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Reformulation of the Indonesian National Police Code of Ethics as an Effort to Eliminate Normative Ambiguity in Handling Horizontal Conflicts Involving Police Officers

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Abstract: Reformulation of the National Police Code of Ethics is an urgent need to address the various dynamics of horizontal conflict management involving police officers. Ambiguities in ethical norms as stipulated in the Republic of Indonesia National Police Regulation Number 7 of 2022 create difficulties in interpretation and implementation in the field. It results in unclear actions by officers in social crises, which have the potential to lead to ethical and human rights violations. This study uses a normative juridical approach to analyze relevant laws and regulations, namely Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Republic of Indonesia National Police, Government Regulation Number 2 of 2003 concerning Disciplinary Regulations for National Police Members, and Regulation No. 7 of 2022 concerning the Professional Code of Ethics and the National Police Code of Ethics Commission. The analysis reveal that several articles in Regulation No. 7 of 2022 contain norms that are open to multiple interpretations, do not accommodate the complexity of horizontal conflict situations, and lack contextual elaboration instruments. This study recommends reformulating the code of ethics by prioritizing the principles of *lex certa* and *lex stricta*, and suggesting harmonization of internal Polri regulations. Furthermore, strengthening the Polri Code of Ethics Commission is needed to ensure that ethical norms are enforced objectively, accountably, and in line with human rights values. This reformulation is expected to provide a clear ethical direction for Polri personnel and strengthen public trust in the police institution in handling social conflicts.

Keywords: Polri code of ethics, horizontal conflict, norm ambiguity, reformulation, human rights

INTRODUCTION

The code of ethics within the Indonesian National Police (Polri) is a fundamental foundation for maintaining institutional integrity and public trust (Iwansyah, 2025). The existence of law enforcement officers as the spearhead in maintaining security and order cannot be separated from the existence of moral values that must be upheld (Putri, 2023).

Every action of Polri members is assessed not only from a formal legal perspective, but also from the perspective of propriety and professional ethics (Saedi, 2025). The code of ethics serves as a moral and behavioral reference that defines the boundaries of appropriate behavior in carrying out duties (Jurdi, 2022). When deviations occur in field practice, a clear code of ethics serves as a benchmark for assessing personal and institutional accountability (Mau, 2024). Unclear norms in ethical documents will create gaps in interpretation that are detrimental to the public and undermine the legitimacy of the Polri.

The phenomenon of horizontal conflicts involving police officers demonstrates that the challenges faced in the field are not only technical but also moral (Syukur, 2025). Social conflicts between community groups often create situational pressures on officers tasked with mediating, maintaining order, or even taking repressive action (Santoso, 2025). In such circumstances, members of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) face a dilemma between formal procedures and social pressure. When ethical norms are open to multiple interpretations, officers' actions can become inconsistent and potentially violate the principles of professionalism. This ambiguity ultimately contributes to accusations of bias, abuse of authority, or disproportionate violence (Siahaya, 2024). This situation creates a crisis of trust that damages not only the reputation of personnel but also the institution as a whole.

Reformulating ethical norms in this context is not merely an administrative measure, but rather an urgent need to clarify the moral guidelines that bind every individual within the institution. The previous code of ethics still contained general phrases and did not explicitly address the complex dynamics of social conflict (Darmadi, 2024). Changing times, advances in information technology, and high public expectations for transparency and accountability require the Indonesian National Police (Polri) to adapt its ethical values (Daeng, 2024). When norms are not adaptive to actual situations, ethical enforcement loses its relevance. Adjustments are needed not only in content but also in enforcement and oversight mechanisms. Firm norms will encourage consistent behavior and reduce deviations in practice.

The police professional code of ethics is not a set of rigid rules, but rather a reflection of the core values that accompany their duty to serve the community (Hasanah, 2025). The Indonesian National Police (Polri), as an institution with special authority in law enforcement, must uphold moral principles that prioritize justice, humanity, and social responsibility (Zahira, 2024). In this context, the urgency of a code of ethics is not merely a formal guideline, but also an ethical compass in carrying out duties amidst social complexity. The definition of a code of ethics as a set of norms governing the moral attitudes and actions of Polri personnel is crucial for internalizing it within the organizational culture. Without a thorough understanding of the essence of the code of ethics, Polri members will struggle to distinguish between professional and unprofessional actions in stressful situations. The code of ethics must be formulated with firm principles, yet remain responsive to the needs of social justice.

The principles of morality and ethics within law enforcement institutions have a powerful normative dimension, as their existence serves as a benchmark for public trust in state institutions (Apriliansah, 2024). Fair and proportional law enforcement requires not only technical proficiency but also moral sensitivity and ethical responsibility. Within the Indonesian National Police (Polri), values such as honesty, justice, courage, and empathy must be inherent in every action of personnel (Sherly, 2025). When these principles are not clearly translated into a code of ethics, their interpretation becomes highly subjective and risks creating unequal treatment. Especially in situations of horizontal conflict, where quick decisions must be made, clear ethical guidelines will determine the quality of actions taken. Explicit norms will help each member understand their ethical boundaries and responsibilities in carrying out their role in society.

Horizontal conflict, as a form of social tension involving civil society, demands a professional and proportional response from law enforcement officials. From a legal perspective, horizontal conflict can lead to violations of public order and potential criminal acts, thus obligating authorities to intervene based on the law. However, in practice, these conflicts are not always clear-cut, involving emotional, cultural, and local power relations (Gaghuaube, 2021). From a sociological perspective, authorities often find themselves in an ambivalent position, between acting as mediators and being perceived as instigators of tension (Bathara, 2024). The absence of ethical norms specifically governing the role of officers in such situations increases the potential for missteps. This has a direct impact on increasing criticism of the professionalism and neutrality of the Indonesian National Police (Permadi, 2025).

Legal and sociological literature shows that the involvement of officers in social conflicts often results in complex moral and legal responsibilities. Many cases document officers' actions that are later deemed excessive, discriminatory, or violative of human rights due to the lack of adequate ethical guidelines for such situations (Dewanti, 2025). These studies emphasize the need for ethical instruments that are not only normative but also contextual and responsive to the local character of the conflict. When officers find themselves in the midst of community conflict, their attitudes and decisions are largely determined by a clear and strong ethical orientation. Reformulating a code of ethics can serve as an instrument for building moral consensus within the organization, minimizing subjectivity, and strengthening public accountability.

The normative justice theory developed by John Rawls is relevant in framing efforts to reform the ethical norms of the Indonesian National Police (Polri). The concept of justice as fairness emphasizes that social rules must be formulated based on the principles of equality and fundamental freedoms for all citizens (Triyudiana, 2024). In the context of the Polri, the code of ethics must provide moral protection not only to the community served but also to the officers on duty. Just norms will ensure that officers are not victimized by structural pressures, while ensuring they act within boundaries that do not harm civilians. This principle of justice serves as a moral basis for decision-making in complex situations, including horizontal conflicts. The application of this theory can strengthen the argument for the need for systematic, fair, and transparent ethical norms.

Louis Rath's theory of professional ethics systems also provides a solid conceptual foundation for developing a new code of ethics. This theory emphasizes the importance of core professional values as the primary guideline for professional behavior, rather than merely legalistic rules. According to Rath, professional ethics must reflect a balance between responsibility to the institution and commitment to the public interest (Lesmana, 2025). For members of the Indonesian National Police (Polri), this value means that adherence to the code of ethics is not only to maintain the organization's reputation but also to serve the public interest fairly and humanely. When ethics are built on a strong value system, every officer's decision can be evaluated morally and more objectively. Reformulation of the Polri code of ethics needs to explicitly incorporate these principles to avoid arbitrary interpretation.

Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police (Polri) is a legal foundation that provides direction for the duties and authorities of the Polri. Articles 13 and 14 state that the Polri is tasked with maintaining public order and security and enforcing the law while upholding human rights. These provisions contain moral and legal principles that bind all officers in carrying out their roles in society. Furthermore, Government Regulation Number 2 of 2003 affirms the disciplinary principles that every member of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) must adhere to as part of their official ethics. However, these two regulations do not specifically address ethical standards in the context of horizontal conflict. Police Regulation Number 7 of 2022 was subsequently introduced to strengthen ethical

aspects through regulations on the Professional Code of Ethics and the Indonesian National Police Code of Ethics Commission (KKEP). However, these regulations still need to be strengthened and adapted to the complex challenges facing the Indonesian National Police today.

METHOD

This research uses a normative juridical method with a statutory and conceptual approach. The statutory and conceptual approach is carried out by reviewing and analyzing applicable positive legal provisions relevant to the discussion, particularly those related to the duties, authorities, and professional ethics of the police. The analysis is conducted on Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, which serves as the primary legal basis for the existence and function of the Indonesian National Police institution; Government Regulation Number 2 of 2003 concerning Disciplinary Regulations for Indonesian National Police Members, which regulates disciplinary violations and their enforcement; and Regulation of the Indonesian National Police Number 7 of 2022 concerning the Code of Professional Ethics and the Indonesian National Police Code of Ethics Commission, as the latest technical regulation that specifically regulates police ethical norms.

This approach aims to illustrate the extent of harmony between these regulations in addressing the challenges of horizontal conflicts involving police officers. This research also uses a conceptual approach to examine legal and ethical theories that underlie the importance of formulating ethical norms with certainty and unambiguity. This approach encompasses an understanding of the principles of *lex certa* and *lex stricta* in law, as well as the concept of normative justice according to John Rawls and the theory of professional ethics from Louis Rath, which emphasizes the importance of moral clarity in professional actions. Through this conceptual approach, the research is not only limited to positive legal texts but also seeks to explore the philosophical basis and values underlying the formation of ethical norms within the police institution. By combining these two approaches, this research seeks to develop a comprehensive argument regarding the importance of reformulating the National Police code of ethics as a corrective measure to address the lack of clarity of norms in situations of social crisis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Ambiguity of Norms in Handling Horizontal Conflicts by the Indonesian National Police

Horizontal conflicts in Indonesia are complex and often involve state actors, including the police. In many cases, officers face a dilemma between maintaining order and avoiding excessive use of force. This situation usually leads to repressive actions that exacerbate tensions rather than defuse them. In several cases, such as agrarian conflicts, inter-community disputes, and labor demonstrations, the presence of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) on the ground is often perceived as non-neutral and creates new polarization within society. When officers are directly involved in horizontal conflicts, public trust in the neutrality of the state is often eroded. It requires clarity in the application of Polri's ethical norms to ensure that their actions are not improvisational or deviate from the spirit of justice and humanity.

The role of the police in horizontal conflicts should ideally be mediative and preventative, as mandated by Article 13(a) of Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, which affirms the Polri's duty to maintain public order and security. However, in practice, this approach is not always implemented consistently. When situational pressures and structural interests influence the actions of Indonesian National Police (Polri) personnel, the line between law enforcement and ethical violations often becomes blurred. This situation is exacerbated by the lack of technical guidelines specifically

governing how officers should behave in situations of horizontal conflict rife with social tension. Ambiguity in ethical norms creates multiple interpretations in decision-making on the ground, which ultimately has the potential to lead to serious violations of citizens' rights.

The ethical norms applicable within the Indonesian National Police (Polri) are formulated through Indonesian National Police Regulation Number 7 of 2022 concerning the Professional Code of Ethics and the Police Code of Ethics Commission. Although substantively, this regulation has been refined from the previous version, several articles remain open to multiple interpretations. One example is Article 5, letter a, which states that every member of the Polri is obliged to "maintain the dignity of the individual and the institution." This formulation sounds normative and seems universal, but in practice, the interpretation of "maintaining the dignity of the institution" can be used to justify repressive actions against legitimate public criticism guaranteed by the constitution. When ethical norms do not distinguish between defending institutions and restricting public aspirations, serious confusion arises, making it difficult for officers to act professionally in dealing with social conflicts.

This ambiguity is also evident in Article 6, letter c, of Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022, which requires Polri members to "be neutral in political life and non-discriminatory in providing services to the community." This neutrality is often used as an ethical basis in conflicts involving political content or specific group interests. However, the objective parameters of this neutrality are not clearly explained. When the situation on the ground demands swift action, and local political interests come into play, the expected neutrality becomes vague and open to unilateral interpretation. The absence of a more operational, technical formulation makes Polri members vulnerable to actions that contradict the spirit of the code of ethics.

A major weakness in enforcing ethical norms in horizontal conflict situations lies in the lack of operational standards that address the context of social conflict between citizens. In many provisions, including Government Regulation No. 2 of 2003 concerning the Disciplinary Regulations for Members of the Indonesian National Police (Polri), there is no article specifically addressing the handling of horizontal conflicts as a separate context. It indicates a significant normative vacuum, given the ever-evolving dynamics of social conflict in Indonesia, which often places officers in a position of obligation to act swiftly. In the absence of concrete ethical guidelines, Polri members risk acting based on subjective judgments that do not always align with the values of justice and human rights.

Government Regulation No. 2 of 2003 does provide a basis for prohibiting Polri members from abusing their authority (Article 4 letter b), but it does not specify the limits of that authority in the context of open social conflict. In the context of enforcement, Perpol No. 7 of 2022 also does not explain how the Police Code of Ethics Commission (KKEP) assesses members' actions when dealing with complex horizontal conflicts. This absence of guidance exacerbates the ambiguity of norms, where decisions can be heavily influenced by the opinions of superiors or institutional pressures. As a result, the integrity of ethics enforcement is highly dependent on the subjectivity of internal actors, rather than on measurable and fair normative principles.

Overlapping regulations also occur between Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022 and Government Regulation No. 2 of 2003 in the context of ethical violations that double as disciplinary violations. In situations of horizontal conflict, officers' actions can fall into two categories simultaneously: violating the code of ethics and violating discipline. However, there is no mechanism that hierarchically clarifies which should take precedence in the enforcement process. Article 20 paragraph (2) of Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022 does state that officers who violate the code of ethics can still be subject to disciplinary or criminal sanctions, but the synchronization of the process and the distinction between violation

classifications are not explained in detail. This lack of clarity creates legal uncertainty that impacts internal oversight and enforcement processes.

The dilemma faced by police officers in handling horizontal conflicts has become an ethical issue that has not been systematically resolved. When ethical norms lack certainty and discretion is not accompanied by strong ethical guidelines, decisions in the field are mostly determined by individual instinct and experience. It is dangerous because ethical judgments should not be left to subjectivity without clear legal guidelines. When the same action can be interpreted as a violation or not, depending on who is judging it, the integrity of law enforcement is shaken. The Indonesian National Police (Polri) needs ethical norms that are not only normative but also practical, detailed, and address real needs in the field.

Restructuring ethical norms in the context of horizontal conflict management is urgently needed to avoid justifying deviant behavior. Officers need assurance that their actions are assessed objectively based on fair guidelines, not based on the interpretations of superiors or political pressure. Law enforcement and discipline must be framed in the spirit of protecting human rights and social justice, as reflected in the spirit of post-New Order police reform. Ambiguity in norms not only weakens the professionalism of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) but also jeopardizes the relationship between the state and its citizens. Powerful ethical enforcement is the foundation of public trust, and public trust is the primary source of legitimacy for law enforcement officers.

Reformulation of the Code of Ethics as a Solution to Eliminate Normative Ambiguity

Reforming the National Police's code of ethics is a crucial step to address the increasingly complex internal and external challenges facing the police force. Rapidly changing socio-political dynamics, increasing demands for public transparency, and the penetration of digital media, which disseminates information instantly, have placed the National Police under intense scrutiny. Under these conditions, unspecific and open to multiple interpretations of ethical standards will create difficulties in decision-making in the field. As a law enforcement agency, the National Police are required to act not only based on positive law but also on consistent and measurable moral and ethical values. Clarity in the formulation of the code of ethics will provide a more solid foundation for building professionalism and institutional integrity as a whole.

A strong code of ethics must serve as a moral guide and technical guideline for every member of the National Police in carrying out their duties. Unclear norms or overly general formulations, such as those contained in Article 5 of Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022, make it difficult to identify whether an action violates the code of ethics. For example, the phrase "maintaining the dignity and honor of the institution" without operational parameters is insufficient to provide a basis for evaluating member behavior in different contexts. Good ethical norms must be *lex certa* (clear and definite) and *lex stricta* (not open to multiple interpretations), as is the principle also recognized in criminal law. Unclear norms will actually open up room for subjectivity, endangering the neutrality of the ethics enforcement process.

The application of the *lex certa* and *lex stricta* principles in the reformulation of the code of ethics can begin by amending several articles in Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022. For example, Article 6 letter c, concerning the obligation to maintain neutrality, needs to be supplemented with concrete behavioral indicators, such as prohibitions on engaging in partisan interactions on social media, attending practical political activities, or making statements supporting one party in a social conflict. This reformulation will not only clarify the ethical boundaries of members' actions but also provide a strong basis for the National Police Code of Ethics Commission (KKEP) in assessing and processing ethical violations. A

precisely reformulated code of ethics will encourage consistency in behavioral evaluations and strengthen the KKEP's position as an objective ethical enforcement agency.

The proposed new, contextual articles are also important to include in Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022, specifically the article governing the attitudes and actions of members in situations of horizontal conflict or social crisis. This article can be formulated as "Every member of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) in a situation of horizontal conflict is obliged to uphold the principle of neutrality, refrain from provocative actions, and prioritize mediation based on the principle of proportionality." This formulation provides clear direction and eliminates the possibility of interpretations that contradict the spirit of human rights and the Constitution. In situations of social emergency, officers must continue to act within an ethical framework that does not override the rights of citizens, so that accountability can be upheld with integrity.

Adjusting ethical norms must also involve vertical and horizontal harmonization with other applicable provisions, particularly Government Regulation No. 2 of 2003 concerning the Disciplinary Regulations for Members of the Indonesian National Police (Polri). Currently, there is a gap between ethical norms and disciplinary norms, which often complicates determining the appropriate course of action for members suspected of committing violations. Harmonization can be achieved by classifying ethical norms into serious and minor violations and integrating disciplinary provisions into the code of ethics structure stipulated in the Polri Regulation. This synchronization will avoid duplication of processes and expedite handling without sacrificing the principle of due process of law.

The urgent need to establish specific ethical sub-norms for conflict and crisis situations is also urgently needed in the draft reformulation of the code of ethics. These sub-norms must address conditions in which Polri members are under high situational pressure and require concrete guidelines for action. The new structure of Perpol No. 7 of 2022 could include a special chapter governing a "Code of Ethics for Special Situations," encompassing ethical provisions for dealing with demonstrations, intergroup conflicts, social disasters, or national emergencies. Norms developed in this context must be formulated with a participatory approach, involving civil society, academics, and independent oversight bodies, to avoid unilateral authoritativeness.

Strengthening enforcement mechanisms after the reformulation must also be a top priority. The National Police Code of Ethics Commission (KKEP), as the vanguard in ethics enforcement, requires structural and functional reforms to enable it to operate effectively and independently. Articles 43 to 45 of Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022 need to be strengthened with additional provisions regarding the independence of KKEP members, transparency of trial proceedings, and the involvement of external supervisors in the evaluation process. This will enhance the KKEP's credibility in the public eye while strengthening the principle of internal accountability within the National Police.

A regular evaluation system for the effectiveness of the code of ethics and its implementation is an essential aspect. This evaluation could be regulated in the form of an annual ethics audit by the National Police's General Supervision Inspectorate (Itwasum) and reported openly to the public. The evaluation could also be compared with the public trust index in the National Police, developed by an independent survey institution. Through this system, the National Police would not only assess the ethical performance of its members but also measure whether the reformulation of norms has a genuine impact on their image and public trust. This evaluation should be mandatory, as mandated by Article 75 of Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022 concerning reporting and monitoring the implementation of the code of ethics.

When the reformulated code of ethics enforcement system is supported by clearly formulated norms, a synchronous handling system, and a strong oversight body, a culture of

integrity within the Indonesian National Police (Polri) will be more easily established. Ethical norms will no longer be merely administrative instruments, but rather moral instruments embedded in every action of Polri members. Professionalism is not merely achieved through technical training; it must be grounded in a deep and structured ethical system. The public, who place high expectations on the police institution, will be assured that officers on duty operate not solely based on the rule of law, but also with an ethical conscience as public servants.

CONCLUSION

The ambiguity of ethical norms in the Indonesian National Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022 concerning the Professional Code of Ethics and the National Police Code of Ethics Commission has formed a wide and uncontrolled room for interpretation, particularly in the context of handling horizontal conflicts. Ethical norms formulated in general terms, without detailed operational guidelines, create uncertainty in decision-making by officers in the field and complicate the National Police Code of Ethics Commission's objective assessment of violations. When officers are faced with a crisis or social conflict that requires swift and decisive action, vague norms have the potential to lead to excessive actions or, conversely, a passive attitude that harms the public. It has serious implications for upholding professionalism, neutrality, and the protection of human rights by the National Police (Polri), which should be the guardian of stability and justice in a diverse and dynamic society like Indonesia.

A comprehensive reformulation of Polri Regulation No. 7 of 2022 is needed, particularly by adding new articles or revising norms specifically governing the actions of Polri officers in dealing with horizontal conflicts and social emergencies. Formulating norms based on the principles of *lex certa* and *lex stricta* is crucial to ensuring that every action has clear and measurable ethical boundaries. Furthermore, reinforcing the Indonesian National Police Code of Ethics Commission (KKEP) is an integral and crucial aspect of this reform. The KKEP needs to be strengthened not only in terms of authority but also in terms of transparency, accountability, and the involvement of external supervisors so that the ethics process is not merely administrative but also reflects substantive justice values that can be trusted by the public. This approach will strengthen the ethical foundation of the Indonesian National Police (Polri) as a law enforcement institution that upholds morality, professionalism, and human rights principles in conducting its duties.

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