

Klitih In The Digital Era: A Criminogenic Analysis And The Dilemma Of Restorative Justice Implementation

Hartanto

Widya Mataram University, Indonesia

hartanto.yogya@gmail.com

Abstrak

Fenomena klitih di Yogyakarta merepresentasikan bentuk kekerasan jalanan yang dilakukan oleh remaja, seringkali berlatar belakang faktor kriminogenik yang kompleks, termasuk degradasi moral, lemahnya kontrol keluarga, pengaruh media sosial, dan glorifikasi kekerasan oleh kelompok sebaya. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dengan analisis pada kasus konkret serta penelaahan atas faktor struktural, kultural, dan sistemik yang mempengaruhi terjadinya kejahatan remaja. Implementasi keadilan restoratif sebagaimana diatur dalam UU No. 11 Tahun 2012 tentang Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak dinilai belum efektif memberikan efek jera, terutama dalam kasus berulang (residivisme) yang mengabaikan hak-hak korban. Data dari kasus konkret menunjukkan pola perilaku kekerasan yang didorong oleh konsumsi alkohol, kepemilikan senjata tajam, dan kelalaian pengawasan orang tua. Media sosial memperparah kondisi dengan menjadi medium glorifikasi kekerasan dan koordinasi aksi. Untuk itu, diperlukan reformasi sistem peradilan anak yang menggabungkan pendekatan rehabilitatif dan sanksi tegas, terutama bagi pelaku yang telah berulang kali melakukan tindak pidana. Selain itu, kampanye digital untuk kontra-narasi kekerasan remaja harus digencarkan.

Kata Kunci: *Anak, Era Digital, Klitih, kriminogenik, keadilan restoratif*

Klitih In The Digital Era: A Criminogenic Analysis And The Dilemma Of Applying Restorative Justice

Abstract

The phenomenon of klitih in Yogyakarta represents a form of street violence perpetrated by adolescents, often rooted in complex criminogenic factors such as moral degradation, weak family control, the influence of social media, and the glorification of violence by peer groups. This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach through case analysis and an examination of structural, cultural, and systemic factors influencing juvenile delinquency. The implementation of restorative justice as regulated in Law No. 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System is deemed ineffective in providing a deterrent effect, particularly in cases of recidivism that neglect the rights of victims. Data from concrete cases indicate patterns of violent behaviour driven by alcohol consumption, possession of sharp weapons, and parental neglect. Social media exacerbates the situation by serving as a medium for glorifying violence and coordinating actions. Therefore, reform of the juvenile justice system is necessary, combining rehabilitative approaches with firm sanctions, especially for repeat offenders. Additionally, digital campaigns promoting counter-narratives to youth violence must be intensified.

Keywords: *Klitih, Juvenile Delinquency, Criminogenic Factors, Restorative Justice, Digital Era*

INTRODUCTION

Street crimes known as “klitih” remain sporadic in the jurisdiction of Special Region of Yogyakarta and its surroundings, both resulting in injuries and even fatalities. This makes the people of Yogyakarta and its surroundings anxious. Yogyakarta, which was once

known as a peaceful city of students and culture, seems to be tarnished by the phenomenon of street crime which the general public often calls “klitih” actions, this degrades the city of Yogyakarta as a city of students and culture. Previous studies have studied klitih from a criminological perspective and

the role of the internet in general, while this study specifically examines the role of social media plus the factor of easy access to alcohol, and is equipped with case examples. Klitih in any religious concept can be categorized as a criminal act, where the criminal act itself is an act that is considered reprehensible by sharia'. Therefore, an act cannot be categorized as a criminal act unless it has been determined through the Sharia (Sam'un, 2011). "Klitih" also contradicts Christian and Catholic teachings on love and peace, as well as the Hindu concept of self-control known as Ahimsa, which emphasizes the principle of not killing or harming any living being (Wahyudiana, 2022); In Buddhism, the principle of Panatipata "veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami" teaches the avoidance of killing

or harming living beings (Generali, 2023); In Confucianism, social relationships and religious rituals are guided by "Li", which perfects core values such as *Ren* (benevolence), *Yi* (righteousness), and *De* (virtue), and serves as a binding force in all aspects of life, both social and spiritual. Without *Li*, faith and social order are considered incomplete (Adita, 2023).

There are many factors that cause street crime to become widespread in this city. In police science, these are known as Correlative Criminogenic Factors (CCF) or factors that cause criminal acts to occur. The main factor is the moral degradation that befell teenagers, the increasingly waning manners of children towards their parents so that many parents are even overwhelmed and complain about how teenagers/students

nowadays do not want to heed the advice of either their parents or the teaching staff at school. Apart from that, there are many unlicensed liquor sellers who can offer alcohol on social media such as Facebook, Michat and other social media (Moreno & Whitehill, 2014). It's like law enforcement (the police) are like firefighters, even though one source of the fire is always there. The rationale for the research is that there are many cases of street crime involving school children and minors so that when a criminal act of street crime occurs, the minors are referred to as Children in Conflict with the Law) (Saifulloh et al., 2023). In the event of a criminal act involving children as perpetrators then Coordination is needed between investigators and related agencies, namely social workers from social services according to ABH's address in order to analyze

the social and psychological aspects of Children in Conflict with the Law and Correctional Center which are involved throughout the juvenile justice process, from the moment the child is arrested until the child completes his or her sentence; Social service officers and parents play a crucial role in addressing children in conflict with the law through a criminal approach. The juvenile justice process differs significantly from adult cases, covering children who are offenders, victims, or witnesses, as outlined in the Juvenile Justice Act. So, what defines a child in legal contexts? According to Law No. 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System, the age limit is set at under 18 years..

The klitih phenomenon in Yogyakarta is suspected to be the result of multidimensional criminogenic factors, including

structural aspects (economic disparity between students and marginalized youth), cultural (glorification of violence on social media and normalization of alcohol in gang subcultures), and systemic (weak supervision of families and schools), while the implementation of restorative justice in the Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak (SPPA Law) is considered to have less of a deterrent effect, indicated by light sentences for perpetrators of serious violence and the perception of neglect of victims' rights even though the repressive approach has also proven ineffective. Therefore, Klitih describes "structural violence" due to the state's failure to guarantee social mobility for vulnerable youth, so that reform of the juvenile justice system is needed by implementing restorative justice selectively for serious cases, strengthening

preventive law enforcement (broken windows theory) (Ghlionn, 2022).

LITELATURE REVIEW

Criminogenic factors are environmental and social conditions that drive individuals to commit crimes (Admin UWM, 2023). Situational Action Theory (SAT) It is explained that criminal behavior is the result of an interaction between individual moral tendencies and the social environment that facilitates such actions, thus rendering this theory general and dynamic (Wikström, 2019). Law No. 11 of 2012 on the Juvenile Criminal Justice System provides the legal foundation in this context. (2012). Menurut Braithwaite (2002), restorative justice seeks to restore the relationships between offenders, victims, and the community. However, in practice, the victim's interests are often overlooked. Social media has the capacity to alter social norms by portraying risky behaviors such as alcohol consumption, drug use, and violence

as normal or even glamorous. In Indonesia, viral content frequently triggers aggressive behavior among adolescents, as peer pressure and exposure to negative content reinforce such conduct (Putri et al., 2023).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a normative juridical method with a statutory approach to study the legal basis, legal principles. This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach using a case study strategy, which is a research method involving in-depth and detailed analysis of a specific programme, event, or activity (Rahardjo, 2017). This approach can be applied to individuals, groups, institutions, or organisations with the aim of obtaining a comprehensive and thorough understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. In this context, it is used to deeply explore “klitih” phenomenon in

the digital era, the underlying criminogenic factors, and the effectiveness and challenges of implementing mitigation policies, including restorative justice. This method was chosen to allow the researcher to explore the experiences, perceptions, and social contexts of relevant stakeholders in a comprehensive manner.

A. Characteristics of Crime in Cities

The desire of humanity in general is to live in a peaceful society, free from violence and protected by law, so the state has the obligation to protect its people (taxpayers), from various crimes and other activities that damage law and order. However, the reality is often different and many types of crime are increasingly sophisticated, violent and even ageless, thus threatening the

peace and safety of society. The rise in cases of crime or juvenile delinquency that qualify as juvenile crimes has raised concerns in various countries; Even in the US, children involved in criminal activity are at risk of ending up in the prison system, which is considered the largest in the world. The country incarcerates more children than any other country. At the end of 2018, there were about 1.5 million children in custody, while in 2019, there were 696,620 juvenile arrests equivalent to one child or teen arrested every 45 seconds (Hidayat et al., 2022). Criminal Statistics (BPS) 2017 and 2018, Yogyakarta was included in the province with the highest crime rate in Indonesia; For 2017, out of 100,000 residents, 193 crimes were found, ranking 11th in

Indonesia. For 2018, even though it rose to 10th place, the crime rate was 179 crimes per 100,000 population (Harahap & Sulhin, 2022).

The fact that cities have higher crime rates compared to small towns and rural areas is a well-known fact. Cities such as Surabaya, Jakarta, Palembang, Medan, Ujungpandang, Bandung and Semarang have developed very rapidly since 1990. Unfortunately, the construction of new industrial areas and factories does not mean the construction of new housing areas and facilities for migrants (regional workers) to the city) who were looking for work in the new industry. The existing organizational areas and facilities are not able to accommodate migrants during their stay. In short, cities are not ready to face the

arrival of new residents which of course causes various social impacts (this is similar to the situation in the city of Yogyakarta which is a student destination city). These people usually live in relatively cheap housing or boarding houses that are affordable, which are densely populated areas characterized by poverty; then the hopes of "many people" are not fulfilled, and influence the occurrence of crime (Strang & Vernon, 1992). This logic is like what happens today, in the context of more street crime in the city and surrounding areas, but not because of economic (material) needs, but because of the need for social recognition wrong or searching for identity with a modern mindset (style of city people) but wrong. The term for this term is different from

street crime in the world of criminology in general, because in general street crime is still interpreted as having a violent mode and being economically (materially) motivated; Street crime is a crime for adults, while it is often committed by children so it shifts to juvenile delinquency. Statistics on drug abuse and Juvenile Crime show a close correlation. Research abroad shows that 44% of children (minors) who were arrested for robbery admitted to committing the crime to buy drugs, then 1/3 admitted to attacking another person while drunk or intoxicated when the attack occurred. Young people who commit serious violence are three times more likely to have drunk alcohol and twice as likely to have smoked cannabis. Several reasons

show a correlation between drug/alcohol abuse and juvenile crime, even though there are age restrictions for consuming alcoholic drinks. There will be more severe psychological complications in the younger generation of drug and alcohol users, whose brains are still in the developing stage, thereby encouraging an increase in the number of delinquency/street crimes among teenagers (Kraut, 2023). The term "klitih" comes from Javanese, which means the activity of walking around at a certain time, according to R. Daryoko, Chief of the Criminal Investigation Unit of the DIY Regional Police, the term "klitih" is actually not included in the standard legal formulation. What exists are criminal acts such as mob violence, assault, robbery, or

theft with violence (Wijanarko & Ginting, 2021).

The phenomenon of "klitih" in urban areas, especially in Yogyakarta and its surroundings, has received attention as a form of youth violence that goes beyond traditional street crime. Unlike conventional criminal acts that are driven by material gain, "klitih" often involves random acts of violence committed by teenagers seeking sensation, dominance, or simply existence. This trend reflects deeper social problems, including the lack of programs that involve constructive youth, weak to powerless family supervision, the influence of peer pressure and the ease of consuming alcohol. The emergence of "klitih" is also related to the erosion of social cohesion in rapidly urbanizing areas such as

Yogyakarta, where teenagers who are indirectly disenfranchised, then struggle with identity crises and adopt aggressive behavior as a means of showing existence. Without proper intervention through education, community programs, and stricter law enforcement, such acts of violence may continue to increase, further blurring the line between juvenile delinquency and organized urban crime.

B. Criminogenic

The background of crime is very complex. Although criminogenic factors (environment, poverty, injustice) play a major role, crime is not always deterministic because individual, cultural, and situational actors can also be major triggers. This study focuses on criminogenic

factors because they allow for intervention/improvement, especially in crimes/acquaintances with child perpetrators.

Situational Action Theory (SAT) is used to complement criminological theory and integrate with action theory. In SAT, criminal behavior is considered a moral act and is defined as 'an action that violates the rules of behavior that have been regulated by law'. According to SAT, criminal acts are situational and occur through a perception-choice process that links personal characteristics with environmental characteristics; Wikström, said that essentially criminal acts depend on a person's (personality/identity), so a person's influence or involvement in criminal acts depends on his self-

control(personal tendencies), although furthermore environmental factors open up opportunities for a person to choose to act evilly (Doelman et al., 2023).

The factors that cause criminal acts in general (personal or environmental), in police science are called correlative criminogenic factors. Research generally shows that risk factors are “criminogenic” (i.e., the primary risk factor can change). Risk factors for criminal behavior that do not include symptoms of mental illness can strongly predict the causes of recidivism and can be used as guidelines (targets) for interventions to reduce the potential for repeated criminal behavior, resulting in re-arrest (Prins et al., 2015). There are many internal and external factors that contribute to

criminal behavior. Street violence involving minors can become widespread in the Yogyakarta jurisdiction. Internal and external factors can be different in each case, they need to be reviewed in depth and include other parties outside the investigator, for example psychologists or parents and social workers. Psychological expert witnesses in the context of ABH (children in conflict with the law) will issue an assessment of the results of interviews and observations of victims or perpetrators who are still classified as ABH (Children under 18 years). Yogyakarta, which in fact is a student city, education city and cultural city which should have a polite and comfortable culture, has instead become an arena for street violence by underage children.

Psychologically, teenagers are an age where they are looking for their identity and their rebellious spirit comes out because of an idealistic view at this age. Even though we are going through a phase/period of searching for ourselves, our children are still our children. Children are an inseparable part of human survival and the survival of a nation and state (Nugroho & Raharjo, 2022).

Police actions, both preventive and legal action, apparently do not have a deterrent effect and there are still many violent criminal acts on the streets committed by underage school children. The influence of school gangs is very dominant in these street crime cases. They even dare to fight their parents and teachers at school in order to gain recognition from the real environment or through social

media for their existence, they are proud if they succeed in injuring opponents of their "gang", some even die and the perpetrators show no remorse for their actions. This is an ironic phenomenon (Boudhane, 2023).

C. Organized Street Crime

The majority of children who are in conflict with the law here are children who are members of school gangs, school gangs are groups of school children who come from the same school, in legal matters in Yogyakarta there are many school alumni who are still leaders/building gangs and provoking gang members. to dare to attack other school gangs on the streets, several gang names that are famous because several of their gang members have been involved in street crimes are Morenza (Moega-Yk), Vascal (SMKN-

Yk, and Respect (Mutu-Yk). However, there are also several children School dropouts who are not connected to school gangs become perpetrators of street crimes. This happens with various motivations, but the main reason why teenagers in Yogyakarta are increasingly brave in committing street crimes is the widespread circulation of alcoholic drinks or psychotropic pills (*koplo pill*) which have become The reason is that they lose control and dare without thinking to injure their opponents on the street.

Apart from the scope of the subject (Children in Conflict with the Law) mentioned above, there is also the socio-cultural scope of the social environment of teenagers in Yogyakarta which is becoming more and

more worrying. Yogyakarta, which is known as a student city and cultural city, is currently no longer supported by an environment that supports education, for example the freedom of shops. liquor sellers, many hangout places that are open 24 hours and the culture of good manners among young people is fading. Currently, being polite to parents is considered as a weak and "cheeky" child, while courageous attitudes towards parents are considered to be a cool attitude. It is very paradoxical to call Yogyakarta a student city and a city of culture. Why does this happen? According to the author, this happened because of the moral degradation that befell Generation Z (millennial generation). Morals are no longer important, many children dare

to go against their parents and teachers and many children even don't want to go to school on the pretext of being lazy, which is very ironic because the government has provided free school facilities in state schools. This moral shift is also reflected in how adolescents, especially girls, have adapted to unsafe public spaces in Yogyakarta and often accept these conditions as normal, indicating a deeper erosion of social awareness and protective norms (Mu'afifah & Setiawan, 2021).

The busyness of parents is also one of the factors causing the rise in street crime involving minors, many parents are so easy to provide vehicle facilities to their children even though the child is not yet proficient in driving a vehicle and also does not

have a driver's license, does not know their child's environment and does not care. when the child has not come home even though it is late at night/early morning. So that the scope of the family is the upstream aspect of the child's interactions. If people are aware and caring and always instill morality and discipline, then the number of children in conflict with the law can be reduced. The author's consideration is that the family environment is the upstream of this problem because in terms of the percentage of perpetrators and victims of street crime, most of them are children whose families have broken homes or have economic limitations. Economic limitations make parents busy working to earn a living for the family, so there is very little time to pay

attention to/educate their children.

Information was obtained from police officers concerning victim testimonies, eyewitness accounts, and statements from suspected perpetrators involved in street crimes within the jurisdiction of the Banguntapan Police Department. Based on this data, the author concludes that, from a legal standpoint, the suspect has demonstrably met the constitutive elements of the criminal offence with which they are charged. Furthermore, the analysis identifies several correlative criminogenic factors that contribute to the rising incidence of street crime, both in the Banguntapan subdistrict and more broadly across the Yogyakarta region. Observations carried out at hangout spots at points that

have been determined to be frequently used as gathering points for gang members reveal the plans or leaders of the groups/gangs, along with the habits and motivations of the perpetrators. Handling children in conflict with the law still requires the participation of parents and related agencies, by providing advice or solutions to overcome (treatment) to teenagers or children so that they use their time for positive activities which will reduce the interest or environment that provokes acts of violence. street crime; In fact, it would be very encouraging if the bad habits of these minors could be eliminated and replaced with positive habits or activities that reflect the polite culture of Yogyakarta society, respecting parents and

supporting the image of a cultured student city.

Understanding the root of the problem as well as criminogenic correlative factors or factors that trigger street crimes, both internal and external factors, cultural sociological factors and external cultural influence factors (which are negative) easily influence teenagers/children today; including through easy access to the internet via smartphone/gadget. Research in Hong Kong shows the double-edged progress of information and communication (digital) technology, which brings both convenience and risk to everyday life; cyber behavior research concludes that adolescents who spend a lot of time accessing the internet and tend to have more negative

online experiences, experience more typical cases of cybercrime victimization among adolescents, in a sample of 1,533 high school students (Wong, 2021).

Parents are also expected to understand the importance of character education from an early age starting from the family because this is the foundation of children's morality and character. If all families care about the importance of character education from an early age, children will become polite, virtuous individuals. character and have a high work ethic, children will develop positively and optimally.

D. Case Example

Banguntapan Police Criminal Investigation Unit handled the case based on the Police Report with No: LP/x/xx/xxx/2023/SPKT.

Criminal Investigation Unit/Polsek regarding the Case "Without having the right to control, carry or store a sharp sickle type weapon which is not equipped with a permit. legal" in accordance with Article 02 paragraph 1 of Emergency Law No. 12 of 1951 with the suspects a/n AAW and MTA (one of the perpetrators had previously consumed alcohol). Suspects AAW and MTA stated in secondary data that they were carrying 2 (two) sickle blades each with a length of 100 cm and 55 cm. The suspect brought the sickle with the intention of protecting himself from threats from other groups. When the arrests were made, the two suspects were hanging out on the side of Jl. Majapahit (Eastern Ringroad) Banguntapan, and they admitted that the two sickles

belonged to both of them. Investigators in handling this case applied article 02 paragraph 1 of the 1951 Emergency Law with a maximum penalty of 10 (ten) years in prison. AAW and MTA stated that their motivation when carrying a sharp sickle type weapon was in case another group disturbed or challenged them, and the two suspects had already carried out similar actions at other crime scenes, for Br. AAW had previously committed acts of abuse using sharp weapons in Sleman area while Br. MTA also carried out similar actions in the Kotagede Yogyakarta area, but this did not deter them, so they were arrested again by the Banguntapan Police for a similar case. Because there are no victims yet and there have been no acts of abuse or

beatings on the two suspects in the legal process by implementing a violation of article 02 paragraph 1 of the 1951 Emergency Law which reads "Anyone who without the right to enter Indonesia, makes, receives, tries to obtain, hands over/ tries to hand over", controlling, carrying, having supplies of it or possessing/possessing, keeping, transporting, hiding, using or removing from Indonesia a beating weapon, a stabbing weapon or a stabbing weapon (slaaslagek of stootwapen) and the penalty is a maximum imprisonment of ten years in prison" Analysis regarding correlative criminogenic factors (FKK) or factors that cause crime, and the related data obtained is the fact that: suspects a/n AAW and MTA explained that the sickle-type sharp weapon they

were carrying was their own (from purchasing) which they carried from their respective homes, for reasons of self-defense; both of them had committed criminal acts of abuse (article 351 of the Criminal Code) and beatings (article 170 of the Criminal Code) in other jurisdictions; from the observations of the two suspects' parents, they were busy working so they "ignored" their children's social interactions; According to information, before the incident was taken into custody, the two suspects were having a drinking party with 2 (two) of their other colleagues. The police actions mentioned above are in accordance with legal norms and social justice. The judicial process for children in conflict with the law at the investigation level is always carried out quickly so

that children do not have to wait too long for the legal process at the Center for Youth Social Protection and Rehabilitation (Jati & Harjiyatni, 2022).

If a child commits *klitih*, if it is deemed to be delinquent then it has entered into the qualifications of extraordinary delinquency and delinquency, this is in line with the opinion of Mahfud MD who suggested the need for strict legal action against students (children) who are involved in *klitih*, especially those that result in fatalities (Hartanto, 2022).

Law no. 11 of 2012 concerning SPPA embracing restorative justice, previously, explicit regulations that paid attention to victims' rights in Indonesia had existed since Law no. 13 of 2006 concerning Witness and Victim Protection. Public

attitudes towards restorative justice are not influenced by aspects of gender, age, area of residence, education, profession or income; the entire community (respondents) can in principle accept the concept of restorative justice (Sudaryono et al., 2023). The Law on Witness and Victim Protection actually regulates the rights of victims, but in practice, the focus on restorative justice in the SPPA Law is often considered to ignore the interests of victims of *klitih* violence, so that victims/victims' families tend to want a repressive approach.

Countries around the world consider children's issues as part of their national problems, one example of which is the Kyrgyz Republic, which has created legal provisions requiring a special

approach in uncovering and investigating crimes involving children. State institutions and law enforcement officials in the investigation process are required to consider various factors related to age, as well as the mental condition of participants in the legal process. Currently the Kyrgyz Republic has a Child Protection Code yang mengatur" a system for handling children in conflict with the law, whether as perpetrators, victims, or witnesses in criminal cases, including efforts to prevent crime, administer justice, rehabilitation, and social reintegration by taking into account their gender, age, and the characteristics of their psychological, physical, and mental development." According to Art. 5 of the Code of the Kyrgyz Republic on

Children "the program for diversion from justice", which uses diversion as an effort to prevent the initiation of legal proceedings against minors, with the aim of facilitating rehabilitation and social reintegration to prevent the recurrence of criminal acts." (Otonbaeva et al., 2024).

Settlement of criminal cases with a restorative justice approach is different from case enforcement, but is broader in fulfilling a sense of justice for all parties, including victims, perpetrators, community leaders/religious leaders, social services, and investigators who act as mediators" (Afendy et al., 2023). This is in accordance with J. Braithwaite's opinion regarding restorative justice, that Restorative Justice restores victims, perpetrators and society. It's about the idea

that because evil hurts, justice must heal. The legal dilemma in cases involving child perpetrators and child victims lies in the complexity of balancing justice for victims if only restorative justice and rehabilitation are carried out on the perpetrators. When the perpetrators and victims are both minors. The legal system faces a paradox: how to impose sufficient/appropriate sanctions to prevent future crimes and to ensure that child perpetrators reintegrate into society properly. The author argues that the law should be applied more strictly, especially in cases of recidivism, where the perpetrator has a history of repeated offenses. Violence against children in general: whether physical, psychological, or sexual, leaves deep and lasting scars,

which affect the mental health, social development, and behavior of victims in the future. Therefore, a soft/light approach may fail to provide justice or prevent further damage. However, by imposing harsher sentences without considering the child's capacity, there is also a risk of perpetuating the cycle of criminality. To overcome this, a special punishment model tailored to child perpetrators is very important. Traditional detention (prison) is often ineffective and even harmful to minors, exposing them to big-time criminals and reinforcing criminal behavior. In contrast, structured rehabilitation systems, such as semi-boarding schools or state-supervised care, can be a middle ground. These institutions would combine discipline with education,

psychological counseling, and social skills training, ensuring that the child is held accountable and given the opportunity to change. Severe cases, especially those involving recidivism, require a more nurturing environment, effectively terming the child “a state foster child,” especially if the parents declare that they are no longer able to educate the child. This approach leaves open the possibility that some parents may be unable or unwilling to guide children away from criminal behavior, necessitating state intervention. The key is to design a system that prioritizes the long-term welfare of the child while ensuring public safety and justice for the victims.

The Banguntapan Police Criminal Investigation Unit’s:

cases against AAW and MTA highlight several criminogenic factors that contribute to juvenile delinquency. These factors include a troubled social environment, inadequate parenting, and a history of violent crime, which shows a disturbing pattern of recidivism. The perpetrators had previous records of assault and battery in other jurisdictions, indicating that previous interventions such as warnings or minor rehabilitation had failed to curb their aggressive behavior. In addition, alcohol abuse played a role in fueling aggressive behavior, while the habit of carrying sharp weapons under the guise of “self-protection” reflected a deeply ingrained street mentality that normalizes violence as a means of conflict resolution. These factors

collectively illustrate a systemic failure in preventing juvenile crime, especially when early signs of violent behavior are not addressed decisively.

This case also raises critical questions about the application of restorative justice in the Juvenile Criminal Justice System (SPPA). While restorative approaches such as mediation are considered ideal for first-time offenders (minor crimes), victims and their families often feel unfairly treated by a system that prioritizes rehabilitation. As such, a purely restorative approach risks undermining public trust in an imprecise legal system. A more balanced framework is needed, incorporating restorative elements for minor crimes but imposing stricter measures for repeat offenders,

including secure rehabilitation centers and prolonged monitoring. Without such adjustments, the cycle of violence will continue, trapping both perpetrators and victims in a system that fails to deliver genuine justice or meaningful reform.

E. The Influence of Social Media

Our inability to prevent crime is partly due to the difficulty in understanding criminal behavior, especially that committed by children, and identifying and finding its causes. Explanations about crime require complex answers, while we tend to want simple answers, regardless of how complicated the problem is. For example, we are often impatient when asked about parenting by saying: It depends on the situation, it's the parents' fault,

or even it happened because the law protects minors (children), etc.

Social media plays a role in spreading and normalizing *klitih* among teenagers. Violent content that goes viral on platforms (social media) such as TikTok, Instagram, and Facebook often triggers imitation, where teenagers imitate *klitih* actions to gain social recognition (Larasati, 2024). Several studies have shown that repeated exposure to violent content on social media can reduce empathy and increase adolescent aggression, making them more susceptible to spontaneous violent behavior such as *klitih*. Social networking sites such as photo sharing platforms, comments, emotion symbols, videos, and the like can trigger hostile emotions, especially among young users. The

process of agitation that was initially verbal or psychological can develop into real violent indoctrination. Various forms of violence, both physical and verbal, are increasingly prevalent, and social media is often accused of being one of the main causes that influence the younger generation, encouraging the emergence of negative/aggressive and deviant attitudes and behavior in society. The impacts are not only limited to violence and hostility, but also include loss of self-identity, social isolation, deterioration of communication skills, violation of social norms due to excessive consumption of sexual content, and psychological disorders such as depression, anxiety, restlessness, and prolonged fatigue. In addition, social

media addiction can lead to neglect of social and family responsibilities. Social media can facilitate the coordination of *klitih* actions through secret groups on WhatsApp, Telegram, or Facebook. Teenagers involved in gangs or violent groups use these platforms to plan locations, targets, and times to carry out activities. In addition, social pressure (peer pressure) on social media encourages teenagers to prove their loyalty to the group by carrying out *klitih* actions, which are then shared as a symbol of courage. Social media also reinforces the culture of violence among teenagers through the glorification of *klitih* actions. Violent videos that are uploaded and widely shared create the perception that such actions are a way to gain social status or simply relieve

boredom. However, social media can also be a prevention tool (campaign) if used properly. Anti-violence and education campaigns through digital platforms have proven effective in reducing adolescent interest in *klitih* actions, and it would be better if assisted by the participation of the entire community (Zamroni, 2017). In addition, reporting violent content on social media such as "Info Cegatan Jogja" or "Merapi_News" (Merapi Uncover), and collaboration between social media platforms and authorities (police) can limit the spread of negative/dangerous content.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of *klitih* in Yogyakarta reflects a systemic failure in nurturing the younger generation, particularly amidst the rapid flow of the digital era,

weakened familial supervision, and the suboptimal role of educational institutions. Field data and case mapping indicate that key criminogenic factors behind youth violence include moral degradation among adolescents, ineffective parental control, peer group influence, and easy access to alcohol and sharp weapons. In the context of juvenile offenders, *klitih* should be categorised as delinquency or a conflict with the law, rather than as an adult criminal act. These behaviours are often driven more by existential needs such as identity formation and responses to social pressure than by economic motives.

The implementation of restorative justice under Indonesia's Juvenile Criminal Justice System (Law No. 11/2012) has thus far proven inadequate in reducing recidivism rates. Many young

offenders, previously subjected to lenient sanctions, tend to reoffend revealing a lack of deterrent effect and an insufficient emphasis on victims' rights. The imbalance between rehabilitative approaches and substantive justice has also contributed to public dissatisfaction with the system. Moreover, social media plays a dual role: while platforms such as TikTok and Instagram amplify violence through glorification, documentation, and coordination of acts contributing to diminished adolescent empathy they can also serve as tools for anti-violence campaigns, digital education, and cooperation with authorities in monitoring harmful content.

Addressing this issue requires a multi-level, integrated mitigation strategy. Juvenile justice reform should include selective application of restorative approaches for repeat

offenders and a stronger combination of rehabilitation and strict sanctions. The establishment of semi-military rehabilitation centres for youth perpetrators of serious violence is recommended, along with the strengthening of early detection mechanisms through schools, supported by specialised interventions such as rehabilitation dormitories or intensive mentoring.

Community based Youth Violence Prevention Task Forces should be established at both school and local levels, involving psychologists, law enforcement officers, teachers, religious leaders, and other community stakeholders to deliver moral education and digital literacy. Local governments must implement tighter regulations to control alcohol accessibility at the municipal level. A synergistic collaboration between families,

schools, law enforcement, and social media platforms is essential to break the cycle of violence through community-based youth empowerment programmes and intensive post-offence support. In sum, klitih should not be viewed merely as juvenile delinquency but as a manifestation of social pathology shaped by digital influences. Effective mitigation demands interdisciplinary intervention and strong stakeholder collaboration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adita, I. (2023). *Li Menyangkut Dimensi Ritual dan Etika*. Pusbimdik Khonghucu Kementerian Agama RI. <https://khonghucu.kemenag.go.id/jiangdao/li-menyangkut-dimensi-ritual-dan-etika-GJSh8>
- Admin UWM. (2023). *Kejahatan karena Faktor Lingkungan*. Universitas Widya Mataram. <https://new.widyamataram.ac.id/content/news/kejahatan-karena-faktor-lingkungan>
- Afendy, I., Sudiyana, Hartanti, &

- Ethika, T. D. (2023). Model Penyelesaian Perkara Tindak Pidana Pencurian Kendaraan Bermotor Berdasarkan Prinsip Restorative Justice (Studi Kasus Perkara Nomor: PDM-29/EOH2/2022 di Kejaksaan Negeri Yogyakarta). *Jurnal Kajian Hasil Penelitian Hukum*, 7(1), 38–48. <https://doi.org/10.37159/jmi.h.v7i1.3048>
- Boudhane, P. Y. (2023). The Impact Of Violence Promoted Through Social Media On The Adoption Of Violent Tendencies Among Algerian Youth: A Practical Study. *Journal of Positive Psychology & Wellbeing*, 7(1), 419–433.
- Braithwaite, J. (2002). *Restorative Justice and Responsive Regulation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Doelman, E. H. J., Luijk, M. P. C. M., Haen Marshall, I., Jongerling, J., Enzmann, D., & Steketee, M. J. (2023). The Association Between Child Maltreatment and Juvenile Delinquency in the Context of Situational Action Theory: Crime Propensity and Criminogenic Exposure as Mediators in a Sample of European Youth? *European Journal of Criminology*, 20(2), 528–547. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14773708211013300>
- Generali. (2023). *Hari Waisak: 5 Prinsip Ajaran Buddha yang Patut Diteladani*. Generali. <https://alive.generalico.id/blog/detail/hari-waisak-mengenal-pancasila-5-prinsip-ajaran-buddha-yang-patut-diteladani#:~:text=1.,segala bentuk kehidupan%2C termasuk binatang>
- Ghlonn, J. Mac. (2022). *Broken Windows Theory: A Solution to Gang Violence?* The American Conservative. <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/broken-windows-theory-a-solution-to-gang-violence/>
- Harahap, C. B., & Sulhin, I. (2022). Pengendalian Kejahatan Pada Sub-Kebudayaan Gang Klitih (dalam Paradigma Kriminologi Budaya). *Deviance Jurnal Kriminologi*, 6(1), 86–102. <https://doi.org/10.36080/djk.v6i1.1569>
- Hartanto, H. (2022). Klitih sebagai Bentuk Kejahatan Disertai Kekerasan

- (Extraordinary Juvenile Delinquency). *Juris Humanity: Jurnal Riset Dan Kajian Hukum Hak Asasi Manusia*, 1(1), 14–23. <https://doi.org/10.37631/jrk.hm.v1i1.1>
- Hidayat, R. S., Nurwati, N., Rusyidi, B., & Santi, K. E. (2022). Children in Conflict with The Law: Understanding the Risk and Protective Factors and its Implications for Prevention Efforts. *Sosio Informa*, 8(2), 19–31. <https://doi.org/10.47405/as.wj.v7i2.204>
- Jati, G. P., & Harjiyatni, F. R. (2022). Implikasi Penitipan Anak yang Berkonflik dengan Hukum di Balai Perlindungan dan Rehabilitasi Sosial Remaja terhadap Putusan Hakim. *Kajian Hasil Penelitian Hukum*, 6(1), 91–118. <https://doi.org/10.37159/jmi.h.v6i1.1683>
- Kraut, M. (2023). *Juvenile Crime and Substance Abuse*. Child Crime Prevention & Safety Center. <https://childsafety.losangelescriminallawyer.pro/juvenile-crime-and-substance-abuse.html>
- Larasati, S. P. (2024). Cyberbullying Phenomenon on Instagram Social Media: Phenomenological Analysis of Indonesian Students. *JPGI (Jurnal Penelitian Guru Indonesia)*, 9(3), 19–22. <https://doi.org/10.29210/022026jpgi0005>
- Moreno, M. A., & Whitehill, J. M. (2014). Influence of Social Media on Alcohol Use in Adolescents and Young Adults. *Alcohol Research: Current Reviews*, 36(1), 91–100.
- Mu'afifah, M., & Setiawan, S. (2021). Safe Neighborhood for Adolescent Girls: The Case of Urban Dense Kampong In Yogyakarta City Center. *Journal of Infrastructure & Facility Asset Management*, 3(2), 75–82.
- Nugroho, A. Y., & Raharjo, S. (2022). Analisis Proses Hukum Terhadap Motif Pencurian Dengan Pemberatan yang Dilakukan Oleh Anak di Wilayah Hukum Polres Bantul. *Hasil Kajian Penelitian Hukum*, 6(1), 46–63. <https://doi.org/10.37159/jmi.h.v6i1.1670>
- Otonbaeva, R. A., Smanaliev, K. M., & Sydykova, Z. D. (2024). Analysis of the Circumstances of Criminal

- Cases Committed in Sanatorium-Resort Areas. *BIO Web of Conferences*, 120, 1037. <https://doi.org/10.1051/bioc onf/202412001037>
- Prins, S. J., Skeem, J. L., Mauro, C., & Link, B. G. (2015). Criminogenic Factors, Psychotic Symptoms, and Incident Arrests Among People with Serious Mental Illnesses Under Intensive Outpatient Treatment. *Law and Human Behavior*, 39(2), 177–188. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000104>
- Putri, F. A., Cahyadi, F., & Budiman, M. A. (2023). Analisis Dampak Penggunaan Media Sosial Tiktok Terhadap Minat Belajar Matematika Siswa Kelas Iv Sd Negeri Pandean Lamper 02. *Jurnal Wawasan Pendidikan*, 3(2), 745–754. <https://doi.org/10.26877/wp.v3i2.16260>
- Rahardjo, M. (2017). *Studi Kasus dalam Penelitian Kualitatif: Konsep dan Prosedurnya*. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.
- Saifulloh, P. P. A., Anggraini, A., & Akbar, N. R. (2023). Gagasan Kewajiban Mahkamah Konstitusi dalam Memberikan Fatwa Pencabutan Kewarganegaraan untuk Warga Negara Indonesia Mantan Anggota ISIS. *Varia Hukum*, 5(2), 124–140. <https://doi.org/10.15575/vh.v5i2.28560>
- Sam'un, S. (2011). Konstruksi Historis Hukum Pidana Islam (Formulasi Hukum Pidana Islam dalam Lintasan Sejarah). *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam*, 1(2), 159–180. <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2011.1.2.159-180>
- Strang, H., & Vernon, J. (1992). International Trends in Crime: East Meets West. *Proceedings of a Conference Held*.
- Sudaryono, L., Martini, N. M. P., Martha, C., Nugroho, B. E., Marliana, E., Ruhama, T. D., Herawati, H., Prasetyawati, P., Rachmawati, M., & Koestoer, A. (2023). *Studi Sikap Publik Terhadap Penerapan Keadilan Restoratif di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.
- Undang-Undang (UU) Nomor 11 Tahun 2012 Tentang Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak

- (2012).
- Wahyudiana, A. A. P. A. (2022). *Ahimsa Wujud dari Moderasi Beragama*. Ditjen Bimas Hindu Kementerian Agama RI. <https://bimashindu.kemenag.go.id/dharma-wacana/ahimsa-wujud-dari-moderasi-beragama-7AUED>
- Wijanarko, A., & Ginting, R. (2021). Kejahatan Jalanan Klitih Oleh Anak di Yogyakarta. *Recidive: Jurnal Hukum Pidana Dan Penanggulangan Kejahatan*, 10(1), 23–28. <https://doi.org/10.20961/recidive.v10i1.58845>
- Wikström, P.-O. H. (2019). Situational Action Theory: A General, Dynamic and Mechanism-Based Theory of Crime and Its Causes. In *Handbook on crime and deviance* (pp. 259–281). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-20779-3_14
- Wong, D. S. W. (2021). Cybercrime Perpetration and Victimization among Adolescents: Prevalence, Risk Factors and Preventive Strategies. *12th Annual Conference of the Asian Criminological Society (ACS2020): Crime and Punishment under Asian Cultures: Tradition and Innovation in Criminology*.
- Zamroni, M. (2017). Media Sosial dan Realitas Gaya Hidup Masyarakat Postmodern. In *Trend Hoax dan Gaya Hidup*. Yogyakarta: Trustmedia Publishing.