UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
ANALISIS KONSTRUKSI POLRI DI MASA REFORMASI DAN IMPLIKASINYA TERHADAP DEMOKRASI DI INDONESIA
Muhammad Rafi Fadilah, Tapiheru Joash Elisha Stephen, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Anderson, D. M., & Killingray, D. (1991). *POLICING THE EMPIRE: GOVERNMENT, AUTHORITY AND CONTROL, 1830–1940*. Manchester University Press.

Arnold, D. (1986). *Police Power and Colonial Rule: Madras 1859-1947*. Oxford University Press.

Aspinall, E. (2005). *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*. Standford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1080/03612759.2005.10526753

Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia*. Cornel University Press.

Aspinall, E., Mietzner, M., & Tomsa, D. (2015). *The Yudhoyono Presidency: Indonesia's Decade of Stability and Stagnation*. ISEAS Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814620727-018

Baker, J. (2012). *The Rise of Polri: Democratisation and the Political Economy of Security in Indonesia* (Issue June) [London School of Economics and Political Science]. http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/3132/

Bastian, A., Akili, R. H., & Kadir, Y. (2024). Netralitas Kepolisian Republik Indonesia Pada Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum. *JURNAL HUKUM, POLITIK DAN ILMU SOSIAL*, *3*(2), 96–104. https://doi.org/10.55606/jhpis.v3i2.3721

Bayley, D. H. (2001). Democratizing the Police Abroad: What to Do and How to Do It. In *National Institute of Justice*.

Bayley, D. H. (2006). *Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad*. Oxford University Press.

Beetham, D. (1991). *The Legitimation of Power*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.54972/00000043_2022_5_43

Bittner, E. (1970). The Functions of the Police in Modern Society: A review of background factors, current practices, and possible role models. *National Institute of Mental Healt, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency*, *1*, 243.

Bleiker, R., & Hutchison, E. (2008). Fear no more: emotions and world politics. *Review of International Studies*, *34*(S1), 115–135. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210508007821

Bloembergen, M. (2011). *POLISI ZAMAN HINDIA BELANDA - Dari Kepedulian dan Ketakutan*. Kompas Penerbit Buku.

ANALISIS KONSTRUKSI POLRI DI MASA REFORMASI DAN IMPLIKASINYA TERHADAP DEMOKRASI DI INDONESIA
Muhammad Rafi Fadilah, Tapiheru Joash Elisha Stephen, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Brogden, M. (1987). THE EMERGENCE OF THE POLICE — THE COLONIAL DIMENSION. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *27*(1), 4–14. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjc.a047651

Brogden, M., & Shearing, C. (2005). *Policing for a New South Africa*. Routledge.

Buzan, B., Wæver, O., & Wilde, J. de. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynne Riernner Publishers.

Cribb, R. (1994). *The late colonial state in Indonesia: political and economic foundations of the Netherlands Indies, 1880-1942*. KITLV Press.

Crouch, H. (2010). *Political Reform in Indonesia after Soeharto*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Darry, M., & Asri, D. (2022). Problematika netralitas Polri di era Jokowi: Keterlibatan dalam politik praktis dan bisnis. *Jurnal Politik Indonesia (Indonesian Journal of Politics)*, *8*(1), 30–48. https://doi.org/10.20473/jpi.v8i1.33927

Dewey, J. (1916). Force and Coercion. *International Journal of Ethics*, *26*(3), 359–367. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1086/intejethi.26.3.2377050

Dewey, J. (2021). Force, Violence, and the Law. In *America's Public Philosopher: Essays on Social Justice, Economics, Education, and the Future of Democracy* (pp. 83–87). Columbia University Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. Longman Group Limited.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*. Patheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (A. Sheridan (ed.)). Vintage Books.

Goodwin, J., Jasper, J. M., & Polleta, F. (2001). *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. The University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-30715-2_27

Goodwin, J., Jasper, J. M., & Polletta, F. (2001). *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. The University of Chicago Press.

Gusman, D. G., & Nazmi, D. N. (2023). EXTERNAL SUPERVISION SYSTEM REFORM IN THE STATE POLICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA. *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum*, *23*(1), 214. https://doi.org/10.20884/1.jdh.2023.23.1.3419

Hadiz, V. R. (2010). Localising power in post-authoritarian Indonesia: A Southeast Asia

ANALISIS KONSTRUKSI POLRI DI MASA REFORMASI DAN IMPLIKASINYA TERHADAP DEMOKRASI DI INDONESIA
Muhammad Rafi Fadilah, Tapiheru Joash Elisha Stephen, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Perspective. In *Standord Univetsity Press*.

Haripin, M., & Siregar, S. N. (2016). The Defects of Police Reform in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities*, *6*(2), 53–64. https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v6i2.40

Hasani, I., Halili, & Yosarie, I. (2026). Police transformation within constitutional democracy design : Evidence from Indonesia. *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, *23*(1), 331–346. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v23i1.96514

Hasibuan, E. S. (2025). Polemic on Polri Reform: Where Do You Want the Police To Be Directed? *Krtha Bhayangkara*, *19*(3), 842–852. https://doi.org/10.31599/krtha.v19i3.4670

Hefner, R. W. (2000). *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press.

Heryanto, A., & Hadiz, V. R. (2005). Post-authoritarian Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, *37*(2), 251–275. https://doi.org/10.1080/14672710500106341

Hills, A. (2011). Policing Africa : Internal security and the limits of liberalization. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, *25*(1–2), 69–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/13600869.2011.594659

Honna, J. (2013). *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203378861

Klinken, G. van. (2007). Communal violence and democratization in Indonesia: Small town wars. In *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203965115

Lentz, S. A., & Chaires, R. H. (2007). The invention of Peel's principles: A study of policing 'textbook' history. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *35*(1), 69–79. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2006.11.016

Levitsky, S., & Way, L. A. (2002). Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy*, *13*(2), 51–65. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2002.0026

Lister, S., & Rowe, M. (2016). *Accountability of Policing*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315881898

Lukes, S. (2005). *Power: A Radical View*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.2307/2065624

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
ANALISIS KONSTRUKSI POLRI DI MASA REFORMASI DAN IMPLIKASINYA TERHADAP DEMOKRASI DI INDONESIA
Muhammad Rafi Fadilah, Tapiheru Joash Elisha Stephen, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

McCarthy, D., Ho, L. K. ki, Chan, J. K. H., & Brunton-Smith, I. (2025). Understanding public confidence in the police within democratic and authoritarian regimes. *Public Administration and Development*, *45*(1), 32–42. https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.2072

Mérieau, E. (2023). Authoritarian Policing and Democratization. In *Regime Type and Beyond* (Issue June 2023, pp. 244–264). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009042154.013

Mietzner, M. (2009). *Military Politics, Islam and the State in Indonesia: From Turbulent Transition to Democratic Consolidation*. Institute Of Southeast Asian Studies Publishing.

Mietzner, M. (2010). Political Conflict Resolution and Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia: The Role of the Constitutional Court. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *10*(3), 397–424. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1598240800003672

Mietzner, M. (2020a). Authoritarian innovations in Indonesia: electoral narrowing, identity politics and executive illiberalism. *Democratization*, *27*(6), 1021–1036. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1704266

Mietzner, M. (2020b). Authoritarian innovations in Indonesia: electoral narrowing, identity politics and executive illiberalism. *Democratization*, *27*(6), 1021–1036. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1704266

Muradi. (2014). *Politics and Governance in Indonesia: The police in the era of reformasi*. Routledge.

Muradi, & Safitri, W. (2026). Politik Jatah Polisi: Polri di Era Jokowi. *Prisma: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial Ekonomi*, *45*(3), 45–66.

O'Shea, L. (2023). Why democratic police reform mostly fails and sometimes succeeds: police reform and low state capacity, authoritarianism and neo-patrimonial politics (in the former Soviet Union). *Policing and Society*, *33*(3), 245–263. https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2022.2106983

Schedler, A. (2013). *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism*. Oxford University Press.

SETARA Institute. (2024). *DESAIN TRANSFORMASI POLRI UNTUK MENDUKUNG VISI INDONESIA 2045*. Pustaka Masyarakat Setara.

Sharma, R. ., Singh, C., & Mehta, A. (2008). Police Reforms in India: A Critical Appraisal. *Research Journal Social Sciences*, *16*(1).

Simamora, J., & Simatupang, L. D. (2025). Penguatan Kedudukan dan Kewenangan

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
ANALISIS KONSTRUKSI POLRI DI MASA REFORMASI DAN IMPLIKASINYA TERHADAP DEMOKRASI DI INDONESIA
Muhammad Rafi Fadilah, Tapiheru Joash Elisha Stephen, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Konstitusional Polri sebagai Alat Negara dalam Bidang Keamanan dan Ketertiban. *Negara Hukum: Membangun Hukum Untuk Keadilan Dan Kesejahteraan*, *15*(2), 159–181. https://doi.org/10.22212/jnh.v15i2.4424

Siregar, S. N. (2025). Politicised policing in Indonesia: a study of the Indonesian national police during the 2019 presidential election. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, *33*(3), 654–672. https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2025.2500005

Siregar, S. N., Raffiudin, R., & Noor, F. (2022). Democratic regression in Indonesia: Police and low-capacity democracy in Jokowi's administration (2014–2020). *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, *26*(2), 197–212. https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.72129

Sklansky, D. A. (2007). *Democracy and the Police*. Standford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195189759.003.0002

Slater, D. (2010). *Ordering power: Contentious politics and authoritarian leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.

Slater, D. (2013). Democratic Careening. *World Politics*, *65*(4), 729–763. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887113000233

Solihah, R., Witianti, S., & Ummah, M. (2018). The importance of police neutrality in creating democratic election. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, *12*(4), 380–395.

Sukardi, S., & Purnama, H. R. (2022). Restorative Justice Principles in Law Enforcement and Democracy in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies*, *7*(1), 155–190. https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v7i1.53057

Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing. *Law and Society Review*, *37*(3), 513–548. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-5893.3703002

Tapiheru, J. (2025). *MILITER DAN KEPOLISIAN DALAM KERANGKA REPUBLIK MENGHAYATI NALAR REPUBLIK SEBAGAI AMANAT KONSTITUSI* (Issue April).

Taufik, Noor, M. N. M., & Hamil, J. (2023). The Elite Construction Post-Authoritarianism Suharto. *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (MJSSH)*, *8*(6). https://doi.org/10.47405/mjssh.v8i6.2335

Tyler, T. R. (1990). *Why People Obey the Law*. Yale University Press.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2013). Ideology and Discourse. In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*. Oxford University Press.

UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA
ANALISIS KONSTRUKSI POLRI DI MASA REFORMASI DAN IMPLIKASINYA TERHADAP DEMOKRASI DI INDONESIA
Muhammad Rafi Fadilah, Tapiheru Joash Elisha Stephen, S.I.P., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Weber, M. (2019). *Economy and Society: A New Translation*. Harvard University Press.

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511612183.002

Wilson, I. D. (2015). The Politics of Protection Rackets in Post-New Order Indonesia: Coercive Capital, Authority and Street Politics. In *The Politics of Protection Rackets in Post-New Order Indonesia*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203799192

Zen, K. (2004). *Konflik dan Integrasi TNI-AD*. Institute for Policy Studies.