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The Effectiveness of Diversion in Cases Involving Children Engaged in Motorcycle Gang Violence

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Original Article

Abstract

Motorcycle gang violence involving children poses significant challenges to law enforcement and child protection in Indonesia. This study examines the legal handling of child offenders by the Sukoharjo Regional Police, evaluates the implementation of diversion and restorative justice, and identifies obstacles to effective law enforcement. An empirical legal method with a qualitative approach was employed using interviews, document analysis, and a review of relevant legal materials. The findings indicate that investigations are conducted in accordance with Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System, ensuring the participation of parents, legal counsel, and Community Guidance Officers while prioritizing diversion whenever statutory requirements are satisfied. However, implementation remains constrained by evidentiary difficulties, collective offending, peer and social media influences, inadequate parental supervision, and unsuccessful diversion agreements. Effective juvenile justice therefore requires integrated legal, preventive, and rehabilitative strategies.

Keywords: *Children, Motorcycle Gang Violence, Juvenile Criminal Justice System, Diversion, Restorative Justice*

Abstrak

Tawuran geng motor yang melibatkan anak merupakan bentuk kekerasan kolektif yang menimbulkan persoalan hukum dan perlindungan anak karena penegakan hukum harus menyeimbangkan kepentingan penegakan pidana dengan prinsip perlindungan hak anak. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis penerapan hukum terhadap anak yang terlibat dalam tawuran geng motor di Polres Sukoharjo, mengevaluasi implementasi prinsip restorative justice dan diversi, serta mengidentifikasi hambatan penegakan hukumnya. Penelitian menggunakan metode hukum yuridis empiris dengan pendekatan kualitatif melalui studi kepustakaan, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa penanganan perkara telah mengacu pada Undang-Undang Nomor 11 Tahun 2012 melalui pendampingan orang tua, penasihat hukum, dan Pembimbing Kemasyarakatan serta mengutamakan diversi apabila memenuhi persyaratan hukum. Kendala utama meliputi pembuktian, identifikasi peran pelaku, pengaruh kelompok sebaya dan media sosial, lemahnya pengawasan keluarga, serta kegagalan mencapai kesepakatan diversi. Disimpulkan bahwa efektivitas penegakan hukum memerlukan sinergi antara pendekatan represif, preventif, dan rehabilitatif untuk menjamin perlindungan anak sekaligus menjaga ketertiban masyarakat.

Kata kunci: *Anak, Tawuran Geng Motor, Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak, Diversi*

1. INTRODUCTION

Collective violence in the form of group brawls has become a persistent public security concern in Indonesia. Once regarded as a manifestation of juvenile delinquency, such incidents are now increasingly recognized as criminal offenses that threaten public safety, social order, and the protection of fundamental human rights. Previous studies have identified multiple contributing factors, including weak social control, peer influence, identity formation crises, and inadequate parental supervision.¹ The rapid expansion of digital communication has further intensified this phenomenon, with social media serving as a platform for communication, provocation, and the mobilization of rival groups, thereby escalating both the frequency and severity of violent confrontations.²

Children occupy a distinct legal status because they are still undergoing physical, psychological, and social development, requiring legal protection that differs fundamentally from that afforded to adult offenders. Accordingly, Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (SPPA) establishes child protection, the best interests of the child, restorative justice, and diversion as the guiding principles governing every stage of juvenile criminal proceedings. Nevertheless, motorcycle gang violence frequently fulfills the legal elements of violent offenses under Article 170 of the Indonesian Criminal Code. This creates a significant challenge for law enforcement authorities, who must balance the obligation to protect children's rights with the need to enforce criminal law, particularly in cases involving serious bodily injury or loss of life, where opportunities for diversion are substantially restricted.

The police play a pivotal role in determining the direction and outcome of juvenile case resolution. The effective implementation of the Juvenile Criminal Justice System largely depends on the professionalism of investigators, close coordination with Community Guidance Officers (Pembimbing Kemasyarakatan) at the Correctional Center (Balai Pemasyarakatan), social workers, parents or guardians, and victims, as well as the availability of adequate institutional resources.³ Despite the normative mandate to prioritize restorative justice and diversion, their implementation continues to encounter numerous legal, institutional, and socio-cultural challenges.

Within the jurisdiction of the Sukoharjo Regional Police, the increasing incidence of motorcycle gang violence involving juveniles highlights the need for more effective law enforcement strategies. The growing prevalence of such cases has attracted

¹ Esra Haniarta Saragih et al., "Analisis Faktor-Faktor Penyebab Perilaku Tawuran Pada Remaja Di Daerah Medan Marelau," *Jurnal Studi Multidisipliner* 9, no. 4 (2025): 42–50.

² Abdul Waras et al., "Analisis Kriminologis Terhadap Pelajar Sebagai Pelaku Tindak Pidana Tawuran Antar Pelajar Di Wilayah Hukum Polres Metro Depok (Studi Pada Polres Metro Depok)," *Journal of Law, Education and Business* 4, no. 1 (2026): 173–79, <https://doi.org/10.57235/jleb.v4i1.8020>.

³ Ramadhani Dwi Pangestu and Mega Dewi Ambarwati, "Implementasi UU SPPA Dalam Menangani Anak Yang Sedang Berhadapan Dengan Hukum," *Jurnal Ilmiah Penelitian Mahasiswa* 2, no. 6 (2024): 416–24, <https://doi.org/10.61722/jipm.v2i6.576>.

considerable attention in the fields of criminal law, criminology, and child protection. Existing literature consistently demonstrates that children's involvement in collective violence is shaped by a combination of family conditions, social environment, peer influence, and ineffective social control. However, previous studies have generally addressed these issues separately, focusing either on the causes of juvenile delinquency, normative legal frameworks, or the implementation of diversion, without comprehensively examining how these factors interact during the investigation of motorcycle gang violence involving child offenders.

Samosir analyzed children's involvement in motorcycle gangs from a normative legal perspective, emphasizing the underlying causes and the policies adopted by law enforcement agencies. The study found that external factors—including family conditions, educational environment, and social influences—together with internal factors such as identity crises and poor self-control, constitute the primary determinants of juvenile involvement in motorcycle gangs. It also described police responses through pre-emptive, preventive, and repressive measures. However, the study did not evaluate how these policies are implemented in investigative practice or identify the practical challenges encountered by investigators.⁴

Similarly, Winugroho et al. and Sauki et al. primarily examined the legal regulation of motorcycle gang offenses through a normative analysis of applicable statutory provisions, including Article 170 of the Indonesian Criminal Code, the Traffic and Road Transportation Law, and the Juvenile Criminal Justice System Law. While these studies provide valuable doctrinal analyses, they do not address how these legal provisions are operationalized during criminal investigations involving juvenile offenders.⁵

Furthermore, Hambali, Muhammad et al., and Rodliyah emphasized diversion as a fundamental mechanism for implementing restorative justice within the Juvenile Criminal Justice System. Their findings indicate that diversion constitutes a mandatory child protection measure, although its implementation is often constrained by victims' refusal to participate, limited institutional capacity, and difficulties in achieving consensus among the parties. Nevertheless, these studies do not specifically assess the effectiveness of diversion in cases involving motorcycle gang violence, where offenses

⁴ Kaston Rudy Samosir, "Analisis Hukum Mengenai Tindak Pidana Anak Yang Terlibat Geng Motor Sebagai Upaya Penegakan Hukum: Studi Kasus Di Polrestabes Medan" (Universitas Medan Area, 2021), <https://repository.uma.ac.id/jspui/handle/123456789/17585>.

⁵ Sri Winugroho et al., "Kajian Yuridis Terhadap Perbuatan Pidana Yang Dilakukan Oleh Geng Motor Menurut Hukum Pidana Indonesia," *Legalitas: Jurnal Hukum* 10, no. 2 (2019): 275–91, <https://doi.org/10.33087/legalitas.v10i2.165>; Muhammad Sauki et al., "Kajian Yuridis Terhadap Tindak Pidana Yang Dilakukan Oleh Geng Motor Menurut Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana Dan Undang-Undang Nomor 22 Tahun 2009 Tentang Lalu Lintas Angkutan Jalan," *Datin Law Jurnal* 5, no. 1 (2024): 48–60, <https://doi.org/10.36355/dlj.v5i1.1318>.

frequently result in serious injuries or fatalities and therefore substantially limit the legal eligibility for diversion.⁶

Against this background, the present study addresses an important gap in the existing literature by examining the practical implementation of law enforcement against children involved in motorcycle gang violence at the investigative stage within the Sukoharjo Regional Police. Specifically, it evaluates the application of diversion and restorative justice, identifies the legal and institutional challenges encountered by investigators, and assesses the extent to which the objectives of child protection can be reconciled with effective criminal law enforcement in cases involving collective violence. By focusing on empirical law enforcement practices rather than solely on normative legal analysis, this study contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of juvenile justice implementation in Indonesia and offers practical insights for strengthening child-centered criminal justice policies.

From a criminological perspective, studies by Hisyam et al., Jasmisari and Sekarningrum, and Mely and Abdurrahman characterize group brawls as a form of deviant behavior that develops through social learning within peer networks and is reinforced by weak family attachment and ineffective parental supervision. Although these studies provide valuable insights into the criminogenic factors underlying juvenile violence, they do not examine how these sociological findings translate into law enforcement practices involving child offenders.⁷

The existing literature has predominantly focused on the normative regulation of motorcycle gang offenses, the underlying causes of juvenile delinquency, or the implementation of diversion within the broader framework of the Juvenile Criminal Justice System. Empirical research examining the enforcement of criminal law against children involved in motorcycle gang violence during the police investigation stage remains limited, particularly within the jurisdiction of the Sukoharjo Regional Police. The novelty of the present study lies in its integrated analysis of the interaction between Article 170 of the Indonesian Criminal Code and Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System, as applied in investigative practice. Specifically, the

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- ⁶ Azwad Rachmat Hambali, "Penerapan Diversi Terhadap Anak Yang Berhadapan Dengan Hukum Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana," *Jurnal Ilmiah Kebijakan Hukum* 13, no. 1 (2019): 15–30, <https://doi.org/10.30641/kebijakan.2019.V13.15-30>; Nur Muhammad et al., "Implementasi Prinsip Perlindungan Hak Anak Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak: Studi Peran Kejaksaan Di Dalam Penerapan Diversi," *Jurnal Syariah Hukum Islam* 2, no. 2 (2023): 1–52, <https://doi.org/10.47902/jshi.v2i1.266>; Rodliyah Rodliyah, "Diversi Sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Perlindungan Terhadap Anak Yang Berhadapan Dengan Hukum (ABH)," *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 7, no. 1 (2020): 182–94, <https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v7i1.847>.
- ⁷ Ciek Julyati Hisyam et al., "Tawuran Antar Basis Sebagai Bentuk Penyimpangan Sosial Di Kalangan Remaja Perkotaan Dalam Perspektif Differential Association Theory," *Aktivisme: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan, Politik Dan Sosial Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (2025): 115–32, <https://doi.org/10.62383/aktivisme.v2i2.1140>; Mutiara Jasmisari and Bintarsih Sekarningrum, "Exploring Juvenile Delinquency: An in-Depth Analysis through the Lens of Differential Association Theory," *Jurnal Sosiologi Andalas* 10, no. 2 (2024): 124–35, <https://doi.org/10.25077/jsa.10.2.15-26.2024>; Jasmisari and Sekarningrum, "Exploring Juvenile Delinquency"; Mely Sisca Mely and Abdurrahman Abdurrahman, "Analisis Terhadap Perilaku Kenakalan Remaja Ditinjau Dari Teori Kontrol Sosial Travis Hirschi," *Jurnal Panorama Hukum* 7, no. 1 (2022): 77–91.

study explores investigators' case-handling procedures while identifying the legal, institutional, and socio-cultural barriers that hinder the effective implementation of diversion and the protection of children's rights.

Accordingly, this study aims to examine the application of criminal law to children involved in motorcycle gang violence within the jurisdiction of the Sukoharjo Regional Police under Article 170 of the Indonesian Criminal Code and Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System. It further evaluates the implementation of the principles of child protection, restorative justice, and diversion during the investigation process; identifies the legal, institutional, and practical challenges encountered by law enforcement authorities; and formulates recommendations to strengthen the effectiveness of juvenile law enforcement while ensuring legal certainty, justice, public benefit, and the protection of children's rights.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employs an empirical legal research design with a qualitative approach to examine the application of criminal law to children involved in motorcycle gang violence within the jurisdiction of the Sukoharjo Regional Police. An empirical legal approach was adopted to integrate the analysis of legal norms (law in the books) with their implementation in practice (law in action), thereby enabling an evaluation of the effectiveness of Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System in addressing cases involving child offenders. The study is descriptive-analytical in nature and was conducted at the Sukoharjo Regional Police, which was purposively selected because of the relatively high incidence of motorcycle gang violence involving children within its jurisdiction.

The study utilized both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with investigators from the Women and Children Protection Unit (Unit Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak [PPA]), investigators responsible for motorcycle gang violence cases, and Community Guidance Officers (Pembimbing Kemasyarakatan) from the Correctional Center (Balai Pemasyarakatan [BAPAS]). Secondary data were obtained through a review of relevant legislation, scholarly books, peer-reviewed journal articles, and other legal documents related to juvenile justice and child protection. Data collection was carried out using three complementary techniques: document review, semi-structured interviews, and documentary analysis.

To ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings, data were validated through triangulation of sources, methods, and legal materials. The collected data were analyzed qualitatively using the interactive model of data analysis, consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The analysis focused on assessing the extent to which investigative practices conform to the fundamental principles of the

Juvenile Criminal Justice System, namely child protection, the best interests of the child, restorative justice, and diversion. Based on this analysis, the study evaluates the effectiveness of existing law enforcement practices and proposes recommendations for strengthening policies governing the handling of children involved in motorcycle gang violence.

3. RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Law Enforcement Against Children Involved in Motorcycle Gang Violence at the Sukoharjo Regional Police

Law enforcement against children involved in motorcycle gang violence at the Sukoharjo Regional Police is carried out in accordance with the provisions of Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (JCJS Law), which places the protection of children's rights at the center of every stage of the criminal justice process. According to investigators from the Women and Children Protection Unit (Unit Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak [PPA]), a total of ten motorcycle gang violence cases involving children were handled between 2022 and 2026. Of these cases, seven were successfully resolved through diversion, while the remaining three proceeded to formal judicial proceedings because they either failed to satisfy the statutory requirements for diversion under Article 7(2) of the JCJS Law or because no agreement could be reached between the offender and the victim. These findings indicate that the Sukoharjo Regional Police prioritize restorative mechanisms over punitive measures whenever the legal requirements for diversion are fulfilled.

The investigative process begins upon receipt of a public report concerning a motorcycle gang-related incident. Unlike investigations involving adult offenders, the initial stage focuses not only on gathering evidence but also on verifying the suspect's legal status as a child through official identification procedures. Once the child's status has been confirmed, investigators promptly notify the parents or legal guardians of the child's apprehension and coordinate with the Correctional Center (Balai Pemasyarakatan [BAPAS]) to ensure the appointment of a Community Guidance Officer (Pembimbing Kemasyarakatan) to accompany the child throughout the investigation. Investigators also ensure that the child receives legal assistance in accordance with Articles 3 and 23 of the JCJS Law. These procedural safeguards demonstrate that the protection of children's procedural rights is integrated into the investigation from its earliest stages.

The investigative procedures applied to child offenders differ substantially from those used in cases involving adults. Interviews are conducted in a dedicated child-friendly examination room designed to minimize psychological pressure and create a supportive environment. Investigators employ simple and age-appropriate language to enable children to provide statements voluntarily and without intimidation. The

presence of parents or legal guardians during questioning provides emotional support while safeguarding the child's procedural rights. Simultaneously, the Community Guidance Officer prepares a Social Inquiry Report (Laporan Penelitian Kemasyarakatan [Litmas]), which assesses the child's family background, social environment, educational history, and the circumstances contributing to the child's involvement in motorcycle gang violence. This report constitutes a key consideration in determining whether the case is appropriate for diversion or should proceed through the formal criminal justice process.

Following the child's examination, investigators continue with standard evidentiary procedures prescribed by Indonesian criminal procedure law. These include interviewing witnesses, collecting physical and documentary evidence, conducting forensic examinations where necessary, and holding case conferences to determine whether the legal elements of the offense have been established. In cases involving motorcycle gang violence, investigators primarily rely on Article 170 of the Indonesian Criminal Code, which criminalizes collective acts of violence committed openly against persons or property. Where the violence results in the victim's death, investigators additionally apply Article 351(3) of the Criminal Code concerning assault resulting in death. Nevertheless, regardless of the seriousness of the offense, all investigative procedures remain subject to the safeguards established under the JCJS Law, ensuring that child offenders continue to receive the legal protections guaranteed by juvenile justice legislation.

The implementation of restorative justice constitutes a central component of juvenile case resolution at the Sukoharjo Regional Police. Before forwarding a case for prosecution, investigators are required to prioritize diversion whenever the statutory requirements are satisfied. Diversion is conducted through a deliberative process involving the child, the child's parents or guardians, the victim or the victim's family, Community Guidance Officers, legal counsel, and, where appropriate, community representatives. Of the ten cases examined in this study, seven were successfully resolved through diversion because the offenses carried a statutory maximum penalty of less than seven years' imprisonment and did not involve repeat offenders. By contrast, diversion could not be implemented in three cases because they did not satisfy the eligibility criteria under Article 7(2) of the JCJS Law or because the parties failed to reach a mutually acceptable settlement. These findings suggest that the success of diversion depends not only on compliance with statutory requirements but also on the willingness of victims and their families to participate in a restorative resolution process.

This study reinforces the findings of Hambali, who argues that diversion represents the practical implementation of restorative justice within the Juvenile

Criminal Justice System (JCJS).⁸ However, the present study extends the existing literature by demonstrating how diversion is specifically implemented in cases of motorcycle gang violence, which are characterized by collective acts of violence involving multiple offenders. The findings also corroborate those of Muhammad et al. and Rodliyah, who conclude that the success of diversion largely depends on the willingness of both the offender and the victim to reach a mutually acceptable agreement.⁹ Unlike previous studies, however, this research shows that investigators at the Sukoharjo Regional Police consistently prioritize diversion as the initial mechanism for case resolution before pursuing formal judicial proceedings, thereby promoting the best interests of the child while remaining within the statutory framework established by the JCJS Law.

From a criminological perspective, the findings further support the work of Hisyam et al. and Jasmisari and Sekarningrum, who explain juvenile involvement in group violence through the process of social learning within peer networks.¹⁰ The empirical evidence indicates that many incidents of motorcycle gang violence originate from challenges and provocations disseminated through social media, which subsequently escalate into physical confrontations between rival groups. These findings underscore the significant influence of social and environmental factors on the development of juvenile delinquent behavior. Consequently, reliance solely on punitive criminal justice measures is unlikely to address the underlying causes of motorcycle gang violence unless accompanied by effective parental guidance, school-based supervision, and stronger community social control mechanisms.

When examined through the lens of Child Protection Theory as proposed by Gosita¹¹, the law enforcement practices of the Sukoharjo Regional Police demonstrate a rights-based approach to handling children in conflict with the law. The active involvement of parents or guardians, legal counsel, and Community Guidance Officers throughout every stage of the investigation reflects an investigative process that extends beyond establishing criminal liability to ensuring the protection of children's procedural and substantive rights. This approach guarantees children's access to legal assistance, humane treatment, and opportunities for rehabilitation and personal development. Such practices are consistent with the objectives of Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System, which recognizes criminal punishment as a measure of *ultimum*

⁸ Hambali, "Penerapan Diversi Terhadap Anak Yang Berhadapan Dengan Hukum Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana."

⁹ Muhammad et al., "Implementasi Prinsip Perlindungan Hak Anak Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak: Studi Peran Kejaksaan Di Dalam Penerapan Diversi"; Rodliyah, "Diversi Sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Perlindungan Terhadap Anak Yang Berhadapan Dengan Hukum (ABH)."

¹⁰ Hisyam et al., "Tawuran Antar Basis Sebagai Bentuk Penyimpangan Sosial Di Kalangan Remaja Perkotaan Dalam Perspektif Differential Association Theory"; Jasmisari and Sekarningrum, "Exploring Juvenile Delinquency."

¹¹ Arif Gosita, *Masalah Perlindungan Anak* (Bhuana Ilmu Populer, 2004).

remedium, while emphasizing rehabilitation and social reintegration as the primary objectives of juvenile justice.

The findings indicate that law enforcement against children involved in motorcycle gang violence at the Sukoharjo Regional Police has been implemented in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Juvenile Criminal Justice System Law. Rather than focusing exclusively on punitive sanctions, investigators integrate the protection of children's rights with restorative justice, diversion, and the active participation of parents, legal counsel, and Community Guidance Officers throughout the legal process. Accordingly, the effectiveness of juvenile law enforcement should not be assessed solely by the successful imposition of criminal sanctions but also by the capacity of the juvenile justice system to facilitate children's rehabilitation, social reintegration, and development into responsible individuals capable of fulfilling their roles within society.

3.2. Challenges Faced by the Sukoharjo Regional Police in Enforcing the Law Against Children

The challenges encountered in enforcing the law against children involved in motorcycle gang violence extend beyond legal issues and arise from the interaction of multiple institutional, social, and evidentiary factors. These findings suggest that the effectiveness of juvenile law enforcement should not be evaluated solely on the basis of successful investigations or case dispositions but also on the capacity of law enforcement agencies to address evidentiary difficulties, foster cooperation with families and the community, and consistently uphold the principles of child protection. Accordingly, motorcycle gang violence involving children constitutes a multidimensional problem that requires an integrated legal, social, and institutional response.

The first major challenge concerns the identification of each participant's role in a collective act of violence. Motorcycle gang clashes typically involve dozens of individuals from different groups and locations who engage simultaneously in violent conduct. Consequently, investigators must undertake a detailed assessment to distinguish principal offenders from accomplices, individuals who facilitate the commission of the offense, and those who are merely present at the scene without actively participating in the violence. This task is further complicated by the fact that participants frequently wear similar clothing or identifying attributes, travel together in groups on motorcycles, and operate in rapidly changing and highly dynamic circumstances. As a result, establishing individual criminal responsibility in cases involving collective violence is substantially more complex than in offenses committed by a single perpetrator.

Although Article 170 of the Indonesian Criminal Code provides the legal basis for prosecuting collective acts of violence, its application nevertheless requires proof of each individual's contribution to the criminal act and its consequences. Investigators

therefore cannot presume that all participants bear equal criminal responsibility without sufficient supporting evidence. In cases involving child offenders, law enforcement authorities must continue to adhere to the principle of individualized criminal responsibility to avoid the unjust criminalization of children who did not play a significant or direct role in the commission of the offense.

The second challenge relates to difficulties in obtaining reliable evidence and witness testimony. Motorcycle gang violence frequently occurs late at night or in the early morning in relatively isolated locations where few individuals witness the events firsthand. Moreover, potential witnesses are often reluctant to provide complete statements because of concerns about intimidation or retaliation by the perpetrators. These circumstances complicate the reconstruction of the sequence of events and increase the evidentiary burden on investigators. To address these difficulties, investigators have adopted a comprehensive evidentiary approach that relies not only on witness testimony but also on closed-circuit television (CCTV) recordings, videos submitted by members of the public, forensic medical examinations, physical evidence recovered from the crime scene, and statements obtained from the suspects themselves.

The findings indicate a growing reliance on electronic and scientific evidence in the investigation of motorcycle gang violence. However, the limited availability of CCTV surveillance in certain locations and the inconsistent quality of video recordings continue to impede the accurate identification of perpetrators. These limitations underscore the need to strengthen technology-based investigative capabilities to enhance the effectiveness and reliability of criminal investigations involving collective violence.

The third challenge arises from the influence of peer networks and social media on children's involvement in motorcycle gangs. Many children are introduced to motorcycle gangs through friendships and informal social groups before becoming involved as an expression of group solidarity, identity formation, or the pursuit of social recognition. Social media further reinforces this process by providing a platform through which rival groups communicate, issue challenges, exchange insults, reinforce group identities, and coordinate the time and location of violent confrontations.

These findings are consistent with Differential Association Theory, which posits that deviant behavior is acquired through interaction and learning within intimate social groups.¹² In the context of the present study, social media functions not merely as a communication tool but also as a digital environment that accelerates the transmission of deviant norms, normalizes violent behavior, and strengthens group cohesion. Consequently, advances in information technology have transformed the dynamics of juvenile delinquency by extending social interaction beyond conventional face-to-face

¹² Edwin H. Sutherland et al., *Principles of Criminology*, 11th ed. (Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 1992).

relationships into digital networks that facilitate the organization and escalation of collective violence.

This study is consistent with the findings of Hisyam et al., who concluded that juvenile brawls emerge through processes of social learning within peer groups that cultivate norms of violence and reinforce group loyalty.¹³ Likewise, Jasmisari and Sekarningrum found that deviant subcultures create social environments in which criminal behavior is normalized, enabling group members to perceive acts of violence as socially legitimate.¹⁴ The present study extends these findings by demonstrating that social media has become the primary platform for organizing and coordinating motorcycle gang violence. Consequently, effective prevention strategies should extend beyond conventional forms of physical supervision to include systematic monitoring of adolescents' digital activities and online interactions.

The fourth challenge concerns inadequate parental supervision. Investigators reported that many parents became aware of their children's involvement in motorcycle gangs only after the children had been apprehended by the police. This finding suggests deficiencies in family communication, parental monitoring of children's daily activities, and oversight of their use of social media. As the primary institution responsible for children's socialization, the family plays a critical role in shaping character, promoting prosocial behavior, and supervising children's development.

These findings are consistent with Social Bond Theory, in which Hirschi argues that delinquent behavior becomes more likely when individuals' social bonds with family, school, and the broader community are weakened. Weak emotional attachment between parents and children, limited participation in constructive activities, and inadequate supervision of children's social environments increase their susceptibility to the negative influence of motorcycle gangs.¹⁵ The present findings also support those of Mely and Abdurrahman, who identified parental attention and emotional support as essential protective factors against juvenile delinquency.¹⁶ However, this study contributes an additional perspective by demonstrating that insufficient parental supervision not only increases children's risk of becoming involved in criminal activities but also impedes their rehabilitation, given that parents are expected to actively participate in both the diversion process and post-case guidance.

Another significant challenge concerns the implementation of diversion. Although investigators consistently attempt diversion in accordance with Article 7(2) of Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System, successful outcomes cannot always be achieved. Diversion commonly fails when victims suffer serious bodily

¹³ Hisyam et al., "Tawuran Antar Basis Sebagai Bentuk Penyimpangan Sosial Di Kalangan Remaja Perkotaan Dalam Perspektif Differential Association Theory."

¹⁴ Jasmisari and Sekarningrum, "Exploring Juvenile Delinquency."

¹⁵ Travis Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency* (University of California Press, 1969).

¹⁶ Mely and Abdurrahman, "Analisis Terhadap Perilaku Kenakalan Remaja Ditinjau Dari Teori Kontrol Sosial Travis Hirschi."

injuries or substantial losses, leading victims or their families to prefer formal judicial proceedings over restorative settlement. In addition, disagreements regarding the terms of reconciliation, including the amount of compensation or restitution, frequently prevent the parties from reaching a mutually acceptable agreement. These findings reinforce previous studies by Hambali, Muhammad et al., and Rodliyah, which conclude that the effectiveness of diversion depends largely on the willingness of all parties to participate in a consensual resolution.¹⁷ However, the present study demonstrates that diversion in motorcycle gang violence cases presents greater challenges than in other categories of juvenile offending because of the severity of the violence involved, the emotional trauma experienced by victims and their families, and heightened public expectations for criminal accountability. Accordingly, the success of restorative justice depends not only on compliance with statutory requirements but also on the psychological, social, and cultural conditions of the parties involved.

The risk of juvenile recidivism remains substantial when the environmental conditions and patterns of family supervision that contributed to the initial offending behavior remain unchanged.¹⁸ Therefore, neither criminal prosecution nor diversion should be regarded as a complete or permanent solution. Interviews conducted in this study revealed that the Sukoharjo Regional Police have adopted a range of preventive initiatives, including routine patrols, legal awareness programs in schools, community outreach activities, collaboration with educational institutions, and social media campaigns highlighting the legal consequences and social harms associated with motorcycle gang violence. These initiatives demonstrate that criminal law enforcement has been integrated with community-based prevention strategies, reflecting a comprehensive criminal justice policy that combines enforcement with long-term preventive intervention.

The findings indicate that law enforcement against children involved in motorcycle gang violence at the Sukoharjo Regional Police faces complex and multidimensional challenges. These challenges encompass normative constraints, particularly the limited scope for implementing diversion; institutional barriers related to evidence collection and case investigation; limitations in investigative resources and technological support; and social factors, including peer influence, the pervasive role of social media, inadequate parental supervision, and victims' attitudes toward case resolution. These interconnected obstacles demonstrate that the effectiveness of juvenile law enforcement cannot be enhanced solely through legislative reform.

¹⁷ Hambali, "Penerapan Diversi Terhadap Anak Yang Berhadapan Dengan Hukum Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana"; Muhammad et al., "Implementasi Prinsip Perlindungan Hak Anak Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak: Studi Peran Kejaksaaan Di Dalam Penerapan Diversi"; Rodliyah, "Diversi Sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Perlindungan Terhadap Anak Yang Berhadapan Dengan Hukum (ABH)."

¹⁸ Kristy Siuling Lai et al., "Residivisme Anak Pelaku Tindak Pidana: Analisis Kriminologis Dan Faktor Penyebab Di LPKA Tenggarong," *Jurnal Ilmiah Advokasi* 14, no. 1 (2026): 204–15, <https://doi.org/10.36987/jiad.v14i1.7066>.

Instead, improving the effectiveness of juvenile justice requires a comprehensive and integrated strategy. Such a strategy should include strengthening the institutional capacity of law enforcement agencies, expanding the use of technology-based investigative tools, promoting digital literacy among children, parents, and the broader community, reinforcing the family's role in child supervision and socialization, and fostering sustained collaboration among the police, educational institutions, the Correctional Center (Balai Pemasyarakatan), local government authorities, and community stakeholders. This integrated approach constitutes a fundamental prerequisite for developing a juvenile justice system that not only ensures legal certainty and accountability but also prevents reoffending, facilitates children's rehabilitation and social reintegration, and upholds the best interests of the child as the overarching principle of juvenile justice.

4. CONCLUSION

The findings indicate that investigations involving children engaged in motorcycle gang violence were conducted in accordance with the principles of Law Number 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (JCJS Law) by ensuring the participation of parents or guardians, legal counsel, and Community Guidance Officers throughout the investigative process, while prioritizing diversion whenever the statutory requirements were satisfied. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of law enforcement continues to be constrained by several factors, including difficulties in establishing individual criminal responsibility, identifying each participant's role in collective violence, limited availability of reliable evidence, the influence of peer networks and social media, inadequate parental supervision, and the inability of the parties to consistently reach diversion agreements.

These findings suggest that responding to juvenile involvement in motorcycle gang violence cannot rely solely on punitive law enforcement measures. Rather, effective intervention requires an integrated approach that combines criminal law enforcement with preventive initiatives, rehabilitation programs, and strengthened social control through the active involvement of families, schools, communities, and relevant public institutions. By providing empirical evidence on investigative practices at the police level, this study contributes to the development of juvenile justice policies grounded in the principles of restorative justice and child protection.

This study is subject to several limitations. First, its empirical scope is confined to cases handled by the Sukoharjo Regional Police, thereby limiting the generalizability of the findings to other jurisdictions. Accordingly, policymakers and law enforcement agencies should strengthen investigators' professional capacity, improve access to digital forensic and evidence-gathering technologies, enhance collaboration among police, schools, families, and local communities, and expand community-based crime prevention initiatives. Future research should undertake comparative studies across

different jurisdictions and evaluate the long-term effectiveness of rehabilitation and reintegration programs in reducing recidivism among children involved in motorcycle gang violence.

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