

INTEGRATION OF THE TNI, POLRI AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT IN HANDLING NATURAL DISASTERS IN CENTRAL SULAWESI AS AN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN STATE SOVEREIGNTY

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Abstract

This study examines the integration between the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and local governments in disaster management in Central Sulawesi following the earthquake, tsunami, and liquefaction on 28 September 2018. Given Indonesia's high vulnerability as a country located along the Ring of Fire, this research positions inter-agency synergy as a key prerequisite for effective disaster management and the strengthening of national resilience. Employing a qualitative descriptive approach, the study relies on government regulations, official reports from BNPB/BPBD, TNI-POLRI documents, and relevant scholarly literature. The findings indicate that integration among TNI, POLRI, and local governments is clearly manifested in three main disaster phases: preparedness, emergency response, and rehabilitation reconstruction through joint contingency planning, unified command posts, troop mobilization, security operations, and restoration of basic services. Supporting factors include a clear legal framework, unified command structures, professional human resources, and institutional experience in previous disaster operations. Inhibiting factors comprise limited logistics, communication disruptions, differing organizational cultures, uneven BPBD capacity, and insufficient disaster mitigation budgets. Strategically, this integration contributes to state sovereignty by maintaining security and public order, enhancing public trust in the state, protecting the population, and ensuring the continuity of governmental functions during crises. The study concludes that disaster management constitutes an integral component of non-military defense and plays a crucial role in reinforcing Indonesia's national resilience.

Keywords: TNI, POLRI, local government, disaster management, institutional integration, national resilience, state sovereignty.

A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as the world's largest archipelagic nation, has complex geographic and geological characteristics (Supriyadi et al., 2019). One of the main factors determining Indonesia's vulnerability to disasters is its location right on the Ring of Fire, an active seismic zone where several major tectonic plates meet. The interaction between these plates triggers a high frequency of volcanic activity, earthquakes, and the potential for tsunamis in various regions of the archipelago. Furthermore, the varied geomorphological conditions, ranging from lowlands and hills to swampy areas, increase the risk of hydrometeorological and geological disasters (Hermon D, 2015). The accumulation of these factors places Indonesia as one of the countries with the highest disaster risk in the world (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana, 2020).

One of the largest disasters that attracted national and international attention was the series of earthquakes, tsunamis, and liquefaction that occurred in Central Sulawesi Province on September 28, 2018. This disaster killed thousands of people and caused extensive physical damage, including transportation infrastructure, government facilities, educational facilities, health services, and residential areas. In addition to the physical impact and loss of life, the disaster had significant social implications, including disruption of security stability, increased potential for social conflict, and weakened community capacity for independent recovery (Wisner et al., 2004). UNOCHA (2018) The complexity of these impacts shows that disaster management cannot rely solely on one institution, but requires systematic and integrated cooperation from various elements of the state.

In the context of comprehensive disaster management, the roles of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and the Regional Government are highly strategic and interconnected (Kusumasari et al., 2010). Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 34 of 2014 concerning the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) states that the TNI has high mobility capabilities, large personnel resources, and expertise in emergency operations, which are essential in disaster response. The POLRI plays a role in maintaining security and public order, as well as ensuring that aid distribution and evacuation processes run smoothly without social disruption (Law No. 2 of 2002). Meanwhile, Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government states that the Regional Government holds the responsibility for planning, cross-sectoral coordination, provision of regional vulnerability data, and management of local potential, which are needed to support disaster management efforts.

Synergy between these three actors is a crucial prerequisite for achieving a rapid, effective, and adaptive disaster response. This collaboration focuses not only on rescue and physical recovery but also encompasses efforts to maintain security, social order, and the sustainability of community life post-disaster. Therefore, the integration of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and regional governments is not merely a technical operational issue but also part of the state's strategy to strengthen national resilience through a non-military defense approach.

Therefore, a study on the integration of these three actors in disaster management in Central Sulawesi is crucial for academic study. This study allows for a more in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of national disaster management, including how bureaucratic structure, institutional capacity, and cross-sectoral coordination mechanisms play a role in determining the success of humanitarian operations. Furthermore, this research can provide insight into how the state demonstrates its presence in crisis situations through synergy between defense, security, and local government elements. The findings of this study are expected to not only enrich the scientific discourse on disaster management but also provide strategic recommendations for improving future national policies (Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional 2019).

This study examines the integration model between the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and regional governments in disaster management through coordination patterns, division of tasks, and integrated command mechanisms. The analysis focuses on supporting factors such as resource capacity and regulations, as well as obstacles such as overlapping authority and differences in organizational culture. The integration of these three institutions contributes significantly to national resilience by maintaining security stability, accelerating recovery, and strengthening the state's presence during crises.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Disaster Management in a National Perspective

BNPB Head Regulation Number 4 of 2008 explains that disaster management at the national level is a series of multidisciplinary processes involving mitigation, preparedness, emergency response, and rehabilitation and reconstruction. These four components form a single, interrelated disaster management cycle that must be implemented in a coordinated manner. Law Number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management emphasizes the state's obligation to ensure public protection from the threat of disasters and positions the government as the primary actor in disaster management. In the modern era of disaster management, inter-agency collaboration is seen as a strategic approach capable of increasing the effectiveness of disaster response by combining resources, information, and technical capacity of various institutions (Haddow et al., 2017).

The Role of the TNI in Disasters

Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 34 of 2004 stipulates that the provisions of the Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP) serve as guidelines for the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI). The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) has a constitutional mandate regarding the implementation of Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP), one of which includes support for disaster management. In practice, the TNI plays a crucial role in the emergency response phase through victim evacuation, search and rescue operations, the establishment of emergency facilities, and the distribution of logistics to hard-to-reach areas. Furthermore, the TNI is also involved in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of post-disaster infrastructure. The TNI's strengths lie in its trained human resources, the availability of specialized equipment, and its hierarchical and responsive command structure, enabling the rapid and coordinated deployment of troops and equipment.

The Role of the Indonesian National Police in Disaster Management

The Indonesian National Police (POLRI) plays a strategic role in maintaining security and order in disaster-affected areas (Indonesian National Police Chief Regulation No. 17 of 2009). This role includes crime prevention, traffic management to facilitate logistics mobilization, and securing aid distribution to ensure it is orderly and reaches its intended target. POLRI also contributes through victim identification, disaster location security, and the management of integrated command posts in collaboration with relevant agencies. POLRI's presence during the emergency response phase is crucial because security stability is a key prerequisite for the smooth running of humanitarian operations.

The Role of Local Government

Regional governments, through the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD), are directly responsible for disaster management at the provincial and district/city levels (Government Regulation No. 21 of 2008). BPBD plays a role in developing contingency plans, managing disaster budgets, and coordinating all regional stakeholders, including the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), volunteers, and the community. Regional governments also facilitate early warning systems, conduct disaster risk assessments, and develop local policies to enhance community capacity in responding to disasters. Thus, regional governments serve as the center of gravity for disaster coordination at the regional level.

Institutional Synergy and National Resilience

Synergy between state institutions in disaster management is a crucial pillar for building national resilience. Effective collaboration between the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and regional governments not only impacts technical success in disaster management but also contributes to maintaining social stability, increasing public trust in the government, and strengthening state legitimacy in crisis

situations. From a national resilience perspective, disaster management is understood as part of non-military defense aimed at maintaining territorial integrity, protecting public safety, and ensuring the continuity of government functions (Susanto B, 2020). Thus, inter-institutional integration is a strategic element in maintaining national sovereignty from non-traditional threats such as natural disasters.

C. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative-descriptive approach designed to generate an in-depth understanding of the integration of state institutions in disaster management. This approach was chosen because it comprehensively captures the dynamics of coordination, decision-making processes, and inter-institutional interactions. Data collection was conducted through a literature review, including scientific journals, government regulations, and official reports from the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB), the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD), the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI). These sources were then supplemented with various other supporting literature. These various sources provide a theoretical and empirical basis for assessing the quality of cooperation between state institutions in disaster management. Data analysis was conducted through three main stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data reduction was carried out to select the most relevant information, while data presentation was carried out systematically to identify patterns of coordination and integration. The conclusion drawing stage then focused on evaluating the effectiveness of integration and its implications for state sovereignty and national resilience.

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Form of Integration of the TNI, POLRI, and Regional Government

The integration between the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and Regional Governments in disaster management is clearly reflected in the three main phases of disaster management: preparedness, emergency response, and recovery. In the preparedness phase, integration occurs through the development of contingency plans, joint training, disaster management simulations, and coordination to strengthen community capacity. Regional governments facilitate risk-based planning, while the TNI and POLRI provide technical support and operational readiness to respond to potential threats. The involvement of these three institutions ensures that each unit understands their roles and cross-sectoral working mechanisms before a disaster occurs.

In the emergency response phase, integration is more intense and operational. The TNI conducts evacuations, search and rescue operations, and opens access routes, while the POLRI is responsible for maintaining security, managing logistics traffic, and securing affected areas. Regional governments coordinate integrated command posts, collect needed data, and distribute aid. This synergy ensures a rapid, measurable response with minimal bureaucratic hurdles. Meanwhile, in the recovery phase, integration is realized through infrastructure reconstruction, restoration of basic services, and socio-economic rehabilitation of communities. The regional government leads recovery planning, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) supports physical construction, and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) maintains security stability throughout the process. This overall integration demonstrates that disaster management requires ongoing structural and operational collaboration.

Preparedness Phase

The preparedness phase is the initial stage that is crucial for the success of disaster management, as it requires all relevant institutions to prepare their capacities, mechanisms, and resources to address potential risks. In the context of the integration of the Indonesian

National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and the Regional Government, preparedness is realized through the development of a joint contingency plan based on regional risk analysis, impact scenarios, and projected operational needs. This plan serves not only as a guide for action but also as a coordinating instrument, ensuring each institution understands its duties, authorities, and communication channels in emergency situations.

Furthermore, large-scale disaster simulations are conducted periodically, involving multiple agencies, to test operational readiness, command response, and coordination effectiveness. These simulations allow for an in-depth evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of each institution's collaboration before a disaster occurs. Furthermore, the establishment of an integrated command center serves as a shared authority structure that integrates decision-making, information management, and resource mobilization (BNPB Regulation No. 3 of 2016). The existence of this integrated command center strengthens institutional synergy and enhances response capabilities through more efficient and standardized coordination mechanisms.

Emergency Response Phase

During the emergency response phase of the 2018 Central Sulawesi disaster, integration between the Regional Government, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) was most evident through various coordination mechanisms and the rapid and structured deployment of resources. The establishment of an integrated command post served as an operational control center, consolidating situational information, setting priority actions, and ensuring policy alignment between agencies. This integrated command post provided a coordinating framework that minimized overlapping authority and accelerated decision-making in the field.

The rapid mobilization of TNI troops was a crucial component of the initial rescue effort. The TNI moved to evacuate victims, open access to isolated areas, and support search and rescue operations in challenging geographic conditions. Meanwhile, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) played a crucial role in maintaining security in the affected areas to prevent potential looting, social disturbances, and crowds that could hamper the rescue process. This security function was a crucial prerequisite for the smooth distribution of aid. Logistics distribution was carried out by air and land in a coordinated manner between agencies, enabling aid to reach isolated areas more quickly. This synergy demonstrates that the integration of state institutions in the emergency response phase is a key factor in reducing the impact of disasters and increasing the effectiveness of the overall humanitarian response.

Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Phase

Integration between state institutions does not stop at the emergency response phase, but continues consistently through the rehabilitation and reconstruction phase, which requires long-term planning and cross-sector coordination. During this phase, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) plays a significant role in rebuilding severely damaged public facilities and basic infrastructure. Through its technical capabilities and construction personnel, the TNI helps accelerate the physical recovery of affected areas, including bridge construction, road access repairs, and the establishment of temporary educational and health facilities. These efforts ensure a more rapid and targeted recovery of community social functions.

Regional governments are primarily responsible for managing refugee relocations, including land preparation, provision of temporary housing, and development of socio-economic recovery programs (Salsabila & Sutiyo, 2025). Regional governments also coordinate the collection of community needs data and facilitate basic services for affected populations. Meanwhile, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) plays a role in maintaining

security stability in relocation and reconstruction areas to prevent potential social conflict, land disputes, or crime that could hinder the recovery process. This security creates a conducive environment for reconstruction activities. The synergy between the TNI, POLRI, and Regional Governments in the rehabilitation and reconstruction phase is an important foundation for comprehensive, sustainable, and community resilience-oriented post-disaster recovery (Merapi & Suryani, 2020).

Supporting and Inhibiting Factors of Integration

The integration between the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and regional governments in disaster management is inseparable from various factors that influence its effectiveness. On the one hand, there are a number of supporting factors that strengthen coordination and collaboration between institutions, such as a clear legal basis, a unified command structure, human resource capacity, and accessibility to the community. However, on the other hand, this integration also faces various obstacles, ranging from logistical limitations, communication disruptions, differences in organizational culture, to suboptimal capacity of the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) and mitigation budgets. This combination of supporting and inhibiting factors determines the overall quality of disaster response.

Supporting Factors for Integration

Supporting factors for integration between the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and regional governments in disaster management are crucial elements determining the success of cross-institutional collaboration. First, a strong legal basis serves as the primary foundation governing the roles, authorities, and coordination mechanisms between institutions. Law Number 24 of 2007 concerning Disaster Management, Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the TNI, and Law Number 2 of 2002 concerning the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) provide formal legitimacy for each institution to actively participate in disaster operations. This legal certainty minimizes overlapping authority and clarifies the structure of responsibilities at each phase of disaster management.

Second, the existence of an integrated command structure serves as a strategic instrument that integrates decision-making and operational coordination. Through an integrated command post, all activities, from information gathering and situation analysis to prioritizing actions and distributing resources, can be carried out in a coordinated manner. This structure ensures that disaster response is coordinated and efficient.

Third, the professional human resource capacity of all three institutions contributes to the success of integration. The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) possess personnel with high tactical skills, discipline, and physical endurance, while the Regional Government possesses contextual knowledge of the region's social, geographic, and administrative conditions.

Fourth, institutional accessibility to local communities is a crucial factor, enabling rapid and accurate public communication, volunteer mobilization, and identification of field needs. Finally, institutional experience in previous disaster operations enhances adaptive capacity, increases trust between actors, and strengthens established patterns of cooperation. This combination of factors makes inter-institutional integration not only feasible but also effective in improving the quality of disaster management overall.

Factors Inhibiting Integration

Although the integration between the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and regional governments in disaster management has demonstrated significant achievements, its implementation still faces a number of structural and operational obstacles. These obstacles include:

First, the most prominent are logistical limitations in the initial stages of emergency response. When a disaster occurs, logistical supplies such as evacuation equipment, food, medicine, and emergency supplies are often not available in sufficient quantities at the regional level. This situation causes delays in aid distribution and reduces the effectiveness of rescue operations.

Second, communication disruptions due to damage to telecommunications infrastructure pose a serious obstacle to inter-agency coordination. Disruptions to electricity, internet, and telephone lines hamper the delivery of accurate situational information, resulting in slower decision-making and increased susceptibility to miscommunication. This obstacle underscores the importance of strengthening redundant and disruption-resistant emergency communication systems.

Third, differences in organizational culture between the TNI, the POLRI, and regional governments also influence the dynamics of cooperation. The TNI and POLRI have hierarchical and highly disciplined command structures, while regional government bureaucracies tend to be more administrative and multi-layered. This lack of synchronization sometimes leads to differing perceptions regarding action priorities and coordination mechanisms.

Fourth, the uneven capacity of Regional Disaster Management Agencies (BPBD) across all regions presents an additional obstacle. Limited human resources, equipment, and operational experience mean that initial response capabilities are not always optimal, increasing reliance on the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI).

Fifth, the limited disaster mitigation budget at the regional level contributes to low structural and non-structural preparedness. Budget cuts or limited allocations hamper risk mapping efforts, training, and the development of disaster risk reduction infrastructure.

These obstacles demonstrate that inter-agency integration requires strengthening regional capacity, harmonizing organizational cultures, and more consistent policy support to achieve optimal effectiveness.

Contribution of Integration to State Sovereignty

The integration of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and regional governments in disaster management not only has implications for the effectiveness of disaster response but also plays a strategic role in strengthening state sovereignty (Suryani & Haryanto, 2019). From a national security perspective, natural disasters constitute non-traditional threats that can disrupt social stability, damage vital infrastructure, and weaken the state's ability to carry out its governmental functions. Therefore, an integrated response across state institutions is a fundamental prerequisite for the state to remain present and maintain its authority amidst disruptive conditions. This integration provides a multi-layered contribution that collectively supports the strength of state sovereignty in crisis situations, including:

- a. The first contribution is maintaining security in affected areas. When a large-scale disaster occurs, not only physical threats arise, but also the potential for social disruption such as looting, horizontal conflict, and uncontrolled mass mobilization. The presence of the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) as domestic security managers, supported by elements of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in the context of humanitarian duties, ensures that security stability is maintained. This security includes controlling logistics routes, guarding aid distribution points, protecting public facilities, and stabilizing refugee relocation areas. Security stability is a key element of state sovereignty, as states that fail to maintain order during disasters often experience a decline in legitimacy. The integration of the TNI and

POLRI strengthens the state's capacity to maintain territorial control, ensure there is no power vacuum, and prevent the emergence of non-state actors that could threaten national order.

- b. The second contribution is increased public trust in the state. In national resilience theory, state legitimacy is often tested during times of crisis. The public tends to judge the state's capacity based on the speed and accuracy of its response in protecting citizens. Good integration between the TNI, POLRI, and local governments demonstrates the state's ability to be effective, responsive, and structured. The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) acting swiftly in evacuations, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) maintaining security, and the local government managing community needs are a clear representation of a state working synergistically. This integrated action creates a sense of security and increases public confidence in the state's ability to protect them from the threat of disaster. Public trust is strategic social capital for the state, as social and political legitimacy are the primary foundations of sustainable governance and national stability.;
- c. The third contribution relates to protecting the community as a key component of the state. In the concept of national resilience, the community is one of the most important elements determining the strength of the state. Natural disasters have the potential to weaken the social capacity of the community, damage community structures, and reduce collective psychological resilience. Integration between state institutions allows for more comprehensive community protection, from saving lives and providing emergency health services to meeting basic needs such as food, clean water, and temporary shelter. The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) provides mobility support and technical capabilities, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) ensures the security of public spaces, while the Regional Government ensures that citizens' needs are met through local policies and coordination of public services. Optimal protection of the community strengthens state control over territory and the population, ultimately supporting the state's fundamental function of ensuring citizen safety.
- d. The fourth contribution is ensuring the continuity of government functions. Large-scale disasters can paralyze regional administrative structures, damage government facilities, and delay public services. When government functions are disrupted, state sovereignty is also threatened, as the state potentially loses its ability to govern effectively. The integration of the TNI, POLRI, and Regional Governments significantly supports the rapid restoration of government functions by providing logistical support, security for officials, and ensuring the smooth operation of the interim government. The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) often assists in building emergency facilities, the Indonesian National Police (POLRI) maintains stability to ensure the safety of its personnel, and local governments coordinate the restoration of public administration services. This continuity of government is crucial for the state's ability to exercise its authority, formulate strategic policies, and maintain administrative strength in affected areas.

From this description, it is clear that the integration of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and regional governments provides a substantive contribution to state sovereignty by strengthening security, increasing legitimacy, protecting the population, and ensuring the continuity of government functions. This integration emphasizes that state sovereignty is not merely a militaristic concept, but also the state's ability to maintain internal stability, protect its citizens, and ensure the continuity of

government in crisis situations. Thus, disaster management becomes a strategic arena for the state to strengthen national resilience comprehensively.

E. CONCLUSION

Based on the overall description of the integration of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and the Regional Government in natural disaster management in Central Sulawesi, it can be concluded that synergy between state institutions is a crucial element in ensuring effective disaster management while strengthening national resilience and sovereignty. The integration that has been established demonstrates that disaster management cannot be implemented in isolation but requires structured, systematic, and sustainable cross-sectoral collaboration.

First, the integration of these three institutions is evident in the three main phases of disaster management: preparedness, emergency response, and rehabilitation and reconstruction. In the preparedness phase, the development of contingency plans, joint training, and the establishment of a unified command provide a strong foundation for coordination. In the emergency response phase, the rapid mobilization of the TNI, regional security by the POLRI, and operational coordination by the Regional Government ensure a swift, precise, and measurable disaster response. In the recovery phase, collaboration in infrastructure reconstruction, relocation management, and maintaining social stability demonstrates the sustainability of cross-sectoral integration.

Second, the success of integration is supported by various factors such as a clear legal basis, human resource capacity, a unified command structure, and institutional experience in disaster management. However, obstacles remain, including logistical limitations, communication disruptions, differences in organizational culture, uneven capacity of regional disaster management agencies (BPBD), and minimal mitigation budgets. These obstacles highlight the need to strengthen regional institutional capacity and harmonize national coordination mechanisms.

Third, the integration of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI), and the Regional Government provides a strategic contribution to national sovereignty. Synergy between state institutions maintains security stability, enhances state legitimacy in the public eye, protects the people as a key component of the state, and ensures the continuity of government functions during times of crisis. Thus, disaster management serves not only as a response to natural threats but also as a non-military defense instrument that strengthens national resilience.

Integration between state institutions in disaster management in Central Sulawesi has demonstrated significant effectiveness and serves as an important model for national disaster management. Strengthening coordination, optimizing regional capacity, and harmonizing cross-sectoral policies are strategic steps to enhance national resilience and safeguard national sovereignty in the face of future disaster threats.

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