

# TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL CONTROL RELATED TO THE SHIFT FROM DIRECT INTERACTION TO LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTOMATION IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ELECTRONIC TRAFFIC LAW ENFORCEMENT (ETLE)

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Received : 01 October 2025

Published : 24 December 2025

Revised : 15 October 2025

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.54443/ijerlas.v5i6.4803>

Accepted : 29 November 2025

Link Publish : <https://radjapublika.com/index.php/IJERLAS>

## Abstract

This study analyzes the legal sociology implications of the implementation of the ETLE system in Indonesia, which represents a radical shift in social control mechanisms from personal interaction to automation. The main issue that arises is the tension between the system's goal of achieving zero tolerance transparency and the social reality that creates resistance and uncertainty of accountability between vehicle owners and drivers. The urgency of this research lies in evaluating the effectiveness of ETLE in transforming traffic law enforcement, analyzing the impact of changes in social control on perceptions of justice and public trust, and examining the role of legal culture and social structure in the acceptance of the ETLE system. This research employs a normative legal method with legislative, case, and conceptual approaches. Secondary data were collected through literature review of primary legal sources such as the Traffic Law (UU LLAJ) and Police Regulation No. 2 of 2025, as well as secondary legal materials. The data were then analyzed qualitatively. The findings indicate that ETLE effectively reduces corruption and enhances certainty of enforcement at the operational level. However, the automation of social control undermines procedural justice due to ambiguities in identifying legal subjects and shifts the burden of evidence. This leads to the manifestation of entrenched negotiative legal culture as both active and passive resistance, signaling that the legal legitimacy built by technology has not been fully accepted. Therefore, the enforcement of ETLE must be complemented by structural improvements in population data and the enhancement of fair clarification channels to foster long-term normative compliance.

**Keywords:** ETLE; legal sociology; social control; legal culture; procedural justice.

## Introduction

Humans are essentially social creatures who live in groups and interact with each other within a societal order. The existence of humans as homo socius necessitates the existence of order and norms to prevent conflicts of interest and clashes between individual rights.<sup>1</sup> Without an agreed-upon framework, social interactions tend to lead to anarchy, where the strong have the potential to oppress the weak. Therefore, law has emerged as a fundamental necessity inherent in every human civilization since ancient times. In this regard, law serves as a primary pillar maintaining balance and harmony, ensuring that every citizen can live their lives with a sense of security. The presence of law not only regulates external actions but also seeks to shape a collective awareness of what is right and wrong.<sup>2</sup> The presence of law is also

<sup>1</sup>Fajrussalam, H., 'Azizah, A., Rahman, E.A., Hafizha, F.Z., & Ulhaq, S. (2023). The Nature and Existence of Humans as Moral Beings. *Innovative: Journal of Social Science Research* , Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 1706-1721. Retrieved from <https://j-innovative.org/index.php/Innovative/article/view/483>

<sup>2</sup>Putri, A., Cherieshta, J., & Rasji, R. (2024). Analyzing the Concept of Responsibility in Legal Philosophy: From the Individual to the Societal Dimension. *Wahana Pendidikan Scientific Journal* , Vol. 10, No. 8, pp. 570-574. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11108929>

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necessary as the existence of modern humans is increasingly complex, demanding a legal system that is also increasingly adaptive and flexible. Thus, the existence of law is fundamentally the breath that regulates the rhythm of social life in society. The existence of these norms can be seen as a sign of a structured civilization in a nation. In principle, law is not merely a collection of written articles, but rather a system of values aimed at creating order, justice, and legal certainty in a society. In this regard, legal philosophy strives to teach that law can be divided into three main pillars: utility (benefit), justice (justice), and legal certainty (legal certainty). In the context of legal sociology, the most important objective of law is **the effectiveness** or efficacy of law in society (law in action). According to the science of legal sociology, law seeks to direct human behavior from destructive actions to constructive actions and in accordance with applicable norms. In this regard, order in society can be achieved through the application of laws that provide coercive sanctions mechanisms, while on the other hand, justice is also sought through equal treatment before the law. Law also functions as a means of social engineering to change people's mindsets and habits for the better.<sup>3</sup> Reflecting on its existence in society, legal failure often occurs not because of the content of its norms, but because of the inability of its enforcement system to be internalized by society. Thus, the existence of law is a manifestation of humanity's collective efforts to achieve a civilized life.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of law will always be closely linked to the fulfillment of basic human rights.

Human behavior, generally influenced by diverse motives and interests, becomes the primary object of legal regulation, especially when linked to the perspective of the sociology of law. Law functions as a tool of social control to regulate deviations and enforce prevailing norms within the social structure. From a sociological perspective, a person's behavior is influenced not only by formal sanctions as stipulated by state law, but also by informal sanctions in the form of customary norms, religion, and social ethics.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, compliance with the law is essentially the result of a dialectic between formal coercion and moral-social acceptance. When the law is perceived as unjust or irrelevant to the life of society at that time, human behavior tends to show resistance or even seek loopholes to circumvent it. In this regard, law plays a central role in defining the boundaries of individual freedom so as not to violate the rights of others within a collective framework.<sup>6</sup> Orderly behavior reflects the effectiveness of the law within the society in question. A stable social structure depends heavily on collective adherence to established rules.

Over time, advances in science and technology (IPTEK) have significantly changed how humans interact and behave within their communities. New discoveries, particularly in transportation and communication, have expanded the scope of human activity beyond traditional boundaries. This technological change poses new challenges for the legal system to remain robust and capable of reaching every aspect of life. This phenomenon requires the law to adapt from merely regulating physical interactions to one that also regulates virtual interactions and modern mobility. One of the greatest innovations changing human behavior patterns is the advent of motorized vehicles. While motorized vehicles have provided high levels of freedom of mobility, at the same time, this convenience has also created the potential for massive risks and conflicts in public spaces. Therefore, the law must act quickly to anticipate the disruptions created by this technology. Technology is not only an object to be regulated but also a new instrument in law enforcement.

The drastic increase in the number of motorized vehicles in Indonesia has transformed traffic into a dense and complex arena for social interaction. Traffic is no longer simply a means of transportation, but rather a reflection of a nation's legal culture and discipline. The high number of accidents and traffic violations indicates a collective failure to comply with applicable norms and regulations. Therefore, the existence of laws is necessary to strictly regulate this massive mobilization to ensure safety and public order. The primary legal basis for this is Law Number 22 of 2009 concerning Road Traffic and Transportation (LLAJ Law). In this regard, the LLAJ Law aims to protect the physical and mental safety of every road user, including drivers, passengers, and pedestrians. These regulations cover everything from

<sup>3</sup>Orlando, Galih. (2023). Law as Social Control and Social Engineering. *Tarbiyah Bil Qalam: Journal of Religious Education and Science*, Vol. 7, No. 1. <https://doi.org/10.58822/tbq.v7i1.111>.

<sup>4</sup>Muntaha, MG, Permana, FA, Firmansyah, R., & Harahap, CB (2025, March). Traffic Law and Order: A Legal Sociology Perspective on Law Number 22 of 2009. In *Gunung Djati Conference Series* (Vol. 50, pp. 52-64).

<sup>5</sup>Utami, W. (2019). Law as an Agent of Social Control in Society from the Perspective of Legal Sociology. *MAKSIGAMA*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 97-104. <https://doi.org/10.37303/maksigama.v13i2.64>

<sup>6</sup>Amran Suadi, *Sociology of Law (Enforcement, Reality, and Moral Values of Law)*, (Jakarta: Kencana, 2018) p. 212.

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driver requirements and vehicle roadworthiness to proper traffic procedures on the highway.<sup>7</sup> Without clear regulations and strict enforcement, high mobility will lead to chaos and unavoidable losses. Legal regulations regarding traffic are a concrete manifestation of the state's efforts to manage the social risks resulting from the increasingly widespread use of technology. For years, traffic law enforcement in Indonesia has been dominated by conventional mechanisms, namely through direct enforcement of violations on the spot by police officers, commonly referred to as ticketing. This direct interaction mechanism aims to provide an immediate deterrent effect and ensure certainty of sanctions at the scene. However, when viewed from a legal sociology perspective, conventional mechanisms often give rise to crucial problems related to the power relations between law enforcement officers and citizens. Face-to-face interactions often open up opportunities for corruption or extortion, where formal sanctions are replaced by informal negotiations that undermine the integrity of law enforcement. These practices ultimately erode the legitimacy of the law in the eyes of the public, because the law is seen as a bargaining tool, not as a rule to be obeyed. The level of public compliance becomes instrumental, obeying out of fear of officers, rather than out of a deep legal awareness. Therefore, when viewed from a sociological perspective, it can be highlighted that effective law must be implemented transparently and non-discriminatory.

In response to the various weaknesses of the conventional traffic law enforcement system and in line with the development of information technology, the Indonesian government has begun implementing a digital-based law enforcement system known as Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) or E-Tilang. This policy is a progressive step aimed at modernizing traffic law enforcement to make it more transparent, accountable, and free from corruption and abuse of authority by law enforcement officers.<sup>8</sup> ETLE works by utilizing smart surveillance cameras and license plate identification technology to automatically record and process violations. The legal basis for this implementation includes the LLAJ Law and its derivative regulations, including Law Number 19 of 2016 concerning Amendments to Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (ITE Law), which provides a legal basis for electronic evidence. ETLE is also further regulated through Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia National Police Number 2 of 2025 concerning Enforcement of Traffic and Road Transportation Violations Based on Electronic Recording Evidence. The existence of various regulations regarding ETLE has fundamentally changed the mechanism of social control from personal to impersonal and automatic. With such a digitalization mechanism, it is hoped that it will increase the certainty of punishment and create a more even deterrent effect.<sup>9</sup>

The implementation of ETLE marks a significant shift in the state's social control mechanisms over citizens in public spaces. Control that was previously interactive, with police directly stopping violators, has now become automated and invisible, conducted through camera footage and without direct interaction from law enforcement officers. From a legal sociology perspective, this shift presents new challenges that require in-depth examination. One of the biggest challenges is the extent to which society accepts this "panopticon" form of surveillance.<sup>10</sup> While automation is expected to create transparency and minimize extortion, on the other hand, this mechanism can also create an alienation between the law and citizens. The indirect ticketing process, based solely on field data, may not be sufficiently enforced to stimulate normative compliance stemming from the internalization of values. This new social control also has the potential to create a digital divide that hinders access to justice for less technologically literate groups.

<sup>7</sup>Antony, MF, & Harahap, SB (2024). Implementation of Law Number 22 of 2009 concerning Traffic and Road Transportation: A Study of Traffic Control in the Jurisdiction of the Deli Serdang City Police. Court: Journal of Legal Research, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 29-43. <https://doi.org/10.62383/mahkamah.v1i4.164>

<sup>8</sup>Narullita, ES (2024). Implementation of the Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) System in Enforcing Traffic Violations in the Jurisdiction of the East Java Regional Police. *Wahana Pendidikan Scientific Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 22, pp. 435-445. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.14565903>

<sup>9</sup> Pratama Wijaya, P., Sudrajat, AR, & Safaria, AF (2023). THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NATIONAL ELECTRONIC TRAFFIC LAW ENFORCEMENT (ETLE) PROGRAM IN IMPROVING PUBLIC SERVICES IN SUMEDANG REGENCY. *JRPA - Journal of Regional Public Administration*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 92-99. Retrieved from <https://ejournal.unsap.ac.id/index.php/jrpa/article/view/1154>

<sup>10</sup>Faris, AM, Jaelani, E., & Bisri, H. (2025). Application of Integrated Node Capture Attitude Record to Traffic Violations in the Trenggalek Police Area. *Asas Wa Tandhim: Journal of Law, Education and Socio-Religious Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 93-112. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47200/awtjhpsa.v4i2.2833>

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Despite its aim to increase certainty, the ETLE system has instead created new uncertainties, particularly regarding accountability and punishment for violators. The main issue highlighted is the ambiguity in determining the legal subject. This is because ETLE tickets are based on license plates that reflect the identity of the vehicle owner, which often results in a discrepancy between the formal owner and the actual driver at the time of the violation. This creates a legal dilemma because it potentially violates the principle of Geen Straf Zonder Schuld (no punishment without fault) if the innocent owner must bear the burden of proof. Furthermore, uncertainty in punishment also arises from the failure of system integration, which allows violators to ignore confirmation letters, thereby reducing the deterrent effect. The existence of these problems indicates a gap between the law as written and the law that operates in society, resulting in an imperfect sanction enforcement process.<sup>11</sup>

The success of ETLE is determined not only by the quality of its technology, but also by non-legal factors of a social and cultural nature. Indonesia's legal culture, which still tends to negotiate the law and avoid sanctions, presents a significant obstacle to a rigid automated system. Varied levels of legal awareness across regions also influence responses to electronic traffic tickets. Furthermore, social structure and economic differences also play a significant role. For example, groups with limited access to information and technology tend to be more resistant or have difficulty adapting to this new system. Sociological legal theory emphasizes that law must be compatible with local culture to be effective, and ETLE must demonstrate that it does not conflict with the values of justice held by the community. Therefore, the acceptance of ETLE cannot be separated from the context of the existing legal culture. Issues surrounding ETLE, ranging from shifts in social control, ambiguity of accountability, to community resistance, are the main subjects of legal sociology studies. This research uses a legal sociology framework to analyze law as a social phenomenon, not just as a text. A focus on legal effectiveness, institutional legitimacy, and social change is key to understanding the success or failure of ETLE. Legal sociology will measure the extent to which this digital law has succeeded in building public trust, sustainably changing behavior, and creating justice that is accessible to all levels of society.

Based on the complexity of the problems above, this research is very urgent to be conducted to comprehensively evaluate the implementation of ETLE in Indonesia from the perspective of legal sociology. This urgency is focused on three central issues outlined in the problem formulation. First, it is important to measure the effectiveness of the Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) system in transforming traffic law enforcement mechanisms in Indonesia to see whether automation actually results in better enforcement. Second, this study aims to measure the effect of changes in social control mechanisms from direct interaction to automation in ETLE on the perception of fairness and public trust in law enforcement. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether the loss of interaction actually creates new distrust in society. Third, this study is crucial to analyze the influence of legal culture and social structure on the acceptance and effectiveness of traffic law enforcement through the ETLE system. By answering these three research focuses, this research is expected to provide academic and practical contributions in formulating ideal, fair, and sustainable traffic law enforcement policies in the digital era.

### Formulation of the problem:

From the background discussed above, the formulation of the problems that will be raised include:

- a. How is the implementation and effectiveness of the Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) system in changing the traffic law enforcement mechanism in Indonesia?
- b. How does the change in social control mechanisms from direct interaction to automation in ETLE affect the perception of justice and public trust in law enforcement in Indonesia?
- c. How do legal culture and social structures influence the acceptance and effectiveness of traffic law enforcement through the ETLE system in Indonesia?

### Research methods

This research uses a normative juridical method, which focuses on the analysis of existing legal norms and the analysis of the rules that apply within the scope of traffic law in Indonesia, particularly related to the implementation of

<sup>11</sup>Sijabat, PM, Nopianti, H., & Hanum, SH (2024). Transformation of New Media and Culture: Drivers' Non-Compliance with Traffic Regulations to the Implementation of ETLE (E-Tilang) in Bengkulu City. *Andalas Journal of Sociology* , Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 136-152. <https://jsa.fisip.unand.ac.id/index.php/jsa/article/download/360/97>

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the ETLE system. The approaches used in this research include a legislative approach, which examines various laws and regulations governing the implementation of ETLE, such as Police Regulation Number 2 of 2025 and the Law on Traffic and Road Transportation; a case approach, which analyzes the implementation of ETLE in traffic law enforcement practices in society; and a conceptual approach, which looks at legal theories, legal sociology, and legal culture that influence the effectiveness of the system's implementation. The type of data used in this study is secondary data, which includes primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials. Primary legal materials include laws, regulations, and official documents related to ETLE; secondary legal materials include literature, books, journals, and scientific articles relevant to this topic; while tertiary legal materials include legal encyclopedias, legal dictionaries, and other sources that provide additional information. Data collection techniques are carried out through literature studies, by analyzing legal documents and related literature. The data analysis technique used is qualitative analysis, namely analyzing the data obtained in depth and systematically to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of ETLE in the context of legal culture and social structure in Indonesia.

## DISCUSSION

### Implementation and Effectiveness of the Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) System in Changing Traffic Law Enforcement Mechanisms in Indonesia

Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE), also known as Electronic Ticketing, is a traffic law enforcement system that utilizes information and communication technology to automatically detect, record, and enforce violations. This system arose from the need to address the weaknesses of conventional law enforcement, which is prone to discretionary interactions and corrupt practices. The main concept of ETLE, as emphasized in the Republic of Indonesia National Police Regulation Number 2 of 2025, is to cut off direct interaction between violators and police officers, thereby ensuring transparency and accountability in the ticketing process. Technically, ETLE relies on smart cameras and an integrated system to record violation data. The goal is to create higher legal certainty and reduce the number of violations across all integrated areas. Thus, ETLE represents a paradigm shift in law enforcement from a person-based to a data-driven one, fully supported by the latest Police regulations.<sup>12</sup>

The implementation of ETLE in Indonesia has a strong legal basis, encompassing regulations from the statutory level to the implementing regulations through the Regulation of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia. The main basis is Law Number 22 of 2009 concerning Road Traffic and Transportation (LLAJ Law), which regulates the authority to investigate and prosecute traffic violations. In addition, Law Number 19 of 2016 concerning Amendments to Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (ITE) also provides legal legitimacy to electronic evidence, as recognized in Article 5 of the ITE Law concerning the status of electronic information and documents as a form of expanding evidence that is valid for use in Indonesian procedural law.<sup>13</sup> In this regard, the operational mechanism for enforcement is specifically regulated in detail in the Regulation of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 of 2025. This Regulation explicitly regulates the procedures for enforcement, identification of the validity of recordings, and the stages of the electronic ticketing administration process. Regulation 2/2025 also ensures that camera recordings have legal standing as evidence and guarantees a legitimate and standardized judicial process. This Police Regulation serves as a practical guide for all ranks of the Indonesian National Police in carrying out digital law enforcement duties. The ETLE law enforcement mechanism is divided into several automated stages strictly regulated in Perpol 2/2025 to ensure accountability. The first stage is the capture of violations by integrated hardware (cameras). The second stage is the validation and verification of recorded data by officers at the Traffic Management Center (TMC) who serve as the back office. In accordance with Article 10 of Perpol 2/2025, the recording

<sup>12</sup>Tanur, YAD, Sudjiarto, T., & Hutahaean, A. (2024). Traffic Law Enforcement Through E-Tilang in Increasing Traffic Law Awareness: A Case Study of the Republic of Indonesia National Police, Badung Resort, Bali. *Syntax Idea*, Vol. 6, No. 5, pp. 2106-2118. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46799/syntax-idea.v6i5.3255>

<sup>13</sup>Hikami, I. (2022). The Dilemma of the Electronic Information and Transactions Law in Journalism Practice: A Review of Panopticon Theory. *Journal of Journalism Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.15408/jsj.v4i1.25846>

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results are verified and matched with the <sup>14</sup>Electronic Registration and Identification (ERI) database to identify the vehicle owner. The third stage is the sending of a confirmation letter containing details of the violation, as regulated in Article 11 of Perpol 2/2025. The fourth stage, as regulated in Article 12 of Perpol 2/2025, is confirmation by the vehicle owner within a certain time limit, which is key to determining the legal subject. The fifth stage, if the vehicle owner confirms a traffic violation, a ticket is issued (Article 13 of Perpol 2/2025), which then, after confirmation, a Virtual Account (VA) is issued for payment of the fine. The entire process is essentially designed to maximize efficiency and reduce the opportunity for human subjectivity, in accordance with the transparency mandate of Perpol 2/2025.

The scope of violations covered by the ETLE system is specifically regulated in Police Regulation 2/2025, which refers to the types of violations that can be proven through electronic recordings. Common violations include violating road signs and markings, running red lights, not wearing seat belts, and not wearing SNI helmets. Police Regulation 2/2025 allows for enforcement of speeding violations (using speed guns), using gadgets while driving, and violations related to license plates. This expansion of the scope is adjusted to the ability of electronic recording technology to precisely identify these types of violations. All types of violations, as regulated in Articles 287 to 293 of the LLAJ Law, can be prosecuted provided that the electronic recording meets the requirements for validity and validity of evidence. In this regard, Police Regulation 2/2025 provides clear guidance on the minimum requirements for recording quality to be valid as evidence.

The implementation of ETLE has been designated as a national program by the Indonesian National Police (Polri), regulated by various strategic policies. Implementation began in major cities with high traffic density and was then gradually expanded to all regional police (Polda) regions in Indonesia. The National ETLE concept is designed to ensure that violation data from one region can be sanctioned in other regions through the integration of the Regident database throughout Indonesia. The main objective of this expanded reach is to eliminate loopholes for violators who move between regions (zero geographic tolerance). With the enactment of Perpol 2/2025, technical and procedural standardization of enforcement actions across all regional police regions is uniform. This broad enforcement reach aims to create uniform law enforcement and instill certainty that every violation, wherever it occurs, will result in sanctions.<sup>15</sup>

The implementation of ETLE, reinforced by Police Regulation 2/2025, fundamentally changes the traffic law enforcement mechanism from a discretionary system to an administrative one. This change is the core of the National Police's law enforcement bureaucratic reform. Previously, interactions between officers and violators were highly susceptible to moral hazard practices such as extortion or negotiation. Now, legal action is based on objective facts recorded by camera sensors, eliminating any room for subjectivity or negotiation. In this regard, the introduction of ETLE also indicates a shift in focus from field policing to data analysis and ticket administration management at the Traffic Police Traffic Control Center (TMC), a tangible impact of the system's implementation. This new mechanism is also expected to restore the image of a transparent and accountable law enforcement institution.<sup>16</sup>

From an effectiveness perspective, ETLE has demonstrated significant success in reducing corruption and increasing certainty of punishment. The absence of direct physical interaction is expected to break the chain of extortion and fine negotiations, a key goal of law enforcement reform in the traffic sector. Statistics frequently show an increase in the number of officially paid fines, indicating increased legal certainty and state revenue. Furthermore, the system has demonstrated effectiveness in creating a temporal deterrent effect (spot deterrence) at camera locations. This success lies primarily in increasing certainty of punishment, a key pillar of deterrence theory. Implementation, supported by specific regulations such as Police Regulation 2/2025, strengthens public confidence in the integrity of enforcement outcomes.

<sup>14</sup>Genda, EA, Hakim, A., Noor, I., & Setyowati, E. (2025). Smart Policing: The Impact of E-TLE Implementation on Traffic Behavior in South Sumatra, Indonesia. *Journal of Ecohumanism*, Vol. 4, no. 1, p. 2119–2126. <https://doi.org/10.62754/joe.v4i1.6035>

<sup>15</sup>Wasiati, C., & Razak, MIA (2023). Implementation of Police Chief's Telegram Mail Number ST/2264/X/HUM.3.4.5/2022 About Law Enforcement for Violation of The Traffic Law an Empirical Study at The Traffic Control Center of State Police of DIY. *Widya Pranata Hukum Journal of Legal Studies and Research*, Vol. 5, no. 1.

<sup>16</sup>Windiyastuti, FAAF, & Abdullah, FA (2022). Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) as a Digitalization of the Traffic Ticketing Process. *Citizenship Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 1978-1984. <https://download.garuda.kemdikbud.go.id/article.php?article=3034835&val=20674&title=Electronic%20Traffic%20Law%20Enforcement%20ETLE%20As%20Digitalization%20of%20the%20Tilang%20Proses>

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However, the implementation of ETLE also faces technical and administrative obstacles that impact the effectiveness of its enforcement. Technical obstacles include challenges in device maintenance and calibration, as well as limited coverage in areas where cameras are not yet installed. Furthermore, administrative obstacles arise in the data confirmation and validation process, where vehicle owner address data often does not match the Regident database, resulting in delayed traffic tickets. Article 14 of Police Regulation 2/2025 regulates the mechanism for confirmation failures and the implications of vehicle registration (STNK) blocking. However, such data imperfections also have the potential to create enforcement gaps that disrupt consistent law enforcement in the traffic sector.

The biggest problem with ETLE, closely related to the sociological perspective of law, is the issue of uncertainty regarding accountability for traffic violations that have occurred. Articles 11 and 14 of Police Regulation 2/2025 stipulate that traffic tickets and initial action are directed to the vehicle owner. However, in social reality, a vehicle is often used by another party, making the formal owner not the perpetrator of the violation, but ultimately still subject to legal responsibility. This creates procedural injustice and contradicts the principle of Geen Straf Zonder Schuld (no crime without fault) because the owner is forced to prove his innocence. This situation triggers resistance and cynicism from the public, because they feel the system is unfair and does not take into account the social realities of vehicle use.

Public resistance to ETLE is expressed as a sociological response to the new legal system. This resistance extends beyond technical avoidance of cameras, to ignoring confirmation letters as a form of rejection of procedures perceived as rigid. Indonesian legal culture, which still tends to seek shortcuts or negotiate legal terms, presents a significant obstacle to an automated system. Low levels of legal awareness often lead people to ignore traffic tickets, ultimately facing administrative sanctions such as vehicle registration (STNK) blocking. In this regard, although Police Regulation 2/2025 has clarified traffic law enforcement procedures, it has not fully resolved the problem of adapting to a legal culture accustomed to a discretionary system.

The long-term effectiveness of ETLE must go beyond the certainty of immediate action, toward building normative compliance. Police Regulation 2/2025, with its focus on the certainty of recorded evidence, is highly effective for instrumental compliance (compliance due to fear of being ticketed). However, to achieve normative compliance, the system must be accompanied by socialization efforts that emphasize the principle of substantive justice, not just formal justice. If the public understands and believes the process is fair, resistance will decrease, and compliance will become part of the collective consciousness. Without integrating these values, ETLE will only be a partial, coercive solution that is incapable of profoundly transforming society's legal culture.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the implementation of ETLE, as detailed in Police Regulation No. 2 of 2025, has essentially transformed the law enforcement mechanism from a personal to an automated one, which is expected to reduce the potential for corruption and increase transparency in law enforcement. However, this system also creates sociological challenges in law, particularly regarding the uncertainty of legal liability and public resistance to impersonal control systems. This shift in enforcement mechanisms has profound implications for perceptions of justice and public trust.

### Changes in Social Control Mechanisms from Direct Interaction to Automation in the Use of the Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) System and Its Impact on Perceptions of Justice and Public Trust

From a sociological perspective, social control is defined as a set of mechanisms, both formal and informal, used by society or the state to direct and ensure compliance by members of society with existing norms and rules. The primary purpose of social control is to maintain social order, prevent deviance, and maintain structural stability in society.<sup>18</sup> In this regard, formal law, as represented by law enforcement officials and the judicial system, is the most structured form of social control and has coercive sanctions. However, social control also operates through non-legal norms, such as customs, religion, and social pressure. The effectiveness of law depends heavily on the synergy between these formal and informal social controls. Therefore, when viewed from a sociological perspective, it is essential to examine how law, as an agent of social control, interacts with the behavior of individuals and groups within society.

<sup>17</sup>Adhitia, S., Nurdin, N., & Rajab, R. (2025). Challenges in Implementing the ETLE (Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement) Policy in the Indonesian Traffic Corps. *Journal of Public Policy and Applied Administration* , pp. 27-56. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32834/jplan.v7i1.871>

<sup>18</sup>Yesmil Anwar Adang, *Sociology for Universities* , Bandung: Refika Aditama. p. 74.

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One expert who is very relevant in the discussion of social control is Donald Black through his work *The Behavior of Law*. Black defines law as government social control and views law as varying in quantity and style depending on the social dimension. Black divides legal social control into a vertical dimension consisting of social hierarchy and authority and a horizontal dimension consisting of social proximity and culture.<sup>19</sup> Another expert, Emile Durkheim, sees law as a manifestation of social solidarity, where repressive (criminal) law is dominant in societies with mechanical solidarity (similar) and restitutive (civil) law is dominant in organic solidarity (different). Effective social control, according to Durkheim, will internalize norms so that deviations are minimized.<sup>20</sup> Both of these views emphasize that legal control mechanisms never stand alone, but are closely tied to the structure and social interactions of society.

Social control in conventional traffic law enforcement is characterized by direct, face-to-face interaction between police officers and violators. This mechanism creates a personal and discretionary control. Law enforcement officers have the discretion to assess the situation, decide whether to take action, and even reprimand or educate violators directly. In the context of legal sociology, this direct interaction creates a very clear power relationship, where traffic law enforcement officers, namely the police, hold full authority in the field. The advantage of this system is the potential for flexible education and intervention against violations. However, its fundamental weakness, as outlined in sociological critiques, is the vulnerability of this power relationship to deviation and corruption (extortion), which ultimately undermines the legitimacy of the law.

The implementation of Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) represents a radical shift from social control, initially carried out in person, to an automated and impersonal manner. The primary means of control are no longer uniformed officers, but rather cameras and algorithms. This shift cuts off the physical interaction that has historically been a source of vulnerability to the integrity of law enforcement. Social control through ETLE operates based on the principles of technical objectivity and system certainty that records every violation without discrimination or discretion. This system reflects the use of technology as an instrument of mass social control, capable of monitoring wider areas and for longer durations than human officers.<sup>21</sup> This transformation shifts the role of officers from "catchers" of violators to "validators" of traffic violation data at the Traffic Management Center (TMC).

From a critical sociological perspective, automated control through ETLE can be analyzed using Michel Foucault's Panopticon concept. Although Foucault primarily discussed prison architecture, his concept can also be applied to digital control mechanisms, as reflected in ETLE. In this case, with the implementation of ETLE, every individual knows they are being watched at all times, thus fostering discipline and compliance with existing norms. In this case, although ETLE cameras are not always active in every corner, their presence creates the illusion of total surveillance that encourages instrumental compliance for every individual in a society. This compliance arises from the factor of obedience due to fear of violations being discovered by automated machines. This control does not require a large human workforce, but it is widespread and efficient. This type of control aims to instill discipline through the mechanization and uncertainty of supervision.

However, the shift in control mechanisms from direct interaction to automation has a dual impact on public perceptions of justice. On the one hand, ETLE improves distributive justice by eliminating discrimination by eliminating bargaining over fines and ensuring that every violator, regardless of social status, can be prosecuted based on the same evidence. This enhances the perception of horizontal justice, namely equal treatment among violators.<sup>22</sup> However, on the other hand, ETLE creates crucial issues related to procedural justice, where people perceive the process as unfair when they are ticketed without the opportunity to defend themselves on the spot (the right to be heard) or when sanctions are imposed on owners who are not the actual perpetrators at the scene. This procedural injustice is often a major source of

<sup>19</sup>Donald Black, *The Behavior of Law*, (New York: Academic Press, 1976), p. 2.

<sup>20</sup>Esmi Warassih, *Legal Institutions: A Sociological Study* (Semarang: Pustaka Magister Publisher, 2016).

<sup>21</sup>Fitriana, ALZ, Rayodin, H., & Pakih, I. (2024). Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) as a Social Engineering Tool for Traffic Order. *Indonesian Legal Media (MHI)*, Vol. 2, No. 4.

<sup>22</sup>Rahman, A., Maino, IE, Entaren, HD, Entaren, HM, Asse, AF, Sari, II, ... & Worang, RM (2023). Social Engineering Through Electronic Ticketing for Online Motorcycle Taxi Drivers in Manado City. *Lentera Journal: Research and Community Service*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 30-34.

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public resistance to the system used by the government.<sup>23</sup> Issues within the ETLE mechanism that have the potential to undermine perceptions of justice include the ambiguity of the legal subject in determining legal responsibility for traffic violations. In this case, ETLE takes action based on vehicle data, not the perpetrator. Therefore, when the owner is forced to prove his innocence, as is the burden of proof for traffic violations, he feels the system has violated the principle of due process of law. The public's perception of substantive justice is harmed because they feel punished without any element of personal fault. Therefore, when viewed from a legal sociology perspective, it is actually found that the public should be more likely to accept harsh laws if the process is believed to be fair, and conversely, if the system is deemed unfair, it will be rejected even if the ultimate goal is good.

Changes in social control have had a significant and contradictory impact on public trust in law enforcement. Positively, ETLE increases trust by successfully reducing the potential for corruption in the field, a major source of distrust in the Indonesian National Police (Polri). This system demonstrates an institutional commitment to transparency and accountability. However, negatively, automated controls can undermine trust by removing the human element and personal interaction. In this case, the public will trust the application of technology to the law enforcement process, but will have less confidence in a legal process that feels rigid and difficult to access for filing defenses, clarifications, or objections. If the public feels alienated from the legal process, trust in the institution as a whole can decline.

Public resistance to ETLE is a clear sociological manifestation of collective distrust or deep dissatisfaction with the new, automated social control system. This resistance takes various forms, ranging from passive actions such as ignoring confirmation letters and delaying fine payments, to active actions such as manipulating license plates or seeking technical loopholes to avoid camera detection.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, this dissatisfaction is also expressed through social movements on digital media, where the public collectively criticizes the inconsistencies and procedural injustices in ETLE enforcement. This resistance phenomenon sociologically indicates that formal law (ETLE regulations) is in direct conflict with living law, as society is now accustomed to social norms that have long been in effect in the field, where negotiation and discretion are still considered normal.

When communities collectively organize to circumvent or circumvent these new control mechanisms, it sends a strong sociological signal that the legitimacy of laws built on technological foundations has not been fully accepted. From a sociological perspective, this legitimacy will only be firmly established if the system can guarantee equal procedural fairness. Public trust will only grow sustainably if the enforcement system provides accessible, transparent, and demonstrably fair channels of communication and clarification. Failure to establish these fair channels of communication risks seeing ETLE as an instrument of coercion, rather than a tool for public safety.

The successful adoption of automated social control is heavily influenced by the legal culture of Indonesian society. A culture that tends to be collectivistic and prioritizes personal relationships, as reflected in a culture of negotiation, will inherently struggle to adapt to an impersonal and rigid control system implemented through ETLE. If the legal culture still views law as negotiable, then ETLE will be viewed as a challenge to be overcome, rather than a rule to be obeyed. In this regard, **Lawrence M. Friedman** emphasizes that legal effectiveness is determined by three elements: structure, substance, and legal culture.<sup>25</sup> A legal culture that has not fully adapted to digital zero tolerance is a major obstacle to optimizing the effectiveness of ETLE. The impersonal and rigid nature of ETLE's automated social control fundamentally clashes with this culture of negotiation, causing society to view the system as a challenge to be overcome rather than a norm to be obeyed. Friedman emphasizes that good substance (ETLE) will not work effectively if the legal culture is not adaptive. Therefore, a culture that has not yet accepted digital law enforcement is a major obstacle to optimizing the effectiveness of ETLE. This gap between societal expectations (culture) and systemic coercion (substance) is what gives rise to sociological resistance, such as ignoring traffic tickets and data manipulation. Thus, the successful adoption of ETLE depends heavily on social engineering efforts to shift the legal culture from a personal-

<sup>23</sup>Adhinugroho, W., Ismiyanto, I., & Muhtarom, M. (2024). Implementation of Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) in Realizing Legal Certainty and Justice. *Innovative: Journal of Social Science Research*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 808-816.

<sup>24</sup>Setiawan, E., & Jauhari, T. (2024). OPTIMIZATION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT HUMAN RESOURCES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ELECTRONIC TICKETING. *The Juris*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 501-509.

<sup>25</sup>Lawrence M. Friedman, *Legal Systems: A Social Science Perspective* (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2009), p. 51.

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negotiated to a digital-disciplined one.<sup>26</sup> To address the negative impacts of automated social control and improve perceptions of fairness, sociological and adaptive solutions need to be implemented. Solutions should focus on improving procedural fairness, such as providing a simple, fast, and fully online complaint mechanism, and improving the accuracy of Regident data. It's also crucial to shift the focus from mere enforcement to digital education by explaining to the public why the system is fair and how the process works. Law enforcement agencies should also use ETLE data not only for enforcement but also for risk analysis and social engineering, for example, improving traffic planning so that the public sees ETLE as a safety tool, rather than a rigid law enforcement tool and system that only serves to collect fines.

Thus, the ETLE system has fundamentally succeeded in creating a significant shift in social control, shifting from traffic law enforcement primarily through personal interaction to digital automation. This mechanism is expected to increase the effectiveness of the anti-corruption agenda and enhance the certainty of traffic law enforcement. However, this shift presents a sociological dilemma: an increase in distributive justice is offset by a decrease in procedural justice, particularly regarding the ambiguity of legal accountability for traffic violators, which is currently based solely on the identity of the motorcycle owner, not the actual violators. Consequently, this issue has a two-sided impact on public trust: increased trust in the integrity of the process, but decreased trust in the fairness of the process. For ETLE to achieve long-term effectiveness and gain full legitimacy, the control system must be aligned with legal culture and provide fair space for anyone suspected of committing a traffic violation to defend themselves before being fined. Therefore, technology must essentially be an instrument of justice, not a tool for imposing control without direct, human interaction.

### The Influence of Legal Culture and Social Structure on the Acceptance and Effectiveness of Traffic Law Enforcement through the Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) System in Indonesia

In the sociology of law, legal culture refers to the attitudes, beliefs, values, and expectations of society toward the legal system and its enforcement processes. Legal culture encompasses the internalization of norms, the extent to which society views the law as recognized by the majority and worthy of obedience. Legal culture is not merely knowledge of regulations, but rather the moral and psychological disposition of individuals in dealing with the law. The success or failure of a legal policy is largely determined by the extent to which it aligns with the prevailing legal culture. A strong legal culture is characterized by the awareness that law is a tool for achieving collective justice, not merely an instrument of coercion. In short, legal culture is the soul of the legal system. This culture determines whether society chooses to comply voluntarily or simply because of the threat of sanctions.

One of the central figures in the concept of legal culture is **Lawrence M. Friedman**, who divides the legal system into three main components: Structure, Substance, and Legal Culture. According to Friedman, legal culture is the most important and most difficult element to change and acts as a factor in accepting or rejecting new laws. Friedman argues that new laws containing new substances when enforced by the legal structure will be ineffective if they conflict with the entrenched legal culture.<sup>27</sup> In this case, a permissive legal culture will respond to strict laws with rejection or attempts to avoid them. Therefore, Friedman emphasizes that the study of legal culture is absolutely necessary to understand why the law works differently in various societies. Legal culture reflects the extent to which law has become part of people's daily lives.

Social structure in the sociology of law refers to relatively stable patterns of relationships among individuals and groups in society, including class divisions, power distributions, and access to resources. Social structure determines who has the power to make laws and who is most affected by their enforcement. Laws often serve to legitimize or challenge existing social structures, as analyzed by critical thinkers. For example, differences in economic class can determine a person's access to legal aid or their ability to pay fines. Unequal social structures can result in distributive injustice, where the burden of law enforcement tends to be heavier for marginalized groups. Legal culture and social structure have a dialectical relationship and influence each other in the context of law enforcement. A weak legal culture that often tolerates corruption will tend to be maintained by corrupt social structures or favor certain elites. Conversely, a democratic and just social structure will foster a strong and responsive legal culture. In the context of traffic, social

<sup>26</sup>Lawrence M Friedman, "The Concept of the Self in Legal Culture," *Cleveland State Law Review* Vol. 38, no. 4 (1990): p. 517-34

<sup>27</sup>Al Kautsar, I., & Muhammad, DW (2022). Lawrence M. Friedman's Modern Legal System: Legal Culture and Social Change in Society From Industrial to Digital. *Sapientia Et Virtus*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 84-99. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37477/sev.v7i2.358>

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structure can be represented by differences in driver classes, for example, between motorcyclists and luxury car drivers, where legal culture can foster the view that only "little people" will be ticketed. Friedman emphasized that legal effectiveness is achieved when all three components—structure, substance, and legal culture—are in harmonious balance. In this case, if there is a conflict between these three elements, it will actually be a major source of law enforcement failure in a society or a particular group. Indonesia's traffic law culture has traditionally been characterized by several traits that attempt to challenge or circumvent law enforcement.<sup>28</sup> The first trait is a high tolerance for minor violations, such as illegal parking and short-distance driving, which are considered folk law or established norms. The second trait is a culture of negotiation or legal opportunism, where people view law enforcement as an opportunity to negotiate sanctions (bargain over fines). The third trait is instrumental compliance, which involves compliance simply because officers are present, not because of an internalized sense of safety. This permissive legal culture has proven resistant to formal law, creating a gap between written law and practice. This is the sociological background that law enforcement innovations must address.

The implementation of the ETLE system directly confronts this negotiating legal culture. In this case, ETLE is designed to eliminate human interaction and enforce certainty of punishment. The public's initial reaction to ETLE is a mixture of fear and resistance. Fear arises from the certainty of detection, while resistance arises from the loss of opportunities for negotiation or interaction. This resistance manifests itself in attempts to avoid camera areas or ignore traffic tickets, a cultural response to the loss of discretion. Legal sociology views this resistance as a conflict between formal and rigid state law and living unlawful acts, which are perceived as flexible and directed at each individual. Social structures significantly influence the acceptance and effectiveness of ETLE in Indonesia. Social groups with low levels of digital literacy (for example, rural communities or certain age groups) experience significant difficulties responding to confirmation letters or making payments electronically. This can create a digital equity gap that structurally hinders their access to due process. Furthermore, class differences also impact middle- and upper-income groups; ETLE fines may not be perceived as burdensome, thus having minimal deterrent effect for them. Conversely, for lower-income groups, stiff fines can be a heavy structural burden that can ultimately trigger distributive injustice.

The effectiveness of ETLE must be measured by its ability to shift the culture of compliance from instrumental to normative. Currently, ETLE tends to be strong in encouraging instrumental compliance, namely getting people to comply in front of cameras placed in specific locations. However, if the underlying legal culture remains unchanged, ETLE will only create a spot effect where compliance relies heavily on technology. In the long term, ETLE must successfully internalize the values of safety and order. ETLE's failure to accurately identify legal subjects can actually undermine the culture of compliance, as the public perceives procedural injustices that can be refuted or circumvented. The issue of uncertainty regarding legal accountability for violators, whether they are the actual owner or simply the driver, is the focus of the ETLE analysis, which directly interacts with Indonesian legal culture. In a legal culture that values togetherness, collective efforts often occur to cover up for perpetrators or impose fines internally, without involving the legal system. This collectivist culture clashes with the ETLE system, which demands clear individual accountability. In this regard, Police Regulation 2/2025 provides a deadline for confirmation, but a legal culture that appears slow or ignores official letters often results in administrative sanctions such as blocking vehicle registration certificates (STNKs) as the only way to enforce existing regulations. This culture of procrastination is a structural factor that hinders the effectiveness of digital law enforcement.<sup>29</sup> Resistance to ETLE is not merely passive, or simply ignoring violation notifications, but also structurally active, such as through the forgery or manipulation of vehicle license plates. This phenomenon reflects a legal culture that seeks loopholes in the formal system. In this case, a social structure that allows easy access to fake license plates or data manipulation services indicates a structural failure in document formality controls. As long as the legal culture tolerates this administrative dishonesty, the effectiveness of ETLE enforcement will continue to be threatened. This demonstrates that without improvements to the population and vehicle administration

<sup>28</sup>Herviani, F., Zuhriah, E., & Yasin, RCL (2022). Judges' Considerations in Granting Marriage Dispensation: A Legal System Theory Perspective by Lawrence M. Friedman at the Malang Religious Court. *Intellectual Journal: Islam, Social and Science* , Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 117-127.

<sup>29</sup>Fahmi, MR, & Nurbaedah, N. (2025). IMPLEMENTATION OF ELECTRONIC TRAFFIC LAW ENFORCEMENT IN REDUCING THE LEVEL OF TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS BASED ON ARTICLE 272 OF LAW NUMBER 22 OF 2009 CONCERNING TRAFFIC AND ROAD TRANSPORTATION (Case Study in Tulungagung Regency). *Mizan: Journal of Legal Studies* , Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 383-393.

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structure, ETLE technology cannot stand alone. To increase the acceptance and effectiveness of ETLE, strong social engineering efforts are needed, as emphasized by Roscoe Pound regarding the role of law in changing society.<sup>30</sup> This social engineering must be aimed at improving legal culture, not just enforcement. Education must instill an understanding that ETLE is a tool of safety, not merely punishment. Socialization programs must be adaptive to social structures, using communication channels that reach groups with low digital literacy. By building a legal culture that believes in the procedural justice of the system, resistance will be reduced, and normative compliance will grow organically. Thus, the effectiveness of traffic law enforcement through ETLE is fundamentally influenced by a legal culture that tends to be negotiative and permissive, as well as a social structure that creates a digital divide. ETLE successfully addresses the weaknesses of a law enforcement structure still riddled with corrupt practices, but in reality, it faces difficulties when confronted with a legal culture that is resistant to impersonal certainty. The influence of social structure is clearly evident in issues of access to justice and the unequal impact of fines. Therefore, to maximize the effectiveness of ETLE, enforcement measures must be balanced with improvements in legal culture (through values education) and social structure (through increased literacy and access to justice) to ensure that this digital law is truly accepted and internalized as a collective norm.

### Conclusion

The implementation of Electronic Traffic Law Enforcement (ETLE) in Indonesia has shifted the paradigm of traffic law enforcement, from a person-based system to an automated, data-driven one. Using camera technology and an integrated system, ETLE ensures transparency and accountability in enforcing traffic violations, reducing corruption, and increasing legal certainty. This system is also supported by strong regulations, such as Police Regulation No. 2 of 2025, which details enforcement procedures and the use of electronic recordings as valid evidence. By expanding its implementation throughout Indonesia, ETLE strives to create uniform law enforcement and eliminate loopholes for violators who move between regions. However, while ETLE is effective in increasing transparency and reducing corruption, it faces challenges in the sociology of law, particularly related to procedural fairness. Many people feel it is unfair when sanctions are imposed on vehicle owners who are not the actual perpetrators of the violation, which creates resistance to the system. Furthermore, while ETLE improves distributive justice by eliminating negotiation and bargaining over fines, it reduces the opportunity for violators to directly defend themselves, which affects the public's perception of the fairness of law enforcement.

largely influenced by the existing legal culture and social structure. A permissive legal culture, where people tend to tolerate minor violations and rely on negotiating fines, conflicts with the ETLE system, which prioritizes legal certainty and eliminates discretion. Furthermore, social structures, including the digital divide and class differences, also influence ETLE acceptance, with low-income groups facing heavier fines and those with low digital literacy experiencing difficulties in following electronic legal procedures. To increase the effectiveness of ETLE, social engineering efforts are needed to transform the legal culture to be more supportive of normative compliance and improve social structures, such as increasing digital literacy and access to justice, so that this system can be widely accepted and implemented fairly across all levels of society. Furthermore, for ETLE to be more effective in the long term, it is important to synchronize this system with the legal culture of society and ensure there is room for fair and transparent self-defense in every process of enforcement against a traffic violation.

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