

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

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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

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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 Gijbert 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 indicators 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 Commission)	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	<i>International Criminal Police Organization (ICPO-Interpol)</i>	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
	19	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 (Beno[^] 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%
Constructivism	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 (Beno[^] 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%	

Liberalism	5	Peace	2
	6	Human Rights Enforcement	1
	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:

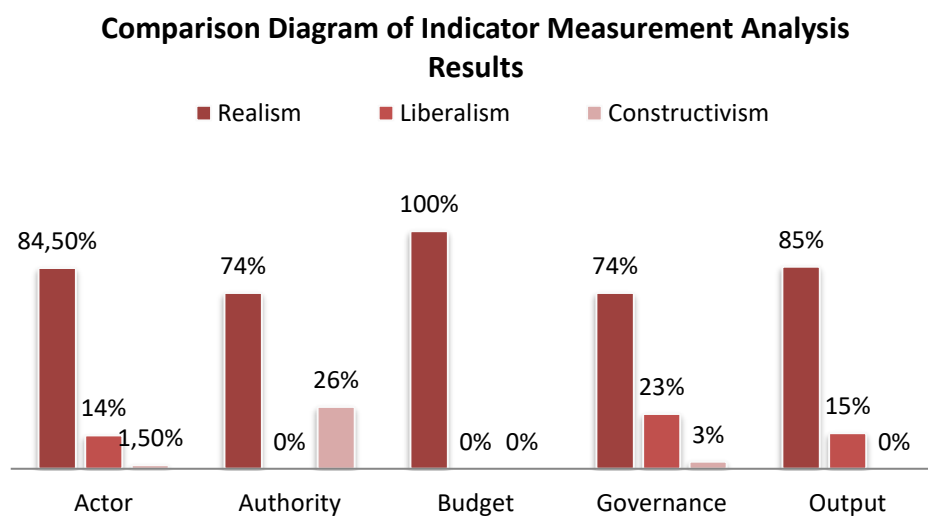


Figure 1: Comparison Diagram of Indicator Measurement Analysis Results

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.

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