

Implementation of the West Java Anti-Thuggery Task Force Policy from a Socio-Legal and Good Governance Perspective

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Abstract

This study examines the contradictions between the administrative mandate of West Java Governor Decree No. 300/Kep.160-Bakesbangpol/2025 establishing the Anti-Thuggery Task Force and the persistent sociopolitical reality of protection rackets. Employing a socio-legal approach grounded in legal realism, the research analyzes law in action through triangulation of in-depth interviews with academics and mass organization leaders and field analysis of violent incidents, particularly the Sukahaji case. The findings demonstrate that although the policy enhances visibility management and administrative surveillance through smart city technologies, it fails to dismantle entrenched structural patronage relations. A “paradox of protection” emerges, whereby formal state presence inadvertently normalizes informal coercive power over citizens, while the legally imprecise collective labeling of mass organizations fosters defensive solidarity and increases the risk of secondary deviance. This study contributes a novel critique of regional “statification” technologies that privilege performative order over substantive justice and argues that the Task Force must be transformed into a non-discriminatory law enforcement mechanism, integrated with inclusive economic empowerment and anchored within a democratic legal framework.

Keywords: anti-thuggery task force, good governance, mass organizations

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji kontradiksi antara mandat administratif Keputusan Gubernur Jawa Barat Nomor 300/Kep.160-Bakesbangpol/2025 tentang pembentukan Satuan Tugas Pemberantasan Premanisme dan realitas sosio politik praktik pungutan perlindungan. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan sosio-legal yang berlandaskan realisme hukum, penelitian ini menganalisis law in action melalui triangulasi wawancara mendalam dengan akademisi dan pimpinan organisasi kemasyarakatan serta analisis lapangan terhadap insiden kekerasan, khususnya kasus Sukahaji. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meskipun kebijakan ini efektif dalam meningkatkan pengelolaan visibilitas dan pengawasan administratif melalui teknologi smart city, kebijakan tersebut gagal membongkar relasi patronase struktural yang mengakar. Muncul sebuah “paradoks perlindungan”, di mana kehadiran formal negara justru

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menormalkan praktik koersif kekuasaan informal terhadap warga, sementara pelabelan kolektif organisasi kemasyarakatan yang tidak presisi secara hukum mendorong solidaritas defensif dan meningkatkan risiko deviasi sekunder. Penelitian ini menawarkan kritik baru terhadap teknologi “statifikasi” di tingkat daerah yang lebih menekankan ketertiban performatif daripada keadilan substantif, serta menegaskan bahwa Satgas harus ditransformasikan menjadi instrumen penegakan hukum yang non-diskriminatif, terintegrasi dengan pemberdayaan ekonomi inklusif dalam kerangka hukum yang demokratis.

Kata kunci: organisasi kemasyarakatan, satgas anti premanisme, tata kelola pemerintahan yang baik

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of thuggery operating through the identity of mass organizations in West Java Province constitutes a legal and social problem that cannot be understood merely as a form of individual criminal deviance.¹ In practice, thuggery functions as a mode of informal power exercised through networks of social, economic, and political relations within public spaces.² Extortion, illegal levies, and the control of economic spaces are frequently carried out by mobilizing organizational symbols, collective loyalty, and intimidation mechanisms that have become internalized in social life.³ This condition demonstrates that formal law often confronts alternative rationalities of power that do not fully submit to conventional instruments of criminal law enforcement, resulting in social order being shaped through complex interactions between legal norms and non-formal practices.⁴

Historically, mass organizations in Indonesia have been integral components of civil society, playing a significant role in fostering social solidarity, articulating political interests, and facilitating democratic participation.⁵ However, in the post-reform era, the expansion of freedom of association has not always been accompanied by adequate

¹ Mokhmad Anton Hermawan Eka Putra and Hudi Yusuf, “Penyimpangan Sosial Sebagai Awal Tindak Kriminal,” *Jurnal Intelek Insan Cendikia* 2, No. 5 (2025): 9200–9201.

² Moch Berlian Ananda Kharisma, *Kekuasaan dan Imbalan di Ormas Pemuda Pancasila*, 2025, 3.

³ Kharisma, *Kekuasaan dan Imbalan Di Ormas Pemuda Pancasila*, 3.

⁴ Christian Kevin Jodanthy Et Al., “Kebijakan Bayangan Oleh Ormas Lokal: Produksi Hukum Informal Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Stabilitas Politik Lokal,” *Triwikrama: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial* 11, No. 9 (2025): 344.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 349–350.

regulatory and supervisory mechanisms, thereby creating spaces for the transformation of certain mass organizations toward informal power functions.⁶ This shift is marked by the involvement of specific organizations in the coercive management of public spaces and economic activities, operating through the production of fear, the normalization of symbolic violence, and the regulation of collective behavior.⁷ From a Foucauldian perspective, this condition reflects the operation of the micro-physics of power, in which power is not solely centralized in the state but is dispersed and reproduced through everyday social practices.⁸ While Ian Douglas Wilson has mapped the politics of protection rackets at the national level, there remains a gap in the literature concerning how regional technologies of power manage these relations through task force mechanisms at the local level.

In West Java Province, thuggery practices operating through mass organization identities are evident across various sectors of public space and the local economy.⁹ The presence of non-state actors capable of regulating access, imposing non-formal charges, or intimidating residents and business actors indicates an overlap of authority between the state and informal power structures.¹⁰ This situation gives rise to what may be understood as a plural regime of order management, in which positive law does not always function as the sole normative reference in social practice. Consequently, law faces serious challenges in asserting itself as the primary instrument for regulating social order and achieving social justice.

In response to these conditions, the state has introduced various security and public order policies aimed at addressing thuggery practices. One significant policy is

⁶ Ali Nurdin Et Al., "Preman Politik dan Pasar: Ancaman Keamanan Terhadap Iklim Investasi Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Malikussaleh (Jspm)* 6, No. 2 (2025): 354.

⁷ Jodanthy Et Al., "Kebijakan Bayangan oleh Ormas Lokal: Produksi Hukum Informal dan Dampaknya Terhadap Stabilitas Politik Lokal," 2025, 349–50.

⁸ Gibin G. Varghese and Cn Vidhya Lakshmi, "Power, Body and Resistance in Kerala's Domestic Sphere-A Foucauldian Reading of Kr Meera's Short Story" Ave Maria," *International Journal Of English: Literature, Language & Skills* 13, No. 4 (2025): 28.

⁹ Moh Ahsanuddin Jauhari Et Al., "Implikasi Dinamika dan Penegakan Regulasi Organisasi Kemasyarakatan (Ormas) di Jawa Barat," *Jurnal Hukum Media Justitia Nusantara* 12, No. 2 (2022): 78–79.

¹⁰ Jodanthy Et Al., "Kebijakan Bayangan oleh Ormas Lokal: Produksi Hukum Informal dan Dampaknya Terhadap Stabilitas Politik Lokal," 2025, 346.

the establishment of the Regional Anti-Thuggery Task Force, as stipulated in West Java Governor Decree No. 300/Kep.160-Bakesbangpol/2025.¹¹ This policy signifies an effort by the state to strengthen cross-sectoral coordination, enhance surveillance of public spaces, and consolidate governance mechanisms in confronting informal power practices. Within the framework of governmentality, such a policy may be understood as part of a governing rationality oriented toward managing populations, spaces, and social risks, rather than merely punishing individual legal violations.¹²

At the same time, anti-thuggery policies generate normative implications within the framework of good governance, which emphasizes transparency, accountability, effectiveness, and legal certainty. However, the relationship between these principles and security practices on the ground is not always linear.¹³ Discourses of good governance often operate in tandem with intensive disciplinary and surveillance practices, raising critical questions regarding the boundary between the maintenance of public order and the potential expansion of state control over civic space.¹⁴ In the context of mass organizations, this issue becomes increasingly complex, as it directly implicates the constitutional protection of freedom of association.¹⁵

Policies targeting thuggery practices linked to mass organizations also carry the risk of collective labeling, whereby organizations are treated as homogeneous entities without adequate differentiation between individual conduct and institutional responsibility.¹⁶ From a governmentality perspective, this condition risks shifting the position of mass organizations from legal subjects endowed with rights and obligations

¹¹ Nurdin Et Al., "Preman Politik dan Pasar: Ancaman Keamanan Terhadap Iklim Investasi Indonesia," 354.

¹² Carmen Emilia Rodriguez, "Governmentality: The Core Tendencies in Contemporary Regulation," *Interciencia* 50, No. 4 (2025): 205.

¹³ Jamiluddin Am Putra Et Al., "Evaluasi Penerapan Prinsip *Good Governance* dalam Sistem Pemerintahan Indonesia: Tantangan dan Peluang Dalam Mengatasi Kesewenang-Wenangan," *Jimu: Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisipliner* 3, No. 02 (2025): 1241.

¹⁴ Khoiruddin Nasution Et Al., *Kebijakan Publik dalam Perspektif Manajemen Modern: Inovasi, Tata Kelola, dan Akuntabilitas* (Star Digital Publishing, 2025), 8.

¹⁵ Abustan, "Menjaga Kemerdekaan Berserikat dan Kebebasan Berpendapat Sebagai Hak Warga Negara dalam Konstitusi," *Jurnal Pendidikan, Hukum, Komunikasi* 1, No. 2 (2025): 105, <https://doi.org/10.69623/J-Dikumsi.V1i2.138>.

¹⁶ Rhoni Rodin Et Al., "Pendekatan Klasik dalam Teori Organisasi dan Relevansinya Dengan Manajemen Pendidikan Islam: Systematic Review," *Islamic Management: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 8, No. 01 (2025): 353.

to permanent objects of state surveillance.¹⁷ The tension between the imperative to maintain public order and the protection of civil liberties thus reveals a structural problem within the practice of the rule of law, particularly in the governance of security at the local level.

Previous studies have begun to examine the complex relationship between state authority, regional governance, and the role of non-state actors in maintaining social order, including the phenomenon of premanism. Jauhari 2022, in the study entitled “*Implications of the Dynamics and Enforcement of Community Organization Regulations in West Java*”, analyzed the ambivalent position of community organizations as both development partners and potential sources of instability, finding that the enforcement of community organization regulations at the regional level tends to rely on repressive and politically selective approaches, thereby weakening legal certainty and state authority.¹⁸ Furthermore, Regus 2024, through a conceptual analysis of *security governance* in Southeast Asia, demonstrated that non-state actors increasingly assume security functions in areas characterized by limited institutional capacity, which ultimately places state legitimacy at risk when public policies fail to adapt to pluralized security arrangements.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Jodanthy 2025, in the study “*Shadow Policy by Local Community Organizations*”, highlighted the production of informal legal norms by community organizations that are often more influential than formal state law due to weak regulatory control by regional governments.²⁰ Collectively, these previous studies underscore the importance of regulatory coherence and strengthened governance mechanisms, however, they remain limited in providing an in-depth legal analysis of anti-premanism policies as instruments of *good governance*

¹⁷ Fandi Prawira Gustama Et Al., “Implementasi Kebijakan Pengawasan Organisasi Kemasyarakatan Bidang Keagamaan,” *Journal of Public Policy and Applied Administration*, 2025, 122–23.

¹⁸ Moh Ahsanuddin Jauhari Et Al., “Implikasi Dinamika dan Penegakan Regulasi Organisasi Kemasyarakatan (Ormas) di Jawa Barat,” *Jurnal Hukum Media Justitia Nusantara* 12, No. 2 (2022): 77–86.

¹⁹ Maksimus Regus Et Al., “*Security Governance, Non-Governmental Actors, and The Limited Statehood Legitimacy in The Southeast Asia Landscape: A Conceptual Analysis*,” *Jurnal Politik* 10, No. 2 (2024): 6.

²⁰ Christian Kevin Jodanthy Et Al., “Kebijakan Bayangan oleh Ormas Lokal: Produksi Hukum Informal dan Dampaknya Terhadap Stabilitas Politik Lokal,” *Triwikrama: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial* 11, No. 9 (2025): 341–50.

and *governmentality*, particularly in assessing their effectiveness at the regional level and their capacity to dismantle premanism practices operating under the guise of community organizations.

Meanwhile, studies that conceptualize anti-thuggery policies as part of governmental technologies and the management of power remain limited, particularly at the level of local government and in relation to mass organizations. Accordingly, this study formulates two principal focuses. First, it examines the extent to which the implementation of the West Java Anti-Thuggery Task Force policy is effective when analyzed through the perspectives of good governance and *governmentality*. Second, it assesses the extent to which the policy implementation is effective in curbing the practices and culture of thuggery carried out under the guise of mass organizations. These research questions position anti-thuggery policy not merely as an instrument of administrative order, but as an arena for the production and governance of power that warrants critical examination within the framework of a democratic rule-of-law state.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a socio-legal approach that conceptualizes law as law in action within the interplay of public policy, power relations, and institutional dynamics, in line with the paradigm of legal realism.²¹ The analysis is grounded in sociological jurisprudence and incorporates the frameworks of good governance and *governmentality* to examine the state's administrative rationality embodied in West Java Governor Decree No. 300/Kep.160-Bakesbangpol/2025, as well as its interaction with informal power structures in practice.²² The research was conducted in West Java Province, with an empirical focus on the City of Bandung.

Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with four purposively selected key informants JA and AR as representatives of mass organization policy actors, AS as an academic and observer of Ormas dynamics, and MZ as a representative

²¹ Aristo Marisi Adiputra Pangaribuan, "Metode Wawancara Dalam Penelitian Hukum Doktrinal Dan Sosio-Legal," *Undang: Jurnal Hukum* 6, no. 2 (2023): 357, <https://doi.org/10.22437/ujh.6.2.351-383>.

²² Koko Roby Yahya et al., "Aliran Hukum Sociological Jurisprudence Dalam Perseptif Filsafat Hukum," *Jurnal Insan Pendidikan Dan Sosial Humaniora* 1, no. 1 (2023): 48.

of affected residents. Secondary data consisted of statutory regulations, scholarly literature, and media documentation. Data analysis was carried out using a qualitative descriptive-analytical method through a sociological critique of law, by confronting official claims regarding the effectiveness of the Task Force policy with empirical findings particularly the Sukahaji incident in order to identify the gap between formal policy frameworks and the realization of substantive legal protection.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Effectiveness of the Implementation of the Anti-Thuggery Task Force Policy from the Perspectives of Good Governance and Governmentality

The phenomenon of thuggery in West Java Province demonstrates a significant transformation from sporadic forms of street-level criminality into relatively institutionalized practices of informal power operating within local social, economic, and political networks.²³ Empirically, the findings of this study indicate that thuggery no longer functions merely as individual criminal conduct, but rather operates as a relatively stable pattern of spatial control and resource appropriation. This transformation cannot be understood solely as a failure of criminal law enforcement, instead, it reflects a broader shift in how public space and economic resources are managed through non-formal mechanisms that frequently occupy an ambiguous zone between legality and illegality.²⁴ In this context, practices such as extortion, illegal levies, and intimidation do not merely constitute individual criminal acts, but function as techniques of spatial domination and profit distribution that acquire social legitimacy through specific power relations. The presence of non-state actors capable of exercising coercive social control indicates the fragmentation of state authority, while simultaneously revealing the emergence of what may be described as a “local regime of

²³ Christian Kevin Jodanthy Et Al., “Kebijakan Bayangan oleh Ormas Lokal: Produksi Hukum Informal dan dampaknya Terhadap Stabilitas Politik Lokal,” *Triwikrama: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial* 11, No. 9 (2025): 342.

²⁴ Jodanthy Et Al., “Kebijakan Bayangan oleh Ormas Lokal: Produksi Hukum Informal dan Dampaknya Terhadap Stabilitas Politik Lokal,” 2025, 344.

truth,” in which symbolic violence and intimidation are normalized as part of everyday social order.²⁵

The issuance of the West Java Governor’s Decree No. 300/Kep.160-Bakesbangpol/2025 on the establishment of the Anti-Thuggery Task Force constitutes a concrete policy fact identified in this research and may be understood as a state effort to reconstruct its authority in the governance of public order.²⁶ This policy does not merely represent an administrative response to security disturbances, but reflects the state’s intention to reaffirm its claim to the monopoly of legitimate violence within social spaces previously occupied by informal power practices. Accordingly, the Task Force functions as an instrument for reconfiguring relations between the state, society, and non-state actors that had previously exercised autonomous control over local security and economic activities.²⁷ At this stage, the empirical findings suggest that the effectiveness of the Task Force’s policy cannot be assessed solely on the basis of the intensity of enforcement operations, but rather on its capacity to intervene in entrenched configurations of power that sustain the persistence of thuggery.

These empirical findings are subsequently analyzed within the conceptual framework of Michel Foucault’s governmentality. From this perspective, the Task Force policy can be interpreted as a security dispositif, namely a heterogeneous assemblage comprising legal norms, administrative decisions, institutional practices, and the production of knowledge concerning risk and public order.²⁸ Through the *Jabar Manunggal* Operation, the state does not merely exercise power in the form of direct repression, but rather constructs surveillance mechanisms aimed at shaping both

²⁵ Abdul Karim Munthe et al., “Fenomena Preman Berkelompok di Indonesia (Bentuk Praktik Hirabah Dalam Hukum Islam),” *Al-Jinayah: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Islam* 9, no. 2 (2023): 238.

²⁶ Mugiati Mugiati and Dilla Haryanti Tarigan, “Pemberantasan Premanisme di Indonesia Demi Tegaknya Hukum dan Keadilan,” *Jurnal Impresi Indonesia* 4, no. 11 (2025): 5330, <https://doi.org/10.58344/jii.v4i11.7178>.

²⁷ Rolando Marpaung, “Peran Kepolisian Dalam Pemberantasan Premanisme Dihubungkan dengan Kriminologi,” *Jurnal Mutiara Hukum* 1, no. 1 (2018): 8–9.

²⁸ Gregorius Sahdan, “Membongkar Selubung Ideologi Ilmu Pemerintahan: Perspektif Governmentality,” *GOVERNABILITAS (Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan Semesta)* 1, no. 1 (2020): 50–51.

behavior and subjectivity.²⁹ The presence of routine patrols, the Bandung Siaga 112 public complaint channel, and technology-based smart surveillance systems creates conditions in which social actors including perpetrators of thuggery are continuously confronted with the possibility of observation that is both persistent and inherently unpredictable.³⁰ Within a Foucauldian panoptic framework, this uncertainty encourages the internalization of discipline, such that compliance is not produced solely through physical coercion, but through self-regulation generated by the awareness of being subject to surveillance.³¹

Nevertheless, the empirical findings indicate that the effectiveness of this governmentality-based mechanism remains ambivalent. On the one hand, the intensified presence of the state in public spaces has indeed generated disruptions to forms of thuggery that operate openly. On the other hand, the expansion of surveillance technologies and administrative procedures functions primarily at the level of managing visibility, rather than dismantling the power relations that sustain thuggery practices themselves.³² In other words, the Task Force policy tends to be effective in regulating how and where thuggery manifests in public space, but has not yet been fully capable of eliminating the underlying social rationalities that render such practices relevant and functional within local structures.

Within the framework of good governance, the implementation of the Task Force policy normatively entails demands for transparency, accountability, and responsiveness.³³ The existence of public complaint mechanisms and the openness of the local government in acknowledging and addressing illegal levies constitute

²⁹ Andi Ainun Juniarsi Nur et al., “Pengawasan Terhadap Masyarakat: Panopticon Dan Post-Panopticon (Analisis Diferensiasi Pemikiran Michel Foucault-Deleuze & Guattari),” *Sosioglobal: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Sosiologi* 7, no. 2 (2023): 180–181.

³⁰ Annadi Muhammad Alkaf and Budi Sutrisno, “Smart Surveillance Dan Keteraturan Sosial (Studi Kasus Implementasi Smart City Di Kota Bandung),” *Jurnal Sositologi* 18, no. 1 (2019): 93.

³¹ Nur et al., “Pengawasan Terhadap Masyarakat: Panopticon Dan Post-Panopticon (Analisis Diferensiasi Pemikiran Michel Foucault-Deleuze & Guattari),” 183–184.

³² Fahmi Faujar Syam, “Efek Polarisasi Algoritma Media: Analisis Teori Power Dan Knowledge Michel Foucault,” *RIGGS: Journal of Artificial Intelligence and Digital Business* 4, no. 2 (2025): 3529.

³³ Utami Priono et al., “Peran Pengawasan Dan Program Efisiensi Dalam Mewujudkan Transparansi Pemerintah: Perspektif Good Governance,” *Benefit: Journal of Bussiness, Economics, and Finance* 3, no. 2 (2025): 2137–38.

administrative findings identified in this study and may be understood as efforts to build public trust in state institutions. However, further analysis of these findings suggests that such achievements are more accurately characterized as forms of administrative effectiveness, namely, the state's capacity to manage reporting and monitoring procedures rather than as indicators of substantive effectiveness in strengthening the rule of law.³⁴ The empirical findings further reveal that limitations in inter-agency coordination and inconsistencies in follow-up actions reflect the absence of an integrated governance rationality, causing the principle of accountability to remain confined largely to a formal level.³⁵

Based on conceptual analysis, this condition indicates a discernible gap between the normative claims of good governance and the realities of governmental practice on the ground. Policy transparency, while essential, does not automatically generate substantive accountability when it is not accompanied by consistent law enforcement that is free from intervention by informal power relations. Legal effectiveness is determined not merely by the existence of norms and procedures, but by the state's capacity to apply them equally to all legal subjects.³⁶ This underscores that good governance cannot be reduced to performance management and information disclosure alone, rather, it must be understood as a normative project that requires political courage to confront and challenge entrenched power relations.

A socio-legal approach provides a sharper analytical framework for understanding the limitations of the Task Force policy. Based on the empirical findings of this study, thuggery in West Java operates within networks of protection rackets that involve patronage relations among mass organizations, economic actors, and local political

³⁴ Harison Citrawan and Sabrina Nadilla, "Law, Affective Bureaucracy, and the Registration of Public Satisfaction in Indonesia," in *The Asian Yearbook of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law*, ed. Matthias Vanhullebusch et al. (Brill | Nijhoff, 2024), 130, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004706477_005.

³⁵ Adolf ZD Siahay and Agustinus Salle, "Public Audit and Governance Quality in Decentralized Systems: The Case of Indonesia," *Amkop Management Accounting Review (AMAR)* 5, no. 2 (2025): 1035, <https://doi.org/10.37531/amar.v5i2.3245>.

³⁶ Lalu M. Alwin Ahadi, "Efektivitas Hukum Dalam Perspektif Filsafat Hukum: Relasi Urgensi Sosialisasi Terhadap Eksistensi Produk Hukum," *JURNAL USM LAW REVIEW* 5, no. 1 (2022): 115, <https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v5i1.4965>.

power.³⁷ Drawing on the work of Ian Douglas Wilson, mass organizations in this context do not merely function as social groups, but act as intermediaries of power that produce legitimacy for the control of informal economic activities.³⁸ These relations are further reinforced by what Joel S. Migdal conceptualizes as a *triangle of accommodation*, manifested through symbiotic relationships among local bureaucracies, political elites, and organizational leaders.³⁹ This analysis demonstrates that the Task Force policy confronts power structures that are not entirely external to the state, but are partially integrated within it.

The empirical findings of this study specifically demonstrate that, in certain situations, such power relations can undermine the effectiveness of enforcement policies. When acts of violence or intimidation perpetrated by mass organizations are not addressed decisively, this generates what may be described as a “paradox of protection” a condition in which the state is formally present yet fails to perform its function of providing legal protection to citizens.⁴⁰ From a governmentality perspective, this failure is not merely a technical problem, but rather reflects the limits of governmental rationality when confronted with informal power structures that have become embedded within local political and social networks.⁴¹ In such circumstances, the state does not entirely lose its power, instead, it opts not to fully actualize it.

The empirical conditions reinforcing these findings can be examined through the case of the attack on residents in Sukahaji, Bandung City, on 21 April 2025. This case constitutes a primary empirical dataset in the present study and vividly illustrates the existence of a “paradox of protection.” In this incident, a group of members from a mass organization perpetrated violence against residents who were defending their right to

³⁷ Ian Douglas Wilson, *Politik Jatah Preman: Ormas dan Kuasa Jalanan di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru* (Marjin Kiri, 2018), 99.

³⁸ Wilson, *Politik Jatah Preman: Ormas dan Kuasa Jalanan di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*, 24.

³⁹ Moh Zainor Ridho, “Local Strongman di Bangkalan: Kuasa Politik ‘Blater’ Dalam Demokrasi Lokal 2008-2018,” *Kajian* 25, no. 2 (2020): 128.

⁴⁰ Arif Indra Komara, “Efektivitas Penanganan Konflik Sosial Antar Ormas oleh Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Barat,” *Publika: Jurnal Ilmiah Administrasi Dan Kebijakan Publik* 10, no. 2 (2024): 75.

⁴¹ Matthew Wargent, “Localism, Governmentality and Failing Technologies: The Case of Neighbourhood Planning in England,” *Territory, Politics, Governance* 9, no. 4 (2021): 589, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2020.1737209>.

living space in the aftermath of a fire. Contrary to the claims made by JA and AR regarding the existence of strict internal self-regulation mechanisms within the organization, the testimony of MZ, representing the Sukahaji Melawan community, reveals a different reality, in which physical coercion persisted without any meaningful internal sanctions imposed by the organization. MZ stated that *“during the attack carried out by a group affiliated with mass organizations, one of which was identified as originating from the Cepot Motah organization, the incident resulted in at least fourteen (14) individuals sustaining minor to severe injuries, including a fourteen (14)-year-old girl.”* Further reports from KontraS and LBH Bandung indicate indications of inaction by police officers who were present at the scene but failed to take measures to halt the violence. This situation was exacerbated by the inaccessibility of emergency complaint channels during the incident. These conditions demonstrate a failure of the state’s protective function and underscore how informal power exercised through mass organizations can operate coercively in public spaces with minimal accountability.⁴² Taken together, these facts empirically affirm the failure of the state to fulfill its protective role.

Based on a critical dialogue between empirical findings and theoretical frameworks, this study argues that the effectiveness of the implementation of the Anti-Premanism Task Force policy is partial and internally contradictory. On the one hand, the policy confirms the governmentality thesis regarding the state’s capacity to manage behavior through surveillance and disciplinary mechanisms. On the other hand, it simultaneously exposes the limitations of such governance in dismantling the patronage relations that sustain premanism as a social practice. These findings modify conventional good governance approaches by demonstrating that principles of transparency and accountability are insufficient when detached from the concrete configurations of power in which policies are implemented. Accordingly, the

⁴² Andrie Yunus, “Siaran Pers Polisi Tidak Profesional dan Gagal Melindungi Masyarakat Sukahaji: Aksi Premanisme Semakin Menjadi-Jadi,” *KONTRAS & LBH Bandung* (Kota Bandung), April 22, 2025, <https://kontras.org/artikel/siaran-pers-polisi-tidak-profesional-dan-gagal-melindungi-masyarakat-sukahaji-aksi-premanisme-semakin-menjadi-jadi#:~:text=Total%20akibat%20rentetan%20penyerangan%20yang%20dilakukan%20oleh%20ormas%20pada%20hari%20Senin%2C%2021%20April%202025, diakses 5 Desember 2025.>

effectiveness of the Task Force policy cannot be assessed solely on the basis of administrative performance or the intensity of enforcement operations, but rather on the extent to which it is capable of reasserting the rule of law as an egalitarian and non-selective normative order. Without such a transformation, the Task Force risks functioning merely as a short-term mechanism for managing public order, one that paradoxically normalizes the continued existence of informal power in more concealed and adaptive forms.

3.2. Effectiveness of the Task Force Policy in Addressing Thuggery Practices and Culture under the Guise of Mass Organizations

The effectiveness of the Anti-Premanism Task Force policy cannot be measured solely by reductions in public crime rates, but rather by its capacity to intervene in cultures of informal power that exploit the identity of mass organizations as instruments for controlling space and resources.⁴³ Empirical findings from this study demonstrate that in the City of Bandung, practices of intimidation and illegal levies carried out by individuals using organizational attributes have generated social stigma that attaches not only to the perpetrators as individuals, but also to collective identities. Accordingly, the Task Force policy is tested not merely in terms of operational enforcement, but in its ability to disrupt the social relations and structures of meaning that sustain the persistence of premanism.⁴⁴

These empirical findings are further analyzed through the perspective of Howard S. Becker's Labeling Theory. This study demonstrates that deviant labeling in the context of mass organizations does not remain confined to individuals, but extends collectively and institutionally.⁴⁵ The persistent attribution of the label "premanism" by the Task Force, the media, and the public risks stigmatizing mass organizations as symbols of deviance, while simultaneously reinforcing state power relations through

⁴³ Mugiati and Tarigan, "Pemberantasan Premanisme di Indonesia Demi Tegaknya Hukum dan Keadilan," 5329–5330.

⁴⁴ Rinaldi Rinaldi, "Praktik Premanisme Dengan Membawa Nama Organisasi Kemasyarakatan dalam Perspektif Hukum Pidana," *Journal of Law (Jurnal Ilmu Hukum)* 6, no. 1 (2021): 320–21.

⁴⁵ Ciek Julyati Hisyam et al., "Antara Jeruji dan Label Sosial: Analisis Proses Stigma Terhadap Narapidana Pelaku Pencurian di Lembaga Pemasyarakatan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Penelitian Mahasiswa* 4, no. 1 (2026): 1095, <https://doi.org/10.61722/jipm.v4i1.2038>.

mechanisms of permanent surveillance. This analysis modifies the classical assumptions of labeling theory, which primarily focus on individual actors, by showing that within collectivist social structures, labeling carries significant institutional implications for the legitimacy and legal standing of mass organizations. Collective labeling by the Task Force poses the risk of triggering secondary deviance, whereby mass organizations cease to position themselves as partners in development and instead organize their institutional identity around the “deviant” label as a defensive strategy in response to state pressure.⁴⁶

Based on the research findings, the implications of such collective labeling are ambivalent with respect to the effectiveness of the Task Force policy.⁴⁷ On the one hand, the regulation of organizational attributes and premanism-related practices may narrow the social legitimacy of informal power. On the other hand, the analysis indicates that when the policy is implemented without a clear distinction between the actions of individual offenders and organizations as lawful legal subjects, collective labeling may instead generate defensive solidarity and internal narratives of victimization.⁴⁸ Under these conditions, law enforcement is perceived as the criminalization of collective identity, which ultimately risks reproducing secondary deviance on a broader scale.⁴⁹

Field-based empirical findings indicate that mass organizations do not position themselves solely as passive actors in responding to state policy.⁵⁰ Interviews with JA, a board member of the Bandung City Branch (MPC) of Pemuda Pancasila, reveal support for the Anti-Premanism Task Force policy, albeit accompanied by a strong emphasis on

⁴⁶ Gregory C. Rocheleau et al., “Deviant Labels, Negative Emotions, and Secondary Deviance: Integrating Labeling and Strain Perspectives,” *Deviant Behavior*, March 17, 2025, 11–12, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2025.2479020>.

⁴⁷ Zul Khaidir Kadir, “Teori Labeling Dalam Perspektif Kebijakan Kriminal: Strategi Dekriminalisasi Untuk Menghentikan Siklus Stigma Sosial,” *Jurnal Hukum Dan Sosial Politik* 3, no. 1 (2025): 51-53.

⁴⁸ Kadir, “Teori Labeling Dalam Perspektif Kebijakan Kriminal: Strategi Dekriminalisasi Untuk Menghentikan Siklus Stigma Sosial,” 55.

⁴⁹ Ciek Julyati Hisyam et al., “Kriminalisasi Narkoba: Ditinjau dari Teori Labeling Pada Kasus Pelaku Perdagangan Narkoba di Lapas Perempuan,” *SABANA: Jurnal Sosiologi, Antropologi, dan Budaya Nusantara* 2, no. 3 (2023): 134–36, <https://doi.org/10.55123/sabana.v2i3.2977>.

⁵⁰ Maksimus Regus et al., “Security Governance, Non-Governmental Actors, and the Limited Statehood Legitimacy in the Southeast Asia Landscape: A Conceptual Analysis,” *Jurnal Politik* 10, no. 2 (2024): 132, <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v10i2.1235>.

the distinction between the actions of individual members and the organization as an institution. He stated that the social control mechanisms exercised by the organization include the enforcement of internal rules requiring members “*not to engage in deviant behavior or disturb the public*”. Efforts to strengthen internal discipline through the Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART) as well as cadre education reflect robust practices of organizational self-regulation. As emphasized by AR, a board member of the West Java Provincial Branch (MPW) of Pemuda Pancasila, organizational governance constitutes a fundamental pillar, as “*a healthy organization must have a complete set of instruments, ranging from its Articles of Association and Bylaws, Organizational Regulations, to operational guidelines*”.

Analyzed through a governmentality perspective, these findings indicate that the rationality of public order management is negotiated between the state and non-state actors.⁵¹ AS, a researcher and observer of mass organizations, explained that freedom of association constitutes a constitutional right “*intended to enable collective organization for constructive purposes, in line with national objectives.*” He further emphasized that mass organizations function as instruments of collective struggle to defend the rights of marginalized groups, rather than as means to oppress others. Accordingly, when individual members engage in unlawful conduct, the organization commits to submitting such individuals to law enforcement authorities, without extending uncritical protection in the name of *esprit de corps*.⁵²

Empirically, this study also finds that premanism cannot be separated from structurally unequal socio-economic conditions.⁵³ Membership in mass organizations is often perceived as a rational strategy to obtain protection and access to economic resources. In response to the stigma attached to premanism, AS offered the perspective that many individuals join such organizations as part of a process of self-rehabilitation,

⁵¹ Cindy Ramhurry and Runash Ramhurry, “Foucault, Governmentality and the Performance Management of Academics: A Case Study at a South African University.,” *Journal of Education and Educational Development* 11, no. 1 (2024): 79.

⁵² Sufiarina Sufiarina et al., “The Authority Analysis of Non-Legal Entity Organization and Opportunities for Dispute Resolution Through Litigation,” *Jurnal Hukum Dan Peradilan* 13, no. 3 (2024): 637.

⁵³ Widdy Apriandi, “Jawa Barat Dan Ketimpangan Ekonomi Penduduk Yang Tambah Tinggi,” sec. 1, *Kompas* (Jakarta), Mei 2025, diakses 7 Desember 2025.

seeking to reform themselves after recognizing past wrongdoing. Pemuda Pancasila, in this context, positions itself as a rehabilitative platform that “*provides individuals with an opportunity to regain awareness and reintegrate as responsible members of society*”. However, an analysis of patronage relations indicates that a Satgas policy focused primarily on street-level enforcement carries the risk of producing displacement effects, whereby premanism does not disappear but instead transforms into more covert and less visible forms.⁵⁴

Based on a critical dialogue between empirical findings and the theoretical framework, this study concludes that the effectiveness of the Task Force for the Eradication of Premanism in West Java is partial and context-dependent. The policy has proven relatively effective in suppressing the visible and physical manifestations of premanism in public spaces; however, it has not yet been able to dismantle the power relations that continuously reproduce this culture. As stated by AR, mass organizations should function as “*strategic partners of the government*” in carrying out roles related to social supervision, social control, community development, and moral oversight. Therefore, long-term policy effectiveness requires the integration of consistent law enforcement, the strengthening of internal governance mechanisms within mass organizations to ensure compliance with formal regulations, and inclusive economic empowerment policies. Without such integration, efforts to combat premanism risk remaining limited to short-term order maintenance rather than addressing its structural foundations.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This study concludes that the effectiveness of the Task Force for the Eradication of Premanism in West Java is partial and contradictory. While the policy has achieved administrative success in managing the visibility of public space, it has failed to dismantle the *triangle of accommodation* that integrates informal power into local political economic structures. The implementation of the policy has instead produced a

⁵⁴ Sarah Bosman, “Mythbuster: Does Crime Prevention Mean Crime Displaced,” *European Crime Prevention Network*, 2022, 1.

“protection paradox,” as evidenced by the Sukahaji incident, where the formal presence of the state normalized coercive practices by mass organizations against residents. Furthermore, collective labeling practices that are not accompanied by the strict application of the principle of individual criminal responsibility have encouraged *secondary deviance*, whereby mass organizations consolidate deviant identities as a form of institutional self-defense and reproduce premanism in more adaptive and less visible forms.

As an operational policy recommendation, local governments should reorient the paradigm of the Task Force from incidental administrative enforcement toward a consistent mechanism of control and supervision grounded in individual legal subjectivity. This requires the establishment of binding, cross-agency Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) that explicitly distinguish between organizational conduct and individual criminal acts. Such SOPs should be equipped with measurable administrative performance indicators, including reductions in reports of public order disturbances, consistency in follow-up actions against implicated individuals, and periodic public disclosure of enforcement data as an accountability instrument. At the institutional level, Bakesbangpol is recommended to implement periodic governance audits of mass organizations using standardized assessment instruments covering compliance with Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART), internal disciplinary systems, cadre control mechanisms, and records of involvement in social conflicts. The results of these audits should serve as objective administrative grounds for the allocation of public grants, issuance of activity recommendations, and facilitation of organizational legal status. To ensure medium and long term effectiveness, public order control policies must be integrated with targeted and inclusive economic empowerment programs in areas vulnerable to premanism, through collaboration with local industries and MSMEs. Key outcome indicators should include increased economic participation among productive-age groups and reduced dependence on informal power relations rooted in structural socio-economic inequalities.

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