

Social Identity Formation As a Trigger for Criminal Behavior in Youth Motorcycle Gangs: A Case Study in an Urban Area

Bambang Mudjiyanto

bamb065@brin.go.id

National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), Indonesia

Fit Yanuar

fit_yanuar@usahid.ac.id

Communication Science, Sahid University Jakarta, Indonesia

Launa

launa@usahid.ac.id

Communication Science, Sahid University Jakarta, Indonesia

Abstract. *This study aims to explore empirical data related to the phenomenon of crime and the process of social identity formation of motorcycle gangs in urban areas. This study is qualitative with a constructivist paradigm and socio-psychological and socio-cultural approaches. This study found several facts, namely that the phenomenon of motorcycle gangs—whose members are mostly teenagers—has long experienced a shift in orientation and behavior, the impact of the influence of the internal and external social environment. This shift resulted in a number of symbolic constructions: motorcycle gangs are criminal entities. The study also found theoretical difficulties in identifying the positive self-concept of adolescents in motorcycle gang entities whose orientation and behavior have been acutely contaminated by the culture and symbols of intolerant, antisocial, psychotic, bipolar, and obsessive compulsive disorder group identities.*

Keywords: *Criminal behavior, antisocial attitudes, bikers gangs, formation of social identity.*

Abstrak. Studi ini bermaksud mengeksplorasi sejumlah data empiris terkait fenomena kejahatan dan proses pembentukan identitas sosial geng motor di wilayah urban. Studi ini berciri kualitatif dengan paradigma konstruktivis dan pendekatan sosio-psikologis dan sosio-kultural. Studi ini menemukan sejumlah fakta, bahwa fenomena geng motor—yang mayoritas anggotanya dihuni oleh anak remaja—telah lama mengalami pergeseran orientasi dan perilaku, dampak dari pengaruh lingkungan sosial internal dan eksternal. Pergeseran ini mengakibatkan sejumlah konstruksi simbolik: geng motor adalah entitas kriminal. Kajian juga menemukan kesulitan teoritis dalam mengidentifikasi konsep diri positif remaja entitas geng motor yang orientasi dan perilakunya telah terkontaminasi akut oleh kultur dan simbol-simbol identitas kelompok yang intoleran, antisosial, psikosis, bipolar, dan *obsessive compulsive disorder*.

Kata kunci: Perilaku kriminal, sikap anti sosial, geng motor, pembentukan identitas sosial.

BACKGROUND

Motorcycle gangs are a unique sociological, psychological, and cultural phenomenon in the urban youth crime landscape. The phenomenon has even spread to adults. These entities, predominantly comprised of Gen Z' (aged 15-23), are not only prevalent in poor and developing countries but also thrive in established economies such as Europe, the United States (US), Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and South Korea. In the US, Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, and New Zealand, motorcycle gang members are even comprised of Gen Y' (24-39) and Gen X (40-55). They are sometimes viewed positively as entities that enjoy hanging out and expressing shared interests. However, these regrouping entities are also often viewed as unifying antisocial behavior, perpetrators of criminal acts, spreaders of terror, and even initiators of social crime.

Historically, the sociological trajectory of motorcycle gangs has existed for a long time. In some countries, motorcycle gangs are considered dangerous groups that must be watched out for. For example, the oldest motorcycle gang in the US is the Yonkers Motorcycle Club, founded in 1879 in New York City. Followed by the Outlaws (founded 1935 in McCook, Illinois); the Highwaymen (founded 1950 in Detroit); the Hells Angels (founded 1948 in Fontana, Colorado);

the Pagans (founded 1959 in Maryland); the Sons of Silence Motorcycle Club (founded 1960 in Niwot, Colorado); the Vagos (founded 1960 in California); the Badindos (founded 1966 in Texas); the Warlocs (founded 1967 in Philadelphia); Mongols (founded in 1969 in California), and Rock Machine (founded in 1986 in Montreal, Canada) are a series of motorcycle gang names that have a bad reputation and are greatly feared by society (social enemies) (Audiah, 2023).



Source: gooto.com, 2014 (figure 1); economist.com, 2022 (figure 2)

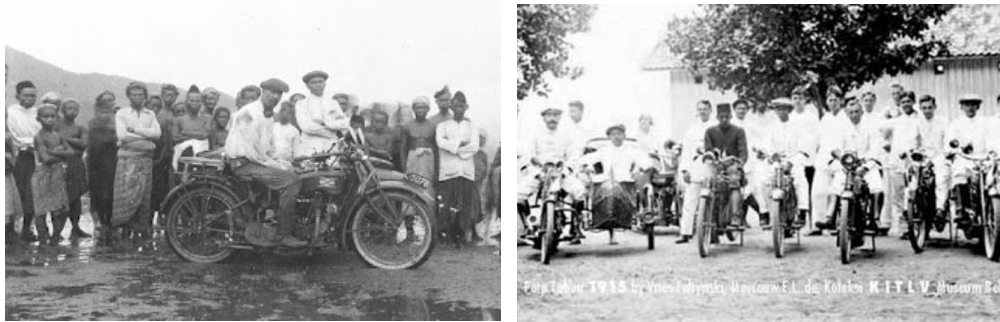
Figure 1 & 2. Motorcycle Gang Communities in Australia and New Zealand

In Europe, there are also dozens of dangerous motorcycle gangs, such as the Road Tramps (founded in 1987 in Limerick, Ireland); Satudarah MC (founded in 1990 in Moordrecht, Netherlands; this gang was initiated by immigrants from Indonesia and Suriname); Gremium MC (founded around the 1990s in Mannheim, Germany); and Black Piston (founded in 2002 in Neuwied, Germany). In Latin America, there are the Solo Angels (founded in 1959 in Tijuana, Mexico) and Abutre's Moto Clube (founded in 1989 in Brazil). Meanwhile in Australia and New Zealand there are the Highway 61 MC (founded in 1967 in Auckland, New Zealand); The Rebels (founded in 1969 in Queensland, Australia); The Road Knights (founded in 1969 in Invercargill, New Zealand); The Head Hunters Motorcycle Club (founded in 1969 in Glen Inees, East Auckland, New Zealand); The Nomand (founded 1968, in Newcastle, Australia); The Black Power (founded 1971 in Wellington, New Zealand); The Mongrel Mob (founded 1971 in Wellington, New Zealand); and Tribesmen (founded 1980 in Bay of Plenty, Marupara, New Zealand) (bikergangblog, 2014; Farlindungan, 2020).

In Indonesia, the first generation of motorcycle communities was recorded as having emerged in 1915 in Batavia, called Motorfiets Rijders Te Batavia. This motorcycle gathering and hobby community was initiated by John Potter, an Englishman who worked as an engineer at the Probolinggo Sugar Factory. Motorfiets Rijders Te Batavia was founded 12 years after the world's oldest motorcycle club, the Yonkers Motorcycle Club, was formed in New York in 1903. In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, various motorcycle enthusiast communities (some of which evolved into motorcycle gangs) emerged and flourished in Bandung and Jakarta—later followed by other major Indonesian cities (Martham, 2024).

These motorcycle gangs, which grew rapidly from the 1970s to the 1990s, became known as “illegal racing communities.” In the 1990s, motorcycle gang activities began to become disturbing to the public due to their frequent social unrest. Subsequently, these gangs were stigmatized in the public mind as criminals with a negative reputation. Motorcycle gang behavior

increasingly shifted toward anarchy, criminality, terror, and violence, often appearing in the news media (tempo.co, 2012).



Sumber: Fadhlansyah, 2021

Figure 3 & 4. Motorfiets Rijders Te Batavia, Indonesia's Early Motorcycle Community from the Colonial Era

This means that Indonesians have long been familiar with motorcycle gangs. Moreover, recently, news about motorcycle gangs has increasingly appeared in headlines in various news outlets and social media platforms in the country. In the 1970s, various motorcycle clubs emerged—which later metamorphosed into motorcycle gangs. Take, for example, the Pacinko motorcycle gang (“City China Troops”; founded around the 1970s in the Kota area, West Jakarta) or Y-Gen (Young Generation; founded in the 1990s in East Jakarta). Meanwhile, in Bandung and its surrounding areas, the public is also familiar with M2R or Moonraker, founded in 1978; GBR (Grab on Road; founded in 1982); XTC (Exalt To Coitus; founded in 1982); and Brigez (Zeven Brigade; founded in 1986, initiated by students of SMA Negeri 7 Bandung). This motorcycle gang has an average of over 1000 members (Rini, 2022; Martham, 2024; merdeka.com, 2024).

These entities, which initially existed merely as gathering and hobby groups, have, over time, shifted their orientation toward aggressive and criminal behavior. Unlike motorcycle enthusiasts united by a shared hobby (like convoys or city tours), motorcycle gangs often have dire consequences. The meaning of motorcycle enthusiasts has shifted negatively, resulting in criminal, illegal, and antisocial behavior. This shift in meaning creates a clear distinction between prosocial motorcycle enthusiasts and antisocial motorcycle gangs. While communities of enthusiasts, hobbyists, and gatherings are more appropriately described as groups, communities, or groups united by shared hobbies, interests, professions, and social backgrounds, motorcycle gangs (with their criminal, brutal, and antisocial characteristics) are more appropriately described as groups of public criminals, social bandits, or perpetrators of illegal acts (Emerson, 2024).

THEORETICAL STUDY

Citing the assumptions of Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory, the orientation, behavior, and culture used as the basis of the social identity of motorcycle gangs were initially characterized by eros (love of life; maintaining harmonious social order), but over time shifted to thanatos (death instinct; destroying social order). This characteristic is evident in motorcycle gang activities that have the potential to disturb society, such as illegal racing, brawls, gambling, alcohol, and drug use; or gathering in groups on the streets, terrorizing or threatening road users with *sajam* (sharp weapons), and various forms of disorder or other criminal acts. Developmental psychology thesis explains that adolescence is a sensitive boundary towards adulthood (adolescence), which is generally characterized by a period of extreme change, a pile-up of

problems, a search for identity, triggers of anxiety/fear, a period of unrealism, and difficulty in determining one's position or role appropriately (Fatmawati, 2017: 57-58).

In understanding this shift in orientation and behavior, several theoretical assumptions can be used to describe this phenomenon. First, Erik Erikson's (1980) theory of adolescent self-identity formation. According to Erikson, in a psychosocial context, an adolescent's primary activity is forming self-identity to address fluctuations in "personality balance" and avoid "role confusion." If the crisis of self-identity versus role confusion cannot be effectively addressed, adolescents will face role confusion (difficulty in determining their future formation and social role positioning) as they enter adulthood. Failure to form self-identity will have fatal consequences for the formation of a shared identity, relationship stability, and potential social acceptance. If adolescents successfully navigate this stage, they will develop a strong sense of identity. Conversely, if they fail, they will experience role confusion. The stage of self-identity formation in Erikson's psychosocial development theory is the most crucial stage in adolescent mental development.

Second, as a group, motorcycle gang members will always be influenced by group attitudes and behavior (group values). Myers and Hansen (2012: 252) refer to this situation as a conformity symptom, namely the adjustment of an individual's attitudes/behavior when he or she enters (and becomes part of) a group. Brehm and Kassin (1993) define conformity as a person's tendency to change their perceptions, opinions, and behavior to align with the values, norms, and rules of their reference group. Meanwhile, for Sears et al. (1991: 80), conformity is a form of change in individual behavior due to pressure to avoid group criticism and ostracism. On the other hand, Baron and Byrne (2005: 62-63) also define conformity as an individual's effort to understand and comply with group rules (both explicit and implicit), regarding how group members should behave to fulfill their group's commitments and consensus.

Third, as individuals, motorcycle gang members are hypothetically likely to have had traumatic life experiences in the past (traumatic stress disorder). According to post-traumatic stress therapy theory, trauma has the potential to influence a person's mindset and perspective on social life, particularly regarding emotional control and behavior management. If the inner climate shaped by the past leaves no traumatic imprint, then that imprint will foster positive thought patterns and beliefs. Conversely, if the inner climate is overshadowed by a traumatic imprint, then that imprint has the potential to give rise to subjective perspectives, antisocial thought patterns, and ultimately negative beliefs, emotions, and behaviors (D'Elia et al., 2022).

Traumatic traces can be in the form of severe depression/psychosis (mental disorders due to loss of contact with reality), phobias (excessive anxiety and fear), schizophrenia (severe mental disorders that damage behavior, emotions, and communication), bipolar (mental disorders in the form of drastic changes in mood), delusions (inability to distinguish between reality and illusion), obsessive compulsive disorder/OCD (mental disorders that drive someone to do certain negative actions repeatedly), lack of self-confidence (low self-esteem), and various other types of mental/psychopathological illnesses (Pittara, 2022).

Fourth, inconsistent attitudes in motorcycle gang cognition and behavior are related to internal and external factors conceptualized within the individual's consciousness and personality. Cognitive consistency theory explains how individuals adapt their thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior to the demands of their social environment. This process, according to Kurt Lewin, gradually influences the formation of consistent perceptions (thoughts, beliefs) and behaviors (attitudes, actions). An individual's failure to adapt to the social environment will

trigger inconsistencies between their perceptual schema/cognitive features and their behavioral schema/attitude features (or actions). For Lewin, behavior will only function effectively (balanced and consistent) if the individual is able to appropriately position and align their cognitive features, beliefs, attitudes, and actions with the demands of objective conditions emanating from their social environment (Petri & Govern, 2013).

Fifth, motorcycle gang members generally have a sensation-seeking motivation characterized by a liking for new, varied, exotic, complex, intense, thrilling, and adrenaline-inducing experiences. Sensation-seeking (or the desire to take certain dangerous social risks) is a cognitive scheme that fuels an individual's motivation to experiment with thrilling and risky actions to break out of life's routines, which tend to be linear, standard, saturated, and boring. According to Zuckerman (2009), everyone fundamentally needs sensation. Plunging headlong into life's battleground is a way of training self-confidence and testing one's abilities. Because life, full of uncertainty, requires a quick, intelligent, and effective response to overcome life's ever-changing challenges. Navigating life's dynamic, winding, sensitive, challenging, and sensational battlefield is a test of courage, instilling confidence, and thus testing one's self-capacity in conquering future life's obstacles.

Sixth, aggression lurks as a latent potential in motorcycle gang members. According to Sigmund Freud, aggression is natural. Every human being has an instinct to act aggressively. This attitude is difficult to eliminate because aggression is an integral part of the human personality system (which consists of the id, ego, and superego). However, human aggression can be controlled (hand of control) if there is a balance between the id (the subconscious, which refers to basic human desires/needs), the ego (the link/regulator of the relationship between the id and superego), and the superego (the conscious; referring to values, norms, and rules that apply in society) (logosconsulting.co.id, 2023).

According to Freud, aggression stemming from the id, or thanatos, represents the death instinct. Meanwhile, eros represents the life instinct. While thanatos drives an individual to commit acts of aggression, risky behavior, or antisocial activities, eros helps promote survival, supports reproduction, and fosters social cooperation. The balance in arranging the interactions between the human personality circuits (thanatos versus eros) is what will determine the good and bad attitudes and behavior of humans, both in personal and social contexts (Cherry, 2024).

In other words, the id, ego, and superego must work together to create patterns of human behavior. The id demands natural needs, the ego limits them to reality, and the superego adds moral values to every action taken. If there is a personality imbalance between the id, ego, and superego, then it is certain that humans will face serious problems. If the id is dominant, humans will tend to act impulsively, ignore social rules, and simply fulfill personal desires (without considering potential social risks). Conversely, if the superego is dominant, humans will be haunted by anxiety, guilt, and will hinder themselves from fulfilling personal hopes or ambitions. Furthermore, if the ego fails to fulfill its role as a regulator of interactions between the ego and superego, humans have the potential to face internal conflict, difficulty managing emotions, and failure to control behavior (logosconsulting.co.id, 2023).

Referring to the above arguments, this study attempts to analyze the phenomenon of crime and the process of motorcycle gang identity construction by examining a number of literature sources for information, data, and theory; in addition to empirical observation to sharpen the analysis.

RESEARCH METHOD

The paradigm used in this study is the constructivist paradigm. According to Guba, Denzin, and Lincoln, paradigm selection is useful in determining scientific criteria, ways of thinking, and perspectives related to ontological, epistemological, and methodological aspects. The research paradigm must be appropriate, trustworthy, and evaluable (able to evaluate the benefits of a study). The level of trustworthiness of the paradigm includes: (1) credibility (confidence in the truth of the results/novelty of the research); (2) transferability (research results must be usable in other research contexts); (3) dependability (research must be consistent); and (4) confirmability (level of neutrality; related to the extent to which research findings are shaped by the statements, testimony, or testimonies of respondents, rather than by the motivations, interests, or subjectivity of the researcher) (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006).

The constructivist paradigm (or interpretive paradigm) believes that: (1) humans are basically creative actors who construct constructions as a way to understand and interpret their social world according to their (subjective) interpretations; (2) humans are conscious beings, intentional in their actions, creators of the world, constructors of a series of meanings, and also givers of meaning to the world (which is not limited by laws outside themselves); (3) there is no single truth in social reality (or personal-individual reality); (4) every truth (reality; phenomenon) must be interpreted to reveal the meaning (intrinsic or extrinsic) that exists in that reality; (5) social reality is characterized by being holistic, complex, dynamic, full of meaning, and the relationship between symptoms is reciprocal, not deterministic (causality); (6) every phenomenon is filled with subjective meaning, because social reality is basically the result of social construction itself; and (7) every interpretation of social reality will produce different interpretations, findings, and conclusions (Rahardjo, 2018).

The use of the constructivist paradigm must also be relevant to the focus of the study, namely the social phenomenon of motorcycle gangs as an actual socio-psychological and socio-cultural phenomenon. The choice of the constructivist paradigm is assumed to be relevant to the type/type of qualitative research, the choice of analytical methods (descriptive-interpretive), and the choice of study approach (socio-cultural approach). Qualitative research seeks to describe, analyze, and interpret the social phenomenon of motorcycle gangs (both as individuals and members of a social community) which is interesting to study as a typical and unique socio-psychological phenomenon of urban social dynamics.

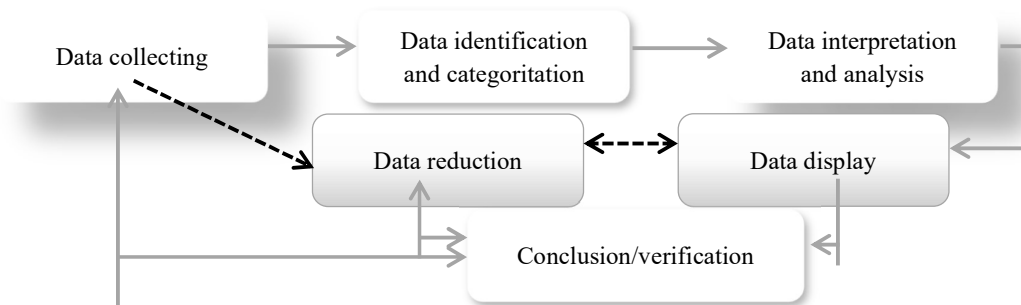


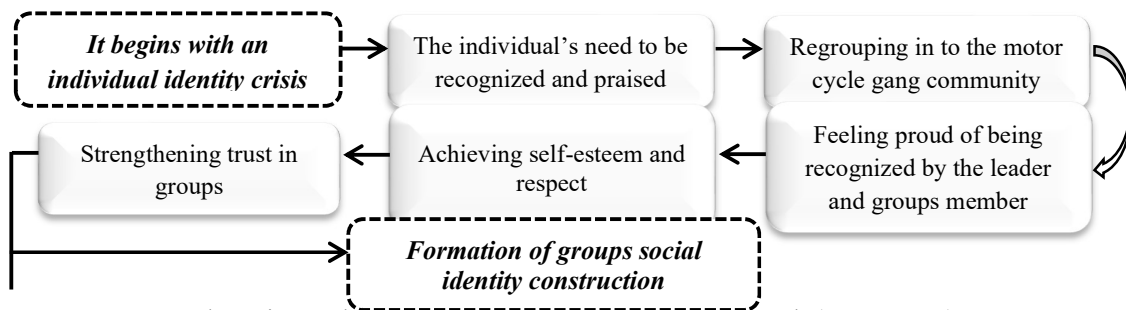
Figure 5. Research Stages and Strategies

The data collection method uses document observation techniques. The main data sources are texts from studies that specifically discuss the process of forming the social identity of motorcycle gangs as a social phenomenon resulting from social construction (through a socio-cultural/socio-psychological analysis approach). This method is considered appropriate to meet

the research objectives, namely to elaborate on the dynamics of the formation of the social identity of motorcycle gang groups. Other data sources are secondary data (scientific journals, textbooks, documents) and tertiary data (electronic sources, such as the internet/websites). The descriptive-interpretive data processing and analysis strategy in this study is carried out through the following stages: (1) data collection; (2) data identification and categorization; (3) data interpretation and analysis; and (4) drawing conclusions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Social identity is part of the self-concept that stems from an individual's knowledge and social experiences about themselves. This experience then merges or undergoes attitudinal adjustments (conformity) within a social group—along with the individual's values, norms, emotions, and behavior within the group dynamics. Meanwhile, the formation of group identity is the result of individual adaptation and interaction related to the group's values, norms, emotions, cognitions, and behaviors when the individual enters the group. In other words, social identity is part of a member's self-concept that stems from their perception of themselves as part of a group member related to values, norms, and behaviors as well as the cognitions and emotional bonds that individuals acquire as a result of adaptation and interaction with their group (the result of conformity). From a symbolic interaction perspective, the meaning of social identity is constructed in the process of group interaction, and it is the social processes within group life that create identity and enforce rules, rather than identity and rules that create and enforce group life (Fisher, 1990: 231).



Source: Adaptation and modification results from Armayati et al. (2019, p. 41)

Figure 5. The Process of Forming of Social Identity in Groups

As an entity, the process of social identity formation among motorcycle gang members—borrowing the thesis of Michael A. Hoog et al. (2004: 253-255)—is difficult to separate from the influence of social categories, prototypes, stereotypes, and depersonalization. Social categories are related to the self-definition, behavior, and perceptions of motorcycle gang members, which in turn determine their behavioral prototypes at the intergroup level. Social categorization is the core of social cognition in the process of group identity formation. When group definition and identity within the social categorization process are not practically actualized, the group prototype will also be constructed unclearly (unclear construction). Repeated conflicts, clashes, or friction between motorcycle gang members and the community, between motorcycle gangs and other motorcycle gangs, or between motorcycle gangs and law enforcement officers are a reflection of the unclear positioning of these social categories.

Prototypes can also become a threat within a social group or social organization. As a social construct that is deeply embedded in the social cognition of members of a group, a prototype is the provision of 'contrasting diction' or 'distinctive phrases' (usually in the form of a name, motto

or jargon of an organization that is ‘scary’ and ‘frightening’) that is constructed as a group identity/label, such as the name of the motorcycle gang organization “hells angels” (the most dangerous and vicious motorcycle gang in the United States); “God is forgiving, criminals are not” (motto of the Outlaws motorcycle gang); or “until death do us part” (motto of the Sons of Silence motorcycle gang). Such names of organizations, mottos or jargons will certainly trigger negative public assessments, or spark latent resistance from other gangster groups. Stereotypes—as a continuation of the positioning of the wrong prototype (choice of diction or phrase) of the group—usually arise from a sense of arrogance, when one group identifies itself (or feels itself) as being more skilled, greater or superior than other groups (Hoog, et al., 2004: 254).

A study by Hadisiwi and Suminar (2013: 3) found that four prominent motorcycle gangs in Bandung (Exalt To Coitus/XTC; Grab On Road/GRB; Brigade Seven/Brigez; and Moonraker) share the same doctrine and ideology, namely molding members from junior high and high school students into anarchic teenagers: (1) daring to fight the police; (2) daring to fight their own parents; and (3) having the courage to commit crimes. The three doctrines outlined in the Bandung motorcycle gang’s “white paper” were discovered by the police in 1999. Referring to these doctrines, it is understandable that they have become collective beliefs, motivating the evil prototype (or stigma) of motorcycle gang members. This construction aligns with the thesis of Sutherland, Cressey, and Luckenbill (1992) which states: “criminal acts are not something natural, but can be learned and organized”; “criminology is a field of science that studies the ins and outs of crime as a phenomenon resulting from human social interaction.”

On the other hand, depersonalization is a process of internalization or socialization of values, where individuals imagine others as part of themselves as good examples (social category) (Hoog, et al., 2004: 254). Every individual will basically be motivated to compete to achieve a positive self-identity in the eyes of other individuals/groups as legitimacy to achieve social recognition, social acceptance, and social equality. However, if an individual feels that their self-identity or group status is less valuable (useless), then misidentification will occur, namely the effort of individuals/groups to shift their self-identification (or group status) to other individuals or groups (West & Turner, 2014: 218).

In several empirical studies, for example, social category construction (good examples) such as prosocial attitudes or positive image-building activities characterized by social inspiration are also frequently carried out by motorcycle enthusiasts (bikers). Communities and gang members recognize that motorcycles serve more than just a means of transportation but have become a symbol of community identity. Studies by Sari and Lestari (2017) on the Yin Yang King Club (YYKC) motorcycle community in Yogyakarta, Apriza (2018) on the Jogja CBR Riders Independent (JCRI) motorcycle community, Sari and Banowo (2020) on the Tric Motorcycle Club, or Laksana, et al. (2023) on the Exalt to Creativity (XTC) motorcycle community demonstrate serious steps and efforts by motorcycle enthusiast communities (including motorcycle gang members/former gang members who have "repented") to restore their positive self-image within the community.

The track record of a group already burdened with negative stigma and congenital disabilities certainly requires image improvement through a number of effective communication steps. Image improvement—especially for motorcycle gangs that have experienced social damage—requires focused human relations, the right choice of communication channels/media, intelligent message content, specific target audiences, careful tactics, adequate publications, and the selection and execution of measurable and structured programs (Ghibanu, 2019: 133). Image

building cannot be limited to promises and commitments. It must be carried out through various concrete programs that can erase negative track records—and provide direct benefits to the public, such as community service activities, social assistance, distribution of basic food supplies, social anticipation, hearings with various community groups, and other concrete social programs (Sari & Lestari, 2017; Apriza 2018; Sari & Banowo, 2020; Laksana, et al., 2023). (Sari & Lestari, 2017; Apriza 2018; Sari & Banowo, 2020; Laksana, et al., 2023).

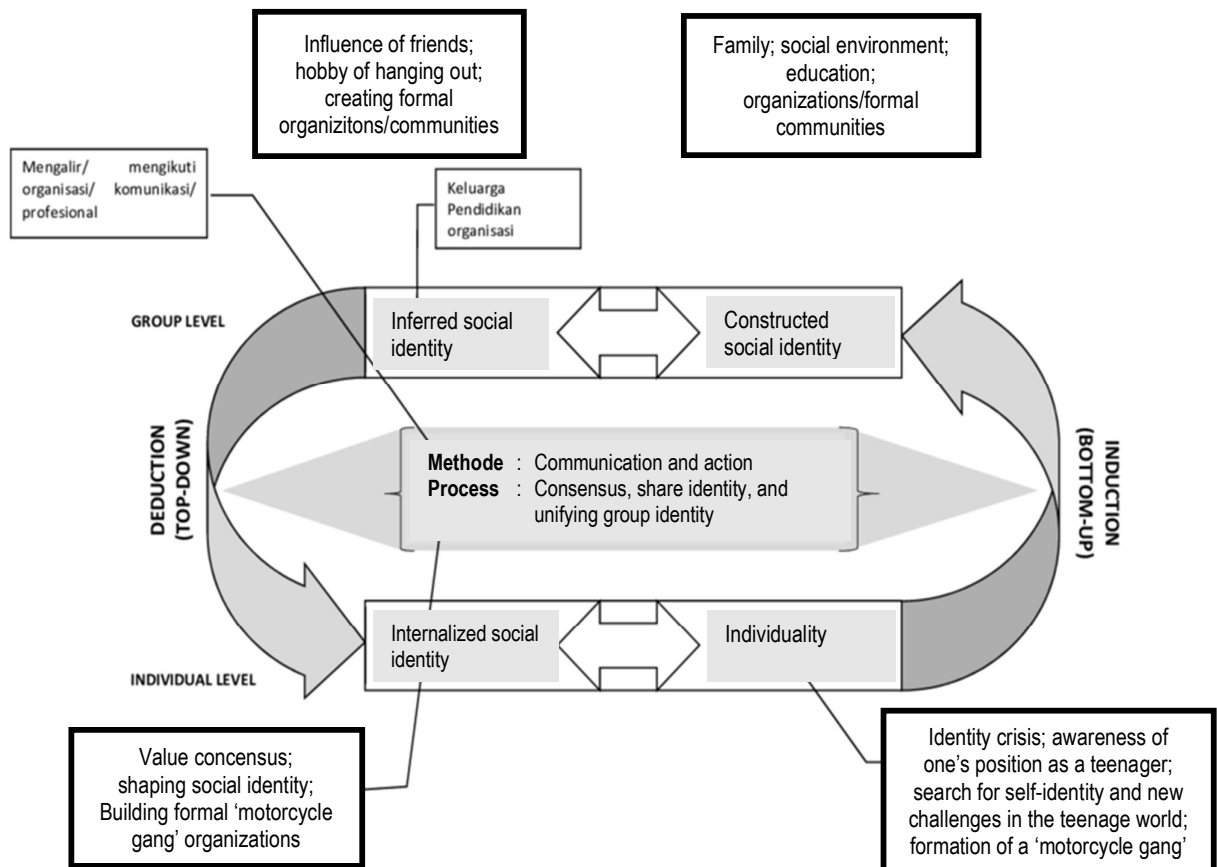
Teenage Motorcycle Gang Crime

Concord Consulting's (2015) observation indicates a prevalence (proportion of the population with certain characteristics) of crime among teenagers involved in motorcycle gangs. Although the number of juvenile motorcycle gang crimes fluctuates, motorcycle gang crime (with teenagers as the majority of the population) has shown an upward trend over time, both in terms of the quality and quantity of crimes (Mariz & Widodo, 2015).

The increase in crime in motorcycle gangs, whose members are predominantly teenagers, is triggered and driven by many factors (both intrinsic and extrinsic), such as education, family, social environment, lifestyle modernization, and mass media (Jufri, 2015: 80-81). Other factors can stem from disharmony within families (broken homes), the fading of social values and norms in adolescent life, the process of searching for and transitioning one's identity, the strength of emotional-subjective-irrational bonds among motorcycle gang members, and the intrusion of various issues as an excess of the dynamics of an increasingly turbulent era (read: globalization interventions that have successfully changed the thinking paradigms, perspectives, and lifestyles of the majority of people in the post-truth era) (Hurlock, 1998).

Other internal and external factors include the gap between the formation of self-identity, personality balance, and role confusion (Erikson, 1980); the strong influence of cognition and behavior of reference groups and the individual's (as a member/part of the group) hard work in aligning his/her perceptions, opinions, and behavior with the norms of his/her reference group (Myers & Hansen, 2012; Brehm & Kasson, 1993; Sears, et al., 1991; Baron & Byrne, 2005); psychotraumatic factors, emotional control, and behavioral regulation of adolescents (D'Elia, et al., 2022; Pittara, 2022); cognitive consistency factors, namely the ability of adolescents to adapt their thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior to the demands of their social environment (Petri & Govern, 2013); motivational factors of adolescents in seeking sensations (new experiences/challenges in the dynamics of life that are more varied, exotic, complex, intense, thrilling, and adrenaline-inducing) (Zuckerman, 2009); also the variable of human aggression attitudes that infect teenagers/young people as a latent characteristic of human personality as described by Sigmund Freud (Cherry, 2024).

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Source: The result of adaptation and modification from Abidin (2018: 282)

Figure 6. The Combination of Psychological Factors in the Formation of the Social Identity of Motorcycle Gangs

Description: The figure above shows the process of individual social identity formation by two main factors: individual factors and group factors. These two models explain the induction (bottom-up) and deduction (top-down) processes. The induction model describes social identity formation from an individual perspective; while the deduction model emphasizes the function of group consensus in shaping an individual's social identity.

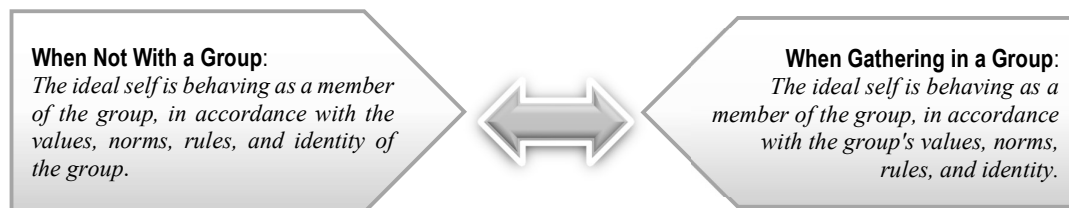


Figure 7. Factors Influencing the Formation of Group Identity

The increasing number of motorcycle gangs over the years has also contributed to the rise in crime. Data shows that in 2012, there were 48 crimes (26.52%) involving motorcycle gangs, mostly teenagers. In 2013, the number of crimes by motorcycle gangs increased to 58 (32.04%). Furthermore, in 2014, the number of crimes by motorcycle gangs increased again, with 75 crimes (41.44%) committed by motorcycle gang members. Confirming Jufri's records, data from

Indonesia Police Watch (IPW) from 2013 shows that crimes by motorcycle gang members resulted in 68 deaths and serious injuries; in 2011, there were 65 victims (deaths and serious injuries); in 2010, there were 62 victims (deaths and serious injuries); and in 2009, there were 68 victims (deaths, serious injuries, and permanent disabilities) (Jufri, 2015: 80; Mariz & Widodo, 2015).

The increase in the number of motorcycle gangs is also related to the rapid growth of motorcycle users in Indonesia. The “Indonesian Statistics 2023” report released by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) at the end of 2022, there were approximately 125.3 million motorcycles operating in Indonesia. This number is spread across 20 provinces, including East Java (20.7 million units); Central Java (17.5 million units); Jakarta (17.3 million units); West Java (13.4 million units); North Sumatra (6.3 million units); Bali (3.9 million units); South Sulawesi (3.89 million units); Riau/Kepri (3.6 million units); Lampung (3.4 million units); South Sumatra (3.3 million units); East Nusa Tenggara (889.6 thousand units); North Sulawesi (848.2 thousand units); Southeast Sulawesi (813.3 thousand units); Gorontalo (426.2 thousand units); Papua (416.0 thousand units); West Sulawesi (357.4 thousand units); West Papua (319.9 thousand units); Maluku (306.2 thousand units); North Maluku (292.8 thousand units), and North Kalimantan (159.8 thousand units) (Ahdiat, 2023).

In 2014, IPW data reported a colossal number of teenage deaths. They were murdered in dramatic, tragic, and sadistic ways. Data from January to December 2014 showed that 28 teenagers died, and 24 others suffered serious injuries related to motorcycle gang crime nationwide. Although this number was significantly lower than in 2013, when there were 68 recorded murders, the proportion of perpetrators remained unchanged: teenagers affiliated with motorcycle gangs. Motorcycle gangs are a cluster of teenagers with a prevalence of transitive personality traits, especially in large cities/suburbs, which have long been centers of development, economic growth, business centers, and massive urban populations, such as Jakarta, Bandung, Makassar, Surabaya, Medan, and other cities (Mariz & Widodo, 2015).

Central Bureau of Statistics Indonesia (BPS) data also indicates a significant increase in juvenile crime rates, including theft, mugging, robbery, gambling, promiscuity, drug use, and even murder. In 2013, there were 6,325 cases, in 2014 7,007 cases, and in 2015 7,762 cases. This BPS data confirms a significant increase in juvenile crime rates from 2013 to 2014, averaging 10.7% per year. BPS predicts that the juvenile crime rate (which reaches 10.7% per year) has the potential to continue to increase. For example, in 2019, the figure is predicted to reach 11,686 cases and in 2020 it is predicted to reach 12,945 cases. According to BPS, of Indonesia's 233 million population in 2019, 63 million people (28.6%) are in the teenage age range (15-23 years) (BPS, 2019). Meanwhile, according to data from the National Crime Information Center (Pusiknas) of the Indonesian National Police Criminal Investigation Agency (Bareskrim Polri), there were 394,001 crimes throughout 2023. This figure represents a significant increase compared to the total number of crimes in 2022 (322,200 cases) and 2021 (275,258 cases). Pusiknas data shows that theft was the highest crime type from January to November 2023. There were 155,361 aggravated theft crimes during that period. Furthermore, there were 115,324 cases of ordinary theft. Other types of crimes that occur most frequently are fraud/fraud (87,170 cases), assault (44,884 cases), theft of two-wheeled motor vehicles (37,684 cases, with the highest number of cases in the jurisdiction of the Tangerang City Metro Police), drug abuse (35,558 cases), assault (28,898 cases), embezzlement (22,462 cases), theft with violence (16,324), and types of embezzlement of origin (12,790 cases) (Jauhari, 2023).

To date, there is no definitive data, either from the police or other parties, on the exact number of motorcycle gangs (and motorcycle gang members) in Indonesia. This is because some motorcycle clubs have transformed into motorcycle gangs, and some motorcycle clubs/gangs have also obtained official legal status (formally registered) as social organizations. Data from the Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs, as of October 12, 2023, indicates that there are 561,020 active mass organizations, including 559,157 legal entities. However, there are several motorcycle gang communities in Indonesia that warrant caution, including Moonraker, Brigez (Brigade Zeven), XTC (Excalt To Coitus), GBR (Grab on Road), Y-Gen (Young Generation), and Pacinko (City China Troops) (polpum.kemendagri.go.id, 2023).

However, there are several motorcycle gang communities in Indonesia that warrant caution, including Moonraker, Brigez (Brigade Zeven), XTC (Excalt To Coitus), GBR (Grab on Road), Y-Gen (Young Generation), and Pacinko (City China Troops). The number of motorcycle gangs (and their members) is constantly dynamic and fluctuating, making it difficult to accurately quantify, but their numbers in each region are estimated to range from thousands to tens of thousands. In West Java, there are approximately 50,000 motorcycle gang members. According to a 2014 study by the Bandung Metro Police, 40 percent of junior high and high school students in Bandung have joined motorcycle gangs. The number of crimes committed by young motorcycle gang members in various cities across Indonesia continues to increase significantly. In 2022, there were 1,844 recorded crimes, up from 1,250 cases in 2021. The most common mode of crime committed by motorcycle gangs is theft with violence, with 688 cases in 2022. Other common crimes include assault, robbery, and gang brawls (detik.news, 2010; tempo.co, 2014).

In Jakarta, motorcycle gang hotspots are spread almost evenly across 5 areas, such as in West Jakarta (Kebon Jeruk, Jalan Panjang, Daan Mogot, Rawa Buaya Ring Road, Taman Palem Ring Road, Puri Mall main road); Central Jakarta (Kemayoran Airport area, Cempaka Putih, Tanah Abang, Karet, Proklamasi, and Ketapang Road); North Jakarta (Sunter Lake, Cilincing, Marunda, Pantai Indah Kapuk, Artha Gading area, and South Ancol); East Jakarta (Klender, Pramuka Street, Matraman Street, roads around the East Jakarta Mayor's office, in front of the At-Tien TMII Mosque, Kelapa Dua Wetan tunnel, Cibubur main road, I Gusti Ngurah Rai Street, Basuki Rahmat Street, Jatiwarna area, the road in front of Cipinang Prison, and Dr. Rajiman Street); South Jakarta (Mampang, Buncit Raya, Pondok Indah, Bintaro, Senayan, Asia-Afrika Street, Cipete, Fatmawati, the road in front of Pancasila University, Tanjung Barat, PGA Lebak Bulus, Permata Hijau, Pangeran Antasari, and Tanah Kusir) (bisnis.com, 2015).

In West Java, hotspots for motorcycle gangs are in the Bandung-Cimahi, Bagor-Depok, Sukabumi, Cirebon, Tangerang, and Bekasi areas. In the Bandung-Cimahi area, hotspots for motorcycle gangs are in Bandung Square, the Pasopati Playover (between Pasteur and Suropati Streets), Kepatihan Street, the Cibeureum area, the Dago area, Amir Machmud Street, Leuwigajah, Margaasih, Melong, Lembang, and Padalarang. In the Bogor-Depok area, motorcycle gang hotspots are located around Pasir Jambu, Naggewer, Kardenan, Sukahati, Parung, Citayam, Kalimulya, Ciriung, Pancoran Mas, Sukmajaya, Cimanggis, Sawangan, Bojonggede, and Jalan Raya Bogor. In the Sukabumi area, motorcycle gang hotspots are located in the Southern Ring Road, the area around Cisaat, Jalan R.H. Didi Sukardi (in front of SMA Negeri 1), Cimuncang, Sukalarang, Bencang, and Cimanggah. In the Cirebon area, the vulnerable points for motorcycle gangs are in Kesambi District (Bima area, Jalan Drajat, and Jalan Ampera), Kejaksan District (Simpang Empat area around Pilang-Pancuran and the Pesisir Samadiun-Kesenden area), Lemahwungkuk District (Jalan Pulasaren and around Alun-alun Kasepuhan), and

Harjamukti District (in Larangan and around the Perumnas area) (jppn.com, 2012; tatarsukabumi.id, 2021; okezone.com, 2022; detik.com, 2022; tempo.co, 2023).

In northern Java, such as Tangerang and Bekasi, hotspots for motorcycle gangs are around Ciledug, Pamulang, and Ciputat (South Tangerang City). Meanwhile, within Tangerang City, the Cipondoh area, Jalan Boulevard Citra Raya, and several other strategic highways are among the hotspots for motorcycle gangs. Furthermore, within the jurisdiction of Tangerang Regency, there are 21 vulnerable areas, including Pasar Kemis District (Pasar Kemis main road, Cadas-Kukun road, Grand Villa Tomang Housing Complex Gate, Danau Tomang Bridge), Rajeg District (Mauk main road and the Mauk-Sepatan border road), Sukadiri District (around the Gintung Bridge and Peusar-Sukamulya), Tiga Raksa District (Sodong-Tigaraksa road, Jaya Sentika road, and Kutruk road), Solear District (Adiyasa road, Cisoka-Pasanggrahan road, and Jayanti road), Irrigasi Gembong-Sukamulya road in Sukamulya District, and several other vulnerable areas in Cikupa and Balaraja Districts (medcom.id, 2022; fin.co.id, 2023).

In Bekasi City, there are at least 37 vulnerable areas that serve as meeting points for motorcycle gangs spread across the jurisdiction of the Bekasi City Police. The vulnerable areas include the districts of Medan Satria, Bekasi City, South Bekasi, East Bekasi, Pondok Gede, Jatisampurna, Jatiasih, and Bantar Gebang. These vulnerable points are spread across Harapan Indah Street, Sultan Agung Street, Sudirman Street, Titian Indah Housing Complex, Sudirman Highway, Kranji, Bintara, Ngurah Rai Street, Defense and Security Highway, Jatiwaringin, Jatibening, Gamprit, Kampung Sawah, Ahmad Yani Street, Kemang, Galaxy, Noer Ali Street, Cikunir, Kranggan Highway, Cibubur Alternative Road, and Wibawa Mukti Street. Meanwhile, within the jurisdiction of Bekasi Regency, vulnerable points are in the districts of Cikarang, North Cikarang, East Cikarang, Tambun, Cibitung, Tarumajaya, Sukatani, and several other districts (wartakota.com, 2021; Kompas.com, 2022).

What is certain is that from entities initially united by a common hobby, gatherings, convoys, or touring, some of these motorcycle enthusiast communities have transformed into motorcycle gangs that enjoy speeding, causing trouble, organizing violence, committing illegal, criminal, and antisocial acts. The reproduction of violence that becomes a new identity is embodied in group consensus (the result of interaction and symbolic reproduction of members) which is then 'cooked' in the 'furnace' of the organization called a motorcycle gang. Through the symbolic transactions agreed upon as a new collective identity, a new consensus (symbol) emerges: commotion, chaos, violence, speeding, alcohol, drugs, and *sajam* (sharp weapon) as the arena of symbolic transactions that are commonly found in almost all motorcycle gang entities. These symbols could be the result of a consensus of the structure of values, norms, and rules created by the gang leader; or they could also be the result of the creative ideas of members which are then agreed upon as a reference for group identity.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Social identity, as the basis for group identity formation, is closely linked to social categories, prototypes, stereotypes, and depersonalization. Based on the findings of the study, examined from a social category perspective, motorcycle gangs generally exhibit negative characteristics and a negative image from a prototypical perspective. Stereotypes (choice of language, words, phrases, diction, mottos, or jargon) tend to be "scary" and potentially "threatening," and depersonalization tends to be "illusory" (illusory and delusional). Internal and external factors that frequently affect adolescents include: the gap between self-identity formation, personality balance, and role confusion.

Another factor relates to the individual's capacity to interact, translate perceptions, opinions, and behaviors into new groups (adaptation capacity). These factors include psychotraumatic symptoms, emotional control, and behavior management, which tend to be unstable. Cognitive consistency also plays a significant role, as it is related to the capacity to adapt cognitions, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors to the group's social environment. Finally, regarding personality symptoms, namely sensation-seeking and aggressive behavior.

The study also concluded that, internally, the process of adolescent identity formation can be contributed by positive variables, whether from the educational environment, family environment, social circle, or organizational environment. However, when adolescents internalize their identity formation within motorcycle gangs, there are theoretical and empirical difficulties in identifying positive self-concepts in young motorcycle gang members. This is because the ideal self-concept has transformed from family expectations and societal idealizations to group expectations (values, norms, rules, and preferences of motorcycle gang entities). Expectations of an ideal-positive adolescent are naturally associated with inclusive, tolerant, and prosocial attitudes. The problem is, these ideal-positive expectations evaporate when they become entrenched in motorcycle gang entities that promote chaos, violence, unrest, illegal behavior, criminal acts, and antisocial behavior.

This study suggests that research related to the issue of motorcycle gangs, which are currently growing massively in urban areas, should integrate perspectives from social psychology, criminology, and urban sociology to understand the complex factors that shape the social identity of motorcycle gangs. A multidisciplinary approach will enrich the analysis and provide a deeper understanding of the internal and external dynamics that influence the criminal behavior of youth in motorcycle gangs.

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