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Reconstructing the Role of the Police in Building Public Trust in Police Reform Amidst the Threat of Terrorism

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Abstract: This study aims to reconstruct the role of the police in building public trust during the era of police reform amid the increasing threat of terrorism in Indonesia. The research hypothesis highlights that the reconstruction of the police's role, based on the principles of responsive law and the strengthening of internal integrity, can enhance the legitimacy and effectiveness of law enforcement against acts of terrorism. The research design employs a normative legal method with a statutory and conceptual approach, supported by literature studies on primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. The main findings of this study indicate that the integration between the responsive law approach and community policing serves as a relevant strategy to strengthen the partnership between the police and the community. In addition, the analysis results identify that consistent internal integrity within the police institution significantly contributes to increased public trust, which in turn positively impacts the effectiveness of handling terrorism cases. The implications of these findings emphasize the need for institutional reform and regulatory renewal based on the principles of accountability, transparency, and public participation in police oversight. This study recommends further in-depth research on the mechanisms for implementing responsive law and strategies for strengthening internal integrity within police institutions across various regions, in order to reinforce democratic policing practices in facing future national security challenges.

Keywords: Police Reform, Public Trust, Criminal Acts of Terrorism

INTRODUCTION

In a democratic rule-of-law state, the police hold an important role as an institution responsible for maintaining public order and security. Doctrinally, the primary duties of the police are to enforce the law, protect and serve the community, and maintain public order. Legal theories such as the Democratic Policing Theory emphasize that the police institution is not merely an instrument of the state, but also a public service entity oriented toward fulfilling public security needs while upholding human rights and the principle of accountability (Rizqullah, Zulyadi, and Isnaini 2022).

Supporting theories such as the Responsive Law theory developed by Nonet and Selznick emphasize the importance of legal responsiveness to social demands and the needs of society (Miftahuddin 2023). This responsiveness includes the ability of law enforcement institutions such as the police to respond to social dynamics, including contemporary security challenges like terrorism. This approach is expected to foster a police institution that is adaptive, transparent, and trusted by the public in carrying out its duties.

In addition, the *Community Policing Doctrine*, which positions the community as a partner in the process of maintaining security, becomes highly relevant. Under this doctrine, the police function not only as law enforcers but also as facilitators who establish harmonious relationships with the public, build active communication, and encourage public participation in the prevention and mitigation of criminal acts, including the threat of terrorism (H. D. Purnomo 2020)

Empirical realities reveal a complex situation regarding the role of the police in Indonesia. In practice, the challenges faced stem not only from the growing threat of terrorism but also from internal institutional issues, such as concerns over integrity, transparency, and professionalism. This phenomenon is reflected in various surveys indicating fluctuating levels of public trust in the police, particularly in relation to their performance in handling criminal cases, including terrorism.

A national survey conducted by the Indonesian Survey Institute (Lembaga Survei Indonesia/LSI) in 2023 showed that public trust in the police institution experienced significant fluctuation, reaching only 62.7%, a decline compared to the previous year's figure of 68.2%. This decrease is mainly associated with public perceptions of the police's performance in addressing serious crimes, including the handling of terrorism cases.(Yahya, Khamis, and Zakaria 2024) Furthermore, a study by Transparency International Indonesia (TII) in the same year also indicated that issues of integrity and transparency remain serious challenges for the Indonesian National Police (Polri), with 45% of respondents stating that corruption and ethical violations within the police force are the main factors contributing to the low level of public trust in the institution (Sulaiman and Kusumastuti 2023). Terrorist attacks in recent years, such as suicide bombings in several regions of Indonesia, reflect the urgent need to enhance the capacity and responsiveness of the police institution in addressing such real threats.

This phenomenon highlights the urgency of reconstructing the role of the police to be more adaptive and capable of increasing public trust within the broader context of reform. It underscores that the internal condition of the police institution, which has not yet been fully reformed, also influences public perception of the National Police's (Polri) ability to address national security threats such as terrorism.

Several recent studies on police reform emphasize that the effectiveness of the police in handling terrorism depends on the level of public trust. A study by Bayley and Shearing (2020), for instance, indicates that high public trust can enhance the police's capacity to obtain information and community support—elements that are crucial for preventive efforts against acts of terrorism (Yesberg and Bradford 2021). A similar study was also conducted by Goldsmith (2019), which showed that low levels of public trust in the police have a negative impact on the effectiveness of law enforcement and undermine the police-community relationship that is essential for crime prevention (Owens and Ba 2021). However, these studies have not sufficiently explored specific aspects within the Indonesian context, which possesses unique social, cultural, and political characteristics.

In the Indonesian context, previous research such as the work of Tito Karnavian (2018) also highlights the urgency of internal police reform to address the challenge of terrorism. Nevertheless, the study does not specifically explore how the process of reconstructing the role of the police can systematically and comprehensively build public trust (Wijaya 2023). There exists a significant gap between previous studies and current empirical realities, namely the

lack of academic exploration that integrates the theoretical reconstruction of the police's role with real practices in the field. This gap also includes the lack of in-depth analysis regarding the relationship between the level of public trust and the effectiveness of the police in facing the threat of terrorism in Indonesia.

The theoretical gap identified in the academic literature is the limited discussion on the specific role of the police in the context of terrorism threats from the perspective of institutional reform, supported by contemporary legal theories such as responsive law and community policing that can be directly applied in Indonesia. Based on this gap analysis, this study aims to identify, analyze, and reconstruct the role of the police in building public trust through an adaptive police reform approach amidst the growing threat of terrorism. The research will explore the extent to which contemporary theories can be integrated with police practices in Indonesia.

The novelty of this study lies in the integration of responsive law and community policing theories within Indonesia's empirical context, particularly in the effort to reconstruct the role of the police institution to sustainably enhance public trust in the face of terrorism threats. This approach has not been intensively examined in the existing literature. Specifically, this research will address the main legal issue: to what extent the reconstruction of the police's role can strengthen public trust within the framework of institutional police reform in responding to increasingly complex terrorism threats. This legal issue serves as the foundation for evaluating the alignment between legal theory and law enforcement practices in the field.

In addition, this study seeks to provide practical contributions in the form of policy recommendations aimed at strengthening the role of the Indonesian police institution in building public trust while also enhancing the effectiveness of terrorism prevention and response. Through an integrative approach combining contemporary legal theories and empirical field practices, this research is expected to offer a significant scholarly contribution to legal development, institutional capacity-building of the police, and the reinforcement of public trust in the police institution amid national security challenges posed by terrorism.

METHOD

This research employs a normative legal approach with a focus on doctrinal and theoretical analysis. It applies a conceptual approach to analyze the theories of responsive law and community policing in the context of reconstructing the role of the police. In addition, an analytical approach is used to evaluate regulations, doctrines, and literature related to internal integrity and public trust. Data is collected through a literature study of primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. The analysis is conducted qualitatively using a deductive method to draw conclusions based on theoretical studies toward empirical realities.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Reconstruction of the Police Role Through a Responsive Law Approach in Building Public Trust Amid the Threat of Terrorism in Indonesia

In normative legal studies, the responsive law approach plays a vital role in redefining the functions and roles of the police institution. Responsive law positions law as a dynamic and adaptive instrument capable of effectively responding to social change (H. Purnomo and Yosua M 2020). In the Indonesian context, the continuously evolving and complex threat of terrorism requires a police institution that is not only reactive but also proactive and responsive to the aspirations of society.

The responsive law theory developed by Philippe Nonet and Philip Selznick emphasizes that the law should be oriented toward substantive values such as social justice, the protection of human rights, and the broader public interest (Suadi 2020). A police institution

oriented toward responsiveness must be able to establish active communication with the public and prioritize the building of public trust as a key asset in carrying out law enforcement duties.

In theoretical terms, the responsive law approach is relevant for understanding how the police institution must undergo both structural and functional transformation. This approach emphasizes the importance of dialogue between the police and the community in addressing security challenges, particularly in the context of counter-terrorism. Therefore, reconstructing the role of the police from the perspective of responsive law requires a paradigm shift in how the relationship between the police institution and the community is perceived.

In Indonesia, the threat of terrorism is no longer merely a local issue but has become a complex global challenge. A series of terrorist acts over the past several years underscores the need for the police institution to be more adaptive to the evolving patterns and modus operandi of terrorism. Thus far, police responses have tended to be reactive and repressive, and the responsive law approach is expected to shift this paradigm toward a more collaborative and preventive model.

Empirical realities on the ground show that the current policing approach is not yet fully responsive. This is evident in the suboptimal interaction between the police and communities in the context of prevention and early detection of terrorist threats. In several cases, communities have expressed discomfort with the presence of law enforcement officers, due to approaches perceived as overly repressive or lacking accountability in the execution of their duties.

Specifically, the responsive law approach calls for internal reform within the police institution in order to restore public trust, which has shown a tendency to fluctuate. According to a 2023 study by the Indonesian Survey Institute, public trust in the police institution has declined due to issues related to internal integrity, which in turn negatively affects the effectiveness of the police in addressing the threat of terrorism. (Nair et al. 2013) The issue of integrity within the police institution also significantly influences public perception. The recurring phenomena of corruption, abuse of power, and ethical violations have led to a decline in the legitimacy of the institution in the eyes of the public. Yet, public legitimacy is a crucial factor in supporting both the preventive and repressive functions carried out by the police. (Timomor and Lolong 2019)

From a policy perspective, the government has issued several regulations and national strategies that emphasize the importance of strengthening the police's capacity to address terrorism. One such initiative is the establishment of the Special Detachment 88 (Densus 88), which is specifically tasked with handling terrorism cases in Indonesia. However, this approach still requires refinement through more preventive and community-based strategies. In this context, the integration of the community policing doctrine with responsive law represents a strategic option worth implementing. Community policing is a concept that positions the police not only as law enforcers but also as an integral part of the community they serve (Pandey 2014). Through this approach, the police can obtain vital information and enhance early detection of potential terrorist threats.

The implementation of community policing in Indonesia has thus far been carried out partially in several regions, but it has not yet been fully integrated into national policy. Therefore, a clear and comprehensive reconstruction of national policy is needed to accommodate this approach as an integral part of the police response to terrorism threats. One concrete step in this reconstruction is to strengthen the police's capacity for communication and interaction with local communities. Outreach programs, public dialogues, and the establishment of communication forums between the police and the community need to be intensified so that the police can be closer to the people, understand local issues more deeply, and build mutual trust.

The next step is internal reform in the managerial aspects of the police, which includes improving personnel professionalism and integrity. Recruitment systems, education, training, and internal oversight mechanisms need to be strengthened and developed in accordance with the principles of good governance that are transparent and accountable (Gaol 2021). The legal construction in the reconstruction of the police's role also requires the strengthening of legislative aspects. The government needs to review existing legal regulations to ensure better alignment with the responsive law and community policing approaches. Regulatory refinement is essential to provide a clear legal basis for more proactive police actions in building positive relationships with the public.

In addition, the legal construction must also include the enhancement of guarantees for human rights protection in every police activity. This is crucial to ensure that the preventive and repressive measures taken by the police remain in line with international human rights standards. Thus, the responsive law approach in reconstructing the role of the police is not merely a technical adjustment but a fundamental transformation that encompasses cultural, structural, and normative aspects within the police institution.

Overall, through the implementation of the responsive law and community policing approaches, the reconstruction of the police's role can foster a more positive and productive relationship between the police and the community. This relationship not only strengthens public trust but also enhances the overall effectiveness of terrorism handling in Indonesia.

Internal Police Integrity Influences Public Trust in the Performance of the Indonesian National Police in Handling Terrorism

Integrity is a fundamental foundation in the exercise of state power, including within the police institution as a law enforcement agency. In the context of policing, integrity reflects the alignment between attitude, values, actions, and commitment to the law, professional ethics, and public service. (Sutikno and Jannah 2019) A police force with high integrity will become an institution trusted by the public and possess legitimacy in carrying out law enforcement duties, including in addressing the increasingly complex threat of terrorism.

Conceptually, public trust in the police institution is shaped by perceptions of police behavior and performance in carrying out their duties fairly, accountably, and free from misconduct. Integrity serves as a key indicator in assessing whether a police institution performs its functions professionally and justly. Thus, the relationship between internal integrity and public trust is direct and mutually influential.

In the context of a democratic rule-of-law state, the police are not merely law enforcers but also symbols of justice and guarantors of the protection of citizens' rights. Therefore, internal police integrity is a fundamental prerequisite for upholding the principle of due process of law and ensuring non-discriminatory law enforcement (Tavala 2017). When police officers fail to uphold integrity, the consequence is the erosion of public trust and a weakening of law enforcement effectiveness. As a democratic nation facing serious challenges in the form of terrorism threats, Indonesia requires a police institution with high integrity. Addressing terrorism demands not only operational capacity and advanced technology but also public trust, so that law enforcement officers receive support, information, and legitimacy for every action they take.

The situation in Indonesia shows that public trust in the police institution remains unstable. According to the 2023 survey by the Indonesian Survey Institute, only 62.7% of respondents expressed trust in the police's performance, with the majority stating that issues of integrity were the main reason for their doubts about the professionalism of law enforcement officers (Hartanti 2022). This is further supported by reports from the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) and Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), which have revealed a number of cases involving abuse of power by members of the Indonesian National Police.

Several major cases—such as procedural violations in terrorism handling, torture of suspects, and allegations of extortion during investigations—have drawn public attention and reinforced negative perceptions regarding the integrity of the police force (Pratiwi and Neltje Saly 2023). Despite operational successes in apprehending terror suspects, such achievements are often not accompanied by increased public trust due to the lack of accountability and transparency in the law enforcement process.

To explain this issue, David Beetham's theory of legitimacy can be applied. This theory states that power can be considered legitimate only when it fulfills three main conditions: legality, normative justification, and public endorsement. If the police fail to uphold integrity, the power they exercise will lose legitimacy in the eyes of the public—even if their actions are legally justified. In addition, the theory of social trust in the legal context also emphasizes that public trust in law enforcement is built upon consistent behavior, transparent processes, and institutional accountability (Kleinfeld and Dancig-Rosenberg 2022). Therefore, internal integrity must be maintained systematically, starting from recruitment, training, supervision, and continuing through to the implementation of effective sanction systems for ethical and legal violations.

From a policy perspective, the government has issued various regulations aimed at strengthening the integrity of the police institution. For example, Chief of Police Regulation Number 14 of 2011 on the Code of Ethics for the Police Profession and the establishment of the Professional and Security Division (Propam) as an internal oversight body. However, in practice, these oversight mechanisms have not been fully effective and are still marked by conflicts of interest and weak public accountability (Sukarnita and Surata 2021). Weaknesses in the implementation of internal oversight pose a serious problem, as they create space for impunity. When officers who commit violations are not punished firmly and transparently, the public will lose trust in the legal system as a whole. This is particularly dangerous in the context of counter-terrorism efforts, which require strong legitimacy from law enforcement agencies.

In legal construction, internal integrity must be an integral part of the principles of the rule of law and good governance. These principles emphasize the importance of transparency, accountability, participation, and the supremacy of law as the main pillars in carrying out clean and authoritative governance functions, (Zamroni 2019) Including within the police force, the restructuring of the internal integrity system must be carried out through both normative and institutional approaches. From the normative perspective, revisions are needed for regulations that allow for multiple interpretations in the implementation of codes of ethics and procedures for handling violations. From the institutional perspective, it is necessary to strengthen the independence of both internal and external oversight bodies.

External oversight of the police by institutions such as the National Police Commission (Kompolnas) and the House of Representatives (DPR) must be enhanced in terms of authority, access to information, and human resource capacity. Collaboration between oversight bodies and civil society is also essential to build a participatory and responsive oversight system. As a strategic step, integrity education must become an integral part of the police education curriculum. Character development, reinforcement of professional ethical values, and moral guidance must be instilled from the outset to create an institutional culture grounded in honesty and responsibility.

Legal construction in this context also includes the development of integrity-based performance indicators that can be measured objectively. For instance, through a reward and punishment system based on ethical performance and community service, not solely on operational achievements. Furthermore, the reconstruction of the internal integrity system must extend to aspects such as the digitalization of oversight, transparency in case handling, and public involvement in monitoring. The use of technology, such as public-based reporting applications, can help detect potential misconduct at an early stage.

From an operational standpoint, counter-terrorism measures that involve the use of extraordinary powers must be strictly supervised to prevent human rights violations. Therefore, every action taken by officers must be based on strict principles of legality and proportionality (Ni Aolain 2024). Violations in this context will directly damage public trust. Integrity must also be reflected in the ability of the Indonesian National Police to remain neutral and uninfluenced by political interests when handling terrorism cases. The neutrality of law enforcement institutions is a crucial factor in maintaining independence and objectivity in law enforcement.

Within the framework of responsive law, integrity is a prerequisite for the police to build a healthy relationship with the public. Without integrity, the law loses its responsiveness, as the public no longer perceives the police as a representation of justice. The renewal of internal integrity within the police is an inseparable part of efforts to rebuild public trust. This trust is not only essential for the effectiveness of terrorism response but also for the sustainability of a democratic and civilized rule-of-law state.

The legal construction of this issue requires the establishment of norms and institutional systems that affirm integrity as a legal obligation, not merely a matter of morality. In other words, violations of integrity must be met with firm legal consequences. In addition to legal approaches, social and cultural approaches are also necessary to shape collective awareness of the importance of integrity in maintaining national order and security (Mintarsih and Mahdami 2020). Public education on citizens' rights and oversight mechanisms is a key element in encouraging community participation.

With strong integrity, the police will be able to carry out counter-terrorism tasks more effectively, efficiently, and humanely. The public will be more willing to cooperate, provide information, and support law enforcement actions if they see that the police institution operates honestly and responsibly. In the long term, consistently maintained internal integrity will shape a healthy and professional police organizational culture. This is crucial for building institutional resilience against political interference, external pressures, and internal deviations.

By strengthening integrity, the police will be able to regain the public trust that has been eroded by various scandals and misconduct. This reconstruction requires long-term commitment and collaborative work from all stakeholders. Thus, internal integrity is not only an institutional need but also a moral and constitutional requirement in creating modern, democratic, and responsive policing governance capable of addressing emerging threats, including terrorism.

CONCLUSION

The reconstruction of the police's role in building public trust amid the threat of terrorism requires institutional transformation based on the principles of responsive law. This approach emphasizes the importance of transparent and accountable public service orientation through the integration of responsive law theory and community policing. Structural and normative reforms, including regulatory updates and the strengthening of internal integrity, are essential prerequisites to realizing the effectiveness and legitimacy of the police within the framework of a democratic rule-of-law state.

Internal police integrity plays a crucial role in building public trust in the performance of the Indonesian National Police, especially in handling terrorism, which demands both social and legal legitimacy. Weak integrity creates space for impunity and the loss of public support, thereby hindering institutional reform. Therefore, integrity must be the main foundation in reconstructing the police into a democratic, accountable, and responsive institution capable of addressing national security threats.

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