

The Gap Between Service Excellence and Procedural Justice in Criminal Investigation Services at the West Jakarta Metro Police

Muhammad Rizky Ali Akbar¹, Agus Sumartomo^{2*}

^{1,2}Police Science College, Jakarta, Indonesia

Email: ¹⁾ mrizkyaliakbar@gmail.com, ²⁾ agus.sumartomo@stik-ptik.ac.id

Received : 07 April - 2026

Accepted : 14 May - 2026

Published online : 16 May - 2026

Abstract

Within the criminal justice system, investigative services serve as a critical arena where police legitimacy is shaped through citizens' direct experiences, yet gaps between administrative compliance and public expectations often trigger dissatisfaction. This study aims to identify the implementation of service excellence in the criminal investigation process at the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) of the West Jakarta Metro Police, to analyze complainants' experiences of procedural justice, and to explain the gap between administrative service standards and public experience that may trigger complaints (*Dumas*). A qualitative case study approach was employed, with data collected through semi-structured interviews with 13 informants (investigators and complainants), document review, and observation. The findings indicate that while the unit demonstrates strong administrative compliance with standard operating procedures and criminal procedural law, a significant gap remains in interaction and communication between investigators and complainants. Within the A6 service excellence framework, ability and internal accountability function relatively well, whereas action and external accountability remain weak, particularly in inconsistent delivery of case progress updates and limited explanation of investigation delays. From a procedural justice perspective, this condition reduces complainants' perceptions of trustworthiness and respect. This study concludes that *Dumas* is more often triggered by lack of process clarity (process-related complaints) than by dissatisfaction with case outcomes alone. Accordingly, improving investigative services requires enhancing the readability of case progress through scheduled, consistent, and substantive communication to strengthen procedural transparency and public trust.

Keywords: Criminal Investigation Services, Police Accountability, Procedural Justice, Public Complaints, Service Excellence.

1. Introduction

Criminal investigation services within the criminal justice system can no longer be understood merely as a technical function of law enforcement. They must also be seen as a strategic arena in which police legitimacy is formed through citizens' direct experiences. Within the framework of public service, the state is obliged to provide services that are professional, transparent, and accountable, as mandated by Law No. 25 of 2009 on Public Services. In the context of modern bureaucracy, rigid administrative approaches have gradually given way to models of governance that are more responsive, adaptive, and oriented toward public satisfaction (Andrian & Sari, 2024; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015). The quality of service delivered has direct implications for public trust and institutional legitimacy, and consequently shapes the willingness of citizens to participate and engage.

In the policing context, particularly within the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) of the West Jakarta Metro Police, both process quality and interactional quality in



investigative services constitute the normative benchmark of proper police service. This unit was selected as the research locus on three substantive grounds: it operates in a dense and heterogeneous metropolitan setting, with a population of approximately 2.6 million and a population density of around 20,000 inhabitants per square kilometer (BPS Kota Jakarta Barat, 2023); it handles a substantial annual volume of criminal cases, which intensifies the interaction between investigators and complainants; and its complaint records show that a sizeable share of public complaints relates specifically to investigative services, making it an information-rich site for examining the interface between procedural standards and lived experience. Regulation of the Chief of the Indonesian National Police No. 6 of 2019 on Criminal Investigation provides operational guidance intended to ensure that police investigators carry out their duties, functions, and authority in a professional, transparent, and accountable manner. This normative standard emphasises an administratively structured model of investigative service and requires procedural transparency, notification of case developments, and administrative accountability (Manda & Halimah, 2025).

In practice, however, complainants' experiences do not always correspond to these normative standards. Previous studies have shown that complaints concerning investigative services continue to arise in relation to delays in information delivery, unclear procedures, and service responses perceived as slow (Aziz, 2023; Manda & Halimah, 2025). Data from the Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia (2023) indicate that the police remain among the institutions most frequently reported in the field of public services. Likewise, reports by the National Commission on Human Rights (2023) show that the police occupy a significant position in public complaints, surpassing both corporations and government institutions (ICJR, 2025). Accordingly, the quality of investigative services has a direct bearing on the emergence of public complaints (*Dumas*), which may be read as a signal that service quality remains less than optimal.

This pattern suggests that *Dumas* should not be treated merely as an administrative complaint, but rather as an expression of the broader relationship between the public and the police as experienced through investigative services. In this sense, poor service quality has a substantial effect on the incidence of public complaints directed at police services (Aziz, 2023). Along similar lines, Kuen (2024) argues that citizens assess police legitimacy not only on the basis of outcomes, but also on how legal processes are carried out. Procedurally just legal processes foster public trust and strengthen citizens' willingness to comply with the law. Murphy (2021) likewise emphasises that procedural justice matters because it reinforces the social relationship between the police and the communities they serve. Procedural justice is therefore not merely an instrument for producing fair legal outcomes; it also reflects a way of treating individuals as rational, social, and feeling subjects rather than as mere objects of the law (Meyerson et al., 2020). From this perspective, *Dumas* may be understood as a social signal of how the public perceives the quality of interaction, the openness of process, and the fairness they experience.

Theoretically, there is a conceptual tension between the framework of service excellence and the concept of procedural justice. Service excellence requires timeliness, clear and accessible procedures, equal access, and traceable accountability (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015; Dwiyanto, 2021). The public service quality literature generally treats user satisfaction as a key indicator of successful service delivery. However, service quality that appears administratively sound does not necessarily lead to the perception that a legal process is fair. It is at this point that procedural justice becomes particularly relevant. Tyler et al. (2015) argue that the legitimacy of legal authority is shaped less by final outcomes than by citizens' perceptions of the fairness of the process itself. The core dimensions of procedural justice

include opportunities for voice, the neutrality of decision-makers, respectful treatment, and the belief that authorities act with sincere and trustworthy motives (Murphy, 2021; Porter & Prenzler, 2017). Operationally, this study mobilises both frameworks as complementary diagnostic tools: the A6 dimensions of service excellence (Brata, 2023) are used to assess the organisation's service performance from the standpoint of procedural reliability, while the four core dimensions of procedural justice (Tyler et al., 2015) are used to assess the same service from the standpoint of complainants' lived experience. The analytical bridge between the two is the intelligibility of process, that is, the extent to which complainants can follow what is being done to their case and understand why.

In this regard, the central problem lies in the gap between service excellence indicators that are fulfilled at the procedural and administrative levels and the experience of procedural justice, which places greater emphasis on psychological and normative dimensions. Investigative services may be delivered promptly, formally documented, and administratively responsive, yet still be perceived as unfair when they fail to satisfy the relational, normative, and instrumental dimensions of procedural justice. It is precisely this condition that may give rise to dissatisfaction, which is then manifested in patterns of public complaints (*Dumas*) (Kuen, 2024).

At the conceptual level, the literature reveals a clear gap. Many studies on public service quality focus primarily on satisfaction and compliance with operational standards (Ginting, 2024; Manda & Halimah, 2025), whereas the procedural justice approach addresses a deeper and more normative dimension of process fairness (Kuen, 2024; Yesberg et al., 2024). From an empirical and methodological standpoint, *Dumas* is often treated merely as a statistical output of complaints (Kuen, 2024). By contrast, from the perspective of procedural justice, perceptions of fairness are shaped by how the public receives the process and how they assess police legitimacy (Perez-Vincent & Puebla, 2024). This study fills the gap in three concrete ways. First, it integrates the service excellence and procedural justice frameworks within a single analytical lens centred on the intelligibility of process, rather than treating them as parallel evaluation schemes. Second, it repositions *Dumas* analytically, from a statistical output of complaints into a relational indicator of legitimacy and process quality, by classifying complaints into outcome-related, process-related, and mixed categories. Third, it triangulates this analytical move with operational data (CT, CC, and *Dumas*) of the *Satreskrim* of the West Jakarta Metro Police, so that the conceptual gap is not only stated but also empirically demonstrated through a metropolitan investigative setting that has so far received limited scholarly attention in the procedural justice literature.

Based on this framework, the article aims to identify how service excellence is implemented in investigative services at the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) of the West Jakarta Metro Police; to analyse complainants' experiences of procedural justice during the investigation process; and to explain the forms and mechanisms of the gap between the two, as well as their relationship to patterns of public complaints (*Dumas*).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Public Service Quality and Service Excellence

The concept of public service quality has evolved from efficiency-oriented administrative models toward governance frameworks that are more responsive, adaptive, and citizen-centred. In Indonesia, this shift is anchored in Law No. 25 of 2009 on Public Services, which mandates professional, transparent, and accountable service delivery — framing it not merely as an administrative function but as a fulfilment of citizens' rights with direct implications for

institutional legitimacy (Andrian & Sari, 2024). Denhardt and Denhardt (2015) reinforce this position through the New Public Service framework, asserting that citizens must be treated not as passive customers but as rights-bearing participants in democratic governance, entitled to dignified and responsive treatment in every public encounter.

Dwiyanto (2021) emphasises that service quality must be assessed against timeliness, procedural clarity, equitable access, and traceable accountability. Building on this, Brata (2023) operationalises service excellence through the A6 framework (Ability, Attitude, Appearance, Attention, Action, and Accountability) spanning both technical competence and institutional responsiveness. This framework serves as a measurable diagnostic tool for evaluating procedural service performance, making it particularly applicable to investigative services where administrative standards are formally prescribed. Nevertheless, a recurring finding in the literature is that compliance with service standards does not necessarily translate into user satisfaction or perceived fairness. Ginting (2024) and Manda and Halimah (2025) both observe that studies focused primarily on satisfaction and operational compliance tend to overlook the deeper normative dimensions of process quality — suggesting that service excellence, as conventionally measured, captures only part of what citizens evaluate when forming judgements about public institutions.

2.2. Procedural Justice in Policing

Procedural justice theory addresses citizens' perceptions of fairness in legal and institutional processes, independent of the outcomes those processes produce. Tyler et al. (2015) argue that the legitimacy of legal authority is shaped less by the results authorities achieve than by how citizens perceive the fairness of the process itself. Four core dimensions define this framework: the opportunity for voice, meaning citizens' ability to express their views; the neutrality of decision-makers; treatment with dignity and respect; and trust in the sincerity and integrity of authorities' motives (Tyler et al., 2015; Murphy, 2021; Porter & Prenzler, 2017). Together, these dimensions constitute a normative standard against which citizens evaluate not only specific interactions but also the legitimacy of institutions as a whole.

In the policing context, Murphy (2021) emphasises that procedural justice carries particular significance because it reinforces the social relationship between police and the communities they serve. When citizens perceive legal processes as fair, they are more likely to cooperate with police, internalise legal norms as legitimate, and comply voluntarily rather than out of fear of sanction. Conversely, perceived procedural injustice erodes trust even when outcomes are formally correct. Meyerson et al. (2020) deepen this argument by positioning procedural justice not merely as an instrument for producing fair legal outcomes, but as a reflection of how individuals are treated as rational, social, and feeling subjects rather than as mere objects of the law — a distinction that is especially consequential in investigative settings where complainants occupy a psychologically and socially vulnerable position.

Empirical research consistently supports these theoretical claims. Kuen (2024) finds that citizens evaluate police legitimacy primarily through the lens of how legal processes are conducted, with procedurally just processes fostering trust and willingness to comply with the law. Yesberg et al. (2024) similarly demonstrate that procedural justice perceptions exert a more consistent and durable influence on public trust than satisfaction with outcomes alone. Perez-Vincent and Puebla (2024) extend this finding across comparative contexts, establishing that procedural justice shapes public assessments of police legitimacy in ways that transcend specific cultural and institutional settings, affirming the normative universality of the framework.

2.3. Police Legitimacy, Public Complaints, and Investigative Services in Indonesia

Police legitimacy cannot be reduced to formal legal authority alone. Tyler et al. (2015) establish that legitimacy depends on citizens' trust that police act fairly and honestly, making it something that must be actively earned through every institutional interaction. Further, Porter and Prenzler (2017) add that transparent and responsive complaint mechanisms are integral to this legitimacy, as seriously handled grievances reinforce perceptions of institutional integrity. In Indonesia, data from the Ombudsman (2023) and the National Commission on Human Rights (2023) consistently place the police among the most frequently reported public institutions, surpassing both corporations and other government bodies (ICJR, 2025).

Aziz (2023) identifies a direct relationship between poor investigative service quality and the incidence of public complaints, while Manda and Halimah (2025) document recurring complaints around delays, unclear procedures, and slow responses; all dimensions that procedural justice literature identifies as foundational to citizens' fairness evaluations. Despite the normative framework established by Regulation of the Chief of the Indonesian National Police No. 6 of 2019, the gap between prescribed standards and lived experience persists, reflecting a broader tension between procedural reliability and experienced fairness.

2.4. The Conceptual Gap Between Service Excellence and Procedural Justice

A fundamental tension exists between the service excellence framework and procedural justice. Service excellence, operationalised through Brata's (2023) A6 dimensions and the Indonesian public administration literature (Dwiyanto, 2021), locates service quality at the administrative and technical level, assuming that procedural compliance produces satisfactory relational outcomes (Ginting, 2024). Procedural justice theory, however, operates at a deeper level: Tyler et al. (2015) demonstrate that citizens' perceptions of fairness are shaped by relational, psychological, and normative factors that administrative metrics cannot capture. An investigative service may be formally compliant yet still perceived as unfair when it fails to satisfy the dimensions of voice, neutrality, dignity, and trustworthiness of motive. Murphy (2021) and Meyerson et al. (2020) reinforce this, arguing that the absence of experienced fairness erodes institutional trust regardless of whether formal standards are met; a condition that manifests directly in Dumas patterns (Kuen, 2024).

The analytical bridge between the two frameworks is what this study terms the intelligibility of process, the extent to which complainants can follow what is being done to their case and understand why. When this intelligibility is absent, administratively fulfilled standards fail to generate the perception of fairness necessary to sustain institutional legitimacy (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015; Meyerson et al., 2020; Yesberg et al., 2024), explaining why Dumas persists even where formal service standards are nominally satisfied.

3. Methods

This study adopts a qualitative approach with a case study design (Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2019), focusing on the criminal investigation service delivered by the Criminal Investigation Unit (Satreskrim) of the West Jakarta Metro Police. The unit was selected purposively on the grounds that it operates in a dense, heterogeneous metropolitan setting with a high volume of criminal cases and intensive service interactions, conditions that make it an information-rich site for examining the interface between procedural standards and complainants' lived experiences (BPS Kota Jakarta Barat, 2023).

Three categories of data were collected. Primary data were obtained through semi-structured in-depth interviews with thirteen (13) informants drawn purposively from two groups: investigators and assistant investigators delivering the service, and complainants with direct experience of the investigation process. Secondary documentary data were drawn from internal Standard Operating Procedures of the *Satreskrim*, Regulation of the Chief of the Indonesian National Police No. 6 of 2019 on Criminal Investigation, and the Police Report Register Book. Operational data, namely Crime Total (CT), Crime Clearance (CC), and Public Complaints (Dumas) for the year 2025, were obtained from the unit's internal records and the official complaint channel of the West Jakarta Metro Police, and were treated as contextual indicators of caseload, completion performance, and patterns of public dissatisfaction.

Data were analysed using Reflexive Thematic Analysis (Campbell et al., 2021) following its six phases of familiarisation, coding, theme construction, theme review, theme definition, and reporting. Three forms of triangulation were applied to strengthen the trustworthiness of the findings: source triangulation between investigators' and complainants' accounts; method triangulation between interviews, documents, and the operational dataset (CT, CC, and Dumas); and theory triangulation between the service excellence framework (Brata, 2023) and the procedural justice framework (Tyler et al., 2015). Through this triangulation, episodes of high CT or low CC and the structure of the Dumas data were read against complainants' narratives to test whether perceptions of procedural unfairness were corroborated by the recorded operational pattern.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Mapping Service Excellence in Investigative Services

Investigative services at the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) of the West Jakarta Metro Police may be understood as a form of public service embedded within the broader function of law enforcement. Within the framework of service excellence, service quality is not determined solely by the orderly execution of procedures, but also by how those procedures are delivered to service users. Accordingly, in this study, service quality is examined through two complementary dimensions: process quality, which includes procedural clarity, time standards, administrative orderliness, and the traceability of each stage; and interaction quality, which concerns how officers explain procedures, respond to users, and build their trust. In operational terms, this study also employs the A6 dimensions of service excellence: ability, attitude, appearance, attention, action, and accountability (Brata, 2023). Through this lens, the analysis does not stop at procedural compliance, but assesses the extent to which those procedures are translated into service certainty that is both understandable and meaningfully experienced by the public.

Based on the interview findings, the report-receiving process at the West Jakarta Metro Police demonstrates the main characteristics of process quality, including standardised procedures, clearly defined stages, hierarchical recording mechanisms, and time limits for report distribution. The existence of the Police Report Register Book, the internal disposition mechanism, and administrative archives indicates that the organisation has formalised its service standards in a way that makes them measurable and subject to oversight. From the perspective of service excellence (Brata, 2023), this condition reflects an organisational effort to maintain procedural reliability and accountability. However, the empirical findings also show that this level of process quality has not been fully matched by interaction quality. The repeated transfer of complainants between the Integrated Police Service Center (*Sentra Pelayanan Kepolisian Terpadu* or *SPKT*) and the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*),

as well as the SPKT's reliance on recommendations from *Satreskrim* in determining whether a report is admissible, may formally conform to standard operating procedures. Even so, this pattern has the potential to generate a less than optimal and, at times, confusing service experience for members of the public.

Within Brata's (2023) A6 service excellence framework, the service gap at this stage is particularly evident in several key dimensions. First, in terms of ability, SPKT officers generally demonstrate a technical understanding of the applicable standard operating procedures and of their respective roles; however, their ability to explain the procedural flow, its implications, and the expected timeframe to complainants is not always articulated in a systematic manner. As a result, existing service standards are not always fully understood by service users. Second, with regard to attitude and attention, although no explicit indication of impolite conduct was identified, the fact that some complainants felt rejected or left disappointed suggests that the need for empathy, individualised explanation, and opportunities to voice concerns has not always been adequately met. Meanwhile, the dimensions of action and accountability appear relatively strong from the standpoint of the internal organisation, as reflected in documentation, case disposition, and tiered supervisory mechanisms; yet these strengths have not been fully translated into a sense of certainty as experienced by complainants.

Empirically, therefore, the initial stage of investigative service delivery does not fully satisfy the principles of service excellence, particularly in its interactional dimension. Under such conditions, these weaknesses are easily perceived as procedural unfairness. This helps explain why the report-receiving stage often becomes an early source of *Dumas*, even in cases where no formal violation of standard operating procedures has occurred. The following Table 1 summarises the findings based on the service excellence framework.

Table 1. The Relationship Between the Report-Receiving Stage and the A6 Service Excellence Framework

A6 Indicators	Summary of Findings
Ability	Officers demonstrated an understanding of standard operating procedures and their technical roles; however, their ability to explain the procedural flow, the authority of the SPKT, the distinctions between reporting models, and the expected timeframe to complainants remained inconsistent and unsystematic.
Attitude	No overtly rude conduct was identified; however, empathy and opportunities for complainants to voice their concerns were not yet optimal, as reflected in cases where complainants felt "rejected" or disappointed when their reports could not yet be processed.
Appearance	Personal appearance and physical facilities were not a primary issue; however, they had not yet been effectively utilized as means of building credibility and service clarity, for example through informational media explaining the service process.
Attention	This dimension was relatively well met, as indicated by officers' willingness to listen to the complainants' account of events and to assist them in completing the necessary administrative requirements.
Action	Procedural measures were carried out in accordance with standard operating procedures; however, the back-and-forth process between the SPKT and the Criminal Investigation Unit (<i>Satreskrim</i>), together with the reliance on internal recommendations, created an impression of slowness and inefficiency for complainants.

A6 Indicators	Summary of Findings
Accountability	Internal accountability was strong, as reflected in documentation, case disposition, and supervisory oversight; however, external accountability remained weak because the reasons underlying decisions and the applicable time standards were not communicated transparently to complainants.

Across the six A6 indicators, the empirical pattern at the report-receiving stage is asymmetrical: the dimensions oriented toward the organisation (ability, action, accountability) appear strong, while those oriented toward the complainant (attitude, attention, and the communicative side of ability) remain comparatively weak. The diagnostic implication is that the early friction in this stage is not produced by procedural non-compliance, but by the under-translation of compliant procedures into complainants' understanding of them. This asymmetry is the empirical signature of the broader argument developed below: procedural orderliness alone does not guarantee procedural intelligibility.

Read together, the A6 indicators in Table 1 and the procedural justice dimensions identified by Tyler et al. (2015) trace the same service from two angles: the organisation's view of its own performance and the complainant's lived experience of fairness. Ability is not only the technical capacity to apply the relevant standard operating procedures; it becomes the basis for trustworthiness when officers are also able to explain to complainants what is being done and why a particular step is required. Action is not only the timely execution of procedural stages; it functions as the operational expression of neutrality when investigative steps and their underlying reasons are communicated consistently across cases. Accountability, in turn, is no longer adequately captured by internal documentation and supervisory oversight alone; it must be translated into respect and voice, that is, into responses that acknowledge complainants' informational needs and provide explanations that are intelligible from the complainant's standpoint (Brata, 2023; Tyler et al., 2015). Within this logic, organisational service indicators do not stand apart from procedural justice; they constitute the very channels through which justice is made experientially available to complainants.

Meanwhile, at the investigation stage, caseload constitutes a context that cannot be separated from service quality. The high volume of reports at the unit level, when read alongside Figure 1, indicates an inflow of cases (Crime Total or CT) that is substantially greater than the number of cases resolved (Crime Clearance or CC) within the same period. The gap between CT and CC suggests that investigators operate under a dense case-handling queue, thereby increasing the intervals between investigative actions and extending complainants' waiting time. From the perspective of service excellence, this context is significant because service certainty is shaped not only by procedural compliance, but also by the organisation's ability to maintain the intelligibility of case progress for complainants amid a heavy workload.

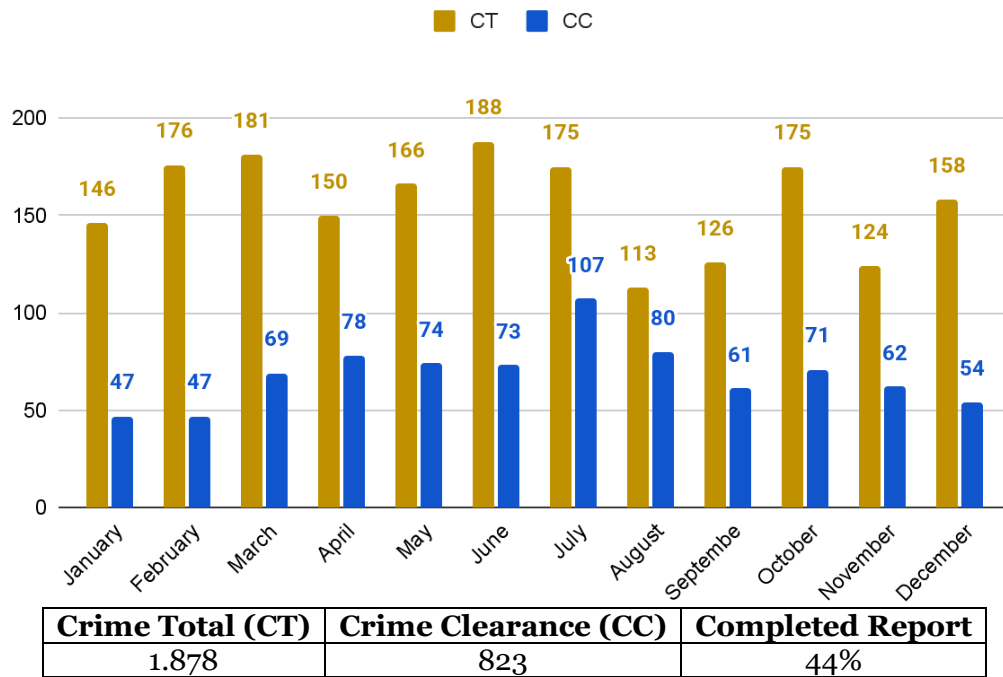


Figure 1. Recapitulation of Crime Total (CT) and Crime Clearance (CC) Data for the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) of the West Jakarta Metro Police, 2025

Source: Recapitulated Data of the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) of the West Jakarta Metro Police, 2025

Procedurally, the investigation stage demonstrates relatively strong compliance with administrative standards and the formal stages of criminal procedure. This compliance is evident in the orderly management of initial case administration, the issuance of the Notice of Commencement of Investigation (*Surat Pemberitahuan Dimulainya Penyidikan* or *SPDP*), summonses, examinations, and case review proceedings. These processes are subject to internal control through documentation, record-keeping, routine evaluation, and system-based monitoring. Within the A6 framework, the dimensions of ability and accountability appear comparatively strong, as the workflow can be traced and accounted for from the organisational perspective (Brata, 2023).

However, procedural compliance does not always translate into service certainty from the complainant's perspective. Investigations often proceed within uncertain timeframes because the evidentiary process is complex and may involve multiple parties. In such circumstances, the consistent delivery of case updates through the Notice of Progress in Investigation Results (*SP2HP*) becomes crucial to the intelligibility of case progress (Janssen et al., 2025). When updates are delayed, complainants find it difficult to understand the status of the case, the reasons for changes in investigative steps, and the likely timeframe of the process. Within the A6 framework, the main vulnerabilities at this stage are closely related to the consistency of communication with complainants, particularly in the dimensions of attention (addressing complainants' informational needs), action (providing timely and consistent follow-up through case updates), and accountability (explaining decisions, constraints, and expected timeframes in language that is clear and accessible) (Brata, 2023). When information updates are delayed, inconsistent, or insufficiently explained, complainants struggle to follow the progress of the case and to understand the reasons for delay, making the process easy to perceive as unresponsive and insufficiently accountable. A

summary of the findings at this stage, based on the service excellence framework, is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. The Relationship Between the Investigation Stage and the A6 Service Excellence Framework

A6 Indicators	Summary of Findings
Ability	Investigators' technical and legal competence appeared strong, as reflected in their compliance with standard operating procedures and criminal procedural law in the issuance of investigation warrants (<i>Sprindik</i>), the submission of the Notice of Commencement of Investigation (<i>SPDP</i>), the implementation of coercive measures, examinations, and the preparation of investigation summaries. However, their communicative ability to explain the procedural flow, expected timeframe, and complexity of the investigation to complainants remained inconsistent.
Attitude	Investigators' demeanor tended to be formal and neutral, in line with the principle of legal caution. However, empathy and a service-oriented approach were less evident, particularly when complainants sought certainty or clarification regarding the length of the investigation process.
Appearance	Personal appearance and official attributes met institutional standards. However, the presentation of the service itself, particularly in terms of information transparency regarding procedural flow and case status, had not yet been fully utilized as a means of fostering complainants' trust and understanding.
Attention	Investigators' attention was more focused on evidentiary matters than on complainants' informational needs. Although SP2HP was provided on a regular basis, the content of the information was often general in nature and did not fully meet complainants' expectations regarding the concrete progress of the case.
Action	Investigative measures were carried out in stages and in accordance with procedure, including the lawful use of coercive measures. However, the time gaps between investigative actions and the limited responsiveness to complainants' inquiries created a perception that the process was slow.
Accountability	Internal accountability was strong, as reflected in reporting mechanisms, prosecutorial oversight, and administrative documentation. By contrast, external accountability to complainants remained limited to the formal obligation to provide SP2HP and was not yet consistently accompanied by substantive explanations regarding obstacles and the reasons for delay.

Compared with the report-receiving stage, the asymmetry deepens at the investigation stage. Ability and accountability remain strong on the internal side—evidentiary work, documentation, and supervisory oversight are clearly traceable—yet attention, action, and external accountability turn weaker as the duration of the case lengthens and updates become irregular. Read interpretively, this means that the dimensions most exposed to complainants' scrutiny are precisely the ones least supported by a structured communication system. The investigation stage, therefore, is where the gap between organisational performance and lived experience widens most visibly.

To facilitate interpretation, this study maps the empirical conditions of investigative services at these two stages using the Service Excellence framework, as presented in Table 3.

This mapping is intended to show the degree to which each service indicator—ability, attitude, appearance, attention, action, and accountability—is fulfilled, based on the analysis of standard operating procedures and interview findings.

Table 3. Matrix of the Relationship Between the A6 Dimensions of Service Excellence Across Two Stages of Investigative Service Delivery

No	Stages of Investigative Service Delivery	Service Excellence Theory (Brata, 2023)					
		Ability	Attitude	Appearance	Attention	Action	Accountability
1	Report Reception and Administrative Stage	Δ	Δ	X	✓	X	X
2	Investigation Process Stage	✓	X	X	Δ	Δ	Δ

✓ = relatively fulfilled
Δ = normatively fulfilled, but not yet optimal from a service perspective
X = not yet fulfilled consistently

Reading Tables 1 and 2 together, the matrix in Table 3 reveals a consistent diagonal: dimensions tied to administrative reliability (ability, action, internal accountability) are met across both stages, while dimensions tied to communicative reliability (attention, external accountability, and the explanatory side of ability) remain weak across both stages. This consistency suggests that the gap is structural rather than situational, that is, it is reproduced by how the service is organised rather than by individual officer behaviour. It is this structural reading that makes the convergence concept of intelligibility of process, elaborated below, analytically necessary.

Overall, an A6-based reading of these two stages of service delivery suggests that the gap in investigative services lies more in the realm of perceived service certainty than in the absence of procedure itself. The most salient dimensions emerging from the findings are ability, attention, action, and accountability, whereas appearance tends to be a minor issue and attitude appears more as a situational concern.

4.2. The Application of Procedural Justice in Investigative Services

Based on the preceding discussion, it can be understood that investigative services at the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) of the West Jakarta Metro Police have been conducted with reference to standard operating procedures and relatively orderly administrative arrangements. However, procedural compliance does not always align with complainants' actual experiences, particularly when they seek clarity regarding case progress, the reasons underlying investigative actions, and consistent channels of communication. Accordingly, this section examines how such service practices are experienced by complainants, while also positioning process accountability as a measure of responsibility throughout the handling of the case.

As discussed earlier, the service excellence framework is useful for assessing service quality in terms of both standards and practice. By contrast, the procedural justice framework helps explain complainants' evaluations of process fairness through four dimensions: trustworthiness, respectful treatment, neutrality, and voice (Tyler et al., 2015). In addition, process accountability assesses the extent to which investigative actions can be traced, their progress regularly updated, and their underlying reasons adequately explained to complainants throughout the case-handling process (Worden & McLean, 2017).

Within the procedural justice framework, trustworthiness refers to the complainant's belief that investigators are working diligently, acting in good faith, and can be trusted to handle the case professionally (Tyler et al., 2015). In the context of investigative services, this study finds that this dimension is shaped primarily by two issues that complainants most frequently use to assess investigators' credibility: (1) whether investigators appear to be actively handling the case, and (2) whether complainants receive reasonable updates when the process has not yet reached a final decision.

The findings show that the completeness of documentation and procedural stages is not always consistently reflected in complainants' actual experiences. For example, the experience of a complainant who received the Notice of Commencement of Investigation (*SPDP*) only long after the report had been filed suggests that delays in basic procedural information can create the impression that the case is not progressing, or is simply "silent" without explanation. In an interview, one complainant stated that the *SPDP* was only received in 2026, even though the report had been submitted in 2023 (interview with complainant, IN, 2026). In the context of trustworthiness, this experience matters not because the complainant rejected the procedure itself, but because no adequate explanation was provided to clarify why the administrative stage was delayed or not visibly taking place.

At the investigation stage, where the duration of the process is often uncertain, trust is also strongly shaped by the consistency of information updates. When updates are not provided regularly, complainants tend to perceive the process as uncertain and difficult to predict, even when procedural actions may in fact be underway. Previous research emphasizes that perceptions of fairness and trust are shaped largely by the intelligibility of the process, rather than by the final outcome alone (National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, 2015). Accordingly, trustworthiness in investigative services is more likely to be sustained when complainants receive clear updates regarding what has been done, what the process is currently awaiting, and why delays in case handling have occurred.

Turning to the dimension of respectful treatment, this concept concerns whether complainants are treated with dignity, listened to, and not dismissed in service interactions (National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, 2015). In practice, respect is not limited to initial courtesy, but is also reflected in how officers respond to complainants' needs when they seek certainty and request clarification regarding case progress. In other words, respectful treatment in the investigative process is tested most clearly at the moment when complainants demand explanation: whether officers are willing to provide information that is understandable while also demonstrating clear follow-up.

In an interview, an advocate accompanying a complainant explained that the initial service experience tended to be positive because officers were polite. However, once the complainant began asking when the case would be processed, they were often told to wait or referred to superiors, so that their need for certainty regarding the process was not promptly addressed (interview with complainant and advocate, BS, 2026). Within the framework of respectful treatment, responses that appear evasive or are not accompanied by clear follow-up can lead complainants to feel that their need to understand the process is not being recognized. This condition reduces their sense of being respected and ultimately encourages them to seek clarity through repeated communication.

On the other hand, the findings also show that increasing communication intensity may generate tension in the service relationship, particularly when complainants repeatedly seek certainty through text messages. A senior investigator described how persistent demands for updates through messaging applications may make investigators reluctant to respond continuously, while cutting off communication access altogether, for example by blocking the

complainant, would be considered unethical (interview with senior investigator, AIPDA M, 2026). This finding confirms that respect in service delivery is shaped not only by individual attitudes, but also by the regularity of the communication system. Without clear and routine information updates, communication can easily break down and the service relationship may become strained.

Furthermore, the dimension of neutrality relates to complainants' assessment that decisions and the direction of case handling are based on rules and explainable reasons, rather than on bias or personal considerations (Tyler et al., 2015). In investigative services, neutrality is often tested at moments when investigators inform complainants that the case cannot yet proceed to the next stage, that the evidence remains insufficient, or that certain steps must be postponed. At such moments, complainants evaluate not only the ultimate decision, but also whether the reasons underlying that decision are clear, consistent, and understandable.

Complainants' experiences indicate that communication perceived as steering them toward a particular course of action may undermine perceptions of neutrality. In an interview, one complainant stated that the investigator handling the case had at one point suggested that the report that had already been filed should be withdrawn (interview with complainant, IN, 2026). Within the framework of neutrality, this experience is significant because it may signal to the complainant that the process is being directed toward a particular option without an adequate explanation of its legal basis, the alternatives available, and the consequences attached to each option. Thus, concerns about neutrality do not always arise from actual bias; they may also emerge when the reasoning behind a decision is not communicated fully, particularly when the case is progressing slowly or when investigative steps must await other processes (Worden & McLean, 2017).

Finally, the dimension of voice emphasises whether complainants are genuinely given the opportunity to present their account and feel that their statements are taken into consideration in the process (Tyler et al., 2015). In investigative practice, this opportunity does not end when the complainant first files the report, but continues to be tested throughout the handling of the case. Voice is reflected in whether complainants are able to seek clarification, submit additional evidence, and receive adequate explanations when the process proceeds slowly or encounters delays.

In the context of a high caseload, however, complainants' opportunity for voice is often constrained by investigators' limited time and capacity. As a result, responses to complainants' inquiries may become slower or less regular, leading complainants to feel that their information is not being followed up promptly. In this regard, operational data help explain the context that shapes the intensity of interaction between complainants and investigators.

Table 4. Operational Statistical Data of the Criminal Investigation Unit of the West Jakarta Metro Police, 2025

Operational Indicators of the Criminal Investigation Unit (Satreskrim), 2025	Data/Statistics
Crime Total (CT)	1.878 reports
Crime Clearance (CC)	823 reports (44%)
Workload (estimated vs. actual)	12 (estimated) vs. 18.78 (actual) reports per investigator per year
Total public complaints (Dumas)	42 reports
Dumas related specifically to the Criminal Investigation Unit	17 reports (40.4% of total Dumas)

Perez-Vincent & Puebla (2024), drawing on a vignette experiment in Central America, demonstrate that perceptions of procedural justice exert an independent effect on assessments of police legitimacy, beyond and apart from the substantive outcome of police action. Applied to the present case, this finding helps interpret the operational pattern in Table 4: even when investigators carry out lawful and procedurally compliant actions, legitimacy is not automatically conferred when complainants cannot follow how those actions are being carried out. In this sense, *Dumas* in the West Jakarta Metro Police should be read less as a verdict on outcomes than as a signal that the legitimacy-generating function of the process itself, namely its intelligibility, is operating below the level expected by complainants.

Overall, this analysis shows that complainants' experience of procedural justice is shaped more by the intelligibility of the investigative process than by administrative compliance alone. Procedural justice is strengthened when complainants are able to follow the progress of the case, receive regular updates, and obtain clear and consistent explanations regarding both investigative actions and delays in case handling. Clear and non-evasive patterns of response also foster a sense of being respected, because complainants' need for certainty is treated as a legitimate part of the service process rather than as a disruption. By contrast, when updates are irregular, the reasons for delay are not explained, and communication depends largely on individual initiative under conditions of heavy workload, complainants are more likely to interpret the process as stagnant, non-transparent, and insufficiently attentive to their voice. This condition helps explain why complaints emerge more readily even when the formal procedural stages continue to be followed.

Taken together, the dimensions of trustworthiness, respect, neutrality, and voice converge on a single legitimacy claim: that complainants are willing to accept the authority of the investigative process to the extent that they can read it as fair while it unfolds. The vignette evidence reported by Perez-Vincent and Puebla (2024) supports this reading at the comparative level, showing that procedural justice operates as an independent route to legitimacy even where law enforcement outcomes are held constant. The implication for the West Jakarta Metro Police is that legitimacy in investigative services is not produced solely by clearing cases, but by making the process through which cases are handled visible, explainable, and consistent.

4.3. The Gap Between Service Excellence and Procedural Justice in Investigative Services

The preceding discussion underscores that the quality of investigative services is assessed not only in terms of compliance with standard operating procedures and the completeness of administrative requirements, but also through complainants' experiences in interacting with the service. The findings of this study reveal a clear gap: although the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) has established procedures, administrative arrangements, and service instruments, complainants evaluate service quality primarily on the basis of the regularity of information updates, the clarity of explanations for investigative actions or delays, and the consistency of communication. This indicates that service indicators regarded by the organisation as fulfilled are not always reflected in complainants' actual experiences. The organisation tends to emphasise the completeness of procedural stages and documentation, whereas complainants assess service quality in terms of the intelligibility of the process, that is, whether case progress can be followed and whether the reasons underlying case handling can be understood.

In examining this gap, the study relates the A6 dimensions of service excellence (Ability, Attitude, Appearance, Attention, Action, and Accountability) to the principles of procedural justice. The A6 framework emphasises that service excellence requires officers' competence,

appropriate service attitudes, attention to users' needs, concrete service actions, and accountability that can be properly demonstrated (Brata, 2023). Procedural justice, by contrast, evaluates the quality of the process through complainants' lived experience: whether they are treated with dignity (respect), given the opportunity to present their concerns and seek clarification (voice), provided with consistent explanations (neutrality), and able to perceive the authority's motives as trustworthy (trustworthiness) (Meyerson et al., 2020; Radburn & Stott, 2018). The point at which these two frameworks converge lies in the intelligibility of the process, namely the extent to which complainants are able to understand the progress of the case and the reasons underlying investigative decisions or delays.

Theoretically, intelligibility of process refers to the epistemic condition of a procedure as experienced from the standpoint of the user: the extent to which complainants can read, follow, and reconstruct what is happening to their case, why it is happening, and what is likely to happen next. It is the meeting point of two literatures. From the service excellence side, it is the point at which procedural reliability becomes communicatively legible, so that ability and accountability cease to be purely internal qualities and become qualities that complainants can perceive and assess (Brata, 2023). From the procedural justice side, it is the precondition for trustworthiness, neutrality, and voice to operate, because complainants cannot evaluate motives, consistency, or recognition without first being able to follow what is going on (Tyler et al., 2015; Worden & McLean, 2017). Cohen & Headley (2023) similarly emphasise that the routine practice of procedural justice depends on organisational arrangements that make consistent communication possible, rather than on individual officer effort. Conceived in this way, intelligibility of process is not a stylistic property of communication but a structural property of the service, and it is the analytic bridge through which organisational indicators are converted into lived experiences of justice.

The first gap emerges when procedures are in place, yet the intelligibility of the process remains low. Normatively, case progress updates have been embedded in the service mechanism, including through the Notice of Progress in Investigation Results (*SP2HP*) as an instrument for notifying complainants of developments in the case (Manda & Halimah, 2025). However, when such updates are delayed, unscheduled, or overly general in content, complainants are more likely to perceive delay and uncertainty than the organisation's internal orderliness. Within the A6 framework, this problem is primarily associated with action and accountability, as progress updates as a form of service action are not delivered consistently, while accountability that may be strong internally, through documentation and supervision, does not translate into explanations that are readily understandable to complainants. Within the procedural justice framework, this condition tends to weaken trustworthiness and neutrality, because complainants find it difficult to assess whether the process is genuinely moving forward and whether the reasons for delay or particular decisions can be consistently justified.

The second gap is widened by the fact that service communication still depends heavily on individual discretion and capacity rather than on a structured communication mechanism. The findings show that officers are generally strong in terms of technical competence and legal understanding (ability), and that administrative practices are relatively orderly. However, explanations regarding the investigative process, expected timeframes, and the reasons for delays in case handling are not always delivered consistently in each service interaction. When formal updates are not provided consistently, complainants then rely on direct communication, such as phone calls or text messages, to obtain certainty. This pattern makes access to information uneven and difficult to predict, with the result that complainants' voice is not managed in a systemic manner. The literature likewise emphasises that the practice of

procedural justice in day-to-day work requires organisational support so that standards of communication and treatment can be applied consistently across officers and across situations (Cohen & Headley, 2024). In a similar vein, studies on procedural justice training show that complaints tend to decline when interactional behaviour improves, but such effects are more likely to endure when supported by governance arrangements and routine reinforcement rather than relying solely on individual officers (Wood et al., 2021).

The third gap is evident in inter-unit coordination and differences in how officers interact with complainants, which make the service appear administratively orderly yet not always experienced as fair by complainants. At the initial stage, the repeated referral of complainants between the Integrated Police Service Center (*SPKT*) and the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*), although in accordance with standard operating procedures, may be perceived as inefficient and confusing. At the investigation stage, variations in how officers explain case progress, respond to questions, or indicate the next course of action directly shape perceptions of respect and trustworthiness. Referring to the A6 framework (Brata, 2023), these findings indicate a lack of continuity between ability, attention, and action in frontline service delivery and the form of accountability experienced by complainants, namely accountability that is clear and understandable, rather than merely administrative completeness.

This gap framework helps explain that public complaints (*Dumas*) are not always identical to dissatisfaction with case outcomes. Analytically, such complaints may be classified into three categories: (a) outcome-related complaints, where the case outcome does not meet expectations; (b) process-related complaints, arising from delays, irregular updates, unclear reasons, or restricted access to communication; and (c) mixed complaints, in which dissatisfaction with the outcome is aggravated by a process that is difficult to follow. This distinction is important because the literature shows that legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with the police are closely related to how procedures are carried out and perceived, rather than to final outcomes alone (Kuen, 2024; Murphy, 2021). In the context of this study, patterns of *Dumas* associated with follow-up on case progress are more consistently interpreted as process-related or mixed complaints, and thus constitute the strongest indicators of the gap between service excellence and procedural justice.

The implications of this study suggest that improving investigative services cannot be achieved merely by adding more standard operating procedures, applications, or documents, as such measures can easily remain at the level of administrative compliance without improving complainants' actual experience. More decisive improvement lies in strengthening those A6 dimensions most closely linked to perceptions of fairness in the process, particularly action and accountability, through scheduled and consistent information updates accompanied by explanations that are clear and readily understandable. Accordingly, the Criminal Investigation Unit (*Satreskrim*) of the West Jakarta Metro Police should establish a minimum standard for the content of case updates, including what has been done, what the process is currently awaiting, and why delays have occurred, as a visible expression of ability and accountability from the complainant's perspective. At the same time, the communication role within service delivery should be better structured so that complainants' voice can be managed systematically rather than depending on individual discretion. If these measures are implemented, procedural compliance will no longer remain merely a matter of complete administration, but will be translated more consistently into a process that is clear, respectful, and trustworthy in the eyes of complainants.

5. Conclusion

This study examined investigative services at the Criminal Investigation Unit (Satreskrim) of the West Jakarta Metro Police through the integrated lens of service excellence and procedural justice. Three principal conclusions emerge from the analysis. First, while the unit has generally implemented service excellence in accordance with prescribed procedural standards, administrative compliance has not been matched by interactional quality. Complainants continue to experience confusion about case-handling progress, delays in SP2HP issuance, and insufficient explanation of investigation pauses, conditions that limit the intelligibility of the process and weaken perceptions of transparency and voice.

Second, public complaints (Dumas) in this context are predominantly process-related or mixed in nature, reflecting dissatisfaction not merely with case outcomes but with an investigative process that complainants find difficult to follow and communication that does not function effectively. This repositions Dumas from a statistical count of grievances into a relational indicator of how citizens experience the quality and fairness of investigative services.

Third, when services are administratively compliant yet remain unintelligible to complainants, procedural compliance ceases to function as a source of legitimacy and operates instead as an organisational routine. The procedural justice literature consistently demonstrates that legitimacy is generated by the perceived fairness of the process through which authority is exercised, not by outcomes alone. The recurrence of process-related Dumas at the Satreskrim confirms this in the Indonesian metropolitan context.

Practically, improvement efforts should move beyond the addition of regulations or digital instruments and instead prioritise two concrete measures: establishing a minimum substantive standard for SP2HP content, explicitly covering actions taken, matters pending, and reasons for delays, and developing a structured communication mechanism that reduces reliance on individual officer discretion. Implemented together, these measures would translate procedural compliance into experienced fairness, repositioning investigative services as a site where police legitimacy is actively rebuilt rather than merely maintained. Theoretically, this study contributes by integrating the A6 service excellence framework and procedural justice theory through the convergence concept of intelligibility of process, and by demonstrating empirically that the gap between the two frameworks is not only conceptually significant but operationally consequential in a high-density metropolitan policing setting that has so far received limited scholarly attention.

6. References

- Andrian, A., & Sari, P. N. (2024). The Impact Of Excellent Service And Security Management On Public Interest In Visiting Local Government Offices In The East Bekasi Region, Bekasi City. *Ekombis Review: Jurnal Ilmiah Ekonomi Dan Bisnis*, 12(2), 1979–1988. <https://doi.org/10.37676/ekombis.v12i2.5324>
- Aziz, M. A. (2023). Strategi Penanganan Pengaduan Masyarakat (Dumas) Guna Meningkatkan Profesionalisme Anggota Polri. *Jurnal Litbang Polri*, 26(3), 148–154. <https://doi.org/10.46976/litbangpolri.v26i3.224>
- Brata, A. A. (2023). *Dasar-Dasar Pelayanan Prima*. Elex Media Komputindo.
- Campbell, K., Orr, E., Durepos, P., Nguyen, L., Li, L., Whitmore, C., Gehrke, P., Graham, L., & Jack, S. (2021). Reflexive Thematic Analysis for Applied Qualitative Health Research. *The Qualitative Report*. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2021.5010>
- Cohen, G., & Headley, A. M. (2023). Training and ‘Doing’ Procedural Justice in the Frontline of Public Service: Evidence from Police. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 44(2), 215–239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0734371x221149137>

- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage Publications.
- Denhardt, J. V, & Denhardt, R. B. (2015). *The New Public Service: Serving, Not Steering*. Routledge.
- Dwiyanto, A. (2021). *Reformasi birokrasi publik di Indonesia*. Ugm Press.
- Ginting, A. (2024). The Optimization of Investigation by Satreskrim Polres Boyolali in Discovering Criminal Actions of Fraud through Electronic Media. *Tanggon Kosala*, 12(2), 661–746. <https://doi.org/10.70526/tk.v12i2.1191>
- Janssen, A. A. A., van den Bos, K., & van der Kraats, K. G. F. (2025). “I do not have an opinion about that yet”: Qualitative research on perceived procedural justice of self-represented litigants in early stages of small claims procedures in the Netherlands. *Law and Human Behavior*, 49(3), 222–236. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000612>
- Kuen, K. (2024). Reassessing the process-based model: Do procedural justice and police legitimacy lead to reporting neighborhood problems to the police over time? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 95, 102290. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2024.102290>
- Manda, R. P., & Halimah, H. (2025). Optimization of Sp2hp in Improving Law Enforcement Transparency in Satreskrim Polrestabes Medan. *Literacy: International Scientific Journals of Social, Education, Humanities*, 4(1), 136–144. <https://doi.org/10.56910/literacy.v4i1.2022>
- Meyerson, D., Mackenzie, C., & MacDermott, T. (2020). *Procedural Justice and Relational Theory: Empirical, Philosophical, and Legal Perspectives* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Murphy, K. (2021). The Empirical Study of Procedural Justice Policing in Australia: Highlights and Challenges. In *Procedural Justice and Relational Theory* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Perez-Vincent, S. M., & Puebla, D. (2024). *Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy: Evidence from a Vignette Experiment in Central America*. Inter-American Development Bank. <https://doi.org/10.18235/0013056>
- Porter, L. E., & Prenzler, T. (2017). Police officer gender and excessive force complaints: an Australian study. *Policing and Society*, 27(8), 865–883. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2015.1114616>
- Radburn, M., & Stott, C. (2018). The social psychological processes of ‘procedural justice’: Concepts, critiques and opportunities. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 19(4), 421–438. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895818780200>
- Tyler, T. R., Goff, P. A., & MacCoun, R. J. (2015). The Impact of Psychological Science on Policing in the United States. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 16(3), 75–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1529100615617791>
- Wood, G., Tyler, T., Papachristos, A. V, Roth, J., & Sant’Anna, P. H. C. (2021). *Revised findings for “Procedural justice training reduces police use of force and complaints against officers.”* Center for Open Science. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/xf32m>
- Worden, R. E., & McLean, S. J. (2017). *Mirage of Police Reform: Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy* (1st ed.). University of California Press.
- Yesberg, J. A., Sergeant, E., Fenn, L., Murphy, K., & Madon, N. (2024). Fairness in policing: how does internal procedural justice translate to external procedural justice? *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 18. <https://doi.org/10.1093/policing/paae126>
- Yin, R. K. (2019). *Studi Kasus: Desain dan Metode* (M. D. Mudzakir (ed.); 16th ed.). Rajawali Pers.