



Efforts to Resolve Conflicts Between Villagers in a Restorative Manner: The Role of Bhabinkamtibmas as Mediators in the Perspective of National and Local Law

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Abstract

Background. Conflicts between villagers are a recurring phenomenon and cannot always be resolved effectively through formal legal mechanisms. In practice, conflict resolution is more often carried out through social-relationship-based approaches, such as deliberation and mediation involving village officials and communities.

Aims. This study aims to examine how conflict resolution among villagers is carried out through a restorative approach, how the role of Bhabinkamtibmas as a mediator is carried out in practice, and how the position of the practice is viewed from the perspective of national and local law.

Method. This study uses a socio-legal approach and a qualitative method, combining normative analysis of laws and regulations with empirical findings in the field. Data were obtained through interviews with Bhabinkamtibmas and village officials, as well as a review of relevant literature and regulations. The analysis was carried out by relating the practice of conflict resolution to the theoretical framework of restorative justice and the legal construction behind it.

Results. The results of the study show that conflict resolution between villagers through a restorative approach has been running, but it does not always reflect the principle of comprehensive relationship restoration. The role of Bhabinkamtibmas is evolving into that of a mediator operating in the social space, but it has not yet been fully supported by a clear legal framework. In practice, conflict resolution is often more of a social compromise shaped by power relations than the result of an ideal restorative process. This research offers a new perspective by positioning restorative justice not solely as a normative concept but as a social practice operating at the intersection of formal law, local norms, and power dynamics in society.

Conclusion. These findings suggest that the effectiveness of conflict resolution is determined not only by the existence of rules, but also by the system's ability to accommodate complex social realities.

Keywords: conflicts between villagers, restorative justice, Bhabinkamtibmas, mediation, socio-legal



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INTRODUCTION

Conflicts among villagers remain a recurring problem in the social life of the Indonesian people. In many cases, conflicts do not arise suddenly, but rather develop from seemingly simple issues such as land disputes, family relationships, or misunderstandings in daily interactions. However, these problems can develop into collective tensions if not managed properly. From a sociological perspective, this kind of conflict cannot be understood solely as a disturbance to order, but rather as part of a social dynamic that reflects the relationship of interests in society (Sewing 1956). Other research also shows that conflicts at the local level are often related to inequality of access and unequal distribution of resources (Ali et al. 2024).

In practice, conflict resolution at the village level does not always depend on formal legal mechanisms. Instead, people often use social relationship-based approaches, such as deliberation and mediation. This shows that conflict resolution at the local level is not only oriented towards legal certainty, but also on the sustainability of social relations. This view is in line with the idea that law in society does not always work formally, but is often present in the form of living and evolving social practices (Soekanto 2019). However, this approach also leaves questions about the extent to which the resulting solution actually resolves the root of the conflict or only temporarily mitigates it.

In this context, restorative justice offers a more relevant framework for understanding conflict resolution in terms of social relations. Restorative justice views conflict as a relationship damage that needs to be repaired, not just a violation of the law that must be punished (Zehr 2002). This approach also emphasizes community involvement as part of the settlement process, so that the results achieved have not only legal legitimacy, but also social legitimacy (Braithwaite 2002). However, a number of studies have shown that the application of restorative justice in practice often faces obstacles, especially when the authorities do not fully understand the underlying principles (Hadi et al. 2023). In fact, in some cases, the restorative approach risks becoming a social compromise that does not touch the root of the problem (Hariyanto 2023).

The paradigm shift in law enforcement has also encouraged the transformation of the police role through a community-based policing approach. In this approach, the police are no longer positioned solely as law enforcers, but as community partners in solving social problems (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2011). Research shows that a problem-solving approach in

community policing can enhance the effectiveness of conflict prevention by being more responsive to local dynamics (Widodo & Baharudin, 2022). However, the effectiveness of this approach depends heavily on the apparatus's ability to build public trust.

In practice at the village level, this role is mostly carried out by Bhabinkamtibmas. Studies have shown that Bhabinkamtibmas not only carry out a security function, but also act as a mediator in resolving social conflicts (Tampubolon 2020). In some contexts, this role has even evolved into a facilitator who bridges the interests of the parties through a persuasive approach (Rahanra and Kasihiuw 2024). Other research has also shown that the involvement of the authorities at the local level can contribute to conflict prevention through a more humane approach (Stuart and Stuart 2024). However, few studies have examined how this role intersects with the legal framework that governs it.

On the other hand, normatively, the role of the police in maintaining public security and order has been regulated in various laws and regulations (Law on the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia 2002). In addition, regulations on the handling of social conflicts have been formulated within a broader legal framework, including Law Number 7 of 2012 concerning the Handling of Social Conflicts. However, these regulations provide more of a general framework, without explaining in detail how mediation practices at the local level should be carried out (Law on Handling Social Conflicts 2012).

This condition indicates a gap between the normative framework and practice in the field. In many cases, conflict resolution is more influenced by local social norms and practices than by formal legal procedures. A community-based conflict resolution perspective suggests that a contextual approach is better able to result in a sustainable resolution (Lederach 1997). However, this approach is also not free from criticism, especially when the results achieved are driven more by social pressures than by the awareness of the parties (Male 2024).

Departing from these problems, this study proposes three main problem formulations, namely: first, how to resolve conflicts between villagers through restorative approaches; second, how the role of Bhabinkamtibmas is carried out as a mediator in conflict resolution practices; and third, how the practice is positioned from the perspective of national and local law.

Furthermore, this research offers novelty by positioning restorative conflict resolution not solely as a normative concept but as a social practice operating at the intersection of formal law

and local norms. Thus, this study not only examines the effectiveness of the Bhabinkamtibmas role but also reveals how the practice is shaped and influenced by existing legal frameworks.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social conflicts in society are inseparable from the relationships between individuals and groups that continue to evolve. In the classical perspective, conflict is not always understood as something destructive, but rather as part of a social dynamic that can actually reveal the structure of relationships at work in society (Sewing 1956). In a more current context, conflicts at the local level are often related to issues of unequal distribution of resources and access, which in turn trigger social tensions (Ali et al. 2024). Thus, conflicts between villagers cannot be understood solely as legal events but as social phenomena with structural roots.

In responding to these conflicts, a formal legal approach is often not the main choice at the village community level. Conflict resolution practices rely more on locally developed social mechanisms. This shows that law in society is not always present in the form of written rules, but also in the form of living social practices (Soekanto 2019). However, this approach does not always guarantee that the conflict is substantially resolved, since in some cases the resolution serves more as a mechanism to mitigate the conflict than to address the root cause.

Within this framework, the concept of restorative justice offers a more contextual approach to understanding conflict resolution. Restorative justice views conflict as a breakdown of relationships that needs to be restored through the involvement of parties and communities (Zehr 2002). This approach also emphasizes the importance of shared responsibility in restoring disrupted social relationships (Braithwaite 2002). Normatively, this approach is considered capable of bridging the needs of formal and social justice, but in practice, the implementation of restorative justice does not always work as intended.

A number of studies show that the implementation of restorative justice in Indonesia still faces various challenges. Strengthening the community's legal culture is an important factor in determining the success of this approach (Hadi et al., 2023). Meanwhile, other research shows that the implementation of restorative justice in the investigation process still tends to be a formality and does not fully reflect the principle of relationship restoration (Hariyanto, 2023). This condition

shows a distance between the concept of restorative as a normative idea and the practice that occurs in the field.

In the context of policing, the shift towards a more participatory approach is evident in the concept of community policing. This approach places police officers as part of a community that plays a role in solving social problems collaboratively (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2011). In practice, the problem-solving approach used in community policing has been proven to increase the effectiveness of conflict management because it is more responsive to local conditions (Widodo and Baharudin 2022). However, this approach still requires the apparatus's capacity and the public's trust to run optimally.

This role is concretely carried out by Bhabinkamtibmas, the police spearhead at the village level. Various studies show that the existence of Bhabinkamtibmas has a contribution to maintaining social stability through persuasive and mediation approaches (Tampubolon 2020). In certain contexts, they also act as facilitators who bridge the interests of the community in resolving conflicts (Rahanra and Kasihiuw 2024). Other research even shows that this role contributes to the prevention of crime through a more humanistic approach (Stuart and Stuart 2024).

However, the strengthening of this role has not been fully offset by a clear institutional framework. Studies on the development of penal mediation show that it is necessary to increase the capacity and certification of mediators for police officers to be able to carry out mediation functions professionally (Male 2024). Without such reinforcement, the role of mediation may depend solely on individual experiences rather than on structured systems.

On the normative side, the legal framework that regulates the police role and the handling of social conflicts already exists. Law Number 2 of 2002 mandates that the police maintain public security and order. Meanwhile, Law Number 7 of 2012 regulates the mechanism for handling social conflicts more broadly (Law on the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia 2002; Law on Handling Social Conflict 2012). However, these arrangements are more general in nature and have not specifically addressed the developing practice of mediation at the local level.

At a broader level, various derivative policies, such as government regulations and regional policies, also seek to regulate coordination in handling social conflicts. Strengthening public order and protecting the community is part of these efforts (Regional Regulation of West Java Province concerning Amendments to West Java Provincial Regulation No. 13 of 2018 concerning the

Implementation of Peace, Public Order, and Community Protection 2021). In fact, the formation of an integrated team to handle social conflicts at the regional level demonstrates institutional efforts to integrate various actors (Decree of the Regent of Cirebon on the Formation of an Integrated Team for Handling Social Conflicts at the Cirebon Regency Level in 2023). However, the effectiveness of such policies still depends on local implementation, which often faces coordination limitations.

From a conflict resolution perspective, a community-based approach is considered more capable of producing sustainable solutions because it takes into account the social context behind the conflict (Lederach 1997). However, this approach is also not free from criticism, especially when the results achieved are more influenced by social pressure than by the awareness of the parties to make peace (Male 2024). This suggests that not all seemingly peaceful settlements can be categorized as truly restorative settlements.

In addition, the development of information technology affects the dynamics of social conflicts. Conflict no longer occurs only in physical spaces but also in digital spaces with distinct characteristics. Research shows that digital transformation also influences the way people interact and resolve conflicts (Harmono and Dwijaya 2025). This condition demands a conflict resolution approach that is more adaptive to the social changes that occur.

Based on these studies, conflict resolution among villagers through a restorative approach lies at the intersection of legal norms, social practices, and institutional dynamics. On the one hand, there is a legal framework that provides a normative basis, but on the other hand, practice in the field shows flexibility that is not always aligned with formal rules. This is where this research takes a position: to examine conflict resolution not only as a legal issue but also as a social practice that operates within the interaction between national and local law.

Thus, this research not only complements existing studies but also offers a more critical perspective by positioning restorative justice not as an ideal practice but as a social process marked by negotiation and power dynamics. This approach is expected to provide a deeper understanding of how conflicts are resolved at the village level and how police forces adapt in that space.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a socio-legal approach that views law not only as a set of written norms, but also as a living and evolving practice in society. This approach was chosen because the issue of conflict resolution between villagers cannot be understood in its entirety only through normative analysis, but also needs to be seen in the social context that surrounds it, including the interaction between the authorities, the community, and local values that play a role in the conflict resolution process.

The type of research used is qualitative with a descriptive-analytical character. The data used consists of primary data and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through interviews with parties directly involved in conflict resolution, especially Bhabinkamtibmas and village officials. Meanwhile, secondary data were obtained from laws and regulations, scientific literature, and the results of previous research relevant to the study topic.

Data analysis is conducted qualitatively by linking empirical findings from the field to the theoretical framework and applicable legal provisions. The process of analysis focuses not only on the description of the practice but also on the meaning of how and why it takes place in a particular social context. Thus, this research is expected to provide a more comprehensive understanding of conflict resolution among villagers from the perspective of national and local law.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Practice of Resolving Conflicts Between Villagers through a Restorative Approach

When viewed from the perspective of village-level practice, conflict resolution between residents does not always follow the formal legal route as defined by the judicial system. In many cases, conflicts are resolved through more fluid mechanisms, such as deliberations involving community leaders, village officials, and parties to the dispute. This pattern shows that the community is not solely seeking legal certainty but rather emphasizes efforts to maintain the balance of social relations that had been disturbed. In this context, conflict is not seen as a crime to be punished, but rather as a situation to be managed so it does not escalate into broader tension (Coser, 1956).

Findings on the ground show that the conflict resolution process often begins with informal efforts by the parties involved before involving the police. When conflicts have the potential to

escalate, Bhabinkamtibmas are usually present not as law enforcers in the repressive sense, but as parties seeking to calm the situation and open space for dialogue. In practice, this approach relies more on persuasive communication than on rigid legal procedures. This is in line with the community policing approach, which positions the apparatus as part of the community and functions to solve social problems collaboratively (UNODC, 2011).

However, if explored more deeply, the settlement practice that takes place cannot always be categorized as restorative justice in the full sense. Conceptually, restorative justice emphasizes the restoration of relationships, the recognition of wrongdoing, and the active involvement of the parties in the settlement process (Zehr, 2002). In reality, not all mediation processes at the village level include these elements. In some cases, the agreement reached is more of a social compromise driven by environmental pressures, rather than the result of a shared awareness to restore relationships.

This condition shows a shift in meaning in the practice of conflict resolution. What is normatively understood as restorative justice often, in practice, undergoes adjustments to the existing social context. Research shows that the success of the restorative approach is highly dependent on the community's legal culture and the level of trust between the parties (Hadi et al., 2023). When these factors are not met, the resulting solution may be pseudo-natured, in the sense of defusing the conflict on the surface without addressing the root of the problem.

On the other hand, the involvement of Bhabinkamtibmas in this process shows a role that extends beyond the police's formal functions. He acts not only as a mediator but also as an actor who reads social dynamics and determines when intervention is needed. In some situations, the success of conflict resolution depends heavily on the ability of apparatus personnel to build public trust. This is in line with the finding that the effectiveness of problem-solving-based policing is greatly influenced by the social closeness between the apparatus and the community (Widodo & Baharudin, 2022).

However, this dependence on individual abilities also poses its own problems. Without clear standards, the mediation practice carried out can be highly dependent on the apparatus's subjectivity. In certain contexts, this can lead to inconsistencies in how conflicts are handled. Other research even emphasizes the importance of strengthening mediators' capacity and certification for police officers so that the mediation function can be carried out more professionally (Putra, 2024).

In addition, the deliberation-based approach used in conflict resolution is also not always free from the power relations that exist in society. In some cases, parties with stronger social positions tend to be more dominant in determining the settlement outcome. This condition shows that conflict resolution is not completely neutral but is influenced by the surrounding social structure. From a conflict-resolution perspective, this is a challenge because unequal resolution can give rise to new conflicts in the future (Lederach, 1997).

From this description, it can be seen that the practice of resolving conflicts among villagers through a restorative approach cannot be understood simply as a success in applying the concept of restorative justice. It is the result of negotiations between legal norms, social values, and power dynamics in society. In this context, restorative justice is not an ideal concept but a practice that continually adapts to complex social realities.

Legal Construction of the Role of Bhabinkamtibmas as a Mediator in Resolving Conflicts Between Villagers

If the practice of conflict resolution at the village level shows high flexibility, then when the practice is placed within the legal framework, the problem becomes not simple. Normatively, the police have a mandate to maintain public security and order, which implicitly includes efforts to prevent and resolve social conflicts (Law No. 2 of 2002). However, the mandate is formulated in a fairly general form, so it does not explain how the authorities' mediation role, including Bhabinkamtibmas, should be carried out in concrete on-the-ground contexts.

On the other hand, arrangements for handling social conflicts have been regulated within a broader legal framework. Law Number 7 of 2012 emphasizes the importance of cross-sector coordination in the prevention and handling of social conflicts. However, the approach used in the regulation tends to be structural and administrative, so it has not fully reached the practice of community-based conflict resolution that has developed at the village level (Law No. 7 of 2012). As a result, there is a gap between macro policy design and micro social practices.

This condition becomes even more complex when one considers that conflict resolution in villages is often more effective when it uses an informal approach. Formal law in many cases is not the main reference, but rather is present as a background that is rarely operationalized directly. From a socio-legal perspective, this situation shows that the law does not always function as the

primary instrument for regulating behavior, but rather interacts with social norms that exist in society (Soekanto, 2019).

In this context, the role of Bhabinkamtibmas as a mediator is actually in a space that is not firmly defined. On the one hand, there is a strong social legitimacy due to proximity to the community. On the other hand, its normative legitimacy remains implicit, since there are no arrangements that explicitly define the limits and mechanisms of the mediation carried out. Research shows that the role of police officers' mediation has indeed developed in practice, but has not been fully matched by the strengthening of adequate regulations (Putra, 2024).

Furthermore, the existence of various derivative regulations governing public order and the handling of social conflicts demonstrates state efforts to build an integrated system. However, the approach used still tends to be top-down, with an emphasis on inter-agency coordination (Government Regulation No. 2 of 2015). In practice, this approach is not always effective at addressing local and contextual conflict dynamics, which instead require a more flexible response.

At the regional level, regulations regarding public order and community protection also provide space for handling social conflicts. However, as seen in various regional policies, the focus of regulation remains more on order than on conflict-resolution mechanisms based on social relations (West Java Regional Regulation No. 13 of 2018). This shows that the restorative dimension in conflict resolution has not been fully integrated into the regional legal framework.

Meanwhile, the restorative justice approach has begun to be accommodated in police policies, especially in handling certain criminal acts. However, its application is more focused on the context of criminal cases, not on social conflicts that develop in society (Police Regulation on the Handling of Criminal Acts Based on Restorative Justice 2021). As a result, there is a gap between the normative recognition of restorative justice and broader conflict-resolution practices at the community level.

This condition ultimately puts Bhabinkamtibmas in an ambiguous position. It plays an active role in conflict resolution practices, but without the support of a fully clear legal framework. In such a situation, the practice of mediation tends to depend on the authorities' discretion and personal ability. Research shows that reliance on these individual factors can lead to inconsistencies in implementation and create space for differences in interpretation in each case (Tampubolon, 2020).

If viewed more critically, this problem is not only related to the emptiness of norms but also to how the law understands social reality. Law tends to frame conflicts within a uniform formal framework, while on-the-ground practice shows a high degree of diversity. In the perspective of conflict resolution, an overly normative approach has the potential to ignore the social context that is the key to conflict resolution (Lederach, 1997).

From this description, it can be seen that the legal framework regarding the role of Bhabinkamtibmas as a mediator remains partial. It has a basis for legitimacy, but it has not yet been fully articulated as an operational arrangement. In this context, the practice that develops actually develops faster than the law that regulates it. This shows that the role of Bhabinkamtibmas is shaped not only by legal norms but also by social needs arising at the community level.

Practical Obstacles and Reconstruction Needs for Restorative Conflict Resolution Between Villagers

Findings on the ground show that the success of resolving conflicts among villagers is often determined not by the strength of formal rules but by the ability of local actors to read social situations. In many cases, Bhabinkamtibmas act as a liaison, bridging communication among parties to the conflict, community leaders, and village officials. The mediation process usually occurs in informal deliberative forums, where a persuasive approach takes precedence over legal pressure. This pattern shows that social legitimacy is the main factor in determining the success of conflict resolution (Rahanra & Kasihiuw, 2024).

However, empirical findings also show that not all mediation processes work ideally. In some cases, the agreement reached is more the result of compromise driven by social and environmental pressures than of the parties' full awareness of the need to resolve the conflict substantially. This situation shows that conflict resolution often stops at easing tensions, without really addressing the root of the problem. From a restorative justice perspective, this condition is problematic because the essence of relationship restoration is not fully achieved (Zehr, 2002).

Another limitation that arises in practice is the high dependence on the individual abilities of the apparatus, especially Bhabinkamtibmas. In some situations, the success of mediation is largely determined by the communication skills, experience, and social closeness of the apparatus to the community. This shows that the system in place is not entirely based on strong institutional

standards but still depends on personal factors. Research shows that this condition can lead to inconsistencies in how conflicts are handled across regions (Tampubolon, 2020).

In addition, the dynamics of power at the local level are also a factor that cannot be ignored. In some cases, parties with stronger social or economic positions tend to be more dominant in determining the settlement's outcome. This shows that the mediation process is not completely neutral but is influenced by the surrounding social structure. From a conflict-resolution perspective, this kind of inequality can create unsustainable settlements because it leaves stored dissatisfaction (Lederach, 1997).

On the other hand, the development of information technology also affects the pattern of conflicts and how they are resolved. Findings in the field show that conflicts between citizens are often triggered or exacerbated by the dissemination of information through social media. In situations like this, the mediation process becomes more complex because the authorities are not only dealing with conflicts directly but also with public perceptions formed in the digital space. These changes show that social conflict is no longer limited to physical spaces but has shifted into a broader, more difficult-to-control space (Harmono & Dwijaya, 2025).

If pulled further, these various obstacles show that the main problem does not lie in the absence of conflict resolution practices, but in the lack of a system capable of integrating these practices more consistently. Formal law has provided a normative framework but has not fully captured the complexity of local-level practice (Law No. 7 of 2012). As a result, there is a gap between what is regulated and what is run on the ground.

In this context, reconstruction becomes inevitable. The reconstruction in question is not just an addition of regulations but an effort to build connections between laws, social practices, and institutional capacity. One direction to consider is clarifying the position of community-based mediation within the legal framework, without eliminating the flexibility that is the strength of such mediation. Research shows that strengthening the problem-solving approach in community policing can be a bridge between formal needs and social practices (Widodo & Baharudin, 2022).

In addition, strengthening the apparatus's capacity is an important aspect. Mediation skills cannot rely solely on experience, but also need to be supported by clear training and standards. Efforts such as mediator certification for police officers can be the first step to ensure that

mediation practices are carried out professionally and consistently (Putra, 2024). Thus, the role of Bhabinkamtibmas is not only socially strong but also institutionally more legitimate.

Furthermore, reconstruction also needs to consider the integration between national and local laws. Conflict resolution at the village level cannot be separated from the local values that are part of the community. Therefore, an overly formal approach risks ignoring the social context that is key to conflict resolution. In this regard, the law needs to be more adaptive, not only as a regulator but also as a facilitator capable of accommodating evolving social practices.

From these findings, it can be understood that resolving conflicts among villagers through a restorative approach is a complex process and not always ideal. It is not only influenced by legal norms but also by social dynamics, power relations, and the capacity of the actors involved. Therefore, efforts to strengthen this approach cannot be done partially, but must be done through reconstruction that is able to bridge the gap between existing laws, practices, and social realities

Departing from these findings, this study offers novelty by positioning restorative justice not solely as an ideal normative concept but as a social practice operating at the intersection of formal law, local norms, and power dynamics at the societal level. This perspective suggests that the effectiveness of conflict resolution is determined not only by the existence of rules, but also by the ability of systems to accommodate complex social realities. Thus, restorative justice cannot be understood as a static model but rather as a process that continually negotiates with the social context in which it is applied.

The implications of these findings are not only theoretical but also practical. From a scientific perspective, this research expands understanding of the role of Bhabinkamtibmas by positioning it as an actor operating between two domains, namely law and society. Meanwhile, from the policy side, efforts are needed to clarify the position of community-based mediation within the legal framework, without eliminating the flexibility that is its strength. Strengthening the apparatus's capacity through mediation training and standardization is also important for ensuring consistency of practice in the field.

In the end, the resolution of conflicts among villagers cannot be separated from the social context surrounding them. Therefore, an overly formal legal approach risks overlooking the relational dimension at the core of the conflict. In this case, the law needs to move more adaptively,

not only as a regulatory instrument but also as a space that bridges the gap between social norms and practices in society.

CONCLUSION

The resolution of conflicts between villagers through a restorative approach has basically taken place in practice, but it is not always present in the ideal form as formulated in the concept of restorative justice. Conflict resolution is mostly carried out through informal social mechanisms, such as deliberation and mediation involving community leaders and village officials. In this context, the success of conflict resolution is not determined by the strength of legal norms but by social legitimacy and the ability of local actors to manage disrupted relationships.

The role of Bhabinkamtibmas in this practice shows a position not only as a law enforcement officer but also as a mediator operating in a complex social space. He not only carries out formal police functions, but also acts as a communication facilitator and guardian of social stability. Nevertheless, this role is not fully supported by a clear legal construction. The authority of mediation rests more on social practices and needs than on structured normative arrangements. As a result, there is a high dependence on the apparatus's individual capacity, which, under certain conditions, can lead to inconsistencies in conflict resolution practices.

A restorative approach to resolving conflicts between villagers does not always result in substantive restoration of relationships. In some cases, the agreement reached is more of a social compromise influenced by environmental pressures and power relations in society. This suggests that what is formally referred to as restorative settlement in practice can be reduced in meaning, from a process of restoring relationships to simply a mechanism to defuse conflict on the surface.

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