

A Strategic Policy Framework to Optimize the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa Program for Community Development in Indonesia

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Abstract

This study examines the strategic role of the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) Program as an instrument of Military Operations Other Than War in supporting community development in Indonesia and proposes a strategic policy framework to optimize its implementation. Grounded in post-reform civil–military relations, the study situates TMMD within the broader transformation of the Indonesian National Armed Forces from a conventional defense-oriented institution toward a multidimensional actor contributing to rural development, humanitarian assistance, and social stability. Employing a qualitative case study approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews with military and civilian stakeholders, document analysis, and field observations, and analyzed using Robert K. Yin’s qualitative data analysis framework. The findings reveal that TMMD has generated significant physical, social, and emergency-response benefits at the village level and enjoys strong public trust due to its participatory and context-sensitive implementation. However, its effectiveness remains constrained by rigid organizational structures, hierarchical decision-making, cultural resistance to civilian oversight, and regulatory ambiguity. From the perspectives of New Public Management, Transformational Leadership, and Public Value Governance, the study highlights the need for performance-based accountability, decentralized authority, transformational leadership at the territorial level, and collaborative governance mechanisms to ensure democratic legitimacy and sustainable public value creation. The study concludes that optimizing TMMD requires an integrated strategic policy framework that aligns military professionalism with community empowerment, strengthens cross-sector collaboration, and clarifies legal boundaries between military and civilian roles. Such a framework positions TMMD as a strategic, accountable, and adaptive development policy instrument capable of supporting inclusive and sustainable rural development in Indonesia.

Keywords: *TMMD, Community Development, OMSP, Civil–Military Relations, Strategic Policy Framework.*

Introduction

The spirit of reform was essentially driven by an aspiration to become a better nation in the future across all aspects of social, national, and state life. In Indonesia, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, TNI) are increasingly expected not only to safeguard national sovereignty but also to support post-disaster recovery processes and infrastructure development in order to create stability conducive to economic growth [1]. Furthermore, with regard to defense policy, strategy, and administrative support, the TNI operates under the authority of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia [2]. This constitutional mandate positions the TNI as a continual actor in preventing both military and non-military threats, while simultaneously contributing to national advancement and state development. In times of peace, the TNI is particularly required to exercise its capacity in supporting government functions through various special assignments, commonly known as the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) program.

Village development plays a crucial role, as it constitutes an inseparable component of regional and national development [3]. Within the governmental structure, villages occupy the lowest administrative level; however, they are also the foremost units, directly embedded within local

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communities [4]. TMMD represents a concrete manifestation of the TNI's Civic Action Operations (Operasi Bhakti TNI), functioning as an integrated, cross-sectoral program involving the TNI, ministries, non-ministerial government institutions, local governments, and other national stakeholders. The program is implemented in an integrated manner together with local communities to accelerate development activities in rural areas, particularly those classified as underdeveloped, isolated, border, and slum areas. Understanding these dynamics is critically important, as they shape resource allocation, policy implementation, and the broader socio-political landscape of developing societies [5]. The essence of civil–military relations lies in the distribution of authority and responsibility for strategic decision-making, which ideally places full control in the hands of civilian political leadership rather than the military [6]. However, the effectiveness of civilian oversight depends on a delicate balance between ensuring democratic accountability, maintaining operational efficiency, and respecting the professional autonomy of the armed forces [7].

This study integrates empirical findings on the implementation of the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa program in promoting rural development and community empowerment with the formulation of a comprehensive strategic policy framework. The framework connects national defense dimensions with the dynamics of locally based community development, encompassing social, economic, and institutional aspects of village governance. The findings are expected to contribute conceptually to the strengthening of civil–military relations scholarship within the context of national development, while also serving as a foundation for the formulation of more adaptive and integrated public policies aimed at optimizing synergy among the TNI, local governments, and communities in addressing rural development challenges in the era of democracy and globalization.

Research Methods

Research Design

This study employs a qualitative research method aimed at analyzing and interpreting how the role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia, TNI) can be developed not only within the domain of national defense and security, but also through its involvement in supporting the implementation of national development via the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) program. The qualitative approach is applied in accordance with systematic methodological principles and procedures [8].

Research Participants and Ethical Considerations

This study employed a qualitative research approach with a purposive sampling technique to select participants who possess strategic positions, institutional authority, and substantive knowledge relevant to the formulation and implementation of the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) program as well as broader civil–military collaboration in community development. The participants comprised key military and civilian stakeholders, including Planning Staff Officers, the Assistant for Development Affairs of the Territorial Staff (Paban Pembangunan Staf Teritorial), the Regional Military Commander (Panglima Daerah Militer), and Commanders at the Korem and Kodim levels. Civilian participants included officials from the Directorate of Defense Policy and the Directorate of Infrastructure, the Head of the Community Empowerment Agency, academics and researchers specializing in civil–military relations, and representatives of non-governmental organizations and international donor institutions such as UNDP and JICA. The selection of these participants was intended to ensure the inclusion of diverse yet information-rich perspectives necessary to analyze strategic policy processes, inter-institutional coordination, and collaborative governance mechanisms within the TMMD program. All participants were provided with detailed information regarding the objectives of the study, research procedures, voluntary nature of participation, and confidentiality assurances. Informed consent was obtained prior to data collection, and all data will be securely stored and used solely for academic purposes.

Data Collection

The data collection process in this study was conducted through a systematic and sequential procedure to ensure the credibility and depth of the qualitative findings [9]. The process began with a preliminary stage involving a review of relevant policy documents, strategic plans, and regulatory frameworks related to the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) program and civil–military involvement in community development. This stage was followed by the identification and recruitment of participants using purposive sampling based on their institutional roles and expertise. Primary data were then collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews designed to explore participants'

perspectives on strategic planning, policy implementation, inter-agency coordination, and community development outcomes within the TMMD program. Throughout the data collection process, field notes and reflective memos were maintained to capture contextual information and emerging insights. Data collection continued until thematic saturation was achieved, at which point no new substantive information emerged. All data were recorded, transcribed verbatim, and systematically organized to support subsequent stages of qualitative data analysis.

Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis framework proposed by [10], which consists of five iterative stages: compiling, disassembling, reassembling, interpreting, and concluding. In the first stage (*compile database*), all interview transcripts, policy documents, and field notes were systematically organized into a structured research database to ensure data traceability and consistency. In the second stage (*disassemble data*), the data were examined repeatedly and coded to identify meaningful segments related to the TMMD program, civil–military collaboration, and community development. In the third stage (*reassemble data*), the codes were compared and reorganized into thematic categories and analytical patterns to reveal relationships among key issues. In the fourth stage (*interpret data*), the emerging themes were interpreted by linking empirical findings with relevant theoretical and policy frameworks. In the final stage (*conclude*), analytical conclusions were drawn to address the research questions and formulate strategic policy implications for optimizing the TMMD program in Indonesia.

Ensuring the Reliability and Validity

To ensure the validity and robustness of this study, strategies aligned with Robert K. Yin's framework for qualitative research were applied [11]. First, data triangulation was conducted by collecting information from multiple sources, including in-depth interviews, official policy documents, and field observations, to corroborate findings and reduce the likelihood of bias from a single source. Second, an audit trail was maintained through systematic documentation of data collection procedures, coding decisions, and analytical memos, which supported transparency and allowed verification of the analytical process. Third, participant feedback was sought by sharing preliminary interpretations with selected participants to confirm the alignment between the researcher's interpretations and participants' intended meanings. These procedures were implemented to strengthen the credibility, consistency, and interpretive validity of the research findings in the context of analyzing strategic policy dynamics of the TMMD program.

Research Results

The Physical Dimension of Internal Organizational Structure and Culture

TMMD represent a significant paradigm shift in the post-reform Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), reflecting a transition from conventional defense toward multidimensional roles in addressing contemporary security challenges. This transformation, formally grounded in Law No. 34 of 2004 and its 2025 revision, expands the TNI's mandate beyond territorial defense to include peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and disaster response. The shift is driven by changes in the national threat landscape, where asymmetric threats, climate-induced disasters, and complex emergencies increasingly dominate security concerns, requiring the TNI to develop adaptable dual-use capabilities, particularly in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. However, the implementation of OMSP faces persistent structural and cultural constraints. Organizational structures designed for conventional warfare, characterized by rigid hierarchies and service-based fragmentation, often hinder rapid decision-making and interoperability essential for OMSP. Limitations in specialized human resources, OMSP-specific equipment, and international logistics further constrain operational effectiveness. Culturally, the TNI must reconcile traditional military ethos emphasizing combat readiness with the soft skills required for peacekeeping, civil–military cooperation, and community engagement. Generational differences, gender inclusivity challenges, and resistance to civilian oversight add complexity to this adaptation process. Consequently, effective OMSP implementation requires not only legal and doctrinal alignment but also sustained structural reform, cultural transformation, and clear operational guidelines to ensure democratic accountability and alignment with international best practices.

The Social Dimension of Community Perceptions

From a social perspective, public perceptions of Military Operations Other Than War implemented by the Fourth Regional Military Command demonstrate a high level of trust and acceptance, particularly following the expansion of these roles under the new regulatory framework. The TNI Manunggal

Membangun Desa program is widely perceived as effective in addressing tangible rural infrastructure needs and as relevant due to its participatory and context-sensitive implementation, which fosters community ownership and support. Beyond physical development, humanitarian assistance and emergency response activities such as disaster relief across regions, blood donation initiatives, and rapid crisis response have strengthened the image of the Indonesian National Armed Forces as a professional, humane, and reliable institution. This positive public perception carries significant strategic implications for strengthening military legitimacy and social capital in civil–military relations; however, its sustainability depends on maintaining program quality, political neutrality, transparency, and the ability to adapt to evolving public expectations in the future.

The Dimension of Emergency Conditions and Legal Foundations

From a legal and emergency governance perspective, the hierarchical, command-oriented leadership of the Indonesian National Armed Forces offers operational advantages in crisis situations but encounters challenges in civilian contexts that require participation, and public legitimacy [12]. The implementation of Military Operations Other Than War within the Fourth Regional Military Command under the leadership of Major General Deddy Suryadi demonstrates adaptive leadership through the application of servant leadership principles, direct field supervision, and program innovation such as the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa, which is responsive to local needs. This visible and collaborative leadership approach enhances personnel motivation, community participation, and development outcomes, while also generating external recognition and fostering institutional sustainability despite leadership rotation. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of Military Operations Other Than War has been constrained by regulatory uncertainty prior to the enactment of Law Number Three of Two Thousand Twenty-Five, underscoring the importance of a clear legal framework to optimize military support for development without blurring the boundaries between military and civilian roles.

The New Public Management Perspective

From a New Public Management perspective, the challenges of Military Operations Other Than War within the Indonesian National Armed Forces reflect deep structural inefficiencies arising from the incompatibility between a centralized military hierarchy and core New Public Management principles, including operational efficiency, results-based performance measurement, decentralization, and responsiveness to public service demands [13]. Inspired by private-sector practices, New Public Management emphasizes cost efficiency, productivity, measurable accountability through key performance indicators, and the separation between policy formulation and implementation. In the Indonesian context, the centralized command system delays programs such as the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa, as technical decisions require approval through multiple command levels up to headquarters, increasing operational costs in remote areas and reducing the flexibility needed for development-oriented missions. This condition contradicts New Public Management's emphasis on decentralization, where regional commands or territorial units should be granted greater autonomy to respond quickly to local needs and collaborate directly with local governments. Furthermore, the persistence of seniority-based organizational culture rather than merit-based performance assessment indicates limited adoption of New Public Management principles within the Indonesian National Armed Forces. Promotions and assignments are rarely linked to measurable development outcomes, such as improvements in village development indicators, constraining organizational learning and adaptation in non-defense missions. Regulatory ambiguity under Law Number Three of Two Thousand Twenty-Five, which expands Military Operations Other Than War into multiple domains without clear operational definitions or independent oversight mechanisms, further undermines transparency and accountability. This expansion risks overlapping authority with civilian institutions and eroding governance efficiency, reinforcing the need for structural reform, decentralization, and performance-based management. Consistent with prior studies on military institutional reform, this analysis underscores that without systematic performance measurement and managerial decentralization, the Indonesian National Armed Forces will face persistent difficulties in optimizing Military Operations Other Than War as an instrument of national development.

The Transformational Leadership Perspective

From a Transformational Leadership perspective, the challenges of Military Operations Other Than War within the Indonesian National Armed Forces reveal persistent reliance on traditional command-and-control leadership, which limits adaptability in civilian-oriented missions. Transformational Leadership, developed by [14], emphasizes idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration capabilities that are essential for addressing the tension

between rigid military hierarchy and the flexibility required in programs such as the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa. The dominance of combat-oriented career backgrounds among officers involved in Military Operations Other Than War highlights gaps in managerial and participatory competencies, underscoring the need for leaders who can inspire cultural change, encourage innovation, and develop non-combat skills such as participatory facilitation and development project management. In this context, transformational leadership can also mitigate regulatory ambiguity under Law Number Three of Two Thousand Twenty-Five by fostering a shared vision between military and civilian actors, thereby reducing the risk of development militarization and strengthening community empowerment outcomes.

The Public Value Governance Perspective

From a Public Value Governance perspective, the Military Operations Other Than War conducted by the Indonesian National Armed Forces face a critical challenge in creating sustainable and inclusive public value. While extensive military involvement in development may undermine civilian supremacy and foster community dependency, Public Value Governance emphasizes cross-sector collaboration, citizen participation, and shared accountability as foundations of economic, social, and democratic value creation. Developed by [15], this approach prioritizes deliberative, stakeholder-driven processes over managerial efficiency alone. In the Indonesian context, the expansion of Military Operations Other Than War without independent oversight, as reflected in Law Number Three of Two Thousand Twenty-Five, risks neglecting local cultural contexts and reproducing top-down development practices. Policy ambiguity that enables overlapping authority between military and civilian actors further indicates limitations in realizing value-based governance, highlighting the importance of integrating both urban and rural community participation to ensure democratic legitimacy.

As an analytical foundation that bridges the conceptual framework with the empirical findings of the study, the formulation of the proposition table constitutes an essential component in clarifying the direction of argumentation and the focus of analysis. The proposition table is presented to summarize the interrelationships among the main research dimensions, the theoretical perspectives employed, and the analytical assumptions developed by the researcher based on the results of the literature review and field data.

Table 1. The research propositions as a policy framework

Proposition	Focus	Statement of Scientific Proposition
1	Physical Dimensions of Internal Organisational Structure and Culture	If the hierarchical organisational structure of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) operates conventionally with an internal culture as the ethos of traditional soldiers that has not been structurally and culturally engineered, then the implementation of OMSP (Military Operations Other Than War) will continue to be hampered by flexibility and interoperability between branches, thus requiring TNI professionalism supported by education orientated towards national welfare goals within the framework of the defence sector.
2	Social Dimensions of Public Perception	If public perception of OMSP programs like TMMD is positive and participatory, then trust-building and civil-military collaboration will strengthen the role of the TNI in national development by increasing the community's sense of ownership, accompanied by the integration of gender equality values and cultural sensitivity in achieving national security and welfare goals.
3	Emergency Dimensions and Legal Basis	If the accountability of the OMP and OMSP policies, as stipulated in Law No. 34/2004 in conjunction with Law No. 3/2025, remains unmeasured, it could create a grey area in the coordinative dimension with local governments regarding the allocation of authority and resources. This could potentially revive the dual function of the TNI, which would hinder the TNI's

Proposition	Focus	Statement of Scientific Proposition
		support for the national development agenda to achieve the country's defence, security, and welfare goals.
4	New Public Management Perspective	If the TNI's reforms utilise New Public Management principles such as decentralisation of authority, performance measurement, and public accountability, then the implementation of OMSP programs like TMMD will improve due to the restructuring of the hierarchy and the redefinition of authority to be more adaptable to the dynamics of national governance.
5	Transformational Leadership Perspective	When leadership within the Indonesian National Armed Forces (OMSP TNI) transforms from a traditional command model to visionary leadership that fosters inspiration, innovation, and non-combat competencies, the effectiveness of civil-military collaboration in development will increase due to the creation of an adaptive culture, two-way communication, and a shared vision for change.
6	Public Value Governance Perspective	If the Indonesian Military's OMSP adopts the principles of Public Value Governance, which emphasises cross-sectoral collaboration, community participation, and shared accountability, then sustainable public value creation can be realised through a balance between the military's role and civilian supremacy, with strengthened stakeholder deliberation in national development implementation.
Mayor	If OMSP with TMMD is an integrative model that proposes digital accountability and transformational innovative leadership in building cross-sectoral cooperation, thereby ensuring the professional, transparent, and sustainable role and function of the TNI within the framework of national defence, then TMMD is a form of deliberative function that prioritises civilian supremacy to accelerate national development as added value in achieving national prosperity.	

Discussion

Based on the data analysis and research findings, the implementation of TMMD program, reflects the transformation of the TNI from a conventional defense orientation to a multidimensional role in community development in Indonesia. However, the internal organizational structure and culture dimensions of the TNI still face challenges, such as a rigid command hierarchy that lacks flexibility for civilian missions, limitations in human resources, and the need for cultural adaptation toward non-combat competencies like social communication and gender inclusivity [16]. Structural and cultural reforms are essential to optimize TMMD, as demonstrated in studies on collaborative governance that emphasize active community participation in program planning and implementation to achieve success [2]. Additionally, public perceptions of OMSP indicate high levels of trust, where TMMD is viewed as effective in building rural infrastructure participatively, strengthening the TNI's image as a humane institution, and supporting civil-military legitimacy, although its sustainability depends on political neutrality and adaptation to evolving societal expectations. Recent research confirms that the success of the TMMD program relies on synergy between the TNI, government, and community, despite obstacles like weather and geography that can be overcome, with recommendations for multi-sector collaboration and post-program evaluation for long-term benefits. Other studies highlight TMMD's role in accelerating village development through a collaborative governance approach, where integration between the military and local government is key to community empowerment [2]. From the emergency

and legal foundation dimensions, the TNI's hierarchical leadership excels in rapid response but is challenging in the context of civilian participation; adaptations through servant leadership in Kodam IV/Diponegoro, such as under Maj. Gen. TNI Deddy Suryadi, have increased soldier motivation and TMMD quality. Regulatory uncertainty prior to Law Number 3 of 2025 emphasizes the urgency of clarifying military-civilian role boundaries to avoid ambiguity. Good coordination between the TNI, regional governments, and communities is key to overcoming these challenges, including fund management and local empowerment, as discussed in the participatory implementation of TMMD for sustainable development. The New Public Management (NPM) perspective reveals the TNI's structural inefficiencies, where centralized bureaucracy clashes with principles of efficiency, decentralization, and performance measurement [17]. The Transformational Leadership perspective highlights the need for visionary leaders to inspire cultural change and innovation in OMSP, addressing officers' managerial literacy limitations and encouraging creative interactions with communities for sustainable empowerment [18]. Meanwhile, Public Value Governance (PVG) emphasizes cross-sector collaboration and stakeholder participation to create inclusive public value, avoiding the erosion of civilian supremacy due to military dominance in development. Studies on multilevel governance in Indonesia show the key role of local authorities in building public acceptance through participation, which is relevant for integrating urban-rural communities in TMMD. Overall, the strategic policy framework to optimize TMMD must be holistic, combining internal reforms, strengthening public perceptions, legal clarity, and modern public management perspectives to support sustainable community development in Indonesia.

To strengthen the conceptual understanding of the relationships among the formulated propositions, this study subsequently presents a visual representation of the research propositions. This visualization is intended as a schematic depiction illustrating the interconnections among research dimensions, theoretical perspectives, and the directions of relationships examined in the study. Through the proposition diagram, the logical structure of the research can be understood in a more comprehensive and intuitive manner, thereby facilitating readers in tracing the flow of the researcher's reasoning from the conceptual framework to the analytical implications.

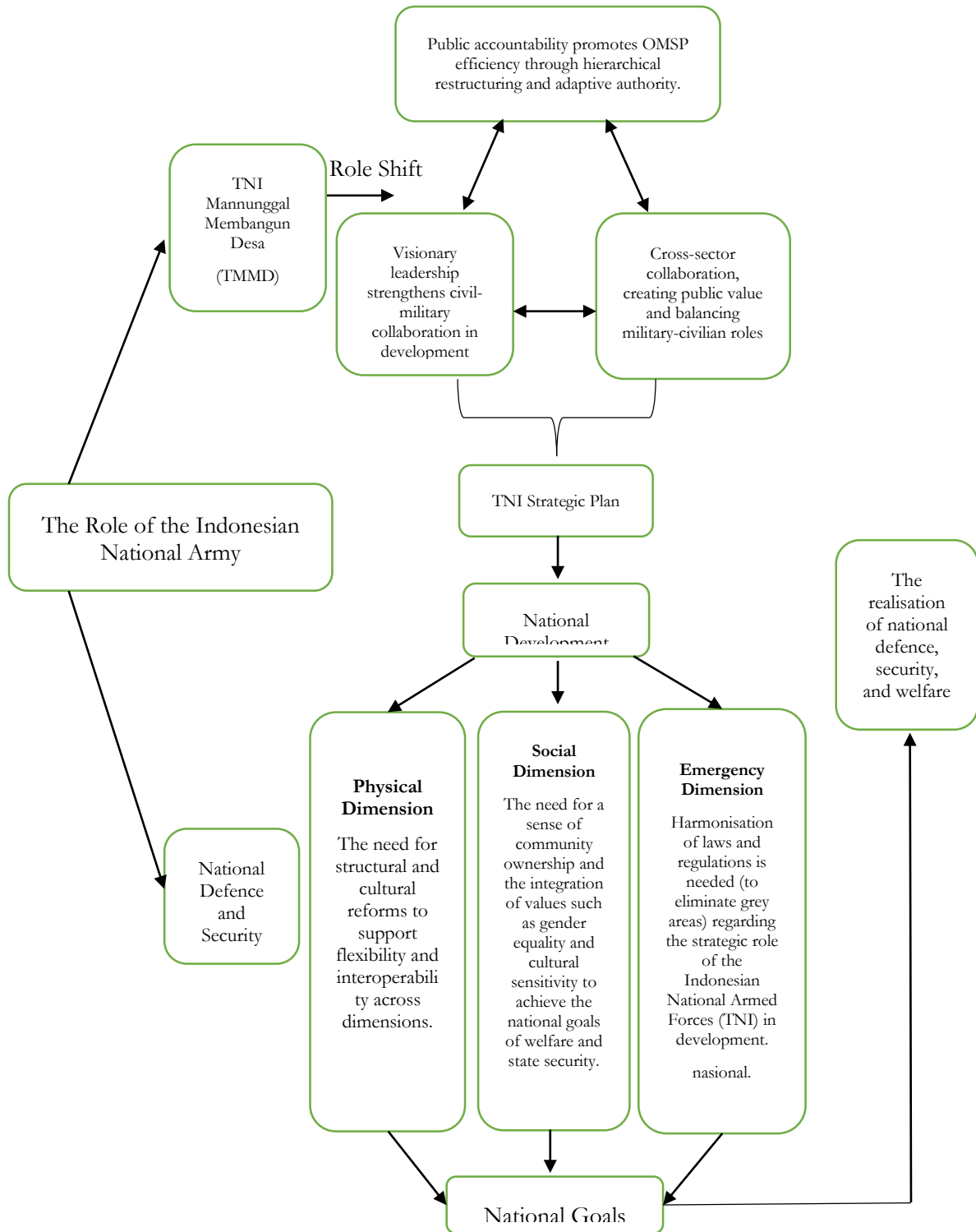


Fig 1. A Strategic Policy Framework to Optimize the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa Program

Conclusion

The optimization of the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) Program represents a strategic repositioning of the Indonesian Army's role in community development, shifting from a purely defense-oriented mandate toward a dual role as a rural development actor oriented to the creation of public value. This framework emphasizes that TMMD should no longer be understood as an incidental,

assignment-based activity, but rather as a strategic, integrated, and measurable development policy instrument aimed at empowering rural communities and reducing regional disparities. Through the integration of New Public Management and Public Value Governance principles, TMMD is positioned as a non-war military operation that is managed professionally, innovatively, and accountably, with adaptive capacity to local needs and contextual characteristics of rural communities.

This policy framework further demonstrates that the successful optimization of TMMD depends on the simultaneous synergy of three key elements: strengthening program accountability through the use of digital technologies for performance-based planning, monitoring, and evaluation; developing transformational leadership at the territorial command level capable of orchestrating cross-sector collaboration among the Indonesian National Armed Forces, local governments, and village communities; and establishing clear, structured, and results-oriented collaborative mechanisms between military units and civilian actors. Within this framework, TMMD functions as a vehicle for organizational transformation that bridges defense functions with sustainable physical, social, and capacity-building development at the village level

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