing crime rates and enhancing mutual respect between law enforcement agencies and citizens (Hinton & Newburn, 2009). For Indonesia, integrating these principles could help balance the strong enforcement focus of realism with the cooperative potential of liberalism, ultimately promoting a more holistic approach to domestic security.

Budget Analysis

Table 3. Results of Budget Indicator Measurement in Law No. 2 of 2002

Approaches	No	Budget	Word Count
Realism	1	Institutions	0
	2	State Budget	1
		Total	**1**
		Percentage	**100%**
Liberalism	3	Foreign Aids	0
		Total	**0**
		Percentage	**0%**
Constructivism	4	Public	0
		Total	**0**
		Percentage	**0%**
Total Budget Indicators			**1**

Based on the analysis results listed in Table 3, it can be seen that funding for all activities of the Indonesian National Police is based on the State Budget (APBN). The analysis results also emphasize that

budget assistance from other countries or the community is needed. The budget problem has been officially stated in Article 40, CHAPTER VI, Concerning the National Police Institution, which states that:

"All funding required to support the implementation of the duties of the National Police Commission is charged to the State Budget" (UU No. 2 Tahun 2002 Tentang Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2002).

Reliance on state funding, as seen in Law No. 2 of 2002, ensures centralized government oversight, which is essential for maintaining accountability and aligning the police force's financial management with national security priorities. By depending exclusively on the State Budget (APBN), the Indonesian National Police maintains a strong link to governmental authority, which supports uniformity in policy implementation across regions. However, this centralization can also result in rigid budget allocations, limiting the institution's ability to adapt to rapidly changing security needs. For instance, emerging issues like cybercrime or transnational crime might require specialized resources that exceed the scope of pre-allocated state funds. Additionally, exclusive reliance on domestic funding could constrain innovation, as it narrows opportunities to leverage external expertise and technologies available through international partnerships (Hameiri & Jones, 2015).

Collaborative financing, such as partnerships with international organizations, private institutions, or local communities, could diversify resources and offer more flexibility in addressing complex security challenges. For example, international organizations like the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) have funded specialized law enforcement initiatives in areas such as human trafficking and organized crime. Similarly, public-private partnerships (PPPs) could provide resources for technological advancements, such as advanced surveillance systems or cybersecurity infrastructure. Local community engagement in funding can also enhance public trust by creating shared responsibility for security initiatives. Diversifying funding streams would not only alleviate the pressure on state resources but also introduce innovative approaches to policing and governance. These collaborations, however, require a robust regulatory framework to ensure transparency and prevent conflicts of interest (Benoˆ et al., 2017).

Governance Analysis

Table 4. Results of Measurement of Governance Indicators in Law No. 2 of 2002

Approaches	No	Governance	Word Count
Realism	1	Regulation	46
	2	Legislation	34
	3	Cooperation (Government with other countries)	12
	4	Power	3
		Total	**95**
		Percentage	**74%**
Liberalism	5	Human Rights	13
	6	Code of Ethics	14
	7	Information	3
		Total	**30**
		Percentage	**23%**
Constructivim	8	Convention	2
	9	Morals	1
	10	Pancasila Values	1

Total	**4**	
Percentage	**3%**	
Total Governance Indicators	**129**	

Based on the analysis results in Table 4, it can be explained that governance in Law No. 2 of 2002 emphasizes a more realistic approach than a liberal and constructivist approach. Using the words regulations, legislation, and cooperation between the police and other institutions evidences governance that emphasizes a realistic approach. Governance in Law No. 2 of 2002 aims to conduct police functions, namely maintaining public security and order, law enforcement, protection, patronage, and community service. The role and function of the police are carried out by upholding human rights. The police realize their functions by establishing police regulations, laws, and regulations, as well as the Code of Professional Ethics of the Republic of Indonesia National Police. The Commission compiles this code of ethics for the Code of Professional Ethics of the Republic of Indonesia National Police. It is regulated by issuing a Decree of the Chief of Police.

The reliance on governance through formal regulations underscores Indonesia's commitment to institutional accountability and legal compliance. This approach ensures that security policies and police operations are structured and predictable, creating a sense of stability and order. However, a regulation-centric model often focuses more on control than on fostering public trust and engagement. This can lead to rigid structures that struggle to adapt to the complex dynamics of contemporary security challenges, such as cybercrime, transnational threats, and localized social unrest. To address these issues, a shift toward governance models that balance formal regulations with participatory practices and community engagement is necessary (Keping, 2018b).

The limited representation of liberal and constructivist principles in governance highlights a gap in aligning domestic security frameworks with global democratic standards. Liberal governance emphasizes transparency, accountability, and inclusivity, fostering a cooperative relationship between law enforcement and the community. Similarly, constructivist approaches, which incorporate shared values and norms, can promote sustainable security by addressing underlying societal grievances. Adopting these approaches could enhance trust in law enforcement, improve societal resilience, and align Indonesia's domestic security policies with international best practices (Benoˆ et al., 2017). This requires reforms that include human rights protections, participatory decision-making, and integration of societal norms into governance structures.

Output Analysis

Table 5. Results of Output Indicator Measurement in Law No. 2 of 2002

Approaches	No	Output	Word Count
Realism	1	Law Enforcement	4
	2	Guaranteed Security	3
	3	Justice	1
	4	Order	15
		Total	**23**
		Percentage	**85%**

	5	Peace	2
	6	Human Rights Enforcement	1
Liberalism	7	Development	1
		Total	**4**
		Percentage	**15%**
Total Output Indicator			**27**

Based on the analysis results listed in Table 5, the output in Law No. 2 of 2002 emphasizes the realist perspective more. The output achieved through Law No. 2 of 2002 emphasizes ensuring domestic security, law enforcement, justice, and public order. The output from a realist perspective gets a percentage result of 85%. Meanwhile, the output to be achieved through a liberal perspective, namely peace, enforcement of human rights, and community development, gets a percentage of 15%.

The realist-oriented outputs of Law No. 2 of 2002 prioritize immediate security needs, such as law enforcement, public order, and institutional control, often at the expense of long-term societal harmony. This focus reflects a traditional approach where centralized authority and state-centric strategies dominate security frameworks, aiming to address visible threats swiftly and effectively. While this approach ensures stability and deterrence in the short term, it risks sidelining the importance of addressing root causes of insecurity, such as economic inequality, social alienation, and distrust in public institutions. The overreliance on enforcement-driven outputs can also foster perceptions of authoritarianism, particularly if community needs and rights are inadequately considered (Bayley, 2006). In this context, the lack of emphasis on liberal principles, such as community engagement and human rights enforcement, limits the potential for fostering trust and cooperation between the police and the broader public.

Strengthening liberal outputs could shift this balance, promoting a more inclusive and sustainable approach to domestic security. Policies that incorporate community-oriented policing, participatory governance, and respect for human rights are essential for addressing security challenges at their roots. For instance, engaging local communities in co-designing safety initiatives can help build trust and ensure that security measures are responsive to diverse societal needs. Such reforms align with global best practices, as highlighted in studies on democratic policing, which emphasize collaboration and accountability as pillars of effective security governance (Grabosky, 2007). Moreover, integrating liberal outputs could mitigate the risks of public alienation and enhance the legitimacy of law enforcement institutions. By fostering a balance between enforcement and inclusivity, Indonesia can build a resilient domestic security paradigm that aligns with democratic values and global security trends.

Dynamics of Domestic Security as a Challenge for Indonesian National Police

The dynamics of domestic security in Indonesia are complex and influenced by various factors, including political, social, economic, and environmental changes. Since the reformation in 1998, Indonesia has undergone significant political transformation, which in turn has influenced the dynamics of domestic security. Ethnic conflict, terrorism, religious radicalism, narcotics, transnational crime, and social problems such as poverty and economic inequality are some of the main challenges in maintaining domestic security

and order in Indonesia (Harahap, 2018).

In this context, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) is the leading law enforcement agency responsible for domestic security. Polri has the duty and authority to prevent, overcome, and handle various forms of security threats, including crime, terrorism, drug trafficking, and social conflict. As part of the Indonesian law enforcement system, Polri is expected to act professionally, transparently, and effectively in carrying out its duties to protect the community, uphold the rule of law, and realize domestic security (Muchlis, 2016).

The realization of domestic security is proven by maintaining public security and order, upholding the law, implementing protection, protecting and services to the community, and realising public peace. The Police carry out their functions and roles by upholding human rights and establishing regulations by the laws. In order to carry out the functions and responsibilities of the Police, the Indonesian government issued Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, which is evidence of the separation of two state security agencies, namely the Police and the TNI (UU No. 2 Tahun 2002 Tentang Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2002).

Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police (abbreviated as the Polri Law) is the legal basis that regulates the establishment, organization, duties, authority, and powers of the police institution in Indonesia. The Polri Law is a product of reform in Indonesia post-New order. In addition, enacting the Polri Law strengthens the position of the police as an independent and professional law enforcement agency. The Polri Law provides a clear framework for the management and control of the police in carrying out their duties to maintain security, order, and public protection.

Based on the comparison of the measurement results of five indicators (actors, authorities, budget, governance, and output) using three approaches (realism, liberalism, and constructivism), it shows that the direction of Indonesian policy in viewing the issue of security and public order through the analysis of Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police has been dominated by the realism approach. The following are the measurement results of the five indicators:
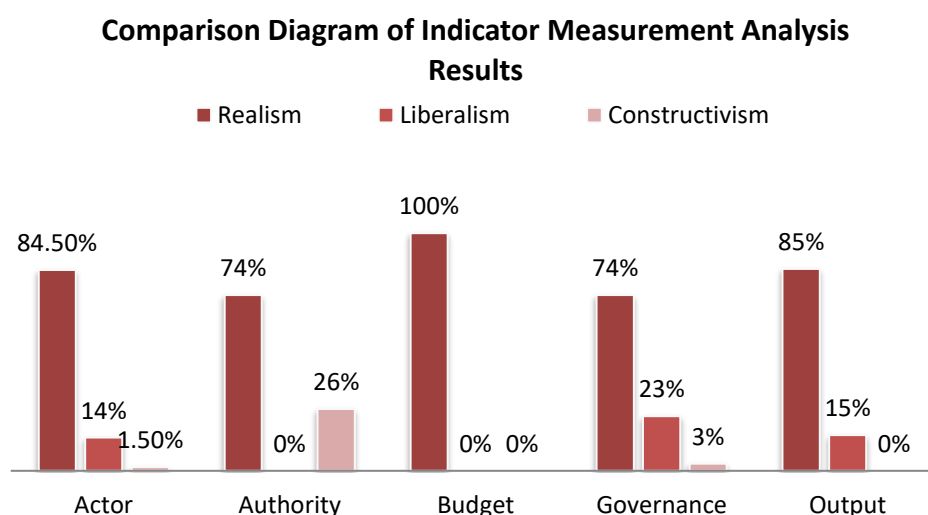

Figure 1: Comparison Diagram of Indicator Measurement Analysis Results

The realism approach has been reflected in the use of words dominated by state actors and government institutions, which have the authority to conduct investigations and eradication; governance is implemented through a series of regulations that are by laws and regulations and uphold human rights, and outputs that emphasize more on the creation of law enforcement, security, and public order. The domestic security paradigm recognized in Law No. 2 of 2002 focuses on law enforcement, maintaining order, and protecting the community. This paradigm emphasizes the critical role of the police as law enforcers who fight crime and protect the security of the Indonesian people (Zattullah et al., 2022). The National Police Law also provides an overview of the organizational structure of the police, consisting of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia as the central institution and the Regional Police at the provincial, district, and city levels as implementing units. In this structure, the National Police Law stipulates the main tasks of the police in maintaining public security and order, preventing and overcoming security disturbances, and providing protection, shelter, and services to the community.

In addition, the National Police Law also regulates the management and supervision of the police, including in terms of appointment, promotion, placement, and development of police personnel. This law also stipulates procedures for enforcing discipline, internal supervision, and public complaints about police services. This shows the commitment of the National Police Law to ensure that the police act professionally, transparently, and accountably in carrying out their duties. In carrying out its daily roles and functions, the Police will be in direct contact with the community. However, the image of the Police in the eyes of the community could be better. The wrong image of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) in the community can be influenced by various factors. Several incidents, such as abuse of power, violence committed by police officers, and allegations of human rights violations, have created distrust and doubts about the integrity of the Police in the community (Firdaus, 2014).

Controversy surrounding unfair and discriminatory law enforcement has also worsened the image of the National Police in the eyes of the public. Several cases in which police officers were involved in acts of violence or intimidation against civilians, especially in the context of law enforcement and handling demonstrations, have strengthened the negative perception of the National Police as a law enforcement agency that is not neutral and not fair (Jatmiko, 2006). Limited access to information, transparency, and accountability in the law enforcement process has also led to a distrust of the National Police. The lack of coordination between the National Police and the public in handling criminal cases and the lack of transparency in the investigation and prosecution process have increased uncertainty and dissatisfaction with the performance of the National Police (Martini, 2019).

This occurs with the development of public perception that considers the Police to have a more challenging role than the TNI. This perception is based on Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, which is more dominated by the realism paradigm. In this law, the Police have the task of providing protection and services to the community. In addition, the output to be achieved in this law is law enforcement, the creation of security, and public order. However, this is in contrast to the reality of the

authority of the Police as stated in this law. The authority in this law is more directed towards a realistic approach, such as investigation, arrest, investigation, eradication, and so on, compared to authority based on a constructivist approach, such as protection, guidance, and so on.

Certain police officers often exploit the realist perspective used by the Indonesian government to form this law to carry out repressive actions. The militaristic aroma resulting from the realist perspective, which emphasizes the strength, security, and interests of the state as the main factors in international relations, can be a weakness for the Indonesian National Police (Polri) in several ways (Retno Sulistyowati, 2013).

The dominance of the realist paradigm in Indonesia's domestic security framework, exemplified by Law No. 2 of 2002, creates significant challenges for community relations and governance. By prioritizing centralized authority and state actors, the law often neglects the importance of inclusivity and public engagement in security policies. This neglect has manifested in strained relationships between law enforcement agencies and the public, as shown by allegations of abuse of power and human rights violations by certain officers. These incidents not only erode public trust in the police but also weaken the legitimacy of law enforcement institutions, making it harder to foster cooperative security environments. Consequently, the heavy reliance on enforcement-driven measures, such as arrests and investigations, risks short-term problem-solving at the expense of long-term social harmony and trust-building (Hinton & Newburn, 2009).

Another critical concern is the militarization of policing, which arises from the realist emphasis on state authority and institutional control. This approach often blurs the line between civilian and military functions, as evidenced by recurring operational tensions between the police (Polri) and the military (TNI). For instance, unclear regulations regarding the use of firearms by police officers have led to overlaps and disputes, with the military occasionally asserting jurisdiction over policing matters. This militaristic orientation can undermine public perceptions of the police as community-focused agents of safety, instead portraying them as an extension of state power. Such a framework risks compromising democratic principles and could lead to increased authoritarian tendencies in law enforcement (Waltz, 1979).

To address the limitations of the realist approach, alternative paradigms such as community-based policing and human security models offer valuable insights for creating a more balanced security framework. Community policing emphasizes collaboration between law enforcement and local communities to identify and address security issues jointly. The Indonesian National Police tries to improve its negative image in the community by forming Polmas (Community Policing). Polmas consists of two elements: the police (concerning the function and role of the police) and the community (about the objectives of the police function and role being accounted for). Polmas is a form of implementation of the function and role of the police that emphasizes a humanitarian approach, places the community as an equal working partner, and aims to enforce the law and foster public security and order (Wahyono, 2011).

The human security paradigm complements community-based policing by shifting the focus from state-centric threats to individual well-being. This approach prioritizes societal welfare, empowerment, and the protection of human rights as core components of security. For Indonesia, integrating the human security perspective could address root causes of insecurity, such as poverty, inequality, and social exclusion, which

are often overlooked in traditional frameworks. Studies have demonstrated that human security-oriented policies lead to more sustainable peace and development by reducing vulnerabilities and fostering resilience within communities (Hameiri & Jones, 2015). Such policies could also mitigate the risks of militarization by emphasizing preventive measures over coercive enforcement.

Implementing these alternative models would require integrating liberal and constructivist principles into Indonesia's security policies. Key steps include increasing community involvement in decision-making processes, fostering partnerships with non-governmental organizations, and promoting transparency through regular public consultations. Additionally, training programs for police officers should focus on human rights, conflict resolution, and cultural sensitivity to bridge the trust gap between law enforcement and society. These measures align with global best practices, as seen in South Africa's post-apartheid police reforms, which integrated community engagement and accountability mechanisms to rebuild public trust (Grabosky, 2007). By adopting these strategies, Indonesia could transition from a state-centric security paradigm to one that balances institutional authority with societal well-being.

To build a more inclusive and balanced security framework, reforms must address the limitations of the current realism-heavy approach while embracing principles of liberalism and constructivism. Such reforms are crucial not only to enhance public trust in law enforcement but also to create a security paradigm that prioritizes societal well-being alongside institutional authority. By integrating community engagement, human rights, and preventive strategies, Indonesia can establish a modern and democratic security system that effectively responds to both immediate threats and long-term challenges. Here are several structured reform strategies are recommended.

First, strengthen oversight mechanisms. To ensure democratic principles and human rights compliance, strengthening oversight mechanisms within the police force is crucial. Internal accountability systems, such as performance evaluations and ethical reviews, can help identify misconduct and ensure alignment with institutional values. Simultaneously, external mechanisms, including independent oversight bodies, judicial reviews, and civil society monitoring, play a vital role in maintaining transparency and public trust. For example, countries like Norway have implemented independent police complaints bodies, significantly improving accountability and reducing public grievances (Grabosky, 2007). These mechanisms not only prevent abuse of power but also align policing practices with international human rights standards.

Moreover, oversight mechanisms should be designed to promote participatory governance, enabling citizens to provide feedback on police operations. Regular public hearings and transparent reporting can ensure that law enforcement is responsive to community concerns. Integrating digital tools, such as online complaint systems and real-time dashboards, can further enhance transparency and public engagement. Studies indicate that such participatory oversight fosters mutual accountability and reduces incidents of excessive force (Keping, 2018b). By embedding robust oversight structures, Indonesia can ensure that its policing framework is both democratic and effective.

Second, incorporate community engagement. Expanding community policing initiatives is a key strategy to involve citizens actively in security planning and implementation. Community policing emphasizes

building partnerships between law enforcement and local communities to identify and address security concerns collaboratively. This model has been successful in countries like Japan, where the Koban system enables police officers to work closely with residents, fostering trust and reducing crime (Hinton & Newburn, 2009). By adopting similar practices, Indonesia can create a policing framework that is more inclusive and community-focused.

Effective community engagement also requires addressing the specific needs and concerns of marginalized groups to ensure equitable representation. This can be achieved by creating local advisory committees comprising diverse stakeholders, including women, youth, and ethnic minorities. Training police officers in cultural competence and communication skills is essential for building trust with communities that may have historically mistrusted law enforcement. Research shows that when communities feel heard and involved in decision-making processes, their cooperation with law enforcement increases significantly (Hinton & Newburn, 2009). Such engagement can transform policing into a partnership rather than a top-down enforcement mechanism.

Third, develop clear regulations. Establishing comprehensive guidelines for the use of weapons by police is critical to avoiding conflicts and ensuring operational clarity. Ambiguities in current regulations can lead to overlapping responsibilities and tensions, as seen in the recurring conflicts between Indonesia's police (Polri) and military (TNI). Clear policies defining the circumstances under which weapons may be used can prevent misuse and promote accountability. For instance, Canada's use-of-force continuum provides a clear framework that ensures proportionality in police responses, reducing incidents of excessive force (Hameiri & Jones, 2015). Implementing similar frameworks in Indonesia can provide operational clarity and enhance public trust.

Moreover, clear regulations should include provisions for regular audits and reporting on weapon usage to ensure compliance with established standards. Independent oversight bodies can play a key role in monitoring adherence to these guidelines and investigating violations. Public transparency in such audits can reinforce accountability, assuring citizens that law enforcement agencies are acting responsibly. Studies show that when police agencies operate under clear and publicly accountable frameworks, public perception of their legitimacy improves (Loader & Walker, 2007). By addressing this regulatory gap, Indonesia can mitigate risks associated with weapon misuse while strengthening the legitimacy of its security institutions.

Fourth, focus on preventive strategies. Shifting the focus from enforcement to prevention is essential for addressing the root causes of insecurity, such as poverty and inequality. Preventive strategies involve investing in social programs, such as education, healthcare, and job creation, to reduce vulnerabilities that contribute to criminal activity. For instance, Brazil's "Favela Pacification" program successfully combined policing with social services to transform high-crime areas into safer communities (Bayley, 2006). These integrated approaches can be particularly effective in addressing Indonesia's complex social dynamics.

Preventive policing should also emphasize building community resilience through education and outreach programs. Law enforcement agencies can collaborate with schools, local NGOs, and community leaders to promote awareness about crime prevention and conflict resolution. Studies indicate that such

proactive measures significantly reduce crime rates and improve public perceptions of police effectiveness (Hinton & Newburn, 2009). By prioritizing prevention over reactive enforcement, Indonesia can address security challenges at their source, reducing the need for coercive measures.

Fifth, enhance training programs. Providing law enforcement personnel with training in human rights, de-escalation techniques, and community relations is critical to improving their effectiveness and public perception. Human rights training ensures that police actions align with international standards, preventing abuses and fostering public trust. For example, post-apartheid South Africa incorporated extensive human rights training in its police reforms, significantly reducing incidents of excessive force (Loader & Walker, 2007). Such programs can equip Indonesian police with the skills needed to handle complex and diverse societal contexts.

Additionally, training in de-escalation techniques and non-violent conflict resolution can help law enforcement manage potentially volatile situations more effectively. This not only reduces the risk of violence but also enhances public confidence in police professionalism. Cultural sensitivity training is equally important, particularly in Indonesia's multicultural society, to ensure that officers respect and understand the communities they serve. Research highlights that comprehensive training programs lead to improved police-community relations and lower rates of complaints against law enforcement (Hameiri & Jones, 2015). By investing in such initiatives, Indonesia can build a modern and trusted police force.

These proposed reforms represent a pivotal opportunity to transform Indonesia's security framework into a model that not only ensures state authority but also values societal well-being. By addressing the limitations of a realism-heavy approach—such as potential militarization and strained community relations—these initiatives aim to strike a balance between robust enforcement and inclusive governance. Integrating liberal and constructivist principles, such as human rights protection, community engagement, and participatory governance, will not only enhance public trust but also strengthen the legitimacy and effectiveness of law enforcement. This holistic transformation is crucial in navigating the complex dynamics of modern security challenges, ensuring that Indonesia's domestic security policies remain resilient, democratic, and adaptive to evolving societal needs. Ultimately, these reforms underscore the importance of a security paradigm that protects not just the state but also empowers and safeguards its people, fostering harmony and mutual trust in a diverse and rapidly changing society.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of Indonesia's domestic security policy, as reflected in Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, reveals a dominant reliance on a realism approach. This is evident in the prioritization of state actors, centralized authority, and governance mechanisms rooted in regulatory frameworks, with an emphasis on maintaining law enforcement, public order, and security. While these measures have solidified the institutional role of the Indonesian National Police (Polri), they also underscore a traditional security paradigm that heavily favors enforcement over community engagement. This approach, while effective in addressing immediate threats, has significant implications for public trust and community

relations, particularly in a diverse society where inclusivity and collaboration are essential for sustainable security governance

Looking ahead, the dominance of realism in Indonesia's security policies presents an opportunity for further research and reform. Comparative studies with police frameworks in other Southeast Asian countries, such as those integrating community-based or human security models, could provide valuable insights into alternative approaches. Additionally, future studies could explore the potential of balancing the current framework with liberal and constructivist principles to enhance public trust, accountability, and societal resilience. These avenues for research and reform are crucial for transitioning toward a more inclusive and adaptive security paradigm that not only addresses state-centric threats but also empowers communities and safeguards human rights.

REFERENCES

Bayley, D. H. (2006). *Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad*. Oxford University Press.

Benoˆ, B., Dupont, B., Grabosky, P., & Shearing, C. (2017). *The governance of security in weak and failing states* (Vol. 3, Issue 4). www.sagepublications.com

Dan, A., & Mulyana, D. (2020). Assessing Indonesia's Diplomacy on the Regional Conflict Management: Lessons from the South Thailand Conflict Settlement. *Journal UPN Veteran Yogyakarta*. http://jurnal.upnyk.ac.id/index.php/komunikasi/article/viewFile/3419/2589

Dau, P. M., Vandeviver, C., Dewinter, M., Witlox, F., & Beken, T. Vander. (2021). Policing Directions: a Systematic Review on the Efectiveness of Police Presence. *CrimRxiv*, 1–49. https://doi.org/10.21428/cb6ab371.47e2db59

Firdaus. (2014). Kedudukan Hukum Internasional dalam Sistem Perundang-Undangan Nasional Indonesia. *Fiat Justisia Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, *8*(1).

Gede Nadi Jaya. (2016, September 16). *Kapolri Sebut Personel Polisi di RI Terbanyak Nomor 2 di Dunia*. Merdeka. https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/kapolri-sebut-personel-polisi-di-ri-terbanyak-nomor-2-di-dunia.html

Grabosky, P. (2007). Civilizing Security. *British Journal of Criminology*, *48*(1), 96–99. https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azm060

Hameiri, S., & Jones, L. (2015). *Governing Borderless Threats: Non-Traditional Security and the Politics of State Transformation*. Cambridge University Press.

Harahap, S. (2018). *Konflik Etnis dan Agama di Indonesia*.

Hinton, M. S., & Newburn, T. (2009). *Policing Developing Democracies* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Jatmiko, G. (2006). Analisis Terhadap Penegakan Hukum dan Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM) oleeh Polisi. *Jurnal Hukum Pro Justitia*, *24*(2).

Keohane, R. O. , & Nye, J. S. (2001). *Power and Interdependence*. Pearson.

Keping, Y. (2018a). Governance and Good Governance: A New Framework for Political Analysis. *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, *11*(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40647-017-0197-4

Keping, Y. (2018b). Governance and Good Governance: A New Framework for Political Analysis. *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, *11*(1), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40647-017-0197-4

Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia. (2019). *Sejarah POLRI*. https://www.polri.go.id/tentang-sejarah.php

Lesly Gijsbert Christian Hosang. (2011). *Pandangan Paradigma Realisme, Liberalisme, dan Konstruktivisme Terhadap ASEAN Political Security Community 2015 Sebagai Kerjasama Keamanan di Kawasan Asia Tenggara*.

Martini. (2019). Tantangan dan Peluang Penegakan Hukum dalam Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi. *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, *17*(1).

Modise, J., & Modise, J. M. (2023). Community Engagement in Policing: A Path to More Meaningful, Knowledgeable, and Successful Public Consultation. In *International Journal of Innovative Science and Research Technology* (Vol. 8, Issue 6). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/376260918

Muchlis, A. (2016). Law Enforcement on Corruption with Small Losses Countries in Making Justice. *Fiat Justisia Journal of Law*, *10*, 221–412. http://jurnal.fh.unila.ac.id/index.php/fiat

Retno Sulistyowati. (2013, October 7). *UU Kepolisian Masih Banyak Kelemahan*. Tempo. https://nasional.tempo.co/read/20165/uu-kepolisian-masih-banyak-kelemahan

Ridhwan Mustajab. (2023, July 1). *Jumlah Polisi di Indonesia sebanyak 436.432 Orang pada 2022*. Data Indonesia. https://dataindonesia.id/varia/detail/jumlah-polisi-di-indonesia-sebanyak-436432-orang-pada-2022#:~:text=Kepolisian%20Republik%20Indonesia%20(Polri)%20melaporkan,sebelumnya%20yang%20sebanyak%20434.135%20personel.

Suryadi Bakry, U. (2022). Studi Keamanan Internasional Pasca Perang Dingin. *Jurnal Alternatif Universitas Jayabaya*, *1*(1), 1–16. https://jurnal.fisipjayabaya.com/index.php/alternatif/article/view/28

UU No. 2 Tahun 2002 Tentang Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia (2002).

Wahyono. (2011). Dinamika Fungsi Kepolisian dan Hubungannya dengan Program Perpolisian Masyarakat. *PERSPEKTIF*, *xvi*(3).

Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*.

World Justice Project. (2015). *Laporan Tentang Indonesia*.

Zattullah, N., Malik, I., & Hidayat, E. R. (2022). Analisis Kebijakan Keamanan Nasional Indonesia Ditinjau Dari Kelembagaan dan Perkembangan Ancaman. *Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Batanghari Jambi*, *22*(1), 120. https://doi.org/10.33087/jiubj.v22i1.1812

Analysing the Settlement of Banking Bad Debts through Cession

(Transfer of Receivables Mechanism)

Edrick Edwardina Effendy[1], Donny Rustriyandi Dasuki[2]

[1,2] Notary Program, Law Faculty, University of Pelita Harapan, Jakarta, Indonesia
Email Author 1: edrick.effendy@lecturer.uph.edu
Email Author 2: dtriyan74@gmail.com

Abstract

Bad debts in banks can arise from debtor negligence, lack of good faith, or incompetence. These bad debts negatively impact a bank's performance and require immediate resolution. One effective method to address them is by selling or transferring receivables through a legal process known as cession. In this process, a bank (as the original creditor) transfers its claim or credit receivable to another party (the new creditor). As a result, the rights and obligations of the original creditor shift to the new one. This study uses a normative legal approach, focusing on how banks can resolve bad debts through cession. Legally, the transfer of receivables changes the relationship between the debtor and creditor. Cession can be an effective solution for banks, especially when facing legal challenges in executing mortgage right auctions. It offers a faster and simpler legal route, with lower legal risks if proper risk mitigation is in place. To protect creditors legally, risk mitigation should be conducted beforehand. This includes financial risk assessments, ensuring all collateral is properly signed and registered, and notifying debtors of the receivables transfer. With these precautions, the cession mechanism can serve as a strategic and legally sound approach to resolving bad debts.

Keywords: bad credit, banking, transfer of receivables

INTRODUCTION

Article 1 point 2 of Law No. 4/2023 in conjunction with Law No. 10/1998 in conjunction with Law No. 7/1992 regarding Banking conveys the description of the significant role of the bank in Indonesia's economy, as an institution that collects and distributes funds in pushing the economic growth and increasing people's standard of living. As financial institutions, banks indirectly have the social responsibility to provide financing access that can develop people's welfare extensively. A bank operates as an organization that receives public money and disburses it as credit in its commercial operation.

To help those in need, a bank distributes the funds or cash by providing credits based on prudential principles. There is a possibility that the credit distributed by the bank will be failed to pay back although the bank has applied the prudential principles in providing the loans. The transfer of bank receivables through cession becomes one of the ways carried out in order to obtain the settlement of the debtor's obligation

immediately when the debtor is in default. In a cession, the receivables from the previous creditor are sold to a new creditor, however, the legal relation of the debts is never considered terminated, but it will be transferred entirely to the new creditor.

A bank gets one of its business profits from credit distribution. In fact, a bank faces several issues or problems when providing loans, among others the Non-Performing Loan (NPL). To date, NPL keeps haunting Indonesia's banking industry, because it will directly determine the health level of such banks since NPL reflects the quality of bank assets and its effectiveness in managing the credit. The high ratio level of NPL shows the high credit risks, thus the assessment score for the bank's health will go down.

When the NPL in a bank is getting higher, thus the bank shall provide more loss reserve that will decrease the bank's profit, the quality of the bank's capital for the bank's assets, or the bank's liquidity regarding the bank's capability in refunding the people's funds that have been distributed through credits. To avoid the serious impacts of such NPL, the Indonesian Financial Services Authority (OJK)—the institution that monitors a bank's operational activity—determines the maximum tolerance limit for this NPL ratio, which is currently 5% of total credits provided.

Risks for this NPL might happen due to the bank's capability to manage the bad debts and or the failure of the debtor to fulfil the obligation, either in paying the interest or the principal of the debts. The inability of the debtor to complete the payment obligation might be caused by various factors. This is causing the NPL as one of the risks faced by banks. In order to avoid such bad debts, it is important for banks to perform accurate credit analysis, to monitor the financial condition of their debtors periodically, and also to ensure a transparent communication between banks and their debtors. On the other hand, the debtors also need to have a good intention in order to fulfil the obligation, with prudent and realistic financial management.

In case the bad debts still occur, banks shall have various types of strategies for the settlement of such bad debts so that the NPL ratio will be in the tolerance level determined by OJK. There are lots of ways that can be performed by banks in resolving these bad debts, starting from giving reminder/warning to the debtors until the settlement by performing execution for the collateral as previously agreed. Other ways carried out by banks in resolving the bad debts, are by performing the selling or transferring the receivables. When a bank acts as the creditor and has the claims or receivables toward debtor who is unpaid or facing difficulties in the settlement, a bank can choose to transfer such receivables to a third party or a new creditor. The method of transfer or delivery of the receivables is referred to as cession.

The transfer of the receivables in practice has various legal issues, among others referring to the incompleteness of the requirements of cession as specified in Article 613 Indonesian Civil Code and also disagreement of the debtor for the transfer of the credit to a new creditor. However, in banking industry, the transfer of receivables or cession is one of the mechanisms that frequently used in resolving the bad debts issues. This mechanism enables the bank or financial institution to transfer the right of claim or receivables owned to debtor or a third party or a new creditor. This practice is based on bank's objective in order to be able to manage the credit properly thus it will not decrease the bank's health level which will indirectly give impacts towards the stability of national economy.

DISCUSSION

The Transfer of Receivables Mechanism (Cession) Applied in Resolving the Bad Debts in Banking

Cession is a process of transfer of receivables where the right to claim owned by a party (in this case the bank) to debtor is transferred to a third party. Cession is usually used in banking industry in order to transfer the bad debts to other party that is ready to purchase or take over the responsibility for its claiming. By performing the cession, the bank aims to reduce the potential loss due to bad debts that may have direct impact to bank's health level, while the legal responsibility after the transfer will be borne by the third party that receives such receivables as the new creditor that will be responsible to claim such debt from the debtor.

The transfer of receivables process through cession not only involves the transfer of the right to claim, but also involves the transfer of the collateral attached to such receivables. In order to have this process valid and give legal certainty for all involving parties, it shall be conducted with a correct procedure and through accurate registration, particularly related to the object of mortgage right. Therefore, if all processes have been performed in accordance with the prevailing laws and regulations, thus the rights and obligations of all parties will be protected legally, either from the side of the original creditor, the new creditor, and the debtor.

In implementing the cession, there are at least 3 (three) parties involve, namely:

1. The party that delivers the receivables (original creditor) is referred to as cedent

   Cedent is a party that deliver the right to claim or receivables to other party (new creditor). Basically, the cedent is a bank or financial institution that owns the receivables to the debtor and intends to transfer such right to claim to a third party.

2. The Party that receives the delivery (new creditor) is referred to as cessionaris

   Cessionaris is a party that receives the transfer of the receivables from the cedent. In banking context, cessionaris is usually a third party that purchases or receives the right to claim for the receivables of the debtor from the bank or financial institution.

3. The party that owns the debts (debtor) is referred to as cessus.

   Cessus is a party in debt, namely debtor that has obligation to pay the debts. Although the receivables have been transferred from cedent to cessionaris, cessus shall be notified concerning such transfer. After receiving the notification of transfer, cessus is obliged to settle the debts to cessionaris in accordance with the provisions previously agreed.

The transfer of right to claim to the third party through cession mechanism is stipulated in Article 613 of Indonesian Civil Code, which specifies the transfer of right to claim or receivables. In this case, it is important to understand the legal provisions as the foundation of such transfer of receivables including the procedure that shall be followed in order to guarantee the validity and its binding force.

Overall, the cession mechanism focuses on the transfer of right to claim and grants the new creditor the right to claim for the receivables that previously owned by the old creditor. However, in order to have an effective and binding transfer to the debtor, thus the notification to the debtor is very important. Without a valid notification, thus the debtor has no legal obligation to acknowledge such transfer of receivables to the

new creditor which will have consequences that the new creditor has no right to claim such receivables to the debtor. This notification regarding the transfer of right to claim is performed in order to comply with Article 613 of Civil Code.

In the context of resolving the bad debts, the transfer of receivables in the form of cession generally performed by the bank through the following mechanism:

1. Identification of NPL

   At the beginning the bank will identify and perform the risks mitigation for the receivables that will be transferred to the third party. This is due to not all bad debts will be settled through cession method. Bank will still hold the prudential principles by considering the reasons and risk possibilities that might occur from the receivables chosen to be transferred.

2. Valuation of the Receivables

   Prior to the transfer of the receivables, bank will perform the appraisal of the value and quality of such receivables. The receivables that being transferred usually purchased by a third party with lower price from its nominal value, referred to as discount.

3. Selection of the Third Party

   The third party that is able to purchase such receivables, usually a receivables management company, financial institution, or investor that owns a specialty in handling bad debts. This third party usually has a special strategy to claim for difficult receivables.

4. Cession Agreement

   After the third party selected, the bank and the third party will draft a legally valid cession agreement. In this agreement it will stipulate the amount of the transferred receivables, the agreed price, and also the rights and obligations of each party. Usually, the bank will sell the receivables with a discounted price, it means the third party will purchase such receivables in a value lower from its nominal value.

5. Transfer Process

   After the cession agreement is approved, the transfer of receivables process will be carried out formally including the delivery of notification letter to the debtor regarding such transfer of receivables from bank to the third party. The receivables that have been transferred currently become the responsibility of the third party to be claimed from the debtor.

The settlement of NPL using cession considered by the bank as the settlement that has lower legal risks with shorter time settlement comparing to settlement of bad debts with execution of the collateral with mortgage right, although in refunding value will be lower than value obtained if the bank using execution with auction selling for such collateral of the bad debts.

Bank in performing such transfer of receivables, usually will give a discount for the selling of such receivables in the amount of 20%-30% of the value of the receivables, and even if the third party purchases big amounts of receivables, the bank can even give a discount for more than 50% of the receivables value. On the financial calculation, the more discount given, the more losses will be borne by the bank. However, the

bank certainly has calculated all bank operational aspects before doing so. The bank's health aspect will be the main objective that will be achieved in every settlement of bad debts, including the settlement using cession method. The higher level of bank's health, thus the public trust to the bank will be getting better, and this will lead to positive implication to the profit booked by the bank.

The higher amounts of bad debts thus Allowance for Impairment Losses (CKPN) also will be bigger that shall be carried out by the bank as the follow-up of the provision specified in Article 44 POJK Number 40/POJK.03/2019 regarding Quality Assessment of Assets for Commercial Banks. Let us take an example, if the value of bad debts in the category of NPL in a bank amounting to Rp100,000,000,000 (one hundred billion rupiahs), thus bank is obliged to provide at least reserved fund of 100% from assets with NPL quality after being reduced with the collateral amount, simply the value of reserved funds will be getting closer to the amount of the NPL of Rp100,000,000,000 (one hundred billion rupiahs). The higher amount of bad debts will mean bigger amount of reserved fund provided by the bank that will be taken from bank's profit or capital. The provision that requires the reserved fund for bad debts is made due to the distribution of credit to the debtor obtained from the public's deposit in such bank, therefore the bank's liquidity shall be maintained as the guarantee for the depositor to get their money back at any time.

The decrease of profit and/or capital of the bank will certainly have negative impact to the bank due to in the bank's operational side also having expenses which are relatively big that shall be fulfilled, among others expenses for employee's salary, rental fee for land and/or building, and other costs as well. Simply, the lower amount of bad debts in a bank, thus the lower reserved fund provided by the bank, thus the profit and/or capital of the bank will not be decreased. The more protected of the bank's capital and the bigger profit obtained by the bank, thus it can be more active and freer for the bank to do business expansions, and the business of such bank will be growing and developing better.

The Legal Consequences of the Transfer of Bank Receivables by Cession to New Creditor (The Third Party)

Articles 613 and 624 of Book II of Civil Code specify that the elements of Cession are:

1. It shall use authentic deed or private deed

    Cession shall be stipulated in a valid agreement; it can be in an authentic deed (made by notary) or a private deed (an agreement made by the parties without involving the notary). Although it is possible to have a private deed for cession but it is recommended to make it in the authentic deed in order to ensure a stronger legal force.

2. The transfer of receivables and other intangible goods to other party occur

    Cession is not a transfer of goods (tangible goods), but assigning right to claim or receivables that are transferable. Such receivables can be in the form of money receivables or other obligations of performances, and the transfer shall be carried out for such receivables.

3. Notification to the debtor is mandatory

    One of the most important elements in cession is the obligation to notify the debtor or cessus (the

debted party) regarding the transfer of right to claim to a new creditor. This notification aims for the debtor to not carry out the payment to old creditor after the transfer is performed. In the event notification failed to be conducted, thus the debtor can be considered to make a legal payment to the old creditor although such receivables have been transferred.

Cession mechanism is a form of transfer for right to claim performed by the old creditor (cedent) to a new creditor (cessionaris). In banking context, the transfer of receivables is commonly used as a solution in handling non-performing loan. The loan provided by the bank is usually followed by a collateral from debtor in order to provide guarantee and legal certainty for bank. With such collateral, bank has the right to execute such collateral if the debtor fails to fulfil his obligation. In providing the collateral, there are several institutions that regulate the collateral signing, namely:

1. Law number 4/1996 regarding the Mortgage Rights over Land and Goods Related to Land. This law regulates the right granted to the creditor to do the selling execution to the land or goods related to land used as a collateral in fulfilling the obligation of the debtor.

2. Article 1162-1232 of Civil Code stipulates the Mortgage, as one of the collateral for debts given by the debtor to creditor, particularly for the security related to property or non-transferable goods, such as land and building. This mortgage gives the rights to creditor to execute the object of security (such as land or building) if the debtor fails to fulfil his obligation.

3. Article 1150-1160 of Civil Code specify the Pawn. In this regulation, debtor still has the ownership right for the pawned objects, however such objects are in the debtor's control until the debts are paid.

4. Law Number 42/1999 regarding Fiduciary, specifies the security for movable objects by the debtor to creditor by still giving the control right for such objects to debtor as long as the debts are not paid yet. The registration of fiduciary is very important in order to give legal certainty to third party and also to ensure the creditor's right in the event the debtor is in default. This agreement shall be made in an authentic deed and registered in order to be valid by law.

Towards the collateral object that has Mortgage Rights, in the event the bank's receivables are transferred through transfer of receivables or *cession*, thus the rights of the old creditor as the holder of mortgage right shall also be transferred to the new creditor. The mortgage rights as the guarantee will be assigned to the third party as the beneficiary of such transfer of loan, as stipulated in Article 6 paragraph 1 of Law Number 4 Year 1996 regarding Mortgage Right over Land and Objects Related to Land (UUHT) which states that, "If the receivables secured by mortgage right is transferred due to cession, subrogation, inheritance, or other causes, such mortgage rights will be legally transferred to a new creditor." The alternative in bad debts settlement with cession turns the bank for not having to perform the execution through auction selling for the collateral secured by mortgage right, thus the legal issues arising at the execution process of the mortgage rights among others the uncertainty whether the auction object will be sold or not, execution costs which are relatively big or the defence and or lawsuit for the performance of such execution of auction.

After the session is carried out and the notification to the debtor is completed, the legal relation between

the debtor and bank which previously was the creditor will be changed into a relation between the debtor and the third party that receives such transfer of receivables. Although the debtor is not obligated to approve such transfer, the debtor still obliges to pay such debts to the third party which now has the right to claim. Legally, one of the most important consequences from cession will be the right to claim for debtor's debts assigned to a new creditor (third party). It means that the third party that receives such a transfer of receivables will replace bank's position as the creditor and obtain the right to claim the debts.

Article 16 of UUHT specifies the obligation to register the transfer of mortgage right related to the transfer of the receivables, particularly in the cession context or transfer of the right to claim which involving a registered security. The transfer of the mortgage right due to cession also confirmed in the General Explanation of point 8 of UUHT as follows:

1. Mortgage rights in Indonesian law is a registered security right on certain object (such as land and building) granted to secure the debts payment. According to its nature that having close relation with the secured receivables. In this case, the mortgage right does not stand alone, but it is always related to the existence of receivables or certain debts.

2. In the context of mortgage rights, the transfer of receivables to other creditor (such as in the cession case or the transfer of right to claim) will have impact on the transfer of mortgage rights that secure such receivables. This condition is specified in Article 16 paragraph 2 of UUHT which confirms that if there is a transfer of receivables secured by mortgage rights, thus such mortgage rights will also be transferred to the new creditor, and such transfer shall be registered in the land institution. This means that the mortgage right which formerly owned by the old creditor now transferred to the new creditor.

By complying with the provisions related to the transfer of receivables as specified in Article 613 of Civil Code, thus a bank has no rights and obligations arising as specified in the loan and security agreements between a bank and a debtor, and on the other side related to loan management, particularly NPL, thus a bank has no more bad debts with the amount of receivables that shall be reserved as regulated in the provision of Article 44 POJK Number 40/POJK.03/2019 concerning Quality Assessment of Assets for Commercial Banks.

Legal Protection for Bank and Third Party (New Creditor) in Transferring the Bank's Receivables through Cession

The transfer of receivables or cession in practice it also can potentially cause legal risks for bank and indirectly to the third party as the new creditor. Although the provisions related the transfer of receivables have been complied as specified in Article 613 of Civil Code and even the right of bank to transfer the receivables has been approved by the bank and debtor in loan agreement, debtor can possibly not approve such transfer of receivables or cession and even it might be used as a way to revoke the obligation of debtor which is to pay for such loan.

The requirements that shall be fulfilled by the creditor in order to bind the *cession* to debtor are so

simple, however this transfer of receivables/*cession* is not free of revocation possibility. In several legal cases particularly regarding the transfer of receivables carried out by the bank, the debtor filed a lawsuit for revocation of such *cession* although the condition for debtor notification as specified in Article 613 Civil Code has been complied with by the bank. On Case Tracking System (SIPP) from several District Courts, we can find lawsuit cases from debtors to creditors related to *Cession* considered as Negligence, among others Case Number 1108/Pdt.G/2022/PN.Jkt.Brt with the verdict at District Court level that such Lawsuit is Unacceptable and Case Number 68/Pdt.G/2023/PN.Jkt.Sel. with the verdict at District Court level that Claim is Rejected (and currently still in the cassation examination process). These lawsuits show that debtor, with different reasons, not automatically accept the transfer of receivables from the bank to the new creditor although the notification conditions as Article 613 Civil Code has been complied by the bank as the creditor. Apart from the court's verdict will accept or reject the claim from such debtor, but the claim will potentially give obstacles to the new creditor in performing the claiming to the debtor and or delaying the auction execution for such collateral object as the consequences of such claim or at least the handling fee will appear that previously not yet budgeted, thus the new creditor will directly experience the loss due to not obtain the profit that should be received from the purchase of such receivables.

This obstacle shall be predicted from the beginning by not only the bank but also the new creditor in order to always mitigate the risks for each purchased receivables, among others by calculating the discount amount for the sale and purchase price of receivables and also include the elements of legal risks in it, including the validity of the collateral used as the security for the purchased receivables. Moreover, the significant of fulfilling the requirements as specified in Article 613 of Civil Code regarding the notification for *Cession* to the debtor and also registration process and the collateral transfer under mortgage rights to National Land Agency shall be conducted by new creditor as stipulated in Article 16 paragraph 2 of UUHT, at least it still can provide legal protection to the creditor, either the bank or the new creditor, for the certainty of loan repayment from the debtor and even in each arising legal case in resolving the bad debts, bank or new creditor that purchases such receivables indirectly having higher bargaining position compared to debtor. This procedure aims to provide legal certainty for the transfer of mortgage right to the new creditor.[1] Therefore, it shall be noted that in each transfer of receivables, the bank and the new creditor must ensure that the transfer of receivables documents have been in accordance with the prevailing laws and regulations, including the collateral documents as well. Therefore, either bank or new creditor at least will be protected from unpredictable financial losses and still can defend the legal argumentation in each trial process for the case related to this *Cession*.

Similar thing with the compliance of the condition in Article 613 Civil Code concerning the notification related to *Cession* to debtor also to provide the legal protection for debtor in order to ensure the authorized creditor in performing the claiming and/or auction execution of the Mortgage Right and or to which creditor that the payment of debts shall be performed. Therefore, in the event the debtor files a legal suit for such

Cession, it will have a strong legal basis.

Based on the aforementioned matters, thus in minimizing the risks for the settlement of bad debts with transfer of receivables mechanism *(cession)*, it is very important to previously perform the risks mitigation, either financial risks or legal risks, consisting of the calculation for the sale and purchase value of the receivables, to ensure that the collateral object has been bound perfectly including its transfer registration and notification process for such transfer of receivables *(cession)* to the debtor. The importance of comprehension and compliance of the prevailing laws and regulations, particularly related to the transfer of receivables *(Cession)*, will give separate legal protection for the parties involving in such c*ession* either in the side of bank, new creditor or debtor.

CONCLUSION

Based on the elaboration above it can be concluded that overall, the transfer of receivables *(cession)* will have legal impacts on the changing in legal relation between the debtor and the bank as creditor to become legal relation between debtor and third party as the new creditor. The notification to the debtor for the transfer of receivables *(cession)* will be mandatory for creditor, thus it will give legal certainty to the new creditor and debtor in performing the loan settlement. The transfer of the receivables in the *cession* mechanism based on Article 613 Civil Code will be one of the alternatives in loan management that shall be used in banking aims to maintain the bank's health to be well kept entirely in accordance with the prevailing laws and regulations. The alternative settlement of NPL through *cession* can become the solution for the bank for its legal problems, in the event the auction execution of the mortgage right, due to it has a simple and speedy legal process, thus it can help the bank in managing non-performing loan. The transfer of receivables with *cession* mechanism still has legal risks, therefore if the loan settlement will use *cession* mechanism, in order to protect the creditor interest, it is recommended to perform the risk mitigation, either the financial risks or legal risks, consisting of the calculation for the value of sale and purchase of the receivables, to ensure the collateral object has been bound perfectly including its transfer registration and the notification process for such transfer of receivables to debtor.

REFERENCES

Adistie, N., & Anwar, J. (2021). Relation of validity of receivables transfer (cession) that frequently performed towards the transfer of mortgage rights owned by the debtor. Yustisia Tirtayasa: Final Assignment Journal, 1(1), 49–60.

Alqarni, M. U., & Bintarto, M. A. I. (2022). Position of banking credit restructuring in Indonesia: Between the economy recovery and challenges. Jurnal Yustitiabelen, 8(1), 23–34.

Marzuki, P. M. (2017). Legal research (hal. 1–200). Jakarta: Prenada Media Group.

Nirmalapurie, N. A. (2022). Legal protection for the parties in using the paylater feature in Gojek application. Media Iuris, 3(1), 66–78.

Padmasari, W. (2018). Legal protection for all parties in transferring the receivables (cession) through notarial deed. Law and Notarial Journal, 2(1), 91–101.

Paparang, F. (2016). Bank activities in collecting public funds. Law Journal Unsrat, 3(9), 101–110.

Prayoga, D. A. (2023). Legal protection towards the right of citizen with the effectiveness of Law Number 23 Year 2019 regarding the management of national natural resources. Souvereignty: Democracy and National Defence Journal, 2(2), 45–58.

Prodjodikoro, W. (2018). Principles of contract law (hal. 1–180). Bandung: Mandar Maju.

Rahmadinata, Y. (2022). Transfer of receivables through cession as an alternative of credit settlement and legal consequences towards debts guarantee of the debtor. Recital Review, 4(1), 24–36.

Setiawan, R., & Satrio, J. (2010). Legal explanation regarding cession (hal. 1–120). Jakarta: Nasional Legal Reform Program.

Subekti, R. (2014). Various contracts (hal. 1–150). Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti.

Tantiani, G. F. (2023). Problems in transferring the bank receivables through cession towards debtor (decision case study number 142/Pdt.G/2022/Pn Mdn). Sibatik Journal, 2(9), 134–145.

Tirana, G., Abubakar, L., & Handayani, T. (2019). Legal protection towards the buyer of receivables for the collateral of the right to build. [Nama Jurnal tidak disebut], 2(2), 60–73.

Ubaedillah, A. R. (2006). Democracy and human rights and civil society. Jakarta: ICCE UIN Syarif Hidayatullah bekerja sama dengan The Asia Foundation.

Warsita, B. R. (2019). Settlement of bad debts with taken over collateral (AYDA) as an effort for credit protection at Perseroan Daerah BPR Bank Klaten. Post Graduate Law Journal UNS, 7(2), 112–124.

Yangin, F. Y. (2016). Legal analysis for transfer of receivables (cession) to third party according to Article 613 of Civil Code. Jurnal Lex Privatum, 4(5), 88–97.

Zulfan, M. F. (2014). Criminal responsibility toward underage vehicle driver in traffic accidents in East Java Police Territory. Judiciary, 13(1), 77–85.

Application of Clean Governance Principles in Public Services at West Java Samsat Office

Dody Marsidy[1]

[1]Government Science Doctoral Program, IPDN, Jakarta, Indonesia
Email author: marsidydody@gmail.com

Abstract

Transparent, accountable, law-based, and equitable public services are essential to realizing clean governance. However, the implementation of these principles at the One-Stop Administration System (SAMSAT) Office of West Java Province still faces various challenges. These challenges include illegal levies, unequal access to services, and limited public participation in oversight. This research aims to analyze the application of clean governance principles, identify the determinants influencing their implementation, and design an ideal clean governance model for public services at SAMSAT West Java. The research design employs a qualitative approach with descriptive methods, focusing on the core principles of clean governance: accountability, transparency, rule of law, and justice. Data collection techniques include in-depth interviews, observations, documentation, and questionnaires. Data analysis employs Miles and Huberman techniques for qualitative data and descriptive statistics for simple quantitative data. The findings indicate that the implementation of clean governance principles at SAMSAT West Java has generally progressed well, with increasing levels of accountability and transparency supported by the use of information technology. However, challenges remain, such as illegal levies and unequal service access in certain areas. While the rule of law has been applied, more consistent enforcement is required to minimize irregularities. Key determinants influencing implementation include consistent oversight, the use of information technology to enhance transparency, strict law enforcement, and equitable application of service standards across all regions. This study recommends strengthening monitoring systems, increasing the use of technology in public services, and developing more equitable service standards.

Keywords: clean governance, public services, SAMSAT, accountability, transparency, rule of law

INTRODUCTION

Quality public services are one of the main indicators of successful governance. Clean governance focuses on the principles of transparency, accountability, supremacy of law, and justice in every aspect of public services. The application of these principles aims to increase public trust in state administrators and encourage continuous improvements in the service system. One sector that is a benchmark in implementing clean governance is motor vehicle administration services. In this case, the One-Stop Single Administration System Office (SAMSAT) acts as the institution responsible for managing vehicle administration and vehicle taxes in Indonesia.

Transparency and accountability in public policy remains a crucial issue in Indonesia. Although the government has implemented various initiatives to improve information disclosure, there are still obstacles

to implementation in the field. One example is budget implementation, which is often non-transparent and prone to irregularities, thus reducing the level of public trust in the government. Therefore, strengthening oversight systems and mechanisms, both internal and external, is crucial to ensure that public policies are implemented honestly and responsibly. (Azahra., 2024).

West Java Province has 34 SAMSAT offices spread across various regions, divided into five regional coordinators or coordination areas. These offices play an important role in providing motor vehicle administration services, such as new vehicle registration, STNK renewal, and motor vehicle tax payments. Each regional coordinator represents an area with different needs, from dense urban areas to rural areas which have their challenges in terms of service accessibility. The division into five regions, namely Region Bandung Raya, Region Purwakarta, Region Bogor, Region Priangan, and Region Ciayumajakuning, allows the provision of more targeted and effective services following the characteristics of each region. Greater Bandung Regional Coordinator is the region with the largest number of SAMSAT offices, covering Bandung City and the surrounding buffer areas. With eight offices spread across urban and suburban areas, the Greater Bandung Region is the center for motor vehicle administration services in West Java Province.

With the number of vehicles continuing to increase every year, the SAMSAT Office in West Java is faced with big challenges in providing services that are fast, efficient, and free from corrupt practices. Based on data from the Regional Revenue Agency (BAPENDA) of West Java Province, the number of motorized vehicles in the West Java region has increased significantly every year. In 2023, there were 16,930,438 registered motorized vehicles, an increase of 2.1% from the previous year. Several districts and cities in West Java recorded very high numbers of motorized vehicles in 2023, and this could potentially create greater challenges in terms of managing registration, vehicle taxes, and related administrative services. This condition demands a service system that is increasingly efficient, faster, and able to accommodate the increasing number of users.

Even though various innovations have been carried out, such as digitizing services through e-SAMSAT to make it easier to pay vehicle taxes online, various problems are still found in implementing clean governance. One of the main challenges is that there is still the practice of illegal levies carried out by certain individuals, which causes dissatisfaction among the community. In addition, based on the results of interviews with service users, it was found that there are still disparities in service access, especially for people living in rural areas who have not fully benefited from the digitalization of services.

Therefore, this research was conducted to describe and analyze the application of clean governance principles in public services at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office. Apart from that, this research also aims to identify the determinant factors in implementing clean governance principles in this agency (Windeler, 2016). Furthermore, this research seeks to design an ideal clean governance model that can be implemented to increase the effectiveness of public services at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office. With this research, it is hoped that applicable recommendations can be obtained in improving the public service system, increasing transparency and accountability, as well as providing input to policymakers in formulating regulations that are more effective and oriented towards the interests of the community.

Using a descriptive qualitative approach, this research collected data through interviews, questionnaires, observations, and documentation analysis. It is hoped that this research can provide constructive recommendations for improving the quality of services at the SAMSAT Office and enrich the literature regarding public service governance at the regional level.

DISCUSSION
Implementation of Clean Governance Principles

Given clean governance, Tjokromiadjojo in Sinambela (2006:48) provides several basic principles that are adopted to create a clean government based on the principles of clean governance, namely as follows:

a. Accountability, namely every activity related to the public interest needs to be accountable to the public and provide accountability for the performance and actions of the leadership of an organization to the public who have the right of accountability. (Joss, 2010).

b. Transparency, openness, and providing information regarding suggestions and criticism which is considered community participation. (Relly, 2009)

c. Based on the law (rule of law), something that is done in decision-making, government policy, and business entity organizations that concern the public interest is done based on law or rules (Licht, 2005)

d. Justice, namely that everyone has the same opportunity to improve and maintain their welfare. Furthermore, based on Law Number 28 of 1999 concerning the Administration of a State that is Clean and Free of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism, in article 3 it is stated that the general principles of state administration include: 1. The Principle of Legal Certainty; 2. Principles of Orderly State Administration; 3. Principle of Public Interest; 4. Principle of Openness; 5. Principle of Proportionality; 6. Principle of Professionalism, and 7. Principle of Accountability. Looking at the 7 principles as stated in the Law, this is in line with the theory put forward by Tjokromiadjojo. The 4 principles put forward by Tjokromiadjojo already contain the same meaning as the 7 principles in Law Number 28 of 1999, where the emphasis is on accountability, transparency, supremacy of law, and justice.

The framework helps to monitor the degree of transparency in terms of the extent of information disclosure through the institutional website based on four dimensions (i.e., institutional, political, financial, and service delivery) (Cucciniello, 2014).

This research examines the implementation of clean governance principles in public services at the West Java SAMSAT Office using the theory presented by Tjokroamudjojo. Below are presented the results of data processing as a result of research on the application of clean governance principles at the West Java SAMSAT Office using the questionnaire method.
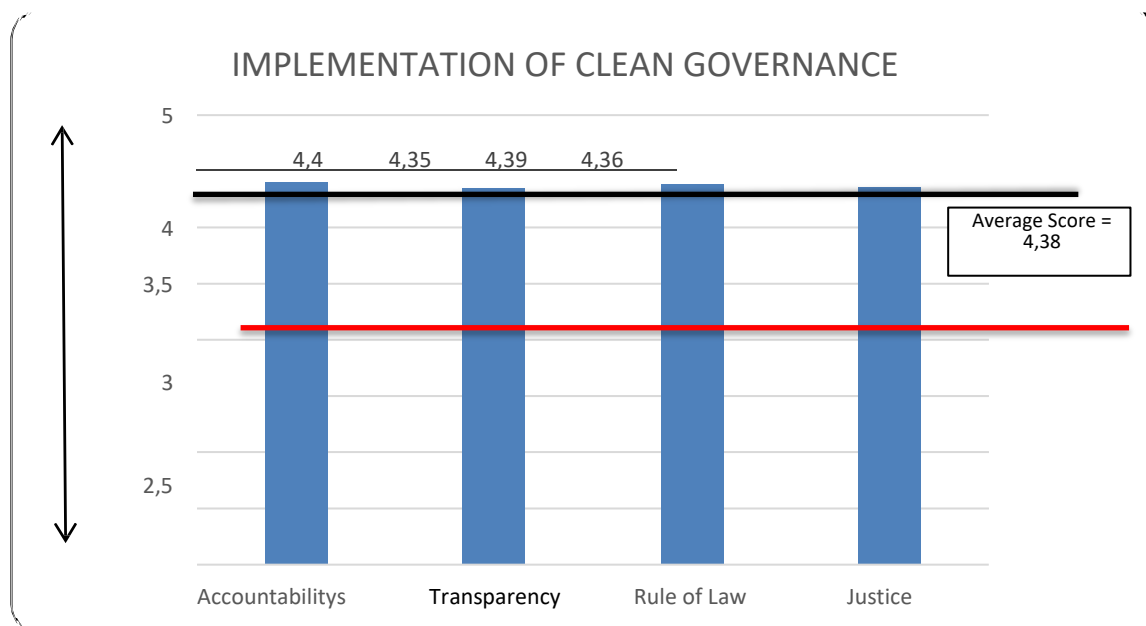
IMPLEMENTATION OF CLEAN GOVERNANCE

Figure 1: Score of Implementation of Clean Governance Principles at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office
Source: 2024 Research Data Processing Results

Based on the picture above, in general, the score for the application of clean governance principles at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office is good. This can be seen from the average score of respondents' assessment of the dimensions of accountability, transparency, rule of law, and justice, which is 4.38 (above the median). The accountability dimension has the highest average score compared to other dimensions, while the dimension of clean governance principles that is rated the lowest is transparency with an average score of 4.35.

Indonesia is moving towards a clean government, free from corruption, collusion, and nepotism by improving performance to provide quality services and reduce abuse of authority in the government apparatus, however corruption cases by officials who take advantage of government programs still occur frequently that make corruption in Indonesia very concerning. (Budiana and Damayanti, 2024).

The accountability dimension received the highest score with a value of 4.40, indicating that the implementation of accountability in West Java SAMSAT has gone very well. Accountability includes the ability of officers and institutions to be responsible for every action, decision, and policy taken. This score shows that the public feels that there is transparency in every decision taken by SAMSAT; and that the service process runs clearly and reliably. institutions reducing the dimensionality of the policy space public services

improve voters' possibilities for holding politicians accountable for their performance, leading to less rents and corruption (Alt, 2003) The public feels that every officer's actions can be accounted for, both in terms of service time, fees charged, and administrative procedures implemented. In addition, the existence of a strong internal monitoring system, such as regular evaluations and a public complaint mechanism, also

increases accountability in public services at SAMSAT. Public trust in the ability of officers to be responsible for every policy taken shows that accountability has become an internalized element in SAMSAT services. To maintain this accountability, SAMSAT needs to continue to strengthen monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and expand community involvement in providing feedback on the quality of services received.

The state must be involved in producing goods and services needed by its people (public goods and services) either directly or indirectly. Even under certain circumstances it is the state that decides what is best for its people (Saputra, 2021).

Transparency in public services in West Java SAMSAT received a score of 4.35, which is also in the high zone. Transparency reflects the openness of information provided by institutions to the public, especially regarding service procedures, administrative costs, and applicable policies (Christianah, 2024). This score shows that West Java SAMSAT has made significant efforts to provide information that can be accessed by the public easily and clearly. This openness of information ensures that the public knows what they have to do, the fees they have to pay, and the time needed to complete administrative matters. Even though transparency is considered quite good, the challenge that may still be faced is the dissemination of information at all levels of society, especially for those who do not yet have full access to technology or online service systems. By increasing information dissemination through digital and traditional media, SAMSAT can continue to increase public trust and reduce potential uncertainty that may arise due to a lack of understanding of procedures.

The rule of law dimension received a score of 4.39, which indicates that law enforcement in West Java SAMSAT is considered very good by the community. The rule of law refers to the application of firm and fair rules in every service process, regardless of social status or community position. This score indicates that the rule of law is applied consistently at SAMSAT; so that there is no discrimination in applying the rules or in enforcing sanctions. The public feels that there is legal certainty in the administrative process, and every violation that occurs, whether from the public or officers, is handled firmly by applicable regulations. Public trust in the legal system at SAMSAT reflects that there is no preferential treatment given to certain parties, and the law is applied evenly. However, to maintain consistent application of the law, SAMSAT needs to continue to strengthen internal monitoring mechanisms and provide effective sanctions for violations that occur, so that the rule of law can be further strengthened and the public feels more protected in the public service process.

The justice dimension received a score of 4.36 which places it in the last position but remains in the high zone. Justice includes equality in the provision of public services, where every individual has the same rights in accessing SAMSAT services, without discrimination based on social, economic, or background status. This score shows that West Java SAMSAT has attempted to ensure fairness in every aspect of service, from access to information to treatment of the community. People feel that they are treated equally, both in terms of service time, fees charged, and availability of service facilities. However, even though the results are quite good, challenges in implementing justice may still be related to service accessibility,

especially for community groups who live in remote areas or have physical limitations. SAMSAT can strengthen this aspect of justice by continuing to improve service accessibility, such as expanding the use of e-government systems which enable people to take care of administrative needs online without having to come directly to the SAMSAT office, thereby reducing gaps in services.

Determinant Factors

After analyzing the description of the application of clean governance principles at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office, both in terms of accountability, transparency, supremacy of law, and justice, it is then necessary to identify determinant factors that play an important role in supporting the implementation of clean governance principles at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office.

Determinant Factors of Accountability Principles

Based on the results of analysis from interviews with respondents, consistent monitoring and evaluation are the main determining factors in implementing accountability at SAMSAT West Java. Respondents said that to ensure accountability, every action and decision must be accountable, and this requires a regular monitoring system and regular evaluation of the performance of officers. Consistent standards can only be applied if there is strict supervision of the implementation of tasks in the field. Regular evaluation allows for corrections and improvements in services, which leads to increased accountability at West Java SAMSAT.

The respondents said that consistent monitoring and evaluation is the most significant factor in ensuring that the implementation of accountability principles in West Java SAMSAT runs well. Every activity at SAMSAT must be closely monitored, and every decision taken by officers must be accountable through a continuous evaluation mechanism. Accountability can only be achieved if there is effective and consistent supervision of all public service processes carried out at SAMSAT. This strict supervision ensures that every action can be evaluated properly; so that there are no deviations in procedures. Effective supervision and regular evaluation are considered the main pillars in ensuring that the principle of accountability is maintained in all West Java SAMSAT service units. The findings of this research are also in line with Christopher Hood's opinion. Hood (1991:10) states: "Accountability requires not just setting standards, but ensuring those standards are consistently enforced through continuous monitoring and evaluation processes." This shows that accountability is not only achieved by setting standards; but also by ensuring the implementation of these standards through continuous monitoring and evaluation.

Determinant Factors of Transparency Principles

Based on an analysis of the results of interviews with respondents, the use of information technology is the most significant factor in ensuring transparency at West Java SAMSAT. Technology allows open access for the public to information about procedures, costs, and services, which previously may have been difficult to reach. Garson (2006: 47): "Information technology provides the tools to improve transparency by making government data, services, and processes more accessible and understandable to the public. E-

government systems enable real-time access to governmental services and improve the efficiency and transparency of public sector operations."

Online SAMSAT is an important instrument in realizing this transparency. With the existence of a digital-based system such as online SAMSAT, the public not only gets easy access to information but can also monitor the running of services more transparently. Online SAMSAT has opened the door to more transparent services. Through this system, the public can directly see the ongoing process, so there is no longer any chance for misappropriation or misuse of information.

Information technology plays a crucial role in creating transparency. With technology, the entire service process can be monitored in real-time, both by the public and internally at SAMSAT, thereby preventing unnecessary deviation or cover-up of information. The respondents agreed that the use of information technology is a key factor in ensuring the implementation of transparency principles in West Java SAMSAT.

Determinant Factors of the Principle of the Rule of Law

Based on an analysis of the results of interviews with respondents, consistent law enforcement is a key factor in implementing the principle of legal supremacy. Existing rules must be enforced without exception, and any violations must be prosecuted by applicable law. Raz (1979:210): "The rule of law requires that laws are not only clear, publicized, and stable, but also consistently enforced to ensure justice and equality before the law."

The respondents said that consistent law enforcement is a solid foundation for maintaining public trust in public services at SAMSAT West Java. Consistency in law enforcement ensures that all parties, both internal to SAMSAT and the community, comply with the same rules. Apart from consistency, monitoring law enforcement through information technology-based systems also plays an important role. every action must be recorded and accessible; so that no party can violate the law without supervision and clear consequences. This supports the creation of a stronger and more monitored rule of law. Consistent law enforcement is the main key to implementing the principle of supremacy of law in West Java SAMSAT. One of the biggest challenges in ensuring the supremacy of law is how existing rules can be implemented consistently in the field. The rule of law can only be implemented properly if there is consistent law enforcement. This means, there are no exceptions, the rules must apply equally to everyone, both officers and the public. Consistency in law enforcement does not only apply in the formal realm, but in everyday actions.

Determinant Factors of the Principles of Justice

Based on analysis of the results of interviews with respondents, consistent service standards are a determining factor in implementing the principles of justice. Justice can only be realized if all people receive the same services, without discrimination. Every procedure and service fee must be applied equally to all parties, regardless of social or economic status. Justice is reflected in transparent and equitable service

procedures for every taxpayer. Respondents said that routine evaluations are carried out to ensure that there are no gaps in service delivery; and that all officers follow the same procedures, without giving preferential treatment to anyone (Shavell, 2024).

The four respondents interviewed gave the same answer regarding the determinant factors of the principle of justice, where all of them agreed that clear service standards are fundamental to realizing the principle of justice. Osborne & Gaebler (1992: 114): "Clear standards of performance are essential to ensure fairness in public services. When the criteria for service delivery are transparent, all citizens are treated equally, with access to the same level of services, regardless of their background." Measurable and well-publicized service standards are the basis for creating fair services for all communities. Justice in services can only be achieved if every community, regardless of background, gets equal access and by established service standards. These standards must be clear, transparent, and complied with by all officers. The service standards implemented at SAMSAT West Java are not only aimed at ensuring speed and efficiency; but also to ensure that there are no differences in treatment in the service process. Service standards are also a reference in assessing the performance of officers in the field. If service standards are clear, then evaluation of officer performance will be more objective. This is very important in maintaining fairness in services; because officers who work according to standards will provide the same service to all members of the community.

Ideal Clean Governance Model

In this dissertation research, the novelty presented is the development of an ideal clean governance model in public services, especially at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office. This new finding emerged as an answer to the challenges that have been faced by the SAMSAT office in implementing governance that is clean, accountable, transparent, and based on the supremacy of law and justice.

According to Deutsch in Severin and Tankard (2008), "A model is a structure of symbols and working rules that are expected to be aligned with a series of relevant points in an existing structure or process. Models are vital for understanding more complex processes." So, based on Deutsch's view, a model is a symbolic structure in a process to understand complex processes. Furthermore, according to Siregar's opinion in Suradi (2022: 76-77), several characteristics of a good model are stated as a measure to achieve the goal of preparing a model, namely:

a. Has a high level of generalization; The higher the degree of generalization of a model, the better it is because its ability to solve problems is greater.

b. Transparency mechanisms; If researchers can see the mechanism of a model in solving a problem, it means the model can explain again without hiding anything.

c. Has the potential to be developed; A model that is declared successful is usually able to inspire other researchers to develop other research and develop the model to be more complex with the aim of answering various problems in the existing system.

d. Sensitive to assumptions; This shows that the model-building process will never be complete because it

will always provide gaps to generate new assumptions.

Based on the results of research and analysis of the determinant factors in implementing clean governance principles, a suitable or ideal model for public services at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office can be designed by taking into account the four main principles of clean governance, namely accountability, transparency, rule of law and justice. Each of these principles is integrated with a contextual approach to services at SAMSAT West Java; and adapted to the determinant factors that have been identified through interviews and field studies.

Accountability: Consistent Monitoring and Evaluation

The principle of accountability requires clear accountability for every action and decision taken by service personnel at SAMSAT. Based on the research results, the most influential determinant factor in implementing this principle is consistent monitoring and evaluation. Therefore, the ideal clean governance model must facilitate a strong internal and external monitoring system. Elements in the accountability model:

a. Tiered supervision: Supervision is carried out in stages starting from the local SAMSAT office to the center (West Java Bapenda), with periodic evaluations every quarter.

b. Independent external auditor: To maintain objectivity, external auditors (such as The Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia or community institutions) need to be involved in performance evaluations and audits of service processes at SAMSAT.

c. Reporting evaluation results to the public: Each SAMSAT office must provide a performance evaluation report that can be accessed by the public, either through the official website or physical reports provided at the office. This is to increase public confidence in services.

Transparency: Use of Information Technology

Transparency is an important key to realizing clean governance. Based on research findings, the use of information technology is a major factor in ensuring transparent services. A technology-based information system will make it easier for the public to gain access to information related to SAMSAT services and reduce the potential for irregularities (Hassan, 2011). Elements in the transparency model:

a. Integrated e-SAMSAT service: Implementation of online services for the entire motor vehicle tax payment process, STNK processing, and other services. This reduces physical interaction and minimizes illegal levies.

b. Public information dashboard: Every SAMSAT office provides a transparent online platform, where the public can see all information related to services, costs, and document processing progress.

c. Digital notifications for each stage of service: People who use online services get direct notifications via SMS or application regarding the progress of their services.

Rule of Law: Consistent Law Enforcement

Implementing the supremacy of law in clean governance requires consistent law enforcement, as indicated by the results of interviews with respondents. Every violation that occurs inside or outside the service process must receive strict sanctions and apply equally without discrimination. Consistent law enforcement will provide certainty for the community that the law is enforced fairly. Elements in the rule of law model:

a. Violation reporting system: SAMSAT must provide an anonymous reporting platform for the public and employees who discover violations, such as illegal levies or procedural violations.

b. Firm and transparent sanctions: Every violation that is reported and proven to be true must be dealt with strict sanctions. Reports related to law enforcement and follow-up to violations must be made public.

c. Equal application of legal standards: Both SAMSAT employees and members of the public who commit violations must receive sanctions by applicable regulations without discrimination.

Justice: Clear and Equitable Service Standards

The principle of justice in clean governance can be achieved through the implementation of clear and even service standards throughout the region. These service standards must be published and understood by all parties, both officers and the public. Elements in the justice model:

a. Measurable service standards: Each SAMSAT office must have clear service standards regarding service completion time, fees charged, and administrative requirements.

b. Community service assessment system: The community is given the opportunity to assess the services they receive, and the results of this assessment are published as indicators of service performance.

c. Equality of access to services: The same service standards are applied to all communities without discrimination, whether based on social, economic, or geographic status.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research results, the implementation of clean governance principles in the West Java Province SAMSAT Office has generally gone well. Accountability shows satisfactory results, where consistent monitoring and evaluation allow every action and policy to be properly accounted for. The principle of supremacy of law is applied firmly and fairly, providing legal certainty to the community in the service process, although there are still challenges in the form of individuals involved in the practice of extortion. Justice is also implemented quite well, with SAMSAT's efforts to provide equal access for all levels of society, although accessibility in some areas needs to be improved. Meanwhile, the principle of transparency has been implemented through the disclosure of information to the public, although even the distribution of information still needs to be improved. Overall, the implementation of clean governance at West Java SAMSAT is good, but there is still room for improvement, especially in eradicating extortion practices and increasing more equitable access to information and public services.

The determinant factors that influence the implementation of clean governance principles at the West Java Province SAMSAT Office consist of several important aspects. In the principle of accountability, the

main influencing factor is consistent monitoring and evaluation, which ensures that every action and decision in service can be accounted for. For the principle of transparency, the determining factor is the use of information technology which allows access to public information quickly, openly, and easily for the public. In the principle of the rule of law, the determining factor for success is consistent law enforcement, where legal rules and sanctions are applied fairly without discrimination. Finally, in applying the principle of justice, clear service standards are the main factor that ensures that every community receives the same service without discrimination, by established procedures. These four factors are key to building clean and effective governance at SAMSAT West Java.

In a study involving 67 countries, Charron (Harma et al., 2020) found that factors such as the availability of quality human resources and effective management play an important role in increasing the level of good governance at the local level. Therefore, efforts to improve the availability, quality and management of apparatus good governance emphasizes the importance of the availability, competence and integrity of the apparatus in carrying out administrative tasks with high transparency and accountability (Rifyansyah et al., 2024).

The ideal clean governance model in the West Java Province SAMSAT Office is to combine four main principles — accountability, transparency, supremacy of law, and justice — with a focus on real implementation that can be adopted by every SAMSAT office in the West Java Province. The key to the success of this model lies in the use of information technology, strengthening the monitoring system, consistent law enforcement, and fair service standards. This model is expected to significantly improve the quality of public services, minimize irregularities, and rebuild public trust in government agencies.

REFERENCES

Alia, S., Umam, K., & Putri, C. A. (2023). Quality of public service government to citizen (G2C) West Jawa Provincial Government through the Sambara application. *Publica: Jurnal Pemikiran Administrasi Negara*, 15(1), 1–14.

Anasthalia, D., Setyaningru, N. R., Savana, L., & Zakiyyati, K. A. P. (2024). Implementasi prinsip-prinsip good governance dalam sektor publik di Indonesia. *Journal of Multidisciplinary Inquiry in Science, Technology and Educational Research*, 1(3b), 966–970.

Bahtiar, R., Myrna, R., & Susanti, E. (2021). Digital government dalam pembayaran pajak kendaraan bermotor berbasis aplikasi Samsat Mobile Jawa Barat (Sambara) di Jawa Barat. *Kolaborasi: Jurnal Administrasi Publik*, 7(2), 230–253.

Darmawan, I. (2011). E-government: Studi pendahuluan di Kabupaten Sragen. *Proceeding Simposium Nasional Otonomi Daerah 2011*, 69–75.

David, & Gaebler, T. (1992). *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*. Addison-Wesley Publishing.

Fussy, D. S. (2023). Governance of social science research: Insights from Southeast Asia. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 51(2), 71–79.

Gallo-Cajiao, E., et al. (2023). Global governance for pandemic prevention and the wildlife trade. *The Lancet Planetary Health*, 7(4), e336–e345.

Garson, G. David. (2006). *Public Information Technology and E-Governance: Managing the Virtual State*. Jones and Bartlett Publishers.

Gazalin, J., & Asiri, L. (2022). Implementasi good dan clean governance dengan pendekatan nilai-nilai Po-Lima pada pemerintahan Kota Baubau. *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Konseling (JPDK)*, 4(4), 2959–2070.

Hajar, B. (2015). Bureaucracy and governance in Indonesia: Study on West Sulawesi Province. *Procedia Economics and Finance*, 23, 223–227.

Hakim, R., Umam, K., & Anwar, H. S. (2021). Implementation of e-government through the Samsat Mobile Jawa Barat at the Regional Revenue Agency of West Java Province. *Publica: Jurnal Pemikiran Administrasi Negara*, 13(2), 134–148.

Hignett, S., & McDermott, H. (2015). Qualitative methodology. In *Evaluation of Human Work*, 119–138.

Hood, Christopher. (1991). A Public Management for All Seasons?. *Blackwell Publishing*.

Indrayani, E. (2020). E-government: Konsep, implementasi dan perkembangannya di Indonesia. *Solok: LPP Balai Insan Cendekia*.

Irawan, B. (2013). Studi analisis konsep e-government: Sebuah paradigma baru dalam pelayanan publik. *Paradigma*, 2, 174–201.

Law Number 28 of 1999 concerning the Administration of a State that is Clean and Free of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism.

Mubarok, M., Muslim, J., & Diartama, L. L. (2019). Kecenderungan peningkatan piutang pajak kendaraan bermotor di pusat pengelolaan pendapatan daerah wilayah Kota Bandung III. *Ministrate*, 1(1), 62–76.

Ramdani, A. (2020). Analisis deskriptif terhadap inovasi layanan aplikasi Sambara (Samsat Mobile Jawa

Barat). *Jurnal Academia Praja*, 3(1), 37–43.

Raz, Joseph. (1979). *The Authority of Law: Essays on Law and Morality*. Oxford University Press.

Sari, S., Yudianto, I., & Mulyani, S. (2024). Pengaruh implementasi good government governance pada kualitas pelayanan publik (Studi pada pemerintah daerah di Indonesia). *JAK (Jurnal Akuntansi): Kajian Ilmiah Akuntansi*, 11(2).

Setyaningrum, D., Wardhani, R., & Syakhroza, A. (2017). Good public governance, corruption and public

service quality: Indonesia evidence. *International Journal of Applied Business and Economic Research*, 15(19), 327–338.

Severin, W. J., & Tankard, J. W. (2008). *Teori Komunikasi, Sejarah, Metode dan Terapan di dalam Media Massa* (Edisi Kelima). Kencana Media Group.

Simanulang, L., & Pramudya, A. (2021). Public service innovation in enhancing government transparency and accountability. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Administrasi Publik*, 11(2).

Sinambela, L. P. (2006). *Reformasi Pelayanan Publik: Teori, Kebijakan, dan Implementasi*. Bumi Aksara.

Subagja, M. (2022). Partnership and service operation systems in improving the performance of Samsat service operations in West Java. *Ilomata International Journal of Social Science*, 3(2), 195–206.

Suradi, S. (2022). *Permodelan Sistem (Sebuah Pengantar)*. Tohar Media.

Syadiyah, K., Putri, S. A. N., & Hayat, H. (2024). The role of public administration ethics in realizing clean and transparent governance. *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara (JUAN)*, 12(2), 116–124.

Tulle, S., Sondakh, J. J., & Mawikere, L. M. (2018). Analisis penerapan prinsip good governance di kantor Samsat Amurang. *Going Concern: Jurnal Riset Akuntansi*, 13(3).

Optimizing Legal Education for Effective Crowd Control: A Case Study at SPN Polda Sulsel

Abdhika Salafi Wahid[1], Heri Tahir[2], Irsyad Dahri[3], Adeni Muhan Daeng Pabali[4], Najamuddin[5]

[1,2,3,4,5]Social Science Education Program (Specializing in Legal and Citizenship Education), Faculty of Social Science, Makassar State University, Makassar, Indonesia
Email Author 1: dhikasalafi14@gmail.com

Abstract

This study aims to examine the variables influencing the South Sulawesi Regional Police Police Academy's inadequate crowd control law resources. The curriculum was ostensibly developed to provide adequate legal education, such as human rights, the proportionality of force, and pertinent standard operating procedures (SOPs); however, comprehensive interviews, direct observations, and document reviews reveal deep discrepancies between taught and practiced legal education. The study identifies that the limitations in the practical training component result from inadequately simulated practical sessions, short duration of the training, and obsolete training apparatus, which do not allow the cadets to attain the necessary skills. These gaps were recently manifested in Makassar, where ill-advised forceful actions against demonstrators were taken, signifying an operational standard far removed from the theoretical one. This was achieved through using qualitative legal methodology. These findings support strategic interventions intended to ensure that legal action officers are better prepared theoretically and practically to manage crowd control in a manner that respects human rights and fosters public confidence.

Keywords: legal materials, crowd control, theory, field practice, interviews, national police school

INTRODUCTION

The legal framework mandates that law not only serve as the cornerstone of societal order and justice—as embodied in Cicero's "*Ubi Societas Ibi Ius*" (Sinaga & Atmoko, 2023) and reinforced by Hobbes' portrayal of human nature without law—but also be upheld by competent law enforcement trained through robust legal education as cited in (Dyzenhaus, 2001). In Indonesia, as stipulated in Article 1, Paragraph 3 of the UUD NRI 1945, the state requires both the existence of a law and well-prepared officers to enforce it. Theoretically, police training should integrate comprehensive legal principles with practical applications, ensuring officers can translate statutory knowledge into effective operational tactics, including crowd control and riot management (Park et al., 2020). However, at the Sekolah Polisi Negara (SPN) Batua, Polda Sulsel, there is a marked discrepancy between the normative ideals and current training practices. The curriculum—particularly in modules addressing mass control responsibilities handled by specialized units such as the Sabhara—

remains overly theoretical, with limited interactive learning, insufficient realistic simulation, and inadequate infrastructural support (Ahyar & Safrida, 2020; Handoyo, 2022).

Recent demonstration incidents in Makassar underscore this shortfalln August 26, 2024, where reports indicated that at least 32 individuals sustained injuries as a result of excessive use of force, including tear gas deployment and baton strikes, during police interventions (Pers, 2024). Such incidents suggest that the gap between academic instruction and operational execution may contribute to improper use of force and ineffective crowd management.

In response, this research aims to investigate (1) the underlying causes of the suboptimal legal training at SPN, assess (2) its impact on the operational readiness of junior officers, and propose (3) strategic recommendations to optimize the curriculum. Specifically, the study will analyze the factors that hinder the effective integration of legal theory with tactical practice, evaluate the implications of these deficiencies on the performance of officers in crowd control operations, and develop a problem-solving plan that incorporates enhanced practical training, interactive simulations, and improved infrastructural support (Huff et al., 2024; Miyano, 2024). Employing a qualitative research design, data will be collected through in-depth interviews, on-site observations, and document analysis, thereby providing a comprehensive assessment of the current training paradigm. Insights drawn from Friedman's framework on the interplay of legal structure, substance, and culture (Friedman, 1984), along with Rahardjo's call for a shift toward a more humanistic approach in legal education (Rahardjo, 2006), will further inform the development of an optimized curriculum that aligns with both normative expectations and operational realities.

This study employs a qualitative research approach with a case study design, aimed at deeply analyzing the legal education provided to police cadets at the State Police School of South Sulawesi Regional Police. Following Creswell's (2012) framework, the research emphasizes an in-depth understanding of the social phenomenon through natural settings, participant perspectives, and descriptive reporting (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The case study approach was chosen to examine the specific case of legal education in mass control training, highlighting the gap between the theoretical curriculum and its practical application in the field. This design allows the researcher to explore the issue contextually and holistically through multiple data sources, including interviews, observations, and document analysis. Data were collected through interviews with Instructors and Graduates of SPN, documentary study on the Syllabus for the Second Batch of Bintara Polri 2023 and other related documents, and an observational study of the learning activities at SPN. The study also investigates the underlying causes of inadequacies in legal instruction, particularly the limited practical simulations and outdated training resources. This qualitative method allows for a comprehensive assessment of legal education's structural, substantive, and cultural aspects supported by theoretical insights (Friedman, 1984; Rahardjo, 2006).

DISCUSSION

This study involved ten informants: SPN alumni and instructors at the State Police School (SPN) Polda Sulawesi Selatan. Informants were selected through purposive sampling based on their experience in

delivering or receiving the crowd control law training. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews, allowing for open-ended yet thematically focused discussions.

The instructors were asked about the structure and content of the curriculum, challenges in implementing practical training, adequacy of facilities and tools, and institutional constraints. Meanwhile, the SPN alumni were asked to reflect on how their legal training aligned with real-world field demands, especially in managing mass demonstrations. The interviews were designed to capture both theoretical perspectives and practical insights, highlighting the perceived gaps and potential improvements in the training process.

Importance and Challenges of Implementing Crowd Control Law Materials at SPN Polda Sulsel

Our findings indicate that crowd control law materials are crucial in police training at SPN. The curriculum is designed to equip cadets with the theoretical knowledge and practical skills to manage complex mass situations. However, respondents consistently noted that while the theoretical components are comprehensive, the practical application remains limited due to time constraints and outdated training equipment. Several instructors emphasized the integral nature of the material. For example, one instructor explained:

"The crowd control law material is an integral part of our police education curriculum, which teaches the basic legal principles governing the use of force in mass situations, ranging from human rights principles to the SOP that must be followed." (Asrin Azis, Interview, November 8, 2024)

Another respondent highlighted the inclusion of case studies and realistic simulations:

"This material includes an in-depth study of the rules governing interactions between individuals and groups in complex situations, including practical case studies and simulations that provide direct experience to prospective police officers." (Syamsul Rijal, Interview, November 13, 2024)

Cadets also voiced concerns regarding the short duration of the training program. One cadet remarked:

"We are given an in-depth understanding of crowd control theory, but in practice, simulations and field exercises do not always reflect real conditions." (Cadet, Interview, November 4, 2024   )

Furthermore, issues regarding training equipment were frequently raised. One interviewee noted:

"The equipment used, such as helmets and shields, needs to be updated regularly to support more realistic simulations that meet international standards." (Respondent, Interview, November 4, 2024)

These results suggest that although the current curriculum at SPN provides a strong theoretical foundation, significant gaps remain in its practical implementation. These deficiencies—stemming from limited practical training opportunities and outdated equipment—could adversely affect the operational readiness of new officers in real-world crowd control situations. Consequently, there is a pressing need to revise the curriculum and update training resources to ensure cadets are better prepared to meet field demands (Huff et al., 2024; Miyano, 2024).

The data collected in this research suggests that the theoretical basis behind the crowd control law education curriculum at SPN Polda Sulsel seems sound. However, the requirements for policy implementation practices do not seem to align with real-world requirements. Instructors and cadets interviewed in the study

appreciate the importance of crowd control legal materials; however, the limited training period, inadequate realistic training, and obsolete tools hinder the main goal of bridging theory and practice. These issues are more than evident, especially in literature where it is widely accepted that academic and theoretical teaching must follow an integrated training approach (Berkley, 2013; Creswell, 2012; Rahardjo, 2006).

SPN's training practices do not seem to consider this gap, so SPN must employ more interactive simulation-centered training modules (Reddy et al., 2024). Pairing this with revised equipment that is more in line with international standards should serve to close practice gaps (Ivanov & Gimazova, 2023). This is predicted to improve the general preparedness of newly appointed officers by providing them with the skills necessary to handle mass control situations while respecting human rights and the public's trust. Subsequent studies should concentrate on longitudinal studies assessing these edits to the curriculum to prove their usefulness in real-life encounters.

Curriculum and Suitability of Crowd Control Law Materials at SPN Polda Sulsel with Field Requirements

Our findings reveal that the curriculum and materials on crowd control law (Dalmas) at Sekolah Polisi Negara (SPN) Polda Sulsel play a crucial role in preparing officers for the dynamic challenges of the field. The curriculum is designed to equip cadets with the legal knowledge and practical skills to manage complex mass situations. However, while the theoretical framework appears robust, several respondents indicated that its real-world applicability is compromised by rapidly changing field conditions, technological advancements, and evolving types of mass actions.

Several instructors noted that the theoretical instruction—such as the comprehensive delivery of standard operating procedures (SOP) for crowd control—is sound. As one instructor stated:

"The material on crowd control law is an integral part of our police education curriculum. It teaches cadets the legal basis for using physical force in uncontrolled mass situations, covering human rights principles, the proportional use of force, and the SOP that must be followed." (Asrin Azis, Interview, November 8, 2024)

Yet, challenges arise when this material is applied in the field. One respondent explained:

"Although what we learn theoretically aligns with field needs, the actual situation on the ground can vary greatly. The SOP is taught during Dalmas lessons, but field conditions may differ significantly." (Interview, November 8, 2024)

In addressing the implementation of the curriculum, Wahyu observed that even though SOPs are taught comprehensively during Dalmas training, their practical application often faces unpredictable challenges due to constantly evolving field dynamics. He explained:

"In my view, the material taught is quite relevant to field requirements—especially with simulations that closely mimic real situations. However, there is room for improvement, particularly in updating current cases and incorporating newer technologies such as body cameras or drones." (Andi Taufik, Interview, November 28, 2024)

Alumni perspectives also shed light on the curriculum's field relevance. One former cadet noted:

"I believe the material taught aligns with field needs, considering we as public servants are not always faced with ideal conditions. There are situations where conflicts between communities or uncontrollable crowds occur, and the training on crowd control law is essential for every officer." (Alumni, Interview, November 4, 2024)

However, discrepancies in opinions emerged among recent graduates. While Ghufron stated that the curriculum meets field needs, others—such as Ismail and Zulkifli—argued for further improvements. One respondent commented:

"In general, the material is appropriate for field requirements. Yet, certain aspects need updating to remain relevant with changing social dynamics, such as integrating modern technology in mass surveillance and developing contemporary communication strategies." (Interview, December 11, 2024)

Furthermore, another cadet emphasized the need to adapt to new challenges posed by information technology in demonstrations:

"Overall, the curriculum is relevant to field needs, but adjustments are necessary to address dynamic conditions, such as the emergence of hoaxes, hate speech, and cybercrime in protest situations." (Interview, December 20, 2024)

The findings assert that the law curriculum of the crowd management exercise at SPN Polda Sulsel is well-founded in theory, with adequate coverage on law, human rights, and SOPs. However, the soft application of the knowledge is often constrained by extremely flexible and hard-to-predict rolling conditions in the field. All instructors interviewed cited classroom delivery of SOPs as satisfactory; however, the actual practice in the field, which is marked by complex and multi-layered crowd behavior, deviates from the instruction (Asrin Azis, Interview, November 8, 2024; Andi Taufik, Interview, November 28, 2024). This gap is further enhanced by alumni comments which, while declaring its theoretical acceptance, call for the necessity of renewing the curriculum regularly owing to new tendencies of high-tech mass monitoring, creation of new hoaxes, and cybercrime issues (Alumni, Interview, November 4, 2024; Interview, December 20, 2024). These comments correspond with the research literature advocating for incorporating practical training components within theoretical instruction (Berkley, 2013; Creswell, 2012).

Differences between cadets indicate that, on the one hand, a portion believes there are sufficient meeting field requirements. On the other hand, some respondents like Ismail and Zulkifli said case studies and training equipment need to be updated while Ghufron believes that the basic material is more than adequate, yet the fundamentals require many refinements (Interview, December 11 2024). To integrate academic theory with SPN operational practice, the curriculum devised for the cadets needs modification by incorporating new adaptive technological training methods. These changes are essential to ensure the new officers know legal theory and, most importantly,an handle intricate mass control situations in real-life field scenarios (Huff et al., 2024; Miyano, 2024).

The discrepancy between respondents highlights that some cadets think the curriculum meets the field requirements. In contrast, others feel that substantial improvement has to be made, especially in t case studies

and the training equipment (Mofokeng & Grootboom, 2023). Respondents like Ismail and Zulkifli, for example, think modern tools and social communication strategies should be introduced to capture the current social interaction patterns. At the same time, Ghufron maintains that the basic material is adequate but also calls for refinement to be made. Therefore, these findings suggest that to integrate academic theory and SPN operational practice, the curriculum for cadets should have modification with the introduction of newer adaptive technological training methods. The new officers must be equipped with legal theory knowledge and practical skills to manage intricate situations of mass control within the field (Huff et al., 2024; Miyano, 2024).

Legal Aspects and Actual Experiences on Crowd Control

Our findings indicate that the legal framework for crowd control is anchored in Indonesian Law No. 2 of 2002 on the National Police and Law No. 16 of 2002 on Crowd Control, which forms the normative basis for maintaining public order and safeguarding human rights during mass events. However, while the theoretical instruction on these legal aspects is robust, several respondents reported that unpredictable crowd dynamics and varying interpretations of the law frequently challenge practical implementation. For instance, Wahyu emphasized the legal foundation by stating:

"It still adheres to Law No. 2 of 2002 on the Indonesian National Police, and Law No. 16 of 2002 on Crowd Control." (Wahyu, Interview, November 8, 2024)

In addition, instructors highlighted that the curriculum stresses key legal principles—such as protecting human rights, proportional use of force, and the necessity of clear and structured SOPs—to ensure coordinated and effective crowd control operations. As Asrin Azis explained:

"The material on crowd control law is an integral part of our police education, teaching cadets the basic legal framework for using force in uncontrolled mass situations—from human rights principles to the SOPs that must be followed." (Asrin Azis, Interview, November 8, 2024)

Empirical insights further illustrate the challenges on the ground. Ghufron shared his experience, noting that a repressive approach often proves counterproductive:

"The greatest challenge for me is how I, as an individual, can control myself, manage my ego, and expand my patience. As human beings, we are prone to mistakes, yet as police officers, we must strictly adhere to the law, serving and protecting the public even under intense pressure." (Ghufron, Interview, November 4, 2024)

Similarly, Ismail underscored the need to balance law enforcement with the protection of human rights:

"The biggest challenge I face is balancing law enforcement and protecting human rights. Demonstrators have the right to express their opinions, but their actions must remain within legal bounds." (Ismail, Interview, December 20, 2024)

These observations suggest that the legal foundations of the curriculum are fundamentally sound, but due to vigorous field conditions, they are poorly executed. This discrepancy necessitates a shift in training and operational procedures approaches, especially incorporating current technologies and more sophisticated methods, so officers are adequately trained to deal with actual crowd control situations efficiently. As already

established, legal literature supports the theoretical underpinnings of the curriculum. Berkley (2013) states that "effective legal education must be proactive and responsive to changes in society and technology," while (Creswell & Creswell, 2018) suggest the need for a mixed-methods approach to teaching that combines "theory-based instruction" with "realistic simulation exercises." Friedman's framework underscores the systems approach to formulating legal policies and law practice. At the same time, Rahardjo (2006) suggests an ever-changing content to education that addresses contemporary issues more humanely. These findings imply that the SPN curriculum complies with the minimum normative requirements a national law has set forth, particularly Law No. 2 of 2002 on the National Police and Law No. 16 of 2002 on Crowd Control; however, the actual practice leaves much to be desired. Thus, to care for future officers, adjusting the curriculum, increasing the proportion of modern technologies and current case studies in the taught material, and enhancing simulation-based training is vital to allow for successful duty performance considering the complexities and rapid changes of the field conditions.

Future Expectations for Crowd Control Law Materials at SPN Polda Sulsel

The curriculum should be continuously updated to reflect advancements in science, technology, and evolving social dynamics. Syamsul emphasized that, beyond legal theory, cadets must be trained to manage emotions under pressure and develop practical negotiation skills to defuse tension and prevent conflict escalation (Hutahaean et al., 2022). He stated,

> "I believe that the crowd control law curriculum should be supplemented with emotion management and mass negotiation training, and there should be a greater emphasis on using modern technology in supervision and communication." (Syamsul, Interview, November 13, 2024)

Furthermore, Andi Taufik noted that while the current curriculum is generally relevant, it requires periodic updates to incorporate contemporary case studies and modern technological tools—such as body cameras and drones—to mirror the complexities of field operations better. Alumni, including Alwi, expressed hope that the focus of training would shift from a repressive to a preventive approach in handling protests, ensuring that future officers are not only effective enforcers of the law but also capable mediators who uphold human rights. Zulkifli added that adapting the curriculum to keep pace with technological advancements and incorporating more realistic field simulations—potentially through collaborations with external organizations like civil society or transportation agencies—would significantly enhance operational readiness. Regular curriculum evaluations, informed by active officers and academic research feedback, are essential to ensure that training remains responsive to current field demands and ultimately increases public trust in the police force (Horn et al., 2023).

The analysis of future expectations suggests that current designs for crowd control law may be theoretically sound, but their implementation in the field requires an urgent paradigm shift. Relevant documents provide data; for instance, Syamsul accentuated the need for legal education to include emotion regulation (Fast et al., 2022; Hutahaean et al., 2022) and negotiation training to allow officers to function under great stress (Syamsul, Interview, 13 November 2024). Andi Taufik also accentuated the importance of

modern equipment, such as body cameras and drones, in other areas of operational training to improve the trainees' efficiency and flexibility (Andi Taufik, Interview, 28 November 2024). Of note, these arguments resonate with those presented by Rahardjo (2006), who contended that legal education should be humanistic and not just predetermined technical skills (Rahardjo, 2006), as well as Berkley (2013), who advocated for the incorporation of new technologies and realities of the field in educational pedagogy (Berkley, 2013).

Furthermore, alumni like Alwi and Zulkifli noted that there is a strong need to focus on preventative measures in managing mass events. This also aligns with Friedman's 1984 framework, which argued for blending legal enforcement and contextually appropriate actions. The existing legal structures grounded in Law No. 2 of 2002 on the National Police and Law No. 16 of 2002 on Crowd Control set the standards for public order. However, the rest of the standards need to be implemented through more elaborate simulation exercises and periodic reviews of the curriculum. Academic institutions must develop constructive feedback processes from the field because the curriculum must provide highly trained officers capable of enforcing complex crowd control techniques while maintaining human rights and public confidence.

Recommended Improvements for Crowd Control Law Training at SPN Polda Sulsel

The findings from this study highlight several key challenges in the crowd control law training at SPN Polda Sulsel, along with recommended improvements to enhance the effectiveness of legal education for police cadets (Table 1). One of the primary issues identified is the insufficient practical training, where cadets receive extensive theoretical instruction but have limited exposure to hands-on simulations. To address this, increasing hands-on simulation hours is essential to ensure better field readiness and alignment between classroom learning and operational demands.

Table 1. Purposed Solution

Issue Identified	Proposed Solution	Expected Impact
Insufficient Practical Training	Increase hands-on simulation hours	Improved field readiness
Outdated Training Equipment	Upgrade helmets, shields, and introduce body cameras	Better safety and realistic training
Lack of Technology in Training	Implement VR or AI-driven crowd-control simulations	More immersive learning experience
Discrepancy in SOP Application	Update case studies and increase real-world scenario training	Better decision-making under real conditions

Additionally, the study reveals that outdated training equipment—including helmets, shields, and protective gear—hinders realistic crowd control simulations. Upgrading these essential tools and introducing modern devices such as body cameras will enhance training safety and provide a more realistic learning

environment. Furthermore, the lack of technology in training is a critical gap. Incorporating Virtual Reality (VR) or AI-driven crowd control simulations can create immersive learning experiences, allowing cadets to practice responses to various crowd control scenarios in a controlled yet realistic setting.

Another major issue is the discrepancy between SOP training and real-world application. While cadets are taught crowd control SOPs comprehensively, field conditions often require quick adaptations to dynamic and unpredictable situations. Updating the curriculum to include more recent case studies and practical exercises that reflect real-world conditions will enable better decision-making under operational pressures. These strategic improvements—enhanced simulation training, modernized equipment, technological integration, and updated case-based learning—are expected to bridge the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical application, ultimately preparing officers to manage mass control situations effectively while upholding human rights and public trust.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the crowd control law materials currently taught at SPN Batua Polda Sulsel are inadequate to meet the practical demands of new junior officers. Limited practical simulations and the absence of real case engagement hinder cadets' readiness for the complexities of field situations. Furthermore, outdated equipment and a rigid curriculum reduce training effectiveness, particularly in helping cadets manage emotional pressure and make critical decisions. Legal education at SPN must be optimized through stronger integration of realistic training, updated tools, and adaptive approaches that reflect real-world challenges. While the curriculum includes essential theoretical elements, its application in practice remains only partially aligned with conceptual frameworks, indicating a need for reform to bridge the gap between legal theory and operational practice.

SUGGESTION

The instruction program must be reviewed and amended due to new developments in the industry. Total instructional hours for the law of crowd control should be increased from 120 hours, which has been allocated as 30 hours of theory and 90 hours of practical, to 250 hours, which should now consist of 50 hours of theory and 200 hours of practice. Furthermore, the periodic change of training tools is significant, so cadets are trained on the latest tools of the trade. It is also recommended that the curriculum be strengthened with more modern technologies through changes in training modules and the practical components of SOPs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

REFERENCES

Ahyar, J., & Safrida, S. (2020). Optimalisasi Pelayanan Kepolisian dalam Menangani Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan dan Anak. *HUMANIS: Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara*, *6*(2), 69–89. https://doi.org/10.52137/humanis.v6i1.20

Berkley, G. E. (2013). *The Democratic Policeman: Polisi dalam Masyarakat Demokratis.*

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches.* Sage.

Dyzenhaus, D. (2001). Hobbes and the Legitimacy of Law. *Law and Philosophy*, *20*(5), 461–498. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1017515528495

Fast, E., Park, A., Ficocelli, R., Patterson, L., Dodich, F., & Spicer, V. (2022). Conversational Strategy for Crowd Control using Emotional Models. *2022 IEEE 13th Annual Information Technology, Electronics and Mobile Communication Conference (IEMCON)*, 142–147. https://doi.org/10.1109/IEMCON56893.2022.9946521

Friedman, L. M. (1984). *The Legal System: A Social Science Perspective.* Russell Sage Foundation.

Handoyo, B. T. (2022). Suatu Kajian Sosiologi Hukum Terhadap Kepatuhan Hukum Di Dalam Masyarakat. *Justicia Sains: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, *6*(1), 88–104. https://doi.org/10.24967/jcs.v6i1.1432

Horn, R., Lewinski, W., Heidner, G. S., Lawton, J., Allen, C., Albin, M., & Murray, N. (2023). Assessing between-officer variability in responses to a live-acted deadly force encounter as a window to the effectiveness of training and experience. *Ergonomics*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/00140139.2023.2278416

Huff, J., Zauhar, S., & Agniel, D. (2024). From pain compliance to leverage-based control: Evidence of reduced use of force severity and injuries following police training. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*. https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paae037

Hutahaean, E., Ancok, D., Hermita, M., & Putri, D. K. (2022). Regulation of Emotions in Crowd Control Police. *Asian Social Work Journal*. https://doi.org/10.47405/aswj.v7i4.218

Ivanov, D., & Gimazova, Y. (2023). Legislation effectiveness on the organization of police officers' fire and physical training in the Russian Federation. *UPRAVLENIE / MANAGEMENT (Russia)*. https://doi.org/10.26425/2309-3633-2023-11-1-5-15

Miyano, S. (2024). Using Virtual Reality to Study the Effectiveness of Crowd Control Medium and Information. *Journal of Disaster Research*. https://doi.org/10.20965/jdr.2024.p0293

Mofokeng, J., & Grootboom, V. (2023). The impact of international law enforcement training on the South African Police Service's effectiveness. *International Journal of Research in Business and Social Science (2147- 4478)*. https://doi.org/10.20525/ijrbs.v12i4.2421

Niru Anita Sinaga, & Atmoko, D. (2023). Kesiapan Sistem Hukum Indonesia Dalam Transformasi Masyarakat Dari 4.0 Menuju 5.0. *KRTHA BHAYANGKARA*, *17*(1), 119–126. https://doi.org/10.31599/krtha.v17i1.2111

Park, A., Patterson, L., Tsang, H., Ficocelli, R., Spicer, V., & Dodich, F. (2020). Testing Various Riot Control Police Formations through Agent-Based Modeling and Simulation. *2020 11th IEEE Annual Information Technology, Electronics and Mobile Communication Conference (IEMCON)*, 765–770.

https://doi.org/10.1109/IEMCON51383.2020.9284852

Pers, S. (2024, August 22). *Hentikan brutalitas aparat kepolisian terhadap massa aksi "Indonesia darurat demokrasi" dan lepaskan kawan kami!* .

Rahardjo, S. (2006). *Membedah hukum progresif.*

Reddy, M. J., Kowshik, A., Sharma, C. R., Aayush, & Bhanushree, K. (2024). Crowd Control and Monitoring using Deep Learning. *2024 Second International Conference on Networks, Multimedia and Information Technology (NMITCON)*, 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1109/NMITCON62075.2024.10698968

Indonesia's Political Shifts: From Opposition to Coalition in 2014–2024 Elections

Rizal Al Hamid[1]

[1]Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia
Corresponding Email: *rizalalhamid@uin-suka.ac.id

Abstract

This paper explores the evolving trajectory of political alignments in Indonesia's presidential elections between 2014 and 2024, focusing on the strategic transformation of political parties from opposition to coalition. Drawing on William H. Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition theory, it argues that party behavior is shaped not only by electoral calculus but also by the broader objective of maintaining systemic stability. While Riker emphasizes efficiency through minimal coalitions, Indonesian coalitions are often expansive, serving as tools for mitigating political volatility rather than maximizing efficiency. Through a descriptive-analytical method based on secondary literature, this research finds that coalitions in Indonesia prioritize inclusive governance, often at the cost of a weakened opposition. Notable examples include the integration of PAN into Jokowi's administration in 2015 and Gerindra's cabinet entry after 2019. While this approach supports continuity and governance stability, it also raises concerns about the dilution of critical oversight. Ultimately, the study underscores how Indonesian coalitional politics reflect a pragmatic balance between power consolidation and democratic legitimacy.

Keywords: opposition, coalition, presidential election, Indonesia, minimal winning coalition

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesian politics, the phenomenon of political parties shifting from the opposition to the ruling coalition has created dynamics that reflect flexibility and a pragmatic orientation in political decision-making within a multiparty democratic system. During the presidential election period from 2014 to 2024, opposition parties that initially positioned themselves against the government tended to gravitate toward and eventually join the ruling coalition. For instance, after the 2014 presidential election, the National Mandate Party (PAN), which had previously supported Prabowo Subianto, eventually joined Joko Widodo's administration in 2015 (Ayatollah, 2015). Similarly, following the 2019 presidential election, the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), which had initially been in opposition, ultimately opted to enter the cabinet, with Prabowo himself assuming the role of Minister of Defense (Abdul Jalil, 2019).

This phenomenon marks an unusual pattern compared to countries with a stable opposition (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994), such as the United States (Polsby, 1997), the United Kingdom (Johnson, 1997), and Germany (Hohendorf et al., 2020), where opposition parties generally remain outside the government and consistently perform their oversight function. Pragmatism in this context refers to the tendency of political

parties to adjust their political stance to gain strategic advantages, whether in the form of access to government resources or increased political influence. This shift raises questions about the underlying reasons for parties' decisions to change positions and how this affects the balance of power as well as the opposition's ability to uphold government accountability. This phenomenon also illustrates that Indonesian politics tends to prioritize large and stable coalitions rather than a strict division of opposition roles, making it a crucial issue for further examination in the context of contemporary Indonesian politics.

Scholars have observed and analyzed coalition and opposition dynamics in various political contexts worldwide. For example, research by Gandhi and Ong reveals that opposition coalition formation in authoritarian regimes, such as in Malaysia, serves as a key strategy toward democratization, although it requires cross-party support that is difficult to achieve due to differing interests and the repressive risks posed by the ruling power (Gandhi & Ong, 2019). In Africa, as seen in the cases of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Uganda, Beardsworth found that pre-election coalition formation often fails due to conflicting interests influenced by ethnicity and dependence on external funding, which ultimately weakens opposition cohesion (Beardsworth, 2018). In Malaysia, Nur Atika Bt Hairi explains that the Pakatan Rakyat coalition (2008–2016) demonstrated relative stability despite ideological differences; however, religious issues, such as the implementation of hudud laws, became the primary catalyst for the coalition's fragmentation (Hairi, 2017). Similarly, studies in Botswana reveal a comparable pattern, where the opposition struggles to establish a stable coalition due to an unclear model of cooperation, allowing the ruling party to maintain its dominance (Sebudubudu et al., 2016). In the parliamentary context, Hix and Noury observe that coalition and opposition dynamics are driven more by institutional structures than by ideological differences, as seen in presidential systems with coalition governments or parliamentary minorities, which facilitate issue-based coalitions (Hix & Noury, 2016).

Previous studies indicate that the dynamics of opposition coalitions in various countries tend to emerge as a response to political conditions that differ from those in Indonesia. In many countries with authoritarian systems or single-party dominance, opposition coalitions are formed as strategic alliances to challenge centralized power. Meanwhile, in developing democracies such as Malaysia and several African countries, tensions within coalitions are often driven by strong ideological differences or ethnic factors, ultimately disrupting the stability of these alliances. Additionally, Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition Theory, which generally emphasizes forming small coalitions for maximum efficiency and benefit, has not been fully explored in the context of a multiparty democracy like Indonesia, where forming large coalitions is considered essential for maintaining political stability. Given Indonesia's distinct political structure and the complexity of its local political landscape, this context provides new opportunities for analyzing the shift from opposition to coalition participation in the presidential elections held between 2014 and 2024.

Based on the above explanation, this shift raises questions regarding how opposition dynamics evolved into coalition participation during Indonesia's 2014–2024 presidential elections. Furthermore, the Minimal Winning Coalition Theory proposed by William H. Riker suggests that political actors tend to form coalitions with the smallest number of members sufficient to secure power (William H. Riker, 1962). However, in Indonesian political practice, coalitions tend to be broader and include multiple parties. Therefore, this study

seeks to address how Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition Theory can be applied in the Indonesian context and whether the coalitions formed are primarily based on the minimal requirement for maximizing political advantages or rather on efforts to establish long-term political stability. By raising and addressing these questions, this research aims to provide new insights into coalition and opposition strategies within multiparty democracy and a direct presidential system like Indonesia's.

Methodologically, this study employs a literature review and qualitative research with a descriptive-analytical approach to explore the phenomenon of opposition-to-coalition shifts in the context of Indonesia's presidential elections from 2014 to 2024. The choice of a literature review is based on the study's focus on analyzing the pattern of opposition-to-coalition shifts using documented theories and historical data, while the qualitative research approach is selected to provide an in-depth explanation of political dynamics by emphasizing the interpretation of observed phenomena. This study utilizes secondary data obtained from various sources, including academic journals, books, news articles, and previous studies on coalition and opposition dynamics in other countries for comparative analysis, as introduced in the research's introduction section.

The theory employed in this study is William H. Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition Theory. This theory suggests that political actors tend to form the smallest possible coalition that still meets the requirements for securing effective power, thereby avoiding additional members who could increase complexity and reduce coalition efficiency (William H. Riker, 1962). This theory is chosen because it provides a useful conceptual framework for understanding coalition formation patterns in Indonesia, particularly within its dynamic multiparty democratic landscape. The implementation of this theory in the study is carried out by analyzing the patterns of coalition formation and transformation observed in three Indonesian presidential elections—2014, 2019, and 2024. The focus is to determine whether the shift from opposition to coalition follows an efficient minimal pattern or is primarily aimed at fostering political stability within a multiparty context. The collected data is then processed descriptively to illustrate the phenomenon and analyzed analytically to understand how Riker's theory is applied within Indonesia's political dynamics.

DISCUSSION

The Development of Opposition and Coalition in Indonesia

The terms "opposition" and "coalition" in Indonesian politics are inseparable from the political dynamics that have evolved since the early days of independence. During the Old Order era (1945–1966), Indonesia implemented a parliamentary system that allowed political parties such as the Indonesian National Party (PNI: Partai Nasional Indonesia), Masyumi, and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) to form coalitions in parliament, either to support or oppose government policies led by the prime minister, who was accountable to President Soekarno (Siregar, 2011). In this context, Indonesia once had the position of prime minister, which began with the formation of the First Sjahrir Cabinet under the leadership of Sutan Sjahrir on November 14, 1945 (Padiatra et al., 2023). This prime ministerial era ended on July 10, 1959, coinciding with the dissolution of the Djuanda Cabinet, led by Djuanda Kartawidjaja, following the issuance of the Presidential Decree of July

5, 1959 (Verelladevanka Adryamarthanino, 2022). Politics during this period was highly dynamic and often marked by conflicts, as numerous parties competed for influence in parliament. However, the concept of opposition at that time was not formally defined as it is understood in contemporary democratic systems.

In the context of the Old Order, political parties dissatisfied with government policies typically withdrew their support from the existing coalition and chose to act as the opposition. However, such opposition was temporary and largely based on political calculations rather than strong ideological commitments, depending on the prevailing political dynamics (Pramudya, 2024). This differs from modern democratic systems, where the opposition plays a structured role in maintaining checks and balances on government power. For instance, in the early 1950s, the coalition between PNI and Masyumi, which formed the government, eventually collapsed due to differences in economic and ideological policies (Haris, 2014). This division led to shifts in coalition compositions and government structures, yet the concept of opposition at that time was not institutionalized within the political system. The political developments of this period were also influenced by the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959, in which President Soekarno abolished the parliamentary system and reinstated a presidential system (Nugroho, 2019). This decision drastically altered the dynamics of opposition and coalition politics. After the decree, executive power became concentrated in the hands of the President, leading to a diminished role for political parties in parliament (Ferry Irawan Febriansyah & Yogi Prasetyi, 2021). As a result of these changes, the opposition weakened, and coalitions were primarily formed as a means of political compromise to support Soekarno's policies rather than as an effective mechanism for political oversight. Ultimately, scholars have observed that the Old Order era was characterized by fluid political dynamics, where opposition and coalition arrangements were highly flexible and continuously shifted based on the needs and interests of the involved political parties.

During the New Order era (1966–1998) under President Soeharto, the concept of formal opposition was nearly nonexistent. The New Order government implemented a centralized and authoritarian political system, imposing strict restrictions on political parties and opposition groups (Farchan, 2022). Only three political parties were allowed to participate in elections: Golongan Karya (Golkar), the United Development Party (PPP: Partai Persatuan Pembangunan), and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia) (Ibrahim, 2024). Golkar, which effectively served as the government's political vehicle, dominated Indonesian politics for more than three decades (Noventari, 2016). During this period, political opposition faced severe repression. Any form of resistance against the government was deemed a threat to national stability and was forcefully suppressed by state apparatuses. Meanwhile, coalitions during the New Order were more functional in nature, where political parties and groups were compelled to cooperate with the government under the tight control of Soeharto and the military. There was no space for political parties to form formal coalitions that could challenge the government (Majid & Sugitanata, 2021).

The emergence of a more democratic multiparty system following the fall of the New Order in 1998 brought significant changes to Indonesian politics. In this new political system, opposition and coalition became essential elements of the democratic process (Peni Hanggarini, 2011). During the Reform Era, multiparty elections were regularly held, with various political parties competing for public votes. In this

period, the concept of opposition gained a more formal place within Indonesia's political system. Political parties that failed to secure a parliamentary majority typically chose to remain outside the government as the opposition, overseeing the administration and its policies. At the same time, parties that won the most parliamentary seats usually formed coalitions to establish a stable government (Haris, 2014).

The nature of political coalitions also underwent significant changes during this era. Political coalitions in Indonesia were no longer merely alliances between political parties but also represented a form of compromise to achieve political stability. An example of this was the formation of the Red and White Coalition (Koalisi Merah Putih, KMP) and the Great Indonesia Coalition (Koalisi Indonesia Hebat, KIH) following the 2014 presidential election. KMP, led by the Gerindra Party and Golkar Party, opted to remain outside the government and act as the opposition to President Joko Widodo's administration, which was supported by KIH, a coalition consisting of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) and its allies (Romli, 2017).

Furthermore, in the context of contemporary Indonesian politics, opposition and coalition dynamics are often fluid and pragmatic. Nevertheless, both entities play a crucial role in maintaining a balance of power. The development of coalitions and opposition intensified particularly after the 2019 elections, which saw the formation of the Onward Indonesia Coalition (Koalisi Indonesia Maju) supporting President Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin, as well as the Just and Prosperous Coalition (Koalisi Adil Makmur) backing Prabowo Subianto. These two coalitions represented opposing political poles in the presidential election contest (Gunanto et al., 2024). Thus, the historical development of opposition and coalition in Indonesia illustrates that these concepts have undergone significant evolution, from the Old Order to the Reform Era. Although they only became formally institutionalized in the post-Reform democratic era, the roots of opposition and coalition had already existed since the founding of Indonesia.

From Opposition to Coalition in the 2014 to 2024 Presidential Elections

The 2014 Presidential Election marked a significant turning point in Indonesia's political history. Jokowi, who was then serving as the Governor of Jakarta, faced off against Prabowo Subianto, a former general with a strong political base through the Gerindra Party (Zaman, 2022). This election was not merely a contest between two prominent figures but also a battle between two grand visions for Indonesia. Supported by a coalition of parties including the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan), the NasDem (Nasional Demokrat) Party, and the National Awakening Party (PKB: Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa), Jokowi campaigned on a platform emphasizing bureaucratic reform, infrastructure development, and social welfare (Fabian Januarius Kuwado, 2014). On the other hand, Prabowo, backed by the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra: Gerakan Indonesia Raya) and supported by the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS: Partai Keadilan Sejahtera), the National Mandate Party (PAN: Partai Amanat Nasional), the United Development Party (PPP: Partai Persatuan Pembangunan), the Crescent Star Party (PBB: Partai Bulan Bintang), and Golkar, focused on national sovereignty and economic justice (Humas PKS, 2014).

The 2014 election campaign was highly intense, with each candidate striving to attract voters through various policy platforms. Prabowo underscored the importance of safeguarding economic sovereignty from foreign intervention, whereas Jokowi emphasized pragmatic development policies and efforts to combat corruption (Mietzner, 2014). Ultimately, Jokowi won the election with 53.15% of the vote, while Prabowo secured 46.85% (Dian Maharani, 2014). However, Prabowo's camp contested the results by filing a lawsuit with the Constitutional Court, although the challenge was ultimately dismissed (Tim detikcom, 2019).

The 2019 Presidential Election saw yet another contest between Jokowi and Prabowo. By this time, Jokowi was the incumbent president with a track record to showcase, particularly in massive infrastructure development, including the construction of toll roads, ports, and airports (Iswari Anggit Pramesti, 2019). Meanwhile, Prabowo remained in the opposition, criticizing Jokowi's policies, particularly concerning national debt and reliance on foreign investment (Chandra Gian Asmara & Ranny Virginia Utami, 2018). The 2019 election campaign was even more polarizing than in 2014, with religious and identity politics playing a more prominent role, fueled by narratives involving conservative elements within Indonesian society (Ronaldo & Darmaiza, 2021). Jokowi's coalition in 2019 consisted of PDIP, NasDem, PPP, PKB, PKPI, Hanura, and Golkar, while Prabowo's coalition remained supported by Gerindra, PAN, PKS, and the Democratic Party (Aristya Rahadian, 2018). Despite the heightened political tension, the election results showed a more decisive victory for Jokowi, who won with 55.5% of the vote, while Prabowo obtained 44.5% (Fitria Chusna Farisa, 2019). As in 2014, Prabowo once again contested the election results in the Constitutional Court, but his appeal was unsuccessful ("Flashback of 2014 and 2019 Presidential Election Dispute Decisions" 2024).

During the subsequent period, significant political changes took place following the 2019 Presidential Election. In a surprising turn of events, Prabowo Subianto accepted an offer to join Jokowi's cabinet as Minister of Defense. This decision was widely regarded as a pragmatic move for both parties. For Jokowi, bringing Prabowo into his administration ensured greater political stability by reducing the potential for strong opposition. Meanwhile, for Prabowo, the position of Minister of Defense provided an opportunity to remain relevant in national politics and even rebuild his political strength for future contests (Sukarno & Amurwani, 2020). Prabowo's decision to join Jokowi's administration marked the end of the sharp political polarization that had characterized their rivalry over two consecutive elections. Although many were initially skeptical, Prabowo successfully carried out his new role, focusing on the modernization of defense equipment and the enhancement of Indonesia's military capacity (Andi Firdaus, 2024). On the other hand, Jokowi also benefited from Prabowo's presence in his cabinet, as it further strengthened his administration's political base, which already spanned a broad political spectrum (Wahyu Putro A, 2019).

Furthermore, the 2024 Presidential Election became one of the most monumental political events in Indonesia's history. Prabowo Subianto, who had previously run for president twice (in 2014 and 2019), finally won the 2024 election with a significant victory. Alongside Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the son of President Joko Widodo, as his vice-presidential candidate, the pair garnered strong support from various segments of society, political parties, and national figures (Taslim Septia, 2024). Since serving as Minister of Defense in

Jokowi's cabinet since 2019, Prabowo had leveraged his strategic position to solidify his political base and build an image as a decisive leader committed to national security and sovereignty ("Best Performing Minister becomes Prabowo's Capital in Presidential Election 2024" 2023). With his extensive military and political experience, Prabowo offered a platform centered on stability, military modernization, and strengthening national defense, which appealed to a broad electorate (Emanuella B, 2024). Meanwhile, Gibran, who had been serving as the Mayor of Solo, had a strong reputation among young voters, providing a significant electoral advantage. As a dynamic young leader, Gibran brought fresh energy to millennial and Generation Z voters, who were increasingly engaged in the political process (Fath Putra Mulya, 2023). The combination of Prabowo's experience and Gibran's youthful dynamism was a key factor in their success in the 2024 election.

During the 2024 election campaign, Prabowo-Gibran faced several strong contenders, including Ganjar Pranowo from PDIP and Anies Baswedan, who ran with the support of an opposition coalition. The Ganjar and Anies coalitions reflected a more fluid political landscape, where parties with diverse backgrounds united to present an alternative to Prabowo-Gibran. Ganjar, backed by PDIP and other parties, emphasized the continuity of people-centered policies and bureaucratic reforms. Meanwhile, Anies, supported by opposition parties such as NasDem, PKS, and PKB, advocated for more significant policy changes, with a focus on greater transparency and improved governance accountability (Bambang Setiawan, 2023). However, the Prabowo-Gibran ticket's advantage was not solely based on the strength of their political machinery but also on their ability to merge narratives of change with promises of stability. Prabowo pledged to continue key policies from Jokowi's administration, particularly in infrastructure and defense, while also offering a more assertive approach to national sovereignty issues (Fitria Chusna Farisa, 2024).

The victory of Prabowo-Gibran became increasingly apparent after quick count results indicated that the pair had secured more than 50% of the national vote ("Quick Count Results: Prabowo-Gibran Pair Win Handsomely" 2024). The large coalition formed between the Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, and several other parties provided substantial support for this victory (Alinda Hardiantoro, 2024). Prabowo and Gibran managed to garner support not only from Gerindra's traditional voter base but also from young voters and regions that had previously been strongholds of PDIP (Trisha Husada, 2024). The official results from the General Elections Commission (KPU: Komisi Pemilihan Umum) later confirmed Prabowo-Gibran's victory by a significant margin, defeating their closest rivals, Anies-Muhaimin and Ganjar-Mahfud (Vitorio Mantalean, 2024). This triumph marked a significant shift in Indonesia's political landscape, as Prabowo, who had previously failed multiple times in presidential elections, finally achieved the highest position in government.

Several key factors contributed to the landslide victory of Prabowo and Gibran in the 2024 Presidential Election. First, Gibran's popularity as a young figure and the son of President Jokowi had a strong electoral impact. He was perceived as a continuation of Jokowi's leadership, which was development-oriented and focused on grassroots engagement. This appealed to many voters who sought continuity in infrastructure development policies initiated by Jokowi ("Who is Gibran Rakabuming Raka, Indonesia's youngest vice president?" 2024). Second, Prabowo's position as Minister of Defense for the past five years provided him with the opportunity to demonstrate his leadership as a strong and decisive figure in safeguarding national

sovereignty. His efforts in military modernization, increasing the defense budget, and implementing security sector reforms served as a political asset that strengthened public trust in his leadership. Prabowo's narrative emphasizing national sovereignty and security successfully mobilized support from various societal groups, particularly conservatives and nationalists ("Best-performing Minister becomes Prabowo's Capital in 2024 Presidential Election" 2023).

Furthermore, a solid political coalition played a crucial role in securing the victory. Gerindra, Golkar, PAN, and other allied parties effectively united their forces in support of Prabowo-Gibran, creating strong political backing across various electoral regions. These parties worked synergistically to maximize voter turnout in both urban and rural areas. The well-organized political machinery, coupled with an effective campaign strategy, enabled Prabowo-Gibran to dominate the vote count in almost all provinces ("List of Political Parties in Prabowo's Coalition that Officially Elected President" 2024).

The victory of Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka not only marked the culmination of Prabowo's long political journey but also ushered in a new era in Indonesian politics. With this historic win, Prabowo is expected to continue several national priority agendas initiated by Jokowi, particularly in infrastructure development and enhancing Indonesia's economic competitiveness on the global stage (Fitria Chusna Farisa, 2024). However, this victory also presents significant challenges, especially in meeting the high public expectations placed on the new administration (Ruby Rachmadina, 2024).

One of the key priorities of the Prabowo-Gibran administration is strengthening national defense, both in terms of military capabilities and national security. Prabowo has repeatedly emphasized the importance of modernizing Indonesia's primary weapon systems (Alutsista) and enhancing defense capacity to address external threats, particularly in the increasingly competitive Southeast Asian region. Furthermore, reforms in the defense sector also include improving military professionalism and developing more independent defense technologies (Khairul Fahmi, 2024). On the other hand, as Vice President, Gibran is expected to bring a more inclusive and socially-oriented perspective ("Who is Gibran Rakabuming Raka, Indonesia's youngest vice president?," 2024). As a young leader, Gibran has the potential to mobilize youth participation in national development and promote innovation across various sectors, particularly in technology, education, and the creative economy. His role in the government is anticipated to bridge the interests of the younger generation and strengthen commitment to more equitable and sustainable development.

Thus, Indonesia's political dynamics from 2014 to 2024 have demonstrated remarkable flexibility and adaptability. The intense rivalry between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, which dominated two consecutive presidential elections, ultimately reached a point of compromise with Prabowo joining Jokowi's cabinet as Minister of Defense in 2019. This decision marked the end of their prolonged political rivalry and paved the way for a strategic coalition that reinforced political stability in Indonesia. The victory of Prabowo alongside Gibran Rakabuming Raka in the 2024 Presidential Election represents the culmination of a long and complex political journey. With this victory, Prabowo, who had previously failed twice in presidential elections, finally secured the presidency with significant support. The political alliance between the older and

younger generations, facilitated through collaboration with Gibran, has established a strong foundation for the future administration.

The trajectory of Indonesia's political landscape from 2014 to 2024 illustrates its dynamic and fluid nature, reflecting the ability of political elites to adapt to shifting interests and contexts. From strong opposition to solid alliances, Indonesia's political sphere has continued to evolve in response to domestic and global challenges. The Prabowo-Gibran victory symbolizes a broader political transition, not only signifying a change in national leadership but also marking a new direction for Indonesia's economic development, defense, and security policies in navigating an increasingly complex future. The stability fostered by this political alliance, combining experience with a spirit of renewal, offers hope for a more inclusive and resilient national growth under the new administration.

An Analysis of William H. Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition Theory on the Shift from Opposition to Coalition in Indonesia's 2014 to 2024 Presidential Elections

A comprehensive analysis of coalition dynamics in the Indonesian Presidential Elections from 2014 to 2024, through the lens of William H. Riker's Coalition Theory, illustrates how rational political strategies and interests play a crucial role in alliance formation. The selection of this theory is based on its relevance in explaining how political parties form coalitions by considering efficiency and the probability of electoral success. Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition Theory provides a framework for understanding coalition patterns in Indonesia, particularly in the context of a dynamic multiparty democracy. However, this theory has been subject to debate since its initial introduction in 1962. The primary criticism of Riker's approach is that it is overly focused on mathematical logic and does not fully account for ideological factors and social dynamics that influence political decision-making (Robinson, 1963).

Nevertheless, this study reaffirms the relevance of Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition Theory in explaining the research findings. According to Riker, coalition formation is driven by the necessity of maximizing power with the smallest possible number of members required for success (William H. Riker, 1962). In the 2014 Presidential Election, the coalition supporting Joko Widodo (Jokowi) was composed of parties that backed bureaucratic reform and infrastructure development policies oriented toward social welfare (Fabian Januarius Kuwado, 2014). Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto was supported by a coalition that emphasized national sovereignty and economic justice (Humas PKS, 2014). These contrasting visions reflected the interests of the parties in maintaining their constituencies, leading each candidate to choose allies who supported the overarching narrative they sought to present to the public.

During this period, Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition Theory was evident in Jokowi's strategy of maintaining a coalition that was just sufficient to secure victory. With the support of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the National Democratic Party (NasDem), and the National Awakening Party (PKB), Jokowi's coalition had enough strength without expanding to a level that would increase political complexity (Fabian Januarius Kuwado, 2014). This approach allowed Jokowi's supporting coalition to remain effective and avoid potential ideological conflicts among its members. Conversely, Prabowo's coalition also

maintained a relatively small number of parties but remained solid in their shared vision of economic sovereignty (Humas PKS, 2014), aligning with Riker's theory of efficient coalitions for achieving political objectives.

In the 2019 Presidential Election, Jokowi expanded his coalition by incorporating Golkar and the United Development Party (PPP) (Aristya Rahadian, 2018). This move reflected an adaptation of coalition strategy to strengthen his political dominance, demonstrating an adjustment to the increasingly polarized political landscape, especially amid the rising influence of religious and identity-based issues. According to Riker, this coalition expansion was not merely aimed at gaining additional party support but also at securing political legitimacy and minimizing internal opposition that could undermine government stability (William H. Riker, 1962). With the backing of Golkar and PPP, Jokowi was able to maintain stability and counter strong criticism from Prabowo and his supporting parties.

The most significant change occurred after the 2019 Presidential Election when Prabowo joined Jokowi's cabinet as Minister of Defense (Sukarno & Amurwani, 2020). Riker's Coalition Formation Theory explains that this decision resulted from the necessity to achieve political stability by integrating the main opposition force into the government (William H. Riker, 1962). Prabowo, who had previously been a staunch opposition figure, joined Jokowi's administration to form a broad coalition, effectively reducing potential resistance to government policies (Wahyu Putro A, 2019). This strategy demonstrates the flexibility of coalitions in responding to political shifts and creating advantages for both sides: Jokowi secured greater political stability, while Prabowo remained relevant in the national political arena.

In the 2024 Presidential Election, the success of the Prabowo-Gibran ticket reflected a coalition formed by combining Prabowo's experience and influence with Gibran's popularity among young voters ("Best-performing Minister becomes Prabowo's Capital in 2024 Presidential Election" 2023; "Who is Gibran Rakabuming Raka, Indonesia's youngest vice president?" 2024). From Riker's perspective, the Prabowo-Gibran coalition, along with parties such as Gerindra and Golkar, constituted a minimal yet strong combination to achieve the required electoral majority. This was reinforced by Gibran's role in attracting millennial and Generation Z voters (Fath Putra Mulya, 2023), adding a fresh and dynamic electoral dimension to the coalition. This not only illustrates the effectiveness of coalition strategies as supported by Riker but also highlights the coalition's adaptability in responding to demographic shifts among voters. Overall, the coalitions formed from 2014 to 2024 reflect an adaptation consistent with Riker's coalition theory. Alliances that initially emerged as opposition forces later evolved into governing coalitions, demonstrating how Indonesia's political elites can adjust to changing political landscapes. Through the analysis of this theory, it becomes evident that coalitions serve not only as instruments for gaining power but also as mechanisms for maintaining political stability in the face of increasingly complex national and global challenges.

CONCLUSION

This study asserts that the dynamics of the opposition shifting into part of the coalition in the Indonesian Presidential Elections from 2014 to 2024 reflect an adaptive pattern and the pragmatism of political parties in

maintaining power stability. During this period, parties that initially positioned themselves in opposition, such as the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), opted to join the ruling coalition under President Joko Widodo after the elections, considering political advantages and influence within the government. This shift illustrates the tendency of political parties to prioritize forming broad coalitions for political stability rather than maintaining a strong opposition to serve as a counterbalance to power.

Applying William H. Riker's Minimal Winning Coalition Theory, this study reveals that this shift towards coalition-building was not merely aimed at gaining power through alliances with sufficient parties but also at ensuring stability by forming an effective minimal coalition without unnecessary complexity. In this context, the parties within Jokowi's coalition maintained just enough members to sustain governance while minimizing the risk of instability due to significant ideological differences. This indicates that the application of Riker's theory in Indonesian politics functions to create solid alliances with a minimal yet strong composition, while also taking into account the local political landscape. This study recommends that while broad coalitions contribute to political stability, strengthening the oversight role of parliament and other institutions is essential to maintaining governmental accountability and preventing the weakening of checks and balances on power.

REFERENCES

Abdul Jalil. (2019, Oktober). Gerindra, dulu Oposisi Kini Minta Jatah Menteri. *detikNews*. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4734113/gerindra-dulu-oposisi-kini-minta-jatah-menteri

Alinda Hardiantoro. (2024, April 24). Daftar Partai Koalisi Prabowo-Gibran Usai Ditetapkan Jadi Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Terpilih. *kompas.com*. https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2024/04/24/140000665/daftar-partai-koalisi-prabowo-gibran-usai-ditetapkan-jadi-presiden-dan?page=all

Andi Firdaus. (2024, Oktober). Jokowi berterima kasih pada Prabowo atas kekuatan pertahanan RI. *antaranews.com*. https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4378006/jokowi-berterima-kasih-pada-prabowo-atas-kekuatan-pertahanan-ri

Aristya Rahadian. (2018, Agustus). Inilah Peta Partai Pengusung Capres-Cawapres Pemilu 2019. *CNBC Indonesia*. https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20180810195720-16-28087/inilah-peta-partai-pengusung-capres-cawapres-pemilu-2019

Ayatollah. (2015, September 2). Akhirnya PAN Ganti Haluan Pilih Merapat ke Pemerintahan. *Jawa Pos*. https://www.jawapos.com/politik/01191778/akhirnya-pan-ganti-haluan-pilih-merapat-ke-pemerintahan

Bambang Setiawan. (2023, Oktober). Membaca Peta Persaingan Elektabilitas Ganjar, Prabowo, dan Anies. *Kompas.id*. https://www.kompas.id/baca/riset/2023/10/10/membaca-peta-persaingan-elektabilitas-ganjar-prabowo-dan-anies

Beardsworth, N. A. (2018). *Electoral coalition-building among opposition parties in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Uganda from 2000 to 2017* [Thesis (PhD), University of Warwick]. https://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/id/eprint/127926/

Chandra Gian Asmara & Ranny Virginia Utami. (2018, November 21). Prabowo Kritik Keras Jokowi, dari Pajak Hingga Utang. *CNBC Indonesia*. https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/market/20181121150204-17-43071/prabowo-kritik-keras-jokowi-dari-pajak-hingga-utang

Daftar Parpol Koalisi Prabowo yang Resmi Jadi Presiden Terpilih. (2024, April 24). *CNN Indonesia*. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20240424062036-617-1089715/daftar-parpol-koalisi-prabowo-yang-resmi-jadi-presiden-terpilih

Dian Maharani. (2014, Juli 22). Ini Hasil Resmi Rekapitulasi Suara Pilpres 2014. *kompas.com*. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/07/22/20574751/Ini.Hasil.Resmi.Rekapitulasi.Suara.Pilpres.2014?page=all

Emanuella B. (2024, Oktober). Lintas Sejarah Presiden RI, Kembali ke Tangan Militer. *CNBC Indonesia*. https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/research/20241019144059-128-581037/lintas-sejarah-presiden-ri-kembali-ke-tangan-militer

Fabian Januarius Kuwado. (2014, Mei). Koalisi PDI-P, Nasdem, dan PKB Hanya Modal "Chemistry." *kompas.com*. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/05/11/0935490/Koalisi.PDI-P.Nasdem.dan.PKB.Hanya.Modal.Chemistry.

Farchan, Y. (2022). Dinamika Sistem Politik Otoritarianisme Orde Baru. *Jurnal Adhikari*, *1*(3), 152–161. https://doi.org/10.53968/ja.v1i3.41

Fath Putra Mulya. (2023, November 16). Gibran membawa angin segar bagi generasi milenial dan generasi Z yang semakin terlibat dalam proses politik. *Jogja Antara News*. https://jogja.antaranews.com/berita/647238/cawapres-gibran-angin-segar-representasi-pemuda

Ferry Irawan Febriansyah & Yogi Prasetyi. (2021). *HUKUM TATA NEGARA INDONESIA (Konstelasi Hukum Ketatanegaraan)*. STAI Muhammadiyah Tulungagung.

Fitria Chusna Farisa. (2019, Mei). Hasil Pilpres 2019: Jokowi-Ma'ruf 55,50 Persen, Prabowo-Sandi 44,50 Persen, Selisih 16,9 Juta Suara. *kompas.com*. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/05/21/02440251/hasil-pilpres-2019-jokowi-maruf-5550-persen-prabowo-sandi-4450-persen

Fitria Chusna Farisa. (2024, April 29). Janjikan Keberlanjutan Program Jokowi, Prabowo Akui Perlu Ada Perbaikan. *kompas.com*. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/04/29/16501441/janjikan-keberlanjutan-program-jokowi-prabowo-akui-perlu-ada-perbaikan

Gandhi, J., & Ong, E. (2019). Committed or conditional democrats? Opposition dynamics in electoral autocracies. *American Journal of Political Science*, *63*(4), 948–963. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12441

Gunanto, D., Hijri, Y. S., & Nurhasanah, P. H. (2024). Dinamika Koalisi Partai Politik dalam Pencalonan Presiden dan Wakil Presiden pada PEMILU 2024. *Sawala: Jurnal Administrasi Negara*, *12*(1), 57–67. https://doi.org/10.30656/sawala.v12i1.8528

Hairi, N. A. B. (2017). *Coalition Politics Among Opposition Parties In Malaysia: A Case Study Of Pakatan Rakyat (2008-2016)*. 173–181. https://doi.org/10.2991/icsps-17.2018.36

Haris, S. (2014). *Partai, pemilu, dan parlemen era reformasi*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Hasil Hitung Cepat: Pasangan Prabowo-Gibran Menang Telak. (2024, Februari 14). *VOA INDONESIA*. https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/hasil-hitung-cepat-pasangan-prabowo-gibran-menang-telak/7487007.html

Hix, S., & Noury, A. (2016). Government-Opposition or Left-Right? The Institutional Determinants of Voting in Legislatures. *Political Science Research and Methods*, *4*(2), 249–273. Cambridge Core. https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2015.9

Hohendorf, L., Saalfeld, T., & Sieberer, U. (2020). Oppositional Strategies Between Cooperation and Conflict: An Analysis of Opposition Party Voting in the German Bundestag, 1949–2013. Dalam S. Bukow & U. Jun (Ed.), *Continuity and Change of Party Democracies in Europe,* 309–342. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-28988-1_11

Humas PKS. (2014). Prabowo-Hatta Maju Didukung Enam Partai. *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*. https://pks.id/content/prabowo-hatta-maju-didukung-enam-partai

Ibrahim, J. (2024). Kriminalitas, Hegemoni, dan Politik: Premanisme di Yogyakarta Pada Masa Orde Baru. *Jurnal Kawistara*, *14*(1), 18–37. https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.73479

Iswari Anggit Pramesti. (2019, Februari 14). Sederet Bukti Konkret Pembangunan Infrastruktur Era Jokowi! *CNBC Indonesia*. https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190214123837-4-55506/sederet-bukti-konkret-pembangunan-infrastruktur-era-jokowi

Jenkins-Smith, H. C., & Sabatier, P. A. (1994). Evaluating the Advocacy Coalition Framework. *Journal of Public Policy*, *14*(2), 175–203. JSTOR. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4007571

Johnson, N. (1997). Opposition in the British Political System. *Government and Opposition*, *32*(4), 487–510. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44484059

Khairul Fahmi. (2024, Oktober). Strategi Prabowo-Gibran memperkuat pertahanan Indonesia. *antaranews.com*. https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4409593/strategi-prabowo-gibran-

memperkuat-pertahanan-indonesia?page=all

Kilas Balik Putusan Sengketa Pilpres 2014 dan 2019. (2024, April 21). *tempo.co*. https://www.tempo.co/pemilu/kilas-balik-putusan-sengketa-pilpres-2014-dan-2019-66257

Majid, A., & Sugitanata, A. (2021). Sistem Pemilu Sebagai Wujud Demokrasi Di Indonesia: Antara Orde Lama, Orde Baru Dan Reformasi. *Qaumiyyah: Jurnal Hukum Tata Negara*, *2*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.24239/qaumiyyah.v2i1.18

Menteri Berkinerja Terbaik jadi Modal Prabowo di Pilpres 2024. (2023, Juli 26). *Pos Metro Padang*. https://posmetropadang.co.id/berita-utama/251182/menteri-berkinerja-terbaik-jadi-modal-prabowo-di-pilpres-2024/

Mietzner, M. (2014). Indonesia's 2014 elections: How Jokowi won and democracy survived. *Journal of Democracy*, *25*(4), 111–125. https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/indonesias-2014-elections-how-jokowi-won-and-democracy-survived/

Noventari, W. (2016). Kuasa Dibalik Senyum Sang Jendral (Analisis Gaya Kepemimpinan Dan Bagaimana Soeharto Melanggengkan Kekuasaan Selama 32 Tahun). *VIDYA jurnal Universitas Wisnuwardhana*, *24*(2), 34–40. https://vidya.wisnuwardhana.ac.id/index.php/vidya/article/view/45

Nugroho, S. (2019). Segitiga Kekuasaan Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin. *Jurnal Sejarah*, *44*, 1689–1699. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Setyo-Adi-Nugroho/publication/349099433_Segitiga_Kekuasaan_Masa_Demokrasi_Terpimpin/links/601fe18d92851c4ed555fdc7/Segitiga-Kekuasaan-Masa-Demokrasi-Terpimpin.pdf

Padiatra, A. M., Rifal, R., Sanusi, A., & Hamidah, D. N. (2023). Kisah Bung Kecil: Rekam Jejak Sutan Sjahrir 1909–1966. *Jurnal Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam*, *11*(2), 18–50. https://doi.org/10.24235/tamaddun.v11i2.14953

Peni Hanggarini. (2011). Reviewed Work: Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions, and Society. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010. 359 pp. By Edward Aspinall, Marcus Mietzner. *Indonesia*, *91*, 217–222. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.91.0217

Polsby, N. W. (1997). Political Opposition in the United States. *Government and Opposition*, *32*(4), 511–521. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44484060

Pramudya. (2024, Agustus). *Daftar Partai Oposisi dari Masa ke Masa*. https://pojoknegeri.com/daftar-partai-oposisi-dari-masa-ke-masa

Robinson, J. A. (1963). Decision-making and coalition building: A review: William H. Riker, The Theory of Political Coalitions. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *7*(4), 763–768. https://doi.org/10.1177/002200276300700409

Romli, L. (2017). Koalisi dan Konflik Internal Partai Politik pada Era Reformasi. *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri dan Hubungan Internasional*, *8*(2), 95–118.

Ronaldo, R., & Darmaiza, D. (2021). Politisasi Agama dan Politik Kebencian pada Pemilu Presiden Indonesia 2019. *Indonesian Journal of Religion and Society*, *3*(1), 33–48. https://doi.org/10.36256/ijrs.v3i1.150

Ruby Rachmadina. (2024, Agustus). Kala Masyarakat Berharap Prabowo Lanjutkan Program-program Jokowi... *kompas.com*. https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2024/10/21/09153781/kala-masyarakat-berharap-prabowo-lanjutkan-program-program-jokowi

Sebudubudu, D., Bodilenyane, K., & Kwerepe, P. (2016). The politics of opposition electoral coalitions and alliances in Botswana. *The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and*

International Affairs, 1–26. https://www.jstor.org/stable/45342124

Siapa Gibran Rakabuming Raka, wapres termuda Indonesia? (2024, Oktober). *BBC NEW INDONESIA*. https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c153jnddj7qo

Siregar, I. F. (2011). Dinamika Demokrasi di Indonesia Masa Orde Lama: Studi Kasus antara Sukarno Versus Masyumi. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, *21*(1), 25–36. https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v21i1.1026

Sukarno, S., & Amurwani, P. P. (2020). Konstruksi Mendukung dan Mengkritisi Realitas Prabowo Subianto menjadi Menteri Pertahanan oleh Beberapa Media Online. *Adabiyyāt: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra*, *3*(2), 140–164. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajbs.2019.03201

Taslim Septia. (2024, Oktober). Prabowo Subianto Resmi Menjadi Presiden Indonesia. *Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta*. https://umj.ac.id/just_info/prabowo-subianto-resmi-menjadi-presiden-indonesia/

Tim detikcom. (2019, Juni 27). Menengok Putusan MK Saat Pilpres 2014. *Detik.com*. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4602286/menengok-putusan-mk-saat-pilpres-2014

Trisha Husada. (2024, Februari 16). Mengapa Prabowo-Gibran unggul di 'kandang banteng'? *BBC NEW INDONESIA*. https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c84nk2x0xnlo

Verelladevanka Adryamarthanino. (2022, April 9). Penyebab Jatuhnya Kabinet Djuanda. *kompas.com*. https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2022/04/09/100000379/penyebab-jatuhnya-kabinet-djuanda

Vitorio Mantalean. (2024, Maret 20). Hasil Pilpres 2024: Prabowo-Gibran Resmi Menang 96.214.691 Suara. *kompas.com*. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/03/20/21292411/hasil-pilpres-2024-prabowo-gibran-resmi-menang-96214691-suara

Wahyu Putro A. (2019, Oktober). Prabowo Subianto sanggupi jadi menteri Jokowi, oposisi akan "makin lemah." *BBC NEW INDONESIA*. https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-50120201

William H. Riker. (1962). *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. Yale University Press.

Zaman, A. N. (2022). Kemunculan Jokowi di Pentas Politik Nasional. *KAIS Kajian Ilmu Sosial*, *1*(1), 43–53. https://doi.org/10.24853/kais.1.1.43-53