

# Perluasan Posisi Militer di Ranah Sipil: Studi Penempatan Prajurit TNI pada Jabatan Sipil di Masa Orde Baru, Reformasi, dan Pascareformasi = Expansion of Military Positions in the Civilian Sphere: Study of the Placement of TNI Soldiers in Civilian Positions in the New Order, Reform, and Post-Reformation Periods

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## Abstrak

Reformasi TNI telah mengamanatkan TNI kembali ke barak sebagai upaya memfokuskan TNI dengan tugas utamanya sebagai alat negara di bidang pertahanan, setelah sebelumnya pada masa Orde Baru militer terlibat aktif pada urusan sosial-politik. Sejumlah Peraturan Perundang-Undangan, di antaranya Undang-Undang No. 34 Tahun 2004 tentang Tentara Nasional Indonesia menjadi payung hukum untuk memastikan reformasi TNI berjalan semestinya. Akan tetapi, nyatanya pascareformasi perluasan posisi militer pada jabatan sipil justru kembali terjadi. Penelitian ini menggunakan tipe penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus (case study). Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa penempatan prajurit TNI pada jabatan sipil di luar ketentuan UU TNI yang terjadi pascareformasi secara nyata kontradiktif dengan upaya reformasi TNI. Tiga faktor yang teridentifikasi menjadi penyebabnya adalah: (1) faktor kepemimpinan, (2) faktor struktur negara, dan (3) faktor organisasi militer. Melalui penempatan tersebut pemerintah membuka kembali keterlibatan TNI pada ruang-ruang sosial-politik, serta merupakan bentuk kontrol sipil subjektif sebagaimana dijelaskan Huntington (2003). Penempatan militer aktif pada sejumlah jabatan sipil tersebut bukan lagi bentuk intervensi militer, tetapi justru pejabat sipil yang menariknya kembali.

.....TNI reform has mandated that the TNI return to barracks in an effort to focus the TNI on its main task as an instrument of the state in the defense sector, after previously, during the New Order era, the military was actively involved in socio-political affairs. A number of laws and regulations, including Law No. 34 of 2004, concerning the Indonesian National Armed Forces, have become the legal umbrella to ensure TNI reform runs as it should. However, in fact, after the reformation, the expansion of military positions into civilian positions has reoccurred. This study uses a type of qualitative research with a case study approach. The results of this study indicate that the placement of TNI soldiers in civilian positions outside the provisions of the TNI Law that occurred post-reform is clearly contradictory to efforts to reform the TNI. Three factors were identified as the cause: (1) the leadership factor, (2) the state structure factor, and (3) the military organizational factor. Through this placement, the government reopened TNI involvement in socio-political spaces, which was a form of subjective civilian control, as explained by Huntington (2003). The placement of the active military in a number of civilian positions is no longer a form of military intervention; instead, civilian officials are withdrawing them.