



## Beyond Public Order: Implementing Social Conflict Management Policy for Resident Brawls in South Jakarta

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### Abstract

Metropolitan governments increasingly face a governance paradox in which institutional systems become highly responsive during episodes of urban violence while remaining comparatively fragile in preventing conflict recurrence over the long term. This study examines the implementation of social conflict management policy in handling recurring resident brawls in South Jakarta, Indonesia, with particular attention to the institutional asymmetry between crisis-response governance and preventive governance. Using a qualitative case study approach, the research involved semi-structured interviews, field observation, and document analysis conducted between October 2025 and January 2026. Participants included governmental actors, territorial administrators, security personnel, community representatives, and residents directly associated with conflict-management practices in conflict-prone urban areas. Data were analyzed thematically through an iterative interpretive process focusing on communication, resources, implementer disposition, and bureaucratic structure within policy implementation. The findings reveal that the conflict-management apparatus demonstrated strong operational capacity during escalation and short-term stabilization but lacked equally institutionalized mechanisms for sustained prevention. Communication systems, inter-agency coordination, and emergency response structures functioned effectively during visible crises, whereas preventive intervention remained fragmented, episodic, and highly dependent on localized initiative. Resource limitations, weak predictive governance systems, fragmented preventive responsibility, and crisis-oriented administrative routines collectively reinforced a reactive governance pattern in which institutional response capacity evolved more rapidly than preventive capacity. This study conceptualizes these dynamics as a reactive governance cycle, a condition in which repeated stabilization efforts unintentionally reproduce recurring conflict because long-term vulnerability remains insufficiently addressed. Theoretically, the study contributes to governance and policy-implementation scholarship by explaining how asymmetrical institutional development can sustain recurring urban violence despite the existence of formal policy frameworks and coordinated response systems. Practically, the findings highlight the importance of strengthening preventive institutionalization, predictive governance infrastructure, evidence-based early-warning systems, and integrated cross-sector intervention within metropolitan conflict management.

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## INTRODUCTION

Urban violence has become an increasingly complex governance challenge in metropolitan regions across the Global South. In many rapidly urbanizing cities, recurrent conflict no longer appears primarily through large-scale ideological confrontation or organized civil unrest, but through localized, repetitive, and socially embedded forms of violence that persist within everyday urban life. Contemporary governance scholarship argues that such violence reflects more than criminal disruption because it also signals institutional fragility, uneven state presence, and weaknesses in preventive governance systems (Feldmann & Luna, 2022; R. Okunola & Ayodele, 2026). Cities characterized by dense settlements, fragmented social cohesion, socio-economic

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inequality, and limited youth opportunities are particularly vulnerable to recurring territorial conflict and collective aggression. Yet despite the expansion of formal governance frameworks, many urban administrations continue to struggle in translating regulatory authority into durable conflict prevention. This contradiction exposes a deeper governance dilemma: while local governments may develop operational capacity to restore order rapidly during crises, they often fail to institutionalize equally strong preventive mechanisms capable of reducing recurrence over time. Consequently, recurring urban violence has emerged not merely as a security issue, but as a critical test of governance effectiveness in contemporary metropolitan administration.

This governance dilemma has become especially visible in large cities across emerging economies, where rapid urban expansion intersects with social inequality, territorial rivalry, and weak preventive institutionalization. Studies from Latin America, South Asia, and African metropolitan regions show that local violence frequently survives despite formal regulatory frameworks because urban governance systems remain heavily oriented toward reactive stabilization rather than long-term prevention (Elfverson & Höglund, 2023; Taylor et al., 2023). Similar tendencies can be observed in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta, where resident brawls or *tawuran* continue to recur despite repeated interventions from local authorities and security institutions. Unlike isolated criminal acts, *tawuran* represents a socially embedded form of collective violence shaped by territorial identity, revenge cycles, youth mobilization, and normalized patterns of confrontation within densely populated neighborhoods (Mudjiyanto et al., 2025). Previous studies indicate that such violence generates multidimensional consequences, including physical injury, public insecurity, damaged social relations, and declining community trust (Giraldi et al., 2025; Kati Maribel Rueda Espinoza & Luis Guamán Llongo, 2025). More importantly, the persistence of recurring brawls in the same urban clusters suggests that the issue cannot be explained solely through deviant individual behavior or insufficient law enforcement. Instead, repeated violence points toward a broader institutional problem concerning how urban conflict governance is organized, coordinated, and operationalized at the local level.

The urgency of this issue becomes sharper when viewed through the lens of preventive governance. Public administration literature increasingly emphasizes that effective governance should not only manage crises after escalation occurs but also reduce the structural conditions that enable conflict reproduction (Ansell et al., 2023; Hannah et al., 2022). Nevertheless, in practice, many local governments remain trapped within what may be described as a reactive governance cycle, a condition in which institutional energy, resources, and coordination mechanisms are mobilized primarily during visible emergencies rather than during the quieter phases of prevention. This pattern produces an asymmetrical implementation structure where crisis-response capacity develops more rapidly than preventive capacity. The implications are significant. When governments become institutionally stronger in responding to violence than in preventing its recurrence, public order may be restored temporarily while the underlying dynamics sustaining repeated conflict remain intact. In metropolitan settings such as South Jakarta, this imbalance is particularly consequential because recurring resident brawls continue to emerge within similar territorial hotspots despite repeated interventions by governmental and security actors. Understanding why this asymmetry persists has therefore become an important academic and practical concern within contemporary governance debates.

From a policy standpoint, Indonesia already possesses a formal legal framework intended to manage social conflict comprehensively. Law No. 7 of 2012 concerning Social Conflict Management establishes the national foundation for conflict prevention, conflict termination, and post-conflict recovery. This framework is strengthened further through Government Regulation No. 2 of 2015 and Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2015, both of which emphasize integrated coordination among governmental institutions, territorial actors, and community-based networks. In theory, this regulatory architecture positions local governments as central actors in early warning, conflict mapping, inter-agency coordination, and preventive social intervention (Bogdan et al., 2026; O. H. Okunola, 2025). However, the continued recurrence of *tawuran* in South Jakarta reveals a persistent gap between formal policy design and operational governance practice. The existence of regulation has not necessarily translated into stable preventive capacity at the local level. In many cases, implementation remains fragmented, situational, and heavily dependent on crisis momentum. This

condition suggests that the central problem may not lie in policy absence, but rather in how policy is interpreted, coordinated, and enacted within the realities of metropolitan governance.

Existing scholarship on conflict management and policy implementation in Indonesia has provided important foundations for understanding this issue. Hidayati et al., (2025) found that the implementation of early social-conflict prevention programs in East Java was constrained by uneven institutional capacity, sectoral ego, weak communication flow, and inconsistencies across local administrative units. Hung, (2026), in their study of tawuran policy implementation in Central Jakarta, identified similar problems, including limited resources, weak programmatic synergy, and the dominance of a public-order approach over broader social intervention. Other studies have emphasized the importance of collaborative governance, institutional trust, and cross-sector coordination in strengthening local conflict management (Bauer et al., 2022; Wu et al., 2025). International governance literature likewise demonstrates that recurring urban violence often persists when state institutions prioritize rapid stabilization and visible order restoration while neglecting preventive social mechanisms and long-term institutional learning (García Pinzón & Jenss, 2025; Okonkwo & Akanji, 2025). At the same time, contemporary implementation studies increasingly argue that policy implementation should not be viewed merely as the technical execution of formal decisions because administrative practice is shaped by negotiation, interpretation, ambiguity, and localized institutional realities (Lin, 2025; Michel et al., 2022). Collectively, these studies reveal that conflict governance is fundamentally an implementation problem rather than simply a regulatory one.

Despite these contributions, several important limitations remain unresolved in the existing literature. First, most studies examine social conflict management broadly without focusing specifically on how Government Regulation No. 2 of 2015 and Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2015 are operationalized in handling recurring resident brawls within a metropolitan governance setting such as South Jakarta. Second, previous research tends to discuss implementation barriers descriptively, particularly communication problems, resource limitations, or coordination weaknesses, but provides limited explanation regarding how these dimensions interact simultaneously to shape patterns of reactive governance. Third, the current literature still pays insufficient attention to the institutional asymmetry between crisis-response governance and preventive governance, particularly regarding why local governments may remain operationally effective during escalation while struggling to institutionalize long-term recurrence prevention. As a result, the broader administrative logic reproducing recurring urban violence remains theoretically underdeveloped. This gap is important because recurring conflict in metropolitan regions represents not only a public-order disturbance but also evidence of incomplete preventive governance. Without examining how implementation structures themselves reproduce reactive governance patterns, policy analysis risks remaining trapped at the level of procedural evaluation rather than institutional explanation.

This study addresses these limitations by analyzing the implementation of social conflict management policy in handling resident brawls in South Jakarta through Juhairiyah implementation framework, particularly the dimensions of communication, resources, disposition, and bureaucratic structure (Juhairiyah et al., 2023). The study specifically investigates how Government Regulation No. 2 of 2015 and Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2015 are translated into local governance practice, identifies the factors supporting and constraining implementation, and explains why preventive governance remains institutionally weaker than crisis-response governance within the local conflict-management apparatus. Theoretically, this article contributes to contemporary governance and policy-implementation scholarship by proposing that metropolitan conflict governance may become trapped within a reactive implementation cycle in which institutional capacity for crisis response develops more rapidly than institutional capacity for recurrence prevention. Practically, the findings are expected to contribute to the strengthening of preventive governance through clearer cross-sector coordination, evidence-based early-warning systems, and more sustainable social intervention mechanisms in conflict-prone urban areas. By repositioning resident brawls as a governance and implementation issue rather than merely a public-security disturbance, this study also expands broader debates concerning urban conflict governance, institutional resilience, and preventive state capacity in contemporary metropolitan administration.

## METHOD

This study employed a qualitative case study design to examine the implementation of social conflict management policy in handling recurrent resident brawls in South Jakarta, Indonesia. A qualitative approach was selected because the study sought to understand how policy implementation operated within complex administrative and social realities rather than to measure relationships between variables statistically. The research focused on institutional interaction, governance practice, preventive coordination, and the lived dynamics of conflict management within a metropolitan setting characterized by recurring urban violence. A case study design was considered particularly appropriate because the boundaries between policy, administration, local political context, and conflict dynamics were deeply interconnected and could not be isolated from one another (Henrico & Dobo, 2026; Jalonen, 2025). In addition, the study aimed to generate an analytically rich explanation of why local governance systems appeared more operationally effective during crisis escalation than during long-term prevention. The research therefore adopted an interpretive-explanatory orientation that emphasized administrative processes, organizational behavior, and institutional meaning-making within policy implementation practice. This approach enabled the study to move beyond procedural evaluation and examine how governance structures themselves shaped recurring patterns of reactive conflict management.

The research was conducted in South Jakarta, Special Capital Region of Jakarta, Indonesia, with a primary focus on Tebet District and several surrounding urban clusters repeatedly identified in local conflict records as recurrent tawuran hotspots. South Jakarta was selected purposively because the area represents one of the most conflict-prone metropolitan settings in Jakarta despite operating under an established national framework for social conflict management. The location was analytically relevant because it allowed the study to investigate how formal policy frameworks were translated into local governance practice within a densely populated urban environment characterized by territorial rivalry, social fragmentation, and repeated cycles of resident violence. Data collection was undertaken between October 2025 and January 2026 to ensure adequate observation of institutional routines, preventive activities, inter-agency coordination, and post-conflict administrative responses. Conducting the study over several months also allowed the researcher to observe variations in conflict-management practices beyond a single incident-based perspective. During this period, field engagement included institutional observation, participant interviews, document tracing, and iterative analytical reflection related to local conflict governance processes.

The participants in this study consisted of governmental actors, territorial administrators, community representatives, and residents directly associated with the implementation and social experience of conflict management policy. A purposive sampling strategy was employed because the research required participants possessing institutional authority, operational experience, or contextual knowledge relevant to the implementation of Government Regulation No. 2 of 2015 and Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2015 (Nichols et al., 2022). The study involved twelve participants representing multiple governance levels and social positions, including officials from Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik (Bakesbangpol), district and subdistrict administrations, Forum Kewaspadaan Dini Masyarakat (FKDM), territorial and security actors, neighborhood leaders, and residents living in conflict-affected communities. Participants were selected based on three inclusion criteria: direct involvement in conflict-management activities, experience interacting with recurring resident brawls or preventive governance programs, and willingness to participate voluntarily in the research process. Individuals without substantive involvement in conflict-management implementation were excluded to maintain analytical relevance and contextual depth. The inclusion of actors from different institutional and community positions was intended to capture governance interaction across administrative layers rather than relying solely on formal bureaucratic perspectives. This multi-level participant configuration was analytically important because recurring urban conflict is shaped not only by state institutions but also by neighborhood-based networks, informal coordination practices, and community-level social dynamics.

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, field observation, and document analysis. Semi-structured interviews functioned as the primary instrument because they allowed participants to explain implementation experiences, coordination mechanisms, preventive

strategies, institutional constraints, and administrative practices in their own terms while still maintaining alignment with the research objectives. The interview guide was developed based on Juhairiyah policy implementation framework, particularly the dimensions of communication, resources, disposition, and bureaucratic structure (Juhairiyah et al., 2023). Key indicators explored during interviews included communication flow across governance levels, resource allocation, preventive coordination, organizational responsiveness, early-warning mechanisms, institutional commitment, role fragmentation, and post-conflict recovery practices. Observation was conducted in conflict-prone neighborhoods, local administrative settings, and coordination environments to understand how governance practices operated in everyday contexts. Observational attention focused on interactions among implementing actors, preventive patrols, coordination routines, local vigilance mechanisms, and institutional responses to conflict-related information. In addition, document analysis was undertaken to examine legal, administrative, and operational materials relevant to social conflict management, including Law No. 7 of 2012, Government Regulation No. 2 of 2015, Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 42 of 2015, local conflict reports, coordination records, and internal governance documents. The integration of interviews, observation, and documentation enabled the researcher to compare institutional narratives with observable governance practice and documentary evidence, thereby strengthening analytical credibility and contextual interpretation.

The trustworthiness of the research instruments and findings was strengthened through several qualitative rigor procedures. First, content validity of the interview protocol was established through expert review involving two scholars in public administration and governance studies and one practitioner experienced in local conflict management. Their feedback was used to refine question clarity, conceptual alignment, and operational relevance before field implementation. Second, pilot interviews were conducted with two participants outside the primary sample to evaluate the consistency, comprehensibility, and practical flow of the interview instrument. Third, methodological triangulation was applied by comparing evidence derived from interviews, observations, and documentary sources to reduce overreliance on a single type of data (Díaz-Panduro et al., 2025). Source triangulation was also undertaken by comparing governmental accounts, territorial perspectives, and community-level experiences associated with recurring conflict management. To strengthen interpretive reliability, member checking was conducted with selected participants to confirm whether the preliminary interpretation of key findings reflected their institutional and social experiences accurately. The study additionally maintained an audit trail consisting of interview summaries, coding notes, field reflections, and analytical memos to preserve transparency in interpretive decision-making throughout the research process. Following Tracy's (2010) framework of qualitative rigor, the study sought to maintain sincerity, rich rigor, credibility, resonance, and meaningful coherence across all stages of analysis.

Data collection was conducted systematically in several interconnected stages. The first stage involved preliminary preparation, including institutional permission requests, mapping of conflict-prone areas, development of interview instruments, and review of policy and governance documents related to social conflict management. The second stage involved participant recruitment and field engagement through purposive identification of actors directly associated with preventive governance and conflict-handling practices. Interviews were conducted face-to-face in locations considered safe and appropriate for participants, with each session lasting approximately 45–90 minutes. All interviews were audio-recorded with participant consent and transcribed verbatim immediately after data collection to preserve contextual detail and analytical accuracy. During the same period, field observations were conducted to document institutional interaction, administrative coordination, preventive activities, and localized governance responses in conflict-prone settings. The third stage involved document tracing and verification, including examination of legal regulations, internal reports, conflict recapitulation records, and administrative coordination materials. Data collection continued until thematic saturation was reached, indicated by the recurrence of similar institutional patterns and the absence of substantially new analytical categories emerging from subsequent interviews and observations. This saturation process was important in ensuring that the analysis captured stable governance patterns rather than isolated administrative experiences.

The data were analyzed thematically through an iterative and reflexive analytical process adapted from (Remawi et al., 2023). Analysis began with repeated reading of interview transcripts,

field notes, and documentary materials to achieve deep familiarization with the data. During the first coding cycle, open coding was conducted inductively to identify recurring institutional patterns, governance practices, preventive challenges, and conflict-management experiences emerging directly from participant narratives. In the second stage, deductive coding was applied using George C. Edward III's implementation dimensions as an analytical lens to organize findings associated with communication, resources, disposition, and bureaucratic structure. Codes demonstrating conceptual similarity were grouped into broader categories and subsequently refined into analytical themes explaining how policy implementation operated within South Jakarta's metropolitan conflict-management system. Particular analytical attention was directed toward identifying patterns associated with reactive governance, asymmetrical implementation capacity, preventive fragility, and institutional coordination gaps. Coding was conducted manually through iterative analytical comparison rather than through automated software in order to preserve contextual sensitivity and maintain close interpretive engagement with participant narratives. Analytical memos were written continuously during coding to document emerging interpretations, conceptual linkages, and potential theoretical propositions. The final stage involved interpretive synthesis, where empirical themes were connected to broader debates concerning governance, policy implementation, preventive institutionalization, and urban conflict management. Rather than merely describing implementation obstacles, the analysis sought to explain how institutional arrangements and governance practices collectively reproduced a reactive conflict-management orientation within a metropolitan administrative setting.

Researcher reflexivity was also considered throughout the study to minimize interpretive bias and strengthen analytical transparency. Because qualitative inquiry involves interpretive engagement between researcher and participant, the researcher continuously reflected on personal assumptions, institutional positioning, and potential influence during data collection and analysis. Reflexive notes were maintained throughout fieldwork to distinguish participant accounts from researcher interpretation and to preserve analytical consistency during thematic development. This reflexive process was particularly important because the study involved sensitive issues related to governance performance, security coordination, and recurring urban violence. By maintaining reflexive awareness and iterative verification across data sources, the study sought to ensure that findings emerged from systematic interpretation rather than from researcher preconception alone.

This study adhered to established principles of research ethics throughout all stages of the research process. Participants were informed about the objectives of the study, the voluntary nature of participation, and their right to withdraw from the research at any stage without consequence. Informed consent was obtained prior to interviews and observations, and participants were assured that all information would be treated confidentially and used solely for academic purposes. To protect anonymity and reduce potential risk in a sensitive conflict setting, participant identities were replaced with role-based identifiers rather than personal names. Audio recordings, transcripts, field notes, and documentary materials were stored securely and accessed only by the researcher. The study also maintained principles of academic integrity through transparent reporting, accurate representation of participant narratives, careful citation of conceptual sources, and systematic documentation of analytical procedures. Ethical sensitivity was considered particularly essential because the study addressed governance practices, institutional coordination, and recurring social conflict involving governmental actors and vulnerable urban communities.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Results

The findings of this study reveal that the implementation of social conflict management policy in South Jakarta operated through an uneven governance structure characterized by strong crisis-response capacity but comparatively fragile preventive institutionalization. Across interviews, field observations, and documentary analysis, several recurring patterns emerged concerning communication dynamics, resource allocation, implementer disposition, bureaucratic coordination, and preventive governance practice. Although the formal policy framework for social conflict management was institutionally present, its operationalization varied significantly across different phases of the conflict cycle. Thematic analysis further indicates that implementation was most

effective during escalation and short-term stabilization, while preventive intervention remained inconsistent and fragmented across governance levels. These findings collectively point toward a broader pattern of reactive governance in which institutional coordination intensifies during visible conflict but weakens during long-term prevention. To present these dynamics systematically, the findings are organized into several interrelated themes reflecting the operational structure of conflict-management implementation in South Jakarta.

### **Recurrent Resident Brawls as a Persistent Urban Governance Problem**

The findings demonstrate that resident brawls in South Jakarta were not isolated disturbances but part of a recurring pattern of localized urban conflict concentrated within several territorial clusters. Conflict records, field observations, and participant narratives consistently identified Tebet, Pancoran, Mampang Prapatan, Pasar Minggu, and Jagakarsa as areas repeatedly experiencing collective violence involving neighborhood-based groups and youth networks. Although the frequency and intensity of incidents fluctuated over time, the recurrence of violence within the same territorial zones indicates that tawuran had become socially embedded within local urban dynamics rather than emerging as sporadic criminal disruption. Participants repeatedly described conflict escalation as closely connected to territorial identity, revenge cycles, informal group mobilization, and prolonged social tension among neighboring communities. In several instances, participants explained that relatively minor disputes rapidly escalated because previous conflicts had already created latent hostility between groups. Consequently, violence became cyclical rather than incidental.

The findings further reveal that the effects of recurring resident brawls extended beyond physical confrontation and temporary public disorder. Residents living in conflict-prone neighborhoods described continuous anxiety, disrupted mobility, weakened social trust, and fear of retaliation during vulnerable periods, particularly at night. Several participants stated that repeated clashes gradually normalized expectations of future violence within the community, especially among younger groups accustomed to territorial confrontation. This normalization weakened the long-term effectiveness of occasional preventive campaigns because residents increasingly perceived recurring violence as a routine urban reality rather than an exceptional event requiring structural intervention. At the administrative level, recurring conflict also created sustained pressure on local governance institutions responsible for maintaining public order and coordinating preventive measures. These findings indicate that resident brawls in South Jakarta represented not merely a security disturbance but a persistent governance problem associated with incomplete preventive institutionalization within metropolitan conflict management.

### **Operational Patterns of Policy Implementation**

The implementation of social conflict management policy in South Jakarta operated through three interconnected but unevenly institutionalized governance patterns: rapid response during escalation, post-conflict stabilization and coordination, and periodic preventive intervention. Each operational mode demonstrated different levels of institutional maturity, coordination consistency, and governance capacity. Among these patterns, rapid response emerged as the strongest and most operationally established dimension of implementation.

When violence became visible or escalation appeared imminent, local authorities, territorial personnel, security institutions, and neighborhood actors generally mobilized quickly. Participants described how communication channels intensified rapidly during crisis situations, enabling fast coordination regarding territorial movement, gathering points, retaliation risks, and vulnerable access routes. Security actors coordinated directly with district administrations, neighborhood leaders, and community-based networks to disperse crowds and stabilize affected areas. This response mechanism functioned relatively effectively because the governance apparatus already possessed operational routines oriented toward visible public-order restoration. Participants consistently emphasized that the institutional system became most coordinated during moments of immediate escalation when violence required urgent intervention.

The second operational pattern involved post-conflict stabilization and short-term coordination following escalation. After incidents occurred, local actors conducted coordination meetings, patrol reinforcement, area monitoring, communication with community leaders, and informal mediation to prevent immediate retaliation. In many cases, these interventions succeeded

in restoring temporary stability within affected neighborhoods. However, the findings indicate that post-conflict governance remained heavily focused on short-horizon stabilization rather than long-term preventive transformation. Administrative intensity generally declined once visible escalation subsided, causing preventive engagement to weaken progressively over time. As a result, institutional attention repeatedly shifted from high-intensity crisis coordination back to fragmented preventive routines.

Preventive intervention represented the least institutionalized aspect of implementation. Although preventive activities such as patrols, socialization programs, youth engagement, and local vigilance mechanisms were present, these initiatives lacked continuity and systematic governance integration. Participants repeatedly explained that preventive efforts tended to intensify only after major incidents or during periods of heightened concern rather than operating as stable institutional routines. In practice, prevention remained dependent on momentum, local initiative, and individual commitment rather than on sustainable administrative structures. This uneven preventive capacity significantly contributed to the persistence of recurring conflict within the same territorial hotspots.

### **Communication and the Dominance of Crisis-Oriented Coordination**

Communication emerged as one of the most active dimensions of policy implementation, yet its operational effectiveness varied substantially across the conflict cycle. During escalation, communication among district administrations, security actors, FKDM networks, territorial personnel, and neighborhood leaders became rapid, direct, and highly functional. Information regarding potential clashes, territorial movement, gathering patterns, and retaliation risks circulated quickly through formal reporting channels and informal neighborhood communication networks. Participants explained that conflict-related information frequently originated from local observation, social media monitoring, and territorial vigilance before being transmitted to governmental and security institutions for immediate response.

Despite this operational responsiveness, the findings indicate that communication remained predominantly crisis-oriented rather than preventive in character. Preventive communication required continuous trust-building, repeated engagement, and sustained interaction among community actors, yet these mechanisms were far less institutionalized than emergency coordination structures. In practice, communication became strongest once violence had already become visible or escalation appeared imminent. Conversely, long-term communication involving social mediation, youth engagement, territorial reconciliation, and community-level preventive dialogue operated inconsistently across administrative areas.

The findings also reveal uneven policy clarity across governance levels. While higher-level actors generally understood the formal objectives of social conflict management policy, operational implementation at neighborhood and field levels depended heavily on practical adaptation and experiential judgment rather than detailed technical guidance. Participants repeatedly emphasized that preventive coordination often relied more on field improvisation and local initiative than on standardized operational procedures. Consequently, communication structures functioned effectively during emergencies but less consistently during preventive phases requiring long-term institutional continuity. This imbalance reinforced the dominance of reactive coordination patterns throughout the broader implementation system.

### **Resource Limitations and Preventive Governance Fragility**

Resource constraints constituted the most significant obstacle limiting the transition from reactive conflict management toward sustainable prevention. The findings demonstrate that available resources were largely sufficient for short-term operational response but inadequate for maintaining continuous preventive governance. This imbalance affected human resources, financial support, information systems, and preventive infrastructure simultaneously.

Human-resource limitations were especially visible at the local implementation level. Preventive conflict management depended heavily on a relatively small number of actors responsible for multiple administrative functions simultaneously. District officials, territorial actors, FKDM representatives, and neighborhood leaders frequently carried out conflict-management responsibilities alongside broader governance and community-administration duties. As a result, preventive activities such as mediation, youth engagement, social monitoring, and follow-up intervention could not always be maintained consistently. Participants repeatedly described

preventive continuity as highly dependent on particularly active local figures rather than on institutional stability itself.

Financial constraints further weakened preventive governance. Participants consistently reported the absence of dedicated budget allocation specifically intended for recurring resident-brawl prevention. Preventive initiatives frequently relied on temporary coordination, voluntary participation, and self-help community mechanisms rather than structured institutional funding. Local administrations struggled to sustain youth-oriented activities, public-space initiatives, social empowerment programs, and long-term preventive engagement because operational resources remained concentrated on crisis response and public-order restoration. Consequently, preventive programs appeared episodic and momentum-based rather than continuous and institutionalized.

The findings additionally indicate that data governance and early-warning capacity remained underdeveloped. Although conflict-related information circulated through reporting systems, social media monitoring, territorial networks, and digital communication platforms, these data were used primarily for incident response rather than predictive governance. Existing information systems functioned largely as records of escalation events instead of integrated analytical mechanisms capable of identifying retaliation cycles, recurring territorial vulnerability, and long-term conflict patterns. Participants acknowledged that reporting mechanisms existed, yet these systems had not matured into evidence-based preventive governance infrastructure. This condition significantly limited anticipatory coordination and reinforced the broader pattern of reactive institutional behavior.

### **Disposition and the Institutional Logic of Reactive Governance**

The findings indicate that most implementers demonstrated strong commitment toward handling recurring resident brawls. Governmental actors, territorial personnel, and community-based participants consistently recognized *tawuran* as a serious threat to public order, neighborhood stability, and urban security. Participants described how local authorities actively attempted to coordinate patrols, facilitate mediation, strengthen communication networks, and respond rapidly during escalation. These findings suggest that implementation challenges did not originate primarily from institutional apathy or administrative unwillingness.

Nevertheless, the operational logic guiding implementation remained strongly reactive. Institutional intensity increased significantly during visible escalation but weakened during quieter preventive phases. Participants repeatedly explained that governance performance was often evaluated according to the speed of conflict stabilization rather than the reduction of long-term recurrence risk. Consequently, implementers operated within an institutional environment that rewarded immediate order restoration more visibly than preventive transformation. Over time, this orientation became embedded within routine governance practice.

Implementation quality also varied substantially across territories depending on leadership initiative, informal coordination networks, and community engagement. Some areas benefited from active territorial actors and strong neighborhood coordination capable of sustaining preventive communication and social mediation more consistently. Other areas experienced weaker preventive continuity due to fragmented coordination and limited community engagement. This variation indicates that preventive governance had not yet become uniformly institutionalized across the metropolitan conflict-management apparatus. Instead, effective prevention frequently depended on localized initiative rather than standardized institutional capacity.

### **Bureaucratic Structure and Fragmented Preventive Integration**

The formal bureaucratic structure for social conflict management already existed across governance levels in South Jakarta. Government agencies, district administrations, territorial actors, FKDM networks, and security institutions operated within a coordinated framework formally intended to support prevention, conflict termination, and post-conflict recovery. However, the findings reveal that this institutional architecture functioned more effectively during escalation than during long-term prevention.

One of the most significant structural weaknesses involved fragmented ownership of preventive responsibility. Although coordination forums and reporting systems formally existed, preventive governance responsibilities remained distributed across multiple institutions without a single actor fully controlling the entire preventive chain. Participants explained that agencies

generally coordinated effectively during emergencies but often differed in institutional priorities, operational commitment, and preventive engagement after escalation subsided. As a result, coordination frequently became procedural rather than transformative.

Preventive and recovery mechanisms also lacked detailed operational standardization, creating substantial inconsistency across different phases of conflict management implementation. While emergency-response procedures during escalation had become relatively routinized through repeated institutional practice and rapid coordination mechanisms, preventive intervention remained heavily dependent on adaptive interpretation, localized initiative, and situational judgment among implementing actors. This operational flexibility enabled institutions to respond quickly during visible crises, yet simultaneously weakened continuity and consistency in long-term preventive governance. In practice, preventive activities frequently varied across territorial areas depending on leadership initiative, administrative engagement, and informal coordination capacity rather than standardized institutional procedures. Monitoring and evaluation mechanisms similarly concentrated more on documenting incidents, restoring public order, and measuring immediate stabilization outcomes than on assessing preventive effectiveness, hotspot resilience, or long-term recurrence reduction. As a consequence, governance institutions accumulated greater operational experience in emergency stabilization than in sustainable prevention. The absence of integrated preventive evaluation indicators further limited institutional capacity to identify recurring vulnerability patterns and adapt preventive strategies systematically over time. Consequently, institutional learning concerning long-term preventive governance remained fragmented, reactive, and insufficiently embedded within the broader metropolitan conflict-management apparatus.

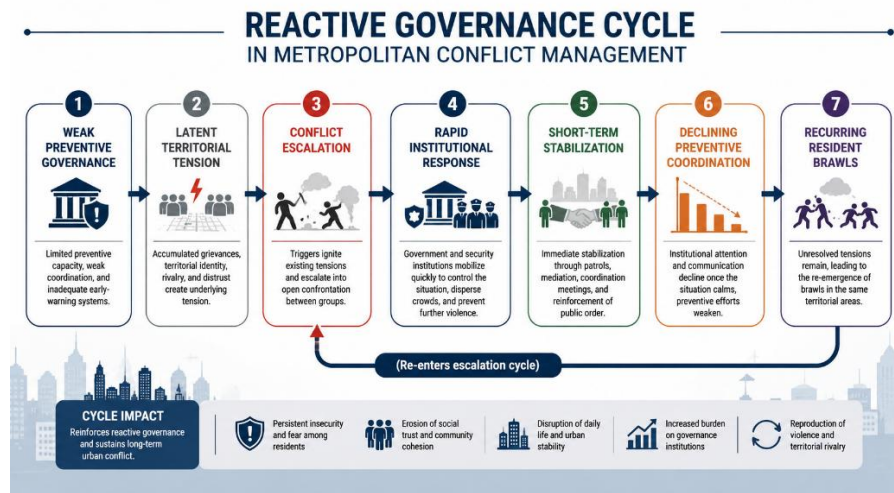
The findings additionally reveal weak integration between conflict management and broader social intervention programs. Preventive governance remained concentrated primarily within security-oriented coordination rather than being systematically connected to youth empowerment, employment support, social reintegration, and community-development initiatives capable of reducing structural vulnerability. This imbalance reinforced the dominance of public-order restoration within the governance system while leaving preventive institutionalization comparatively fragile.

**Table 1.** Thematic Synthesis of Policy Implementation Findings

<b>Implementation Dimension</b>	<b>Main Findings</b>	<b>Governance Implication</b>
Communication	Strong during escalation, inconsistent during prevention	Crisis-oriented coordination dominates preventive communication
Resources	Limited preventive funding, personnel, and predictive data systems	Prevention becomes episodic and dependent on local initiative
Disposition	High institutional commitment but reactive operational orientation	Governance prioritizes rapid stabilization over recurrence reduction
Bureaucratic Structure	Strong emergency coordination but fragmented preventive integration	Preventive governance remains institutionally weak
Preventive Governance	Prevention exists but lacks continuity and operational standardization	Recurring conflict persists within the same territorial hotspots

Table 1 synthesizes the principal findings of the study across the major dimensions of policy implementation analyzed in this research. The table demonstrates that each implementation dimension contributed differently to the overall pattern of conflict-management governance in South Jakarta. Communication mechanisms were operationally strong during periods of escalation, particularly when rapid coordination among local authorities, territorial actors, and security institutions became necessary to restore order. However, preventive communication remained inconsistent because long-term engagement and community-based coordination were not institutionalized with the same intensity as emergency response. Resource limitations also emerged as a central obstacle, especially regarding preventive funding, human-resource capacity, and predictive information systems, causing preventive intervention to become episodic and highly dependent on local initiative. Although implementers generally demonstrated strong institutional commitment toward conflict management, governance practice remained strongly oriented toward

rapid stabilization rather than long-term recurrence reduction. Similarly, the bureaucratic structure supported emergency coordination relatively effectively but lacked fully integrated preventive mechanisms across governance sectors. Collectively, these findings indicate that the implementation system in South Jakarta developed stronger operational capacity for crisis response than for sustainable preventive governance.



**Figure 1.** Reactive Governance Cycle in Metropolitan Conflict Management

Figure 1 illustrates the reactive governance cycle identified through the thematic analysis of policy implementation in South Jakarta. The figure demonstrates how weak preventive governance contributes to the persistence of latent territorial tension within conflict-prone urban areas. Because preventive coordination, social intervention, and early-warning mechanisms remain institutionally fragile, tensions gradually escalate into visible resident brawls requiring rapid governmental and security response. Once escalation occurs, institutional coordination intensifies significantly through emergency intervention, patrol reinforcement, territorial communication, and short-term stabilization efforts. However, after immediate public disorder subsides, preventive coordination gradually weakens again, causing long-term vulnerability to remain unresolved. As a consequence, recurring resident brawls re-emerge within the same territorial clusters, reproducing the conflict cycle repeatedly. The figure therefore visualizes the study's central analytical argument that metropolitan conflict governance in South Jakarta remains trapped within a reactive implementation structure in which institutional response capacity develops more strongly than institutionalized preventive capacity.

### Cross-Cutting Interpretation: Reactive Governance and Preventive Asymmetry

Taken together, the findings reveal a broader governance pattern shaping the implementation of social conflict management policy in South Jakarta. The metropolitan conflict-management apparatus had developed substantial operational capacity for crisis response, rapid coordination, and short-term stabilization. However, equivalent institutional capacity for long-term prevention had not yet emerged with similar organizational consistency or governance strength. This asymmetry produced what can be conceptualized as a reactive governance cycle, a condition in which institutional energy, coordination intensity, and administrative responsiveness increased sharply during escalation but weakened progressively during preventive phases.

Three interconnected conditions reinforced this reactive governance pattern. First, early-warning and predictive governance systems remained underdeveloped despite the existence of extensive reporting networks and conflict-related information. Second, institutional implementation remained structurally oriented toward visible public-order restoration rather than long-term vulnerability reduction. Third, preventive programs lacked continuity, stable ownership, and integrated social intervention capable of reducing recurrence systematically. Together, these conditions explain why recurring resident brawls repeatedly re-emerged within the same territorial clusters despite continuous governmental intervention.

The findings therefore suggest that the central governance problem in South Jakarta was not the absence of policy instruments or state presence. Rather, the primary challenge involved the

uneven institutionalization of preventive governance within the broader metropolitan conflict-management apparatus. While the local governance system demonstrated substantial operational capacity for responding to visible escalation, it had not yet developed equally mature mechanisms capable of preventing recurrence before violence re-emerged.

### Discussion

The findings demonstrate that recurring resident brawls in South Jakarta cannot be understood merely as episodic disturbances of public order or isolated expressions of youth delinquency. Instead, the persistence of violence across the same territorial clusters reflects a deeper institutional problem associated with incomplete preventive governance within metropolitan conflict-management systems. The recurrence of *tawuran* despite repeated intervention indicates that governance structures were capable of restoring temporary order yet insufficiently equipped to reduce long-term vulnerability and territorial hostility. This condition supports contemporary urban governance scholarship arguing that recurrent violence frequently emerges not from the total absence of state intervention, but from uneven state capacity across different phases of the conflict cycle (Elfversson & Höglund, 2023). However, the present study extends this argument by showing that institutional stabilization itself may unintentionally contribute to recurrence when preventive mechanisms remain structurally weaker than crisis-response systems. In South Jakarta, visible escalation repeatedly triggered rapid institutional mobilization, while quieter preventive phases received substantially lower administrative intensity. Consequently, governance became operationally effective during emergencies but strategically ineffective in preventing recurrence. This paradox reveals that metropolitan conflict management may become trapped within a governance structure that continuously restores order without fundamentally transforming the conditions reproducing violence.

The dominance of reactive governance identified in this study further illustrates how institutional priorities shape the operational logic of policy implementation. Local authorities demonstrated considerable capacity for rapid coordination, territorial response, crowd dispersal, and short-term stabilization once conflict became visible. Yet preventive intervention remained fragmented, episodic, and highly dependent on momentum rather than institutional continuity. This finding aligns with public administration literature emphasizing that governmental systems often prioritize immediate crisis management because visible emergencies generate stronger political pressure, public scrutiny, and administrative urgency than long-term prevention (Ansell et al., 2023). Nevertheless, the present study advances this discussion by arguing that reactive governance should not be viewed solely as a temporary operational response but also as a structurally reproduced administrative orientation. In practice, institutions became progressively optimized for responding to escalation because crisis situations activated clearer chains of authority, coordination, and legitimacy. Preventive governance, by contrast, operated within a less visible institutional space where success was difficult to measure, politically less immediate, and administratively less rewarded. Similar tendencies were identified by Taylor et al. (2023) in comparative metropolitan governance studies, where governments concentrated resources on visible stabilization while preventive systems remained underdeveloped. However, the findings from South Jakarta demonstrate more explicitly that reactive governance may evolve into a self-reinforcing institutional cycle in which repeated crises continuously justify the expansion of emergency coordination while preventive transformation remains administratively secondary.

The findings concerning communication dynamics reinforce the argument that the implementation structure remained heavily crisis-oriented. Communication among district administrations, security institutions, territorial actors, and community networks functioned effectively during escalation because information circulation became rapid, direct, and operationally actionable. Such responsiveness supports implementation theory suggesting that communication clarity and coordination intensity are central determinants of operational policy performance (Juhairiyah et al., 2023). However, the present findings simultaneously reveal a critical limitation within this communication structure. Preventive communication involving trust-building, youth engagement, territorial reconciliation, and long-term social mediation remained inconsistent across neighborhoods and governance levels. Unlike emergency coordination, preventive interaction lacked institutional urgency and stable operational routines. Similar findings were reported by Hidayati et

al. (2025), who observed that preventive coordination in local conflict governance frequently weakened after escalation subsided. Yet the current study moves beyond previous explanations by demonstrating that crisis-oriented communication may itself reproduce reactive governance patterns because institutional coordination becomes strongest only after visible disorder emerges. This creates a governance environment in which prevention remains procedurally acknowledged but operationally marginalized. As a result, communication systems become highly adaptive during emergencies while remaining structurally fragile during the preventive phases where long-term stabilization should actually begin.

Resource limitations further intensified the fragility of preventive governance and contributed directly to institutional asymmetry within the implementation process. The findings reveal that available resources were generally sufficient for immediate operational response but inadequate for sustaining continuous preventive intervention. Human-resource limitations, fragmented financial support, and underdeveloped predictive information systems collectively weakened long-term governance continuity. Previous studies similarly emphasize that preventive governance often receives lower institutional investment because its outcomes are less immediately visible compared to emergency stabilization (Wu et al., 2025). However, the significance of the present findings lies in demonstrating that resource asymmetry shaped not only operational capability but also the institutional logic of governance itself. Because emergency response generated visible indicators of governmental control, administrative resources naturally gravitated toward stabilization-oriented activities. Preventive intervention, by contrast, relied heavily on localized initiative, informal leadership, and temporary coordination rather than institutional permanence. Hung (2026) similarly found that conflict-management implementation in Jakarta suffered from uneven resource allocation and weak program sustainability. Nevertheless, the present study expands this discussion by suggesting that preventive fragility cannot be explained merely as a technical budgetary issue. Rather, preventive weakness reflected a broader governance orientation in which institutional systems became structurally conditioned to respond to escalation more effectively than to anticipate recurrence. This condition explains why violence repeatedly re-emerged within the same territorial clusters despite continuous governmental presence.

Another important contribution of this study concerns the distinction between institutional commitment and governance orientation. Most implementers demonstrated strong awareness regarding the seriousness of recurring resident brawls and actively attempted to stabilize conflict situations through patrols, mediation, and rapid coordination. These findings indicate that implementation failure did not primarily originate from administrative indifference or weak institutional commitment. Instead, the central issue involved how successful governance performance was operationally interpreted and institutionally rewarded. In practice, rapid stabilization of visible disorder appeared more administratively valuable than long-term recurrence reduction. This finding supports broader implementation scholarship arguing that policy outcomes are shaped not only by formal commitment but also by institutional incentives, organizational routines, and embedded performance expectations (Michel et al., 2022). However, the present study advances this perspective by demonstrating that reactive governance may gradually become institutionalized as a normalized behavioral logic within everyday administrative practice. Over time, implementers internalized the assumption that successful conflict management primarily meant restoring immediate order rather than transforming structural vulnerability. This interpretation differs from earlier studies that framed implementation obstacles predominantly as coordination or technical problems. The findings from South Jakarta instead suggest that reactive governance can evolve into a culturally embedded administrative rationality shaping how state actors themselves define effective governance.

The bureaucratic structure identified in this study further explains why preventive governance remained fragmented despite the existence of an extensive formal policy framework. Although multiple institutions formally participated in conflict management, preventive responsibility remained distributed across overlapping administrative actors without a single institution possessing integrated authority over the entire preventive chain. This fragmentation weakened continuity and encouraged procedural rather than transformative coordination. Similar institutional fragmentation has been identified in comparative governance studies examining urban violence across emerging metropolitan regions (Bogdan et al., 2026). Yet the findings from South Jakarta

reveal that fragmentation became particularly problematic because preventive governance required sustained cross-sector integration extending beyond public-order coordination alone. Conflict management remained concentrated primarily within territorial-security structures, while broader interventions related to youth vulnerability, employment precarity, social reintegration, and community resilience remained weakly integrated into preventive governance systems. This imbalance demonstrates that the governance apparatus became significantly stronger in suppressing escalation than in reducing the structural conditions enabling recurrence. The findings therefore challenge administrative assumptions that coordination alone is sufficient for sustainable conflict prevention. Without integrated social intervention and long-term preventive institutionalization, coordination risks functioning merely as repetitive crisis management rather than transformative governance.

Taken together, the findings contribute to broader international debates concerning metropolitan governance, preventive institutionalization, and urban conflict management across the Global South. Existing implementation studies often interpret policy failure through the lenses of communication breakdown, resource insufficiency, or bureaucratic inefficiency. While these dimensions remain important, the present study argues that the more fundamental issue involves asymmetrical institutional development between crisis-response governance and preventive governance. In South Jakarta, institutional capacity for emergency stabilization evolved more rapidly than institutional capacity for long-term prevention, creating what this study conceptualizes as a reactive governance cycle. This concept represents the principal theoretical contribution of the study because it explains how recurring urban violence may persist even when formal policy frameworks, inter-agency coordination structures, and operational response systems are institutionally present. In this sense, the persistence of violence was not primarily caused by policy absence but by uneven preventive institutionalization within the governance apparatus itself. The findings therefore reposition recurring resident brawls from being viewed solely as public-security disturbances toward being understood as manifestations of metropolitan governance asymmetry. Although the findings emerged from the South Jakarta context, similar governance patterns may resonate across metropolitan regions experiencing recurrent urban violence, territorial fragmentation, and uneven preventive capacity. From a practical perspective, the study suggests that sustainable urban conflict governance requires more than rapid stabilization mechanisms alone. Long-term prevention will depend on integrating predictive governance systems, evidence-based early-warning infrastructure, youth-centered social intervention, and cross-sector institutional continuity capable of addressing vulnerability before escalation re-emerges.

## CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the implementation of social conflict management policy in handling resident brawls in South Jakarta remained characterized by a significant imbalance between crisis-response governance and preventive governance. Although the metropolitan conflict-management apparatus demonstrated considerable operational capacity in responding rapidly to visible escalation through coordination among governmental institutions, territorial actors, and community networks, equivalent institutional strength for long-term prevention had not yet developed with the same consistency or organizational maturity. As a result, conflict management became dominated by reactive stabilization rather than sustainable recurrence prevention. The findings reveal that communication systems, resource allocation, implementer disposition, and bureaucratic coordination functioned most effectively during emergency situations, while preventive intervention remained fragmented, episodic, and heavily dependent on local initiative. This condition produced a reactive governance cycle in which institutional intensity increased sharply during crises but weakened progressively once immediate public disorder subsided. Consequently, recurring resident brawls continued to re-emerge within the same territorial clusters despite repeated governmental intervention and the existence of a formal legal framework for social conflict management.

Theoretically, this study contributes to contemporary governance and policy-implementation scholarship by proposing that recurrent urban violence in metropolitan settings may persist not because of policy absence, but because preventive governance remains institutionally thinner than crisis-response governance. The concept of a reactive governance cycle introduced in this study

extends existing implementation literature by explaining how asymmetrical institutional development can unintentionally reproduce recurring conflict even within formally coordinated governance systems. Practically, the findings suggest that strengthening urban conflict governance requires a structural shift from escalation-oriented coordination toward sustainable preventive institutionalization. Such transformation will depend on the integration of evidence-based early-warning systems, long-term youth and community intervention programs, predictive governance infrastructure, and stronger cross-sector coordination capable of addressing structural vulnerability before violence escalates. Although this study focused specifically on South Jakarta, the broader governance dynamics identified may also resonate across metropolitan regions in other emerging urban contexts facing recurring localized violence and uneven preventive capacity. Future research is therefore encouraged to examine comparative patterns of reactive governance across different metropolitan settings in order to further develop a more comprehensive understanding of preventive institutionalization in contemporary urban conflict management.

### AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS STATEMENT

Yunidar contributed to the conceptualization of the study, research design, data collection, field investigation, data analysis, interpretation of findings, manuscript drafting, and manuscript revision. Khasan Effendy contributed to theoretical supervision, methodological refinement, analytical validation, critical review of the manuscript, and overall academic guidance throughout the research process. Both authors reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript for publication.

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