


Legal Culture of Illegal Parking Attendants in South Jakarta

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Abstract

Illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta represent a complex legal and socio-economic problem. Although parking management is formally regulated by law, the increasing number of vehicles and limited parking control have created opportunities for informal and unlicensed parking attendants to operate in public spaces. In some cases, their activities are accompanied by coercive practices and intimidation, causing public discomfort and weakening legal order. This study examines the legal culture surrounding illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta and identifies the factors that sustain their existence. This research uses a socio-legal method with a qualitative approach. Data were collected through interviews with illegal parking attendants, local landowners, road users, and officials from the South Jakarta Transportation Department. The data were then analyzed to understand the socio-economic background, patterns of legal compliance, and the role of law enforcement in addressing illegal parking practices. The findings show that illegal parking attendants continue to exist due to economic necessity, weak supervision, limited employment opportunities, and pressure from certain individuals or local power structures. The study also finds that the legal culture surrounding illegal parking is shaped by public tolerance, inconsistent enforcement, and the normalization of informal payments in everyday parking practices. This

condition reflects a gap between formal legal norms and social practices in urban public spaces. Therefore, controlling illegal parking attendants requires gradual and participatory measures involving law enforcement agencies, local government, landowners, and the surrounding community. Such an approach is necessary to create a safer, more orderly, and legally compliant urban environment.

Keywords

Economic Factors, Illegal Parking Attendants, Law Enforcement, Legal Culture.

Introduction

The problem of illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta has developed into a complex legal and socio-social issue.¹ This phenomenon is not only related to violations of parking regulations, but also reflects broader problems concerning urban governance, public order, socio-economic inequality, and the legal culture of society.² The increasing number of vehicles in Indonesia, particularly motorcycles and private cars, has created a greater need for parking spaces. However, the limited availability of official parking areas, weak parking management, and insufficient supervision have opened opportunities for unlicensed parking attendants to occupy public or private spaces and collect parking fees without legal authorization.³

Illegal parking attendants generally operate in areas that are not officially designated as parking locations or in spaces that are poorly

¹ Nurhuda Ali Muhammad et al., “Penyelesaian Permasalahan Parkir Liar Pada Permukiman Di Kelurahan Galur Jakarta Pusat,” *Local Engineering* 1, no. 2 (2023): 113–22, <https://doi.org/10.59810/lejlace.v1i2.82>.

² Nurhaliza astina Astina and Neri Widya Ramailis, *Upaya Dinas Perhubungan Kota Pekanbaru Dalam Penanggulangan Masalah Pungutan Parkir Liar (Studi Kasus Kecamatan Sukajadi Kota Pekanbaru)*, (Riau) 9, no. 2 (2025), <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.25299/sisilainrealita.2024.18488>.

³ Rio Lianzah, “Efisiensi Pengelolaan Manajemen Parkir Terhadap Penerimaan Pendapatan Asli Daerah Kota Bandar Lampung” (Undergraduate, UIN Raden Intan Lampung, 2017), <https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/776/>.

managed by their owners. In practice, they often charge motorists without having permits, official appointment letters, or legal authority from the local government.⁴ This condition causes legal uncertainty and public discomfort. In several cases, the collection of parking fees by illegal parking attendants is also accompanied by coercive practices, intimidation, or acts of thuggery, which create fear among road users and the surrounding community.⁵ Therefore, the existence of illegal parking attendants should not be seen merely as an administrative problem, but also as a legal and social phenomenon that affects public order and community safety.⁶

From a legal perspective, unauthorized parking fee collection constitutes a violation of parking regulations. Jakarta Provincial Regulation No. 5 of 2012 concerning Parking stipulates that parking organizers and parking officers must obtain permission from the Governor.⁷ This requirement is intended to ensure that parking management is conducted in an orderly, accountable, and lawful manner. Furthermore, when unauthorized parking fee collection involves threats, violence, or coercion, such conduct may be associated with the elements of extortion as regulated under Article 368 of the

⁴ Kenya Nayaka Radya, “Peran Dinas Perhubungan Dalam Menertibkan Parkir Liar Yang Ada Di Kabupaten Gresik,” *HUKMY: Jurnal Hukum* 4, no. 2 (2024): 761–75.

⁵ Pratama Alfiando Rekas, “Hubungan Antara Persepsi Dengan Sikap Penerimaan Masyarakat Terhadap Juru Parkir Liar Di Kota Bandar Lampung,” Skripsi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik, December 17, 2025, <https://digilib.unila.ac.id/94673/>.

⁶ R. Widodo Tripuro et al., *Government Policy in Illegal Parking Charges at Public Spaces | Journal of Governance and Public Policy*, June 26, 2023, <https://journal.umy.ac.id/index.php/GPP/article/view/17880>.

⁷ Wening Estiningsih and Heri Nurranto, “Analisis Efektivitas Pajak Parkir dalam Meningkatkan Pendapatan Asli Daerah di Wilayah Jakarta Selatan,” *Sosio e-Kons* 12, no. 02 (2020): 172–83, <https://doi.org/10.30998/sosioekons.v12i02.6490>.

Indonesian Criminal Code. However, in reality, the implementation of these legal provisions still faces various obstacles, particularly weak supervision, limited law enforcement, and the persistence of informal practices in public spaces.⁸

The existence of illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta cannot be separated from socio-economic factors. Many individuals become illegal parking attendants because of limited employment opportunities, economic pressure, and the need to obtain daily income. In addition, some illegal parking attendants operate under the influence or pressure of certain individuals or informal local power structures.⁹ This condition shows that the issue is not only caused by individual violations of the law, but also by structural factors that encourage the continuation of illegal parking practices.¹⁰ At the same time, public tolerance toward illegal parking fees also contributes to the persistence of this phenomenon. Many road users choose to pay illegal parking fees to avoid conflict, intimidation, or inconvenience. As a result, illegal parking practices become normalized in daily urban life.¹¹

Several previous studies have examined the problem of illegal

⁸ Elia Bastian Simbolon and Zico Ricardo Aritonang, *Tinjauan Yuridis Terhadap Parkir Liar Di Kota Medan* | *UNES Law Review*, August 2, 2024, <https://review-unes.com/index.php/law/article/view/2122>.

⁹ Sri Wahyuni et al., “Fenomena Sosial Tukang Parkir Di Kota Makassar: Analisis Peran Ekonomi Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Ketertiban Sosial,” *Didaktik : Jurnal Ilmiah PGSD STKIP Subang* 12, no. 01 (2026): 174–81, <https://doi.org/10.36989/didaktik.v12i01.11102>.

¹⁰ Muhimmatur Rohmah and Agus Machfud Fauzi, *Penerapan Regulasi Hukum Terhadap Kasus Pungutan Liar Oleh Penyelenggara Parkir Ilegal Di Kota Surabaya* | *Indonesian Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (IJCLC)*, January 24, 2025, <https://journal.umy.ac.id/index.php/ijclc/article/view/21957>.

¹¹ Panglima Ababil Mahardita, “Pengelolaan Praktik Parkir Ilegal Di Kecamatan Tembalang (Studi Kasus Kawasan Universitas Diponegoro),” *Journal of Politic and Government Studies* 13, no. 4 (2024): 397–411.

parking attendants in Indonesia. Sari and Zulkarnain, for example, discussed the control of illegal parking attendants in Tampan District, Pekanbaru City, and found that enforcement efforts were hindered by limited operational costs, lack of law enforcement personnel, and low public compliance with existing regulations.¹² Hidayatulloh explained that the increasing need for parking spaces has encouraged illegal parking attendants to use available land as informal parking areas and emphasized that unauthorized fee collection may have criminal implications when it contains elements of coercion.¹³ Mahendrayani et al. examined the licensing system for parking attendants in Denpasar City and highlighted the role of local public companies and the police in preventing illegal levies. Meanwhile, Daman discussed sanctions and coaching mechanisms for illegal parking attendants, including the possibility of registering them as official parking attendants.¹⁴ Ahmad Hidayat also emphasized the importance of community participation in reducing illegal parking practices and unauthorized parking fees.¹⁵

Although these studies provide important contributions, most previous research has focused mainly on regulatory aspects, licensing mechanisms, government control, sanctions, and law enforcement. Previous studies tend to place illegal parking attendants merely as objects of regulation or enforcement. Their social background,

¹² Lina Sari and Zulkarnain Zulkarnain, “Penertiban Juru Parkir Liar Di Kecamatan Tampan Kota Pekanbaru,” *ALADALAH: Jurnal Politik, Sosial, Hukum Dan Humaniora* 2, no. 2 (2024): 284–303.

¹³ Mohammad Riyan Hidayatulloh, “Penerapan Sanksi Pidana Terhadap Pungutan Liar Oleh Penyelenggara Parkir Ilegal,” *JURNAL LEGISIA* 15, no. 1 (2023): 36–49, <https://doi.org/10.58350/leg.v15i1.250>.

¹⁴ I. Made Agus Widiarta et al., “Penegakan Hukum Terhadap Pelaku Pungutan Liar Berkedok Parkir Kendaraan Bermotor Di Kota Denpasar,” *Jurnal Hukum Mahasiswa* 5, no. 02 (2025): 383–92.

¹⁵ Hidayatulloh, “Penerapan Sanksi Pidana Terhadap Pungutan Liar Oleh Penyelenggara Parkir Ilegal.”

economic motivation, perception of legality, relationship with landowners, interaction with road users, and position within local informal power structures have not been sufficiently examined. In addition, previous research has paid limited attention to the concept of legal culture, particularly how public tolerance, weak enforcement, economic necessity, and the normalization of informal payments contribute to the continued existence of illegal parking attendants.¹⁶

This research fills that gap by examining the legal culture surrounding illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta through a socio-legal approach. The focus of this study is not only on the violation of formal legal norms, but also on how illegal parking practices are socially produced, accepted, tolerated, and maintained in everyday life. By involving the perspectives of illegal parking attendants, local landowners, road users, and the South Jakarta Transportation Department, this research seeks to provide a more comprehensive understanding of why illegal parking attendants continue to exist despite the presence of formal legal regulations.

The novelty of this research lies in its legal culture perspective. Unlike previous studies that mainly discuss illegal parking attendants from the perspective of regulation, licensing, and enforcement, this study analyzes the interaction between law, society, economic conditions, and informal urban practices. This research places illegal parking attendants not only as law violators, but also as social actors shaped by economic necessity, weak supervision, community tolerance, and informal power relations. Therefore, the control of illegal parking

¹⁶ Abel Dwi Purnomo, "Peran Dinas Perhubungan Kota Surabaya dalam Pengelolaan Parkir Umum Pinggir Jalan yang Efektif dan Efisien," *Journal of Legal, Political, and Humanistic Inquiry* 1, no. 2 (2025): 77–86, <https://doi.org/10.65310/4fwq3s88>.

attendants should not rely solely on punitive measures, but must also involve gradual, participatory, and socially responsive policies.

Based on the background above, the main research question in this study is: How does legal culture influence the persistence of illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta? Through this question, the study aims to analyze the factors that encourage the existence of illegal parking attendants and to understand the legal culture that surrounds their practices. The findings of this research are expected to contribute to the development of more effective parking governance, stronger law enforcement, and a safer, more orderly, and more comfortable urban environment in South Jakarta.

Method

This research uses a socio-legal method with a qualitative approach. The socio-legal method was chosen because the problem of illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta is not only related to legal norms, but also to social, cultural, economic, and institutional factors that influence the implementation of law in society. This approach enables the research to analyze the relationship between parking regulations, law enforcement, social behavior, and the legal culture surrounding illegal parking practices.¹⁷

Primary data were collected through interviews and field observation. The interviews involved 16 informants, consisting of five illegal parking attendants, five local landowners, five road users, and one representative from the South Jakarta Transportation Department. Secondary data were obtained from literature studies, including books,

¹⁷ Fachrizal Afandi, "Penelitian Hukum Interdisipliner Reza Banakar: Urgensi Dan Desain Penelitian Sosio-Legal," *Undang: Jurnal Hukum* 5, no. 1 (2022): 231–55, <https://doi.org/10.22437/ujh.5.1.231-255>.

journal articles, previous research, legal regulations, and expert opinions relevant to illegal parking, public order, and legal culture.¹⁸

The research was conducted for two months in South Jakarta. The collected data were analyzed qualitatively by identifying recurring patterns, social factors, legal issues, and forms of public tolerance that contribute to the persistence of illegal parking attendants. This method allows the study to explain how legal norms interact with social realities in the practice of illegal parking in South Jakarta.

Result and Dsscusion

1. Legal Culture and the Normalization of Illegal Parking Practices

The existence of illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta shows that the problem is not merely about the absence of permits or the violation of parking regulations. More than that, it reflects a legal culture in which illegal parking practices have gradually become part of everyday urban life. Many people understand that these attendants are not officially authorized, yet their presence is often accepted, tolerated, or even considered useful in certain situations.

In legal culture theory, law does not only live in written regulations, but also in the attitudes, habits, and behavior of society. Lawrence M. Friedman explains that a legal system consists of legal substance, legal structure, and legal culture. Legal substance refers to the written rules, legal structure refers to law enforcement institutions, while legal culture refers to how society

¹⁸ Undari Sulung and Mohamad Muspawi, *Memahami Sumber Data Penelitian : Primer, Sekunder, Dan Tersier | Edu Research*, October 25, 2024, <https://iicls.org/index.php/jer/article/view/238>.

views, accepts, or responds to the law. In the case of illegal parking attendants, the legal substance already exists through parking regulations. However, the social response toward these regulations remains weak.

This can be seen from the responses of several landowners and business managers. Some of them stated that they did not feel disturbed by the presence of illegal parking attendants as long as they did not create conflict. One informant even considered the parking attendant useful because he helped guard the surrounding area and once assisted when a theft occurred. This shows that in practice, the legality of parking attendants is often not the main consideration. What matters more for some local actors is whether the attendant is considered helpful, familiar, and not disruptive.

This condition creates a gap between formal law and social practice. Formally, parking attendants must have permission and operate under the official parking system. However, in daily practice, local habits and informal arrangements often have stronger influence than written rules. People tend to follow “the rules of the area” rather than question whether the practice is legally justified. In this sense, illegal parking becomes normalized because it is repeated, tolerated, and rarely challenged.

The normalization of illegal parking also shows that legal awareness in society is still limited. Many road users continue to pay parking fees even when they know that the attendants are not official. Some pay because they feel helped, while others pay simply to avoid conflict. This kind of passive acceptance strengthens the position of illegal parking attendants and makes the practice more difficult to eliminate. Therefore, the problem

of illegal parking attendants is not only about enforcing the law, but also about changing the way society understands and responds to unlawful practices.

2. Economic Pressure and Informal Power Relations

The interview results show that economic pressure is one of the most important reasons why people become illegal parking attendants. Several informants explained that they became parking attendants because they needed additional income, had lost their previous jobs, or did not have other employment opportunities. One informant stated that he previously sold retail gasoline, but after the COVID-19 pandemic he shifted to becoming a parking attendant to earn money. Another informant said that he became a parking attendant because he was unemployed and needed daily income.

This finding shows that illegal parking attendants should not be seen only as people who intentionally violate the law. They are also part of the informal urban economy. For some of them, guarding parking spaces is not a choice made because they want to break the law, but because they need to survive. This does not mean that illegal parking practices can be justified, but it helps explain why the practice continues to exist despite legal prohibitions.

The issue becomes more complicated when illegal parking attendants are connected to informal power relations. Some informants stated that they had to pay deposits to certain individuals, local actors, or people claiming to represent organizations. One informant said that he had to deposit Rp300,000 per month because he was afraid of unwanted

consequences. Another informant explained that a certain amount of money had to be given to a local party or community organization. This indicates that illegal parking practices do not always stand alone. In some places, they are part of an informal system controlled by actors who have influence over certain areas.

This situation is important to analyze through Soerjono Soekanto's theory of law enforcement. According to Soekanto, the effectiveness of law enforcement is influenced by several factors: the law itself, law enforcement officers, facilities, society, and culture. In this case, the law may already regulate parking management, but social and cultural factors weaken its implementation. Illegal parking attendants may obey local informal rules more than official legal rules because the pressure they face in the field is more immediate and personal.

The presence of deposits, local control, and fear also shows that some illegal parking attendants are not fully free actors. They may collect parking fees, but part of the income can flow to other parties. This creates a cycle where illegal parking attendants are both violators and vulnerable actors within a wider informal structure. Therefore, law enforcement should not only target the attendants on the street, but also examine the actors who control, benefit from, or protect these illegal parking arrangements.

3. Public Perception: Between Helpfulness, Discomfort, and Forced Acceptance

Public perception toward illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta is not uniform. The interviews show that some road users feel helped by their presence, while others feel uncomfortable or even pressured. This difference is closely

related to the type of vehicle, the location, and the behavior of the parking attendants themselves.

Car drivers tend to have a more positive view when parking attendants actually help them enter or leave a parking space. In crowded areas, especially near minimarkets or shops, some drivers feel safer and more comfortable when someone assists them. For these drivers, the practical benefit of being helped can be more important than the legal status of the parking attendant. This explains why some people continue to give parking fees even though they know the attendant is not official.

On the other hand, many motorcyclists feel that illegal parking attendants are unnecessary. Motorcycles are easier to park, and riders often feel that they do not need assistance. Several informants stated that they were uncomfortable because some parking attendants only appeared when customers were about to leave, asked for money, or did not provide proper assistance. Some also complained that parking attendants were impolite, pushy, or did not return change according to the proper parking rate.

This shows that the public does not always accept illegal parking attendants because they agree with the practice. In many cases, people pay because they feel they have no better option. They want to avoid arguments, intimidation, or awkward situations. This creates what may be called forced acceptance. People may disagree internally, but they still comply externally.

From the perspective of legal culture, this is significant. A weak legal culture does not always appear in the form of open support for illegal practices. Sometimes it appears as silence, resignation, or the habit of “just paying” even when people feel

uncomfortable. Over time, this behavior strengthens the position of illegal parking attendants. The practice continues not because everyone supports it, but because many people choose not to resist it.

This condition also shows that public education is important. Road users need to know which parking attendants are official, what the legal parking fees are, and where they can report illegal or coercive parking practices. Without public awareness and complaint mechanisms that are easy to access, people will continue to choose the safest and simplest option: paying and leaving.

4. Law Enforcement and the Need for a Persuasive-Participatory Approach

The South Jakarta Transportation Department has an important role in controlling illegal parking attendants. Based on the interview with the representative of the Parking Technical Service Unit, the government does not only use a repressive approach. The first step is usually socialization, persuasion, guidance, and an effort to legalize illegal parking attendants so that they can become official parking attendants. This approach is relevant because many illegal parking attendants do not fully understand the applicable regulations or the legal consequences of their actions.

The persuasive approach is important because the problem of illegal parking attendants cannot be solved only through raids. If enforcement is only carried out by removing them from one location, they may return later or move to another area. This is especially true when the root of the problem is economic need.

Therefore, coaching and legalization can become a more realistic solution for attendants who are willing to follow the rules.

However, the persuasive approach also faces obstacles. Some illegal parking attendants and local groups are suspicious of government involvement. According to the interview, there is a perception that if parking attendants are legalized, their income will be taken by the Transportation Department as local revenue. This misunderstanding shows that communication between the government and the community still needs to be improved. Legalization should be explained not only as a matter of revenue, but also as a way to create order, protection, and legal certainty for parking attendants, landowners, and road users.

Law enforcement also needs to be firm toward actors who use intimidation, coercion, or illegal levies. If the problem only involves poor understanding of regulations, then guidance may be appropriate. However, when illegal parking is connected to threats, deposits, or pressure from certain individuals or organizations, law enforcement must reach those behind the practice, not only the parking attendants who appear in public spaces.

Therefore, the most suitable approach is a persuasive-participatory model. This means that the government should combine socialization, coaching, legalization, supervision, and firm enforcement when necessary. Landowners and business operators must also be involved because many illegal parking attendants operate in front of shops, minimarkets, or private spaces. Road users also need to be encouraged to report coercive practices and to support official parking systems.

In the end, controlling illegal parking attendants is not only

about removing people from parking areas. It is about changing a social habit that has existed for a long time. Legal rules will not be effective if society continues to tolerate illegal practices, if enforcement is inconsistent, and if economic conditions push people back into the same informal work. For that reason, the solution must be gradual, humane, and firm at the same time. The goal is not only to create legal compliance, but also to build a safer, more orderly, and more respectful public space in South Jakarta.

Based on the discussion above, the legal culture surrounding illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta is shaped by the interaction of economic pressure, public tolerance, informal power relations, and inconsistent enforcement. The existence of legal regulations is important, but regulation alone is not enough. The interviews show that illegal parking practices continue because they have become part of daily social habits, supported by economic needs and accepted by certain local communities.

Therefore, the problem should be addressed through a socio-legal approach. Illegal parking attendants must be controlled, but the solution should also consider the social reality behind their existence. Persuasive guidance, legalization, community involvement, public education, and firm action against coercive actors are necessary to gradually transform the legal culture surrounding illegal parking practices in South Jakarta.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, illegal parking attendants in South Jakarta are not only a legal problem, but also a social and economic

problem. Their existence is influenced by economic pressure, limited employment opportunities, weak supervision, and the habits of society that often tolerate illegal parking practices.

The legal culture surrounding illegal parking attendants shows that many people already consider their presence as something normal. Some road users feel helped, especially car drivers, while others feel disturbed or forced to pay, especially motorcyclists. In addition, some illegal parking attendants also operate under pressure from certain individuals or local groups, which makes the problem more complex.

Although parking regulations already exist, law enforcement has not been fully effective. The South Jakarta Transportation Department has made efforts through socialization, guidance, and legalization of illegal parking attendants. However, these efforts still need stronger supervision and support from the community, landowners, and law enforcement officers.

Therefore, controlling illegal parking attendants should not only be done through raids or punishment. A more effective approach is needed, namely a gradual, persuasive, and participatory approach. The government needs to provide guidance, improve public awareness, strengthen supervision, and take firm action against parties who use intimidation or illegal levies. This is important to create a safer, more orderly, and more legally compliant environment in South Jakarta.

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