

# Children in The Circle of Criminal Practices In Ogan Komering Ilir Regency, South Sumatera

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## Abstract

This study aims to explore the practices of crimes committed by children in Bourdieu perspectives. Therefore, this study focuses on seeing how Habitus, Capital and Field surround the lives of child perpetrators of crimes (ABH/ Children in Conflict with the Law). This study was qualitatively conducted using a critical ethnographic approach. The results of the study showed that field as a medium for the fight of the capital owners is the one which is familiar with crime habitus. This condition also indirectly becomes the transmission media for the crime habitus on children. The capital owners involved in the circle of crimes by children, may include: owners of Solo Organ Orchestra (OT), drug dealers (thugs/bandits, weapon suppliers), internet cafe owners, as well as formal, informal figures, and adult leaders around the children. This study concludes that normatively children are guilty. However, children are actually also victims of a physical and social environment that does not support children to grow in a positive direction

## Keywords

practice; habitus; capital; field; children in conflict with the law

## INTRODUCTION

Although crime is generally considered contrary to social rules (social orders) and positive laws in force, but its existence is an inseparable part of people's daily lives. Discussion on crime cannot be separated from the question dealing with the perpetrator of crime itself. Perpetrators can be anyone, even sometimes people who are unexpected. They can be men or women, respected people and commoners, adults and also children.

Perpetrator of crime committed by children, in language of law, is called Children in Conflict with the Law (ABH).

Based on the Law Number 11 of 2012, concerning the Criminal Justice System for Children (SPPA), ABH is defined as a child aged 12 years old, but is not 18 years old yet, and is suspected of committing a criminal offense. The term children in conflict with the law (ABH) refers to the international term, that is children in conflict with the law. This term was adopted from the Convention on the Rights of the Child, (UNICEF, 2006).

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In line with this concept, based on the Child Protection Act No. 23 of 2002, a child is defined as someone who is not 18 years old yet, including those who are still in the womb.

The researcher in this study was interested in seeing crimes committed by children in the crime circle in general. This is based on the assumption that child is an entity deemed incomplete, does not have much knowledge and experiences in life, or is considered to be 'bau kencur (innocent)', but here, on the other hand, has turned to a criminal. In cases of extreme crimes committed by children, such as murder, high-class fraud, and even rape, James dan Jenks (1996) terms it with "outside traditional formulations of childhood".

The condition which is considered to be incomplete puts children in a subordinate position with a low bargaining position. Compared to adults, the position of ABH as a child is subordinate and is one of the vulnerable groups, so that they often become easy targets for acts of violence and injustice, (Ulya, 2016). Therefore, this research was conducted to see, crimes committed by children, to describe who are the owners of capital who are able to lead and direct the habit of crime, in the arena of crime. In Bourdieu's perspective, habitus does not stand alone, but is closely related to field, and also the ownership of capital. The struggle between habitus, capital and field was then formulated by Bourdieu with what came to be called Practice. Therefore, this study is intended to explore the components of the practice, in relation to crimes committed by children.

Theoretically, this research has similarities with those conducted by studies of Yuniati & Sutopo (2019), Macit (2018), Ilan & Sandberg (2019), (Lunnay, Ward, & Borlagdan 2011) and also Moyle & Coomber (2017), which using Bourdieu's framework, namely Practical Theory. However, this study differs from the Yuniati & Sutopo (2019) study, namely in terms of the focus of the study. Yuniati & Sutopo's study focused on the strategies and future hopes of ABH in LPKA, while this study focused on the behavior of ABH crimes which were read within the framework

of Theory of Practice. The focus of this study has similarities with studies conducted by Macit (2018), (Lunnay, Ward, & Borlagdan 2011), Ilan & Sandberg (2019) and also Moyle & Coomber (2017). It's just that the aspects that distinguish this research from the three studies are: 1). Variation of crime cases and 2). The research subjects were male ABH who were serving a prison sentence.

Ilan & Sandberg (2019) elaborated on how the "gangsters" and actors who used to be involved with crimes (crimes), then joined the ISIS jihadist groups. Research (Lunnay, Ward, & Borlagdan 2011) examines drinking behavior in adolescent girls, while research by Macit (2018) and Moyle & Coomber (2017) examines the behavior of drug dealers, both male and female adults (not children). This study has made male ABH as research subjects, with various criminal backgrounds. Each ABH is unique with its own complexities, such as regional background, socio-cultural environment, crimes committed, including peer groups. Therefore, the explanation of each case of ABH was carried out in order to obtain a description, variation and heterogeneity of complexity in ABH.

In general, the use of Bourdieu's perspective in crime/crime studies is relatively new (Macit, 2018). The emergence of a tendency to use Bourdieu's perspective in crime studies, especially seen in studies (Sandberg and Pedersen, 2009) using and introducing the term "street habitus", (Bowden, 2021). However, criminologists and researchers in the field of crime are still very slow in absorbing Bourdieu's ideas in this field (Shammas, 2018). In addition, Bourdieu himself did not talk much about themes related to crime/crime (Shammas & Sandberg, 2016). Therefore, there are very few studies that focus on the study of children, juvenile delinquency and crime, which use Bourdieu's perspective, especially on theory of practice, so there are not many study results that can be elaborated on this matter. Most studies also only focus on one concept, for example only emphasizing habitus, or only arena. So do not use Practical Theory as a unified analysis tool. Meanwhi-

le, this study uses Practical Theory as a unit, through the dialectic of the concepts of habitus, capital and arena as a tool of analysis in seeing the crimes committed by ABH. This is based on the fact that human actions are not only caused by habitus, but also involve capital and the arena.

In Indonesia, the study of children in general, and especially ABH, in the perspective of Sociology is still very limited, (Djaya, 2020). According to Suyanto (2019), this is also influenced by the assumption that children's problems are not important and serious problems, because they are considered domestic problems. This study was conducted to enrich and complement studies on children, crime and deviant behavior.

### **Bourdieu's Theory of Practice**

Habitus is a concept which is quite popular and important in Bourdieu's thinking. Human actions originate from the habitus itself, hence habitus becomes the basis for the formation of one's personality. Habitus is also "... a principle that produces and regulates practices and representations which can objectively be adjusted to the desired goals without the need to require efforts to consciously achieve a goal ...", (Bourdieu, 1977: 53, 1990: 72). Habitus itself is the result of a long process of individual bending (process of inculcation), starting from childhood, which then becomes a sort of 'second sense' or the essence of 'second nature', (Johnson, 2016: xvi) . "Habitus is a product of history, and produces individual and collective practices ...", (Bourdieu, 1977: 82). This means that habitus can also be a collective phenomenon, a way for people to internalize something in themselves, in the form of dispositions and structured tendencies related to thinking and acting. In daily life, habitus is a manifestation of attitudes and ways, also how we see and carry ourselves. Related to the focus of the study, this study will look at aspects of how crime habitus occurs to children in the locus of study.

Another concept also used in this study was capital. Through this concept, Bourdieu then wanted to dismantle a number of dominance in society which could not be

separated from the agents of capital owners. Capital in Bourdieu's eyes is not only economic capital, but also cultural capital, symbolic capital and social capital. (Haryatmoko, 2016: 45). Capital ownership is very important in determining the position of a person or group of people in society. Through capital ownership, it may allow people to control their own destiny and the fate of others, (Ritzer, 2012: 907). In line with the focus of the study which wishes to see the practices of crimes by children, on this concept of capital, the study reveals how the constellation of capital ownership in society, which has confusion with the occurrence of ABH.

From habitus and capital, the next move is to the concept of field (champ). Field is a place of struggle, competition, and at the same time, a battle for agents to fight for positions in society. So the struggle, competition and battle here do not refer to struggle in physical senses, but rather a symbolic struggle. This is where the betting of the agents' power, both those who have capital and those who don't or lack of capital. Each agent has different capital and habitus, but competes each other. In field, the position of agent is determined by the size of the capital they have. The battle that takes place in this field is not a battle in physical senses, but rather a fight for influences and preserve resources. According to (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 97), field is intended as:

"In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relation between position. Those positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc).

Integration between Habitus multiplied by Capital and added to Field is called Practice. Practice refers to what people do, or how they act (their social actions). In un-

derstanding practice, we must consider field as a structured space where this practice takes place, also a place where power relation works in various aspects, including individual access to various fields and also capital and also habitus (social formation disposition actors), (Moyle & Coomber, 2017). Bourdieu formulates this practice into the following formula:

$$[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{Practice}$$

## METHOD

The qualitative research in this study was combined with a critical ethnographic approach (Thomas, 1993). Critical ethnographic approach is an approach that aims to explore some hidden factors, such as how power, strength and hegemony affect the life of a society. The critical ethnographic method is very relevant to the theoretical framework of practice theory in Bourdieu's perspectives. So, "critical ethnography is conventional ethnography with a political purpose" (Thomas, 1993).

In general, an ethnographic approach will only describe answers to all the research questions raised in this study in depth. However, in a critical ethnographic approach, it will deeply investigate injustice and take sides. In the context of this study, they refer to the injustice experienced by children, and alignment on children as well. Here, the researcher was not a "ventriloquist", but rather acted as an "activist". This perspective accommodates advocacy in the emancipation of marginalized groups in society. That is, the ultimate goal of this critical ethnography is emancipatory goals (Thomas, 1993). Children who are involved in crimes are one of the vulnerable community groups, which tend to get stigmatized from the community, that is, as perpetrators of crime. This general public perspective usually equates these children with other adult criminal offenders. Instead, they are also victims of the inconducive environment where does not support their growth and development.

The research subjects in this study were the Children in Conflict with the Law (ABHs), all of whom were male. Their average age was mostly 17, meanwhile, the age when they were involved and caught in a crime case, mostly at the age of 16 years. This age is indeed a vulnerable age for children. The cases faced by ABHs in this study were quite diverse, ranging from cases of theft, robbery with violence (motorbikes), immoral cases (rape, the ABH call this case as a "girl" case), drugs (both as users only, and also dealers), weapon-misuses, to murder cases.

Besides ABHs, the other research subjects were the ABHs' parents or guardians, community leaders such as teachers, village officials, officials at LPKA Palembang, Social Workers of the Child Protection of OKI Regency, who usually help and assist ABH and other figures deemed necessary and relevant in this study.

The subjects of this study were the primary data sources, whose information was gained through in-depth interviews and observations. In-depth interviews were conducted with research subjects, namely ABH and several related figures. Researchers make interview guidelines before in-depth interviews are conducted. Observations were made of attitudes, behaviors, actions, and ongoing social processes. In addition, secondary data was added to deepen the context as well as the process of checking the data obtained from the main source.

The data collected was then analyzed. In general, the data analysis in this study refers to (Creswell, 2016), which describes a linear and hierarchical approach. Analysis was then built from the ground up. Starting from collecting raw data to interpreting the meaning of the theme through description. However, the implementation was not rigid, where this approach could then be more interactive, the stages were interrelated with one another and not always in accordance with the arrangements that have been presented.



## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Field Crime circles

Some studies show that crimes tend to be higher in urban areas as in the study (Hinsberger et al., 2016), (Ferdoos & Ashiq, 2015). These studies assume that a leap in population growth which cannot be controlled is one of the causes of urban areas becoming rapidly changing as well. Not surprisingly, most urban areas are also used to build industrial buildings, trade, residential housing, and also offices. According to (Kartono, 2017), all efforts related to the development in urban areas have side effects in the form of social disruption (social separatism or chaos). This disruption is reflected in the increasing number of broken homes, increasing suicides, liquorism and drugs, corruption, crimes, prostitution and so on.

In contrast to the assumption above, this study actually took a location in a rural area, which is thick with crime habitus. This study at least shows that the world of crimes or criminality is not only rife in urban areas, as has often been published so far. This research would rather identify why in rural areas, the climate of crimes is something what is prevalent. The context of the study in rural areas, it is even more possible for researchers to explore things that are unique or special in one particular area, which are sometimes different from other regions, and have not been contaminated by other aspects, such as in urban areas. Therefore, this research took place in Ogan Komering Ilir Regency (OKI).

The only urban area in OKI Regency is only represented by Kayuagung City. In general, crimes in Kayuagung are actually considered to be more complex than those in some regions, because it is indeed an area inhabited by many residents from various regions in OKI Regency. Crime cases in Kayuagung region are indeed higher compared to other regions in OKI Regency, (Badan\_Pusat\_Statistik\_Kab\_districts\_OKI, 2018).

For OKI Regency as a whole, based on data from Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS),

South Sumatra Province in 2018, it is known that, OKI Regency is the largest regency in South Sumatra Province with a percentage reaching 19.54 percent, from the overall provincial areas. OKI Regency is also a regency that has stigma and specific phenomena related to crimes/criminality that often occur there. Some of the stigmas in this regency are “Kayuagung ambassadors” (bandits / thugs who operate abroad), which came to be known as “Duta Kayuagung (Kayuagung ambassadors)”. The Kayuagung ambassadors’ phenomenon is a typical phenomenon, which only exists in this society. The ambassadors’ target countries include: Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Korea, Hong Kong and others.

Then there are also various stigmas related to other crimes adapted to the crime types that develop in the region, namely: “Bank robber village and recidivist village” in Tulung Selapan district area, “drug village” in Sirah Pulau Padang district area, and “weapon village (homemade guns)” in Sungai Menang district area. The Tulung Selapan and Menang River district are water areas which are often called the East Coast region of Sumatra.

In addition, several areas in the border areas of OKI Regency and East OKU Regency, as well as OKI Regency and Lampung Province are also prone to crimes, ‘motorbikes robbery’, theft, murder, drugs and also social conflicts (known as ‘eternal conflict of Mesuji’). These crimes also spread in several other areas which are located close to several areas prone to such crimes, such as in Pangkalan Lampam district area which is adjacent to Tulung Selapan district. These behavior and crimes also spread to several other districts in OKI Regency, such as Lempuing district, Pedamaran, and others. Various stigma and typical phenomena of these crimes seem to strengthen OKI Regency as the prone areas to criminal acts.

Some regions or areas of OKI Regency are not only dominant in one crime, but also closely related to other crimes. For example, Tulung Selapan district, besides being known as a recidivist escape area, is also prone to drugs. Another example is the area or villa-

ge of Sungai Ceper, Sungai Menang district, which is not only famous for producing weapons but also vulnerable to drugs. Therefore, one crime sometimes also interconnects and comes into contact with other crimes.

Thus, it can be seen that OKI Regency, in the context of field, is an area that almost entirely prone to crimes/criminality. Of course, this area is an field becoming the basis for perpetuating crime habitus.

### Habitus: Learning About Crimes

Learning about crimes in this context is not similar to learning science at school or in both formal and informal educational institutions. Self-learning is indeed a process. This means, children are not necessarily involved in the world of crime, without the process of initial identification. So, this crime indeed appears as a process of habituation.

Children are most likely to have an improper habitus, suffering because of what is called Bourdieu hysteresis (habitus is durable, and unchanged), (Ritzer, 2012: 904). Furthermore, this habituation process arises from an ongoing process of intense interaction. In a general perspective, of course, the expected habitus is one that develops in a good direction. However, in reality this is not always directly proportional to expectations. The development of crime habitus is certainly not in accordance with the existing positive law. Moreover, if the habitus lasts for a long time, it has been 'ingrained' and has become the daily life of the community, consciously or unconsciously transmitted to children. The condition which has become inherited like this becomes very difficult to change, exactly as stated by Bourdieu with hysteresis.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus illustrates that it is durable. Some villages with crime habitus, have become a 'system or device of long-lasting disposition' and are a part of everyday life in society. Based on the result of an interview with one of the informants who knew the "drug village" in one area of OKI Regency, said that "talking about specific things related to drugs, drug transactions, is what usually done among parents

and children there". This means that this condition has been transmitted by parents to children, and will be dangerous if then continuously transmitted.

Then, habitus is a structure that is formed and forming. Habitus produces and is produced by the social world. On one hand, "structuring the structure" habitus, that means, habitus is a structure that structures the social world. On the other hand, habitus is also a "the structured structure", meaning that habitus is structured by the social world. However, habitus simply 'suggests' what people should think and what they should choose to do, (Adib, 2012).

In the context of children who are familiar with criminal behavior, sooner or later, it makes children comfortable with the structure of such a life. Understanding of crimes in children is considered as something normal in their daily lives, because of the social environment and intense social interaction with the world. Involvement of a person with a crime, social norms are seen as unimaginable and should not be done, especially by a child, but after experiencing various processes and along with the 'comfort' and 'pleasure' obtained from these actions, then the 'irregularities' have become something normal to be understood and accepted, and deserve to be a choice of action, so that it becomes natural and instinctive, for example in the case of one ABH saying:

"I made friends with many people outside my little family, I learned to smoke and used meth. That's where I first became involved in crime, and began to intensely steal to buy meth. Then I got used to it, because I felt happy, and was not burdened much, especially when I finished using meth methamphetamine, "(Informant Han).

Furthermore, since turning into a daily habit, being familiar with crimes and drugs, this condition eventually becomes a structured disposition. It becomes an awareness and attitude that is suppressed within. In turn, the habit functions as a framework that gives birth and gives shape to one's perception, presentation and actions. Thus, because it has been well growth, drug crimes

are then increasingly internalized through various media, namely spread out through entertainment media, such as Solo Organ Orchestra, as well as other people's parties. In fact, formal village officials, sometimes are unable to act decisively in connection with this matter, some are even actually involved in drugs cases.

Thus, there is a correlation between social structure and practices, the idea of schemes beyond individual is stored within, turning into mental and physical schemes, as perceptions, ways of thinking and acting. Therefore, these schemes form cognitive structures and motivate individual actions, or in other language, lie in the way of thinking (the actor's head) to provide knowledge and competence, (Moyle & Coomber, 2017). Bourdieu explained that habitus is a system of disposition which results in differences in lifestyle and life practices, based on one's experience and internalization in interacting with others, as well as with the objective structures in which they lie. Habitus is a product of a number of inevitability internalisation, so habitus produces objective strategies adjusted according to the situation, (Bourdieu, 2011).

Habitus of crime on children are mostly formed and influenced by the social and friendship environment (peer groups). In a number of cases in OKI Regency, the social environment in most areas is prone to crimes. This condition is then introduced early to children. That is, parents do not introduce it as something wrong and unlawful to their children. Then, the child adopts and commits the crime as something natural, because this is the condition they live everyday.

This is found in many ABHs, when processed legally, they do not understand or even do not know the meaning of the crime they committed as something against the law, because they never get the knowledge and understanding related to it from their parents and the community around them. Thus, from the family side, there are inadequate and wrong patterns of caring in the fa-

mily. This is not surprising, given that both parents themselves and also most of the community are also very permissive, even participating in committing crimes.

### Capital rulers

The concept of capital is used by Bourdieu to map the correlation of strength and power in society. Situation and condition around children are formed, constructed and/or developed by adults around them, especially villagers who have more power or influence than society in general.

In the context of this study, the condition of crime habitus on children cannot either be separated from the authorities of capital around the children themselves. They are the most influential actors in society, that is, the middle-upper class, who have some capital or modal. It may be in the form of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. This ownership of capital will then determine the social class in society. In line with the concept of class in Bourdieu's perspectives which formulates the class into three levels, namely 1) dominant class, 2) petty-bourgeois class and 3) popular class. In this study, the capital rulers (middle-upper class) are the dominant class and the petty-bourgeois class. Both of these class groups can influence the mechanism that occurs in the field of cultural production, including in the field of crimes / criminality.

Consciously or not, these capital owners have formed a bad social environment for the children development, so that either directly or indirectly it leads to a trigger and a driver of the emergence of ABH. It cannot be denied that power, strength and hegemony will greatly affect the life of a society.

These capital rulers include: 1) Owners of Solo Organ Orchestra (OT) and middle-upper class people, holding Solo Organ Orchestra (OT), 2) Owners of 24 hours online game cafe, 3) Drug dealers and village bandits/thugs, and 4) Formal/informal figures in the community and adults around children (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Capital Rulers in the Circle of Crimes Comiited By Children

Capital Rulers	Types of Capital Ownership	Description
Solo Organ Orchestra (OT) and middle-upper class society, who are able to hold Solo Organ Orchestra (OT) (OT)	Economic, symbolic, social and cultural Capital	Drugs transactions and distribution media and liquor to children Children exposed to pornography (sexy singers) and gambling Crimes happening during Solo Organ Orchestra, involving children (fights and even murders)
Owners of 24 hours- online game internet cafe	Economic, symbolic, social and cultural Capital	Children addicted to online games and pornography A place for children to stay up all night, smoking, drinking liquor and drugs Children often found stealing, snatching and robbing, with an excuse of playing games in internet cafes
Drugs bookies and village bandits / thugs	Economic, symbolic, social and cultural Capital	Bookies often making use of children as drugs users and dealers as well Children accustomed to using guns
Formal/informal figures in community and adults around children	Economic, symbolic, social and cultural Capital	Unable to stem the ongoing crimes, even tend to be permissive and apathetic

### Children in the Circle of Criminal Practices

The practices of crimes committed by these children cannot be separated from the ongoing struggle of habitus in the field controlled by the agents of capital owners. That is, these capital owner agents have what is called 'symbolic power'. The process of this symbolic power occurrence or mechanism runs through what is called by Bourdieu as 'doxa'. These crimes become a daily activity of the community, it can even be said to be a 'doxa', as a belief that is accepted as it is, never questioned, which has directed a person's perspective in perceiving the world or field where the doxa occurs. According to Bourdieu, doxa is a set of fundamental beliefs which is not even felt to be explicit, as if it were a dogma, (Deer, 2008). So doxa here is a dominant discourse, closely related to power. Doxa produces a dialectical relationship with what came to be called by Bourdieu as heterodoxa and orthodox.

Meanwhile, the existence of 'heterodoxa' is unable to provide significant resistance to the 'doxa' which has so rapidly grown and ingrained in people's lives. 'Heterodoxa', as an explicitly expressed thought that questions the validity of the prevailing scheme of perception and appreciation. It is also an opponent, a counter and is also called as 'the challenging thought' of the doxa itself.

The presence of security forces and officers involved in combating crimes tends to be unable to reach out and eradicate crimes existing in the community, for example, in an area where there are many perpetrators roaming around. At present, there have not even been any government efforts related to breaking the networks, in order to keep the children away from such crimes. The action is only carried out as an effort to deal with such crimes, to the death toll, and reports from related parties. From the residents' perspectives, they usually do not have the



**Table 2.** Children in the Circle of Criminal Practices

Practice = [(habitus) (capital)] + field		
Habitus	Capital	Field
<p>Crime, as something normal, is done in daily activities and interactions. Such as a case of a family involved in drugs, parents usually talk about drugs in terms of aspects and terminology to their children</p>	<p>The capital owners in village play roles, both directly and indirectly, for the formation of habitus and the practices of crimes by children. For instance, elite capital owners in village are: drug bookies/ dealers and village bandits / thugs who play a major role in the distribution of drugs and at the same time producing guns/ weapons</p>	<p>Geographical situation and condition, especially in the east coast which is a strategic place for the growth of crimes. The appearance of the phenomenon of “kayuagung ambassador”. The existence of ‘bank robbery and recidivist villages’, drugs village’, weapon village’and conflict-prone border areas</p>

will to report various crimes in their area, with the reason that they do not want to be witnesses, which in turn will add to the list of problems and instead complicate their own affairs.

Eventually, the class which dominates and has a lot of capital ownership in the village will try to maintain the existence of doxa and preserve the continuity of the field, so that it remains to be the dominating class, through what is called ‘orthodoxa’. Orthodoxa is a thought that explicitly defends or tries to maintain the structures and rules in the field. In other words, the dominant group that has the power to try maintaining their domain dominated structures by creating orthodoxa products (Deer in Grenfell: 2008).

Through this field mastery, the dominant class and petty bourgeois in the village may exist and survive, in maintaining and expanding the capital mastery. The stronger and the more extensive the capital is controlled, the more difficult it is to eradicate the power of the perpetrators of crimes with their crime habitus. Frequently, the perpetrators of these crimes, too, have social capital or networking with law enforcement officials. Therefore, it becomes very difficult to break the chains of crimes on children, with the society’s condition which has made the crime habitus as something steady or established.

## CONCLUSION

Actually, the criminal practices on children is almost largely caused by factors outside the individual child himself. Everyone was born in a field where they cannot determine for themselves. Unfortunately, ABH who come from OKI Regency were raised from fields and habitus which were not at all profitable for them. This condition keeps continuing, and then affects the mental structure, then is considered as something natural, so that it becomes a crime habitus. Furthermore, this becomes the principle that gives birth to and compiles the daily habits of the people in OKI Regency.

This habitus is maintained and made into discourse by actors who have considerable capital accumulation in the midst of society. Although the results of the study showed that not all influential actors in the village agreed with the crime habitus, the actors who tried to counter this crime habitus, were unable to do much to dispel the massive habitus of crime in their area.

The local government must take quick steps to address these situations and conditions. Physical development programs must be endeavored to minimize the ongoing disparities occurred in OKI Regency, bearing in mind that areas with poor infrastructures are the basis for the development of crimes. In addition, several non-physical and awareness programs must also be promoted, especially in strengthening the family and community level.

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