

The Social Behaviors of Marginal Group Adolescents in Semarang

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Abstract

Marginal people become a problem in Semarang. Kemijen is a place for marginal people in Semarang. Kemijen has both physical and social environment problems. Indeed, this location is not suitable to stay either for adults, adolescents, or children. One of the concerning matters deals with adolescents. The adolescent phase remains in an important individual development stage. This research aims to analyze the role of the area, habitus, and social capital for adolescents of marginal people and their social behaviors in Semarang. This qualitative research collected the data from a deep interview, observation, and literature study. The data analysis used data reduction, presentation, and conclusion stages. The findings showed the area, habitus, and social capital influenced the dropout-adolescent's social behaviors. Meanwhile, the school arena of the adolescents' residences and the social capital did not influence the adolescents' social behaviors at schools. The social behaviors of the marginal people in Semarang consisted of politeness, lifestyle, peer-interaction, the opposite sex interaction, and life perspective. The adolescents' social behaviors of the marginal people were grouped into two. Dropout adolescents' social behaviors tended to be negative. Meanwhile, the adolescents that still went to schools tended to be positive.

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INTRODUCTION

Problems occurring in cities, especially in a developing country, frequently deal with its unpreparedness of the cities. It deals with creating a residence plan, a job opportunity, and *urban service* for the people. Many immigrants bring their village technologies to cities, their ways of life, and their expectations to make their lives better.

Meanwhile, Semarang, as a city, has not been capable to provide greater job opportunities for its people. They who do not have any skills will enroll in an informal sector (*self-employed*) such as construction laborers, street vendors, peddlers, pedicab drivers, or even scavengers. However, many of them are forced to be beggars, tramps, or even prostitutes.

Kemijen is a village in East Semarang Regency. It is a place for marginal people in Semarang. It has 11 community associations and 82 neighborhood associations. Its 6 CAs are slums. They are CA 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11. Its physical environment problems cover poverty, rob, flood, and waste.

Besides the physical environment problem, it also has social problems. Kemijen is an area with a high criminality rate in East Semarang regency for both criminality perpetrators and the crime scene. The criminalities are such as getting drunk, robbery, plunder, persecution, brawl, drug abuse, and prostitution.

Such physical and social environment problems are indeed not suitable to stay either for adults, adolescents, or children. One of the concerning matters deals with adolescents. The adolescent phase remains in an important individual development stage. The adolescent period is a transition from childhood into adulthood. In this period, several individual behaviors begin to develop. It includes personal identity, sexual maturity, and bravery to commit risky behaviors (Suryoputro, Ford & Shaluhiyah, 2006). Adolescents attempt to adjust themselves with the already developed culture in the society of their residence. An adolescent will frequently imitate and cultivate

various actions and cultural values that motivate them and internalize such actions and cultures into their personalities (Marlin & Rusdarti, 2016).

A study about adolescent behaviors had been conducted by Aziz (2015). He found the social behaviors of troubled children were generally caused by their family backgrounds. There might be something not right or broken home. A study conducted by Lestari (2014) found that the negative social behaviors of adolescents were influenced by negative habitus. They might be smoking, drinking alcohol, abusing drugs, and *committing free sex*. Uliya (2012) found several influential factors toward the social behaviors of female workers' children in Jatikoreh village, Songgom regency, Brebes municipality. The most basic factors were personality, family, and family-economy social change.

Meanwhile, Sari (2014) found social behavior variety was caused by children in behaving. It was based on their habitus such as their wills and their purposes, and their arena which dealt with the applied norms and values inside of the society.

The findings had not been able to review the social behaviors of adolescents in a marginal group completely. Therefore, this research attempted to fill in the gap by conducting a study to investigate the influences of the arena, habitus, and social capital around them.

The applied analysis was based on constructivism social theory. The constructivism theory was based on the observed social reality from habitus, arena, and social capital perspectives. Bourdieu states relationalism methodology is a correlation description among habitus, arena, and capital. It is a correlation that influences the environment toward habitus and capital. In another hand, an environment puts habitus in condition. On the other hand, habitus arranges the environment as something meaningful and valuable. Meanwhile, *social capital* has a role as a motivator to promote the habitus in an arena and to keep the social status (Bourdieu, 2010).

The reason to apply this theory is that adolescents in their daily lives are grouped into three. They are habitus (habits), arena, and social capital of the adolescents.

Based on those facts, this research aims to analyze the role of the area, habitus, and social capital for adolescents of marginal people and their social behaviors in Semarang. The applied arena in this research consisted of family and resident arenas. The applied habitus in this research consisted of interaction and society habitus while the applied social capital in this research consisted of economy and *prestige* capitals. Meanwhile, the social behaviors of the marginal people in Semarang consisted of politeness, lifestyle, peer-interaction, the opposite sex interaction, and life perspective.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used qualitative research. This research was conducted in Semarang, exactly in CA 5, Kemijen. The primary data source was interview results with five adolescents of marginal people as the main informants. The fact of the field was such as when the adolescents were in their residences. This research focuses were adolescents' social behaviors of a marginal group. They consisted of the roles of habitus, arenas, and adolescents' social capitals of the marginal people and adolescents' social behaviors of marginal people.

This research took site in Semarang, Central Java, exactly in Kemijen ward. The informant selection technique in this research was a *purposive sampling* technique. The main informants were 13-22 years old adolescents, living in Kemijen ward, and either still going to schools or dropout. Then, the researcher also added other information as the supportive data about the general descriptions of the marginal group adolescents in Semarang. The techniques for collecting the data were deep interviews, observation, and documentation.

By referring to the validity of the expected obtained data, this research applied data source or source triangulation, theoretical triangulation, and methodology triangulation. Meanwhile, the

data analysis applied interactive data analysis consisting of *data reduction*, *data display*, and *conclusion drawing or verification*.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Roles of Arena, Habitus, Social Capital of the Marginal People

Family Arena

Family is a medium of initial enculturation for individuals or children. Children spend their early life periods with their families and obtain value reflections and also behavioral patterns of their families. Children learn society's norms via their families and playmates (Marlin & Rusdarti, 2016)

Dropout adolescents had a poor family background. The function of the family as an arena faded for the informants. The family exemplified negative behaviors for the informants. They let the informants behave negatively, to have unwanted parenting pattern, parenting pattern that does not internalize values of goodness, unrestricted interaction parenting pattern, and less religious internalization parenting pattern.

Thus, the possibility of adolescents to behave negatively got higher. A study conducted by Yuniati, Suyahmo, and Juhadi (2017) found deviating behaviors due to external factors. They were disharmony families or *broken home* families. Juvenile delinquency could be caused by a *broken home*. Children did not get adequate compassion and attention from their parents.

Meanwhile, those who still went to schools had good family backgrounds. The family was a joyful arena for the informants when their family was complete and harmonious; and when they are close to their family members. It would be a joyful arena for the informants when the informants did not have negative behaviors and promote their function well, for example by giving attention, suggestion, and compassion. The parenting pattern was a joyful habitus. It internalized values of goodness. It also limited the interaction and internalized values of religion.

There was a possibility that adolescents who still went to school would have positive social behaviors due to the good roles of their parents. It could be found in a study conducted by Marlin and Rusdarti (2016). They found that not all fishermen's children behaved negatively. Some adhered to the values and social norms positively. They had better achievements at schools and obeyed their parents. They got special attention from their parents strictly and had a high motivation to achieve a better education.

Residential Arena

For dropout adolescents, the role of residence in the first category is was a comfortable place and it did not discriminate the physical and social condition of the residence. The second category of residence was an uncomfortable arena due to the social environment condition such as the existence of a person that behaves negatively. In this second category, the informant had the intention to move from his residence.

Meanwhile, for those who still went to schools, the residence arena was comfortable. The informants did not put an issue on the physical and social environmental conditions. Although they might complain due to the numbers of mosquitoes, wastes, heat, and intoxication of its people that makes the informants afraid.

Intercommunication Habitus

In the dropout, informants consisted of peers in the residence, school, or playmates. Dropout adolescents had bad intercommunication. The informants had many friends that brought negative influences, such as inviting them to consume alcohol, drugs, to smoke, to commit brawl, intoxication, and to sell the prohibited drugs.

Meanwhile, for the adolescents who still went to school, it consisted of peers in the residence, school, playmates, or organization mates. School adolescents had good intercommunication habitus since they could select how they intercommunicate and select positive behaved peers. Besides their reasons, the

reason why the informants preferred a healthy friendship was due to their parents' orders.

Society or People Habitus

Dealing with dropout adolescents, the surrounding people contributed to keeping the orderliness of the environment. The society reprimanded and advised any person that commits negative action. The society would be considered less to have roles in keeping the condition or being ignorant when people were committing negative actions. The informants breached the norms of society by committing negative actions such as escaping from home, consuming alcohol, and abusing drugs.

Meanwhile, for adolescents who still went to schools, society habitus had roles to keep the orderliness of the environment. The society reprimanded and advised any person that commits negative action. The society had fewer roles in keeping the environment condition. The society was ignorant when a person was committing negative action. The informants adhered to the applied norms and did not commit any negative actions as what the informants did to keep the cleanliness, to respect older people, to be polite and orderly, and not to trigger any restlessness.

Economy Capital

Dropout adolescents had poor economic conditions. The informants and their parents that worked in informal and were paid under the regional minimum income could not support their life necessities and were assisted by the government. Due to poor economic conditions to support their life needs, it made them deviated until they traded the prohibited drugs. It even made them stealing to pay his brother or sister wedding costs.

Meanwhile, for adolescents that still went to schools, their economic conditions were still good. Although the informants' parents worked in the informal sector their incomes could support their daily life necessities and they did not get assistance from the government. The informants did not work to help the family economy burden. However, they had higher ideals to get better jobs so they could help their families.

Social Status

For dropout adolescents, they did not think about to keep their parents' honors. Thus, they behaved negatively. Therefore, the informants and their families were negatively stigmatized by society.

Meanwhile, for adolescents who still went to schools, they had a burden to keep their parents' honors. Thus, they behaved negatively. Therefore, the informants and their families were considered positive from society.

Social behaviors of The Marginal People

Politeness

For dropout adolescents, several informants spoke common Javanese speech while communicating with their parents or older people. There were also some informants spoke high Javanese speech level while communicating with their parents or older people. In interacting and behaving with older people, all such informants were polite. However, when they interacted and communicated with their peers, they spoke common Javanese speech levels entailed by some rude expressions.

Meanwhile, for adolescents who still went to schools, there were two politeness categories in having speech. There were those speaking high Javanese speech levels to older people. In another hand, there were those speaking common Javanese speech levels to communicate with their parents of older people. The informants would mix their speech levels while communicating with older people or their parents. In behaving, all informants behaved politely to the older people. In having speech with their peers, all informants spoke common Javanese speech levels with rude expressions, such as saying *anjing* (bitch or dog) or *ndes*.

Life Style

It was known that the adolescents' lifestyles were the result of the lasting education inside of their families, schools, and social environments that were correlated (Wahyuni, Soesilowati, & Banowati, 2016).

For the dropout adolescents, their activities were such as working, staying at home and assisting the households, or helping their

parents to sell goods or services. They used their spare time to visit tourism objects, malls, hangouts, or helping their parents. In terms of having luxurious goods, some dropout adolescents had luxurious goods and some of them did not have those luxurious goods. Dealing with the lifestyle fulfillment of the dropout adolescents, they had to spare their pocket money from their earnings. The dropout adolescents did not have any figure that inspired them to dress up or set their looks. The informants dressed up based on what they liked and tended to be unique.

Meanwhile, for the adolescents who still went to schools, their daily lives were full of going to schools. They spent their time to visit tourism objects, malls, playing games, playing *handphones*, or following positive activities. They had luxurious goods such as *handphones* or motorbikes. Dealing with their lifestyle fulfillment, they saved some of their pocket money and it was assisted also by their parents. Dealing with their fashion, they were dressed based on their preferences or were inspired by their idols.

It was similar to the findings of Krisnaningrum, Masrukhi, and Atmaja (2017). The male adolescents' fashions idolized their soccer players. They imitated the hairstyle of "El Sharawy". Meanwhile, the other hairstyles were adopted from boy bands' hairstyles. It was different from the female adolescents that imitated the domestic actresses, such as silverish, bluish, or brownish hair-colored styles.

Peer Intercommunications

The dropout adolescents had negative intercommunications that were committed with their friends. The informants and their friends behaved negatively by consuming alcohol, selling and consuming drugs, brawling, smoking, and being intoxicated.

It was also found in a study conducted by Yuniati, Suyahmo, and Juhadi (2017). Those deviating behaviors of the adolescents were due to defending their friends of siblings. It happened in a brawling case in Public JHS 4 and a brawling case of a student in Public JHS 9 and Public JHS 10 Pekalongan. They had solidarity

but it was not appropriate since the defended friends or relatives deviated.

Meanwhile, the adolescents who still went to schools had positive intercommunications with their friends. The informants and their friends had positive behaviors such as to chat, to confide, to play soccer, to watch a soccer match, to play a game, to join recitation or salutation, to complete their school tasks, to play at a friend's house, to go hang out to tourism places or malls, and to organize youth organizations.

The Opposite Sex Intercommunication

The dropout adolescents had their intercommunication by chatting, hanging out, treating, and protecting. Some informants invited their opposite-sex friends to consume prohibited drugs. One of the informants had a girlfriend and planned to get married soon. The other informant did not have any girl or a boyfriend and had his or her marriage arranged by his or her parents. All informants did not commit any free sexual intercourses.

Meanwhile, for the adolescents who still went to schools. their opposite sex intercommunication lasted only at schools and their residences. Some informants were feeling shy to have opposite-sex intercommunication. All informants did not have any girl or boyfriends. One of them was in a bonding approach. An informant did not have any girl or boyfriend and did not want to. An informant did not have any girl or a boyfriend since it was prohibited by his or her parents. All informants did not commit any free sexual intercourses.

Life Vision

The live visions of the dropout adolescents and the adolescents who still went to schools were similar. They hoped to be able to continue their studies in higher education and got better jobs.

The Implementation of Habitus, Arena, and Social Capital Theory toward the Adolescents' Social Behaviors of the Marginal Group

Based on the findings and the theoretical framework within the perspective and theoretical principle of Bourdieu's habitus,

arena, and modal theory, Habitus was meant to be an act committed by the adolescents of the marginal group. It could be committed consciously or unconsciously. The arena was a special space around the adolescents of the marginal group. Social capital dealt with the capital owned by adolescents in their lives, such as economic capital and *prestige*. Those concepts fostered a social practice or social reality. Thus, it could be reviewed as follows.

Based on the findings from the deep interviews with the informants and the observations, it was found that the social behaviors had a personal will, value, applied norm, and surrounding environment backgrounds. When the findings were correlated to Pierre Bourdieu's theory that stated that social reality was fostered by habitus, arena, and social capital, they did not apply. This inevitability was seen on the adolescents' social behaviors of the marginal people. They were not fully formed from the space and habitual correlations. Besides that, the *capital* has a role as a motivator to promote the habitus in an arena and to keep the social status. The adolescents of the marginal people could be influenced by the environment, the habits, or the capital.

The findings of this research showed they put themselves as autonomous actors in behaving. They had their own will and were not influenced by habitus or arena. It was shown by the informants' stigmas that never drank alcohol, consumed prohibited drugs, got intoxicated, committed free sexual intercourses, stole, or even smoked. When it was seen from the arena and the habits within their residences, they actually could not be separated from those behaviors. However, the informants chose to follow positive activities such as the youth organization and the youth of the mosques.

Other behaviors based on their will were shown by their intentions to continue their education. They did it although they lived in an environment where there were dropout adolescents. There were some of them chose to not intercommunicate with the surrounding peers. They thought it would negatively influence them in terms of having

intercommunication. The informants preferred to have intercommunication with school friends and organizational friends. Some informants had inappropriate lifestyles with their economy capitals. They were included in a less prosperous family. However, the informants still enjoyed luxurious goods and kept hanging out. Besides that, some informants did not commit free sexual intercourses although they lived in such a place to commit it. This finding confirmed that the marginal group adolescents put themselves as non-autonomous actors. Their behaviors were not influenced by their residence, people, government institution, education, family, and capital.

This finding confirmed a perspective that argued a social system influenced the individual's behaviors and actions. Meanwhile, the social system that fostered the behaviors was shown by adolescents of the marginal group that were influenced by their environment and what the surrounding people did.

The adolescents' social behaviors of the marginal people were not fostered by the correlation between habitus and arena. This research proved that the adolescents' social behaviors of the marginal group were fostered only by habitus, arena, or social capital. Those emerging behaviors were due to the performed habitus by the informants. They always kept the values and applied social norms. The values and norms were politeness. The informant respected older people by speaking high Javanese speech levels or proper Indonesian language such as greeting, saying *amit* or *excuse me*, and allowing the older person first.

Meanwhile, there was also a negative habitus that influenced. They were smoking, consuming drugs, being intoxicated, selling prohibited drugs, and getting drunk. They did it because they were influenced by their friends or their family members.

The adolescents' social behaviors of the marginal people could be also influenced by the arena. It was shown by those who lived in a very hard place. There, the people committed a lot of deviating behaviors such as murder, thievery, brawl, getting drunk, and drug abuse.

The other arena was a complete family that cared for and monitored the informants. It also did not make them not to commit negative actions. Meanwhile, a capital such as *prestige* made the informants afraid to commit any negative actions. They did it since their social statuses and for the sake of their families in society.

Based on the findings, what Pierre Bourdieu stated about social reality formation due to habitus and arena correlation was indeed proven. It was proven by the informants that kept saying rude to their friends. It happened due to their intercommunication and the habits of their residences. Besides that, the solidarity between the informants and such deviating behaviors due to intercommunication and the resident environment, such as getting drunk, consuming prohibited drugs, selling the drugs, being intoxicated, and brawling.

Based on the explanation, it could be concluded there was a gap between habitus and arena theory of Pierre Bourdieu with the fact. The findings showed there was not always a correlation between habitus and arena that could influence the adolescents' social behaviors of the marginal people. The individuals' intentions of adolescents could also influence their social behaviors. There were also values and the applied norms in society and the surrounding arena. The surrounding arena could also influence the adolescents' social behaviors of the marginal group.

Therefore, the research accepted and strengthened the habitus arena theory of Pierre Bourdieu by proposing improvement for the theory. The adolescents' social behaviors of the marginal people were not influenced by the habitus, arena, and capital correlations. However, the other factors were individuals' will, values, and norms.

CONCLUSION

The family and residence arena, intercommunication and society habitus, economic capital, and social status fostered social behaviors of the dropout adolescents'

social behaviors of the marginal group. For adolescents who still went to schools, the arena did not influence. The informants never drank alcohol, consumed prohibited drugs, got intoxicated, committed free sexual intercourses, stole, or even smoked. When it was seen from the arena and the habits within their residences, they actually could not be separated from those behaviors. However, the informants chose to follow positive activities such as the youth organization and the youth of the mosques. The complete family arena and parents that performed their roles well could develop the school-adolescents' social behaviors well. Intercommunication habitus influenced school adolescents. The informants chose to intercommunicate with positive behaviors. Thus, it brought positive influence for the informants. The habitus of marginal people that had not behaviors to get drunk, brawl, and consume drugs did not influence the school-adolescents' social behaviors. The economic capital of the school-adolescents was found to have less influence on developing social behaviors. Although the school-adolescents were from less prosperous families they could have luxurious lifestyles. The social status of the school-adolescents of the marginal group influenced their social behaviors. They had to keep their behaviors since they had good social statuses in society.

The adolescents of the marginal group had two behaviors. They were positive and negative. The dropout adolescents behaved negatively such as getting drunk, consuming drugs, smoking, brawling, being intoxicated, selling prohibited drugs, and getting dropped out. Meanwhile, for the school-adolescents, they tended to behave positively by avoiding to get drunk, to be intoxicated, to consume prohibited drugs, to do brawl, or to commit thievery. They joined positive activities that could develop their characters better. They had spirits to reach their ideals and hopes. They also wanted to continue

their studies and to improve their economy as well as their families' dignity.

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