

Exploring Riot Policing Strategies: The Practice of Indonesian National Police in Handling Riot

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ABSTRACT

The Indonesian National Police (INP) has the primary tasks of maintaining public safety, enforcing the law, and serving the community. However, numerous incidents have damaged the INP's public trust and legitimacy, one of which is the excessive use of force in riot policing. This study aims to examine the INP's riot policing strategies, with specific objectives to explore the current strategies employed by the INP, assess key areas for improvement, and provide recommendations based on the identified strategic priorities. This research employs a qualitative method through in-depth interviews. The analysis concludes that the INP's riot policing strategy requires evaluation due to its reliance on reactive policing. The key strategies proposed to enhance the INP's effectiveness in riot policing include the use of accurate intelligence data, improved human resource management, strengthened accountability mechanisms, and the integration of technology in both tactics and operational management. Furthermore, establishing effective rapport and communication between different layers of protesters is also essential for improving outcomes in riot management.

KEYWORDS Riot policing, Riot policing strategies, Indonesian National Police



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INTRODUCTION

In an evolving world, the need for security has become a benchmark in the pursuit of national prosperity. Law enforcement, particularly the police, serves as a key variable in maintaining public safety and national order. Grémont & Johann (2021) emphasize that the police remain the backbone of law and order; therefore, they must continuously adapt to changing social and political dynamics over time. Those unable to respond to increasing societal demands face significant challenges that hinder their capacity to maintain public trust (Peters - Corbett, Parke, Bear, & Clarke, 2024).

Peel (2024) outlines that despite the presence of numerous laws regulating mass demonstrations, the recurring incidents of police brutality during repressive operations have caused the public to question the Indonesian National Police (INP)'s professionalism. Moreover, Peel explains that the Indonesian public perceives Polri as one of the government institutions with the most negative public image in 2022, prompting President Joko Widodo to summon all police leaders to the presidential palace and instruct them to restore public trust.

Wiratraman (2025) highlights repeated acts of brutality by the Indonesian National Police in several cases, such as the 2024 Pilkada law revision protests, the Cipta Kerja law demonstrations, and other mass movements. The study also cites an

observer from the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISESS) who stated that the police have increasingly acted as a threat to society rather than as protectors and servants of the public. Additionally, the Kanjuruhan Tragedy contributed to widespread criticism of the INP for human rights violations during riot control at a football match (Wahyudin & Prasetyo, 2025). Tanuraharja, Sari, & Prayoga (2024) further explain that the Kanjuruhan Tragedy caused a severe decline in public trust toward the police—nearly 19%.

Therefore, one of the key questions that must be raised concerns the INP's riot policing strategy implementation (Fielding, 2023; Hinkle et al., 2020; Khalfa & Hardyns, 2024). Based on the explanations above, the current riot policing strategy of the INP urgently requires evaluation (Piza et al., 2019; Walsh et al., 2024). Best practices in riot control, as observed in France and the United Kingdom, emphasize proactive policing through the effective use of communication, patrolling, social media, and CCTV in profiling and monitoring (Lum, Koper, Wu, Johnson, & Stoltz, 2020).

The research gap addressed by this study lies in the limited scholarly attention devoted to riot policing strategies in Indonesia, particularly regarding empirical assessments of current practices, challenges, and potential areas for improvement. Despite recurring incidents of excessive force and the erosion of public trust, there remains a scarcity of academic studies investigating how the INP manages riots, the factors that determine success or failure, and how these practices can be refined. This gap perpetuates a cycle in which lessons from critical events are not systematically documented or integrated into policy development, leaving policymakers and police leadership without evidence-based recommendations for reform.

The urgency of this research is underscored by several converging factors. First, repeated instances of excessive force during riot policing operations continue to undermine police legitimacy and public trust, with the Kanjuruhan Tragedy serving as an extreme manifestation. Second, Indonesia's democratic consolidation requires police institutions capable of managing public demonstrations while safeguarding human rights. Third, the rapid evolution of protest dynamics—especially the influence of social media in mobilizing crowds and shaping narratives—demands that policing strategies evolve accordingly. Fourth, the lack of systematic empirical research restricts policymakers' ability to design evidence-based reforms. Fifth, international expectations surrounding human rights compliance add further external pressure for improvement.

In contrast, the current INP riot policing framework, specifically the Chief of INP Regulation No. 16 of 2006 on crowd control, focuses primarily on reactive crowd control measures. Furthermore, the paucity of scholarly research on riot policing in Indonesia complicates efforts to propose effective improvements to existing strategies. Hence, there is a pressing need to explore riot policing practices that align with both human rights standards and community needs.

Only a few studies have attempted to analyze riot policing strategies in Indonesia, which has hindered progress in developing improved approaches. The repeated

instances of excessive use of force during riot control operations have therefore become the main concern of this research. This issue may stem from insufficient collaboration between the police and the community, as well as the INP's dependence on reactive policing, which limits the exploration of alternative strategies. The primary objectives of this research are to examine the current riot policing practices implemented by the INP, to identify key strategies that could enhance the effectiveness of riot management in Indonesia, and to provide actionable recommendations for improving the INP's riot policing system.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research will employ a qualitative research design. Qualitative research seeks to understand and explore the deeper meaning of social phenomena (Rahimi, 2024). Marshall & Naff (2024) state that qualitative research is an approach involving procedures that begin with a research question, followed by descriptive data collection, and concluding with data analysis. This procedure aligns with the in-depth exploration required for each research question.

The data sources used in this research include both primary and secondary data. The primary data will be obtained through interviews with community members directly or indirectly involved in riots or riot control efforts, namely Sabhara officers from the Jakarta Metropolitan Police, Mobile Brigade (Brimob) officers from the Indonesian National Police (INP), individuals who have experienced riots, and academics specializing in policing. The secondary data will be collected from relevant legal documents and literature that serve as the framework for riot management by the Indonesian National Police, specifically the National Police Chief Regulation No. 16 of 2006 concerning Crowd Control and the National Police Chief Regulation No. 7 of 2012 concerning Procedures for Service, Security, and Crime Handling in Demonstrations.

The variables to be examined include perceptions of the causes of riots, riot management efforts, community experiences during riots, and proposed improvements in riot management. The collected data will be analyzed using data reduction and data triangulation techniques.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The INP actions in handling riots

According to the interview, it can be inferred that the Indonesian National Police uses the same legal framework which are the Chief of INP's Regulation number 16 year 2006 about crowd control and Chief of INP's Regulation number 7 year 2012 about service, security, and crime handling procedures in demonstration. However, there are different nuances of points that could be taken regarding the legal frameworks.

1. Different application of riot policing's legal framework

The first point is the different application of the current legal framework. Modern policing resort to proactive policing, moreover the role of communication in form of

deescalation and negotiation between the police and the people is becoming really important (Zaiser, Staller, & Koerner, 2023). This also has been applied in the legal framework. Negotiator is included as the main role in riot policing according to Chief of INP's Regulation number 16 year 2006 about crowd control. And in article 31 and 32 of Chief of INP's Regulation number 7 year 2012 about service, security, and crime handling procedures in demonstration, it is also stated the members of INP undergo training given training of public relations, giving informations, skills, and ability on field. The application when the people are on field are not as its outlined in the regulation.

It can be inferred that the process of communications is not in line with the legal framework. It is also given the fact that the INP is still using the reactionary approach when carrying their duty in policing riot. The contrasting reality of the on-field actions and the outlined legal framework could be answered with the next point.

2. Lack of understanding to the legal framework

The second point is the problem that there are more police that did not understand the legal framework which backed their actions on field. This is a dire condition that could lead to foul practices that crossed article 9 of Chief of INP's Regulation number 7 year 2012 about service, security, and crime handling procedures in demonstration, which includes the principle of professionalism, human rights, legality, and presumption of innocence.

This could be seen as a big problem, because the boots on the ground or the troops that had the most of the role in riot policing are the non-commissioned police officers (Bintara). An excerpt from subject D4 could be analyzed here.

“... It was already time to go home, and because there is a large demonstration happened in the vicinity of my office, I could not find any transportation service to my home. So, I went by foot. When i was on my way home, I met police that suspected me as one of the protesters. We communicate, but the police use their model of “apprehend first, ask questions later,” so I got transported to Metro Jaya Police HQ” (D4, 2024)

This is one of the example of police action that is not in line with the correct legal framework. They use proactive policing, but without proper research and evidence, which cost a bystander's human rights. This phenomenon related to the final problem.

3. Communication and coordination issues of INP

The final crucial problem is communication and cascading order between police. The lack of coordination between supervisors creates confusion on the lower management level. This could create different actions that proven counterproductive in riot policing.

“The action of the troops are influenced by their supervising officers, and each of the supervisors has their own preferences in policing riots. There are supervisors that adhere to the legal framework, and there are supervisors that in his discretion did not follow the legal framework.” (A1, 2024)

“... The trend of our troops now, they are focusing more on directives. For example, they have the order to policing demonstration or riot in a place. They will execute the order without having the critical ideas of “what are the legal background for our duty in riot policing?” or “why the riot happened?”. In addition, the police officers that are included in riot policing are young and new police officers that only has the orientation of carrying their orders” (B2, 2024)

“... sometimes I felt that the police didn’t have good coordinations between them because there are posts that are not communicated between themselves. In my case, when I got apprehended and transferred to Metro Jaya Police HQ, I was briefed by what I think an intel (intelligence) officer. But as soon as I got there, there were treatments that I think are different from what I briefed.” (D4, 2024)

The different orders between supervisors could provide disastrous results. The bad understanding of legal framework creates reactionary approach which only accounts for directives and order, followed by the problem in internal communication and order, creates a fiasco in riot policing. Therefore, these problems call for the need for new regulation for riot policing that needed more socialization and uniformity.

Over the time, efforts made in improving riot policing has been made. Subject A1 (2024) explains that Metro Jaya Police (Jakarta’s Police) already include the advancement of technologies such as operation of drone and social media patrol in the preparation of policing riot. In addition, the plan in policing riots often explained thoroughly in roll call and through tactical floor game, a simulation of how the riot policing strategies will be undertaken using real map. Despite the efforts, there are still statements that suggested that the current legal framework is obsolete and needs new regulations, followed by socialization.

“... The need of the police supervisor having the same perception in riot policing is crucial, which must be in accordance to a new regulation ... With the correct and applicable legal framework, we can resort to that in contrast with the current situation where everyone is waiting for orders from their supervisors” (A1, 2024)

“We need more socialization about regulations regarding riot policing. Like I have said before there are still many non-commissioned officers that are not truly understand the regulation, and only gives full attention to specific direction or order” (B2, 2024)

Key strategies in policing riots in Indonesia

1. Communication and response as the cornerstone of riot policing strategy

The major theme of key strategies stated by the subject is in line with each other, which are communications and direct response of their voice of grievances. This is in accordance to the macro factors of flashpoint model, especially structural and/or political/ideological factors.

“In my opinion, actually most of the riot that happened related to ideological factors. Ideological here means perception or belief of particular groups. We can use the case of 2019 presidential election. The losing candidate’s supporters believe that their candidate should be the one winning, and the general election

committee are not transparent in doing their job. This generates unrest that made its way to becoming riots” (A1, 2024)

“When we talk about political issues, our people are really sensitive, moreover if it is connected to religion matters ... The issue of omnibus law at that time is taking all the attention. So, it is considered as a great movement from different layers of the people.” (B2, 2024)

“... If we go to the concept of grievance, relative deprivation that happened between the protesters and the governments gives a sense for the protesters that the governments are exclusive bodies that did not need to hear the protesters. this assumption could lead to riots” (C3, 2024)

“... Riot happened because there is injustice in the social realm. There are sides who gained advantages, and there are sides who gained disadvantage. When the portion is not fair, the people must be critical in voicing their discontent” (D4, 2024)

This sets major belief that people’s discontent over something should be communicated. In this problem, it is the voice of the people to the government. This fact leads to the first key strategies, which are communication, both from the government to the people, the police to the people, and vice versa. The people are communicating to the government about their problem of a policy, then the fairest way to deal with it is to communicate. The government should send their person to facilitate discussion with the people. The police should also try to coherently gives an understanding to the people about their standing point, which is to secure the demonstration.

2. Robust intelligence data collection and analysis

The next key factor is intelligence data. Intelligence data is crucial in preparing for policing a riot. This could give the police a rough estimation of the mass including the numbers, point of interest, and other data that could be useful in maintaining demonstration did not escalate to be a riot.

“In my opinion, enhancement of intelligence data is the first thing to outline. Because we really need that to tailor our policing strategy that includes the deployment of the police, and etc. If intelligence data is wrong, then our strategy will also likely to be wrong, that leads to bigger riot that will be happening” (B2, 2024)

From the interview, demonstration is also could be identified whether it will lead to unrest or riot through the role of intelligence itself. As B2 (2024) also explains, that intelligence data gathered by personnel that infiltrate the protesters proves to be important, because it can give early warning whether the demonstration is backed by a specific individual’s motives to be a riot, or the riot is happening because of the collective crowd mentality that started spontaneously.

3. Human management in terms of physical and mental welfare

Another key strategy in riot policing is human management. Human management here involves the physical, mental, and knowledge variables of riot police. The first

variable is physical. From the data collected, many of the riot police can carry their duty overtime, from dusk until dawn.

“We often guard the demonstration from morning to afternoon, evening, or even through morning again. At this point, we are very exhausted, and our emotion is very volatile.” (B2, 2024)

“We guarded the demonstration for three days, before we managed to handover our duty to other teams. The riot carried on for seven days. ... the demonstration that once carried on peacefully, every night in a week it turns into riot” (A1, 2024)

Then, the human management encounters mental variables. It could be inferred that the exhaustion could lead to volatile emotion, which is very dangerous if faced to a tough crowd. Another perspective of mental variables is what is the mental state of policemen when they prepare for policing riot?

“We have to know the psychological factors of the riot police itself, such as the duration which he already carried on as riot police. This relates to their wellbeing. We must know their track records before they carried their task in policing riots. ... When police entered their basic training, we must know what are the doctrines they got, because it affects on how they treat others. Another psychological aspect is the environment where they are stationed. Because when they first stationed, we don't know what they taught in their new work environment, is it to policing riot with excessive force? Or other aspects regarding their environment.” (C3, 2024)

These conditions are often overlooked, because the current frameworks do not outline the standard working hours of police that guards demonstration. Therefore, the chance of police resorts to excessive force is improving because their wellbeing is not addressed enough. Other than wellbeing, the doctrine and working environments plays an important aspect of psychological factors that riot police have to deal with.

4. Building partnership and coordination within the society

Partnership and coordination between layers and organizations of the people is also an investment in policing riot. This fact is explained by subject D4 in its interview.

“There are many layers of people and organizations in a demonstration, therefore police's approach to different layers of people and organizations is important. ... From my personal opinion, I appreciate in how the police approach several coordinated elements such as youth organizations and other organizations. I hope this approach could also be implemented to a more egaliter organizations, such as Student Executive Board (BEM), labours, and celebrities” (D4, 2024)

The approach could generate mutual understanding and communication channel between the police and specific organizations. This could create a way to build constructive communication, rather than resort to escalating demonstration because of the goodwill that each of the party already have.

5. Policing accountability

The next key point is accountability. The strategic incapacitation offers the alternative of proactive policing, which includes arrests in its application (Weisburd, Petersen, & Fay, 2023). The arrests done must also uphold aspects of professionalism,

human rights, legality, and presumption of innocence. Still, there are aspects to be considered in the application of this proactive policing, supposing the arrest made is wrongly carried on, or when the arrest is justified but the media portrays it as illegitimate. To balance things, the need of accountability is paramount.

“When police want to do arrest, my advice is to involve media, whether its from the police or even mainstream media that can document the threat that this individual pose, so it could act as the means of prevention of the bad narratives that could be dispersed in the media. ... we need to implement the use of bodycam, or using example of the UK police, where they are also equipped with badge number. Different than the case of Indonesia where the identification method is only from the name, so it is not specific.” (C3, 2024)

From the outline above, accountability could hinder the negative effects made in every discretion or policy made by the police. With the right evidence or proof, the different narrative could be countered, making the people understood the real reason why the police took the action.

6. Improving the use of technology

Supporting the arguments above, the final key point is improvement of technology usage in riot policing. The use of technology could provide an improvement in all aspects, whether it is for intelligence gathering, profiling, proving accountability, or other aspect that could improve riot policing.

“.. Another aspect that is still ineffectively applied for riot policing is the use of technology. In Metro Jaya (Jakarta’s Police), maybe because we are located in the capital city of Indonesia, we manage to integrate the use of technology to riot policing, such as the usage of drones, cctvs, etc. However, in current state, it is not included as the standard procedure of riot policing in other regions. The use of technology in my opinion is important, so INP can carried their task as state apparatus that could enforce the law more efficiently” (A1, 2024).

Recommendations to INP for policing riots in Indonesia

From all the data collected, the theory could become lenses in grouping recommendations to INP for policing riots. In this part, I will try to explain every finding through the flashpoint model and strategic incapacitation theory, which then generates recommendation for INP’s riot policing strategy.

1. Analyzing findings through flashpoint model and riot policing theory

Flashpoint model offers a perspective in seeing the build up of a riot. This could be a framework in formulating a riot policing policy by identifying each aspect and causes, in order to generate solution in deescalating demonstration that could leads to riot.

According to the data that has been explained, most of the riots in Indonesia are based on grievances, whether it is structural or ideological. The protesters voice their upset of a particular policy, and they are hoping for the government to take action in hearing their voices. But most of the time, there are no representation from the

government that open channel for communication to the protesters. This act as the cornerstone that protesters create riot, because they felt that they are being unheard.

“... After a policy has been undertaken, the public will give responses in form of critics. From those critics, if the people assume that there is no feedbacks from the government, demonstration will occur, and if there is still not enough feedback, it is often riot will occur” (C3, 2024)

From these macro factors, it is followed by micro factors. The subjects give various aspects that could affect contextual, situational, and interactional factors. The first variable is human management factors. As stated before, there are still many members of INP that acted more in reactionary manners, because they did not understand the current legal framework in riot policing, and only relies on order (Dwinugroho, 2024; Muliansyah & Rachman, 2025). Therefore, the riot police are not well versed in taking action, communicating with the protesters, and also neglecting accountability. On the other hand, the factor of fatigue and wellbeing of riot police could affect in how they carried their duty, because emotional aspect is unstable when faced in those conditions. These factors create a small flashpoint in a demonstration that could become riot if not treated with effective on field communication and anger management.

Another theory that is used in this research is strategic incapacitation. As outlined, it relies heavily on surveillance and information sharing, proactive policing, and elaborate control of space. According to C3, the three aspects are crucial in the application during riot policing. Also, according to subject A1 and B2, it is already implied in their riot policing. Intelligence data serves as the foundation in calculating and positioning of INP members during riots. The elaborate control of space has already outlined in Chief of INP's Regulation number 7 year 2012 about service, security, and crime handling procedures in demonstration article 7. However, the problem that should be focused is in the aspect of proactive policing that includes arrests in its method.

The interview of subject D4 uncovers his/her experience which wrongfully apprehended in Metro Jaya Police HQ. Despite all the technical reasons behind his apprehension, the finding states the contrasting application of the professionalism, human rights, legality, and presumption of innocence principle stated in Chief of INP's Regulation number 7 year 2012 about service, security, and crime handling procedures in demonstration. This calls for a focus not only accountability in being responsible for every action, but also in depth reform of human management in terms of motivation on carrying an action, and knowledge of legal frameworks in riot policing.

Therefore, from both explanations, the recommendations that could be implemented in policing riots in Indonesia are as follows:

2. Improving communication in every channel and layer

There needs to be improvement in communication, both in central level between Police and the governmental institutions, or the police with protesters in a demonstration. The facts highlight the needs of protesters in being responded for their actions. Therefore, in the macro level, the police could create a channel both to civil

organizations and also governmental institutions in creating a constructive communication when there is an ongoing demonstration.

“..The police supposedly could manage security of the government officials that should be communicating with the people. When police could facilitate dialogue between protesters and governments, maybe riots could be deescalated” (D4, 2024)

In the micro level, the police should possess high quality communication skills, and also continuously advocating their intention and socialize the rules of demonstration to the protesters that the police are there to protect the protesters so their rights of free speech can be carried out and public safety can be maintained. This persistent method of communication could be the key in setting the narratives that the police is not the protesters’ enemy, then the potential of riot in a demonstration could be deescalated.

“How far does the police socialize their rules of demonstration? And when the police are already on field in demonstration, how the police escort the people to the location of demonstration? Do they advocate their standpoint in accomodating their demonstration? ... Riot police must be equipped with communication skills, because we know that most of the police now are not skillful in communicating with protesters.” (C3, 2024)

3. Accountability and Intelligence data collection enhancement through the improvement of technology usage

The next solution is to always improve the quality of accountability and Intelligence data. Police accountability in the present era is important, because it creates a supporting foundation for the base of policing duties which is human rights. Therefore, it creates a sense of mutual assurance between protesters and the police that every action that the police undertaken can be held accountable. Moreover, with the help of high quality intelligence data, the police could prevent the escalation of a riot in a more effective manner. The support to this solution is also inclusion of technologies in riot policing. The current practice of using hardwares such as body camera, drone and cctv, or using software such as AI and machine learning could be implemented in generating a full image of demonstration.

4. Improvement of human management

The last solution is improvement in human management. This becomes a big homework for the INP, because they must find a solution in increasing the understanding of legal framework for riot policing to the police personnels. Also, INP must shine a light regarding the wellbeing of their riot police personnel, whether in physical aspect or mentality aspect. Socialization and education regarding knowledge and anger management of the riot police should be done. Application of periodical examination of riot policing knowledge could be the key in maintaining INP’s riot police personnel understanding of legal framework. Also, the need of periodical counseling by psychology bureau could also be implemented. Then, there must be a clear working hour and shifts for riot police, to maintain their emotional volatility.

5. Reforming legal framework

All the solution must be included in the creation of new legal framework that must be uniformly applied for all the riot police in Indonesia. This could become the answer in searching for best practices of riot policing in Indonesia. The improvement of riot policing through professionalism that implement accountability and transparency could foster the trust and legitimation between police and the community. New legal framework should include clear framework and guidelines from the suggestions made above, especially in communication, human management, and technology. Moreover, the police must provide feedback and suggestions from the community in riot policing legal framework renewal, in order to assess a more effective riot policing strategy, by collaborating and accommodating the public's needs.

Discussions

In this section, the analyzed data that were grouped into each research question will be delved further by assessing the findings to the concepts of riot, riot policing, flashpoint model and strategic incapacitation theory. The reality of sophisticated layers of variables in a riot in combination of legal frameworks, on ground practices, and social and political factors serves as the main themes in examining a comprehensive understanding that generate strength and weaknesses in riot policing practices by INP.

Riot could be identified as a social unrest based on social tensions. Nassauer (2018) expresses that riot highlight the contrast of motivation between the governments and protesters, hence making the complex dynamics of police and the people during a protest. From the data collected, the police shown that they are limited in building and advocating positive communication to the protesters. The protesters also felt they are unheard and lacking engagements from the policy makers. Both findings could create baseless assumption from both sides which creates increasing risk of riot to break out. There should be more focus in redefining the motivations that could be communicated to both parties in order to find a way for deescalations.

When there is riot, the police that has the duty to protect and to serve must take measures. Riot policing always needs improvement in its practice, where proactive prevention measures are now favored rather than the reactive. Moreover, there will always a challenge in balancing the need to preserve safety and facilitating and guarding protesters for their freedom of expression in riot policing. Despite the growing concerns, the finding shown that INP's riot policing is still more of a reactionary policing. The current legal framework viewed as obsolete because prioritizing the enforcement of law and order. Other than diverting deescalation efforts, this could also create a rigid mindset of the police that resorts to tactics that could create counterproductive outcome for the protesters that leads to the increase of the level of the riots. Therefore, the role of INP must be redefined, from just being a law enforcer, they must also focus on conflict resolution.

According to the data, the role of INP in riot policing shown poor performance with several issues recorded. The members of riot police still do not understand the legal framework in riot policing, hence the reserving their actions based only on foot

judgments from the officers. This creates patterns of inconsistency that also leads to internal communications delay. Moreover, there are also other variables such as physical and mental condition as the intangible aspect in riot policing. The domino effect of these variable is proven to be disastrous, with the non-commissioned officer often only rely on orders, equipped with low communication skills and emotional control. From these discussion of the concepts, the solution is to apply flashpoint model and strategic incapacitation theory to the findings.

The flashpoint model is a model that explains the pathway to a riot, from the brewing backgrounds into how the riot broke out by combining macro and micro factors (Waddington, 2010). Macro consists of structural, political/ideological, and cultural factors. structural factors when inequalities flourish because of poverty, unemployment, and access to various resources that creates drift between particular segment of society, leads to discontent that eventually develops to social unrests. Political/ideological factors recount to differences and polarization of ideas, also includes unrest for controversial policies, could create emergence of protests. Lastly, the cultural factors, which is the background of certain people could create significant grievances among others. The finding in shown that macro causes of riot is align to the flashpoint model, where dissatisfaction to certain policy (political/ideological) creates perceived feeling of injustice and marginalization of the people (structural), which further increased by the cultural factors such as historical grievances of the protesters and the police that improve the likeliness of riot to happen. Then, the macro that act as a background factor followed by the on-ground actions, the micro factors, which includes contextual, situational, and interactional factors.

The backgrounds of riots that already analysed by flashpoint model then can be provided by a certain riot policing theory, which is strategic incapacitation theory. The theory is a proactive management of crowds by the police with the aim to prevent crowd escalation to riots. This theory consists of the usage of intelligence data and information sharing from any means available, proactive policing which improves the positioning and patrol of police in certain area that also apply arrest to individuals, and lastly elaborate control of space that could create a mutual understanding between police and protesters to stay behind the designated area to prevent riot (Dideriksen, Christiansen, Tylén, Dingemanse, & Fusaroli, 2023). As outlined above, the finding suggests that the INP still relies on reactive action. However, there is finding that state Metro Jaya Police has already creates initiative in implying the methods, which includes usage of technologies in information gathering and surveillance, proactive policing, and elaborate control of space. From this finding, there are two things that should be acknowledged. The first one is the need of new legal framework that could uniform all the action from different police in the provinces in policing riot, and the second one is the improvement of accountability of proactive policing by usage of body camera. It could be one reason that the riot in Jakarta is still often happened because of the flashpoint generated by the unruly usage of proactive policing that still seen as a

violation of human rights, without the accountable prove that act as the underlying reason of proactive policing.

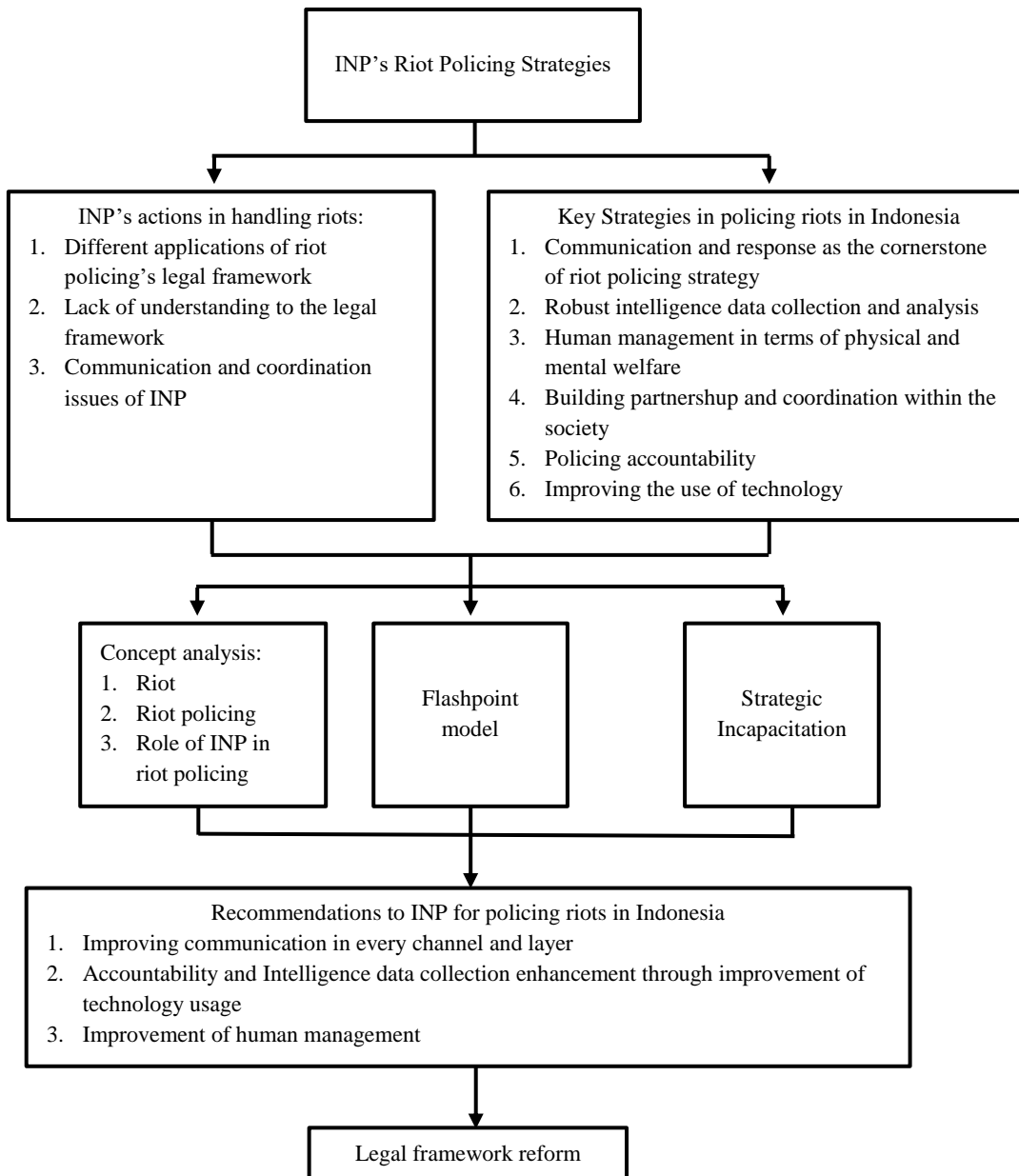


Figure 1. Finding Framework

CONCLUSION

Communication between the police, protesters, and the government; intelligence data; human resource management; partnerships and coordination with civil society; accountability; and the utilization of technology are key variables in an effective anti-riot response strategy. These factors complement the fundamental rationale for communicating public grievances to the government as policymakers. Furthermore, the police can enhance their effectiveness in riot control by implementing sound intelligence systems, effective human resource management, transparent

accountability mechanisms, and the use of technology to execute appropriate tactical responses. Managing personnel's physical and emotional fatigue, fostering positive relationships with protesters through coordination, and demonstrating accountability are also crucial steps in mitigating the escalating risks of unrest arising from protests.

Based on the data collected, recommendations for improving riot policing can be derived using the flashpoint model analysis to address the multifaceted aspects of riots, alongside the theory of strategic incompetence, which provides a practical framework for anti-riot policing. The recommendations include strengthening communication at both the central level—between government agencies—and the operational level, where riot police officers must possess advanced communication skills; enhancing police accountability and the quality of intelligence data to better inform riot policing strategies; improving human resource management through training, welfare programs, counseling, and better scheduling of working hours; and finally, renewing the legal framework to align with the current dynamics of policing, while incorporating recommendations derived from the flashpoint model and the theory of strategic incompetence.

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