

## **Internal Defense in Containment Theory in the Context of Teenagers Engagement in Indonesia Terrorism**



**Arijani Lasmawati<sup>1</sup>, Adrianus E. Meliala<sup>2</sup>, Ni Made Martini Puteri<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Doctoral Candidate, Department of Criminology, Universitas Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Professor, Department of Criminology, Universitas Indonesia

<sup>3</sup>Lecturer, Department of Criminology, Universitas Indonesia

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**ABSTRACT:** The history of acts of terrorism in Indonesia, which began in 2003-2019, shows several shifting trends in terrorism crimes, terms of action strategies, targets, and characteristics of perpetrators. Based on the action strategy and the features of the perpetrators, the authors found the involvement of children and adolescents. Horgan, Taylor, Bloom, and Winter (2017) state that the involvement of children in acts of terrorism is part of the regeneration of terrorist organizations to continue to exist and survive for a long time. This research aims to illustrate how the internal defense system in the containment theory contributes to the terrorism context. This research is qualitative which uses in-depth interviews for gathering data. Results showed that internal defense could not support teenagers to avoid their engagement with radical or terrorist groups.

**KEYWORDS:** Terror, Terrorism, Children, Teenagers, Containment Theory

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia is currently ranked 37th out of 138 countries affected by terrorism. This is not too surprising given that Indonesia has become the target of a battlefield locus for those who identify as jihadists (Lukito, 2019). Since the 9/11 acts of terrorism in 2005 in America, Indonesia itself immediately felt the impact a year later. The terrorist bombing in Indonesia first occurred on 12 October 2012, which is then often referred to as the Bali Bomb I. It was recorded that 3 bombs exploded on that day which resulted in 202 people being killed and 209 people injured (kompas.com, 2020). At that time, the whole world gave great attention and assistance to Indonesia. This is because the victims who were killed and injured were not only Indonesian citizens, but also many foreign nationals who were victims.

After the bombing, many acts of terror occurred from year to year, for example, the bomb at JW Marriot on 5 August 2003, the bomb at the Australian Embassy on 9 September 2004, the bomb in Jimbaran Bali on 1 October 2005, the bomb at JW Marriot on 17 July 2009, Bali Bombing II on 12 October 2012, Church Bombing, and Surabaya Police Headquarters on May 13 and 14 2018 respectively, until the last one occurred at Medan Police Headquarters on 13 November 2019.

The observation of acts of terrorism that have occurred since the JW Marriot incident in 2003 shows that there have been several shifts in trends. This shift in trend can be identified at least based on action strategies, targets and actors. Changes in the action strategy focused on the way the actors launch their actions. For example, in the early 2000s, acts of terror were dominated by perpetrators who were Jamaah Islamiyah group who generally carried out actions alone at each point of the explosion. They also use bombs with high explosive effects (fisip.ui.ac.id, 2018). Recently, acts of terrorism in Indonesia have been dominated by groups affiliated with Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and carried out their actions by involving family members, including children (Gunadha & Saleh, 2019).

In connection with the shift in strategic trends and perpetrators of terrorism, the above facts show an interesting point for the author to discuss from a victimology point of view, namely the position of children and adolescents in acts of terrorism. Their involvement in the trend of acts of terrorism in Indonesia has started since 2009, namely in the suicide bombing at the JW Marriot Hotel. The action involved the perpetrator with the initials DDP who was only 18 years old. The involvement of children and adolescents in acts of terrorism then continues up to 5 further acts of terror as compiled by the following data compiled by the Directorate of State Security of the National Police Security Intelligence Agency:

Table 1. Terror Acts Involved Children and Youth in Indonesia

Number	Place	Type	Offender
1	JW Marriot Hotel Jakarta, 17 July 2009	Suicide bombing	<b>DDP (18 years old)</b>
2	Catholic Church Santo Yosep, Medan, North Sumatera, 28 August 2016	Attack to the church and suicide bomb attemp	<b>IAH (18 years old)</b>
3	Catholic Church Santa Maria Tak Bercela, Christian Church GKI Diponegoro, Christian Church Pantekosta, Surabaya, East Java, 13 May 2018	Suicide bombing	A Family with 4 children:  <b>YF (18 years old)</b> <b>FH (16 years old),</b> <b>FS (12 years old),</b> <b>PR (9 years old)</b>
4	Surabaya Police Station, Surabaya, East Java, 14 May 2018	Suicide bombing	A Family with 3 children:  <b>MDAM (19 years old),</b> <b>MDSM (15 years old),</b> <b>AAP (8 years old)</b>
5	Wonocolo Apartment, Sidoarjo, East Java, 14 May 2018	Bomb explosion in the apartment	A Family with 4 children:  <b>LAR (17 years old)</b> <b>AR (15 years old)</b> <b>FP (11 years old)</b> <b>GHA (11 years old)</b>

Source:

Directorate of State Security of the National Police Security Intelligence Agency

From the data above, it can be seen that children and adolescents involved in acts of terrorism are in the age range 8-18 years. The age range is included in the age category of children according to Law Number 35 of 2014 concerning Child Protection, namely someone who is not yet 18 (eighteen) years old, and the adolescent age category according to UN Resolution 36/28 of 1981, namely someone who is in the range ages 15-24 years. Furthermore, the perpetrators who carried out the suicide bombings alone were generally in the age range 18 years or were categorized as teenagers. Meanwhile, child offenders are generally involved in acts of terrorism carried out together with their families.

Horgan, Taylor, Bloom, and Winter (2017) stated that the involvement of children in acts of terrorism is closely related to the interests of the terrorist organization itself. They involve children in acts of terrorism through three stages: selection, mental preparation (or indoctrination), and action. The ISIS group does not even hesitate in recruiting, training, and placing children in its ranks. The decision of militant groups to involve children directly is a function of the organization's demands to continue to exist and survive for a long time. Apart from the organization, recruitment is also actively carried out through the family. Harris-Hogan (2014), who researched the subject of Australian jihadist families, found that family influence (as well as other close social relationships) was significant in the recruitment and retention of many members of the Australian jihadist network, including in the decision-making process of many key figures in the jihadist scene.

The two research findings indicate that the involvement of children and adolescents in acts of terrorism cannot be separated from the influence of the environment where they are located. Their status as children and adolescents places them as potential targets or vulnerable groups in this case. In this case, they act as both perpetrators and victims.

**METHOD**

This research aims to illustrate that in the context of terrorism, juvenile internal defense in containment theory cannot prevent individuals from being involved in terror activities. In-depth interviews with two teenagers carried out the data collection technique

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that the court sentenced for terror activities. The names of the two sources were disguised as AD and DR. When arrested AD was 18 years old, and DR was 19 years old. There are two limitations to this research. Firstly, the limited number of teenagers who have been found guilty of being involved in terror activities and this research is limited to internal defense points in containment theory seen in the context of terrorism in Indonesia.

### RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### Children and Teenager Involved in Terrorism

The discussion about a person's involvement in the crime of terrorism cannot be separated from the developmental process he goes through throughout his life, including his development in childhood. Milla, Faturochman, and Ancok (2013) explain that there are at least 4 (four) stages of radicalization until someone becomes a terrorist. First, pre-radicalization is when someone is vulnerable to being exposed to radical ideologies from their social environment. This stage occurs during self-development through the cultivation of values and norms carried out by socialization agents. In Indonesia, socialization agents who play this role include families, schools, and religious education institutions. The second stage is self-identification, where a person begins to identify himself as part of a terrorist group. In the third stage, a person is committed to carrying out the doctrines that the group has inculcated. In this stage, a person forms ideas about becoming a true Muslim and accepts the values and norms of the group that are continuously constructed—finally, the ideological stage of jihad, where a person is involved in an attack.

The pre-radicalization stage, as described above, shows that the environment in which a person develops has a significant role in shaping someone to be radical. An environment that adheres to radical ideologies can shape perpetrators of terrorism, even though they are still young. Like children who grow up in a familiar environment, children involved in acts of terrorism also go through socialization stages involving socialization agents as the heirs of values and norms. In the case of parents who are radical organizations, the inherited values and norms are radical values and norms. This understanding is seen as an opportunity for terrorist organizations. They do recruitment, starting from direct recruitment and recruitment through the family.

Horgan et al. (2017) explained that children involved in acts of terrorism by ISIS were recruited from five sources. First, children of internally displaced persons and foreigners (including foreign fighters) traveled to ISIS-held territory. Second, children who were voluntarily handed over by local fighters and civilians. Third, children from local orphanages. These four children were unconsciously taken from their parents (through abduction and/or slavery)—fifth, runaway children volunteering.

After recruiting, ISIS then carried out the socialization stages to children through 6 stages, namely: seduction, schooling, selection, subjugation, specialization, and finally, stationing. The initial four stages refer to the possible exposure of ISIS ideas, norms, and practices through propaganda involving ISIS partisans and pro-IS figures' access. One of these four initial stages is manifested by carrying out educational activities in special formal schools. These children were indoctrinated with the teachings of Salafi-jihadist ideology, memorizing the Koran, and extremist interpretations of the Koran. Female teachers and students are also required to wear headscarves, while male teachers and students are forced to wear Afghan-style clothing. ISIS's hierarchical and disciplined structure is typically felt at all levels of the organization, including for children. Conformity, compliance, and obedience are characteristics of children's development from ordinary schools to total training participants (Horgan et al., 2017).

In contrast to Horgan et al. (2017), in the Indonesian context, the ideological infiltration of terrorism generally occurs through the family. Family is a strong determinant factor so that children can enter and become involved in terrorist groups like in the three bombings carried out by one family, namely in Sidoarjo and Surabaya. In research conducted by Arianti (2018) regarding the future trend of children's participation in terror attacks in Indonesia, he found that parents play a significant role in the process of radical ideological indoctrination in children. The indoctrination process is carried out in many ways, one of which is parents' habit of bringing their children to study sessions in pro-ISIS groups such as those held in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi areas. Study sessions or studies like this are generally conducted in a small number of mosques or in the homes of individuals who have pledged allegiance (*bai'at*) to ISIS.

For the schooling stage, Arianti (2018) found that this schooling stage involved exposure to intensive indoctrination through pro-ISIS teachers and staff. Research conducted by the International Center for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) has shown that the Indonesian ISIS community has a workforce who are graduates of Islamic schools. With their madrasa or Islamic boarding school backgrounds, these graduates are fluent in Arabic. Some of them, who have chosen teaching as their vocation, have taught in pro-IS schools and have experience providing private tutorials for children. These schools, in turn, also provide income for pro-ISIS individuals who serve as administrators or teachers on campus. At the same time, pro-ISIS parents will also send their children to schools that align with ISIS ideology. Funds to operate the school (including teacher salaries) come from public donations. Some pro-IS parents (including prisoners) who have insufficient income may be attracted by these schools' low or free tuition fees.

From the explanation above, it can be understood that parents, teachers, and the environment as agents in the initial socialization process have a significant role in encouraging children's involvement to be active in radical groups. More specifically, the family plays a major role as a key socialization agent in determining the life path for these children. The physical and emotional

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dependence of children on their parents forms an unbalanced relationship pattern. The child is in a subordinate position, while the parents are in the ordinate position with all the powers they have. Such power relations cause children to inevitably practice the values and norms instilled by their parents, including radical ideologies. Children grow up in an environment that adheres to a radical ideology. Finally, the values and standard norms held are the values and norms of the radical ideology group.

In 2018, the Indonesia State Intelligence Agency (SIA) said that exposure to radicalism had penetrated several universities and schools in Indonesia. The results of government observations (in this case, SIA and National Counter-Terrorism Agency) in 2017 show that at least this exposure has reached 39% of students from 7 (seven) tertiary institutions (Halim, 2018). Exposure to radicalism that has penetrated student groups and university students indicates that teenagers have become targets for recruiting radical groups in Indonesia.

Adolescence is a stage in the cycle of self-development experienced by each individual. Santrock (2003) defines adolescence as a transitional developmental period between childhood and adulthood, including biological, cognitive, and socio-emotional changes. According to Gullotta and Adams (2005), there is no specific explanation regarding the definition of adolescence. From the literature review they have done, they found that some literature defines this period as the stage of the second decade in the life cycle or the period of early adulthood. However, adolescence can be explained as a life stage that can begin when a person enters puberty and ends when a person has accepted and is aware of his rights and obligations as an adult and the family, the law recognizes this and the social environment. Referring to Papalia and Olds, this period is referred to as the transition from childhood to adulthood (Jahja, 2011).

The World Health Organization (WHO) further identifies adolescence from its biological, psychological, and socio-economic aspects. First, this period begins when there are changes in secondary sexual signs from a biological aspect until they reach sexual maturity. Second, this period is marked from the social aspect when individuals experience psychological development where there is an identification pattern from children to adults. Finally, this period was marked by a transition from entire social and economic dependence to becoming more independent (Wirawan, 2002).

Practically, the adolescent period can be identified in terms of age. UN Resolution 36/28 of 1981 states that the teenage period is in the age range of 15-24 years. WHO determines the adolescent period to be in the age range of 10-24 years (WHO, 2015). In most cultures, adolescence begins at around 10-13 years and ends at approximately 18-22 years of age (Santrock, 2003).

However, there is also Monks (2009) who states that the age range for adolescents is 12-21 years, which is more specifically divided into three phases, namely: Early adolescence phase in the age range of 12-15 years, Middle adolescent phase in the age range 15-18 years, and Late adolescence phase in the 18-21 years age range.

In the individual socialization stages proposed by G. H. Mead, individual development is divided into three phases: the game stage, play stage, and generalized other. In the game stage, adolescence is in; the individual has developed from the play stage to the other phases. Individuals develop from imitating the social roles of other people to individuals who have performed general roles in accordance with general standards prevailing in society (Irawan, 2012).

Hormonal, physical, psychological, and social changes that occur sequentially in adolescents cause this period to be said to be a critical period (Batubara, 2016). Psychological and social changes, generally referred to as psychosocial changes are critical points of other changes. According to Anna Freud, these psychosocial changes are marked by changes in relationships with parents and orientation about the future for themselves (Jahja, 2011).

Psychosocial change includes three phases. Referring to Steinberg, Anderson, and Huebner quoted in Batubara (2016), the three phases are the early adolescence phase, the middle adolescent phase, and the late adolescent phase, each of which has different characteristics. The early adolescent phase occurs at the age of 12-14, where there are psychological changes, such as an identity crisis, increased verbal ability to express oneself, peer influence, and a lack of relationship with parents. Besides, the orientation about the future has not been formed significantly where they only think about the present. The middle adolescent phase occurs at the age of 15-17 years. In this phase, the relationship with parents is increasingly stretched. Teens begin to want to be separated from their parents, not wanting their parents to interfere in their lives.

On the other hand, the role of peers is essential to him. In this phase, adolescents are interested in the world of intellectuality and careers and have begun to be consistent with the future. Finally, the late adolescence phase occurs starting at the age of 18, marked by the attainment of physical maturity and the mindset. They already have a stronger self-identity, can think of ideas, express feelings in words, value others more, are more consistent with their interests, and are more emotionally stable. In this phase, adolescents have begun to accept the traditions and habits of their social environment. They also think more about their future, including the role they want in their social environment.

The psychosocial changes experienced by adolescents in these phases illustrate how adolescents experience changes in character from childhood to adulthood. "Storm & Stress" or period of "stormy and stressful" occurs because physical development moves in conjunction with development on the psychological side. Changes that occur concerning psychological matters include changes in emotion and intelligence, including feelings that are more sensitive, reactive, tendencies to fight, are critical, and like to try new things (Widyastuti, 2009). Furthermore, adolescents' pressure is also driven by demands that require adolescents to

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understand their function in dealing with children's attitudes and behavior to face adulthood. Regarding this, Hurlock mentioned that there are eleven tasks of adolescents to face adulthood, one of which is to have provisions in the form of values and a system of rules as guidelines for behavior and develop their principles/ideology (Widyastuti, 2009). In this stormy situation of psychosocial changes, adolescents experience psychological vulnerability.

The Psychosocial changes in adolescents become an opportunity for terrorist organizations because they realize that it is a critical phase. They have made various attempts to infiltrate radical ideology among teenagers. One of them is that they enter schools and colleges, which are indeed the center of youth activities through various activities, such as spiritual studies. By presenting radical ideology in formal institutions through such methods, it is hoped that teenagers will be able to reach the stage of self-identification as part of a terrorist group. At least they are committed to carrying out the doctrines that have been implanted and accept the values and norms of groups constructed by terrorist organizations. as the second and third stages of the four stages mentioned by Milla, Faturochman, and Ancok (2013).

Harpviken (2019) has proven psychological vulnerability as a determinant factor for acts of terrorism. In his research on the psychological vulnerability and extremism of adolescents in western countries, he found that the psychological vulnerability of adolescents plays a vital role in the development of extremism among Western youth. Of the 6 (six) psychological vulnerabilities of mental illness, traumatic experiences, early socialization, discriminatory experiences, social capital, and delinquency, all of them have contributed to encouraging adolescents to enter and become involved in terrorist organizations or even acts of terrorism. This influence depends in part on the interaction between psychological vulnerability and adolescent development.

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that adolescents involved in organizations and acts of terrorism actively or passively cannot be separated from the role of the social environment in which they are located. Adolescence encourages adolescents to try many new things to find identity and roles. At the same time, this period forces adolescents to experience various changes from within themselves, both hormonal, physical, psychological, and social changes that take place sequentially (Batubara, 2016). This situation causes adolescents to experience uncertainty often and feel unstable emotions. Meanwhile, from another angle, terrorist organizations see this situation as an excellent opportunity for recruitment with various strategies. They finally entered and played a significant role in influencing teenagers to join terrorist organizations. The percentage of 39% of the 7 (seven) leading universities in the country has shown success in this regard.

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The explanation in the sub-writings above has described how the position of children and adolescents has finally pushed them to become perpetrators of acts of terror. However, in this explanation, whether we realize it or not, children and adolescents who have the status of perpetrators can also be positioned as victims. Perpetrators of children and adolescents experience victimization, namely starting from the stage of child growth, the phase of development as a teenager until entering the criminal justice process. This section will explain how children and young people as perpetrators can be identified as victims.

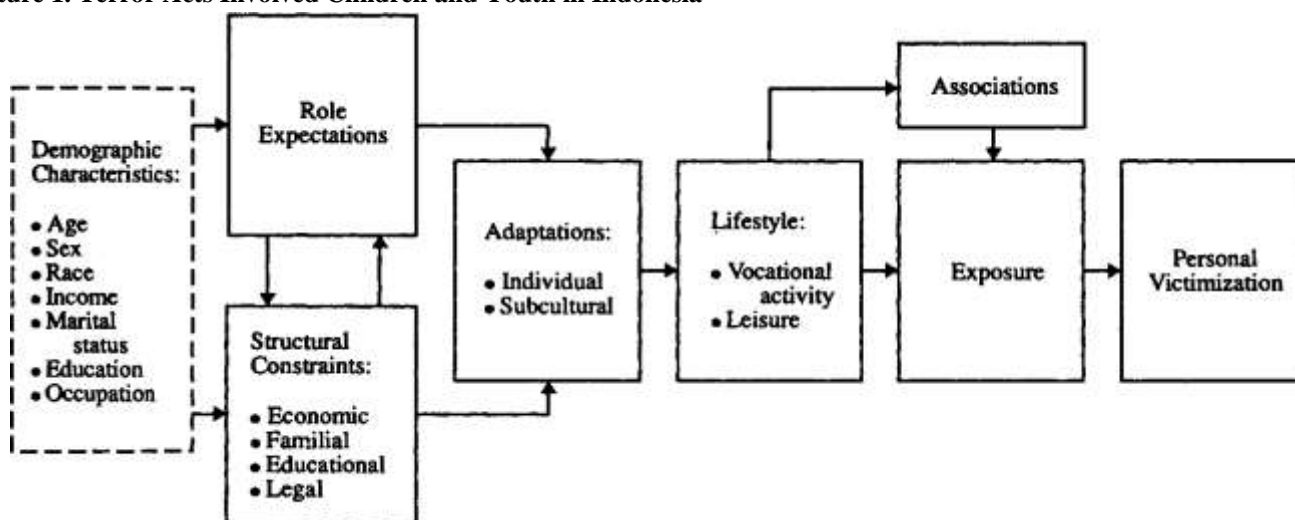
Before getting into further discussion, it is necessary first to understand the definition of victim. In simple terms, the victim can be understood as the party who experienced an injury, both physically and psychologically, for a crime (Shoham et al., 2010). Furthermore, the status of the victim is not only recognized when he experiences that makes him a victim but also when the outside world in social relations recognizes the status of the victim (Convery & Sardi, 2006; Shoham et al., 2010).

Related to the growth phase of children who grow up in an identical environment with radical ideology, the socialization process involving radical ideologies by socialization agents puts children in a position that has no choice. Radical values and norms internalized by socialization agents are understood as shared values and norms for them. They have no choice and consider whatever their parents give them as truth. Therefore, when they become actors, they have carried out the internalization of values and norms by their socialization agents.

In criminology, the influence of the environment as a determinant factor that encourages perpetrators to become involved in crime is discussed in positivist criminology. This flow essentially says that human behavior is the product of many environmental and cultural influences (Mustofa, 2007). Therefore, crime arises as a result of various factors, not just a single factor. In victimology theory, this can be explained by a lifestyle exposure theory or a theory of lifestyle exposure. This theory is the first theory that tries to explain victimization by involving demographic analysis (Wilson, 2009). This theory sees that demographic factors shape different lifestyles for each group in society. These different lifestyles impact the emergence of different risks of victimization (Doerner & Lab, 2012; Engström, 2018).

The birth of this theory is influenced by the existence of positivist criminology, which sees crime as a causal action where external factors play a significant role in giving birth to crime (Wolhuter et al., 2009). From this, Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1978), as the originators of this theory, see that the attributes attached to individuals as part of a lifestyle give rise to opportunities to become victims of certain crimes (Doerner & Lab, 2012). More specifically, here is an overview of the flow of the Lifestyle Exposure Theory explanation model (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978):

Picture 1. Terror Acts Involved Children and Youth in Indonesia



Source: (Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978 in Meier & Miethe, 1993)

The picture above shows that lifestyle is influenced by demographic characteristics, including age, gender, race, income, marital status, education, and occupation. Demographic characteristics shape the status and role of individuals in society. The existence of this status and roles encourages individuals to adapt to specific behavior patterns that form a lifestyle that each individual represents by specific attributes, such as clothes, gadgets, place of residence, and others. These attributes are captured as information that is associated with a particular crime by a potential perpetrator, thus placing the individual as a potential victim.

Even though it looks pretty situational, according to the author's view, this theory can also explain the situations experienced by children who grow up and are involved in radical groups. Child status and adherence to radical ideology can be identified as demographic characteristics. The role and status of children and families who are members of radical groups have consequences for the emergence of expectations of their social environment so that they practice the values and norms of radical groups that have been internalized by their families, especially from the environment of the radical groups in which they are located.

Like individuals in general, these children also go through a process of adaptation individually and culturally, shown in various forms, one of which is following each of the group's teachings. They learn, both from their peers and from adults whom they refer to as teachers. Here, there is a transmission of values and culture.

Such activities that take place continuously become a lifestyle. Its existence is marked by how much self-identification can be done as part of this radical group. Attributes such as clothing were seen as commonplace in this situation. For them, sacrifice is the most important. Finally, without realizing it, children are committed to be involved as perpetrators in acts of terrorism.

Entering the adolescent phase, a person experiences psychological vulnerability caused by various changes within himself, both hormonal, physical, psychological, and social changes that take place sequentially (Batubara, 2016). As previously stated, this vulnerability is then exploited by radical organizations to enter and instill radical ideologies.

The involvement of adolescents in radical groups can be understood as their efforts to remain obedient to the values and norms of their group. Children who grow up and are familiar with radical ideologies mainly develop in groups that are also radical. This phenomenon can be seen as a commitment to remain attached to the group. An explanation regarding this situation can refer to Reckless's Containment Theory (Wolfgang et al., 1970).

Containment Theory is a theory suggested as a substitution of a causal theory that falls into social control theory. This theory explains the self-defense that individuals have in society. Every individual is inseparable from a crime. This is because everyone has the opportunity to become a victim or perpetrator of a crime. However, with the existence of a "self-defense system" that each individual has in society, that individual will try to defend himself from behaviors that are constructed as deviant or evil actions by society.

Reckless assumes that there are several ways of defense so that individuals behave following the values and norms of society, namely internal defense and external defense. Internal defense is a unique defense mechanism that is within the individual himself. Meanwhile, external defense is a defense mechanism that is outside the individual. The following is a containment theory scheme:

**Table 2. Containment Theory**

<b>External defense</b>	<b>Internal defense</b>
Role structure that provides opportunities for individuals.	Good self-image in dealing with other people, groups, and institutions
Adequate and accountable limits for individuals as members.	Self-awareness as a goal-oriented person
An opportunity for each individual to achieve a status.	High tolerance for frustration
There is cohesion among members, including joint activities and togetherness.	Strongly internalized morals and ethics
Self-identification of one or more members of the group.	Good development of ego and superego
Determine alternative ways of seeking satisfaction (if previous ways of satisfaction have been closed).	

(Supatmi, Mamik Sri., & Herlina Permata Sari, 2007)

Based on the theoretical explanation above, Supatmi and Sari (2007) briefly explain that the two forts of defense/containment work as a defense/guard against deviations from social norms and legal norms, an insulator against the push and pull factors, and a protector against demoralization, and temptation. So, even if a cause leads a person to a behavior deviation, the two defenses can neutralize, eliminate, and make people directly deal with it.

Interestingly, the phenomenon of the involvement of children and adolescents in Indonesia is precise because they have a strong internal defense. They are trapped in radical teachings and groups because they try to be good children according to the teachings of Islam.

For example, the results of interviews conducted with AD sources show that he has a good self-image in dealing with other people, groups, and institutions. Because in the interview, he stated that he belonged to the Islamic group LDII (Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institute). Although it was not declared a radical group by the government, there were some differences of opinion with the majority Islamic community of Indonesia.

Even though they are different, AD speakers did not have problems making friends during junior high and high school. Also, he was appointed as the head of the youth organization in his area. In addition, when facing problems with his friends, he tries to resolve them by having a good discussion and apologizing for his mistakes.

*“I was introduced to close friends and school friends, and college so. In every social life, I try to make as minimal mistakes as possible to cause problems. Even if there is a problem with a friend, God willing, it will be quickly resolved. Hopefully, until this moment, I don't have any issues with my friends. I hope it's like that.”* (Interview AD, 9 March 2021)

While on the point of self-awareness as a goal-oriented person, almost all informants have this. For example, resource person DR, who since graduating from junior high school, has understood that he wants to continue to a boarding school. While AD already knew that he wanted to become an architect. However, this goal-oriented character is also support for teenagers to be involved in terrorism. For example, as DR mentioned, he created WhatsApp and Facebook groups to gather people who also wanted to go to Syria so that later they would be together to earn money and go together.

*“The hope (the formation of the group) that people will be interested in the caliphate earlier. If you are interested in me, you can meet other members, then if you can, meet up first. Make a recitation, keep looking for money to go there.”* (DR, Interview 10 March 2021)

Meanwhile, AD aims to help Muslims who are in trouble in Syria. The Army's desire to help was very high, and then he wished he could go to Syria and do jihad. However, AD was arrested for collecting some funds and then donating the funds to mujahid groups.

*“The movement that I did with my friends, yes, only what we can do to uphold Islamic law”* (Interview AD, 9 March 2021)

The two interviewees also showed a high tolerance for frustration when they were faced with problems. Nevertheless, they remain patient in dealing with these problems. AD, for example, often listens to his mother's issues, and sometimes his mother also often spills her emotions to AD. But AD understands this.

*“For example, if my brother has something that makes his mother uncomfortable. Most mothers get angry, even though there are still feelings that are buried. Well usually bestow his feelings on me. But I have never responded positively and negatively*

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because I know this mother will make her heart neutral again. That's why I smile. I accept it because I know the mother intends to neutralize the heart first.” (Interview AD, 9 March 2021)

As for DR, because his high school friends beat him, he did not report it to the teacher and instead did some introspection because when he was in kindergarten-elementary school, he realized that he used to be naughty, so now his friends take revenge on him.

Both interviewees were educated in families with strong Islamic values so that the internalization of religious values within them was also strong enough until they were teenagers. AD and DR have never committed any crime before. In addition, both have also continued their education at Islamic boarding schools in their respective regions. This supports the implementation of strong values and morals in them not to commit serious violations. Although DR stated that he was naughty because he often played truant when he was at the Islamic boarding school, students generally carried out this action when they were bored. In addition, the figure of AD became a figure who was admired by society for being a good teenager, obedient to parents, having a good education, and good religion. This then indicates that the socialization of religious norms and values is going very well for them.

Unfortunately, on the sixth point, namely the good development of ego and superego, this study did not measure the development of the two informants' ego and superego, so no description was obtained regarding this matter.

### CONCLUSION

Based on the interviews conducted, internal defense points generally act as barriers for teenagers to commit deviance and delinquency. However, in the context of terrorism, it plays the opposite role. These points encourage and strengthen the youth's motivation to join terror groups. They try to be good children following the religious values they believe in until finally exposed to the importance of radicalism. So what they do by joining a terror group in Indonesia illustrates the strength of their internal defense.

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