Institutional and Social Pressure in Violating the Police Code of Ethics

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Abstract

Institutional and social pressures on police officers often lead to violations of the code of ethics. This study aims to determine how institutional and social pressures can encourage ethical violations committed by police officers. This research is a qualitative study based on in-depth interviews with seven informants to explore and precisely describe the social phenomena that occur. The theory of anomie and the new institutional theory serve as the analytical tools in this research to produce unique and comprehensive findings. The research findings affirm that there are two types of police in responding to institutional pressure: police who view institutional pressure as a whip to work harder, and police who feel pressured by that pressure. In addition to institutional pressure, police also face social pressure in the form of demands to meet public expectations, which include: (1) police as 'all-knowing gods'; (2) police as superheroes for the community; and (3) police acting as influencers. The disparity in access and resources among police officers in meeting institutional and societal expectations drives some members to experience ethical conflicts that result in violations of the code of ethics. In institutional theory, ethics should serve as a tool to regulate behavior. In reality, this is hindered by unequal access and resources for each member within an institution, in this case, police officers. As a result, police officers who do not have adequate access and resources are driven to commit ethical violations to respond to institutional and social pressures.

Keywords: Police, Code of Ethics Violations, Institutional Pressure, Social Pressure.

INTRODUCTION

Violations of the police code of ethics are a social phenomenon studied from a social science perspective in this research. This phenomenon was chosen because the police, who are supposed to be agents of social control (Christmas & Angelina, 2022), instead commit ethical violations in their own homes. Normatively, the police must adhere to the Indonesian National Police Regulation Number 6 of 2017, which assigns the police to maintain public security and order. The community believes that the police, as part of the social institution, are capable of working professionally in carrying out their duties as social control (Wang & Sun, 2020). Unfortunately, those social demands have not yet been fully realized. Proven by the frequent cases of police code of ethics violations that still occur in Indonesia. According to the Indonesian National Police Regulation Number 7 of 2022 concerning the Professional Code of Ethics and the Indonesian National Police Code of Ethics Commission, the Indonesian National

Police Professional Code of Ethics (KEPP) is a set of moral norms or rules, both written and unwritten, that serve as guidelines for the attitudes, behaviors, and actions of Indonesian National Police officials in carrying out their duties, authorities, responsibilities, and daily lives. Meanwhile, what is meant by a violation is any act committed by a Polri Officer that is contrary to the KEPP. In relation to bureaucratic ethics, the police institution has established clear and strict regulations regarding a set of codes of ethics that must be adhered to by police members. However, in reality, a small number of police officers choose to violate these regulations, leading to misconduct. Nationally, the number of ethical violations during the 2023 period reached 5,012 cases. Among these thousands of cases, there are five regional police departments with the highest number of ethical violations.

NO	REGIONAL POLICE	NUMBER OF CASES
1	Polda T	721
2	Polda U	533
3	Polda V	265
4	Polda W	235
5	Polda X	215

(Source: Indonesian National Police, 2023)

Table 1.1. Five Police Regions with the Highest Number of Ethical Violations on a National Scale

Ethical violations committed by a small number of police officers can lead to suboptimal performance in serving the community (Stelkia, 2020), and of course, can decrease public trust in the institution (Clark et al., 2023). Not only have social demands not been realized, but institutional demands requiring police officers to submit to and comply with the institution (Bishopp et al., 2020), have also been tarnished by a small group of police officers who commit ethical violations. The public is not only concerned about police code of ethics violations (Chand et al., 2022), but also about how the police carry out their duties (Brookes et al., 2019). The police are expected to be role models in society, as well as pioneers in crime eradication (Ferdik et al., 2022), and are also demanded to perform optimally so that their career progression can proceed progressively. Basically, the police receive many demands from the community, both personally and institutionally.

Meanwhile, within the police force itself, there are also gaps in power, economic capital, social capital, and gender that cause differences in achievements among the police members (Luo et al., 2019). In the police force, rank and position greatly determine the extent of power and influence held by police officers (Jackson, 2020). It should be noted that within the police institution, there is a strong power relationship between superiors and subordinates (Fitri & Arman, 2023). That gap serves as an indicator that access to achieving legal cultural goals is relatively narrow, so each police officer must compete in a competitive career circle. The disparity in legal access to achieve cultural goals ultimately creates opportunities for the police to pursue illegal means. The unlawful means to achieve cultural goals

employed by the police can be categorized as ethical violations, commonly referred to as the 'blue code.' (Westmarland & Rowe, 2018).

In the context of policing, cultural goals that tend to pressure police officers but are not balanced with institutionalized means can lead to anomie. According to Merton (1938), anomie is a condition that occurs due to a counterproductive relationship between cultural goals and the legitimate means to achieve those goals. Cultural goals are representations of social and institutional expectations for law enforcement officers. This encourages deviance, which according to Merton is a normal occurrence because when the social system obstructs people from achieving cultural goals, that is when individuals will choose non-normative means. Anomie can occur due to the imbalance between institutional means and cultural goals that are overly pressing (Faizi & Nayebi, 2023). The theory of anomie has long been an analytical tool for understanding the relationship between social structure, culture, and deviant behavior (Pillay et al., 2023). From the perspective of anomie, the consequences of structural tension often lead people to experience pressure and deviance (Novaković, 2023). This was found in the Police Force, where structural tension within the police leads to members experiencing pressure and resulting in deviance known as ethical code violations.

There are five adaptation strategies that members of society can adopt to overcome anomie according to Merton (1938),, including: 1) conformity, where individuals choose to accept the goals and means set by the social structure due to moral pressure; 2) innovation, where individuals accept the set goals but change the use of means; 3) ritualism, where individuals reject the set goals but accept and use the provided means; 4) retreatism, where both the set goals and means are completely rejected; 5) rebellion, where both the goals and means are not only rejected but also attempted to be replaced. Violations of the code of ethics are part of the 'deviance' of individuals within an institution, therefore, to obtain comprehensive analytical results, this research uses new institutional theory. Institutions are seen as entities that contain guidelines for action and behavior, and allow for sanctions in case of deviations. Besides being a theory, new institutionalism can also be used as an approach. The new institutional approach emerged in response to the weaknesses of the old institutionalism approach, which tended to emphasize formal structures and neglect the social and cultural influences of institutions. The key figures in the emergence of new institutionalism theory are Meyer & Rowan, (1977). Through their scholarly work titled "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," they explain how the process of institutions can shape organizations through cultural norms and values.

This research uses new institutionalized theory as a framework to examine ethical violations driven by institutional and social pressures. As an analytical tool, this research borrows the concept of isomorphism proposed by DiMaggio & Powell (1991) to examine how institutional and social pressures drive institutions to adapt, ultimately leading to violations of the Police Code of Ethics. This study categorizes pressure into two forms: institutional pressure originating from within the institution, and social pressure stemming from the external society. The categorization is intended to identify the forms of pressure on police officers not only from within the institution but also from society at large.

Similar research discussing the code of ethics within the Police environment has been conducted by several previous researchers, including Fathoni & Salim, (2023), who examined the implementation of the code of ethics in the Police. The research is sufficient to provide parameters for the understanding of the Police members regarding the code of ethics. However, the previous research has not succeeded in finding any denial of the code of ethics, which in this study is referred to as violations. Therefore, this research aims to fill that gap and delve into the ethical violations committed by police officers. Another previous study was conducted by Suharni et al., (2024) which highlighted efforts to enforce the Police Code of Ethics. In the study, it was emphasized that community participation is necessary as a control agent for the enforcement of the Police Code of Ethics. The recommendations from the study provide guidance for researchers that community involvement in social spaces is necessary to control the behavior of police officers. However, previous research has not succeeded in uncovering the paradox that if the community is involved in overseeing the enforcement of the code of ethics in the Police, this gap is utilized by this study as a novelty. The research conducted by Kansil & Vedora (2024) also specifically analyzes violations of the police code of ethics and abuse of authority, ultimately finding that ethical understanding among every police officer is an important aspect so that law enforcement carried out by police officers can bring satisfaction and justice to the community. The previous research is relevant to this study, but it has not succeeded in uncovering the factors causing ethical violations and abuse of authority as this study does.

From the three previous studies mentioned above, this research is original because it has a novelty orientation in the form of ethical code violations from institutional and social aspects that have not been comprehensively analyzed by previous researchers. The violation of police ethics seems to create a paradox in the minds of the public; the police, who are placed in the social and cultural structure as figures handling social deviations, are instead trapped in deviations within their own 'house.' That point is what underlies the conduct of this research. The paradox between the cultural goal that requires the police to behave perfectly and the inability of the social structure to accommodate the achievement of that goal is an interesting and unique aspect to be studied more deeply in this research. There are two research questions as the basis for data collection and analysis, namely: 1) How does institutional pressure within the organizational structure of the Police contribute to ethical code violations?; and 2) How does social pressure from the community influence ethical code violations among Police members?.

This research is a qualitative study based on in-depth interviews with informants to explore and precisely describe the social phenomena that occur. The primary data in this study consists of in-depth interviews conducted with seven members of Polda X who have committed violations in the past three years. This study applies purposive sampling techniques in determining informants. Secondary data in this study consists of library sources such as journal articles, books, and various research findings related to the Police Code of Ethics. Data analysis in this study refers to three analytical steps as emphasized by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, which include the stages of condensation, presentation, and

verification or data conclusion (Sugiyono, 2017).There are two reasons that underlie the focus of this research solely on Polda X. The first is that the number of police personnel in Polda X is the highest on a national scale. Referring to the data from the Polri Quarterly Strength Report for the third quarter of 2023, the number of Polda X personnel as of December 31, 2022, reached 37,993. The ratio compared to the population is 1:1087. The number of personnel is the largest in Indonesia. Second, this research is conducted to qualitatively examine whether the number of personnel will be proportional to the number of code of ethics violators at Polda X.

DISCUSSION

Institutional and Social Pressure at Polda X

Police are surrounded by binding rules that are coercive, both written and unwritten. DiMaggio & Powell (1991) explain that any institution that desires a strong and well-organized system must be active in rewarding compliance and must also be strict in imposing sanctions for non-compliance. The existence of binding regulations in the police force, whether acknowledged or not, can create institutional pressure for the police. It should be understood that pressure is not always associated with a negative connotation; in the context of this research, institutional pressure is seen as a predictor that can have a positive impact, but it can also bring negative influences. This study found three forms of institutional pressure present in the police environment, namely coercive pressure, normative influence, and mimicry.

Coercive Pressure

Coercive pressure is usually exerted by external stakeholders such as government authorities, non-governmental organizations, or agencies under the government. The presence of coercive pressure is believed to shape environmental protection and the legislative mandate of the organization (Berrone et al., 2013). At first glance, coercive pressure seems heavily influenced by external factors, but according to Roxas & Coetzer (2012), coercive pressure is also related to the internal behavior of individuals. As an institution that works for the government, Polda X cannot be separated from the roles of both internal and external stakeholders. Based on the data collection results, this research found that coercive pressure in the police environment always exists at various levels, from the National Police Headquarters (Mabes Polri), Regional Police (Polda), Resort Police (Polres), to Sector Police (Polsek). Each level has different coercive pressures according to the interests and policies within them.

First, the coercive pressure of legitimacy. Members of the East Java Police experienced coercive pressure stemming from political and legitimacy aspects. The political aspect in this case is not merely limited to the realm of practical politics. Moreover, politics is translated in the context of the distribution of power, authority, and positions. In the police environment, political elements always emerge to compete for power, obtain positions, and gain higher authority. It is not uncommon for police officers to pressure each other to obtain the highest positions in their ranks. Outstanding police officers will

secure the highest positions in the eyes of their superiors, and ultimately, this can bring benefits such as awards, promotions, and the like.

> "My violation was purely my fault, but behind it, there was indeed some kind of conditioning scheme that caused me to be frustrated because I was suddenly transferred." In my opinion, in the police force, especially at the place where I used to serve, violations committed by police officers can be intentional. The meaning of intentional is that mistakes are sought out or deliberately set up to make mistakes. The purpose of such entrapment is to sabotage the careers of police officers who are considered to be excelling. (Q2, June 2024).

From the results of data collection in the field, it was found that one of the impacts of political pressure within the police environment is the occurrence of ethical code violations by police members, which are done unconsciously. Some police officers are unaware that their actions fall under a violation of the code of ethics because their actions are not done of their own volition, but rather under the orders of their superiors.

> "Coincidentally, two years ago, I was investigated in a KKEP case as a suspected violator." In this case, I feel that I did not commit any wrongdoing because at the time of the incident, I had already been transferred from the Head of Criminal Investigation Unit at Police Sector A to the Head of Criminal Investigation Unit at Police Sector B. The transfer was effective from May 27, 2022, while the incident of a person dying in the detention room of Police Sector A occurred on May 29, 2022. At that time, based on the Sprin from the Chief of Police which stated: while waiting for further decisions, I was relieved from my duties and responsibilities as the former Kanit on May 27, 2022. However, the fact is that I am here following the orders of the Police Chief and have been declared guilty. "This is evidence that law enforcement is still selective," (Q1, June 2024)

A similar opinion was also expressed by Q6, who stated that he could not accept the sanction for the ethical violation because he felt he did not commit the alleged act. Such actions become an inseparable part of the political elements within the police environment. The goal is to remove members who are considered not aligned with the vision and mission of the leadership and to hinder the progress of the organization that has been built by seniors. As conveyed by informant Q3, members who do not align with the opinions of the leadership and senior members are made to feel alienated from the work environment.

Coercive pressure that encourages organizational members to make adjustments also comes from the aspect of legitimacy. In the context of the police force, coercive pressure in the form of legitimacy includes laws and a set of regulations held by the National Police. One of the police regulations mentioned by Q1 as a source of coercive pressure is the Indonesian National Police Regulation Number 7 of 2022 concerning the Professional Code of Ethics and the Indonesian National

Police Code of Ethics Commission. According to Q1, Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022 Article 16, which obliges subordinates to carry out orders from superiors related to the execution of duties, functions, and authorities and report to superiors, becomes a boomerang that harms subordinates. Considered by Q1 to be detrimental to subordinates because in that article, every subordinate is required to carry out the superior's orders as long as they do not violate legal norms, religious norms, and moral norms. Q1 explained that sometimes the superior's orders do not violate norms, but they are too burdensome for the subordinates.

Second, coercive pressure from superiors. This second pressure is still related to Perpol No. 7 of 2022 Article 16, which requires subordinates to carry out their superiors' orders. This study found that members complained about the arbitrary actions of some leaders. For example, Q3 felt that his dignity and honor were demeaned by his superior in front of his children, wife, and fellow officers at a police station. Although Q3 acknowledged that he had made a mistake, he believed that it was inappropriate for his superior to humiliate him by shouting, cursing, and physically punishing him in front of his children and wife. The leader's actions made Q3 annoyed and ultimately chose not to perform tasks optimally.

The pressure from the superior that led to violations was also experienced by Q4. For Q4, the leader is an annoying figure because every day there is always a way to get angry at the members even if there is no mistake. The leader's actions were unacceptable to the members because they put them under pressure. When in a stressful situation, lacking mature self-control pushed Q4 to bravely confront the leader by engaging in a verbal argument that escalated to physical contact. For his defiance against the superior, Q4 received a sanction for his actions because he violated the police code of ethics. The presence of Police Regulation No. 7 of 2022 strengthens the dominance of superiors over subordinates among police officers. Q3, Q4, and Q6 serve as concrete evidence of the practice of superior dominance that harms subordinates. The losses borne by subordinates are not always related to material aspects, but rather to physical, psychological, and career advancement being hindered due to being entangled in cases of ethical violations.

Third, the pressure from the existence of a 'seniority culture.' The culture of seniority requires junior members to comply without much confrontation with seniors (Felicia & Jeffrey, 2017). On one hand, seniority has a good purpose, which is to respect senior police officers. However, on the other hand, this research found that seniority is one of the factors causing police officers to experience institutional coercive pressure.

> "As a junior among my teammates, I felt a bit elevated." In the sense that at that time I was riding the best motorcycle compared to the seniors. The senior used an ordinary motorcycle. I have an extraordinary partner, almost at every event I am used for escort services, maybe there is a gap there. From there, perhaps narratives that were not true about me were eventually created and reached the ears of the leadership. As an ordinary person, I have emotions that are annoyed, mixed, and angry. A bad intention arose in

my heart because I was frustrated, and in the end, I misused the ticket I had. (Q2, June 2024).

Since their education, police officers are taught to respect their seniors. The 'senior-junior mentorship' culture within the police force is actually well-intentioned, aiming to provide guidance to juniors like an older sibling helping a younger one. However, when applied in the police work environment, seniority actually brings coercive pressure to juniors. The mentorship that initially came with good intentions then transforms into pressure for the juniors. Referred to as pressure because some seniors place juniors as subordinate groups without power. It has a negative impact on the development of the institution, as the culture of seniority is negatively associated with innovation efficiency (Xu et al., 2023). Q4 said that seniors are the second-in-command after the leader whose orders must be followed. In line with that, Q2 considers that seniors are people who contribute to the advancement of juniors' careers, but at the same time, seniors also become a barrier to juniors' progressiveness.

Institutional coercive pressure can have a dual role for police officers. On one hand, it can serve as a whip to ensure that they always work on track according to standard operating procedures. Coercive pressure used in moderation can create evolution in an institution (Vos & Voets, 2022). The research results by Peng et al., (2023) indicate that coercive pressure can effectively improve worker performance and create social harmony within an organization. The combination of coercive, mimetic, and normative pressures has a positive impact on the quality of public service (Pan & Fan, 2023). Institutional pressure positively affects the progressiveness of the organization (Tenggono et al., 2024). On the other hand, institutional coercive pressure can trigger deviations in the form of ethical code violations. According to Crosswhite & Kerpelman (2009), overly coercive culture and social structure are one of the triggers for deviance. Regarding coercive pressure, this study found three forms of coercive pressure experienced by members of the East Java Regional Police during their service, namely: 1) pressure in the form of legitimacy; 2) pressure from superiors; 3) pressure from the 'seniority' culture. First, pressure in the form of legitimacy.

Mimesis Pressure

The researchers also successfully identified a second pressure, namely mimetic isomorphism, which is reflected in the organization's desire to imitate other institutions that have successfully implemented digitalization. Some police officers feel that the incomplete digitalization creates confusion in the work system. The new technology introduced in the East Java Police's work system forces police officers to adapt first, and ultimately, it can take relatively longer work hours because they need to learn and undergo training. Problems arise due to the unclear roadmap for technology utilization in the Police Force, which seems to merely fulfill obligations.

> "All agencies must implement this digitization because there are already instructions from superiors to transform the work system." However, the problem is that we run out of time to learn and adapt to the new working methods. Even if it is deemed very urgent,

the management will definitely hold special training to learn that technology. Sometimes we as members feel pressured by this situation. Stressed in the sense of feeling wronged, we have already studied, but it turns out the system has been changed and updated again. Usually just for testing purposes, (Q7, June 2024).

Members of the East Java Police are concerned that if their time is spent learning new technology, it will ultimately not be used because it is merely a prototype trial. According to Q2, the time spent learning becomes wasted if digitization is only used for trials. If we draw a common thread, the uncertainty experienced by an organization can also lead to the emergence of anomie among its members due to anxiety, confusion, and hesitation in responding to every change occurring in the organizational environment. Therefore, new technologies and all forms of policy changes need to be aligned with the organizational culture.

The desire to imitate other institutions is also reflected in the organization of large-scale events within the East Java Regional Police. For example, when commemorating the Independence Day and Police Day, the East Java Regional Police held large-scale activities that required a lot of manpower, finances, and time. At that time, police officers felt burdened because they had to find funding sources, and it was not uncommon for them to dip into their personal pockets to contribute funds for the activities. Q1 admitted to being reluctant if asked to contribute financially for the purpose of organizing the event. Q7 also expressed a similar sentiment, stating that he disagreed with the idea of burdening police officers with the agency's events. Nevertheless, Q1 and Q7 still spent money on funding the activities because neither of them dared to refuse the instructions from their superiors. The experiences of Q1 and Q7 reflect that both are in a state of mimetic isomorphism, meaning the pressure arises from the demand to imitate other organizations that have larger activities, even though it must be endured by sacrificing time, effort, and resources.

Based on the findings of this research, the mimesis pressure occurring at Polda X has resulted in the emergence of ethical code violations. Financial pressure in the form of seeking funds to organize certain events has caused police officers to violate regulations by soliciting bribes from lawbreakers. This action reflects the misconduct of police officers that is contrary to the code of ethics. The Police institution needs to implement institutional improvements that prioritize resource allocation without having to forcefully imitate other institutions equipped with greater resources.

Another situation that makes members of the East Java Police feel pressured is the public trust index. In writing, there is no obligation for police officers to maintain public trust, but it has become a social evaluation indicator that the police must fulfill to uphold the dignity of the National Police itself. Quoted from the website https://www.humas.polri.go.id/ , the Chief of the Indonesian National Police has urged police personnel to improve their performance in order to maintain public trust. According to Barton & Beynon (2015), the higher the level of public trust, the greater the likelihood that the systems within an organization can function and achieve the set goals. Public trust is not just a meaningless number. The leadership of the National Police has instructed all members to maintain public trust. The

actions taken by the police must be controlled in such a way as to avoid falling into ethical violations that could tarnish the good image of the police.

The Chief of Police's message to his subordinates will surely be carried out by all police officers, but it doesn't mean that every police officer is happy to implement it. One police officer who is not pleased with the public trust index is Q3. He feels burdened by public trust because no matter how hard the police force pursues it, the number is bound to drop when there are legal issues involving law enforcement officers. Another opinion from a different perspective was expressed by Q5, who stated that the presence of public trust makes the police's performance no longer based on the purity of heart to serve the community. The performance of the police has shifted from being service-oriented to branding-oriented. Furthermore, Q5 stated that all actions taken by the police will ultimately lead to enhancing the positive image of the police. There is nothing wrong, but according to Q5, it can undermine the good intentions of the police who want to serve and assist the community voluntarily and selflessly.

The pressure to achieve public trust targets, according to Q6, is only experienced by 'lower-ranking' police officers. Q6 provided an example when the Chief of the Indonesian National Police asked his subordinates not to engage in flexing or flaunting wealth and luxury items in front of the public. At that time, the crackdown on the use of luxury items only targeted members with non-commissioned officer ranks. Meanwhile, members with officer ranks still wore luxury items while working or when interacting with the public. Q6 believes there is selective inconsistency in the rules that are not applied evenly. Social control over deviant actions is only directed at police with the rank of non-commissioned officer, or at least junior officer. Meanwhile, police with the rank of middle and senior officers, as mentioned by Q6, have been exempt from social control within the police institution.

> "If you remember, a few years ago, the public was highlighting cases of flaunting wealth or flexing." At that time, we as police officers were also instructed by our superiors to control ourselves so as not to be too conspicuous in appearance, demeanor, and behavior in public. In other words, we were asked to be low profile. We, as subordinates, are ready to be low profile because there is nothing to show off except for our uniforms. Meanwhile, if we look at the reality on the ground, it proves that the subordinates are indeed low profile, but the superiors continue to show glamour and hedonism. (Q6, June 2024).

Lower-ranking police officers feel pressured by public trust because they are both subjects who must strive to improve public trust and objects being evaluated by the public. Therefore, it can be concluded that there are three forms of mimetic pressure at the East Java Police, namely: 1) adopting digitalization; 2) holding events that are imposed on members; and 3) maintaining and increasing public trust as an indicator of the success of the police's performance. There are two perspectives that can be seen from mimetic pressure. First, police officers can be encouraged to innovate and create work programs that are in line with the times. Second, innovation and progress can be achieved if supported

by sufficient material resource availability. Innovation will remain on the planning table without adequate material and human resource support.

An organization is motivated to make adjustments by imitating other organizations that have more advantages in certain fields (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). According to Ashworth et al., (2009), mimetic isomorphism pressure encourages an organization to imitate the activities, systems, and structures of other organizations. The act of imitation is intended to address the uncertainty faced by the organization, by adopting practices and patterns that have been successfully implemented by other organizations (Özbek et al., 2024). The uncertainty can manifest as anxiety in responding to the latest technology, confusion in understanding ambiguous goals, and hesitation in responding to social changes. Previous studies tended to use the concept of mimetic pressure to examine dynamics within a company, but in reality, this research successfully found the presence of mimetic pressure within the police force.

Normative Pressure

This research found that the police in East Java Regional Police face normative isomorphism, commonly referred to as normative pressure. Normative pressure encourages organizational members to make adjustments to work more professionally and in accordance with the organizational culture. Regarding the first form of normative pressure, which is the obligation to always provide optimal service to the community, the police consider this pressure to be beneficial for the society. In this study, Q5 stated that the duty of the police as state servants is none other than to serve the community optimally and excellently. In line with Q5's opinion, Q4 also stated that the police must serve the community wholeheartedly. A different opinion was expressed by Q1, who stated that in reality, lower-level police officers desire excellent service, but are sometimes hindered by administrative processes. Q1 provided an example, when there was a report of a suicide in a village, the police stationed at the sub-district police station immediately went to the field to assess the situation and conditions. However, because the crime scene investigation can only be conducted by the district police, the officers stationed at the sub-district police can only wait for the district police officers to arrive. Meanwhile, the public certainly does not understand the procedure. Q1 explained that what the community needs is for the case to be handled immediately, regardless of whether it's the local police station or the district police.

> "Police are just ordinary humans with limitations." Patience has its limits, abilities have their limits. I am sure that the police at the lower levels must hope to provide the best service to the community as long as they are supported by the higher authorities. I will give an example, one time we received a report of a suicide in a house. As police, we certainly go to the field to examine the situation and conditions, as well as secure the crime scene. The public certainly hopes that the person who committed suicide can be handled immediately because their body will be buried soon, like that. However, we are constrained by the applicable protocols and mechanisms. We from the police precinct cannot act, the crime scene investigation must wait for the police resort. In such a

situation, we are confused whether to follow the SOP or to follow the public. Of course, the public doesn't care and doesn't know who should be handling it; the public knows that the police, whether from the precinct or the resort, are the ones handling it. (Q1, June 2024).

In the situation described by Q1, the police are under normative pressure. The police are under pressure because they are faced with the public's demand to resolve a case quickly, as well as the institution's demand to work according to the applicable procedures. Such pressure was also experienced by Q3. However, the demands coming from Q3 were not from the public, but from the leadership and official duties. While carrying out his duties, Q3 always worked according to the targets set by the leadership at the unit level. However, while he was working hard to complete tasks according to the target, there was a demand from the highest-level leader at his workplace asking him to attend activities outside the scope of his job on time. In that situation, Q3 experienced a dilemma due to normative pressure from the leadership with work duties. Normative pressure can moderate demands and expectations that influence individual or group decision-making (Wangrow et al., 2022). Instead of facing normative pressure with social order, Q3 responded by violating the code of ethics by falsifying case files to meet work targets.

In a situation almost identical to Q3, Q6 also experienced normative pressure that led to a violation of the code of ethics. Q6, as a police officer handling narcotics cases, was accustomed to working to meet the targets set by superiors. On one hand, he has to work extra hard to meet the targets; if the targets are not met, there are consequences to bear. However, on the other hand, in order to achieve the targets, a police officer is required to work according to Standard Operating Procedures. Normatively, the police must work under the auspices of the law, but the existence of targets drives the police to do whatever it takes to prove their best performance. In pursuit of service targets, Q6 chose to violate the code of ethics by abusing authority and consuming narcotics. The situation experienced by Q3 and Q6 serves as evidence that in the East Java Police, normative pressure is a common occurrence and can lead to violations of the code of ethics.

Normative pressure is an institutional factor that provides the greatest explanatory power in the demand for guarantees (Martínez-Ferrero & García-Sánchez, 2017). Essentially, normative pressure is created to encourage organizations to develop into professionals by adopting institutional practices (Gottschalk & Hamerton, 2024). The process of professionalization encourages members of the organization to enhance their work ethic and change work methods that are not aligned with the organization's goals (Kent et al., 2014). The easiest way to become a professional member of an organization is through formal education and participating in both formal and informal training. However, within the scope of the police force, not all members have the same opportunity to pursue formal education and training. These disparities in opportunities can occur due to political and economic interference. Q2 stated that not all police officers have the opportunity to pursue education and training. Furthermore, Q2 believes that the majority of police officers who have access to education, training, and

promotion are supported by the factor of interpersonal closeness with leaders within the police ranks.

"As far as I know, those members who are close to the leadership are the ones who advance their careers quickly." if we were to put it in percentages, those who are close to the leaders, who serve the leaders, who have an emotional closeness with the leaders, loyal to the leaders, their careers advance eighty percent faster than those who have achievements. If we compare loyalty to the leaders and achievements, the ratio is 80%:20%," (Q2, June 2024)

One police officer who lacks the power and resources to obtain access to education and training is forced to find their own way to achieve it. The path he took actually led him to material losses because he was deceived by fellow police officers who claimed to have access to faster schooling and promotions. As for Q6's confession, it is as follows: "My colleague was a victim of fraud by fellow police officers who promised him faster schooling and career advancement." Career advancement means promotions and position. "Besides education and training, the work ethic and methods used by organizational members are also influenced by organizational culture." What is meant by organizational culture is a set of value systems, beliefs, assumptions, and norms agreed upon by organizational members as guidelines for behavior, actions, and problem-solving within the organization (Sutrisno, 2013). According to Kotter & Heskett (1992), organizational behavior and performance effectiveness are influenced by a strong and positive culture. Institutional pressure can encourage organizational staff to become more professional in their efforts to strengthen legitimacy (Azaghouagh-El Fardi, 2021). On the contrary, a weak and negative organizational culture can reduce institutional pressure that hinders the achievement of organizational goals.

It can be concluded that there are three forms of normative pressure commonly faced by the police in the East Java Regional Police, including: 1) service to the community is required to always be optimal; 2) working according to organizational targets; 3) being required to have adequate formal and informal education. These three forms of pressure are one of the factors that drive some police officers to commit ethical violations, as found in this study.

The data findings explained above culminate in institutional theory, which according to some researchers contains propositions that are not easily measurable (Katz et al., 2002). One of the main ideas of institutional theory is that actors occupying strategic positions in an organization share the same beliefs, which can influence the organization's members to adopt the structures and practices determined by the officials. Organizations are often under pressure to adapt to institutional expectations, regardless of the efficiency of the structure contained within those expectations (Giblin & Burruss, 2009). Organizations that operate in accordance with the advice and prohibitions of their institutional environment are considered legitimate. The value contained in the organization comes from the legitimacy granted by the external environment, not from the success of creating an effective and efficient structure (Zucker, 1988).

The failure of an organization to respond to institutional pressures can lead to doubts about the legitimacy of the organization itself (Maguire & King, 2007). The environment can limit, shape, and

penetrate organizations (Scott, 2001). Conversely, organizations can also influence the environment (Blau & Scott, 2003). This also applies to the members of the East Java Regional Police. In order to maintain the legitimacy and dignity of the organization, the East Java Regional Police view institutional pressure as a tool to motivate members to work professionally, proportionally, and optimally. However, the stance taken by the East Java Police as an organization is not the same as the individual attitudes of the police officers.

When there was pressure to adapt to the expectations of the community and the institution, which did not necessarily create efficiency and effectiveness, the members of the East Java Regional Police did not fully adapt. This study found a covert rejection by members of the East Java Police towards institutional pressures in the form of changes to badges, emblems, and unit names that frequently occur during leadership transitions. As stated by Q6 and Q7, police officers sometimes feel uncomfortable with the changes in unit names, symbols, and badges that almost always occur with every rotation of positions. From the perspective of police officers, changing the insignia, badge, and unit name does not affect the creation of an effective and efficient work environment. Nevertheless, as part of individuals within an institution, police officers continue to follow every change; if they do not comply, the attributes they wear are considered invalid.

Three forms of institutional pressure experienced by members of the East Java Police, namely coercive, mimetic, and normative pressure, can ideally encourage a more quality and progressive work climate in public service areas (Pan & Fan, 2023) (Tenggono et al., 2024). Institutional pressure can shape the professionalization of staff performance in an organization (Azaghouagh-El Fardi, 2021). The professionalization of staff performance is based on institutional pressure to become similar to other organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Public organizations become subjects of institutional pressure that encourages the creation of organizational homogeneity (Ashworth et al., 2009).

According to DiMaggio & Powell (1991), organizations that prioritize legitimacy tend to strive to align with external expectations. These external expectations encourage organizations to separate internal activities and shift their focus to systems that are symbolic in nature for external parties (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). This can be found in this study, where the term "the police are gods" symbolizes external expectations that shift the focus of the police from human resource development to the symbolic enhancement of public trust.

Violation of the Code of Ethics as a Result of Institutional and Social Pressure

As mentioned in the background, there are two forms of pressure in the Police Force, namely institutional pressure and social pressure. These two forms of pressure are known to cause ethical violations committed by some police officers. Institutional and social pressures can lead to ethical violations because not all police officers have the same access and resources to achieve the goals expected by the police force or society. In relation to this, in this subsection, the researcher comprehensively explains the causality between institutional pressure, social pressure, anomie, and

ethical violations. These four aspects can occur in a linear line as illustrated in Figure 1 below.
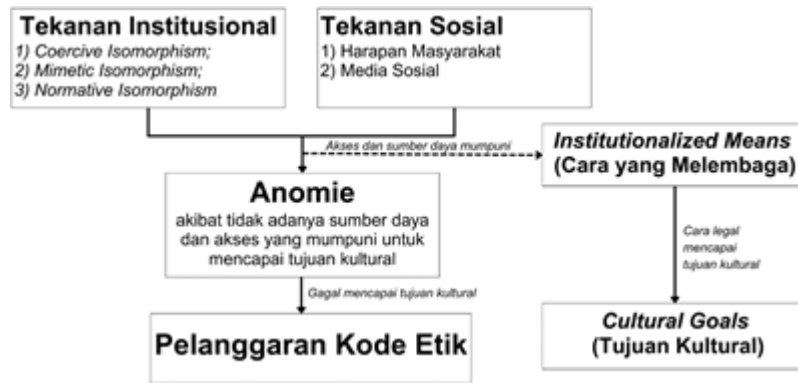
(Source: Researcher Analysis, 2024)

Figure 1. Flowchart of Causes of Code of Ethics Violations

It can be observed in Figure 1 above, that violations of the code of ethics can occur when police officers fail to achieve cultural goals. The failure to achieve cultural goals is caused by anomie. The condition of anomie experienced by police officers can occur because the access and resources available to each officer are not the same. For officers who have adequate access and resources, they are ready to achieve cultural goals through institutional means, meaning they use procedures according to the rules. Meanwhile, officers with limited access and resources feel unable to achieve cultural goals normatively. The cultural goals are a representation of the output of social and institutional pressures that desire every police officer to 'succeed. 'The cultural goal is a representation of the output of social and institutional pressures that desire every police officer to 'succeed.' Merton proposed five forms of individual adaptation strategies when facing anomie due to social pressure, namely: a) conformist; b) innovative; c) ritualistic; d) retreatist; and e) rebel. Unlike Merton's thesis, this research found four adaptation strategies among police officers when facing anomie due to institutional and social pressure. The strategies commonly employed are: 1) conformist; 2) ritualistic; 3) retreatist; and 4) rebel.

The four types of police officers based on their adaptation strategies in facing institutional and social pressure are: 1) Conformist type, police officers who submit and comply with the institution will choose to conform to all forms of changes within the police force, even if they do not personally agree with the changes, conformity is prioritized.

Merton proposed 5 forms of individual adaptation strategies when facing anomie due to social pressure, including: a) conformist; b) innovative; c) ritualistic; d) retreatist; and e) rebel. Unlike Merton's thesis, this research found 4 adaptation strategies among police officers when facing anomie due to institutional and social pressure. The strategies commonly employed are: 1) conformist; 2) ritualistic; 3) retreatist; and 4) rebel.

The 4 types of police officers viewed from the adaptation strategies in facing institutional and social pressure are: 1) Conformist type, police officers who are submissive and obedient to the institution will choose to conform to all forms of changes within the police force, even if they do not personally

agree with the changes, conformity is prioritized. However, this type of police officer tends to be slow in innovating due to the fear of sanctions if they make improvisations. This type of police officer is less able to develop quickly because they only follow normative rules, thus their potential for creativity is greatly suppressed. 2) Ritual type, police officers of the ritual type tend to carry out institutional orders based on habit rather than awareness, unlike conformist-type police officers. This type of police can be born from the 'womb' of a bureaucratic system that prioritizes administrative reporting. The impact is that, in the long term, this type of police can reduce institutional efficiency and delay the institution from achieving its expected goals. 3) The withdrawal type, police of this type tend to choose to avoid tasks that are deemed inconsistent with subjective values. This type of police officer is prone to violating the professional code of ethics, even on a small scale and without endangering the institution. Institutional mechanisms that do not provide emotional support and appropriate recognition can increase the likelihood of this type of police officer committing ethical violations. 4) The rebel type, police officers of this type tend to be vocal and vulgar in expressing their rejection of the policies set by the police system. The four types are described in Table 1 below.

NO	TYPE OF POLICE PERSONNEL – ADAPTATION STRATEGY	INFORMANT
1	Conformist	Q7
2	Ritualistic	Q1
3	Withdrawn	Q2, Q3
4	Rebellious	Q4, Q6

Table 1. Adaptation Strategies of East Java Regional Police Members in Facing Institutional and Social Pressures (Source: Researcher Analysis, 2024)

This research found that the type of police based on the above categories is dynamic. For example, Q7 was initially the type of rebel against seniors whom he felt did not treat him fairly. He also violated ethics by renting out vehicles to cut down illegal trees in a forest. However, over time, after receiving an ethical sanction for the violation, he now chooses to become a conformist officer who adheres to and obeys the rules. This is the opposite for Q4 and Q6; initially, he was a conformist officer who always obeyed the superiors. However, due to internal conflicts with the leadership, and his perception that the leadership treated him unfairly, he gradually changed his attitude to become a rebellious officer. Even Q4 and Q6 dared to confront the leadership openly, resulting in them being subjected to ethical sanctions. Meanwhile, a change in attitude was also shown by Q1. The police officer with the rank of junior officer was initially an officer who was always active in offering ideas and suggestions for the advancement of the institution. However, after he got involved in an ethical violation case that he believed was not his fault, he became reluctant to contribute ideas and suggestions. He prefers to be an 'ordinary' police officer without having to work hard. Changes in attitude and actions were also made by Q2 and Q3 as a form of adaptation strategy. Initially, Q2 and Q3 were always diligent

in their work, even always optimal in carrying out their tasks. However, at one point, both of them felt they were being treated unfairly by the management, even tending to become 'scapegoats'. That condition made him reluctant to work optimally and chose to withdraw from working altogether.

The findings of this research, as mentioned above, indicate that police types vary according to the adaptation strategies employed to 'combat' anomie resulting from institutional and social pressures. The theory of anomie reinforces the thesis presented in this research, particularly concerning violations of the police code of ethics. Referring to Merton's anomie theory, deviance can occur due to an imbalance between institutional and cultural goals and the means provided. For police officers who have sufficient resources and competent skills, they can easily achieve the expected positions. Conversely, for police officers who are not endowed with adequate resources and good competence, there is no choice but to accept the social facts that occur. In such conditions, police officers who cannot perfectly achieve institutional and cultural goals will be in a state of anomie. The state of anomie is addressed with four adaptation strategies as outlined in Table 4.2.

The process of achieving institutional and social goals is limited by the existence of a code of ethics. From the perspective of bureaucratic ethics implementation, the code of ethics can provide guidelines for the police in carrying out their duties, while also being useful in strengthening public trust. Like a compass, the code of ethics indicates the moral direction and ensures the quality of the police in running the organizational wheel in the eyes of the public (Muhammad, 2018). The code of ethics makes it easier for the honor council to pass judgment on police 'officers' who commit violations. However, when confronted with bureaucratic ethics, this research found that police officers who violate the code of ethics feel ashamed because they are worried about being perceived as individuals lacking morality in carrying out their duties.

Violations of the code of ethics within the police force become a 'common enemy' that the police fight against to maintain integrity and professionalism in the police institution. Violations of the code of ethics can occur due to institutional pressures and social pressures surrounding police officers. In the context of bureaucracy, ethics play an important role in controlling police behavior, but its implementation is often hindered by the realities on the ground. The obstacles stem from institutional pressures that demand the police to achieve institutional goals, as well as social pressures that force the police to meet cultural objectives.

CONCLUSION

Institutional pressure on police officers related to violations of the code of ethics includes coercive pressure, normative influence, and mimicry. In this study, there are two types of police officers: first, those who place institutional pressure as a whip to work harder, and second, those who are pressured by the binding rules of the police force. Institutional pressure in the form of coercive, mimetic, and normative pressure can create a stressful work environment for police officers. This study concludes that full compliance with hierarchical institutions encourages members to follow orders without

considering ethical and moral values. As a result, police officers who lack power, access, and adequate resources resort to illegal means to achieve total compliance. The situation creates a 'moral compulsion' that ultimately triggers violations of the code of ethics in order to maintain rank, position, and status within the police institution.

In addition to institutional pressure, social pressure also plays a significant role in pushing police officers to violate the code of ethics. The high expectations of the public towards the police, namely wanting the police to become 'gods', expecting the police to be present as 'superheroes' and 'influencers', can increase the pressure faced by police officers. Not to mention the pressure from social media and the demands to chase public trust figures, which further compresses the police under the weight of numerous expectations. This study concludes that there are times when public expectations of the police conflict with the institutional realities possessed by the police officers themselves. As a result, police officers who do not have adequate access and resources to meet public expectations will strive hard to fulfill social expectations by any means necessary, including illegal methods. Therefore, if we draw a straight line, the excessive expectations of the public towards the police can turn into social pressure for the police with limited access and resources. Social pressure that is left unchecked will ultimately encourage violations of the code of ethics.

In the end, it can be concluded that institutional and social pressures at Polda X are determinant factors that increase the likelihood of ethical violations committed by police officers. This research can serve as a reflection for the Police to undertake cultural reform. The goal of cultural reform is to reduce the negative impact of institutional and social pressures that encourage ethical violations. Cultural reform does not mean completely replacing the system that has been built by the Police, but rather improving the implementation of policies that are still not optimal and often violate the code of ethics. This research provides indications to the Police institution that there are flaws in organizational management, leading to institutional and social pressures that cannot be resisted by Police members.

SUGGESTION

This research provides academic suggestions for future researchers and practical recommendations for police institutions. Future research can explore in greater depth the reform of organizational culture within police institutions. Empirical studies examining organizational culture reform can provide critical insights into changes in structure and communication patterns that influence member behavior. Future research should, as much as possible, integrate sociological, psychological, and organizational management perspectives to examine resistance mechanisms within institutions that use hierarchical structures. From the results of data collection and in-depth analysis, this research can also provide practical recommendations for the police, institutions, and society. First, the police must maintain their integrity even in a state of anomie. Limited access to achieving cultural goals does not mean that the police compromise their integrity. Second, the police institution needs to enhance supervision and refine its rigid hierarchical structure. Third, the community acts as an agent of social

control that can monitor police officers from the 'outside.' The role of the community is not explicitly stated in writing, but in reality, this research proves that the community can pressure the police to achieve cultural goals. In the end, this research provides ideas and suggestions for the Indonesian National Police to protect police officers from the abuse of authority by superiors, pressure from seniority culture, and social pressure that can undermine the dignity of the police themselves.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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