Exploring Conceptual Debates toward Non-Traditional Security: Searching for Indonesian Democratic Policing

by Turnitin Instructor

Exploring Conceptual Debates toward Non-Traditional Security: Searching for Indonesian Democratic Policing

Djuni Thamrin[1], Prasojo[2]
{djuni.thamrin@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id[1]}

Economic and Bussiness, Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, 17131, Indonesia[1]
Communication, Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, 17131, Indonesia[2]

Abstract. This research is a fundamental study of the non-traditional security conceptual debates that have occurred for decades in various places around the world. The non-traditional security dimension highlights many aspects of human security, including aspects of food security, economy, social, energy, natural resources and the environment with an emphasis on aspects of community participation so that it accommodates democratic values in it. The debate over the concept to be explored is an "extension" to the concept of security outside the traditional security arena which leaves many aspects of security techniques. This includes a closer look at the implementation of democratic policing in Indonesia.

Keywords: Non-traditional security; democratic policing; human security

1 Introduction

The wave of world democratization is no longer inevitable. In the implementation of a democratic state, state administrators must be able to ensure that the process of interaction between citizens runs well and productively but while maintaining balance and order at the same time. The task is certainly not easy. In the one hand, it must be able to guarantee law and order enforcement, on the other hands it must be able to realize a very friendly, not scary appearance and mingle with others. The biggest task is formally on the shoulders of the police as representatives of state administrators in the field of order and security [1]-[4].

The book Former Indonesian National Police Chief, Police General Tito Karnavian along with Prof. Hermawan Sulistyo with the title Democratic Policing with a focus and context of Indonesia is not enough in emphasizing on the theoretical basis and root of an epistemology. Where and how of the concepts of democracy and policing come is understood and referred to, and in the context of what democratic policing is like. The intensity of the very high interaction between the police and citizens has made the national police become the most concrete and powerful representation in the country. Therefore, it is very significant to be able to re-examine the support of the philosophy and theoretical bases. Research on the theoretical basis of the process and implementation of democratic policing in Indonesia is a strategic step. To do that, it becomes very important to provide a discussion space on various perspectives of democratic policing to get adequate reviews.

Through this basic study, it is expected that readers will be able to help in mapping out various ideas and types that characterize the notions of democratic policing, especially in the

temporary context in Indonesia. In several discussions at the police training center for middle officers (Sespimen) and police training for high-ranking officers (Sespimti) in Lembang, West Java, quite a number of fundamental questions and inquiries about the basis of theory and traces of the scientific debate. They are more attractive to the downstream side, namely the forms of policing practices that have been carried out and then given the name democratic policing.

From the above phenomenon, there are gaps in the epistemology of the series of inter-sectional debates about policing and security, and the not-so-explicit roots of the axiom. At the theoretical and philosophical level, the inter-sectarian debates still continue dialectically and have not reached maximum points [6]-[8] and has not been absorbed much in the implementation of democratic police governance in Indonesia.

Policing basically is process or a form of trained institutions or individuals who will serve and whose existence is aimed at whose interests, whether for the interests of the state, society, individuals or interests of capital owners and even elite interests from outside the country that has special interests. How the policing process is carried out so that it does not violate human rights with their authority to manage violence in creating social order [9]. The basic concept to be used is the concept of policing, democracy, human rights, orderly and social control, and security framework.

The conceptual variables are the functions and roles of democratic policing that can be controlled by the community in a participatory manner. There are two major variables of democracy and policing in the trajectory of changing the socio-political structure of society. By paying attention to the variety of thoughts and traditions of democracy (at least populist traditions, communitarian, libertarian, procedurals, and agonistic) [11]-[14], which traditions during does this imply when referring to the concepts and practices of 'democracy' around security issues? Which of these traditions is the most relevant to apply in contemporary life?

This research will provide renewal in the tradition of academic research that includes basic research while providing a strong conceptual understanding of the phenomenon of holistic security studies. The results of this research will provide solid foundation and argumentation and legitimacy for the implementation of democratic policing that is being carried out by the National Police through the PROMOTER police jargon (Professional, Modern, and Reliable). So that it will provide confidence in practical implementation and also provide adequate referrals in practices in the field. Including can provide various arguments and answers to critical questions about the work and enterprising of the police in Indonesia.

Democratic policing (DP) today is a widely used approach to policing not only in Western societies but increasingly around the world. It has been widely adopted in democratic countries since the Cold War, between the Western bloc which was driven by the USA and the Eastern Bloc which was driven by the Union of Soviet. However, individually some countries have tried to run it first. The DP is a concept that refers generally to the processes of implementing and seeking security through democratic corridors and processes [10][15].

There is a general acceptance by academics, international development agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and "transnational policing regimes" that reforms must establish structures of public policing that are not only "culturally appropriate but also democratic and respectful of fundamental human rights". It also consists of several principles such as accaountability, participation and transparency [4][10].

The objectives of democratic police services and forces; the importance of their commitment to the rule of law, policing ethics, and human rights standards; the essential nature of police accountability to the law and to the society they serve; as well as the need for their co-operation with the communities, recognizing that effective policing requires partnership with the communities being served. Furthermore, the DP elaborates on structural and managerial

aspects within the police which are considered necessary to achieve and sustain democratic policing [15].

Democratic policing as a paradigm of policing in the democratic era builds a philosophical foundation on policing that respects human rights and ECOSOC rights as one of the human rights covenants which emphasize the basic economic, social and cultural rights of every human being. Therefore, the authors interpret democratic policing as a policing concept that refers to the main orientation of rule of law and respect for human rights [5][16][17].

A willingness to conform to the principles of democratic policing in post-authoritarian and transitional states is important to prevent human rights abuses, provide a minimal level of citizen security, and so forth—but also because fair and effective policing contributes to the very foundations of political order upon which democratic freedoms so often depend. The democratic policing is supposed to look like is one thing; translating these into practice on the ground is another matter entirely, given that there very often exists a disjuncture between what the reform process is supposed to achieve in general terms and what is actually achieved in regard to implementation [18].

Referring to Karnavian & Sulistyo, 2017 [5], the concept of modern policing is rooted in tradition in England in maintaining its security which began in pre-Victorian times, when Sir Robert Peel (1778-1850) began organizing police in London at that time. Peel organized the security guards very distinctively using black jackets and high wool hats and armed with short sticks and whistles. They patrol on foot [19]. The developing policing dimension is the basic question of who the police are in the dimensions of political sociology and how the police manage the authority given to them. The issue of managing coercive authority in the hands of the police is how to account for it as well as how it remains within the human rights corridor [2][5][20].

In security studies, particularly policing, the terminology of democracy provides a new perspective on conventional understanding; security is closely related to coercive power, the iron fist of an authoritarian government, and subjugation of society. Labeling 'Democratic' has lowered the dimension of arbitrariness because it is required to carry out accountability and transparency directly [9][21]. In addition, public service standards in policing are increasingly high and measurable and are getting closer to the human rights standard, increasingly making the practice of policing and security implementation more dependent on democratically legitimated power and also prioritizing the participation and interests of the people themselves [22][15]. Essentially, democratic security means viewing certain limits on human rights as more substantial threats to security than threats that could arise in case those rights are not limited and abused by the state.

Democratic policing that are visualized as a part of democratic security place security apparatus as a party that facilitates the creation of safety and also a sense of security for citizens [23]-[26], rather than the hand of the ruler who arbitrarily silenced the people under the pretext of 'national security'. The securitization theory developed by the Copenhagen School of Security elaborated the concept of securitization politics and securitization actors. In simple terms, securitization of the process of decision-making and policy in the field of defense, which is related to the distribution of power, authority, capacity, and capability of the military, as well as the handling of real ideological polarization. Terrorism is a security problem that not only threatens a country's sovereignty but also threatens human life. For this, a comprehensive security approach is needed to understand the problem of terrorism itself.

Barry Buzan defines security as "all efforts to pursue security from threats." Buzan added, there are three levels and five security sectors that are the focus of contemporary security studies. The three levels of security are individual, state and international. Meanwhile, the five

security sectors referred to by Buzan are political security, military security, economic security, social security, and environmental security [27].

In general, security studies and policing have two traditions, first focusing on macro, and state, regional, international dynamics. The second tradition highlights more about the functions and standards of security. Non-traditional security then provides an extension of various "sectoral" issues and resource safety, including human resources. The gap that needs to be bridged through this research is a wider rather comprehensive conceptual review that involves more citizen participation and includes gender dimensions in security discussions. Local dimensions such as the involvement of indigenous groups, especially to maintain the security of their main resources such as land and forests, have not been explored much in the debate over temporary security conceptions [17][5].

2 Method

This study is a desk study that conducts a meta-analysis of various secondary sources in the form of journals, research reports, systematic reviews and literature surveys. First, it will be used to curate the literature along with curatorial notes from various journals and secondary sources that can be accessed through various means, online, literature and secondary data from official institutions that are published. Second, classify and group the results of curatorial records and third do the meta-analysis of the results of the notes made. Then proceed by comparing and making an analysis based on periodic events. Meta-analysis is continued by comparing various cases that have been reported through various scientific journals. The process of information triangulation is done by comparing information and analysis obtained with more than 2 different sources that discuss the same issue or issue.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Result

Borrowing the idea of John Rawls [28], that policing is a kind of redistributive mechanism resting on notions of trust, equality, and legitimacy. Policing is about the management of uncertainties and rests on compliance and mutual trust. The main duties of the police are to maintain public tranquility, law, and order; to protect the individual's fundamental rights and freedoms – particularly life –; to prevent and detect crime; to reduce fear, and to provide assistance and services to the public. Progress towards democratic policing is made when there is a shift "from a control-oriented approach to a more service-oriented approach", where the primary concern of law enforcement remains focused on proactive crime prevention.

Classic summaries of democratic theory and democracy have little or nothing to say about the role of policing in developing or sustaining democracy [10][12]. Democratic police develop and implement their activities according to the needs of the public and the State and emphasize assistance to those members of the community in need of immediate help. The police must be responsive to the community as a whole and strive to deliver their services promptly, and in an equal and unbiased manner. Through their activities, the police should be part of society's common efforts to promote legal protection.

Indonesia is currently having a myriad of problems that still follow it. These issues include: (1) receiving the impact of increasingly intensive mobilization and globalization; (2) the threat of terrorists and fundamentalist movements, mass demonstrations of various social, economic and political problems, labor movements and other security disturbances; (3) increasing demands on improving the quality of public services; (4) sharpening socio-economic inequality in access to resource allocation; (5) the threat of national disintegration, and (6) poverty, and ignorance. The entire problems above have the potential to become a crime that harms citizens and the state if not the right solution. In its handling by the National Police, it is categorized into 4 categories of crime, namely: (1) conventional crime; (2) transnational crime; (3) crimes related to state wealth, and (4) crimes that have implications for contingency.

Real problems are every day facing the Indonesian government is more threats non-traditional. Not much different from Indonesia, in the Asian region a threat Non-Traditional is considered the main issue that threatens security region. This threat consists of the issue of terrorism, smuggling light weapons, armed separatism, sales of women and children, forest fires, piracy, money laundering, drugs trafficking. Despite threats Non-Traditional is a major issue in the Asian region but is a threat traditional still has the potential to cause conflict in the Asian region in general, including border disputes such as border issues Indonesia-Malaysia on the issue of Ambalat, Indonesia and the Philippines about the Miangas Islands problem, contingent landing boundary issues between Malaysia and Singapore.

Indonesia, the threat of terrorism has become a serious problem that must be faced by countries in the ASEAN region especially after the September 11, 2001, WTC event. Must admittedly, modernization and globalization have in a sense affected the nature of terrorism becomes more complex and complicated. Group of terrorists no longer move in an isolated situation. Space and opportunities that terrorist groups have to carry out their actions are increasingly widespread. This makes the phenomenon of terrorism relatively difficult predicted to determine when and where terrorist groups are will do the action. The facts also show that at present terrorism is difficult to separate from the development of crime organizations transnational organized crime in various ways variety and shape. Starting from money laundering crime, illegal drug trafficking and also trade in firearms illegally. The response to this problem has given birth to a new battle map global politics and has become a symptom of the restructuring of the political system and security in many countries.

In Indonesia, the starting point of the history of democratization began in the 1998 reformation. This reform has resulted in demands for the National Police to make changes at the level of the system, structure, and culture of the Indonesian Police institution, which became known as the National Police Reformation. This reform aims to change the image of the National Police from militaristic to civilian police in a democratic era that upholds human rights and civil society, as well as professional and accountable.

In the context of a democratic country, the police as a state instrument in the field of law enforcement and the maintenance of security and order of society require harmony with the social structure so that the role of the National Police is in line with the needs of the community. In this framework, the concept of policing in the era of democracy refers to the orientation of policing based on law enforcement and policing based on human rights. The status of the National Police as a civil institution is in line with universal norms contained in UN Resolution Number 143 dated July 14, 1960, concerning Non-Combatant Police. With this status, all norms or rules in the civil society apply to all members of the National Police.

The other issue of security is the international landscape of terrorist threat now with new trends. In terms of the global landscape, terrorism would be divided into two waves. Terrorism is basically the use of force or threat use of force against civilian or noncombatant for political

and ideological perspective. So, violence against the military is not terrorism, and economically, rather than ideological, motivated violence is not terrorism. So, terrorism is a very general term, crossing a lot of differences such as religion, ethnicity, nations, etc. We also have many types of terrorism; it can be ethnic-nationalist, such as separatism in Srilanka, Papua, and Southern Philippines. There is also terrorism motivated by a single issue. The other example is anti-abortion movement in the USA using violence. But it can be also religion-related, we call it religiously motivated terrorism.

It can be imagined how heavy the task of the Indonesian National Police in anticipating and maintaining public security and order over the socio-economic and political impacts that occur in Indonesia today as identified above. Of course, it needs to be considered further how the POLRI can carry out its duties strategically by involving citizen participation in the concept of community policing or POLMAS. Because what is certain is that the ratio of the number of police to the population and area of the Republic of Indonesia is very unbalanced.

Within the framework of counterterrorism, the British government and the German government have used the concept of community policing, specifically to obtain information about the movements and maps of terrorists who enter one of their regions. The British government uses community intelligence systematically to ward off security disturbances there. In his analysis, Inees Martin stated that the involvement of people in the UK in maintaining security and public order in their regions could reduce the incidence of terrorism and make potential terrorists not feel a place to breed their fundamentalist ideas or carry out acts of terror. The community automatically provides "intelligence" information to the UK police for every new person who comes to their territory. Intelligence information is conveyed electronically to their data centers without sacrificing the rights of migrants. Monitoring becomes routine, especially to monitor the behavior of new people, as well as their own citizens when doing something suspicious.

3.2 Discussion

In a democratic state, the system is an obligation for all security actors, not just the military, to submit and obey the political authorities who have been elected through general elections. At the legislative level, the government has several new legislations in the field of defense security namely the Law on National Defense No. 3/2002, UU TNI No. 34/2004, UU Polri no 2/2002 and Intelligence Law no. 17 of 2011 as a legal basis in strengthening security systems. Before a number of laws and regulations It was also formed by TAP MPR No.VI/2000 and TAP MPR No.VII / 2000 which became the initial step in making changes in the security sector during the reform era. Admittedly formed some of these rules are positive achievements of sector reform security.

In a democratic, the basic foundation of the policing concept cannot avoid the principles of human rights in carrying out the duties and functions of the police. The basic foundation of human rights is used as a benchmark for accountability both to the external and internal parties of the police themselves. The National Police, in this case, is required to have a match between the functions of policing and human rights principles. Law enforcement through the function of policing in order to create security conditions must be balanced with freedom of human rights. Moreover, ECOSOC rights are also a concern of the function of policing in the era of democracy. The democratic policing paradigm that describes as the importance of paying attention to the dimensions of human rights, ECOSOC rights and respect for civil society as a paradigm of policing in a democracy. The basic foundation of human rights is used as a benchmark for accountability both to the external and internal parties of the police themselves.

Thus, the National Police, in this case, is required to have a match between the functions of policing and human rights principles. Thus, law enforcement through the function of policing in order to create security conditions must be balanced with freedom of human rights.

4 Conclusion

In the Indonesian context, the implementation of the concept of democratic policing has been embodied by the police of the Republic of Indonesia in various forms. First, the changes to rank levels of police carrier that it not the same as the military ones and changes in the police education curriculum. Attention to women and children and gender dimensions have become an inseparable part of POLRI's work practices. Likewise, very detailed regulations have been made regarding the use of weapons and other means of violence.

Basically, the concept of democratic policing is an integral part of the basic conception that it's provides space for citizens' democracy and maintains it as democratic mechanism, where the main task of the police is to keep those rules still workable within people's lives in Indonesia running without coercion. The implementation of police work must reflect the application of the basic principles of democracy in every action it takes. If there is a process of violence that must be used by the police in certain matters, then the policing actions that must be carried out remain in their corridor to face these dangers through measurable police actions and still in line with standard operating procedures of the police. Then bring all perpetrators of crime and users of violence to the applicable legal mechanisms. So, the action of policing is an action for law enforcement, not killing or eradicating threats to the country's sovereignty.

The debate about the concept and strategy of implementing democratic policing which still needs to have sufficient space is how far they can be clearly distinguished from the role of the army tasked with safeguarding state sovereignty.

References

[1] D. H. Bayley and C. Shearing, "The New Structure of Policing: Description, Conceptualization, and Research Agenda," Natl. Inst. Justice, p. 50, 2000.

[2] D. H. Bayley, Changing the guard: Developing democratic police abroad. Oxford University Press, 2005.

[3] M. Caparini and O. Marenin, Police transformation in Central and Eastern Europe: The challenge of change. Transforming Police in Central and Eastern Europe: Process and Progress. Munster. Germany: Lit Verlag, 2004.

[4] P. C. Stenning and C. D. Shearing, "Reforming police: Opportunities, drivers and challenges," Aust. New Zeal. J. Criminol., vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 167–180, 2005.

[5] T. . Karnavian and H. Sulistyo, Democtratic Policing. Jakarta: Pensil 324, 2017.

[6] O. Waever, "Aberystwyth, Paris, Copenhagen: New 'schools' in security theory and their origins between core and periphery," Annu. Meet. Int. Stud. Assoc. Montr., pp. 17–20, 2004.

[7] R. Floyd and S. Croft, "European Non-Traditional Security Theory: From Theory To Practice," Geopolit. Hist. Int. Relations, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 152–179, 2011.

[8] T. Newburn, Handbook of Policing. Devon: Willan Publishing, 2009.

[9] M. S. Hinton, "A distant reality: Democratic policing in Argentina and Brazil," Crim. Justice, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 75–100, 2005.

[10] [P. K. Manning, Democratic policing in a changing world. London: Routledge, 2015.

[11] F. Belfiore, "The Democratic Society and Its Founding Concepts." University Press of America, 2012.

[12] R. Dahl, On Democracy: New Heaven. Yale University Press, 1988.

[13] S. Dieterich, H. Hummel, and S. Marschall, "Bringing democracy back in: The democratic peace, parliamentary war powers and European participation in the 2003 Iraq War," Coop. Confl., vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 87–106, 2015.

[14] J. L. Ray and A. Dafoe, "Democratic peace versus contractualism," Confl. Manag. Peace Sci., vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 193–203, 2018.

[15] A. Osse, "Understanding Policing: A Source for Human Rights Activists. Amnesty Internasional," Amnesty Int., 2012.

[16] Epp and Charles, "Pulled Over: How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship." University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2016.

[17] D. Thamrin, "Implementasi Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (JKN) dalam Konteks Perlindungan Sosial dan Keamanan Nasional : Tinjauan Kritis Dimensi Keamanan Non Tradisional," J. Keamanan Nas., vol. 4, no. 1, 2018.

[18] D. H. Bayley, "Police reform as foreign policy," Aust. New Zeal. J. Criminol., vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 206–215, 2005.

[19] C. Emsley, The English police: A political and social history, 2nd ed. Routledge, New York, 1996.

[20] A. Araf, Dinamika Keamanan Nasional. Jurnal Kemanan Nasional. Universitas Bhayangkara Jaya, vol. 1, no. 1. Indonesia, 2015.

[21] D. H. Bayley, Democratizing the police abroad: What to do and how to do it. Washington DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, 2001.

[22] L. Johnson and C. Shearing, Governing Security. London: Routledge, 2003.

[23] W. E. Scheuerman, "Digital disobedience and the law," New Polit. Sci., vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 299–314, 2016.

[24] W. De Lint and S. Virta, "Security in ambiguity: Towards a radical security politics," Theor. Criminol., vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 465–489, 2004.

[25] Vaughan-Williams, Nick, and D. Stevens, "Vernacular theories of every day (in) security: The disruptive potential of non-elite knowledge," Secur. Dialogue, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 40–58, 2016.

[26] L. Jarvis and M. Lister, "Disconnected Citizenship? The Impacts of Anti-terrorism Policy on Citizenship in the UK," Polit. Stud., vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 656–675, 2013.

[27] B. Buzan and O. Waever, "Slippery? contradictory? sociologically untenable? The Copenhagen school replies," Rev. Int. Stud., vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 241–250, 1997.

[28] J. Rawls, A Theory of Justice, Revised. The Belknap of Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2009.

[29] G. Ellison and G. Martin, "Policing, collective action and social movement theory: The case of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Campaign," Br. J. Sociol., vol. 51, no. 4, pp. 681–699, 2000.

Exploring Conceptual Debates toward Non-Traditional Security: Searching for Indonesian Democratic Policing