

Politicization of the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) Regarding ABRI's Dual Function and Civilian Supremacy

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the relationship between the revision of Law Number 34 of 2004 and the issue of the return of ABRI's dual function and civil supremacy in the context of Indonesian democracy and reform. The mixed methods approach with SEM PLS-4 and NVivo 12 analysis is used to achieve that goal. The results of the analysis using NVivo 12 showed that ABRI's dwifunction would not return and civil supremacy was maintained because, legally, the TNI remained focused on its role as a tool of national defense. The civil government, through the Parliament and public supervision, has full authority to oversee the TNI so that the TNI still maintains its tested neutrality. The results of the SEM PLS-4 analysis show that the TNI Law's political variable on the issue of ABRI's dual function and civilian supremacy has a statistically significant effect, with a T-statistic value of 5.073 and P-value of 0.000 and a large effect on the model (F-square 0.489). The contribution of this research is to provide an understanding of the importance of a balance between freedom of opinion, politics, and the interests of national defense as a system that supports each other in the post-reform era, as well as in facing the challenges of reform and hybrid warfare towards Indonesia Gold Indonesia 2045. The limitations of this study lie in a limited time, which affects the depth of analysis and data scope so as to limit the perfection of the results of the research as a whole.

Keywords: Dwifunction ABRI, Civil Supremation, Mixed Methods, Integrity, Hybrid Warfare.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis keterkaitan antara revisi Undang-Undang Nomor 34 Tahun 2004 dengan isu kembalinya dwifungsi ABRI dan supremasi sipil dalam konteks demokrasi dan reformasi Indonesia. Pendekatan metode campuran dengan SEM PLS-4 dan analisis NVivo 12 digunakan untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut. Hasil analisis dengan menggunakan NVivo 12 menunjukkan bahwa dwifungsi ABRI tidak akan kembali dan supremasi sipil tetap terjaga karena secara hukum TNI tetap fokus pada perannya sebagai alat pertahanan negara. Pemerintah sipil melalui DPR dan pengawasan publik memiliki kewenangan penuh untuk mengawasi TNI sehingga TNI tetap menjaga netralitasnya yang telah teruji. Hasil analisis SEM PLS-4 menunjukkan bahwa variabel politik Undang-Undang TNI terhadap isu dwifungsi ABRI dan supremasi sipil berpengaruh signifikan secara statistik, dengan nilai T-statistik sebesar 5,073 dan P-value sebesar 0,000 serta berpengaruh besar terhadap model (F-square 0,489). Kontribusi penelitian ini adalah memberikan pemahaman tentang pentingnya keseimbangan antara kebebasan berpendapat, berpolitik, dan kepentingan pertahanan negara sebagai suatu sistem yang saling mendukung di era pasca reformasi, serta dalam menghadapi tantangan reformasi dan perang hibrida menuju Indonesia Emas 2045. Keterbatasan penelitian ini terletak pada keterbatasan waktu, yang mempengaruhi kedalaman analisis dan cakupan data sehingga membatasi kesempurnaan hasil penelitian secara keseluruhan.

Kata Kunci: Dwifungsi ABRI, Supremasi Sipil, Metode Campuran, Integritas, Perang Hibrida.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the mandate and trust of civil authority to the Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (ABRI), which is a combination of two state institutions, namely, the Indonesia armed forces (TNI) and the Indonesia Police (Polri), in the Indonesian government began since the revolution with the formation of the State Defense Council (DPN) and the appointment of the Military Governor in 1948 (Anwar et al., 2024). General A.H. Nasution then developed the ABRI system and doctrine, "the defense of the universe," which placed a civil government under the authority of ABRI in the war against the Dutch, who wanted to return to colonizing Indonesia (Djuyandi, 2023b). After the Dutch legally recognized Indonesian independence, ABRI military officers were increasingly active in politics as allowed in the law. In the Soekarno government era, General A.H. Nasution introduced the concept of "middle way," which gave space for ABRI in the civil government, which later developed into the ABRI dwifunction doctrine. During the Soeharto reign, the concept of ABRI's dwifunction doctrine allowed the law of the placement of ABRI soldiers in an institutional manner in strategic positions in government and legislation (Solihah et al., 2019). ABRI's dual function was finally approved in the legislation in 1988, with a justification that civilian supremacy is still strategic to collaborate with ABRI. However, after the 2nd President of the Republic of Indonesia, General TNI (Ret.) Civil and Dwi Supremacy The ABRI function is two concepts that are sometimes the main debate in the dynamics of Indonesian politics and defense after the 1998 reform and the era of democracy. Civil supremacy refers to the principle that political authority is in the hands of democratic civilian government, while the ABRI function is a doctrine that gives a role to ABRI based on the law that applies to its time in the socio-political function during the New Order government (Ali Ginanjar Inpantri et al., 2022). After the reforms in 1999, the government and the Parliament tried to strengthen civilian supremacy by the separation of the TNI and Polri, as well as the abolition of ABRI dwifunction. The birth of Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army and Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian Police is a concrete step and concrete evidence that confirms civil supremacy and ending the role of military politics, which was previously legitimized through the ABRI Dwifunction Doctrine. The separation of the TNI and Polri in 1999 marked structural reforms in the defense and public order system, where the TNI was focused on national defense from internal and external threats, while the National Police was responsible for public order and law enforcement (Siregar, 2019). In addition to the abolition of ABRI dwifunction and the separation of the TNI and Polri, then in 2000 the withdrawal and elimination of the ABRI/TNI-Polri Faction in the DPR was proof that the TNI had been subject to state politics towards a professional, responsive, innovative, modern, and adaptive (Prima) response (Issue, 2025).

This research is important because there are still some civil society groups that have a limited understanding of the position and role of the TNI in the post-reform democratic system (Djuyandi, 2023a). Lack of political and legal literacy is one of the main factors that contribute to this misunderstanding. In addition, there are certain interest groups that try to take advantage of this situation by spreading narratives about the possibility of the return of the ABRI function, although legally it is not possible. The influence of the developing opinion, triggered by the dynamics of national politics, also helped form the perception, especially related to the debate regarding the revision of Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesia armed forces (TNI Law)(Sarjono & Ma'ruf, 2021). In fact, the regulation clearly stipulates that the TNI is a professional institution that is not political and is subject to civilian authorities. The defense sector reform that has been carried out, including the separation of the TNI and Polri and various regulations that limit the role of the military in civil government, has erased the legal foundation for the return of the ABRI function as in the New Order era (Pion-Berlin & Dudley, 2020).

Theory of Democratic Security, Bruneau & Matei (2008) "emphasize the importance of a balance between civilian supremacy and other institutions in the democratic system." Civil-Military Relations Theory, Samuel P. Huntington, in his book *The Soldier and the State*, put forward "the ideal concept of civil-military relations in a democratic country, namely the balance between civil control and military professionalism." Previous research, Research on David Kuehn and Aurel Croissant (2023), *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy in the Third Wave* "Civil control is said to be high if the military does not have formal prerogative and does not challenge civil authority (Gunawan, 2022). Civil control is said to be moderate if the civil decision-making authority is not institutionalized but depends on personal relations between civil and military. Civil control is said to be low if the military dominates decision-making or implementation in the area." Research by David Kuehn and Aurel Croissant (2023) in *Civil-Military Relations and Democracy in the Third Wave* categorized the level of civil control against the military into three levels. To challenge civil authority. Civil control is happening when a decision related to defense and security is still influenced by personal relations between civilian officials and military officials, not through clear institutions or policies, so that it has the potential to create dependence on individual dynamics (Riza, 2020). This study confirms that effective civil control in the democratic system must ensure that civil authority has full control over defense and security policies, without military privileges that can weaken civil supremacy (Deviani et al., 2024).

Novelty in this study is to offer a new perspective in understanding the dynamics of civil-military relations in Indonesia after reforming and democracy, which are generally very good, but it is important to emphasize the balance between civilian supremacy and the interests of national defense. This study is different from the research of Kuehn and Croissant (2023), which examines civil control at three levels and how civilian institutions can build effective control capacity of the military without inhibiting professionalism and readiness of national defense. The purpose of this study was to analyze the impact of the current issue of the return of the ABRI Dwifunction, which was actually no longer possible because of the law that had regulated it, and its impact on civilian supremacy that was feared through various demonstrations and opinions of political experts so far (Sarjono & Ma'ruf, 2021).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses Mixed Methods Sequential Explanatory Design (Dugas et al., 2017). According to Sugiyono (2006, p. 400), "the two methods can be combined but are used alternately. In the first stage, the collection and analysis of quantitative data and the second stage of the collection and analysis of qualitative data to strengthen the research results. This involves a philosophical assumption of the use of a quantitative and qualitative approach, and the mixing of the two is approached in a study" (Wipulanusat et al., 2020).

Quantitative method In the data analysis technique in the quantitative method using SEM PLS-4 software (Rossen et al., 2017). Data collection techniques by distributing the Likert Scale (1-5) questionnaire, samples of 30 Middle Officers (Pamen) of the Indonesia armed forces (TNI) and 35 State Civil Apparatus (ASN) in the Ministry of Defense Research and Development Agency (Kemhan), Random Sampling. The selection of samples of 30 middle officers (Pamen) and 35 State Civil Apparatus (ASN) within the Ministry of Defense Research and Development Agency (Kemhan) was carried out randomly by sampling by considering the direct relevance of respondents' experience and the focus of research on ABRI Civil-Dwifunction Superimas to reforms and the democratic era that was the current issue in the public and the issue of protesters. Quantitative Data Analysis Techniques Using Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (SEM PLS-4) software (Hoda et al., 2023). First, the research topic was made

into 2 variables, namely variable x and variable y, and determined indicators of each variable. The evaluation of SEM PLS-4 was carried out, namely, the measurement model (outer mode), structural model (inner mode), and goodness and compatibility of the model. Evaluation of outer models (measurement models) means evaluation of the extent to which testing the validity and reliability of indicators and discriminant validity is used to measure latent variables. Evaluation of the outer model or measurement model consists of a validity test using the outer loading size or loading factor, where the recommended outer loading value is at least 0.70. Reliability Test in PLS analysis using the size of Cronbach's Alpha and Composite Reliability, where the minimum Cronbach's Alpha and Composite Reliability (CR) values are 0.70. The convergent validity is measured using the recommended Average Variance Extracted (AVE) with a minimum of 0.50. Then discriminant validity is measured by the Fornell-Lacker criterion and HTMT AVE root > correlation between variables (Girona, 2024). Evaluation of the Structural Model (Inner Model) Hypothesis testing, where if the p-value results of the path coefficient test are <0.05, then the hypothesis is accepted or there is a significant effect between the hypothesized variables. Next see the F-square effect size, where the F-square value is 0.02 (low influence), 0.15 (moderate influence), and 0.35 (high influence). Evaluate the goodness of the model compatibility. In this model, using R-square, R-square's statistical size illustrates the amount of endogenous variable variables that can be explained by other exogenous/endogenous variables in the model. The R-square interpretation value qualitatively is 0.19 (low influence), 0.33 (moderate influence), and 0.66 (high influence) (Akhter et al., 2024).

Qualitative method. Qualitative data collection and analysis techniques with secondary data from the opinion of civilian experts through electronic media and online media (Murray, 1998). Data analysis techniques using NVivo12 software where the results of this discussion are summarized in the form of Ms. files. Word, then the data is imported to NVivo 12 software, a coding process is carried out, expository data is explored with the NVivo 12 Run Query feature, data visualization is done using the Word Cloud Nvivo 12 feature, and finally data interpretation is done for the research manuscript for the process of interpretation of research findings (Dhakal, 2022).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Quantitative Method

Based on the results in figure 1 of structural equation modeling analysis partial least squares (SEM-PLS) displayed in the diagram it appears that indicators of the politicization of the revision of the TNI Law (X1-X4) have a high outer loading value (0.859-0.950), which shows that the indicators have a strong contribution in explaining the politicization of the TNI Law. However, the relationship between the variable X (politicization of the revision of the TNI Law) and the mediation variable (as indicated by the blue circle in the middle) has a negative coefficient (-0.573). This shows that the politicization of the revision of the TNI Law actually reduces the influence on these mediation variables, which in the context of this study can represent certain factors that directly inhibit the impact on the issue of ABRI Dwifunction and Civil Supremacy (Firnas, 2018).

Meanwhile, the relationship between mediation variables and the variable strengthening the issue of ABRI dwifunction and civilian supremacy (Y3 & Y4) has a high loading value (0.861 and 0.911), indicating that this mediation factor contributes significantly in strengthening the impact of the issue. However, the value of 0.328 in the second blue circle shows that the total effect that connects the politicization of the revision of the TNI Law to strengthen the issue of ABRI dwifunction and civilian supremacy is relatively low. This indicates that the politicization of the revision of the TNI Law does not

directly strengthen the dwifunction of ABRI and weaken civil supremacy, but there are other factors that act as intermediaries in the relationship. This analysis can be the basis for further research on more dominant mediation factors in the dynamics of the relationship between the revision of the TNI Law and civil supremacy (Brooks & Grewal, 2022).

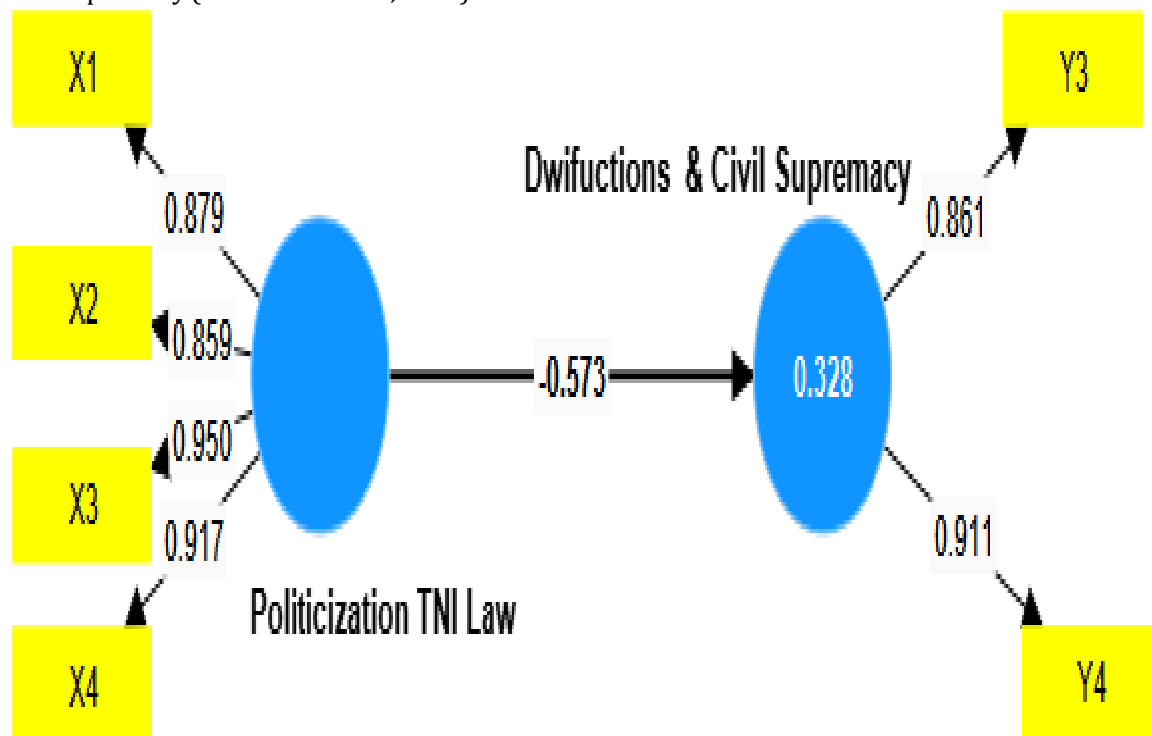


Figure 1. Grapical Output SEM PLS-4

Table 1. Outer Loading-Matrix

Indicator	ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy	Politicization TNI Law
X1: Demonstration against the TNI Law		0.879
X2: The opinion of politicians about the TNI Law		0.859
X3: The role of the media to expose the revision of the TNI Law		0.950
X4: The Role of Interest Groups		0.917
Y1: Decreases to the government and Legislative and Turning public services	0.861	
Y2: Civil-Military Disharmony and Threatening national defense	0.911	

In Table 1 above, it shows the value of the outer loading matrix for the ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy Variables and the TNI Law. Each indicator shows the relationship between independent and dependent variables in the model. For the politicization of the TNI Law, indicators such as demonstrations against the TNI Law (0.879), the opinion of politicians about the TNI Law (0.859), and the role of the media to expose the revision of the TNI Law (0.950) have a very high outer loading value, showing that these three indicators have a strong influence on the politicization of the Indonesian TNI Law. In addition, The Role of Interest Groups (0.917) also showed a big influence, reflecting the significant role of interest groups

in influencing TNI legal policies. For ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy, indicators such as Decreases to the Government and Legislative and Turning Public Services (0.861) and Civil-Military Disharmony and Threatening National Defense (0.911) also have a high outer loading value, State stability and function. These values indicate that the politicization of TNI law played a major role in influencing the balance between the military and civilians and could lead to civil-military disharmony and threats to national defense. Overall, these results indicate that the three indicators of the TNI Law's politicization are very influential in forming relations between the military and civilians and their impact on the government system and national defense (Zekulić et al., 2017).

Table 2. Construct Reability and Validity

Variable	Cronbach's alpha	Composite reliability (rho_a)	Composite reliability (rho_c)	Average variance extracted (AVE)
Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy	0.729	0.751	0.880	0.785
Politicization TNI Law	0.925	0.960	0.946	0.813

Based on construct reliability and validity in table 2, the Cronbach's Alpha value for the dwifunctions & civil supremacy variables (0.729) and the TNI Law (0.925) politicization shows that the two variables have good reliability, with the TNI Law politicization variables having a higher consistency rate. Composite reliability (RHO_C) values for both variables of 0.880 and 0.946, respectively, which are above the threshold of 0.70, confirm that the indicators used have strong internal consistency in measuring their constructs. In addition, the Average Variance Extracted (AVE) value for both variables, namely 0.785 and 0.813, showed that each construct was able to explain more than 78% of the indicator variance, meeting the criteria for convergent validity. With this result, it can be concluded that the instruments used in this study have met the reliability and validity standards needed for further analysis (Wang et al., 2023).

Table 3. HTMT

Variable	Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy	Politicization TNI Law
ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy		
Politicization TNI Law	0.660	

Based on heterotrait-monotrait ratio (HTMT) analysis in SEM-PLS in table 3, the correlation value between the ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy variable and the TNI Law politicization is 0.660, which is still below the threshold of 0.85. This value shows that the two variables have good discriminant validity, meaning that although there are correlations between the two, these variables still have clear conceptual differences. In the context of research, these results indicate that although the politicization of the revision of the TNI Law can have an impact on increasing discourse on ABRI dwifunction and civilian supremacy, both of these concepts can still be measured as different entities without overlap or redundancy. Thus, the research model used has a methodological reliability in analyzing the relationship between the two variables more deeply, without bias due to lack of separation of concepts in the research instrument (Travis, 2019).

Table 4. Fornell - Larcker Criterion

Variable	Dwifuctions & Civil Supremacy	Politicization TNI Law
ABRI Dwifuctions & Civil Supremacy		
Politicization TNI Law	-0.573	0.902

Based on the Fornell-Larcker Criterion in the SEM-PLS analysis in table 4, the correlation value between the TNI Law and ABRI Dwifuctions & Civil Supremacy variables is -0.573, while the quadratic value of Average Variance Extracted (AVE) is 0.902 for Political TNI Law. The correlation value that is lower than the AVE square root shows that each variable has a good discriminant validity, which means that each construct is stronger in explaining its own variable compared to other variables. The negative correlation, -0.573, also indicates that the increase in the politicization of the revision of the TNI Law has the potential to reduce civilian supremacy and increase the role of the military in the non-defense domain.

With discriminant validity that has been met, this research model can be considered accurate in measuring intervariable relationships without multicollinearity that can interfere with the results of the analysis (Lin et al., 2020).

Evaluation of Structural Model

Table 5. Hypothesis of Direct Effects

Variable	Original sample (O)	Sample mean (M)	Standard deviation (STDEV)	T statistics (O/STDEV)	P values
Politicization TNI Law -> ABRI Dwifuctions & Civil Supremacy	-0.573	-0.607	0.113	5.073	0.000

The first hypothesis tested in this study connects the TNI Legal Politicization with ABRI Dwifungsi and Civil Supremacy (table 5). The results obtained showed that there was a significant negative relationship between the politicization of the TNI Law and ABRI Dwifuctions & Civil Supremacy, with the coefficient value of -0.573. This value shows that the higher the level of politicization of TNI law, the lower the influence on these two concepts, which are related to the dualism of the ABRI (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) and civil supremacy in the state government. The T-statistic value obtained is 5.073, which is much higher than the critical value (usually more than 1.96 at a significance level of 0.05), indicating that this relationship is very statistically significant. With a very small p-value (0.000), it can be concluded that this relationship does not occur by chance and there is a significant influence (Wiredu et al., 2023).

This negative influence can be interpreted as when the TNI law is more politicized, the tendency to see the TNI as an entity with a dual role in government (dwifunction) and strengthening civilian supremacy will be reduced. This indicates the importance of a clear separation between the military and politics so that the stability of the civil system is maintained. A deeper argument can be stated by considering the Indonesian context, where military history involved in politics can have an impact on the relationship between ABRI and civilian institutions. The politicization of TNI law can make the impression worse that the military has greater power in politics, which can reduce the strength and civil authority in decision-making. Thus, these results show the importance of maintaining clear boundaries between the role of the military and civilians to maintain the stability of democracy and the rule of law in Indonesia (Kim & Kuehn, 2022).

Table 6. f-square

Variable	Dwifuctions & Civil Supremacy	Politicization TNI Law
Dwifuctions & Civil Supremacy Politicization TNI Law	0.489	

Table 6 show The F-square value of 0.489 between the politicization of the TNI Law and ABRI dwifunctions & civil supremacy showed that the TNI Law politics had a large effect on ABRI dwifunctions & civil supremacy. In this context, the F-square value greater than 0.35 indicates that the relationship between the two variables is very large and has a substantial impact. This shows that changes in the level of politicization of TNI law have a strong influence on the strengthening of the ABRI dual role and civil supremacy in government, which can have implications for regulating policy that pays more attention to the balance between the military and civil governance. Based on the guidelines given by Cohen (1988), the F-square value is used to measure the strength of the influence of an independent variable on the dependent variable in the structural model. Cohen classifies the F-square value as follows: 0.02 for small, 0.15 for moderate influences, and 0.35 for large influences. With an F-square value of 0.489, the influence of the TNI Law Politicization on ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy was categorized as a major influence according to Cohen's criteria (1988). This shows that the politicization of the TNI Law has a very large and substantial impact on changes in ABRI dwifunctions and civil supremacy, strengthening the role of the military in government and the stability of the country as a whole (Callahan, 2024).

Evaluation of the Kindness of the Model Compatibility

Table 7. R-square

Variable	R-square	R-square adjusted
Dwifuctions & Civil Supremacy	0.328	0.320

In this model, the R-square value for ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy is 0.328, with an adjusted R-square value of 0.320. This value indicates that around 32.8% of variations in ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy can be explained by exogenous or other endogenous variables in the model. Based on the interpretation of Cohen (1988), the R-square value of 0.328 is categorized as a moderate influence, which means there is a significant but not dominant influence from other variables on ABRI Dwifunctions and Civil Supremacy. Nevertheless, this value shows that there are still 67.2% variations that cannot be explained by this model, so other factors outside that have been tested are likely to contribute to forming the dynamics between the roles o military and civilians in government.

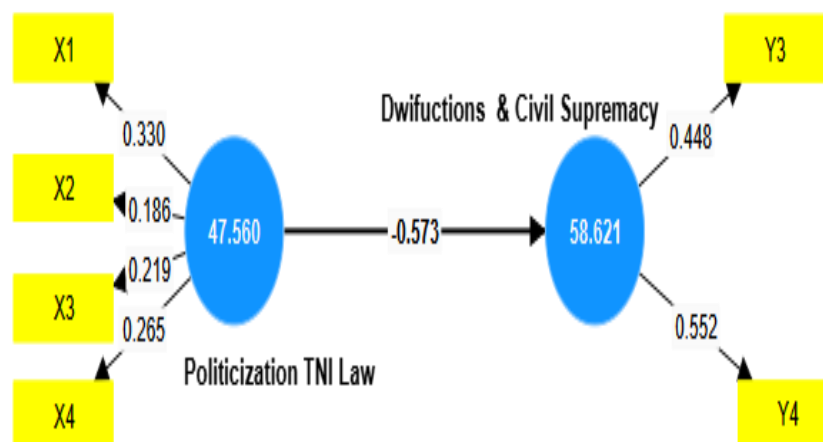


Figure 2. Importance-performance Map (IPMA) SEM PLS-4

Figure 2 show The value -0.573 between the TNI Law and ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy Politicization shows a significant negative relationship between the two variables. That is, the higher the level of politicization of TNI law, the lower the ABRI dual role and civilian supremacy in the context of government. This may reflect that when the military is involved more deeply in politics through changes in law or regulation, the role of civilians in decision-making and state management can be reduced. Excessive politicization can lead to an imbalance between the military and civil governments, which has the potential to reduce the effectiveness of civil supervision of military power. Therefore, although the TNI has an important role in maintaining stability, dominance that is too strong in politics can harm the principles of democracy and civilian supremacy (ZABOROWSKI, 2016).

Table 8. PLS Predict

Indicator	Q ² predict	PLS-SEM_RMSE	PLS-SEM_MAE	LM_RMSE	LM_MAE
Y3	0.155	0.273	0.144	0.240	0.116
Y4	0.258	0.256	0.132	0.272	0.125

Table 8 shows the results of the evaluation of the model predictions using Q²Predict, PLS-SEM_RMSE, PLS-SEM_MAE, LM_RMSE, and LM_MAE indicators. The Q²predict value for Y3 is 0.155 and for Y4 is 0.258, showing that this model has a moderate prediction capability because Q²predict is greater than 0 but does not reach a high value. In addition, PLS-SEM_RMSE and PLS-SEM_MAE for Y3 and Y4 showed a fairly low error value, with PLS-SEM_RMSE of 0.273 and 0.256 and PLS-SEM_MAE of 0.144 and 0.132, which means this model is quite accurate in predicting data. Comparison with lm_rmse and lm_mae also shows that the PLS-SEM model has better performance compared to the linear model (LM), which has a higher error. Overall, these results indicate that the PLS-SEM model has good and reliable prediction capabilities in estimating the relationships between variables in this study (Elshaer et al., 2023).

Table 9. CPAT

No.	Variable	PLS loss	IA loss	Average loss difference	T value	p value
1	Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy	0.070	0.088	-0.018	1.465	0.147
2	Overall	0.070	0.088	-0.018	1.465	0.147

Table 9 shows the results of the CPAT analysis (Comparison of Predictive Ability Test) for the ABRI Dwifunctions & Civil Supremacy variables with a comparison between PLS Loss and IA Loss. The PLS loss value is 0.070, and IA loss of 0.088 shows that the PLS (Partial Least Squares) model has a smaller prediction loss compared to the IA (Independent Assumption) model. The difference in the average loss between the two models is -0.018, which shows that the PLS model is slightly better in terms of predictive accuracy compared to the IA model. However, the T-value of 1.465 and P-value of 0.147 showed that this difference was not statistically significant because the P-value was greater than 0.05. This means that although the PLS model shows a little advantage in terms of predictions, this difference is not large enough to be considered a significant difference. Overall, these results indicate that the two models have a relatively equal prediction ability, with a slightly superior PLS, but the difference is not significant enough to draw strong conclusions (Taufiq-Hail et al., 2023).

Qualitative Method

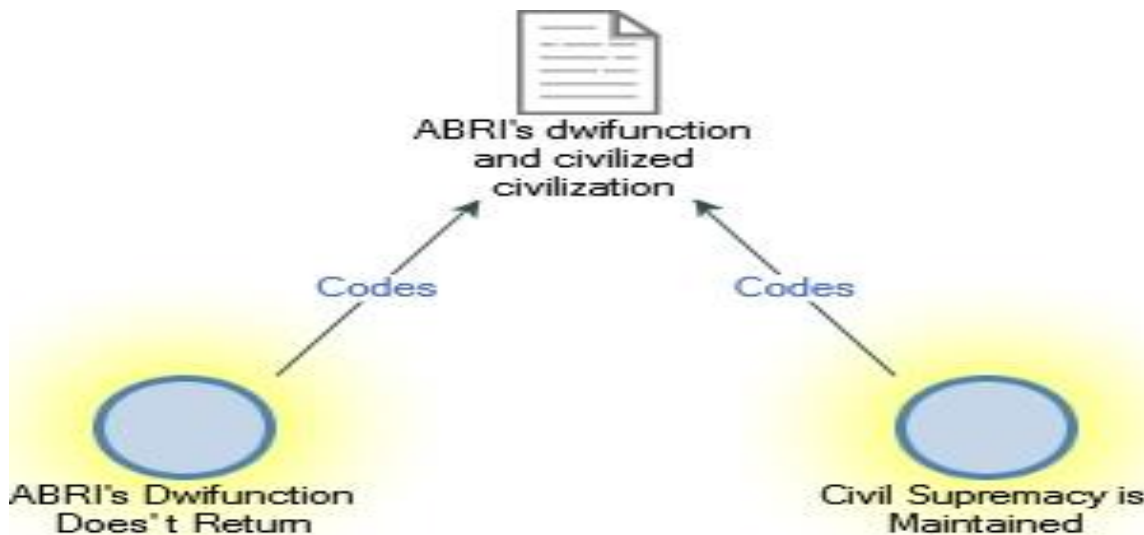


Figure 3. Comparison Diagram Nvivo 12

Figure 3 presents a comparative diagram generated through NVivo 12, highlighting two key thematic codes: *ABRI's Dual Function Does Not Return* and *Civil Supremacy Is Maintained*. These themes are framed within the broader context of evaluating the role of the military in Indonesia's post-reform governance structure. Scientifically, this visualization reflects the importance of limiting the role of the military to avoid involvement in non-defense affairs as part of a national commitment to democratic principles. In this framework, civil supremacy serves as a key indicator of institutional maturity, where civilian authorities exercise control over state apparatuses in accordance with constitutional norms. The diagram suggests that the absence of ABRI's dual function is not merely a withdrawal of the military from governance but a deliberate and strategic effort to strengthen a system of government grounded in legal certainty, transparency, and accountability. By maintaining civil supremacy and ensuring the military remains within its professional defense mandate, national stability can be upheld through legitimate democratic processes (Besson & Martí, 2018).

Figure 4 presents a textual visualization that highlights the historical and conceptual discourse surrounding the *Dwifungsi ABRI* and its transformation over time. Terms such as "*dwifunction*," "*civil supremacy*," "*civilian government*," and "*return*" indicate a narrative centered on the shift from a militarized governance model to one that emphasizes civilian control. The phrase "*civilized civilization is maintained*" reflects Indonesia's aspiration to uphold democratic values and a rule-based governance system, where the military's involvement is restricted to national defense rather than political or civil affairs. The visual also suggests a legal and institutional context in which dual function was once legitimized but is now being critically reassessed (Flavin, 2019).

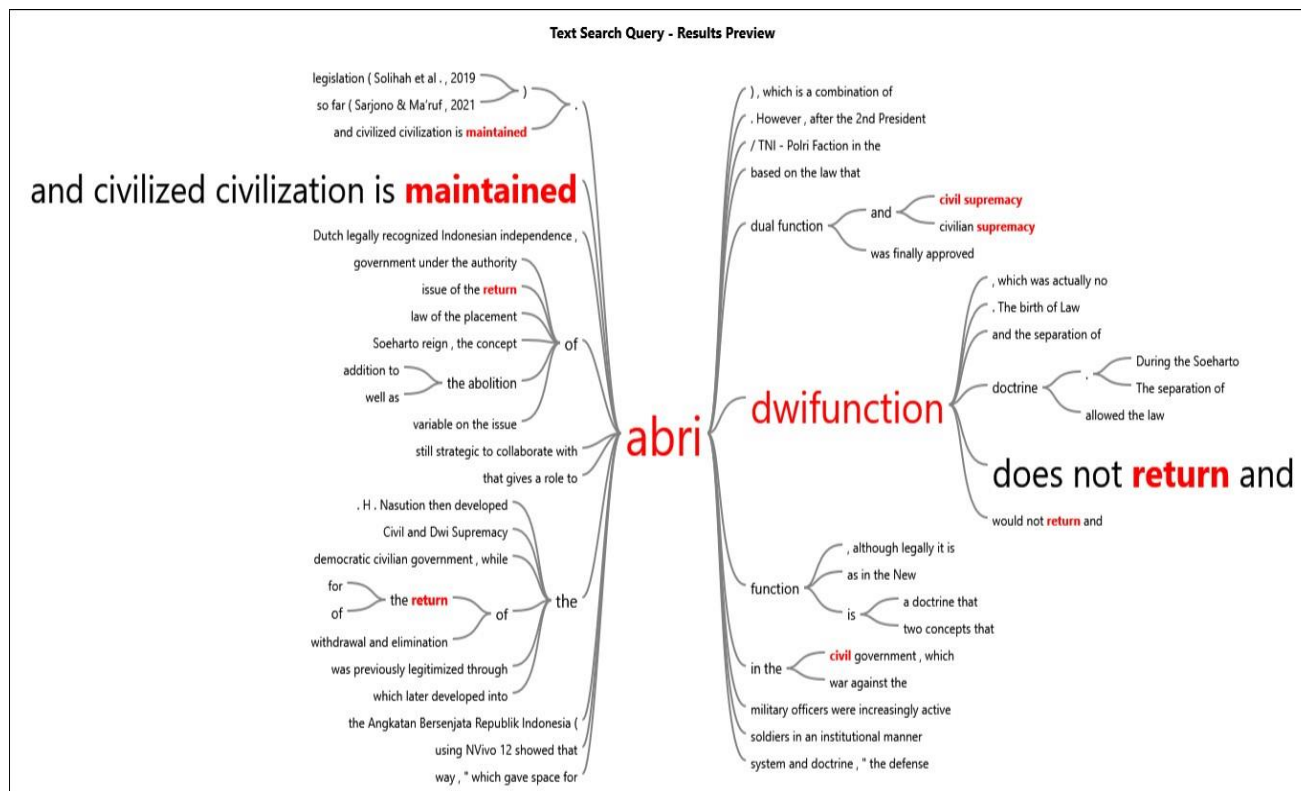


Figure 4. Teks Search Query NVivo 12

Scientifically, this visualization represents the trajectory of Indonesia's defense and governance reforms in the post-Suharto era. The concept of *civil supremacy* and the legal-institutional separation of military and civilian roles align with international democratic norms, which seek to ensure that the military remains subordinate to civilian authority. The reference to the military's function "not returning" to its former political role signifies Indonesia's effort to professionalize its armed forces and enhance democratic accountability. Thus, this image serves as a cognitive map of Indonesia's constitutional journey toward establishing a governance model that favors transparency, civilian oversight, and the demilitarization of domestic politics (Alhabeeb et al., 2024).



Figure 5. Word Cloud NVivo 12

In Figure 5, Word Cloud Nvivo 12 above displays key words related to the issue of "ABRI dwifunction, revision of the TNI Law, and current issues regarding the role of the military in politics that reflect that the discourse that developed on whether the ABRI dwifunction has the potential to return or not." ABRI Dwifunction in Public Discourse (Chawla et al., 2023). Word cloud images resulting from NVivo 12 show that key words such as dwifunction, TNI, ABRI, revision, and law dominate the conversation related to the role of the military in politics. This reflects the existence of discourse in the community regarding the possibility of the return of ABRI dwifunction. However, with various structural changes and post-reform policies, this possibility is very small. This article will analyze why ABRI's dual function will not return and how civilian supremacy is maintained in the Indonesian democratic system. ABRI Dwifunction Concept in Civil-Military Relations Theory. Civil-military relations theory, especially developed by Samuel P. Huntington in *The Soldier and the State* (1957), emphasized the importance of civilian supremacy in controlling the military. Huntington proposes two approaches: subjective control (direct political control by civilians) and objective control (separation of civil and military roles with military professionalization) (Brooks, 2020).

Post-reform, Indonesia adopts the objective control model, ensuring that the military no longer has a political role and remains under civilian authorities. Military Reform and Elimination of ABRI Dwifunction. Post-reform In 1998, one of the main demands is to remove the military's dual role in government and politics. This was realized by the separation of the TNI and Polri in 1999 and the ratification of Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI, which explicitly prohibits the military from politics. Since then, there have been no more TNI representatives in parliament, and the military has been returned to its professional functions in national defense. Legal foundation that prevents the return of ABRI dwifunction (Ng & Kurniawan, 2024).

The current regulation ensures that the military does not have a gap to return to the political sphere. Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI prohibits active soldiers from occupying civil positions, except in certain positions directly related to defense. In addition, the Election Law and the Political Party Law also prohibited TNI members from being involved in practical politics. With this rule, the return of ABRI's dual function becomes legally impossible. Perspective of Democracy and Civil Supremacy. Larry Diamond in *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (1999) confirms that mature democracy requires strong civilian supremacy. The military involved in politics tends to weaken the mechanism of democracy and cause authoritarianism. In Indonesia, post-reform there has been a strengthening of civilian supremacy with strict control over the military, so that the possibility of the return of ABRI dwifunction is contrary to the direction of democratization that has been running for more than two decades. The dynamics of contemporary politics and the issue of revision of the TNI Law (Prakasa, 2021).

Word Cloud image shows a discourse on the revision of the TNI Law, which is associated with the possibility of the return of ABRI dwifunction. However, this revision is more focused on strengthening TNI professionalism in dealing with contemporary threats, not on restoring the role of military politics. Discourse that develops in the public is more influenced by misunderstandings and narratives from certain groups who might want to take advantage of this issue for political purposes. Group interests and public perceptions. In the perspective of elite theory (C. Wright Mills), certain elite groups often use strategic issues to build narratives that benefit their interests (Banerjee & Webeck, 2022). The discourse about the return of ABRI dwifunction can be understood as part of the efforts of certain groups to strengthen their political position, although in reality there is no concrete policy that leads to that direction. Democratic mechanisms that prevent the return of ABRI dwifunction. Indonesia has a democratic mechanism that ensures that civil supremacy is maintained. The president, as the supreme commander,

has control over the TNI, while parliament has a supervisory role. In addition, civil society and media have an important role in maintaining military transparency and accountability (Klaus, 2016).

With this mechanism, the opportunity for the military to return to the political sphere is very small. TNI professionalism and future challenges. TNI professionalism is a key element in ensuring that the military remains focused on defense functions. Since the reforms, various programs have been implemented to improve TNI professionalism, including strengthening the defense doctrine and improving the welfare of soldiers. In the future, the main challenge is to ensure that this professionalism is maintained and is not misused by certain political interests. Although there is no real indication that ABRI's dwifunction will return, this issue is often used in political discourse by certain groups to create narrative fear or lead public opinion. One example is the discourse on the revision of the TNI Law, which had led to concerns that the military will return to the political sphere. However, if you pay close attention, the revision is more oriented towards improving the welfare of soldiers and strengthening professionalism in dealing with non-traditional threats such as cyber and terrorism, not to restore the political role of the TNI. Professionalism of the TNI as the main pillar of national defense. Since the reforms, the TNI has tried to increase the professionalism and modernization of defense equipment to improve its combat capabilities (Toronto, 2017).

This can be seen from the procurement of sophisticated defense equipment such as Rafale fighter jets and cooperation with various countries in military training. Another example is the role of the TNI in military operations other than war (OMSP), as in disaster management and world peace missions under the United Nations. With the increasing focus on the TNI on professionalism and defense duties, it is unlikely that they will be again involved in politics such as the ABRI dwifunction era. ABRI's dwifunction will not return (Muhammad et al., 2023).

Based on historical analysis, law, and the theory of civil-military relations, it can be concluded that the dual function of ABRI will not return. Reformation has ensured that the military remains under civilian control, and various democratic mechanisms have been applied to prevent military involvement in politics. The narrative regarding the possibility of the return of dual function comes more from public perceptions that are influenced by certain political dynamics. Therefore, civilian supremacy is maintained, and the main focus must be directed at strengthening the professionalism of the TNI as guardian of national defense without involvement in politics (Subagyo, 2023).

Quantitative and Qualitative Data Relationship

Table 10. Quantitative and Qualitative Data Relationship Between Variables

Connection Between	Data Quantitative Correlation	Data Qualitative (relationship)	Information
Politization of the TNI Law> Civil Supremacy and ABRI Dwifunction	Nilai T-statistik 5,073/P-value (0,000) menunjukkan Politicization TNI Law terhadap ABRI Dwifunctions and Civil Supremacy berpengaruh secara signifikan secara statistik dan pada level besar (f-square 0,489).	ABRI's dwifunction will not return, and civilian supremacy is maintained because there is Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI and the principles of democracy in the 1945 Constitution.	Strengthen, deepen and expand quantitative data
Factor affecting	-	Limitations of literature, copyright opinion, and utilization of certain groups	Strengthen, deepen and expand quantitative data

Table 10 above shows the results of the mixed methods (SEM PLS-4 and NVivo 12) analysis, which describes the significant relationship between the politicization of the TNI Law and the issue of the ABRI Dwifunction and threats to civilian supremacy (Waqar et al., 2023). The results of quantitative analysis show that the politicization of the TNI Law has a major influence on the issue, as evidenced by the T-statistic value of 5,073 and P-value of 0.000, which show a very high significance of statistics, and an F-square of 0.489. This indicates that the higher the politicization of the revision of the TNI Law, the greater the possibility of the emergence of issues regarding the return of ABRI dwifunction. However, this is contrary to the legal reality, which regulates that the ABRI's dual function is no longer valid, as regulated in the TNI Law and the 1945 Constitution, which expressly prohibits TNI soldiers from being involved in practical politics. Although the issue of the return of ABRI dual function is often sticking out, in fact it is not possible because it has been clearly arranged in existing regulations. The TNI Law firmly regulates that the TNI is a state defense tool that must be subject to state political policies (Waqar et al., 2023).

In addition, in accordance with the principles of democracy contained in the 1945 Constitution, the military may not be practical politics, and political authority is entirely in the hands of civilian institutions elected by the people, such as the House of Representatives (DPR). Thus, although the issue often arises, there is no legal basis that supports the return of ABRI dwifunction. Meanwhile, the threat to civilian supremacy, which is often associated with the politicization of the TNI Law, is actually also unreasonable. In Indonesia, the civil government, through the DPR, has full authority to oversee and regulate the TNI, including in terms of the formation of laws relating to the duties and functions of the TNI as a means of national defense. Civil supremacy in Indonesia is maintained because the role of civilians in the supervision and regulation of national defense policies is very strong and guaranteed in the applicable constitutional system (Akustyo & Samputra, 2025).

In this case, the politicization that occurs is more influenced by certain political interests that utilize the moment of revision of the law to create public opinion for short-term political benefits, without considering its impact on the social and political stability of the country. The factors that influence the emergence of the politicization of the TNI Law are the limitations of literature that discusses the role of the TNI as a tool of national defense that is subject to state politics based on statutory regulations. This limitation opens up space for interest groups to take advantage of ignorance or misinterpretation in society to create opinions that can influence public policy. Politicization like this has the potential to disrupt public services, reduce public confidence in the government and the Parliament, and have a negative impact on the stability of the country, including potential threats to national defense (M. Harlan Pariyatman et al., 2023). Therefore, it is important to strengthen the literature that can clearly explain the role of the TNI and avoid politicization that can harm the interests of the state and society.

DISCUSSION

After the 1998 reforms, Indonesia took steps to separate the roles of the military and civilians by removing the ABRI dwifunction, which previously gave the TNI a dual role as a tool of national defense as well as part of the civil bureaucracy. This policy aims to reduce the politicization of the role of the TNI in domestic affairs and restore civil supremacy over state policy. Nevertheless, in certain contexts, especially in conflict-prone areas such as Papua, the role of the TNI in handling civil and social problems remains, although it is no longer based on the doctrine of dwifunction. This raises questions related to whether the involvement of the TNI in the civil domain, especially in conflict areas, is politicization or the response to the country's strategic needs in maintaining stability and sovereignty. However, the politicization of the TNI is not always reflected in its involvement in post-reform domestic tasks. In some cases, such as in

vulnerable areas such as Papua, the TNI is often faced with challenges in maintaining security stability and supporting government policies in maintaining sovereignty (Ruhyanto, 2016).

The main challenge faced is the complexity of multidimensional threats, ranging from the threat of separatism and socio-political tension to the activities of armed groups. In facing this challenge, the TNI is often seen as a key actor in maintaining the country's sovereignty and stability. Although there is no clear politicization in these tasks, dependence on the TNI in carrying out civilian tasks still shows the potential deviations from the principle of civil supremacy, which should remain the basis of state policy. Within the defense policy framework, TNI politicization is often seen in the difficulty in applying civilian supremacy to defense policies. The involvement of the TNI in domestic affairs, both in handling social conflicts and in the management of natural disasters, is often less supported by clear regulations. This causes uncertainty in the role played by the TNI outside the task of national defense and sometimes opens up space for broader interpretations of the role of the TNI in policymaking. Although Indonesia has abolished the dwifunction of ABRI, an adequate legal framework for regulating the role of the military in the civilian domain has not been fully implemented, which has the potential to cause tension in civil-military relations, especially in conflict-prone areas (S & Supriyadi, 2024).

Furthermore, although Indonesia is committed to strengthening civilian supremacy, in fact, the implementation of defense policies in several conflict-prone areas often requires the TNI to be involved in managing domestic threats. The existence of a more dominant TNI in certain situations, such as in handling separatism and social tension, shows that although the dysfunction of ABRI has been abolished, the role of the military in handling civilian problems is still significant. Therefore, it is important to consider further reform in the supervision of the role of the TNI to remain within the legal and constitutional framework that strengthens the principles of civilian supremacy. Strengthening coordination between the TNI and civil institutions is very necessary to avoid imbalances in civil-military relations. In this case, the role of a stronger civilian institution in the planning and implementation of defense policies will be the key to ensuring that the TNI continues to carry out its duties in accordance with the principles of civilian supremacy and not be trapped in politicization (Suntoro, 2019).

Improving the managerial and technical capabilities of civilian institutions, as well as clarifying the role of each actor in managing defense policies, will be very important to maintain the stability and integrity of the state without sacrificing the principles of democracy. As a concrete step, reforms in a more transparent and accountable defense policy need to be carried out, with an emphasis on the separation of clear roles between the TNI and civil institutions. Increased collaboration between the TNI and regional government and related ministries, as well as strengthening the capacity of civilian institutions in designing a more holistic and coordinated defense policy, will ensure that the TNI continues to carry out its duties in accordance with the corridor of the law and state constitution. In this way, Indonesia can maintain the country's sovereignty and stability in a sustainable manner without sacrificing the principles of civilian supremacy, which is the main foundation of the country's defense system (Penerapan & Fifo, 2023).

CONCLUSION

The dual function of the Indonesian Armed Forces has no basis for returning to the Indonesian democratic system after the 1998 reforms. The revision of Law No. 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI is more focused on strengthening military professionalism in facing contemporary threats, such as non-traditional crimes and terrorism, rather than on restoring the political role of the TNI. The issue regarding the potential revival of the dual function of the Indonesian Armed Forces is more due to a lack of

understanding of the substance of the revision and the influence of public opinion. In the Indonesian democratic system, civilian supremacy is maintained through the oversight mechanism by the DPR and civil society, while the President as the holder of the highest authority over defense policy ensures that the TNI remains subject to state policy and is not involved in practical politics.

The main contribution of this research lies in understanding the relationship between freedom of opinion, public political dynamics, and national resilience. This research emphasizes that freedom of opinion is the right of every citizen in a democratic system, but must be conveyed in an orderly manner so as not to disrupt public order and state stability. In addition, this research shows the importance of maintaining a balance between civilian and military roles in the context of a modern democratic state. The limitations of this study lie in the limited time, which has an impact on the depth of analysis and data coverage, so that the results of the study have not fully represented all existing dynamics as a whole. Therefore, further research is recommended to expand the scope and deepen the analysis of the issue of military involvement in the civilian sphere more comprehensively.

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