

The Urgency of Indonesia's National Security Act: Addressing Fragmentation in Security Sector Regulation

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Abstract: This study examines the urgency of the formation of the National Security Act (Kamnas Law) in Indonesia to overcome the fragmentation of regulations in the security sector. Using statute-based legal approaches (statute-based) and comparative legal approaches, this study found an overlapping gap between institutions such as the TNI, Polri, BNPT, and the Ministry of Defense due to adaptive legal instruments facing multidimensional threats. The absence of coordinative institutions such as the National Security Council (NSC) weakens synergy between institutions. The results of comparisons with countries such as the United States, Singapore, South Korea, and the Philippines show that the centralized security structure has proven effective in integrating defense, intelligence, and law enforcement policies. This study recommends that the Kamnas Law become a comprehensive legal framework to encourage sectoral coordination and institutional synergy in the corridor of democratic government.

Keywords: Comparative Approach, National Interest, National Security, Statute Approach

A. Introduction

Synchronization of authority in the national security system refers to conditions when a number of state institutions have the tasks, functions, or authority that interfere with each other without clarity of institutional and operational boundaries. This unclear has the potential to cause confusion in the implementation of tasks, conflicts between institutions, and reduce the effectiveness of the national security system as a whole. In the context of Indonesia, the problem arises due to multiple interpretation of regulations, out of sync, and the absence of a legal umbrella that regulates the National Security System in an integrated manner (Li et al., 2021). Indonesia's national security currently faces serious challenges, both from abroad and from within the country, in the form of increasingly complex threats of hybrid and non-military. In this context, synergy between security institutions is a must. However, various regulations such as the TNI Law, the National Police Law, the National Defense Law, and the National

Resource Management Law (PSDN) showed that there was an overlapping of authority between institutions such as the TNI, Polri, BNPT, and the Ministry of Defense. The absence of a permanent coordination forum such as the National Security Council (NSC) exacerbates the situation, where strategic decision-making often runs individually, so that it has the potential to raise friction between institutions and threaten the effectiveness of national responses to security threats (Gans, 2020).

The urgency of overlapping authority in the national security system is very high considering the character of a multidimensional threat and changes quickly. Without clarity of the division of roles and responsibilities between institutions, the state response to the crisis is at risk of being slow, uncoordinated, or even counterproductive. The incident between Detachment 88 and the Air Force in Medan became a concrete example of the weakness of coordination due to the absence of an integrated framework. Therefore, integrative regulatory and institutional systems are needed, such as the formation of NSC Indonesia as a forum for strategic coordination across the security sector (Ma et al., 2017).

This study uses two main theoretical approaches, namely good governance and security sector reform (SSR). Good Governance Theory As stated by the World Bank (1992) and UNDP (1997), emphasizing the importance of transparency, accountability, participation, effectiveness, and clarity of roles in public sector governance, including the security sector (Detzner, 2017). These principles become the foundation so that the management of national security is not solely dominated by a coercive approach but rather prioritizes democratic and participatory governance. Meanwhile, the Security Sector Reform (SSR) theory developed by Brzoska (2003) and OECD-DAC (2007) emphasizes that effective security systems must be built based on the integration of functions between security actors, harmonious regulations, and efficient institutions and are subject to democratic civilian control. In the context of Indonesia, SSR demands the reformulation of the national security system, including the harmonization of legislation and the formation of coordinative institutions such as the NSC, in order to respond to contemporary and multidimensional contemporary challenges in an adaptive and collective manner (Keping, 2018).

This research departs from the actual condition that shows the overlapping of authority between institutions in the Indonesian national security system. The first problem raised is how the concrete form of overlapping the authority, both in terms of regulation, practice in the field, and institutional relations between the TNI, Polri, the Ministry of Defense, BNPT, and the Intelligence Institution. Furthermore, this study questioned the impact of the absence of permanent coordination forums such as the NSC on the effectiveness of national security management, especially in responding to multidimensional threats that demand cross-sectoral synergy. Finally, this research wants to examine how the harmonization of national security regulations can encourage the formation of an integrated security system, clear in the distribution

of authority and efficient in its implementation, in order to increase national resilience as a whole (Didenko, 2020).

Several previous studies have highlighted disharmony in the Indonesian national security system. The LIPI study by Indria Samego (2008) revealed that overlapping authority in the security sector was sourced from uncontrolled regulations between the TNI, Polri, and other institutions, which hindered the effectiveness of strategic policies. Lemhannas RI (2015) also noted that sectoral regulations and the absence of integrated institutions caused coordination between security actors to take place partially and reactively. Research from the Ishak Ishak Institute (Storey, 2020) shows that Indonesia does not yet have a body like the NSC, which can be a permanent coordinative forum to integrate security policies between defense, intelligence, and law enforcement. The same thing was confirmed by Kusnanto Anggoro from the University of Indonesia (2019), who stated that the absence of national security directions caused the overlapping of the mission and structural rivalry between institutions. Comparative studies by Prasojo and Haris (2021) concluded that NSC in the United States, State Safety Majlis (MKN) in Malaysia, and the Home Team System in Singapore proved effective in integrating the process of intelligence, defense, and public security strategically and holistically in a coordinated and directed forum (Mapale, 2020).

This study offers novelty by reviewing the urgency of the preparation of the National Security Act as a normative and institutional solution in overcoming the fragmentation of law and authority in the Indonesian national security sector. Different from previous studies that tend to be descriptive or focus on partial institutional analysis, this study uses a mixed-methods approach to simultaneously identify relationships between regulations, overlapping authority, and stakeholder responses to the absence of an integrated legal framework such as NSC. By integrating quantitative analysis of policy perceptions and qualitative analysis of regulatory gaps, this study provides a new contribution in formulating conceptual and operational foundations for the formation of a coordinated, adaptive, and security-based governance system (Muhammad et al., 2021).

This study analyses the concrete forms of overlapping authority between institutions in the Indonesian national security system by examining aspects of regulation, institutional practices, and the dynamics of coordination between actors such as the Military (TNI), Indonesian National Police (Polri), the Ministry of Defense, National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), and Intelligence institutions. In addition, this study also aims to identify the impact of the absence of permanent coordination forums such as the NSC on the effectiveness of national security management in responding to multidimensional threats. On the other hand, this study seeks to formulate the urgency and strategy of regulatory harmonization as a prerequisite for the formation of an integrated, efficient, and accountable national security system in order to increase national resilience comprehensively (Ramadhianto et al., 2024).

B. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach (Hammarberg et al., 2016). The qualitative method in this study uses a doctrinal approach, namely the statute approach (approach to law) and the comparative approach (comparison approach) (Neudorf, 2018). According to Peter Mahmud Marzuki (2008), a comparative approach is a method used to compare the laws of a country with other countries to find equality and differences, obtain alternative legal models, and evaluate the suitability of the national legal system with international practices. The legal approach is carried out by examining various laws and regulations related to the national security system in Indonesia. Documents analysed include the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (1945 Constitution), Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning National Defense, Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police, Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army, Law Number 23 of 2019 concerning National Resource Management for National Defense, and Presidential Regulation Number 202 of 2024 concerning the National Defense Council (Harefa & Harsono, 2025).

This approach is used to understand the juridical foundation of the national security system normatively and systemically, as well as to identify legal vacuums or overlapping regulations between sectors. Meanwhile, the comparison approach is carried out by comparing the Indonesian national security legal framework with a legal system in several countries, such as the United States through the National Security Act of 1947 and the role of the National Security Council (NSC); Singapore with the Internal Security Act and National Security Coordination Secretariat; South Korea through the ACT Framework on National Defense and National Security Act; and Australia and the Philippines as democratic countries that also face hybrid threats. Data analysis techniques are carried out with the help of NVivo 12 software through several stages (Harefa et al., 2025b). First, qualitative data is imported into NVivo 12 in .DOCX format. Second, researchers do open coding by marking important parts of the text that represent certain issues, topics, or themes and categorizing them into nodes. Third, the code structure is done by grouping these codes into the thematic hierarchy to find patterns and relationships between themes. Fourth, researchers use query and visualization features such as text search, word frequency, and cluster analysis to identify tendencies and interrelations between issues. Finally, researchers analyze findings and draw conclusions based on the theoretical framework used (Dhakal, 2022).

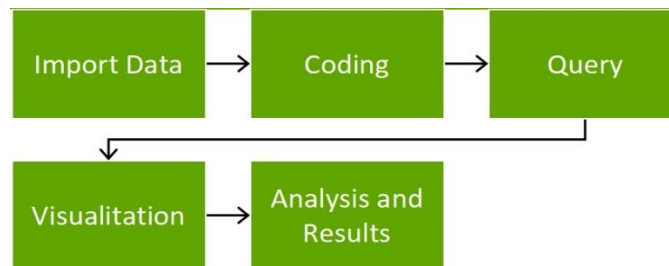


Figure 1. NVivo 12 Data Analysis Technique Stages

C. Result and Discussion

Analysis Result

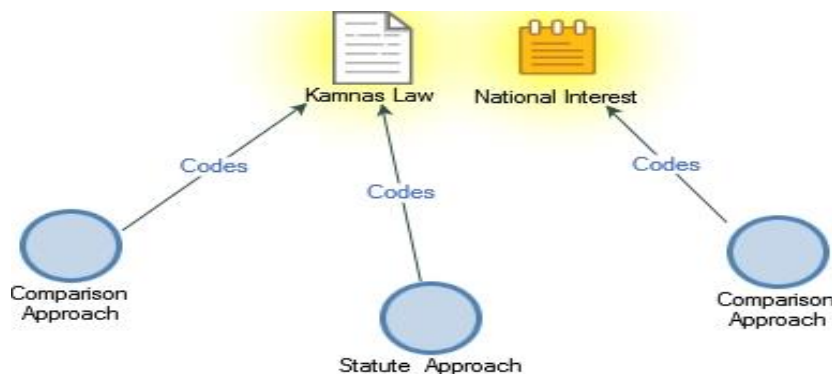


Figure 2. Comparison NVivo 12

The picture above illustrates the conceptual framework that places the National Security Act (Kamnas Law) and national interest as a normative and strategic reference center in the preparation of security sector policies. These two elements are linked through a comparison approach (comparison approach), and the statute approach is analyzed using thematic codes of various regulations (Practices et al., 2021).

This approach scientifically shows that the National Security Law cannot be separated from the principles for national interests and requires integration of various legal norms and frameworks that already exist. Therefore, the importance of being a consideration for stakeholders (the government together with the DPR) regarding the National Security Act for it to be included in the Problem Inventory List (DIM) or forwarded into the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) to become a law in the future is very useful as a legal umbrella that unites the diversity of approaches, roles, and tasks in the defense and security sector to build a more integrated national defense and security system (Harefa et al., 2025a).

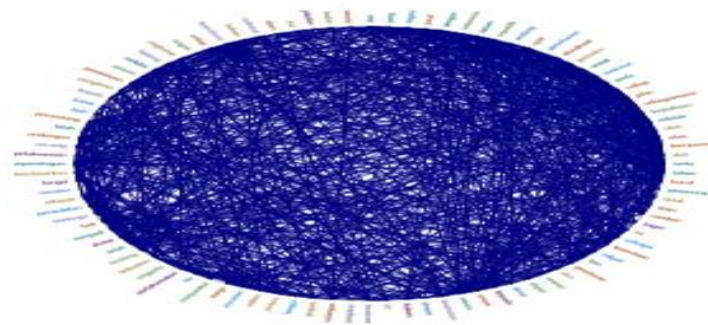


Figure 3. Word Co-Occurrence Network NVivo 12

The displayed image is a Word Co-Occurrence Network that visualizes lexical relationships within a legal or defense policy document. Each node represents a word, while edges indicate co-occurrence within the same sentence or paragraph. The network's high density and interconnectivity visible through its circular and interwoven structure suggest strong lexical cohesion and frequent repetition of technical terms. This pattern reflects a systemic and narratively consistent regulation, indicating deliberate use of specialized vocabulary. However, such complexity also poses a risk of ambiguous interpretation, particularly in the absence of supporting glossaries or clearly defined terms. This type of analysis is valuable not only to understand legal coherence, but also to assess the clarity and normative precision of regulatory language (Puerta et al., 2020). The lexical network analysis underscores the pressing need for a comprehensive National Security Act in Indonesia, particularly in light of persistent fragmentation across the security sector's legal frameworks. While individual regulations often exhibit strong internal cohesion evident through repetitive and highly structured terminology this very consistency can result in disjointed narratives across sectors. Each institution tends to develop its own legal lexicon in isolation, which contributes to overlapping mandates and regulatory blind spots. Without a unifying legal architecture, efforts to synchronize defense, law enforcement, and national resilience strategies risk becoming fragmented and inefficient. Thus, linguistic analysis of legal texts offers a critical lens for identifying inconsistencies and justifying the creation of a coherent, integrative, and normatively precise National Security Act (Sinnar, 2018).

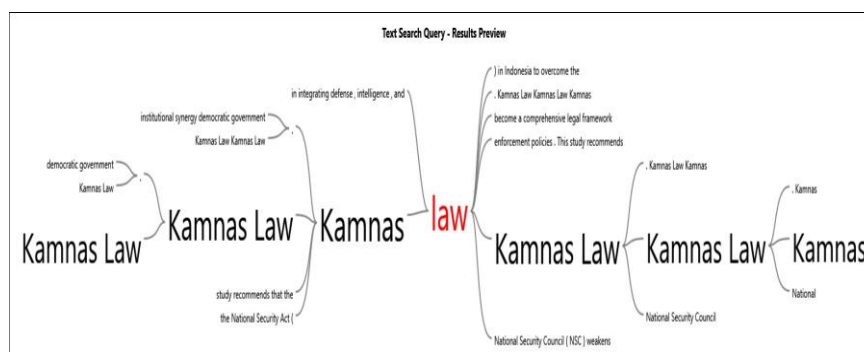


Figure 4. Auto search NVivo 12

The visual map of Nvivo shows that the term "national" has a connection that is spread in various contexts such as "defense," "security," "resources," and "TNI." This reflects the normative reality that the current Indonesian security system is still sectoral and fragmented in various regulations, such as the TNI Law (Law No. 34 of 2004), Police Law (Law No. 2 of 2002), State Defense Act (Law No. 3 of 2002), and the National Resource Management Law for Defense (Law PSDN No. 23 of 2019). This integration gives rise to overlapping authority and unclear coordination in national security policies. Kamnas Bill as an Integrative Legal Umbrella. The urgency of the National Security Act lies in its function as Umbrella Law which can unite and harmonize the legal norms of various sectoral regulations. In the NVivo map, it appears that the word "national" often associated with the term "policy," "interest," and "system integration," which illustrates the importance of having a parent legal framework to harmonize the role of the TNI, Polri, and other security actors (Mezmir, 2020).

The Kamnas Bill has the potential to establish basic principles, legal norms, and national coordinative structures in dealing with hybrid and complex threats in the modern era. International comparison (comparative approach). The comparison approach shows that countries such as the United States have National Security Act (1947), Singapore with Internal Security Act (ISA), and South Korea through National Security Law which all function as an integrative device for national security management. Unlike Indonesia, the three countries have a centralized, efficient, and adaptive security legal system of contemporary threats. Thus, Indonesia needs the Kamnas Bill in response to the needs of a national security system that is integrated and responsive to geopolitical dynamics and multidimensional threats. Empirical data and integrative regulatory needs. Data from the NVivo map shows that terminology such as "facilities and infrastructure," "TNI," "security," and "protection" appears in various contexts, indicating the high need for collaboration and integration between institutions (Chen, 2024).

In practice, there are often differences in interpretation and implementation of security policies between institutions such as the National Police and the TNI, especially in civil emergency situations, terrorism prevention, and cyber defense. Therefore, the Kamnas Bill becomes very important so that all security actors work in the same, clear, and integrated legal framework. By paying attention to legal fragmentation, learning from international practice, as well as empirical data from document analysis using NVivo, it can be concluded that the Kamnas Bill has a strategic urgency to be immediately included in the priority program. This bill is not only juridically important, but also institutionally and operationally to ensure the integration of the national security system. Researchers can use a doctrinal and comparative approach to show that without a legal umbrella such as the National Kamnas Bill, Indonesia will continue to face coordinative obstacles in facing future security challenges (Houghton et al., 2017).



Figure 5. Word Cloud Nvivo 12

The dominance of the word "law" indicates a normative basis. The word cloud shows that the words "article," "paragraph," and "referred to" arise with high dominance, indicating that the documents analyzed have a strong normative legal structure. This reflects that legal-formal aspects are the main basis in the national security and defense system. The dominance of these words confirms the importance of clarity and harmony between articles in the law to avoid overlapping interpretations between institutions such as the TNI, Polri, cyber bodies, and other institutions. The importance of the integration of national components and resources. Words such as "components," "reserves," "source," and "power" illustrate the main concepts in the universal defense system adopted by Indonesia, namely the involvement of the main components (TNI), the reserve component (the civilians trained), and the supporting components (Lemhannas & Jlri, 2024).

The emergence of these words in high frequencies shows the need for integrated arrangements in managing all national potential as defense forces. Without coherent regulations, synergy between components cannot be realized effectively, especially in dealing with emergency situations or multidimensional threats. Urgency of the National Security Bill. Words like "state," "defense," and "republic" show the main focus on state security as a collective responsibility. However, the absence of explicit words such as "integration," "coordination," or "unity of policy" in large sizes indicates that the integrative spirit has not become the main narrative in the current regulations (Schröder, 2019).

This strengthens the urgency of the drafting of the National Security Act as a comprehensive legal framework that not only regulates the distribution of tasks but also unites the direction of policy between state institutions in maintaining national sovereignty and security. Recommendations for structuring and harmonizing regulation. Word Cloud also shows the high use of the words "with," "in," "for," and "in," which reflects the complexity of relations between articles and legal subjects in the analyzed regulations. This complexity can cause ambiguity if it is not supported by a clear interpretation guide. Therefore, researchers and policymakers need to encourage harmonization between regulations through a consistent, structured, and

integrated legal format of legal drafting. The preparation of the National Security Bill needs to be carried out cross-sectorally and through a consultative process in order to create a cohesive, adaptive, and responsive defense system against the dynamics of contemporary threats (Chawla et al., 2023).

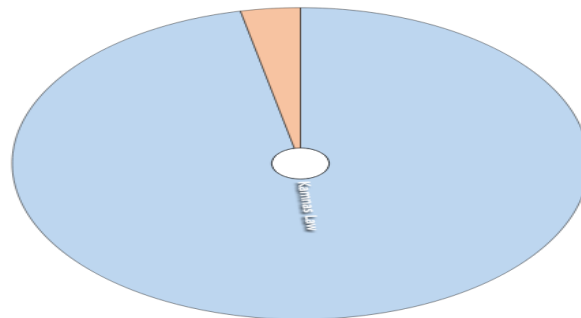


Figure 6. Hierarchy Chat NVivo 12

The picture illustrates the dominance of referrals to one type of regulation within the policy framework of the security sector, while only a small number of other regulations are explicitly interrelated. This reflects the fact that regulatory management in the national security sector is still run within a separate framework between institutions. In this context, the formation of the National Security Act (Kamnas Law) can be considered as a step to strengthen the harmony and clarity of the role of institutions legally (Wilén, 2020). The results of the analysis are that the Kamnas Law is useful to provide a more systematic coordination foundation, encourage integration between security actors, and increase policy effectiveness through a consistent and directed regulatory approach in tackling multidimensional threats (Bali et al., 2019).

Table 1. Findings of Statute Approach

No	Source	Activity	Overlap Authority
1.	UU TNI No.34/2004 Article 7 paragraph (2) letter b number 10 UU Polri No.2/2002 Articles 13 and 14	The TNI helps the police in the context of security and public order tasks The National Police has the main function in public security and order, and the TNI is not stated explicitly.	There is no clarity on when and how the TNI helps the National Police
2.	UU Pertahanan Negara No. 3/2002 Pasal 7 ayat (3) UU PSDN No.23/2019 chapter 4 paragraph (2)	Non-defense government institutions are the main elements of facing non-military threats. Management of non -military threats and hybrids becomes an integral defense.	No institution is strictly determined as a lead sector.
3.	UU Hanneg No. 3/2002 chapter 8	Dividing the defense system into the main components, reserves, and supporting.	Not explained the relationship of hierarchical and integration of

	UU PSDN No.23/ 2019 chapter 5 and chapter 6	Regulate more technical guidance and mobilization of reserve and supporting components.	management between the Ministry of Defense and the Military
4.	Perpres No.202/2024 chapter 33-39	Authorized the National Defense Council (DPN) to determine the defense business process map.	In strategic decision-making, leadership at the highest level may involve overlapping roles between the Minister of Defense and the Commander of the Military
	UU No. 3/2002 and UU TNI No. 34/2004	Stipulates that the defense strategic policy is the President's domain and the Defense Minister.	overlapping roles between the Minister of Defense and the Commander of the Military
5.	UU Polri, UU TNI, and Field practice	There are anti-terror units from Detachment 88, Gegana, Task Force, Kopassus, to Detachment Bravo and Jala Mengara.	In strategic decision-making, leadership at the highest level may involve overlapping roles between the Minister of Defense and the Commander of the Military

The findings of the Statute Approach show that there is an overlapping authority between various pieces of legislation in Indonesia relating to the security sector. One example is in the TNI Law No. 34/2004, Article 7, paragraph (2), letter b, number 10, which stipulates that the TNI can assist the police in security and public order tasks. However, there is no clarity regarding the limits of when and how the TNI must help the National Police, which opens up the interpretation space and the potential for the conflict of authority between the two institutions. In Polri Law No. 2/2002, Articles 13 and 14, the National Police has the main function in public security and order, but the TNI is not explicitly stated. This condition illustrates uncertainty in the division of roles between the TNI and Polri, which should be regulated more clearly in a more integrated legal framework. Overlapping other authority can be seen in the National Defense Law No. 3/2002 Article 7 paragraph (3), which states that non-defense government institutions are the main elements in dealing with non-military threats (Savitri & Alamsyah, 2024).

However, there is no determination of institutions that explicitly function as a lead sector in managing this non-military threat, which causes multiple interpretations and confusion in the implementation of policies. Meanwhile, PSDN Law No. 23/2019 Article 4 paragraph (2) regulates that non-military threats and hybrids become an integral part of defense but does not provide clarity about the authority between institutions involved in managing the threat. This situation shows that Indonesia requires the unification of regulations and the determination of authority to be more structured in addressing increasingly complex threats. Potential overlapping also occurs in Perpres No. 202/2024, Article 33-39, which authorized the National Defense Council (DPN) to determine the defense business process map. This can lead to overlapping in strategic decision-making because the DPN has a function that can conflict with the duties and authority of the Minister of Defense and the TNI Commander regulated in Law No. 3/2002 and TNI Law No. 34/2004, which state that

the defense strategic policy is the domain of the president, the Minister of Defense, and the TNI Commander (Esper, 2020).

This clearly shows the existence of an urgent need to unite the regulations governing defense policies and functions in a clear and integrated legal framework. The existence of the National Security Law that has not been created is one of the weaknesses in the Indonesian Security Legal System. At present, anti-terror units from Detachment 88, Gegana, Task Force, Kopassus, Bravo Detachment, and Jala Mengara operate without a legal framework that unites them systematically. BNPT, which is expected to become a leading sector in coordinating national security policies, has not been able to carry out its role effectively, as reflected in criticism of its weak role compared to the National Security Council (NSC) in other countries. In this context, the Draft National Security Act (Kamnas Bill) is very urgent to unite the fragmentation of security laws in Indonesia, which has been running separately and leads to the unclear distribution of authority between institutions that should support each other in maintaining national security stability. Kamnas Bill can be a legal umbrella that harmonizes the role of relevant institutions, reduces overlapping authority, and provides a strong legal basis for dealing with increasingly diverse and complex threats (Aziz et al., 2019).

Table 2. Findings of Comparative Approach

No	Source	Activity	Overlap Authority
1.	The absence of a permanent coordination forum	In the comparison document of other countries, it is said that Indonesia does not yet have a National Security Council (NSC) such as in Malaysia, USA, or Singapore.	Coordination between institutions such as the National Police, TNI, BIN, BNPT, Ministry of Defense, etc., has not been accommodated in an NSC level integrated integrated forum
2.	BPNT has not been able to become a strong leading sector	Comparison with foreign NSC.	Every institution runs individually.

Based on the comparative approach to the national security law framework in various countries, such as the United States, Singapore, South Korea, Australia, and the Philippines, it can be concluded that the formation of the National Security Law has a fundamental strategic goal. First, provide an integrated legal umbrella for all activities related to defense, security, intelligence, and law enforcement in dealing with complex and multidimensional national threats, including hybrid threats. Second, guarantee coordination between institutions strategically and systemically in prevention, mitigation, and overcoming threats, thus avoiding overlapping authority and institutional conflict (Wigell et al., 2021).

Third, realizing the efficiency and effectiveness of national security policies through the formation of permanent coordinative institutions such as the National Security Council (NSC), which has legal legitimacy and a strategic mandate to integrate defense, security, and intelligence policies cross-sectorally. Fourth, uphold the

principle of civil control and democratic accountability in the management of the security sector, as emphasized in the Security Sector Reform and Good Governance approach. Institutionally, these countries show that the leading sector in the formation of the National Security Law is generally in the scope of the central executive, which has a cross-sector coordination function. In the United States, the National Security Act of 1947 was initiated by the President and the National Security Council (NSC), with the support of the Department of Defense, the Department of Foreign Affairs, and intelligence institutions. In Singapore, the Internal Security Act and the formation of the NSCS (National Security Coordination Secretariat) coordination structure are coordinated by the Prime Minister's Office (Prime Minister's Office). South Korea relies on the Ministry of National Defense and intelligence institutions under civilian control in the development of the ACT Framework on National Defense and the National Security Act (Viktorivna & Bohdanivna, 2024).

In Australia, the coordination of national security policies is under the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (PM & C), which leads the National Security Committee. Meanwhile, in the Philippines, the national security policy was formulated by the National Security Council (NSC), which was directly under the president as the highest executive power holder. In the Indonesian context, the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Kemenko Polhukam) functionally has a strategic position to become a leading sector in the preparation and mainstreaming of the Draft National Security Act (Kamnas Ruu). This is because the Coordinating Ministry for Politics and Security has a mandate to coordinate the main ministries and institutions in the security sector, such as the Ministry of Defense, TNI, Polri, BNPT, BIN, and LPSK, and has a position directly under the President. In addition, the Coordinating Ministry for Politics and Security also has experience in coordinating national security responses to various cross-sectoral issues, although it is still not supported by the integrated national security law framework. However, to ensure sustainability, fast response, and integration of national security policies more comprehensively, the formation of the Indonesian National Security Council (NSC) as a permanent institution under the President is still needed. This institution will play a role as a strategic entity that is the spearhead in the implementation of adaptive, coordinated, and democratic national security policies, as proven effective in comparison countries. Therefore, the formation of a national security law in Indonesia is a normative and strategic urgent need in dealing with the increasingly complex dynamics of global and regional threats (Lane & Ersson, 2016).

The potential for fragmentation of regulations in the security sector in Indonesia has become one of the main challenges in building effective national security governance. The synchronization of authority between institutions such as the TNI, Polri, BNPT, and the Ministry of Defense is not yet needed; it requires an integrated legal framework that is able to harmonize the functions, duties, and responsibilities between institutions. This is mostly needed to face the development of multidimensional threats that are not fully responded to through adaptive legislation.

In this context, existing coordinative institutions, which have not been supported by national security laws such as the National Security Council (NSC), of course, inhibit the process of establishing synergy between state institutions in the defense, security, and public order sector (Gans, 2020). The results of comparisons with countries such as the United States, Singapore, South Korea, and the Philippines show that the model of a centralized national security structure supported by a strong legal framework can increase the effectiveness of the coordination of defense, intelligence, law enforcement, and public order. These countries generally have a national security institution that not only functions as a center for policy integration but also as a direct link between the civil government and state security actors. These findings provide references and considerations for the formation of the National Security Law as a strategic need to harmonize the interests of the security sector within the framework of democratic and accountable governance (Kwak, 2024).

D. Conclusion

This study concluded that the legal system and national security governance in Indonesia still faced various fundamental problems that are structural, normative, and institutional. The findings of the Statute Approach approach show that the main regulations that are the foundation of the Indonesian national security system, such as the TNI Law, the National Police Law, the National Defense Law, the PSDN Law, and the Perpres regarding the National Defense Council, are still sectoral, have multiple interpretations, and have not been integrated with each other. This disharmony results in overlapping authority between the TNI and Polri, weak coordination in handling non-military threats, and the absence of institutions that have a mandate and authority as a lead sector in a national emergency situation. One of the most significant weaknesses is the absence of the National Security Law (Kamnas Law), which is the main legal umbrella to unite the vision, mandate, and work mechanism of security actors in an integrated legal and strategic framework.

This finding was strengthened by various previous studies. The LIPI study by Indria Samego (2008) states that regulatory disharmony between the TNI and Polri is the main obstacle to the effectiveness of strategic policies. The same thing was expressed by Lemhannas RI (2015), which emphasized the weak coordination of cross-institutions due to the absence of an integrated regulatory and institutional framework. Storey (2020) from ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute stated that the absence of bodies such as the National Security Council (NSC) made Indonesia not have a permanent forum to integrate defense, security, intelligence, and law enforcement policies. Kusnanto Anggoro (2019) even considered that the absence of security directions had given birth to rivalry between institutions and the unclear mission of the national mission. In the context of handling terrorism, overlapping between Detachment 88, Gegana, Kopassus, Detachment Bravo, and Jala Mengkara showed the absence of a national coordinative framework that covers operations across institutions synergistically. Through the comparative approach, this study also shows

that countries such as the United States (with the NSC), Malaysia (with the state safety majlis), and Singapore (with the Home Team System) have succeeded in developing an institutional integrated national security system based on civil control principles and responsiveness to the dynamics of contemporary threats.

These institutions are a cross-sectoral coordination center that is not only strategically effective but also guarantees public transparency and accountability. Furthermore, this study is also based on the theoretical framework of Good Governance and Security Sector Reform (SSR). Good governance theory, as stated by the World Bank (1992) and UNDP (1997), emphasizes the importance of transparency, accountability, participation, and clarity of roles in public sector governance, including national security. Whereas SSR, as explained by Brzoska (2003) and OECD-DAC (2007), emphasized the importance of integration of functions between security actors, regulatory harmonization, and institutions that were subject to democratic civil control. In the Indonesian context, SSR demands a comprehensive reformulation of the national security system, including the formation of NSC Indonesia and the ratification of the National Security Law. This research contributes to the development of national security studies in Indonesia by integrating the Good Governance and Security Sector Reform (SSR) approach in analyzing the security system of security. This study also enriched the literature on the importance of the formation of permanent coordination forums such as the NSC in dealing with the complexity of contemporary threats, as well as highlighting the policy and institutional gaps that had been obstacles in coordination between institutions. Thus, the results of this study are expected to be an academic reference as well as policy input for stakeholders in formulating an adaptive, integrated, and responsive national security system to the dynamics of threats that continue to develop.

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