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Community Policing as Strategic Tools to Combat Counterinsurgency in Indonesia

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Abstract

This study examines the role of community policing as a non-kinetic counterinsurgency strategy within the Indonesian security framework. It addresses two research questions: (1) how community policing contributes to societal security and (2) how it supports counterinsurgency through participation, legitimacy, and early warning capabilities. Using a qualitative approach based on doctrinal analysis and literature review, the study integrates counterinsurgency theory, the Winning Hearts and Minds framework and Routine Activity Theory with Indonesia's Sishankamrata doctrine. The findings reveal that community policing strengthens societal security by transforming communities into active participants in maintaining security through both institutional mechanisms and voluntary practices. It also enhances counterinsurgency efforts by fostering legitimacy, enabling cooperation, and improving early detection of threats. The study concludes that community policing functions as a legally grounded and operationally effective non-kinetic strategy that complements conventional approaches to security. However, its effectiveness is influenced by contextual factors such as trust, capacity, and local dynamics. This research contributes to the development of a society-centered model of counterinsurgency and highlights the importance of integrating community-based approaches into contemporary security strategies.

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Keywords: community policing, counterinsurgency, Sishankamrata, winning hearts and minds, Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary insurgency has evolved into a multidimensional threat that extends beyond conventional armed confrontation into social, political, and ideological domains. Modern insurgent movements are increasingly embedded within civilian populations, exploiting grievances, weak governance and societal vulnerabilities. This reflects a transformation in conflict dynamics, where insurgency operates within everyday social environments rather than isolated battlefields. As (Galula, 1964) states that the decisive factor in such conflicts lies in the support of the population rather than military superiority alone. Contemporary analyses further note that counterinsurgency failures often arise from a misalignment between tactical operations and broader political objectives (Ucko & Egnell, 2023) highlighting the need for strategies that address both security and societal dimensions.

These developments suggest that traditional counterinsurgency (COIN) strategies, which rely heavily on kinetic operations are becoming insufficient in addressing such contemporary threats. Kinetic approaches always facing significant costs and risks, including the erosion of legitimacy and public trust which are essential for long-term stability. As a result, population-centric and preventive strategies have gained prominence. Community policing (CP) represents one such approach, emphasizing collaboration and early intervention. It is defined as a philosophy that promotes partnerships and problem-solving techniques (U.S Department of Justice, 2009). And Cohen & Felson (1979a) states that strengthening capable guardians within society reduces opportunities for crime and security threats which logically lead into reinforcing the role of community engagement in preventive model.

In Indonesia, the persistence of terrorism and insurgency risks underscores the importance of such non-kinetic approaches. National assessments indicate that societal vulnerability is closely linked to the spread of radicalism (BNPT, 2020). Community policing is institutionalized through *Pemolisian Masyarakat (Polmas).* It manifests Indonesia's effort to address these challenges at the grassroots level which furtherly expanded into community-based mechanisms such as Pos *Keamanan Lingkungan (Poskamling)* and *Perlindungan Masyarakat (Linmas),* which functions as an additional component in supporting public order and resilience. In theory, this concept aligns with the Indonesia's defense doctrine which emphasizes collaboration from state and society. It also aligns with Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) approach that prioritizes legitimacy and public

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support. Therefore, this study addresses two central research questions: (1) how community policing contributes to societal security? and (2) how community policing supports counterinsurgency through participation, legitimacy, and early warning capabilities? By integrating counterinsurgency theory, community policing frameworks and Indonesia's national defense doctrine, this study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of community policing as a non-kinetic strategy in addressing contemporary security challenges.

COMMUNITY POLICING

Community policing (CP) is is formally defined as a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues (U.S Department of Justice, 2009). Historically, community policing emerged as a response to the limitations of enforcement-based policing, shifting toward a model where the public's involvement is viewed as a 'co-producer' of community safety (Fridell et al., 2004). In this sense, community policing represents a transformation from state-centric policing into a collaborative system of security governance.

Community policing operates through proactive engagement, decentralized interaction and continuous communication between police and community members. It emphasizes prevention by identifying and addressing underlying social conditions. It also emphasizes proactive problem solving to prevent and otherwise control crime (Fridell et al., 2004). This approach is further reinforced where policing extends beyond formal institutions into a broader policing web involving multiple actors and networks (Brodeur, 2010). This means security is co-produced through partnerships involving communities, local organizations and state institutions.

In Indonesia, CP has been integrated into a distinct institutional model known as *Pemolisian Masyarakat (Polmas)*. It is formally recognized as a strategic approach where Polmas is defined as activities to engage the community through partnerships between Police officers and the community in maintaining public security and order (Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2021). Polmas is explicitly positioned as a grand strategy in maintaining public order and security (Kepolisian Republik Indonesia, 2008). This strategy is implemented by appointing a subject-matter expert called *Bhayankara Pembina Keamanan dan Ketetiban Masyarakat (Bhabinkamtibmas*) which can be roughly translated as Sergeant of Public Security and Order. There are also other form of uniqe CP-ish component such as *Pos Keamanan Lingkungan (Poskamling)* which is a voluntary nightshift patrol and *Perlindungan Masyarakat (Linmas)* which

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is a village security. This integrated system reflects the adaptation of community policing to Indonesia's socio-cultural and security context.

SISTEM PERTAHANAN DAN KEAMANAN RAKYAT SEMSESTA (Sishankamrata)

Sistem Pertahanan dan Keamanan Rakyat Semesta (Sishankamrata) constitutes Indonesia's fundamental defense and security doctrine rooted in the principle of total defense. Its emergence is closely linked to Indonesia's long history of people struggle (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 1945). The doctrine is explicitly grounded in the Constitution as national defense and security efforts are implemented through a comprehensive people's defense and security system. The concept is further operationalized in Law No. 3 of 2002, which defines the defense system as universal in nature involving all citizens, regions and other national resources(Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2002b). These legal foundations demonstrate that *Sishankamrata* is both a constitutional mandate and a comprehensive national security system.

Structurally, *Sishankamrata* is organized into three main components: *Komponen Utama, Komponen Cadangan*, and *Komponen Pendukung*. According to Law No. 3 of 2002, the Komponen Utama consists of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), which serve as the primary defense force(Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2002b). Meanwhile, Komponen Cadangan comprises national resources prepared for mobilization to reinforce the main component. Komponen Pendukung includes broader national resources which where Police and CP located and serve its purpose to support and promote public security and order. Within this structure, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) plays a critical role in maintaining internal security. As stipulated in Law No. 2 of 2002, POLRI functions to maintaining public security and order, enforcing the law, and providing protection. This positions the police as a key actor in addressing non-military threats, including insurgency and terrorism.

Within this framework, CP represents the practical manifestation of *Sishankamrata* at the societal level. CP is defined as a strategy that engages communities. This participatory approach aligns with the doctrine's emphasis on total involvement and collective responsibility. By integrating police functions with community participation supported by mechanisms such as *Bhabinkamtibmas*, *Poskamling*, and *Linmas*. In the context of counterinsurgency, this makes CP aligned with *Sishankamrata* and as highly relevant as a non-kinetic framework, where societal resilience, participation and trust become decisive factors. Thus, *Sishankamrata* provides the structural and legal foundation through which community policing operates as an effective preventive strategy against insurgent threats.

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WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS

The concept of Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) emerged as a central principle in counterinsurgency (COIN) emphasizing that success depends on securing the support of the population rather than relying solely on military force. Historically, the term gained prominence during the British counterinsurgency campaign in Malaya (1948–1960), where General Gerald Templer states that the answer lies not in pouring more troops but in the hearts and minds of the people. This marked a strategic shift from purely coercive operations toward population-centric approaches. As further noted, insurgencies inherently depend on civilian support, making the population the focus in a battle between a state power and the insurgents (Fine, 2010).

Over time, WHAM evolved into a broader doctrine integrating political, psychological and social dimensions. Marbella (2010) highlights that at the core of U.S. counterinsurgency doctrine is the concept of 'hearts and minds'. Which can be defined as accentuation of legitimacy, governance and public trust. This approach prioritizes influencing population behavior by offering alternatives to insurgent narratives, effectively transforming COIN into a "war of ideas" conducted within society (McAlexander, 2007). For this research, WHAM provides the conceptual bridge between community policing and counterinsurgency. By fostering trust, participation and legitimacy. CP operationalizes WHAM at the local level and enabling early warning consequently reducing insurgent influence. Thus, WHAM reinforces the argument that non-kinetic strategies are critical in addressing modern insurgency.

ROUTINE ACTIVITY THEORY

Routine Activity Theory (RAT), developed by (Cohen & Felson, 1979b) as an approach to crime analysis from offender motivation to situational conditions that enable criminal events. Introduced in 1979, the theory states that crime occurs when three elements converge in space and time: (1) motivated offenders, (2) suitable targets and (3) the absence of capable guardians. This framework marked a significant departure from traditional criminology by emphasizing opportunity structures rather than individual pathology. As later scholarship explains, RAT is focused on crime reduction through the prevention and control of chances to commit crime (Lacey, 2021). The theory further highlights that the absence of any one element is sufficient to prevent crime, underscoring the importance of environmental and social controls. In this sense, crime is understood as an event shaped by routine patterns of daily life, where changes in the 'routine activities' of everyday life and create opportunities for crimes to occur. Lacey (2021) explains that the ecological perspective emphasizes the role of guardianship including formal

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actors (e.g., police) and informal community presence, in disrupting criminal convergence.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative research design to analyze the role of community policing as a non-kinetic counterinsurgency strategy in Indonesia. A qualitative approach is appropriate because it focuses on understanding social phenomena and interpreting meaning within real-world contexts. As Creswell (2013) explains, qualitative research is used to explore and understand the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. This orientation allows the study to examine complex relationships between community policing, societal security, and counterinsurgency beyond measurable variables. Similarly, qualitative research involves the analysis of non-numerical data such as documents and texts to capture social realities and experiences (Saldaña, 2011).

The study adopts a combined doctrinal and literature review approach. The doctrinal approach is used to analyze legal and institutional frameworks, including the 1945 Constitution (Article 30), Law No. 3 of 2002 on National Defense, and Law No. 2 of 2002 on the Indonesian National Police, as well as *Peraturan Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 1 Tahun 2021* on community policing. This approach enables the study to identify the hierarchical legal standing of Sishankamrata and the institutional position of CP within Indonesia's security system. In parallel, the literature review approach synthesizes theoretical perspectives from WHAM and RAT to construct the analytical framework.

Data for this study are derived from secondary sources, including legal documents, academic books, journal articles and institutional reports. Data collection is conducted through document analysis which is a method that involves systematically reviewing written materials to extract relevant information. The analytical framework is structured around three key variables: participation, legitimacy, and early warning capability. Data analysis is conducted using qualitative content analysis, involving processes of data reduction, categorization, and interpretation. As noted by Miles et al. (2014) qualitative analysis consists of data condensation, data display, and drawing/verification of conclusions. This systematic process allows the study to identify patterns and relationships that explain how community policing contributes to non-kinetic counterinsurgency.

FINDINGS

This section addresses two research questions: (1) how community policing contributes to

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societal security and (2) how community policing supports counterinsurgency through participation, legitimacy and early warning capabilities. By integrating Indonesia's constitutional framework and police regulations, this section demonstrates that community policing operates as a legally grounded non-kinetic security mechanism within the SISHANKAMRATA system.

Community policing contributes to societal security primarily through institutionalized and voluntarily system. Article 30 of the 1945 Constitution establishes that national defense and security are conducted through total war doctrine which involving both state forces and the population (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 1945). This mandate is further elaborated in Law No. 3 of 2002, which emphasizes that national defense as a system that involving every manned body to participate in national security directly and indirectly (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2002b). Through these structures, there is Law No. 2 of 2002 that assigns the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) the function of maintaining public order and security (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2002a), positioning it as a central actor in internal security. Thus, legitimize of the creation of Indonesian Community policing called *Pemolisian Masyarakat (Polmas). Polmas* operationalizes this mandate at the societal level, as stated in *Peraturan Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 1 Tahun 2021* as a collaborative effort as equally with the Indonesian National Police to prevent and address threats to public safety and order. (Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2021). Empirically, this participation is implemented through *Bhabinkamtibmas*, which functions as the tip of the spear in implementation of Polmas in village level (Surajab, 2020). To enhance its number, there is *Babinsa*, a equivalent CP officer in the Indonesian Armed Forces with similar task and also carry military territorial function. At the grassroots level, voluntary graveyard shift patrol mechanisms called *Pos Keamanan Lingkungan* (*Poskamling)* and socio-cultural practices like *hukum adat* reinforce informal guardianship boosting situational awareness. This multi-layered participation reflects Routine Activity Theory, where crime occurs when the absence of capable guardians allows opportunities for offenders (Cohen & Felson, 1979b). It can be concluded that such participation transforms security into a distributed societal function complement with *Sishankamrata*.

Legitimacy constitutes the second critical dimension linking legal authority with societal acceptance. While the legal framework establishes POLRI's authority, its effectiveness depends on public trust and cooperation. *Polmas* fosters legitimacy through continuous engagement, mediation, and problem-solving. This aligns with Perkap No. 7 of 2008, which positions Polmas as a strategic approach emphasizing partnership and community involvement (Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2008). Empirical findings indicate that Polmas shifts policing from repressive

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to preventive approaches, emphasizing preventive action and pre-emptive deterrence (Surbakti & Hutabarat, 2023). At the same time, challenges such as low public trust, sociological diversity and limited resources affect implementation (Surbakti & Hutabarat, 2023). Within counterinsurgency theory, legitimacy is central to the WHAM approach where the success factor depends on securing population support (Galula, 1964). It means that Indonesia demonstrates that trust between police and communities enables cooperation in countering terrorism, allowing communities to identify and disrupt extremist networks (Surajab, 2020). Therefore, legitimacy functions as both a legal and strategic resource, strengthening societal resilience while undermining insurgent influence.

The third dimension, early warning capability, highlights how community policing operationalizes preventive security within a legal framework. Perpolri No. 1 of 2021 explicitly assigns community policing the role of identifying and resolving security problems at an early stage (Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, 2021). Empirical studies show that *Bhabinkamtibmas* conducts door-to-door engagement, gathers information, and provides community guidance, forming the basis for the detection of radical understanding (Surajab, 2020). This aligns with Routine Activity Theory, which emphasizes that the presence of capable guardians can prevent crime by disrupting opportunity structures (Cohen & Felson, 1979b). At the operational level, *Poskamling* functions as a micro-level surveillance system, while Linmas provides coordination within local governance structures. This layered system enhances situational awareness and enables rapid response. Beers (2007) shows that community policing encourages community input and helps establish needs and priorities in security governance, while global counterinsurgency approaches emphasize community participation as essential for preventive security outcomes (Mesok, 2022).

The integration of participation of society within the Polmas demonstrates the strategic role in *Sishankamrata* and as a non-kinetic counterinsurgency model. The legal hierarchy from the Constitution to national laws and police regulations creates a coherent structure in which community policing operates as the practical interface between state institutions and society. This system integrates institutional actors and voluntary mechanisms producing a multi-layered security network characterized by resilience, redundancy and adaptability.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study demonstrate that CP in Indonesia serves not only as a policing strategy but also as a broader security governance model that directly contributes to non-kinetic

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counterinsurgency. This reinterpretation challenges conventional understandings of counterinsurgency (COIN) as military-dominated and centered on kinetic force. Classic COIN theory emphasizes that the population is the decisive center of gravity, with success dependent on securing public support rather than achieving battlefield dominance (Galula, 1964). This study expands this perspective by demonstrating that community-based policing operationalizes this principle through structured interactions between state institutions and the community. By embedding security functions within the community, community policing transforms COIN from a force-based approach to a people-centered system that emphasizes participation, legitimacy, and prevention.

WHAM is often treated as a strategic or rhetorical concept, emphasizing the importance of legitimacy and public support. However, the findings suggest that community-based policing provides an institutional mechanism that allows WHAM to be implemented at the local level. Through sustained engagement, problem-solving, and partnerships, community policing fosters trust and cooperation, translating abstract legitimacy into concrete practices. This supports the argument that legitimacy is not simply the result of effective governance but is a process that is actively constructed through everyday interactions between authorities and citizens. Empirical evidence from Indonesia further strengthens this claim by demonstrating that trust-based relationships between police and communities facilitate cooperation in identifying and disrupting extremist networks (Surajab, 2020).

This study bridges criminology and security studies by applying Routine Activities Theory (RAT) to the context of insurgency. Traditionally, RAT explains crime as the convergence of motivated offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians (Cohen & Felson, 1979b). This study expands this framework by conceptualizing insurgents as actors exploiting social vulnerabilities, and community policing as a system that enhances surveillance and reduces opportunities for insurgent activity. The integration between formal actors such as *Bhabinkamtibmas* and voluntary mechanisms such as *Poskamling* demonstrates how guardianship is distributed across communities. This adaptation of RAT highlights that insurgency, like crime, can be thwarted through environmental and social controls that strengthen the role of prevention strategies in modern security governance (Miró, 2014)

Unlike many Western counterinsurgency models, which tend to rely on a top-down approach, Indonesia's unique counterinsurgency doctrine, *Sishankamrata*, integrates state and community actors within a comprehensive defense structure. The legal hierarchy from the 1945 Constitution to national laws and police regulations establishes a clear mandate for community

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participation in security (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 1945). Thus, *Polmas* functions as the operational interface of this system, connecting formal institutions such as the Police with the local community. Furthermore, the incorporation of socio-cultural mechanisms such as customary law demonstrates the model's adaptability to local contexts. This hybrid approach increases resilience by combining formal authority with informal social control, creating a multi-layered security network.

Despite these strengths, the findings also reveal several limitations that should be considered. First, CP effectiveness depends on public trust, which remains uneven across regions. Empirical studies indicate that low levels of legal awareness, sociological diversity, and resource constraints can hinder effective communication between the police and the community (Surbakti & Hutabarat, 2023). Second, reliance on community participation creates variability in implementation, as local conditions influence levels of engagement and cooperation. Third, there is a potential risk of over-security, where community-based approaches could be used to extend surveillance and control over civilian populations. As highlighted in studies on preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE), community participation can sometimes blur the line between empowerment and coercion, potentially undermining trust if not carefully managed (Mesok, 2022). These challenges demonstrate that while community-based policing offers significant benefits, its effectiveness depends on sustained institutional support, accountability, and sensitivity to local context.

From a policy perspective, these findings suggest that strengthening CP requires increased institutional capacity and public trust. This includes improving training and resources for frontline actors such as *Bhabinkamtibmas*, expanding community engagement programs, and ensuring transparency in policing practices. At the strategic level, this study supports a shift in counterinsurgency (COIN) doctrine from a kinetic to a non-kinetic approach, emphasizing prevention, decentralization, and community resilience. The Indonesian model demonstrates that integrating community-based mechanisms into national security strategies can provide a sustainable and cost-effective alternative to purely military solutions.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to examine (1) how community policing contributes to public security and (2) how it supports counterinsurgency through participation, legitimacy, and early warning capabilities. Findings indicate that community policing in Indonesia plays a crucial role in strengthening community security by transforming citizens into active participants in a distributed

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security network. Through institutional actors such as Bhabinkamtibmas, *Babinsa*, and Linmas, as well as voluntary mechanisms such as Poskamling and customary law, it can strengthen resilience and situational awareness. This can effectively reduce vulnerabilities that can be exploited by insurgent actors. Community policing contributes to counterinsurgency by strengthening legitimacy and enabling early detection of threats. Fostering trust and cooperation between officers and communities can limit insurgent access to communities, while the decentralized engagement mechanisms of the *Polmas* concept enable rapid identification and mitigation of emerging risks. Thus, *Polmas* operates as a non-kinetic counter-insurgency instrument embedded within the *SISHANKAMRATA* framework, integrating community participation, trust-building, and preventive security into a cohesive strategy.

Despite these contributions, this study is not without limitations. It relies primarily on secondary data and desk research, which inevitably limits its ability to capture variations in implementation, particularly given Indonesia's diverse archipelagic nature. The effectiveness of community policing is also influenced by contextual factors such as public trust, institutional capacity and socio-cultural diversity, which have not been fully explored in this research. Furthermore, while the analysis highlights the strengths of a community-based approach, it does not extensively examine potential unintended consequences, such as over-security or uneven participation. These limitations suggest that the findings should be interpreted as conceptual and analytical contributions, rather than as definitive empirical assessments.

Related research is highly recommended to further develop understanding in this area by combining field-based methods, comparative analysis, and interdisciplinary perspectives. Greater collaboration between academics, practitioners, and policymakers is essential to refine the implementation of community policing within a counterinsurgency framework. By fostering dialogue across disciplines and contexts, further research can enhance understanding of non-kinetic security strategies and support the development of more adaptive, inclusive, and sustainable approaches to addressing contemporary insurgency threats.

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