

**HUMAN RIGHTS & POLICE IN INDONESIA;
*A Study of Human Rights Policing in North Sumatra***

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Abstrak

Ketentuan Pasal 30 ayat (4) UUDNRI Tahun 1945 menegaskan bahwa Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia sebagai alat negara yang menjaga keamanan dan ketertiban masyarakat bertugas melindungi, mengayomi, melayani masyarakat, serta menegakkan hukum. Fungsi Kepolisian ini diperkuat melalui ketentuan Pasal 4 UU No. 2 Tahun 2002 yang menegaskan bahwa HAM wajib dijunjung tinggi dalam menjalankan fungsi kepolisian tersebut. Salah satu ketentuan penting dalam mengimplementasikan fungsi Polri dalam kaitannya dengan HAM adalah Peraturan Kapolri No. 8 Tahun 2009 tentang Implementasi Prinsip dan Standar Hak Asasi Manusia dalam Penyelenggaraan Tugas Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia. Tulisan ini mengkaji tentang pemolisian HAM di Sumatera Utara.

Kata Kunci: hak asasi manusia, pemolisian HAM, perkapolri, polri

Introduction

Among the fundamental changes occurring in the Reform Era (*Era Reformasi*, 1999-present) in the post-*Soeharto* Regime (1966-1998) was the advent of democratization and the great idea to reposition and restructure the Indonesian Armed Forces (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* or *ABRI*). During the reign of the Third Indonesian President, *Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie* (ruled from 21 May 1998-20 October 1999), and General *Wiranto* as the *ABRI* Commander, the term *ABRI* was changed to *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or *TNI* (Indonesian National Defence Forces).²

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²See Law No. 3 of 2002 concerning State Defence (*Pertahanan Negara*) (State Gazette 2002 No. 3, Add. State Gazette No. 4169) and Law No. 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Defence Forces (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*) (State Gazette 2004 No. 127, Add. State Gazette No. 4439).

It is strongly believed that the perception that the *TNI* are merged functions of defense and security, namely the Army, Navy, Air Force and the Indonesian National Police (*Kepolisian Republik Indonesia* or *Polri*), has led to confusion and overlap between the role and function of the *TNI* as the state's defense forces and the role and duties of *Polri* as the powers to ensure security and public order.

During Indonesian Reform Era, despite the successful separation of the *Polri* from the *TNI* through Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or *MPR*) No. VI of 2000 on the Separation of the *TNI* and *Polri* as well as Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or *MPR*) No. VII of 2000 on the Roles of the *TNI* and *Polri*, the pace of national reform will require the existence and professionalism of *TNI* and *Polri* in a much more optimum and reliable manner.³

The main reason of reforming the security sector reform in Indonesia was the occurrence of a variety of abuses in the use of *TNI* and *Polri* during New Order Era (*Era Orde Baru*) which resulted in the lack of public appreciation and confidence in these two state institutions. In other words, the Police reform is a necessity and the "entrance" in a tangible effort to position the *Polri* correctly in order to achieve the degree of professionalism that is reliable. Uildriks commented on the necessity of democratic transition, including the role of the Police in it, as follows:

Especially in societies in transition from authoritarian and repressive regimes to greater democracy, conviction of officers for human rights offenses can be of considerable symbolic significance, indicating to the public that the police are not above the law but are instead part of society and subject to the rule of law like everybody else: The rule of law applies to citizens and police alike. Such a state of affairs is important during the transition to institutions that function in accordance with democratic principles and the rule of law, a situation in which citizens no longer feel powerless in the face of a state that was formerly omnipotent, where citizens having no real redress for police abuse.⁴

³See provisions of Chapter X concerning State Defense and Security Article 30 paragraph (2), paragraph (3) and (4) of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution.

⁴See Niels Uildriks, *Mexico's Unrule of Law: Implementing Human Rights in Police and Judicial Reform under Democratization* (New York: Lexington Books, 2010), page 20.

Through the establishment of the Guidelines of State Policy (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* or *GBHN*) on October 19, 1999, four crucial principles were set, namely (1) *TNI* are an instrument of the state that protects, preserves and maintains the integrity of the State of the Republic of Indonesia; (2) the *Polri* are state instrument for law enforcement, protector and patron of society in accordance with the principle of local autonomy; (3) the Government should complete the relevant aspects of the separation of the *TNI* and *Polri* in a sustainable manner; and (4) the Government is to determine the direction of policy in improving the quality of the *TNI* and *Polri*.⁵

The position of the *TNI* and *Polri* respectively are firmly defined in Article 30 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution. Both are placed as the main state institutions in the system of defense and security of the people, though strictly separated in the duties and authorities. As an element of the state, the *TNI* are in charge of maintaining, protecting, and preserving the integrity and sovereignty of the state, while the *Polri* are a state instrument that maintains state security and public order with the duty to protect and serve the public, and enforce the law.

The enactment of Law No.2 of 2002 on the *Polri*⁶ (hereinafter the Police Act), which was followed by the establishment of the National Police Commission (*Komisi Kepolisian Nasional* or *Kompolnas*) through Presidential Regulation (*Peraturan Presiden*) No. 17 of 2005 which was then updated through Presidential Regulation (*Peraturan Presiden*) No. 17 of 2011 is the beginning of a new history for the *Polri*. The hope for *Polri* reform is advanced with the issuance of the Regulation of the National Police Chief No. 8 of 2009 on the Implementation of Human Rights Principles and Standards in Conducting the Duties of of Indonesian National Police on June 22, 2009 (hereinafter *Peraturan Kapolri* or *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009).⁷

⁵See the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly No. IV/MPR/1999 on the Guidelines of State Policy.

⁶Passed on January 8, 2002, consisting of 9 chapters and 45 articles.

⁷Consisting of 8 chapters and 64 articles, the regulation was enacted by the National Police Chief, General *Bambang Hendarso Danuri* (Sept 30, 2008-October 2010) and promulgated by the Minister of Law and Human Rights, *Andi Mattalatta*.

Institutional strengthening of the *Polri* becomes important to facilitate the implementation of Police duties. Position, the number of personnel and capacity building of human resources and increase of budget transpire into the keywords of development of the Police reform in Indonesia.

As an instrument of the state, the *Polri* are positioned directly under the President. The provision of Article 8 of the Police Act asserts as follows: (1) *the Polri are under the President.* (2) *the Polri are led by a Chief of Police, who is accountable to the President in the performance of his/her duties in accordance with the legislation.*

The number of *Polri* personnel has increased significantly. From 165 thousand members in 1992, the total number expanded to 395 thousand members in 2011 and is now approaching 460 thousand members in 2014. The acceptance of members of the *Polri* each year continues to increase rapidly, although to date the ratio of members of the police to population is still not balanced, which is 1: 575. It means a police-to-population ratio of around 1 police officer to 575 civilians. Actually, the ideal ratio should be at 1: 200 or 1: 300.

The recruitment of the police personnel has been gradually conducted. The year 2012 has seen 10 thousand personnel recruited; in 2013 and 2014 respectively 20 thousand personnel were recruited. Female police recruitment is also conducted and at present approximately 7 thousand female police (*Polisi Wanita/Polwan*) has been recruited.⁸

The author is actively engaged as an external supervisor of the recruitment of *Polri* officers in North Sumatra Police since 2010 until present. Although the requirement on the number of *Polri* personnel is crucial, the *Polri* recruitment and selection process adhere to the principles and mechanisms of quality and reliability. With the principles of cleanliness, transparency, accountability and humanity (*bersih, transparan, akuntabel dan humanis* or *BETAH*), the mechanism of recruitment and selection of *Polri* members has been credible and laudable.

Unless there is an internal watchdog at the headquarters and regional police levels consisting of internal elements of the *Polri*, such as supervisor inspectorate and profession and security division of the *Polri*, the presence of an external watchdog consisting of academia,

⁸See *Kompas Daily*, 11 March 2014 edition.

Indonesian Doctors Association (*Ikatan Dokter Indonesia* or *IDI*), government, media and NGOs (or civil societies) with open access to all stages of the recruitment, provides a great influence to bring about the credibility of the process and the resulting of qualified recruitment of the *Polri* personnel.⁹

Such is also the case of the budget. As an independent and authoritative institution, the *Polri* receive relatively more significant budget. In 2005 the *Polri* received the budget of Rp. 13 trillion, while in 2013 and 2014 the *Polri* budget rose to Rp. 47 trillion (US\$ 3,8 billion).

Significance of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009

The provision of Article 4 of the Police Act asserts that the *Polri* aim to achieve security in the country which encompasses the maintenance of public order and safety, the order and enforcement of law, the implementation of protection and service to the people, as well as the attainment of public peace by upholding human rights.

However, one must recognize that police work is a very complex dynamic. Regulation of any nature only serves to provide a general guidance. In the police's detailed and dynamic duty implementation, tactfulness, speed, reliability, courage and endurance are required.

Within the complexity of police work, discretion is a crucial as it allows the *Polri* to anticipate or even to solve the problem quickly. Anneke Osse, in her book *Understanding Police* seeks to recognize and understand the function of the police in the center of public life. Osse affirms as follows:

Human rights advocates as well as academics often argue that 'good policing' means policing in line with international human rights standards. Although this is no doubt true, it must be understood that international

⁹See *Perkapolri* No. 13 of 2010 on the External Supervision on the Admission of *Polri* Candidates. The recruitment and selection of *Polri* personnel conducted in four ways, namely: (1) for cadets or police officers candidates known as *Police Academy (Akademi Kepolisian* or *Akpol*); (2) for Police Inspectors candidates from Scholar known as *Sekolah Inspektur Polisi Sumber Sarjana* or *SIPSS*; (3) for police brigadiers candidates known as *Sekolah Bintara* or *Secaba*; and (4) for police brigadier adjutants candidates known as *Sekolah Tamtama* or *Secata*).

human rights standards offer only limited guidance for day-to-day police work. In fact, good police work can never be fully captured in rules and regulations, however numerous and detailed they might be. The necessary **discretion** required by police to carry out their functions presents problems for those human rights advocates preferring to have clear norms against which police behaviour can be measured. Many police find the reasoning of human rights advocates to be naive at best, and theoretical to say the least, reflecting a lack of understanding of their reality and placing an unrealistic burden on police work.¹⁰

This goes to show that the *Polri* have heavy tasks. Attribution of the position and authority of the *Polri* should essentially be independent of political interests. State confers such attribution so that the implementation of one of the functions of government, namely in the field of maintenance of public order and safety, law enforcement, protection, and service to the public, can be well and optimally conducted.

As such, the *Polri* have a key role in empowering the movement and pace of constitutional democracy. The *Polri* are not the enemy of the people, and neither is it the servant of the ruling power. The *Polri* are required to erect the true ethics and professionalism to uphold truth, justice and dignity. Without all these, the *Polri* will lose their identity as independent and authoritative state instruments.

Polri workflow includes the deepest areas of public interest. In addition to the fulfillment of public safety, the *Polri* strive to achieve respect, promotion, protection and fulfillment of human rights. When abuse of authority and power occurs, the *Polri* will lose its true identity. The *Polri* will undoubtedly lose their credibility as the main pillar of democracy in Indonesia. The *Polri* can be the perpetrator of human rights on one hand, and *Polri* could also be the protector of human rights on the other hand.¹¹

The development of Indonesian constitutional democracy has wide ramifications on the existence and role of the police. There is an urge for the *Polri* to develop a partnership with the public as in many parts of the world, public support becomes the main characteristics

¹⁰See Anneke Osse, *Understanding Policing; A Resource for Human Rights Activists* (Netherlands: Amnesty International Netherlands, 2012), page 41.

¹¹*Ibid.*, page 5.

of police life in the midst of a democratic society. Niels Uildriks in book *Policing Insecurity; Police Reform, Security, and Human Rights in Latin America* confirm the following:

A key characteristic of policing in democratic societies is that the police largely rely upon the public's consent and cooperation to be able to fulfill their policing functions. Public information and assistance then affords the police a basis to act, be it in a service-rendering, preventive or repressive capacity. In the absence of such voluntary, non-repressive forms of police-public interaction they are unable to provide security on the basis of policing methods that are compatible with democratic principles.¹²

Perkapolri No. 8 Year 2009 clearly requires all components and personnel of the *Polri* to know, understand and be aware of the values, principles and norms of human rights as a key element of democratic public life. The Police code of conduct implies a complete view of the recognition of the applicability of international¹³ and national human rights instruments.

¹²Niels Uildriks (Ed), *Policing Insecurity; Police Reform, Security, and Human Rights in Latin America* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009), page 16.

¹³International human rights instruments adopted in *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 are: (1) ICCPR; (2) ICESCR; (3) ICERD; (4) CEDAW; (5) CAT; (6) CRC; (7) CPPED; (8) UN Res. 34/169 on the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement; (9) UN Res. 43/174 of 1988 on principles of Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment; (10) UN Res. 37/194 of 1982 on principles of Medical Ethics in Protecting Prisoners; (11) UN Res. 45/110 of 1990 on the Standard Minimum Rules for the Non-Detention Measures ("Tokyo Rules"); (12) UN Standard Minimum Rules 1985 for Implementation of Juvenile Justice; (13) Declaration of Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Authority, 1985; (14) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women of 1993; (15) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women of 1993; (14) Human Rights Defenders Declaration of 1998; (16) the Effective Prevention and Investigation of the Death Penalty Execution by means of Illegal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions (1989/65 May 1989); (17) Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violation of International Humanitarian Law of 2005; and (18) UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement 1980.

Considerations of the *Perkapolri* strengthen the foundation of *Polri* professionalism with international and national instruments¹⁴ attached to *Polri* professionalism. In other words, *Polri* reform is a historical necessity and "entry point" so that the *Polri* are positioned correctly in order to achieve the degree of professionalism that is reliable and laudable.

The provision of Article 3 *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 explicitly recognizes the principles of human rights protection, namely (1) minimum protection; (2) attachment to human; (3) interrelation; (4) inseparability; (5) indivisibility; (6) universality; (7) fundamental; (8) justice; (9) equity/ equality; (10) freedom; (11) non-discrimination; and (12) special treatment for groups with special needs.

The provision of Article 8 paragraph (2) *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 explicitly states the obligation to implement the protection and respect of human rights transpires to at least (1) respect the dignity and rights of each person; (2) act in a fair and non-discriminatory manner; (3) behave politely; (4) respect the norms of religion, ethics and morals; and (5) respect the local culture to the extent that it is not in conflict with the law and human rights.

There are three main principles in the service and the protection of the people. Each member of the *Polri* shall take into

¹⁴The national human rights instruments adopted in *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 are: (1) the 1945 Indonesian Constitution; (2) Law No. 7 of 1984 on the Ratification of the CEDAW (State Gazette 1984 No. 29, Add. State Gazette No. 3277); (3) Law No. 3 of 1997 on Juvenile Justice (State Gazette 1997 No. 3, Add. State Gazette No. 3668); (4) Law No. 5 of 1998 on the Ratification of the CAT (State Gazette 1998 No. 164, Add. State Gazette No. 3983); (5) Law No. 9 of 1998 on Freedom of Expression at Publicly (State Gazette 1998 No. 181, Add. State Gazette No. 3789); (6) Law No. 29 of 1999 on the Ratification of the CERD (State Gazette 1999 No. 83, Add. State Gazette No. 3852); (7) Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights (State Gazette 1999 No. 165, Add. State Gazette No. 3886); (8) Law No. 26 of 2000 on Human Rights Court (State Gazette Year 2000 No. 208, Add. State Gazette No. 4026); (9) Law No. 23 of 2002 on the Protection of Children (State Gazette 2002 No. 109, Add. State Gazette No. 4235); (10) Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (State Gazette 2004 No. 95, Add. State Gazette No. 4419); (11) Law No. 11 of 2005 on the Ratification of the ICESCR (State Gazette 2005 No. 118, Add. State Gazette No. 4557); (12) Law No. 12 of 2005 on the Ratification of the ICCPR (State Gazette 2005 No. 119, Add. State Gazette No. 4558); and (13) Law No. 13 of 2006 on the Protection of Witnesses and Victims (State Gazette 2006 No. 64, Add. State Gazette No. 4635).

consideration the three principles, namely (1) the principle of legality;¹⁵ (2) the principle of necessity;¹⁶ and (3) the principle of proportionality.¹⁷ The application of the three principles should be accountable and professionally conducted by upholding the rule of law and human rights principles.

It is safe to conclude that *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 leads towards *Polri* professionalism. Thus, it takes a holistic perspective to see and support the professionalism of the *Polri* which is founded upon human rights principles.¹⁸

The enactment of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 reaffirms the responsibility of the whole action of the *Polri*. The *Polri* code of conduct is internalized as an integral part of the effort to establish the quality identity of the *Polri*.

The development of the people progresses quite rapidly, in line with the demands of democracy through the rule of law, human rights, globalization, decentralization, transparency, and accountability, and has entailed a variety of new paradigms in viewing the objectives, tasks, functions, powers and responsibilities of the Police which further entails the growth of various demands and expectations of the people towards the implementation of *Polri* duties that is more oriented to the people it serves.

The *Polri* are national asset and strength. The evidence of commitment to the *Polri* has sparked many intelligent ideas, which

¹⁵Which implies that the action of an officer/member of the *Polri* should be in accordance with applicable laws and procedures, both in national and in international legislation.

¹⁶Which implies that the action of an officer/member of the *Polri* should be based on a need to achieve the goal of law enforcement, which requires members of the *Polri* to perform an action that limits the freedom of the individual in the face of unavoidable events.

¹⁷Which implies that the action of an officer/member of the *Polri* should be a balance between the actions taken with the threats encountered in law enforcement

¹⁸Correspondingly, Prakash and Suryanarayana asserted, "the obligation of the police leadership to protect Human Rights will be fulfilled when it is realized that the power for the police is not an end in itself but is a means to serve the people." See Prakash Kodumagulla and A. Suryanarayana, "Police Leadership Imperatives in the Protection of Human Rights," in *International Conference on Management and Artificial Intelligence*, IPEDR, vol. 6 (Bali, Indonesia: IACSIT Press, 2011), page 81.

are continued to be leveled though sometimes with a critical and harsh tone. This shows the importance of solidity of *Polri* performance to be in line with the democratization of an independent, authoritative and dignified Indonesia. *Perkapolri* No. 8 year 2009 demonstrates a deep awareness within the *Polri* to implement universal humanitarian principles. The construct of this understanding is the logical basis towards the achievement of a democratic and humanist *Polri* force.

It is also in line with the endorsement of the Police Chief (*Kapolri*) that the most fundamental outcome of the *Polri* bureaucratic reform is the ability of the *Polri* in providing excellent service so that the people it serves exhibit satisfaction.¹⁹ The *Kapolri* also confirms that there are at least two national policies carried out within the framework of realizing the main tasks and functions of the *Polri*, namely the *Polri* revitalization and bureaucracy reform, as stated in the following:

With regard to the indication which suggests a confusion in understanding the substance of the meaning of the two policies, namely the *Polri* revitalization and the *Polri* bureaucracy reform, my expectation goes that all of you could advocate and assure all members that the *Polri* revitalization and bureaucratic reform are two policies that are complementary in mutual supporting manner, and not in any way duplicative, and even both are also part of the national police strategy with a single goal which is to achieve the ability of the police to provide excellent services to the people.²⁰

There are three basic things that define the direction of *Polri* revitalization and bureaucratic reform, namely (1) *Polri* institution;²¹

¹⁹Mandate of the *Kapolri* on Socialization of Analysis and Evaluation Results of *Polri* Bureaucratic Reforms and Socialization of Grand Design 2010-2025, Jakarta, March 4, 2011. The *Polri* Bureaucratic Reform emphasizes within three phases, namely: (1) 2005-2009 for trust building; (2) 2010-2015 for partnership building; and (3) 2016-2025 striving for excellence.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹See Presidential Regulation No. 52 of 2010 on Organizational Structure and Work Procedures of the *Polri*. For the Headquarters level of the Police, see *Perkapolri* No. 21 of 2010 on the Organizational Structure and Work Procedures in the Headquarters Level of the Indonesian National Police. For the Regional/Provincial Police level, refer to the provisions of *Perkapolri* No. 22 of

(2) *Polri* instrumentation;²² and (3) *Polri* culture.²³ The three principles are a major focus of reform towards police bureaucracy.

Institutionally it is expected that there will be a fundamental change in creating a healthy and accountable institution, police instrumentation and culture that are able to mobilize promptly in response to the demands of the development of society. In addition to being professional, as an instrument of the state, the *Polri* are to implement their basic tasks and functions which are independent, democratic, intelligent, dignified and humane.

Nevertheless, one must admit that the journey of *Polri* reform is not without problems. There are various problems. Among the main problems are the lack of budget allocated for the *Polri*, the limited number of *Polri* personnel, the lack of mastery of information technology and the weak understanding and implementation of human rights in the duties and functions of the Police. This last point resulted in the negative development and appreciation in the public level.

The records of the National Commission on Human Rights (*Komisi Nasional HAM* or *Komnas HAM*) in 2012 affirmed all the above. On business and human rights for example, it was noted that in January-November 2012, the Commission received complaints towards companies in 1,009 files of 5,422 incoming file. Companies are the second actor after the Police (1635 files).²⁴ On torture, the Commission also noted as follows:

The *Polri* still at the first rank (1,635 files) as the actor most widely complained of human rights violation. Complaints related to detention and apprehension (134 files), discrimination of law in investigation (893 files), shootings and violence (104 files), and torture under examination (39 files). These figures reflect that institutional reforms launched by the

2010 on the Organizational Structure and Work Procedures in the Regional Police Level of the Indonesian National Police. For Police Resort level, see *Perkapolri* No. 23 of 2010 on the Organizational Structure and Work Procedures in the Police Resort and Police Sector Level of the Indonesian National Police.

²²*Polri* instrumentation includes applicable regulations set forth in the police institution.

²³*Polri* culture includes the code of conduct of police personnel.

²⁴See End of Year Report of the *Komnas HAM*, 11 December 2012. Accessible at www.komnasham.go.id. Accessed on December 12, 2012.

Police and the Police's commitment to human rights still resonate "on paper" and were yet to yield any real impact.²⁵

Now, it has been five years since the enactment of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 (since its enactment on June 22, 2009). As a normative progress that should be appreciated, the empirical implementation of the main tasks and functions (duties) of the *Polri*, especially regarding the commitment and implementation of human rights, should also be noted, especially in North Sumatra. This progression is important to raise the attitude and determination to develop a framework to realize institutionalization and police personnel, which are democratic, intelligent, dignified, humane and professional by using human rights-based approach to policing.

Police and Human Rights

Article 4 of the Police Act asserts that the *Polri* aim to achieve security in the country which encompasses the maintenance of public order and safety, the order and enforcement of law, the implementation of protection and service to the people, as well as the attainment of public peace by upholding human rights.

This goes in line with Ralph Crawshaw's statement in *Police and Human Rights; A Manual for Teachers, Resource Persons and Participants in Human Rights Programme*:

The balance between fundamental rights and essential police powers has been established in international law, which is the basis of the subject matter of this manual, and in domestic law. Police officials, whose role includes law enforcement, are legally bound to respect the law which protects human rights when exercising their powers. The delivery of effective, lawful and humane policing requires this.²⁶

The development of the Indonesian people progresses quite rapidly, in line with the demands of democracy through the rule of law, human rights, globalization, decentralization, transparency, and accountability, and has entailed a variety of new paradigms in

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ See Ralph Crawshaw, *Police and Human Rights; A Manual for Teachers, Resource Persons and Participants in Human Rights Programme* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009), page 4.

viewing the objectives, tasks, functions, powers and responsibilities of the Police.

It has been recognized that the execution of police duties keeps improving and is essentially more oriented to the people served, as affirmed by Mitchell S.G. Klein in his book *Law, Courts and Policy* in which he asserted that “*the police carry out multiplicity of roles. Broadly, these roles include law enforcement, order maintenance and community service. The police are not only our crime fighters but also our peacekeepers and 24-hour-a-day service providers.*”²⁷

Perkapolri No. 8 of 2009 necessitates for all *Polri* components and personnel to profoundly understand the principles and values of human rights. This *Polri* code of conduct implies a complete view of the recognition of the applicability of international²⁸ and national human rights instruments. It has to be emphasized that the standardization of police work necessitates three fundamental aspects, namely **first**, *international human rights law is binding on all States and their agents, including law enforcement officials*; **second**, *human rights is legitimate subject for international law and international scrutiny*; and **third**, *law enforcement officials are obliged to know, and to apply, international standards for human rights.*²⁹

Aside from that, the commitment to public protection should be founded upon transparency, intensive communication and impartial information.³⁰ Green and Ward in their book *State Crime*;

²⁷See Mitchell S.G. Klein, *Law, Courts and Policy* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), page 42.

²⁸*Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 adopted a code of conduct that applies universally. Among the most important is the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials by the UN General Assembly Resolution No. 34/169 on December 17, 1979. Expressed in Commentary Section 1, the term “law enforcement officials” includes all officers of the law from, whether appointed or elected, who exercise police powers, especially the powers of arrest or detention. Article 2 emphasizes that, in the performance of their duty, law enforcement officials shall respect and protect human dignity and maintain and uphold the human rights of all persons.

²⁹United Nations, *Human Rights Standard and Practice for the Police* (Geneva: OHCHR Publication, 2004), page 1.

³⁰Indonesia has enacted Law No. 40 of 2008 on the Openness of Public Information (State Gazette Year 2008 No. 61, Add. State Gazette No. 4846). Two

Governments, Violence and Corruption state that, “the culture or habitus of the police can be changed if the ‘field’ of police work changes. As in other areas of state crime, the role of civil society –pressure groups, civil rights lawyers, the media, etc. – is vital to ensuring that marginal and dissident groups cannot be victimized with impunity.”³¹

It should be understood that the purpose of police reform is to build a democratic, professional and accountable civil police force in serving the people by upholding the norms of democracy and the respect for human rights. Essentially, the *Polri* should be supported in their contribution to the investment climate of democracy in Indonesia. “Democracy requires not only that the police, part of the executive arm of the state, be constrained by law but also that they make a special effort to safeguard activities that are essential to the exercise of democracy,” David H. Bayley asserted.³²

The same emphasis was also expressed by Pino and Wiatrowski in their book *Democratic Policing in Transitional and Developing Countries* by stating that in addition to the ability of the police to make themselves a democratic institution, supremacy or civil authority has an important role in the success of a democratic police agenda, as described hereunder:

Democratic policing requires that the police must be as democratic as other government institutions. The police must be committed to the rule of law that limits their powers. They must also have legitimacy, transparency, accountability, a commitment to human rights, and be subordinate to civil authority.³³

years later, the Police issued a policy through *Perkapolri* No. 16 of 2010 on the Procedure for Public Information Services in the Indonesian National Police.

³¹See Penny Green and Tony Ward, *State Crime: Governments, Violence and Corruption* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), page 85.

³²See David H. Bayley, *Democratizing the Police Abroad: What to Do and How to Do It* (Washington: the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, 2001), page 14.

³³See Nathan W. Pino and Michael D. Wiatrowski, *Democratic Policing in Transitional and Developing Countries* (USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), page 10.

Furthermore, Bayley mentioned that a conflict of interest in the name of democracy and the rule of law is not impossible. A complete version of what Bayley firmly said is as follows:

In other words, democracy requires not only the rule of law but law with a particular content. The problem is that the police are not responsible for the content of law; government is. Paradoxically, then, the obligations on the police to be accountable to the rule of law and to protect human rights may conflict, as, for example, when if the law requires them to act in an arbitrary and repressive way. On their own, the best that the police can do with respect to human rights is to “push the envelope” of normative behavior, to be better than government requires, so as to show what democracy means in practice and to encourage the public to press for it.³⁴

As the main pillar of democracy, the police have to, in the name of law and order, avoid conflicts that may trigger corrupt behavior by resorting to repressive actions. The following expression is worth pondering upon, “*police corruption is closely associated with organized crime, and it is to the wider relationship between organized crime and the state that we now turn.*”³⁵

In the context of human rights policing, referring to the term used by Iglesias and Klingshirn, it needs to be emphasized that, “*in countries that are undergoing or have experienced a police reform process, human rights are a cornerstone of policing.*” A more complete version:

A human rights practice implies that police organisations adopt a comprehensive human rights policy; that international human rights standards are incorporated into standing orders for the police; that human rights training is provided to all police, at recruitment and periodically; and that police organisations should cooperate with national and international human rights organisations.³⁶

The foregoing statement from Iglesias and Klingshirn is the prerequisite to the success, direction and future of the *Polri* reform. Respect for human rights truly has positive impact in strengthening

³⁴David H. Bayley, *loc.cit.*

³⁵Penny Green and Tony Ward, *loc.cit.*

³⁶Ms. Sol Iglesias and Ulrich Klingshirn (ed.), *Good Policing; Instruments, Models and Practices* (Singapore: Asia-Europe Foundation, 2001), page 19.

the institution of the *Polri* in all policies, planning and implementation of services to the people.

Based on the experience of police reform in Northern Ireland and China mentioned by Iglesias and Klingshirn in their book *Good Policing; Instruments, Models and Practices*, in my opinion, it is appropriate if in the development, the *Polri* reform policies implemented all this time will become an important momentum in the effort to strengthen the commitment and implementation of human rights as the basic tasks and functions of the *Polri*.

Professionalism of the *Polri*

National Police is the law enforcer. Endowed with such position, the *Polri* are an important part of the integrated criminal justice system together with advocates, prosecutors, judges and jails. Accordingly, the provision of article 2 of Police Act stipulates that the said function of the *Polri* is one of the functions of state administration in the field of maintenance of public order and safety, law enforcement, protection, and service to the people.

In carrying out their duties and functions, the *Polri* are equipped with strict and strong regulations. As one of the tools of the state, the position and authority of the *Polri* have been confirmed as an important part of the state duty which falls within the scope of authority of the central government. The provision of article 10 paragraph (3) of Law No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government asserts that the affairs that fall within the ambit of central government includes: (a) foreign policy; (b) defense; (c) security; (d) judicial; (e) national monetary and fiscal; and (f) religion.

Regardless of the aforementioned, the implementation of the duties and functions of the *Polri* should be done professionally and independently. Several provisions in *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 have put emphasis on the professionalism and independence aspects of the Police.

In arresting for instance, the professionalism of the *Polri* must be upheld, as emphasized in the following provision of article 21 paragraph (d) of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009:

In conducting arresting, any member of the Police shall ... d. be professional in implementing tactical arresting, hence act humanely, assume the right time in arresting and the right ways of arresting depending on the

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categories such as children, adults and the elderly or men and women and the vulnerable.

The professionalism of the *Polri* is also related to the maintenance task of security and public order, as envisaged in Article 39 paragraph (2) (a) which reads as follows:

Each officer shall: a. treat victims, witnesses, suspects/prisoners and everyone who needs police services fairly and professionally in accordance with the applicable provisions ...

In protecting human rights during mass riots, the professionalism of the Police is also highly required, as envisaged in Article 42 paragraph (1) *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009, which is as follows:

Each member of the *Polri* in mass riot situations shall carry out the task of maintaining public security and order in a professional manner while respecting and protecting human rights, especially the rights that are non-derogable at any time and under any circumstances.

It's important that the professionalism of the police is related to public response towards the quality of Police performance. Unprofessional actions directly implicate in public distrust. Citing Uildriks and Van Reenen's views, Pino and Wiatrowski stated as follows:

Citizens indicate that distrust comes from perceptions of corruption, unprofessionalism, unwillingness to protect citizens, and abuse of authority. This limits citizen willingness to work with the police. Police officers feel mistrusted by the public, and they feel forsaken by the government, distrusted by their supervisors and distrusted by other criminal justice system agents. This is because the police are no longer part of an interconnected state apparatus that had massive cooperation between different agents in the criminal justice system, and this has weakened police power. The police also suffer from a lack of resources in these countries. Guarantees such as free housing are disappearing and this has undermined morale.³⁷

³⁷Nathan W. Pino and Michael D. Wiatrowski, *op.cit.*, page 33.

In line with this, *Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe* (OSCE) elaborates as follows:

The main duties of the police are to preserve tranquility and law and order; to respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of each individual; to prevent and combat crime; to provide assistance and services to the public. In order to support and enhance the legitimacy of the State, they must be responsive to the needs and expectations of the public and use the authority of the State in the people's interest. Police officers must achieve these objectives by upholding the law, by acting in compliance with domestic law and international law enforcement commitments, and in practice, they must show commitment to the rule of law. Police professionalism and integrity are essential ethical values, particularly in view of the fact that the police are endowed with the monopoly of violence.³⁸

With regard to the establishment of the professionalism of *Polri*, *Perkapolri* No. 14 of 2011 affirms that *Polri* code of ethics are norms or rules that are a unity of ethical or philosophical foundation associated with behavior and speech on matters that are required, prohibited, should, or should not be committed by members of the *Polri* in carrying out office duties, powers, and responsibilities.³⁹

There are four basic ethics of the *Polri* members that underpin the establishment of the profession and professionalism of the *Polri*, namely (1) state ethics;⁴⁰ (2) institutional ethics;⁴¹ (3) society ethics;⁴² and (4) personal ethics.⁴³ The association between ethics, professionalism and human rights is indeed interesting.

³⁸OSCE, *Guidebook on Democratic Policing* (Vienna: the Senior Police Adviser to the OSCE Secretary General 2006, page 13.

³⁹See Article 1 paragraph 5 *Perkapolri* No. 14 of 2011 on the Police's Professional Code of Conduct.

⁴⁰The state ethics encompasses the Code of Conduct of the Police members in relation to (a) the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia; (b) *Pancasila*; (c) the 1945 Indonesian Constitution; and (d) unity in diversity.

⁴¹Institutional ethics encompasses the Code of Conduct of the *Polri* members in relation to: (a) *Tribrata* as a way of life; (b) *Catur Prasetya* as working guidelines; (c) the oath/pledge of members of the police; (d) the oath/pledge of office; and (e) ten commitments and a change of mindset.

⁴²Community ethics encompasses the Code of Conduct of the *Polri* members in relation to: (a) the maintenance of public security and order; (b) law

In a different perspective, Amnesty International⁴⁴ described that the values, standards and norms of human rights must integrate into and even be upheld in their entirety as police ethical standards. This is to ensure the optimum implementation of human rights policing. It is very well elaborated as follows:

According to Amnesty, human rights should become a part of police ethics, but not without a framework for legal implementation or a supervisory mechanism. If these frameworks do not exist, training in human rights and policing does not make much any sense (this is endorsed by Uildriks). Van Troost says, "Many countries have signed and ratified international human rights treaties, but their national laws permit escape clauses, and Amnesty is of the opinion that these gaps cannot be filled with ethics. Some countries have ratified many relevant instruments but refuse to recognise international oversight mechanisms and complaint procedures."⁴⁵

Human Rights Policing in North Sumatra

To date, out of 34 provinces in Indonesia, the number of regional police stations (*kepolisian daerah/polda*)⁴⁶ is 31 with the exception of West Papua, West Sulawesi and North Kalimantan which

enforcement; (c) protection, and service to the people; and (d) local wisdom, such as mutual aid, solidarity and tolerance.

⁴³Personal ethics encompasses the Code of Conduct of the *Polri* members in relation to: (a) religious life; (b) compliance and obedience to the law; and (c) good manners in the family, society, nation and state life.

⁴⁴Amnesty International has established 10 basic human rights standards for the police as a starting point to develop guidelines, training and monitoring of police action. The ten basic standards are (1) equal protection; (2) respectful treatment; (3) use of force; (4) policing non-violent assemblies; (5) use of lethal force; (6) arresting person; (7) detainees rights; (8) humane treatment detainees; (9) refusal to obey unjust order; and (10) violations report. See Amnesty International, *10 Basic Human Rights Standards for Law Enforcement Officials* (London, 1998), the same can be referred from Amnesty International, *International Police Standards; 10 Basic Human Rights Standards for Law Enforcement Officials-Toolkit 1.3. Legislating for the Security Sector* (London: DCAF, 2009).

⁴⁵Ms. Sol Iglesias and Ulrich Klingshirn (ed.), *op.cit.*, page 40.

⁴⁶*Polda* is the implementing elements of the duties and authorities of the police in the regional/provincial police station under the supervision of National Police Chief. See Article 1 point 3 *Perkapolri* No. 22 of 2010 on the Organizational Structure and Work Procedures in the Regional Police Level of the Indonesian National Police.

had not yet been formed. In North Sumatra Regional Police, out of 33 districts/cities in North Sumatra province, the number of police resort or district (*polres*)⁴⁷ amounts to only 27 stations and 196 police station sectors level (*polsek*)⁴⁸ and 5 police station sub-sectors level (*polsubsektor*).⁴⁹ The total number of the North Sumatra Police is 19,562 personnel with a population of 13,326,307 inhabitants. Thus, the ratio is 1: 681.⁵⁰

Nationally, human rights education in the *Polri* has been carried out intensively since 2002, though still in sporadic manner. Human rights education curriculum at the *Akpol*⁵¹ is carried out in the forms of training. The duration of the training is fairly short, which is around 4 days.

The taught human rights materials usually range from general knowledge of human rights to practical issues in the duties and functions of the *Polri*. Training is held at the *Akpol* for level III cadets (*taruna/taruni*) totalling to nearly 300 people. The training is usually conducted at night and is also termed night human rights training class from 7 to 10 pm.⁵² The teaching methods include discussions, simulations and role plays.

⁴⁷*Polres* is the implementing elements of the duties and authorities of the police in the districts/resorts police station under the supervision of Regional/Provincial Police Chief. See Article 1 point 33 *Perkapolri* No. 22 of 2010 on the Organizational Structure and Work Procedures in the Regional/Provincial Police Level.

⁴⁸*Polsek* is the implementing elements of the duties and authorities of the police in the sub-districts police station under the supervision of Districts Police Chief. See Article 1 Point 25 *Perkapolri* No. 23 of 2010 on the Organizational Structure and Work Procedures in the Police Resort and Police Sector Level.

⁴⁹*Polsubsektor* is the implementing elements of the duties and authorities of the Police in the certain location stations under the supervision of Police Chief Sector Level. See, Article 1 Point 26 *Perkapolri* No. 23 of 2010 on the Organizational Structure and Work Procedures in the Police Resort and Police Sector Level of the Indonesian National Police.

⁵⁰Based on data from the Bureau of Human Resources of North Sumatra Police 2014 (*Biro Sumber Daya Manusia Poldasu*).

⁵¹The *Akpol* is located in Semarang, Central Java. *Akpol* organizes education for young police officer candidates for four years.

⁵²Interview with Nur Hidayat, Human Rights Education Program Coordinator at the *Akademi Kepolisian*, Center for Human Rights Studies, Indonesia Islamic University, Yogyakarta, on November 11, 2014.

Aside from human rights education for the cadets of *Akpol*, an annual human rights training has also been conducted for educators, tutors and coaches since 2008 with approximately 30 participants. The purpose of this activity is to provide human rights education in coaching and teaching pattern for the cadets of *Akpol*.

The same also applies in human rights education in State Police School (*Sekolah Polisi Negara* or *SPN*)⁵³ of North Sumatra Police. As a lecturer of human rights education at the *SPN* since 2012, the author has taught human rights throughout the end of the training. The author also conducted the same things, that is, educating human rights for officer candidates from brigadiers (*alih golongan dari bintangara ke perwira*) at *SPN* in 2013. Both of these activities were carried out for two hours with various numbers of brigadiers and officer candidates depending on the number of police recruits each year. The materials taught range from general knowledge of human rights, including human rights instruments as well as practical guidelines in human rights policing through discussion method.

Human rights education, particularly in North Sumatra Police must be improved. In addition to fundamental changes in the governance of the *SPN*, the attempts to internalize the values, standards and norms of human rights comprehensively and systematically through various education and trainings are also as important. The empirical experiences still indicate lack of

⁵³*SPN* organizes the education for young police brigadier candidates for seven months. Currently the number of the *SPN* in Indonesia has reached 27 schools, namely (1) *SPN* Seulawah, Aceh; (2) *SPN* Sampali, North Sumatra; (3) *SPN* Padang Besi, West Sumatra; (4) *SPN* Pekanbaru, Riau; (5) *SPN* Betung, South Sumatra; (6) *SPN* Bukit Kabah, Bengkulu; (7) *SPN* Jambi, Jambi; (8) *SPN* Kemiling, Lampung; (9) *SPN* Mandalawangi, Banten; (10) *SPN* Lido, Metro Jaya; (11) *SPN* Cisarua, West Java; (12) *SPN* Purwokerto, Central Java; (13) *SPN* Selopamioro, Yogyakarta; (14) *SPN* Mojokerto, East Java; (15) *SPN* Singaraja, Bali; (16) *SPN* Pontianak, West Kalimantan; (17) *SPN* Balikpapan, East Kalimantan; (18) *SPN* Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan; (19) *SPN* Tjilikriwut, Central Kalimantan; (20) *SPN* Batuah, South Sulawesi; (21) *SPN* Labuan Panimba, Central Sulawesi; (22) *SPN* Karombasan, North Sulawesi; (23) *SPN* Anggoota Polda Southeast Sulawesi; (24) *SPN* Passo Polda Maluku; (25) *SPN* Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara; (26) *SPN* Blanting, West Nusa Tenggara; and (27) *SPN* Jayapura, Papua.

understanding towards human rights. This directly affects the performance of human rights-based policing in Indonesia.⁵⁴

The research conducted by the author in collaboration with *Pusham Unimed* in 2013⁵⁵ at five police resorts in North Sumatra Police includes: (1) *Medan City Police Resort*; (2) *Pematang Siantar Police Resort*; (3) *Asahan Police Resort*; (4) *Labuhanbatu Police Resort*; dan (5) *Mandailing Natal Police Resort* with 68 respondent,⁵⁶ indicates that the knowledge and understanding of human rights in the *Polri* has relatively improved, although the awareness and implementation of human rights in exercising the duties and functions of the *Polri* are still low. The main issue is, most of the time, the police's uncertainty in how to lay the foundation of the police work while complying with the standards and principles of human rights both internationally and nationally.

This research delves into the essence and urgency of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 as the basic guideline for policing human rights in North Sumatra Police within three dimensions, namely, *first*, the knowledge towards *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009; *second*, the level of police officers' human rights understanding; *third* and the perception towards the essence and urgency of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 in carrying out police tasks.

These three dimensions are interrelated in seeing how *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 is internalized and implemented into police duties as how the regulation intended it to be. This *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 would require sufficient understanding of human rights conception and the entailing human rights legal instruments so that the essence and urgency can be properly affirmed in carrying out

⁵⁴"*Human Rights-based policing* is the comprehensive, systematic, and institutional compliance with international human rights standards and practices in the conduct of police or law enforcement functions." See Philippine National Police Human Rights Affairs Office, *PNP Guidebook on Human Rights-Based Policing* (Philippines: Philippine National Police Human Rights Affairs Office, 2009), page 11.

⁵⁵*Pusham Unimed*, "the Essence and Urgency of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 as Basic Guidelines on Human Rights Policing (Case Study of North Sumatra Regional Police)." Unpublished (Medan: 2013).

⁵⁶The respondents consisted of elements of the police leaders, supervisors and assistants of the leaders, executors of the main tasks, and executors of the regional tasks.

police duties. This is where the problems start to be perceived particularly by various reasons, such as human rights education which is relatively less conducted, including the monitoring and evaluation of the performances of the *Polri* in the context of human rights policing.

This research found out that socialization in relation to the existence of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 for police officers in North Sumatra Police has yet to be implemented optimally and evenly on all levels, be it the leaders of North Sumatra Police, police resort and police sector in North Sumatra Police. Only a small proportion of the respondents stated that they were aware of and had received socialization with regard to *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009. This goes to prove that the existence of *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 and the substance it regulates are not well understood yet.

Furthermore, Article 8 (1) requires each member of the *Polri* to understand human rights instruments set out in either Indonesian legislation or international conventions that have been or yet to be ratified by Indonesia. Therefore, an understanding of human rights is an inherent part of the understanding of the police in carrying out their duties.

Although the respondents in this research claimed to have understood human rights, the research has found that the respondents' understanding is still relatively low. This finding is based on the indication that during the interview no respondents have expressed their view by referring to any human rights instruments, either national or international.

In another research jointly conducted by *Pusham Unimed* and *Komnas HAM* in 2012 on the Role of Local Government in Business and Human Rights held in four districts in North Sumatra province,⁵⁷ namely *Mandailing Natal* District, *Labuhanbatu* District, *Serdang Bedagai* District, and *Deli Serdang* District, it was found that the

⁵⁷*Pusham Unimed* and *Komnas HAM*, "the Role of Local Government in Business and Human Rights; A Case Study of North Sumatra Province." With Supported by *Raoul Wallenburg Institute Lund University*, Sweden. Unpublished (Medan: 2012)

respondents did not understand *UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights*.⁵⁸

The development of relationship between business and human rights is a recent development which requires readiness and capability from all state officials, especially those at local government level, including the Police as the agent of state. The relationship between business and human rights requires the ability of the state in optimally executing its duty on human rights⁵⁹ in order to protect human rights and the government to protect individuals from abuses by third parties, including business.

Taking into account such development, the *Polri* should take immediate and intelligent measures in improving their institutional capability and their personnel to be able to portray themselves as a true, independent and professional force. Successful human rights policing will indeed help the Police to identify and obtain the best solution to avoid themselves from various forms of human rights violations in Indonesia, particularly in North Sumatra.

Conclusion

Human rights policing in Indonesia has been going on relatively well. The scope and promotion of human rights have in such a way been internalized through a variety of *Polri* policies. One of the most important being the commitment to implement human rights through *Perkapolri* No. 8 of 2009 and the commitment to implement the recruitment and selection process of *Polri* personnel by upholding the principle of cleanliness, transparency, accountability and humanity through *Perkapolri* No.13 of 2010.

However, from practical perspectives, we could still find a variety of fundamental problems which require intelligent and rational attitude to overcome. Budget constraints, limited number of

⁵⁸The respondents of this research are the policy makers in the region, namely the local government (head of the local government and ranks of regional government officials), parliament members, police, corporations, NGOs, media and the affected communities.

⁵⁹See OHCHR, *Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights; Implementing the United Nations "Protect, Respect Remedy" Framework*, 2011. See also, Global Compact Network Netherlands, *How to do Business with Respect for Human Rights; A Guidance Tool for Companies* (the Hague: Global Compact Network Netherlands).

personnel and human resource capacity of the *Polri* as well as the lack of understanding of human rights are the pervasive fundamental issues in the performance of the *Polri*, particularly North Sumatra Police.

In addition to sustainable effort in human rights education, it is as important to ensure the existence of measurable steps to monitor and supervise the performance of the *Polri* by using a human rights-based approach. Optimum and responsible human rights policing requires the understanding and intelligence of all police leaders at all levels of command and areas to keep synergizing by building constructive partnerships with academia, the media and NGOs.

Last but not least, human rights policing in North Sumatra Police should continually be campaigned and actualized to a lower level, namely the police resort and police sector. Human rights education regularly at all levels of *Polri* in North Sumatera Police will effectively ensure that the internalization and embracing human rights will empower democratic, dignified and humane *Polri* institution and personnel.©

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