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"I don't want to do that anymore": Motivation and Strategies to Desistance Among Juvenile Offenders in Indonesia

Jesika Juliana, Azmawaty Mohamad Nor and Fonny Dameaty Hutagalung*

Department of Educational Psychology and Counselling, Faculty of Education, Universiti Malaya, 50603 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

ABSTRACT

Desistance plays a central role in understanding and addressing criminal behaviour. Uncovering the underlying motivation for desistance from crime can contribute to reforming current social control and crime prevention policies. This study adopts a narrative-based theory and explores the motivations for desistance among juvenile offenders in Indonesia and the strategies that juvenile offenders in Indonesia plan to use to desist from crime. This qualitative study involves six juvenile offenders in three correctional institutions in Indonesia in a semi-structured interview. The results show several emerging themes regarding motivations for desistance among juvenile offenders in Indonesia, which include transformation in identity and hope, having a positive role model, avoiding negative labelling, and filial piety. In addition, several emerging themes regarding strategies for desistance include work, finding family support, and avoiding delinquent peers. Based on this result, helping young delinquents to adopt a prosocial identity is crucial in promoting desistance in crime.

Keywords: Desistance from crime, Indonesia, juvenile offenders, motivation, strategies

INTRODUCTION

Juvenile delinquency is a serious matter due to the worrisome rate in every part of the world. According to Davies and Robson (2016), individuals under 18 years comprise 3.2% of the total prison population in Indonesia. Over the past decades, the rate of juvenile delinquency in Indonesia has escalated to almost twice the rate of misconduct performed by adults. This rate is also predicted to be persistent, which is a tremendous concern for law enforcement (Davies & Robson, 2016).

A study conducted in 11 correctional institutions in Australia found that one in every three or 33% of adolescent offenders admitted that crime was their 'way of

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E-mail addresses:
Jesika.juliana07@gmail.com (Jesika Juliana)
Azy_mn@um.edu.my (Azmawaty Mohamad Nor)
Fonny@um.edu.my (Fonny Dameaty Hutagalung)
* Corresponding author

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life.' In addition, there is a strong positive correlation between the frequency of previous incarceration and the probability of describing crime as a way of life. Lastly, the earlier a young offender's criminal career starts, the more likely it is to be identified as a way of life (Payne & Roffey, 2020). Another longitudinal study in the United States also found that a notable fraction of individuals continue engaging in criminal behaviour into their mid-20s (Brame et al., 2018). This shows that recidivism among juvenile offenders is a challenge that needs to be focused on. Therefore, a study about desistance is needed.

Desistance from crime typically denotes the cessation of engagement in criminal behaviour. The exploration of desistance from crime and overall offending has gained significant attention in criminological research in recent decades. Indeed, it is often considered the pinnacle of correctional research due to its crucial significance in comprehending and reducing criminal conduct (Serin et al., 2013). Uncovering the underlying reasons for desistance from crime can contribute to reforming current social control and crime prevention policies. In fact, understanding desistance is as important as understanding the development of a criminal career itself (Haggård et al., 2001).

However, the data from the literature review uncovered the knowledge gap in desistance among offenders. Most research highlighted the challenges and experiences of desistance (John, 2019; Rowe & Soppitt, 2014; Zahari et al., 2024), whereas the motivation of juvenile offenders for avoiding crime has not been widely addressed. Information about offenders' motivation to avoid crime is crucial since their motivation is one of the key factors of desistance (Gideon, 2010). In addition, most studies about desistance from crime have been conducted in the Western setting. However, western-based research may have limited applications for Asian policy and prevention (Yeung & Li, 2021). As such, research is necessary to explore the motivation that contributes to Indonesian juvenile offenders' desire to avoid crime. Sharing knowledge from the Indonesian juvenile offenders' point of view could enhance policymakers' understanding of the desistance and uncover intervention that promotes this motivation.

This study is unique because it focuses on the motivational factors behind desistance among juvenile offenders in Indonesia, which has not been thoroughly examined. Meanwhile, most research has centred on Western offenders and the structural factors of desistance. This study aims to fill a critical gap by investigating the motivations for desistance in a non-Western context, providing insights that could influence policies and interventions tailored to Indonesia. By examining the perspectives of juvenile offenders themselves, this research moves beyond external observations. It seeks to understand how offenders in Indonesia perceive and plan their own pathways away from crime.

Juvenile offenders' motivation needs to be followed with planned strategies to achieve successful reintegration. Panuccio et al. (2012) posited that motivation

comprises both a desire and a method for achieving a goal; mere desire alone is insufficient. Although prisoners may possess optimism and motivation regarding their desistance prior to release, their pre-release expectations are unlikely to persist without being bolstered by strategies to surmount the challenge (Villman, 2021). Therefore, in addition to exploring motivations, this study also aims to identify the strategies juvenile offenders in Indonesia plan to use to desist from crime. Unlike many studies focusing solely on desistance challenges, this research will delve into motivation and strategic planning, offering a comprehensive view of the desistance process. This approach will provide valuable insight into how juvenile offenders transition away from crime, revealing pathways that could guide more effective interventions.

Given the lack of comprehension regarding how juvenile offenders in Indonesia transition away from criminal activities, we contend that a qualitative approach to examining adolescent desistance is necessary. This study aims to (1) explore the motivations for desistance among juvenile offenders in Indonesia and (2) identify the strategies that juvenile offenders in Indonesia plan to use to desist from crime. To our knowledge, this is the first research focusing on desistance among juvenile offenders in Indonesia.

THE NARRATIVE-BASED THEORY

The explanation of why juvenile offenders are motivated to desist may be explained by the narrative-based theory (Maruna, 2001). Maruna (2001) found the narrative-based theory based on the research in the Liverpool Desistance Study. The focus was on understanding the role of changes in ex-offender identities in desistance. Two groups of offenders were analysed, one persisting and one desisting. Despite similar personality traits between the two groups, the key distinction emerged from their self-narratives obtained through qualitative research interviews. Active offenders exhibited a 'condemnation script,' perceiving life as bleak and hostile, feeling powerless against external circumstances, and harbouring resentment towards authority. In contrast, desisting ex-offenders developed a 'redemption script,' viewing themselves as essentially good individuals who faced challenges due to societal exclusion and disadvantage. This positive narrative rendered offending impossible and fostered optimism about their future.

Desisting ex-offenders believed they were victims of societal circumstances, having overcome a cycle of crime, addiction, and recidivism. Their redemption script empowered them to recognise their innate qualities and aspire to live a fulfilling life. This transformed perspective motivated them to help the next generation avoid similar paths, a concept Maruna (2001) termed 'making good.' The study also highlighted a high degree of generative concern among desisting ex-offenders, emphasising the rehabilitative effects of meaningful work, whether voluntary or vocational. This generativity, driven by inner motivations and

societal demands, manifested in a desire to give back to society through employment or volunteer work with depth and meaning. The narrative-based theory offers a compelling explanation for juvenile offenders' motivation to desist, highlighting the transformative power of adopting a 'redemption script' that reframes their self-identity and life trajectory towards positive social contribution and personal fulfilment.

Motivation to Desist

According to previous studies, some factors enhance offenders' motivation to desist. In a study among 67 adults who had served a life sentence, a shift in identity is the biggest contributor to desistance. Offenders have discarded their past identity in favour of an alternative, prosocial identity and expressing a desire to "give back" (Liem & Richardson, 2014; O'sullivan et al., 2015). In addition, in a study involving a group of prisoners who were responsible for serious crimes, it was found that feelings of control also play a crucial part in enhancing motivation to desist. Offenders who feel they control their actions and behaviour are more likely to desist from crime than offenders who believe that criminal activities were due to external forces (Doekhie et al., 2017; Farrall & Shapland, 2022). Both studies are conducted among adult offenders, whereas in a study among juvenile offenders, the availability of adult role models is one of the predictors. When juvenile offenders feel more socially supported, adults can be a source that gives offenders a sense of purpose (Newson et al., 2024).

Strategies to Desist

One of the strategies that offenders often mention as the way to desist is finding employment (Wooditch et al., 2014). Earning a living and coping with the earned income is viewed as a way to strive for control. Work creates necessary structures for life and delimited leisure time (Villman, 2021). Moreover, seeking help from supportive environments also becomes one of the strategies (Newson et al., 2024). Other than providing concrete support, offenders can benefit from the societal inclusion that this openness might create (Au & Wong, 2022; Villman, 2021). Offenders also often scale down their social lives to reduce the negative influence of the environment (Villman, 2021).

A study among Japanese young offenders also found that relational connections and a desire for integration are the key strategies to desist from crime. Offenders internalise their offences, meaning they view their actions as personal failings rather than blaming external factors like societal structures. This internalisation leads them to seek normality, which involves distancing themselves from the criminal justice system and overcoming the limitations imposed by their status as young offenders. Offenders want to reintegrate into society, free from the stigma of their past actions. Importantly, they rely on support from close relationships, such as family and friends, to help them navigate this desistance process. This contrasts with Scottish offenders, who tend to focus more on structural issues like employment or leisure opportunities

as factors influencing their desistance. In Japan, there is less consultation with young offenders, so they have a more self-determined approach, prioritising personal responsibility and relational support in their efforts to desistance (Barry, 2017).

METHODS

This study involved six juvenile offenders in Indonesia who were detained at Jakarta Correctional Institution, Bandung Correctional Institution, and Tangerang Correctional Institution. The inclusion criteria are that juvenile offenders must be detained in Indonesian correctional institutions due to their crime between age 12 and 18 years, and they need to be able to communicate verbally. In phenomenology design, the researcher needs to ensure that recruited informants have experienced the phenomenon needed. Therefore, purposive sampling is suitable (O'Halloran et al., 2019). In addition, according to Heidegger, phenomenology research aims to produce rich contextual accounts of individuals' perspectives. Therefore, recruiting a small number of participants is useful as it allows individuals to express their emotions and the role of these emotions in particular contexts (Gill, 2015). Hence, recruiting a small sample size was adopted to gain a detailed understanding of juvenile offenders' perspectives regarding desistance.

Due to prison regulations, the researcher could not freely choose which participant to be recruited. Prison staff use as gatekeepers for recruiting participants in prison studies has also been widely known (Abbott et al., 2018). Therefore, the researcher has discussed this with the staff of correctional institutions, and then they will recommend some of the juvenile offenders who were eligible for the study. The sampling procedure includes (1) selecting the criteria of the eligible participants, (2) obtaining the recommendation from the officers, (3) getting informed consent signed by the participant and officer, and (4) conducting the interview and observation. The detailed demographic background of the participants is stated in Table 1. Six participants recruited, in the end, were detained for school fights, stealing, planned murder, and sexual assault. There are also a variety of durations of imprisonment, ranging from eight months to two years.

Table 1
Participants' age and criminal activity

Participants	Correctional institution	Age	Criminal activity	Duration in correctional institutions
Participant 1	Jakarta	17	Stealing	1.5 years
Participant 2	Jakarta	16	School fight	11 months
Participant 3	Tangerang	17	School fight	8 months
Participant 4	Tangerang	15	School fight	10 months
Participant 5	Bandung	18	Planned murder	2 years
Participant 6	Bandung	17	Sexual assault	10 months

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Before starting the data collection, this study obtained ethical approval from the University of Malaya's Research Ethics Committee. The research proposal, including participant recruitment details, data collection techniques, and confidentiality protocols, was carefully reviewed to ensure compliance with ethical guidelines. The researcher also upholds some ethical standards when working with juvenile offenders by prioritising informed consent, confidentiality, and member checks to ensure the integrity of the research process. Informed consent is obtained from the juveniles and prison officers as their guardians. This process is adapted to be age-appropriate, using clear and simple language to ensure comprehension.

Confidentiality is rigorously maintained by anonymising data and securely storing all information to protect participants' identities and personal details from unauthorised access. Furthermore, member checks are employed to validate the accuracy and relevance of the findings, involving participants in reviewing and confirming their statements to ensure that their perspectives are accurately presented.

Protocol of Study

In-depth semi-structured interviews were utilised as a method of the study to collect data. The study employed a phenomenological research design whereby the researchers explore the experiences of individual participants about a phenomenon being studied (Creswell, 2012). With the qualitative research method and phenomenological design, the researcher can engage and observe the behavioural pattern and gain an in-depth exploration of juvenile offenders in correctional institutions (Rosenbaum, 2016; Xu & Storr, 2012).

Seidman's (2013) three-interview series was conducted to explore three different areas of participants' experience, including (a) understandings and past life with the phenomenon, (b) current life and experience with the phenomenon, and (c) interpretations and meaning-making. The semi-structured interviews were held for three sessions; each session consisted of 45 minutes for each person at the correctional institutions where each participant was detained. This approach was chosen because of the complex nature of the phenomena under investigation (e.g., the criminal background, experience of detainment, motivation, and strategies to desistance). Moreover, the researcher needs to carefully explore these complex experiences step by step. This requires taking the time to understand each part of the participant's story while building a strong relationship with them.

All the interviews were conducted in Indonesian, and the audio was recorded with the participants' permission. Before the data collection process, they were also asked to sign an informed consent form to approve data collection.

Data Analysis

The data from the semi-structured interviews were systematically analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

(IPA). IPA aimed to explore the thorough analysis of individual lived experience, the sense of this experience, and how they comprehend that experience (Smith, 2011). Due to the main elements of IPA that allow participants to "share their voice" as well as "make sense" of their experience, this design has become one of the most frequently implemented qualitative designs in psychology (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). For this reason, this study believes that IPA allows the researchers to understand better juvenile offenders' motivation to stop offending.

Following the IPA, the analysis begins with familiarisation, where researchers do repeated readings. Initial coding follows, with researchers annotating meaningful phrases to capture explicit and implicit aspects of participants' experiences. Themes are then generated by grouping related codes, and connections between themes are explored to develop a coherent interpretation. The analysis progresses towards identifying superordinate themes that encapsulate broader aspects of the phenomenon, and the final step involves defining, naming, and presenting these themes in a comprehensive research report (Smith, 2011). Lastly, several steps have been taken to ensure the data analysis's trustworthiness. Initially, member checks with the juvenile offenders were conducted to check their understanding and whether the researcher had interpreted their words correctly. Subsequently, the researcher discussed interpretations with another independent scholar with counselling and psychology expertise.

RESULTS

Juvenile Offenders' Motivation for Desistance

The analysis reveals a unanimous desire among juvenile offenders to avoid future criminal behaviour and further detainment. Five main themes emerged from the gathered data that describe why juvenile offenders do not want to commit a crime, which is (1) transformation in identity and hope, (2) having better self-control, (3) having a positive role model, (4) avoiding negative labelling, and (5) filial piety.

Transformation in Identity and Hope

Participant expresses transformation to positive behaviour during their detainment that has enabled them to shift in identity and hope for the future. For instance, some participants mentioned receiving academic and vocational education in the correctional institution. Gaining new skills and academic achievements allows juvenile offenders to construct alternative identities as learners and workers.

> *Well, it is important, like when I am outside, I am not able to wake up early. In here, I can wake up and not feel sleepy; I just go straight to the shower. I just like to be a better person* (Participant 4).

> *Now, I am smarter. Here, I became more disciplined and started school again. I read more, too; I like my changes. I used to think I would not be able to work better after I got out, but here it is different* (Participant 1).

Having Better Self-control

The participant realises that being in the correctional institution has transformed them into having better self-control. Previously, juvenile offenders liked to do physical attacks whenever they were angry, but not anymore. Juvenile offenders used to express their emotions in a grandeur manner, such as doing school fights and physical attacks. However, the correctional institution has created a system that will prolong the detainment duration when they misbehave during the detainment period. In the end, the juvenile offenders will comply and have better self-control.

> *I also learned to be patient and was very impatient; I liked to beat people up when upset. While I am here, if I do that, I will be isolated; I can't go home.* (Participant 1)

Having a Positive Role Model

Juvenile offenders express increased hope after learning that other former offenders have successfully reintegrated into society as working individuals. This led them to believe that the positive path is possible. Previously, the participants had never had a role model with a similar background and a successful career. Their experience from the correctional institutions made them believe they could be better and would work hard for it. Besides observing former juvenile offenders, the participant observed the officers as positive role models. The staff members commit to their careers, inspiring young offenders to reconsider their choices.

> *Before I was detained, people around me always said that school was unimportant; what did you want to be after school? You will not be successful either. However, here, the officers are nice, and they are going to school. I wanted to be like them, too.* (Participant 6)

Avoiding Negative Labelling

All participants experienced a transformation to positive behaviour, which made them feel more hopeful and, in the end, promoted the motivation to avoid crime. However, the motivation to avoid crime is also expressed as a part of compensating for the crime that they have done. Juvenile offenders stated that since they will be labelled as former offenders, they know that people may think they are untrustworthy. Therefore, they aim to be responsible and trusted in the future so society will no longer associate them with negative labelling.

> *Now, people must be thinking of me as a bad kid because I am here in prison. I should not commit a crime again so that they will not think that way* (Participant 4).

Filial Piety

Juvenile offenders stated that being an offender has negatively affected their family's reputation. Therefore, they wanted to live a lawful life so their family would not be seen as unruly. During the detainment, juvenile offenders' parental relationships improved, and they realised how crime

impacted their family's reputation and well-being. They are deterred by the fear of bringing shame to their family, motivating them to avoid criminal behaviour.

> *You know, the neighbours are talking about my family, saying that my mother failed to raise me. If I do the crime again, they will say more bad things about her. I don't want it to happen, and I don't want to do that anymore* (Participant 3).

Juvenile Offender's Strategies for Desistance

Another aim of this study is to explore juvenile offenders' strategies to desist from criminal activities. Juvenile offenders have several plans to avoid criminal activities. Three main themes emerged regarding their plans, which are (1) having a job, (2) finding family support, and (3) avoiding delinquent peers.

Having a Job

Juvenile offenders express their desire to work. Juvenile offenders believe that having a job often opens prospects for being productive individuals. This motivates juvenile offenders to distance themselves from criminal activities instead of focusing on building a positive future. Moreover, some juvenile offenders believe that having a stable job can be a proactive step towards reintegration into the family unit and repairing the family's reputation.

> *I want to work and make my parents happy. I don't care whether I become a taxi driver or package courier, as long as it's Halal. I will do it* (Participant 2).

> *Going to the university that's my goal. I then wanted to work in a company. When you have a degree and work in a good company, you will not meet bad friends like that, right?* (Participant 3).

Finding Family Support

The participants stated that finding family support is one way they could desist from crime. They believe that asking for forgiveness and spending time with their family is one effective way to avoid committing crimes. After the detainment, the participants realised that families serve as positive influences and that being with their family is beneficial for them to become better people.

> *I want to wash my mother's feet, saying I completely regret it. Why do I make her suffer? I just want to stay at home and be with her. I know that if I just be with her and think about her, I will not think about doing another crime* (Participant 3).

Avoiding Delinquent Peers

Another strategy highlighted by the participants is avoiding delinquent peers. The participants have talked about how interacting with delinquent peers can perpetuate a cycle of criminal behaviour. By avoiding such interactions, the participants seek to distance themselves from negative influences and surround themselves with individuals who may positively impact their

behaviour, such as their parents. Moreover, the participants also choose to disassociate from delinquent peers to align themselves to avoid pressures that may lead to criminal activities.

> *There is no way I am going back to them. For them, doing crime is cool and will make you popular. However, now I know it's not cool; it's just making you miserable and making things harder to achieve in the future. I will never have them as my friends again* (Participant 2).

DISCUSSION

Five key themes emerged from the data to explain the motivations behind their desistance: (1) transformation in identity and renewed hope, (2) improved self-control, (3) the presence of positive role models, (4) a desire to avoid negative labelling, and (5) filial piety. Additionally, the study explores the strategies juvenile offenders plan to use to avoid criminal activities. Three main themes emerged from these strategies: (1) securing employment, (2) seeking family support, and (3) distancing themselves from delinquent peers. Figure 1 shows the themes of the study and their relationships. Together, these findings provide valuable insights into the factors influencing desistance and the proactive steps juvenile offenders intend to take to avoid recidivism.

Juvenile Offenders' Motivation for Desistance

This study explores Indonesian juvenile offenders' motivation to desist from crime and the strategies they plan to implement once discharged. The participants express a strong desire to desist from criminal activities.

One of the motivations for desistance is the transformation in identity and hope. In the correctional institutions, Indonesian juvenile offenders received educational programs and vocational training that were not available to them in their previous environments. Added with support from the staff and teachers, juvenile offenders improved their academic

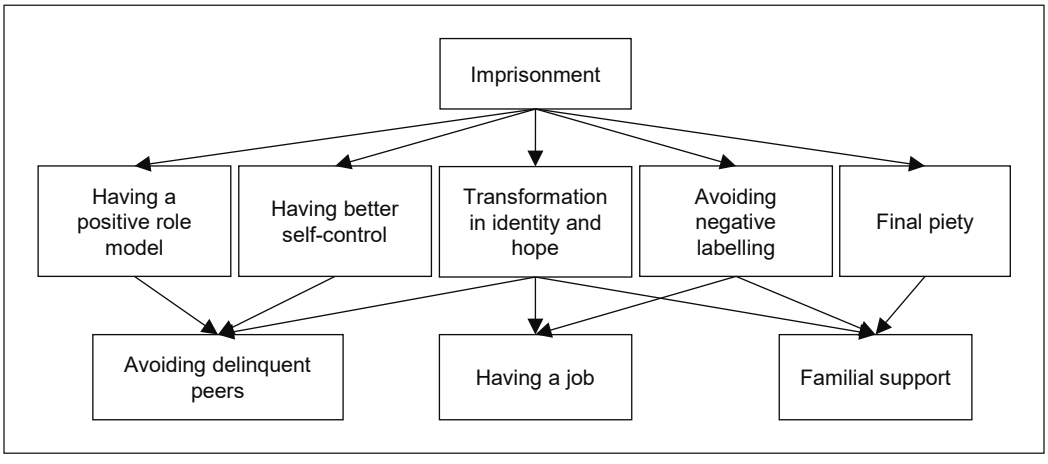

Figure 1. Relationship between motivations and strategies for desistance

achievements and vocational skills. This makes them feel empowered and hopeful for the future. This study is similar to a study among 50 male former prisoners in Ontario, Canada. Research revealed that offenders frequently experience stress related to the challenges of obtaining employment and housing. The prison environment can alleviate this stress by offering time and resources to foster a renewed sense of self (Maier & Ricciardelli, 2022).

Moreover, desistance involves discarding elements of the past and adopting clear scripts for a non-criminal future (Maruna & Roy, 2007). According to social identity theory, identity transformation happens when individuals are exposed to new relationships and opportunities. Ultimately, this process permits individuals to invest in themselves (Newson et al., 2024). Juvenile offenders provide new perspectives, opportunities, and a sense of competence when they have education and skill development. This positive transformation in identity may lead to increased motivation to desist from criminal behaviour as individuals see themselves in a new light, with the potential for a more prosocial and law-abiding future.

After being detained, juvenile offenders also improved their self-control. Juvenile offenders believe that their time in the correctional institution serves as a training ground, teaching them to refrain from easily expressing their emotions aggressively. The improvement in self-control occurs due to a lack of independence, retaliations, and pressures due to strict regulations (Meijers et al., 2018). The more time adolescents spent in juvenile detention centres, the more hostile behaviours ensued (Van den Tillaart et al., 2018). Improving self-control also provides a sense of competence that, in the end, contributes to a shift in identity.

Juvenile offenders also have a positive role model from the staff, enhancing their confidence to thrive in society. This echoes similar findings that juvenile offenders who perceived the officers as legitimate and protective had less of a tendency to commit misconduct. Even when juvenile offenders observe misconduct in the correctional institution, reliable officers are an important buffer that helps juvenile offenders avoid misbehaviour (Brown et al., 2020). It explains what happens in correctional institutions in Indonesia; juvenile offenders perceive the staff as a positive figure that is fair and responsive whenever they reach out for help. Additionally, the staff members also serve as positive role models. A study found that the role models of adolescents were often family members or other adults with whom they had a personalised relationship. It shows that adolescents have a higher tendency to look up to adults they know and have frequent interactions with (Hurd et al., 2011). The need for positive role models has also been found in Malay adolescents to enhance their motivation when dealing with the inequality crisis and identity development (Hussain & Muhamad, 2022). Before detention, juvenile offenders lacked positive role models, often influenced by adults engaging in crime. However, within correctional institutions,

they find inspiration in staff members who have achieved the desired levels of status, motivating them to aspire towards similar achievements.

Juvenile offenders express motivation to avoid future crimes by acknowledging the need for compensation as they strive to counter the societal stigma associated with being labelled ex-offenders, working diligently to become responsible and trusted individuals to shed negative associations. The role of stigma in motivating desistance among young offenders has also been expressed in Japanese offenders. Offenders wanted to be free from the stigma of their past actions (Barry, 2017). Aside from personal responsibility, this belief makes sense due to moral compensation. Moral compensation means doing good things to compensate for an individual's mistake, helping them start fresh and improve (Sachdeva et al., 2009). First, immortality leads to guilt; second, psychological distress motivates moral compensatory behaviour (Ding et al., 2016). In the context of juvenile offenders, they feel guilty for the crime they committed, which leads them to do compensatory behaviour by working harder to be responsible and trusted. Juvenile offenders are also able to distance themselves from offenders' stigma, creating a more positive identity that helps them to desist from crime to avoid future crimes.

Juvenile offenders in Indonesia also developed the motivation to avoid crime due to filial piety. They believe that by avoiding crime, having high achievement in school, and doing productive work, they can repair the family's reputation. In Indonesia, especially in Javanese culture, shame is the first step towards maturity. Shame is a significant motivator for Javanese individuals to conform to societal norms. The Javanese proverb "*mikul dhuwur, mendem jero*" embodies a prosocial significance, particularly emphasising the importance of respecting and upholding the dignity of parents, conveying a poignant message to children regarding their relationship with their parents (Budiarto et al., 2020). This finding is similar to the Confucian values often found in motivation to desist among offenders in Hong Kong. In cultural contexts like Hong Kong, the influence of Confucian values, which emphasise family loyalty and maintaining one's "face," reinforces the importance of family bonds. These cultural values help strengthen the offenders' motivation to desist from crime, as maintaining positive family ties can lead to social approval and redemption within their communities (Adorjan & Chui, 2014).

Moreover, since the parental relationship improves during imprisonment, a sense of appreciation and gratitude emerges, leading to the motivation to desist. A study in Malay society also found that it is common for children to care for their parents as a sign of repayment. When individuals were children, their parents took care of them. When they become adults, they remember and care for their parents (Nor & Ghazali, 2022). In the context of Indonesian juvenile offenders, desistance from crime and looking for family support is a sign of repayment as their parents have taken care of them during their vulnerable period of imprisonment.

Juvenile offenders in Indonesia are strongly motivated to desistance due to the cultural value of upholding their parents' dignity and repaying for their parents' kindness, viewing criminal behaviour as a failure that brings shame to their family, and experiencing moral compensation, which generates feelings of shame and guilt, ultimately driving their motivation to desist.

Juvenile Offenders' Strategies for Desistance

Another aim of this study is to explore strategies for desistance among juvenile offenders in Indonesia. One of the strategies that juvenile offenders plan to implement is working. Even if they know that gaining employment can be challenging, juvenile offenders constantly search for jobs and expand their network through volunteers. Some also do not mind getting low compensation as long as it is not associated with crime. The findings echo the classic desistance theory, recounting the importance of having something to do and earning a living to achieve desistance from crime (Sampson & Laub, 2005; Uggen & Wakefield, 2008). The need to find employment is strong in juvenile offenders, and it often motivates them to continue their education and enhance their living skills inside the prison (Addae, 2020; Cuevas et al., 2017). Being employed keeps the offenders meaningfully engaged, builds their self-confidence, and supports the shift in identity (Chan & Boer, 2016; McMahon & Jump, 2018). This strategy is aligned with their motivation to desist from crime, which is to support their identity transformation. Therefore, it makes sense that juvenile offenders plan to find employment once they are discharged. Moreover, getting a job also helps them to avoid negative labelling since they are driven by a desire to overcome the stigma of their criminal past and be viewed as responsible and trustworthy.

Adolescents encounter challenging developmental tasks, such as fitting into a peer group and advancing identity formation (Markova & Nikitskaya, 2017). Similarly, juvenile offenders in Indonesia conduct crimes to be accepted by their peers, and along the way, they believe that being a delinquent is part of their identity. Hence, to desist from crime, juvenile offenders planned to cut off contact with delinquent peers. When juvenile offenders are motivated to distance themselves from negative identities, supported with newfound self-control, they believe that cutting off from delinquent peers has often become a key step they should take.

Peers play a pivotal role in shaping criminal identity through sharing their experiences offers each other pertinent feedback on their identity decisions (Mercer et al., 2017). Peers who have criminal records can become risk factors for reoffending since they can be role models for delinquent acts. Reconnecting with these friends often leads to re-involvement in old activities such as drug addiction, theft, and robbery (Jasni et al., 2022). Therefore, distancing themselves from negative identities will help them move towards a more prosocial lifestyle (Copp et al., 2020; Cuevas et al., 2017).

Besides avoiding delinquent peers and finding employment, Indonesian juvenile offenders aim to reconnect with their families. During imprisonment, juvenile offenders' parents have become a source of strength by giving them compassion. This creates a feeling that they know someone is waiting for them outside and believes in them, provides them with an anchor and encourages them to choose a path of change and rehabilitation (Vignansky et al., 2018). Since individuals are often motivated to repay a kind action and punish an unkind action (Pelligra, 2011), it makes sense why juvenile offenders aim to reconnect with their families. Moreover, combined with the filial piety culture, juvenile offenders aim to repay it by spending more time with them.

The willingness to find family support also happens due to identity changes. The change in identity they experienced fuels the change in preferences. Juvenile offenders who wish to quit criminal lifestyles develop tastes for non-criminal actions and the newly perceived "comforts" of a non-delinquent routine. Hence, juvenile offenders started to think that a stable family is more important than their previous delinquent friendships. This strategy has also effectively reduced self-reported crime and identity changes since offenders spend more time with a supportive network (Copp et al., 2020).

CONCLUSION

Desistance from crime plays a central role in understanding and addressing criminal behaviour. Information about offenders' motivation to avoid crime is crucial since their motivation is one of the key factors of desistance. The study's results found that juvenile offenders in Indonesia were motivated to desistance due to transformation in identity and hope, having a positive role model, avoiding negative labelling, and filial piety. To support this motivation, juvenile offenders plan to find employment, cut off delinquent peers, and reconcile with their families. The study confirmed that a shift in identity is a key driver of desistance, influencing both motivation and strategies. This has important implications for narrative-based theory in desistance. Thus, professional interventions should focus on helping young delinquents adopt a prosocial identity through positive role models, avoiding negative labelling, and fostering parental bonding. However, this cross-sectional study involves six juvenile offenders in three Indonesian correctional institutions. Hence, the findings are not generalisable to all juvenile offenders. Therefore, geographically and culturally specific research is needed to understand juvenile offenders and create a suitable intervention thoroughly.

Implications of the Study

In the past two decades, scholarly studies on desistance from crime have gained much attention. Nevertheless, a solid theoretical foundation across different cultural contexts has remained underdeveloped (John, 2019; Rowe & Soppitt, 2014; Zahari et al., 2024). The present study fills this research gap by undertaking a pioneer examination of the motivation to avoid crime and the strategies

among Indonesian juvenile offenders. Such findings may provide important references for other Asian countries, contributing to the overall advancement of the desistance theory. The narrative-based theory, particularly Maruna's (2001) concept of the "redemption script," helps explain why juvenile offenders are motivated to desist by focusing on transforming their self-identity.

Moreover, this study found that filial piety adds an important cultural layer to Maruna's narrative-based theory of desistance by showing how identity transformation is not only driven by personal motivations but also influenced by deeply rooted cultural values. In the context of Indonesian juvenile offenders, filial piety is a powerful motivator for desistance among juvenile offenders.

The study confirmed previous conceptions that a shift in identity is one of the most influential agents of change and may affect the motivation and strategies of desistance. Hence, helping young delinquents to adopt a prosocial identity by having a positive role model is crucial. This can be achieved by integrating role models, mentors, and peer support groups to reinforce positive identities and encourage long-term desistance from crime. For instance, DC Central Kitchen's Culinary Job Training (CJT) program is designed to help formerly incarcerated individuals transition back into society by providing vocational training in culinary arts. This program is effective in helping offenders to abandon their old criminal lifestyles and construct new prosocial identities. Including staff who have previously been incarcerated played a crucial role. Their shared experiences helped build trust, provided role models, and supported the offenders in navigating their desistance (Matthews et al., 2020). Therefore, correctional institutions in Indonesia could establish a mentorship program where former juvenile offenders successfully desisted from crime mentor current offenders. This peer-based approach could build trust and create a path for juveniles to envision a crime-free future.

Moreover, strengthening family bonds, particularly parental involvement, can profoundly affect desistance. Correctional institutions should provide programs that improve family communication and offer counselling sessions to improve relationships between juvenile offenders and their parents. To do this, correctional institutions may organise family counselling sessions to build emotional connections and resolve conflicts. Programs could also provide parenting training to help families better support the rehabilitation process.

Nevertheless, this study has several limitations. It is cross-sectional in design and involves six juvenile offenders in three correctional institutions in Indonesia. Thus, the findings are not generally applicable to all juvenile offenders. Expanding the sample size and including more diverse populations of juvenile offenders across various regions could yield more comprehensive insights and enhance the generalisability of the results. By building on these initial findings, future studies may deepen the understanding of the broader experiences

and needs of juvenile offenders, leading to various effective interventions. Moreover, longitudinal studies about this topic are needed to determine whether juvenile offenders conducted their plan of desistance. Understanding whether and how juvenile offenders implement their desistance plans can help design more effective prevention strategies to reduce recidivism. It allows for the early identification of individuals who may need additional support to achieve long-term desistance.

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