

## Primary Habitus in Children in Conflict with the Law

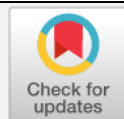
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### ABSTRACT

Children are assumed to be innocent entities and have not much experience. However, the emergence of the phenomenon of children as perpetrators of crimes (children in conflict with the law/CICL) is contradictory to this assumption. This study explores and examines one aspect of the life of the child perpetrator of this crime, namely the family aspect as the primary habitus. This study used qualitative research methods by interviewing CICL at the Palembang Special Children's Correctional Institution and Correctional Institution of Kayuagung, Ogan Komering Ilir Regency, as well as several related figures. Data were collected by observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Meanwhile, data analysis is built from the ground up, linearly and hierarchically. In line with the focus of the study, the concept used in this study is the primary habitus, which is part of the habitus concept of Bourdieu. The primary habitus is the habitus that the agent has since childhood, which is the basis for forming other (secondary) habitus. The research results related to primary habitus in CICL show that the family is not present as a whole in the process of CICL growth and development and the application of ineffective parenting. Complete absence of the family, shown to the family by the presence of, 1). CICL with separated parents, 2). CICL with one or both parents died, 3). CICL has an intact family but is not fully present in the child's growth and development process. Meanwhile, poor parenting is shown through 1). Parenting with violence, 2). CICL's parents and close people have not become positive role models, and 3). Parents do not/less comprehensively provide knowledge and understanding regarding good and bad deeds. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the family institution as a primary institution and an institution of value inheritance through

*socialization and education between generations. The family can be the main basis for passing down the values of anti-violence and crime in supporting efforts to minimize crime habitus.*

**Keywords:** *Children in Conflict with the Law; Family; Habitus; Primary Habitus*

## 1. Introduction

Remember the rape case against a junior high school student from the Kasie Kasubun Hamlet in Bengkulu? This case caught the attention of many people in mid-2016 and received a lot of attention from the mass media, including being widely discussed on social media. This case has been in the spotlight because the victim eventually died, and the rapes were carried out by fourteen people, some of whom were children (BBC News Indonesia, 2016<sup>1</sup>). If, in the above case, the crime was committed by several children, it is different from the Hd case, which is the sole perpetrator of the murder. Sadly, Hd's crime took place when Hd was 10 (ten) years old<sup>2</sup>.

The descriptions of these cases are some examples of cases among thousands of cases involving children as perpetrators of crimes. This was raised because these are cases that are quite extreme compared to other cases of theft or juvenile delinquency. James & Jenks (1996) then gave the term "outside traditional formulations of childhood" for cases of extreme crimes committed by children, such as murder, high-class fraud, and even rape.

The emergence of crime cases involving children as perpetrators is indeed very surprising. At the same time, John Locke, as cited in Magee (2012), likens children to "blank paper" (*tabula rasa*). The life and world of children are still filled with the desire to play and have fun, not much colored and tarnished by the world's life<sup>3</sup>. John Locke's opinion is in line with several other approaches in childhood studies, namely Developmental Psychology and Socialization Theory. Both of these approaches have a perspective and describe children as innocent, not yet fully rational, not much negative intervention, and do not have much experience and skills in life (Kehily, 2009). Specifically, the Developmental Psychology Approach sees children and childhood as a process toward adulthood. James & Prout (1997), as cited in Walkerdine (2009), say that in this position, children are seen as "...'human becomings' rather than human beings...". In line with the Developmental Psychology Approach, Socialization Theory also places children as entities that are not yet fully intact because they do not know the roles and meanings of the various roles that exist in society. This theory considers children as incomplete adults (MacKay 1973, p. 27, as cited in Jenks, 2009). This approach to developmental psychology and socialization theory generalizes children and childhood into something natural, universal, and homogeneous. Children as immature and innocent entities are considered as universal conditions that occur to all children wherever they are. This perspective ignores the possibility and different and extraordinary conditions beyond that view.

<sup>1</sup> One of the news portals reported, among dozens of other portals, when searching for this case.

<sup>2</sup> Information related to the Hd case was obtained based on an interview with the Head of the Office for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of South Sumatra Province, July 3, 2018, in Baturaja City, Ogan Komering Ulu Regency. At that time, Hd was still languishing in Palembang Special Children's Correctional Institution.

<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, in the context of locality in Indonesia, there is also the term "*masih bau kencur*" to indicate a child who is new to life, still young, still in the learning stage, and has not had much experience (Sugono, 2008).

On the other hand, there are opposing perspectives in addressing the phenomenon of children as perpetrators of crime. In contrast to John Locke, Thomas Hobbes said, “children are seen as evil”. This thought is strongly influenced by the teachings of the Christian religion, “the doctrine of Adamic original sin”. Therefore, the community has a duty and plays an important role in refining children because children are considered incompetent or unable to build and construct their own lives (Nurhadi, 2015). Then in childhood studies, there is also a constructionist perspective that constructs children socially, culturally, not universally, and heterogeneously. This perspective is at odds with the Developmental Psychology Approach and Socialization Theory. The constructionist perspective sees children grow and develop with socio-cultural processes in their dialectic with the space and time in which they grow and are raised (Woodhead 2009, p. 22). This then constructs the dynamics and lives of children to be very different (heterogeneous) from one another. Complexity and diversity in children are also influenced by; aspects of politics and power, history, physical environment (geographical, rural-urban), socio-cultural conditions, economic factors (wealth), gender, ethnicity, knowledge, beliefs, and several other aspects. This constructionist perspective makes the picture of children with diverse life backgrounds more visible. This means that children can grow, think, act and behave, like adults, including appearing as perpetrators of crimes.

The description at least shows a contradiction. On the one hand, children are assumed to be innocent souls, but on the other hand, the phenomenon of children as perpetrators of crimes also appears. This contradiction attracts the attention of researchers to examine the phenomenon of children as perpetrators of crime. This condition then led researchers to only focus this study on children who are perpetrators of crimes<sup>4</sup> or children in conflict with the law (CICL).

Discussions about CICL cannot be separated from existing social entities or things that surround CICL. All these social entities meet and intersect in the daily life and lives of children. CICL must be understood in terms of the background of his life since childhood and his relationship with his family. This study is interested in exploring and examining one aspect of a child's life who commits this crime, namely the family aspect. One of the influences outside CICL is family. Many studies show how family conditions and situations are a strong push and pull factor for the emergence of CICL. However, traditions, philosophies of life, how to behave and play a role, and daily habitus in the family become important aspects in shaping children's behavior. A study showing the emergence of CICL due to the absence of the family (whole or not, for example, the father or mother is not present) was conducted by Mullens (2004). This study was carried out quantitatively by looking at the variables of parents' existence against crimes/delinquency committed by teenage boys in 1996 and 2004. Mullens (2004) also shows that crimes against children will be even higher in families only raised by the father (no mother's role).

Meanwhile, Chng et al. (2016) specifically show how the characteristics of the family concerning producing children of criminals. According to Chng et al. (2016), intact and well-functioning families have a lower risk of producing CICL. On the other hand, families with criminal and conflict tendencies will very easily produce children accustomed to drugs and

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<sup>4</sup> In addition to criminals (Children in Conflict with the Law), according to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2012 concerning the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (Republik Indonesia, 2012), some children are victims of criminal acts and children who are witnesses to criminal acts. The perpetrator's child, the victim's child, and the witness's child are all members of the Children in Conflict with the Law. So the perpetrator's child (Children in Conflict with the Law) is one of the elements of Children in Conflict with the Law itself.

alcohol. Families with poor parenting and management also have a big impact on children to grow up with criminals.

Some of these previous studies did not look at the family background of CICL in the context and concept of primary habitus, as was done in this study. So this study complements previous studies by describing how and with what CICL was raised through narratives of family background as a primary habitus. This primary habit is the basis for various other habitus acquired by agents<sup>5</sup> from an early age (Wacquant, 2014). Primary habitus is part of the habitus concept put forward by Bourdieu, namely, "Disposition systems that last a long time, can change and be transferred, structured structures tend to function as structures that undergo a structuring process ..." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 53; Bourdieu, 1990, p. 72). Habitus underlies a person's actions, related to past experiences, through parenting since childhood, and the result of dialectics with the surrounding environment. Habitus is also often not realized and is considered something natural that develops in a certain social environment. Habitus also shows how we see and carry ourselves (Jenkins, 1992), so it becomes the basis of personality. "Habitus is a product of history and produces individual and collective practices ..." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82). Thus, habitus can also be a collective phenomenon.

## **2. Research Method**

This study does not make generalizations but explores and describes the primary (family) habitus in children in conflict with the law (CICL) so that it is designed into qualitative research.

The informants in this study were determined purposively, which were adjusted to the aims, objectives, and focus of the research (Creswell, 2016). The informants of this study were CICL in South Sumatra, who was met at the Palembang Special Children's Correctional Institution Palembang and Correctional Institution of Kayuagung, Ogan Komering Ilir Regency. In addition, this study also obtained data from several other informants outside CICL, namely Social Workers for Child Protection in Ogan Komering Ilir Regency and the Head of the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in South Sumatra Province.

Data collection in this study was carried out through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observations were made on attitudes, behavior, actions, and social processes between CICLs and between CICL and Special Children's Correctional Institution/Correctional Institution officers. In-depth interviews were conducted with research informants. Before the interview, the researcher first formulated and made interview guidelines. Meanwhile, the documentation data is in the form of videos, interview recordings, researcher field notes, interview transcripts, photographs, and online mass media news relevant to the focus of the study.

Data analysis in this study refers to (Creswell, 2016), which describes a linear and hierarchical approach. The analysis is built from the ground up. It starts from collecting raw data to interpreting the meaning of the theme through descriptions. The analysis begins with formulating basic assumptions associated with the literature review. Then the data obtained are compiled and prepared for analysis purposes. Next, the researcher reads all the data to understand the context of the research better more fully, as well as to find out whether there is anything else that needs to be completed or not. Then the researchers linked the themes and data descriptions related to the primary habitus of CICL. Then interpret the meaning of the themes and descriptions that have been compiled until finally formulating conclusions.

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<sup>5</sup> An agent is a term or Bourdieu's way of referring to a subject, an individual, or a person.



### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1. The family is not present “whole” in the process of child development

##### 3.1.1. Broken home family

Cases of children and families, especially in broken homes, often emerge in the public domain because parents are fighting over child custody rights. This case is known as the case of family and alternative care or children whose parents are divorced. This case is the second largest case that the Indonesian Child Protection Commission often handles, besides the CICL case (Ikhsanuddin, 2018). Divorce can cause domestic problems such as the issue of child care rights, giving love, and providing a living. Divorce often makes children lose the role of their parents as a whole (Suyanto, 2019).

In the condition of a broken home family because parents divorced/separated was experienced by informant Al, who was caught in an immoral case. The informant said that he had separated from his biological mother at the age of five. Before entering the Special Children's Correctional Institution, Al lived with his mother. Al said that his biological mother was currently in Bandung and never had once visited or asked how he was since Al was five years old. After separating from his biological mother, Al's father married the mother, who currently cares for him. According to Al, his stepmother is good. Since childhood, Al was raised by her, precisely since she married his father. Until now, Al's mother regularly visits him at Special Children's Correctional Institution every two weeks.

Meanwhile, Al's father has remarried another woman and lives outside the city of Palembang. Although his stepmother regularly visits him, Al hopes his biological mother and father will pay more attention, calling or visiting him in Special Children's Correctional Institution (October 4, 2018).

##### 3.1.2. Families where one or both parents died

Informant As is an informant with a theft case since his father left him when he was little. Before entering the Kayuagung Prison, the informant lived with his mother and older sister. In addition, it is also known that Special Children's Correctional Institution often found children who get the nickname “*mati bin*” or have never received a visit from their family for various reasons, including because both parents are dead. Some CICLs receive parenting only from one parent or do not receive care from both parents because their parents have died.

##### 3.1.3. Whole family, but not fully present in the child's growth and development process

Parents do not give affection, attention, and intensive supervision to children, for various reasons. One of the reasons parents are related to this is busy working and looking for money to meet the family's economic needs. This causes closeness and bonding between parents and children not to occur. In some cases, some children are closer to only one parent, closer to the mother, than the father, for reasons of reluctance because the father is rarely at home. On the other hand, it is often found that CICL has complete parents but is not fully present in the child's growth and development process.

In addition, parents are indifferent to their children's changing attitudes and development. Not a few parents are shocked and disbelieving when their children become perpetrators of crimes. Parents assume that there is nothing wrong with their children because while interacting at home, children do not show irregularities in their daily behavior. Lack of attention, sensitivity, and neglect of parents often has negative implications for children.

One of the Social Workers for Children in conflict with the Law, Ms. Zn, told how the negligence and lack of parental supervision of children led to victims in cases of misuse of

firearms, which parents (fathers) usually use to shoot birds. A child without parental understanding and supervision uses his father's rifle to play with his friends. This weapon is aimed at his playmate so that he inadvertently causes a victim.

Ms. Zn also recounted other cases that also occurred due to the absence of parents in the child's growth and development process. Ms. Zn handled the CICL case, which was the perpetrator (let's call him Andre), an immoral crime (rape) against her sister's playmate (let's call her Cici). Andre, 11 years old, was studying in grade 6 of elementary school when he was involved in the case. Andre's parents do not supervise him, his younger sister, or Cici's parents. Andre's parents work as travel drivers, while his mother sells in one of the elementary school canteens. Meanwhile, Cici's parents work as farmers (rice fields), who are also rarely at home, leaving in the morning and returning in the evening. Cici's parents entrusted their child to play with Andre and his younger sister.

According to Ms Zn, at first, Andre often went to an internet cafe (internet cafe) to play online games. However, on the sidelines, Andre took the time to watch pornographic videos, which can also be accessed online at the internet cafe. Finally, Andre wanted to practice the pornography show. Andre did this to Cici, still in the 2nd grade of elementary school. Andre threatens Cici not to tell anyone about it. If not, Cici is no longer allowed to play with her sister. This rape case happened up to four times.

This case emerged and was known by Cici's parents when Cici was about to urinate and defecate. Cici complained and felt pain. At first, because she was afraid of Andre's threat, Cici didn't want to talk. Then because of constant pressure from her parents, Cici finally got the courage. Knowing this, Cici's parents were furious and did not accept it, taking the case.

In the case of children, usually shows that are not age-appropriate, they will receive it raw, without a screening process for ideas or being critical of the show. Not infrequently, some criminal cases are triggered or initiated by imitating actions on the screen or social media. An example is a case at the Women Empowerment and Children Integrated Service Center of South Sumatra Province in 2015, where sexual intercourse occurred between a boy and a girl who was 6 (six) years old after first watching pornographic videos via mobile phones.

According to Piliang (1999, p. 31), the development of media technology, globalization, and capitalism has removed social boundaries. When children can watch shows that are the world of adults through the internet (cyber porn), the boundaries between the world of children and adults have disappeared. No more secrets are left for the children. The current era of technology shows that the barriers in children's social environment are blurred. The ease of accessing information makes children aware of various things that are sometimes not taught or socialized by their environment (Djaya, 2020). This is certainly an important note for parents, considering that the Indonesian Child Protection Commission data, October 2013, according to Maharani et al. (2015), shows that 97% of Indonesian youth have accessed pornography nationally. Worse yet, data from Yayasan Kita dan Buah Hati in 2013, according to Maharani et al. (2015), shows that 95% of children in grades 4-5 of elementary school have been exposed to pornography.

In addition, parents are also required to be sensitive to the changes that appear in their children. Several changes in children are often signs of "something wrong" children. For example, children who use drugs usually will continue to ask for money and lie to their parents just to buy illicit goods. Another characteristic is when some items/objects suddenly disappear because they are taken by the child to be sold, which are also used to buy drugs. This can be seen in the case of informant Ry. Since using meth, Ry started lying and stealing a lot. Ry often lied to his mother to get money to buy methamphetamine. Ry said he needed money for

photocopying, group work, and eating with friends, which he then used to buy methamphetamine, including buying methamphetamine using the pocket money he earned per day. Ry also often steals his mother's money, which is stored in the wardrobe, to buy methamphetamine. Ry became more daring by pawning house certificates, land titles, and motorbikes to meet his needs to buy methamphetamine. Ry consumes methamphetamine usually every two days. If money allows, Ry will use methamphetamine every day.

The absence of parents too, often for reasons of children's education. One of the CICLs even had to be separated from his parents when he was young because he had to attend an Islamic boarding school since elementary school. Living separately from his parents had to be done because, in the village around where CICL lived, there were no schools he wanted, such as pesantren, or there were only schools at the elementary level, so to continue studying at the junior high school level, you had to 'migrate' and leave their parents. Other CICLs who continue their education to junior high and high school levels must live separately from their parents, become boarding children, or live with their parents' relatives (uncle, grandmother, and others).

Being a boarding house child with minimal positive character, loose supervision, and limited money often has bad implications for children. This was experienced by the MA informant (interview at Special Children's Correctional Institution, October 4, 2017). For educational reasons, since elementary school, MA has been separated from his parents and has studied at a boarding school. MA said that he memorized Surah Al Baqarah<sup>6</sup>. After graduating from elementary school, MA continued his education to junior high school and still had to live separately from his parents by becoming a boarding house child. Separated and far from parental supervision, MA causes many to hang out with "bad" friendships.

Ms. Zn once handled the case of CICL, the perpetrator of extortion, and an immoral case against the opposite sex (his girlfriend). In another case, it was told by Zn's mother, who often handles CICL cases that are "boarding" and far from parental supervision. According to Zn's mother, these boarding house children who enter puberty tend to have high curiosity, 'want to try,' and interest in the opposite sex, and not a few also start dating. The socialization function related to the physical and psychological development of CICL is mostly obtained from playmates and gadgets. Therefore, many CICLs are exposed to pornography through gadgets, seeking an outlet for the opposite sex (girlfriend). CICL exposed to pornography often asks their girlfriends to send nude photos. For reasons of affection, love, and being given the lure of money by the girlfriend, the daughter (victim) is then willing to do this. The photos of the victims were then used as weapons for the CICL to blackmail and threaten the victims.

According to [Abdullah \(2003, p. 29\)](#), some of the descriptions of these cases show that the family is not fully present in the life of CICL. The family is not optimal in its socialization function, and many are replaced by other institutions outside the family, such as schools, Islamic boarding schools, peer groups, and even gadgets.

### **3.2. Bad Parenting**

Apart from not being fully present in the child's growth and development process, the family (parents) also provides ineffective care for the child. Whereas parents are the first teachers for children and the home is the main school for children. Meanwhile, there are indications that CICL is not getting good care: a). Parenting with violence (physical and non-

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<sup>6</sup> The longest Surah in the Holy Quran.

physical), b). Parents fail to be positive role models for children, c). Parents do not/less comprehensively provide knowledge and understanding regarding good and bad deeds.

### 3.2.1. Parenting with violence (physical and non-physical)

A model called “The Abusive Environment Model” by Ismail (1995), as cited in Suyanto (2013), explains that the factors that cause violence against children can be viewed from three aspects. First: is the condition of the child itself, such as a child who is born prematurely, a child who is sick, causing problems, a child whose attitude is difficult to regulate, and a child who demands special attention. Second: Parental factors, including parents who experienced violence and abuse at a young age, insufficient income (economic influence), limited leisure time, drug addicts or alcohol drinkers, being too young so that the parents’ personalities are immature, etc. Third, due to social and environmental factors, such as conditions of poverty in society, the value in a society that children belong to parents, community values that are too individualistic, and so on. This means that many aspects trigger children to get violent acts from the parents/adults around them, whether it is due to the child’s delinquency or parents who are used to committing acts of violence.

CICLs often accept acts of violence, whether they are physical, namely in the form of acts of violence carried out by physically targeting the victim directly, such as pinching, hitting, kicking, and others, as well as non-physical, such as labels/stigma, ridicule, harsh words, neglect, and so on. Ry’s informant told about the forms of violence his parents did to him; beaten, kicking, verbally abusing, locked in a room, and never even allowed to go home. Ry said he was used to the violence. Ry also said:

*“...wong tuo aku mukul, idak galo-galo disebabkan kareno salah wong tuo, aku juga kadang nakal...”* (My parents beat me, but it doesn’t mean it’s entirely my parents’ fault, sometimes I’m also naughty) (November 21, 2018).

Parenting with violence has a bad impact on children. Children assume that family and parents cannot provide warmth, affection, and peace of mind. This discomfort then makes the relationship between parents and children distant. The lack of closeness of parents, and other family members to children, then becomes a gap for children to find playmates that they think are commensurate or of one frequency through peer groups. Home is not a comfortable place and provides warmth for children, so children, in the end, seek comfort outside the home (Wuryaningsih, 2017).

In addition, this kind of parenting will later produce children who are permissive to acts of violence and, on other occasions, also become perpetrators of acts of violence, as stated by Ismail (1995), as cited in Suyanto (2013).

### 3.2.2. Parents and those closest to their children have not been able to become positive role models

In addition to applying parenting with violence, the presence of parents and adults around children often does not become a positive role model for children. Several studies show that crime is often internalized in children from an early age, within the family as a primary habitus, with one or several family members who were previously involved in crime (Ilan & Sandberg, 2019).

Informant Ry told if his father was a drug dealer. Ry’s mother and the rest of the family knew about it. The informant, Mr. Sk, is a community leader in a village in a crime-prone area,



commenting on the frequent robberies in his village, which children carry out. According to Mr. Sk, these children are following in their father's footsteps, who was also a robber (interview with Mr. Sk, August 31, 2019).

In another case, Ms. Zn recounted an area known as a "drug village," where children have been accustomed to drug trafficking and use since childhood. According to Ms. Zn, talking about specific things related to drugs and drug transactions is common between parents and children in the village. On another occasion, Ms. Zn also visited one of her work areas and found a group of women sitting in front of the house, playing cards and gambling because there was no activity. Some of the mothers still have babies and toddlers. These mothers play cards while nursing their babies and are surrounded by several other children who play around them.

Apart from parents, other family members are involved in the world of crime, where CICL interacts intensely with them, such as uncles, cousins, and siblings. Informant Ry has three uncles who are 'bandits' /big thugs in his area and often carry out large-scale robberies up to Lampung Province. According to Ry:

*"...mamang aku, pernah merampok bos sawit di wilayah Lampung. Dapet duet 400 juta, mobil 4 ikok, HP se-tas. Aku jingok dewek hasil rampokan itu. Kata mamang aku, kalo aku nak ngambek HP yang ado di situ, ambeklah, pilih bae..."* (My uncle once robbed a palm oil boss in the Lampung area. I saw the results of the robbery myself. He got 400 million in cash, 4 cars, and one cellphone bag. My uncle said, if I want it, take it; the cellphone I want is there) (November 21, 2018).

Ry is also close with his cousin, a drug user who often commits "begal" (robber) motorcycle actions (taking motorbikes, using coercion, and often using violence). Sadly, when data collection was taking place, MR and his older brother languished in the Kayuagung Prison because of a mugging case. On the other hand, MR informants have siblings who are both the perpetrators of the mugging.

### 3.2.3. Parents do not/less comprehensively provide knowledge and understanding regarding good and bad deeds

Often found cases of crimes committed by CICL are due to ignorance of CICL and the absence of comprehensive socialization from parents and adults around the child. One of the CICL Community Development officers, Palembang City Penitentiary, Mr. Jn, said he had handled a theft case (motorcycle robbery). CICL doesn't feel guilty for his crimes because that's how he was raised. The child questioned why he was punished for actions usually carried out by the surrounding community, where he had lived all this time. According to the child, there is nothing wrong with what he has done. The child even considers his actions as something natural because he did this and the community in his environment. In this context, there are two opposing perspectives between fathers and children. Penitentiary officers with the thought that those who violate the rules are criminals, and children do not feel guilty at all because they think that the crime they have committed is normal. Because they have the authority to handle cases, Penitentiary officers are even more furious and eager to give appropriate punishments to children. From the case presented by the penitentiary officer, it is known that there are conditions in which people live with a culture of crime (motorcycle robbers). Parents and adults around children do not provide knowledge and understanding of the crimes that grow and develop in society, as something bad or unlawful, to children. Therefore, the child considers the crime natural because the people around them usually do it.

### 3.3. Discussion

The family is the primary group and one of society's most important units. CICL's life with family is a fundamental and crucial aspect in laying the foundation for CICL's habitus, character, personality, and reflexive abilities. A family is also a place where the primary habitus starts from here. Each agent is a carrier of various habitus acquired from different family environments. The primary habitus is a set of agent dispositions acquired in childhood. This habitus is embedded in the early stages of development and becomes an important aspect in developing the habitus for future agents. The primary habit is a structured and enduring tendency inherent in the agent throughout his life. The agent obtains this habitus from the beginning as a basis for obtaining various other habitus (Alanen et al., 2015; Wacquant, 2014). Habitus can also be transferred and inherited as a series of dispositions. Parents and families are the first to educate children and teach children who are still curious about many things. Families provide learning through parenting, daily activities, and also the cultivation of values. Basic values and knowledge as cultural capital are given to children as the basis for determining an action or attitude (Miyarso, 2017).

The condition of the CICL family background as the primary habitus shows that: the family is not fully present in the process of CICL growth and development, and also the application of ineffective parenting. Complete absence of the family, shown to the family by the presence of, 1). CICL with separated parents, 2). CICL with one or both parents died, 3). CICL has an intact family but is not fully present in the child's growth and development process.

Meanwhile, ineffective parenting is shown through 1). Permissive parenting with violence, 2). CICL's parents and close people have not become positive role models, and 3). Parents are less comprehensive in providing knowledge and understanding regarding good and bad deeds.

Ideally, a family, especially parents, plays an important role in child development. However, according to Kieser (2003, p. 6), as cited in Wuryaningsih (2017), family disintegration often occurs with the absence of parents at home due to the mobility process, so family functions often do not work as expected and are fragile. In many cases, the house is just a bed of people tired of the demands of the times. Emotional media and face-to-face relationships are increasingly limited, even felt to have disappeared. Mullens (2004) and Chng et al. (2016) have also shown that the failure of family institutions often gives birth to problematic children and does not have a strong character, including bringing up children as perpetrators of crimes.

### 4. Conclusion

The elaboration of CICL's primary habitus shows that CICLs were born and raised from families that were not fully present in the child's growth and development process and experienced ineffective parenting. Complete absence of the family, shown to the family by the presence of, 1). CICL with separated parents, 2). CICL with one or both parents died, 3). CICL with intact families but not fully present in the child's growth and development process (parents/other family members are busy working. In other cases, it is also due to educational factors, such as being a boarding house child and lack of supervision, children must go to boarding schools, and so on).

Meanwhile, ineffective parenting is shown through 1). Parenting with violence, 2). CICL's parents and close people have not become positive role models, and 3). Parents do not/less comprehensively provide knowledge and understanding regarding good and bad deeds.

This study proposes the need for strengthening the family institution, considering the important role of the family in awareness and pedagogical efforts as a forum for forming the primary habitus (Bourdieu, 2000). Habitus is a series of dispositions that can also be transferred

and inherited in the family. The family is the place where the process of reproduction occurs, not only biologically but also as a medium for the inheritance of values, through socialization and education, between generations. This means that the family can be the main basis in passing on the values of anti-violence and crime in supporting efforts to minimize the habit of crime.

Every Indonesian child has the widest opportunity to appreciate themselves in various positive activities. Indeed, children are the beginning of the chain that will determine the form of life of a nation in the future. Therefore, preparing a quality generation of heirs means building and prospering the child's life as early as possible.

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The authors have declared no potential conflicts of interest concerning this article's research, authorship, and/or publication.

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