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Lifestyle-Related Shaming: The Significance of Reintegrative Shaming on Drug Relapse Offenders in Indonesia

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Abstract
In statistical calculations, drug abusers with the status of drug relapse in Indonesia reached 70% in 2019 (National Narcotics Agency: 2019). This condition illustrates that the social rehabilitation mechanism for drug abusers in Indonesia still has the opportunity to present shameless. Therefore, this study seeks to see the significance of Lifestyle-related shaming as an important part of the mechanism for implementing shaming for the shameless, especially drug relapse offenders in urban areas. This study was conducted based on the analysis of John Braithwaite's shaming theory which states that the public's response to perpetrators is divided into 2 (two) namely reintegrative shaming which means re-acceptance of the shameless by giving shame to them and stigmatization which means treating the shameless by giving a negative stigma permanently. The method used here was literature review by utilizing and trying to develop existing theories (grounded theory) by presenting concepts (variables) in accordance with the affordability of study data so as to produce new findings regarding the significance of Lifestyle-related shaming in its role for drug relapse offenders. Lifestyle-Related Shaming is part of a combination of reintegrative shaming theory, desistance theory and routine activity theory. In the literature study conducted, the combination of (3) three macro theories produces Lifestyle-related shaming which is closely related to urban lifestyle. It is expected that later, this study will be able to provide a broad understanding to the government to prepare the best program for solving shameless phenomenon, especially drug abuse in Indonesia. Furthermore, it is also useful in science as a basis for the application of shaming in Indonesia.

Keywords: Shaming, Reintegrative, Stigmatitative, Drug Relapse, Crime

1. Background

The 2019 Indonesia Drug Report (BNN, 2019) describes data related to the scope of drug abuse. The BNN (National Narcotics Agency) found that all provinces in Indonesia had been targeted by drugs. Provinces in the

Java region showed the highest number of abusers compared to provinces outside Java. Special Capital *Region* of *Jakarta* had the highest prevalence rate (4.73%) followed by East Kalimantan (3.20%) and South Sumatra (3.00%). In the report, Jakarta was the region in Indonesia with the most drug-prone areas, namely 117 locations (BNN, 2019). As a comparison, in the context of narcotics crimes that occurred in Indonesia, the period 2014-2018 showed an increasing trend (see Figure 1.1). The acceleration of narcotics crimes increased rapidly in 2018 with 39,588 cases (Criminal Statistics of Indonesia Statistics, 2018).
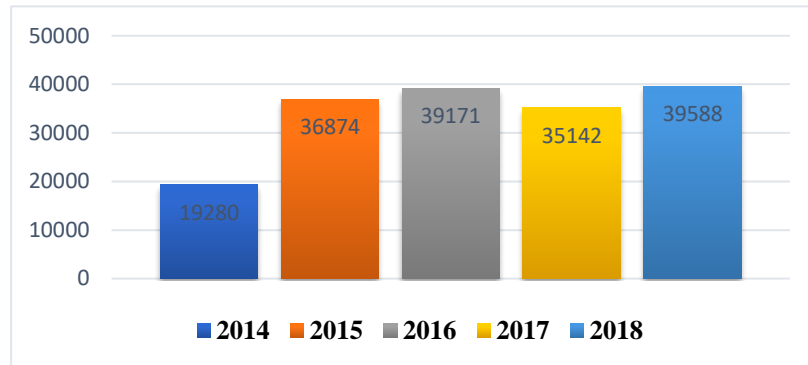

Figure 1: Diagram of Narcotics Crime in Indonesia for the 2014-2018 Period
Source: BPS Criminal Statistics (2019), reprocessed by the author.

More specifically, the data published by the National Narcotics Agency shows that every year drug cases have a relatively high trend. Furthermore, in 2013, there was a significant increase reaching 4,000 cases. Although there has been a decrease in cases until 2016, this does not show that Indonesia is free from cases of narcotics abuse. The latest data in 2019 (not recorded in the graph) showed an increase to more than 500 cases from 2018, from 990 cases to 14,010 cases (National Narcotics Agency, 2019). The National Narcotics Agency (BNN) emphasized that there was an increase in drug trafficking during 2019 from the previous year, amounting to 0.03 percent. Most drug users are aged 15 to 65 years and have exceeded the number of more than three million people (Chaniago, 2019).

In Indonesia, the causes of exposure to drug abuse can be viewed from several aspects. According to the socio-economic viewpoint, environmental factors have an effect on drug abusers. In the study conducted by Isnaini and Nitibaskara (2017) the impact of socio-economic vulnerability had a relationship to the prevalence of drug abuse. Socio-economic vulnerability can be assessed using several indicators, including education level, unemployment rate, income level, gender ratio, poverty rate, and access to health services. In 2019 the number of rehabilitation patients reached 13,046 people, wherein 1,676 people of them received inpatient rehabilitation services at centers/workshops and 11,370 received outpatient services at BNNP/K clinics, hospitals and Community Health Centers. In addition, monitoring of rehabilitation patients is also classified into regular, advanced, and intensive post-rehabilitation services. In sequence, the number of patients who received post-rehabilitation services was 1,901 people, 1,568 people, and 349 people, respectively (BNN, 2019). Based on the classification of rehabilitation patients, both for outpatient and inpatient, it was found that the community component rehabilitation institutions had more patients than BNN's institutions. In 2018, the number of drug abusers in community component rehabilitation institutions was 3,134 people, compared to 1,725 people in BNN rehabilitation institutions.

The demographic conditions in Indonesia which are certainly influenced by the culture and habits of the community lead to more distinctive and specific cases of drug abuse, especially for drug relapse offenders. Several forms of prosecution that were found based on both criminal acts and rehabilitation tend to have a negative response in Indonesian society. In addition, the role of the community, such as family and the environment, is often in an outer circle that has no direct contact. The condition of the existing forms of rehabilitation in Indonesia is also a separate issue in which whether this form of rehabilitation can reduce drug relapse rate or actually increases it. Thus, it is necessary to develop a more complex approach in order to comprehensively observe the phenomenon of drug relapse in Indonesia.

2. Literature Review

Reintegrative shaming will communicate disapproval of evil in society. Simply put, the perpetrator's bad deeds become the focus of recovery, not the perpetrator himself (Braithwate, 1989). On the other hand, stigmatization reactions have a tendency to treat perpetrators as bad people and deserve permanent negative stigma in society. Thus, there is a tendency for people who forgive criminals by means of reintegrative to create a lower crime rate in society compared to communities that reduce criminal behavior through humiliation (Braithwate, 1989). It also supports the idea that social aggregates are characterized by high levels of communitarianism and non-stigmatic shaming practices (Schaible & Hughes, 2011). Braithwaite (1989) assumes that shaming is a form of behavior that seeks to show social disapproval to an individual so as to create shame. Shaming is expected to have a quality of moral improvement that builds awareness of the perpetrator. Related to the basic assumption of reintegrative shaming theory, it is stated that the delivery of disapproval messages through shame is the key to understanding the impact of the criminal justice system. This is because the conventional criminal justice system has the potential to create reoffending.

Furthermore, the theory of desistance discusses how individuals stop doing something, especially regarding a short break from crime. Bushway (2001) defines desistance as the process of reducing the offensive level in criminal acts. Since criminal incidents are often dependent on indirect factors and opportunities, the process of discrimination should focus on changes occurring in the propensity for crime rather than on changes in crime. Farrall & Maruna (2004) differentiate between primary desistance and secondary desistance. Primary desistance is a form of respite in criminal activity. Meanwhile, secondary desistance is characterized by a permanent cessation of crime and a change in personal identity. Besides that there is a factor of age which plays a role in influencing the desistance process. Hoffman & Beck (1984) suggest the relationship is due to the existence of an age-related saturation phenomenon among criminals.

Lifestyle theory was developed by Hindelang (1978) and is widely used in the studies on victimization. This theory emphasizes a lifestyle that influences the occurrence of crimes against a person. This is reinforced by the explanation that daily routines such as working to studying at school were evidenced to determine certain types of crime, including the risk of crime (Madero-Hernandez, 2019). Based on this understanding, lifestyle theory has an emphasis on time, place, and people at risk in the context of victimization. People with such conditions have a higher probability of being victims compared to people with time, place, and relationship with people at low risk (Pratt, 2015). Its application in victimization studies relates to the exposure given by lifestyle. Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1978) describe the differential patterns of victimization that exist across demographic groups. Support to a victim was evidenced to depend on age, gender, race and income. Furthermore, the variation in exposure to crime risk situations was determined by a person's lifestyle. This is in line with the study conducted by Schreck which found that self-control had a correlation with a risky lifestyle. The idea indicated that individuals with low self-control were more likely to engage in behaviors that made it easier for them to be the targets (Madero-Hernandez, 2019). This behavior can contribute to the potential for victimization because it causes individuals to place themselves at a higher risk than individuals with more conservative lifestyles (Dempsey, Fireman, & Wang, 2006). Lifestyle theory explains crime as a process that involves 3 (three) variables, namely intensity, opportunity, and choice (Walters, 2014).

3. Study Methods

The study method was literature review or literature study which involved theories that were relevant to research problems. In this section, an assessment of the concepts and theories used was based on the available literature, especially from articles published in various scientific journals. Literature review serves to build concepts or theories as the basis for studies. Literature review or literature study is a compulsory activity required in study, especially academic research with main objective of developing theoretical aspects as well as aspects of practical benefits.

Based on the type of study, this study was a library research, which is conducted through collecting data or scientific papers with the relevant study objects or through library data collection, or a study conducted to solve a problem which is basically based on a critical and in-depth study of relevant library materials. Before conducting a study towards library materials, researchers must certainly understand about the sources to obtain scientific information.

The study data were collected directly from data sources. Data sources in the current study are defined as the subjects that provide data. If the researcher uses documentation, then the document or note is the source of the data, while the contents of the study subject's notes are defined as the study variables.

4. Results

Lifestyle theory was developed by Hindelang (1978) and is widely used in the studies on victimization. This theory emphasizes a lifestyle that influences the occurrence of crimes against a person. This is reinforced by the explanation that daily routines such as working to studying at school were evidenced to determine certain types of crime, including the risk of crime (Madero-Hernandez, 2019). Thus, lifestyle theory has the premises stated by Bejamin & Master in the Threefold Model which are explained as follows:

1. The distribution of crime victimization depends on the time and space context. It can be interpreted that the risk of crime is at a risky place and time.
2. Perpetrators cannot be represented as the samples of a particular population, so they only target people at high risk.
3. Lifestyle determines the likelihood of personal victimization through intervention variables through exposure and association.
4. There is a difference between the risky places and times for each person, and it depends on relationships with people who are at high risk as well. In other words, a person's lifestyle has an effect on exposure and associations.

Based on this understanding, lifestyle theory has an emphasis on time, place, and people at risk in the context of victimization. People with such conditions have a higher probability of being victims compared to people with time, place, and relationship with people at low risk (Pratt, 2015). Its application in victimization studies relates to the exposure given by lifestyle. Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1978) describe the differential patterns of victimization that exist across demographic groups. Support to a victim was evidenced to depend on age, gender, race and income. Furthermore, the variation in exposure to crime risk situations was determined by a person's lifestyle. This is in line with the study conducted by Schreck which found that self-control had a correlation with a risky lifestyle. The idea indicated that individuals with low self-control were more likely to engage in behaviors that made it easier for them to be the targets (Madero-Hernandez, 2019).

It has been widely accepted that victimization is not random but is part of the victim's lifestyle. It is not surprising then that victims are analogous to impulsive personality and low self-control (Seigel, 2006). Dempsey, Fireman, & Wang (2006) also conducted a study that corroborated this statement, which found a correlation between victims and perpetrators of crime, both showing impulsive and antisocial behaviors. This behavior can contribute to the potential for victimization because it causes individuals to place themselves at a higher risk than individuals with more conservative lifestyles (Dempsey, Fireman, & Wang, 2006). Lifestyle theory explains crime as a process that involves 3 (three) variables, namely intensity, opportunity, and choice (Walters, 2014).

Related to lifestyle, criminology studies explain subculture theory to define deviance as subnormal, dysfunctional, resistant and consumerist behaviors. One of the advantages of subculture theory is its ability to define and describe deviant behavior in society (Blackman, 2014). Cohen assumes that criminal behavior is a consequence of the community of young people into a subculture that has a predominance of values and deviant moral concepts. Thus, subcultures are defined as subsystems or anti-systems of society with attitudes and norms that are often contrary to the moral concepts adopted by the majority of society (Cohen, 1955).

However, it should be understood that the background for the emergence of subcultures is due to the uneven social structural conditions that have led to the development of expressions of social differentiation. Norms deviation is a form of violation for the general public, but is considered normal in the subculture. However, Cohen took a subculture case limited to juvenile delinquency. In its development, subcultures can be implemented to explain other crimes, apart from delinquency. The subculture description is summarized as follows (Downes & Rock, 2007):

a. Actions that are useless or have no benefit (non-utilitarian), and are not based on economic rationality.
b. Classified as malicious since it aims to disturb or even injure others.
c. Negative in nature (negativistic) as a form of violation towards conventional values.
d. Performed in various forms (versatile) depending on the action taken.
e. Has a goal of momentary pleasure (hedonistic).
f. Tend to be resistant to conformity pressures from the external environment and instead foster loyalty to members, values, and norms of subcultural groups.

In the development, Cloward and Ohlin used subcultures and anomies in gang crime cases and in other crimes. The subculture provides an opportunity for the establishment of an illegitimate opportunity structure instead of considering the conventional opportunity structure (legitimate opportunity structure). Thus, subcultures are characterized by violent and destructive behavior patterns. Moreover, Cloward and Ohlin in (Coe, 1961) explain that a criminal subculture has the potential to emerge in a residential environment characterized by close ties to perpetrators of different age levels, and between criminal and conventional elements. As a consequence of the integration of these integrative relationships, then, the opportunity to bring up alternative means in achieving success. Subculture groups get a pressure from restricted access to the various means to achieve success. Effective application of social control to the perpetrators, who are generally teenagers, may limit freedom of expression and close gaps of dissatisfaction.

The scope of subcultural theory no longer defines perversion and delinquency alone. However, it develops by separating crime as a specific subculture. Based on the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies, the explanation of subcultural theory is interpreted as a form of collective social formation based on broader social, political and historical boundaries. Thus, the subculture develops into a form of opposition to the bourgeois order through forms of resistance. Subcultures are considered a form of resistance. However, the development of subcultural theory emphasizes the meaning of individuals on the basis of individualistic attitudes, pleasure and independence (Blackman, 2014).

In social control theory, Sampson and Laub (1993) evidenced that resistance theory was a social bond that developed during adulthood. Sampson and Laub (1993) explain that the theory of desistance emphasizes the impact that forms it, namely independent and exogenous, which means that it comes from humans who trigger it to form bonds of "hopelessness" in committing crimes. Meanwhile, based on the differential association theory, War (1998) states that the condition of desistance is a form of post-adolescent human relationship changes or a person's interest in more formal relationships such as marriage. Hence, a condition such as desistance emerges which makes a person who was previously involved in criminal acts begin to experience changes which lead to cessation of deviant activities. Besides that, the differential association theory also illustrates that desistance arises from increasing age, loyalty to the environment, family and other large groups, which results in a decrease in crime rates and loss of motivation to commit such type of criminal behavior (Farrall, 2002). Through the symbolic interactionism theory, desistance is a turning point and (Giordani, 2002) states that this is a change that occurs in desistance which is different and depends on the level of motivation, openness and interpretation of each event.

Based on the above understanding, shaming is a counterproductive behavior that can push out offenders from the grip of the criminal subculture. In this condition, the role of reintegrative shaming has an effort to avoid crime through reintegrating the perpetrator into society. Individuals are demanded to be able to undergo confrontation and be reintegrated into society. If not, then the perpetrator has a relatively high chance of being involved in the crime again (recidivism) (Braithwate, 1989). In line with this, a study conducted by Lu, Zhang & Miethe (2002) which places reintegrative shaming to run optimally in Chinese society. For Braithwate (1989) the feeling of shame

is considered a form of reintegration when it is done under social conditions that are interdependent and have a communitarianism society. Thus, crime is best controlled when community members are the primary controllers through active participation in the attempt to humiliate criminals and concerted efforts to reintegrate into the law-abiding community of citizens (Braithwate, 1989).

Braithwaite (1989) argues that there are 2 (two) forms of reaction in reintegrative shaming that will be carried out by society as a response to crime, namely reintegrative and stigmative. If disapproval/shame is given in a reintegrative pattern, it will be the opposite of a stigmative pattern. This has an impact on the decrease in the possibility of violating behavior due to the emergence of moral quality in society. Reintegrative shaming will communicate disapproval of evil in society. Simply put, the perpetrator's bad deeds become the focus of recovery, not the perpetrator himself (Braithwate, 1989). On the other hand, stigmatization reactions have a tendency to treat perpetrators as bad people and deserve permanent negative stigma in society. Thus, there is a tendency for people who forgive criminals by means of reintegrative to create a lower crime rate in society compared to communities that reduce criminal behavior through humiliation (Braithwate, 1989). It also supports the idea that social aggregates are characterized by high levels of communitarianism and non-stigmatic shaming practices (Schaible & Hughes, 2011).

Thus the conceptual framework developed by the authors does not fully adopt the propositions of the three theories but is fitted to the needs of the study. By not eliminating the essence of these theories, the authors applied the appropriate propositions to carry out a theoretical reconstruction. As an illustration of the 30 (thirty) propositions of shame management popularized by Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite & Braithwaite (2001), the propositions were simplified to 5 (five) premises that underlied this study. The theoretical framework illustration was simplified according to the author's needs as presented in table 2.4 below.

Table 1: Theoretical or Conceptual Framework of the Study

Theoretical Basis	Relevance of the Proposition	Theoretical Work Formulation
Reintegrative shaming theory	Shaming plays a role in crime control	By referring to the relevance of the propositions of the three theories used, the authors created a lifestyle-related shaming theoretical formula with the following criteria:
	Shaming is relevant to an ethical identity that can generate shame-guilt	▪ Lifestyle-related shaming emphasizes the formation of an ethical identity that can produce shame-guilt which is oriented towards families and the environment
	Ethical identity leads to the occurrence of shame-guilt that can affect the prevention of crime	
	Shame-guilt refers to giving the perpetrator a responsibility and empathy for the victim and society	
	External anger has the potential to create stigma	
Lifestyle and routine activity theory	Behavioral vulnerability in a combination of time and space with a high risk of potential crime	▪ Lifestyle-related shaming separates individuals from risky lifestyles on the basis of the vulnerability of the place, time, and environment to drug relapse stimuli
	Lifestyle puts a person at increased risk of exposure and associations with a high risk	▪ Lifestyle-related shaming targets a subculture of drug relapse that is characterized by non-utilitarian, negative,
	Relationships with people at risk make the victim a potential target	
Desistance theory	The threat of punishment	
	Social relations with law-abiding people	

	Avoiding relationships with the old environment	hedonistic and resistant to conformity
	An attitude of frustration as a response to tension	
	Lack of situational opportunities	
	Social structures shifting	
	The assumption of the validity of the legal system	

Source: various sources compiled by authors.

The theoretical work formulation of lifestyle-related shaming is the result of elaborating propositions derived from reintegrative shaming theory, lifestyle and routine activity theory, and desistance theory. Lifestyle-related shaming is an attempt to embarrass or not make drug use a lifestyle as part of drug relapse. This is done by refracting 3 (three) aspects, namely ethical identity, shame-guilt, and elements of drug relapse (non-utilitarian, negative, hedonistic). Therefore, lifestyle-related shaming has a role as an effort to overcome drug relapse by using shaming, lifestyle, and desistence approaches (see Figure 2.2). The researchers define it as follows:

1. Interdependence element was adjusted for variables, among others, age> 20 years, had been married, had a job and had a high-secondary education (Junior High School-Higher Education). This element was examined by looking at the demographic data in Indonesia, especially in the study site, namely the Jakarta area, as the city with the highest number of drug relapse in Indonesia.
2. The communitarian element was adjusted by adding lifestyle variables. This element was also tried to be examined by looking at conditions in urban areas, namely Jakarta, which are very closely related to changes in lifestyle in urban communities (Hindelang, Gottfredosn, & Garofalo, 1978).
3. The implementation of rehabilitation in the form of a therapeutic community aims to reintegrate drug offenders back into society. The therapeutic community as part of the method provided by the government for drug abusers in Indonesia was tried to be analyzed using John Braithwaite's macro theory of reintegrative shaming.
4. Former addicts who have been declared "clean" are prone to re-exposure to the subculture retreatism (Cloward & Ohlin). This subculture is developed with the existence of a lifestyle context which is a new finding in drug relapse cases in Indonesia.
5. Former addicts who experience subcultural retreatism infiltration have the potential to become drug relapse offender.
6. Drug relapse is faced with lifestyle-related shaming effort. Lifestyle-related shaming functions as a form of shaming adapted from reintegrative shaming, desistance and lifestyle routine activities.
7. Lifestyle-related shaming has the potential to become a desistance for residents after drug relapse
8. Desistance is able to suppress drug relapse to return to former addicts

5. Conclusions

Lifestyle-related shaming is a combination of reintegrative shaming theory, desistance theory and lifestyle activity theory. In its application in the management of drug relapse in Indonesia, Lifestyle-related shaming can function as a part of shaming that allows drug relapse offenders to become former addicts. This is because Lifestyle-related shaming provides a positioning for drug abusers namely desistance (the desire to stop) and shaming when drug abusers interact in society.

The condition of the entry of individuals into society is allegedly able to decrease the level of drug relapse experienced to a complete stop because of the shame given to serve as a stimulus so as not to repeat the similar action. In line with Braithwaite which illustrates that reintegrative shaming can make criminals become low crime, so Lifestyle-related shaming can be used so that drug abusers can change their status as former offenders or former addicts.

On the other hand, the condition of Lifestyle-related shaming is closely related to the lifestyle of urbanites who are certainly tied to the urban lifestyle wherein peer group groups in society play a role in forming an individual identity. However, if the subculture in the community rejects the drug abusers, then Lifestyle-related shaming will greatly function in its role in decreasing the level of crime, especially drug abuse in Indonesia.

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