



# The process of implementing the role of social workers in the rehabilitation of children in conflict with the law due to deviant behavior in gang fights

Zalfa Fakhirah<sup>1,\*</sup>, Sari Viciawati Machdum<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Social Welfare, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 10430, Indonesia.

\*Correspondence: zalfa.fakhirah@ui.ac.id

Received Date: October 19, 2025

Revised Date: January 24, 2026

Accepted Date: January 27, 2026

## ABSTRACT

**Background:** Juveniles in conflict with the law/*Anak yang Berhadapan dengan Hukum (ABH)* involved in gang fights represent a distinct challenge for social workers, as these cases are characterized by collective violence rooted in peer pressure, solidarity, and revenge. Unlike other cases of deviant behavior, such as theft or drug abuse, gang fights are often repetitive, organized, and tied to self-affirmation. Social workers play multidimensional roles, ranging from protection and service provision to counseling, advocacy, mediation, and reintegration efforts, requiring a comprehensive and adaptive intervention approach. **Methods:** This study employed a qualitative descriptive approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, field observations, and document reviews with six senior and junior social workers who directly handled ABH cases involving gang fights. **Findings:** The research findings reveal that interventions by social workers involve several stages, including relationship building, biopsychosocial assessment, individualized service planning, psychosocial interventions, legal process accompaniment, and reintegration efforts. Social workers use empathetic and family-oriented approaches to foster trust while providing services such as counseling, therapy, values education, and vocational training. Rehabilitation strategies emphasize strengthening self-control, emotional management, and resilience against peer influence. Obstacles identified include heavy workloads due to ATENSI service responsibilities and limited time for intensive interaction with ABH. **Conclusion:** Social workers serve as key agents of change in rehabilitating juveniles involved in gang fights. Their roles extend beyond rehabilitation within institutions to include reintegration into families and communities, aiming to build social support systems that prevent recidivism. Effective interventions require not only technical expertise but also adaptive, reflective, and participatory approaches aligned with the children's complex social dynamics. **Novelty/Originality of this article:** This study provides unique insights into the role of social workers in handling ABH engaged in gang fights, a relatively underexplored area compared to other forms of juvenile delinquency. It highlights the complexity of interventions required, showing how social workers integrate legal accompaniment, psychosocial services, and community reintegration strategies to address the multifaceted challenges of collective juvenile violence.

**KEYWORDS:** juvenile delinquency; gang fights; social work; rehabilitation.

## 1. Introduction

The phenomenon of deviant behavior among children and adolescents remains a serious problem in Indonesia. According to the Chair of the Indonesian Child Protection Commission/*Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia (KPAI)* on the Detiknews (2024), throughout 2023 there were 3,883 complaints related to violations of children's rights and protection. Meanwhile, data from the National Law Development Agency/*Badan Pembinaan*

### Cite This Article:

Fakhirah, Z., & Machdum, S. V. (2026). The process of implementing the role of social workers in the rehabilitation of children in conflict with the law due to deviant behavior in gang fights. *Journal of Socio-Cultural Sustainability and Resilience*, 3(2), 135-151. <https://doi.org/10.61511/jscsr.v3i2.2026.2415>

**Copyright:** © 2026 by the authors. This article is distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).



*Hukum Nasional (BPHN)* shows that between 2020 and 2022, there were 2,302 cases of child criminals who received legal assistance from National Law Development Agency (Putra, 2023). Deviant behavior in children includes various forms, including theft, abuse, drug abuse, bullying, and physical violence such as gang fights (National Crime Information Center, 2025). One of the most common forms of deviant behavior is gang fighting, which is collective violence often carried out by teenagers and involving peer groups. Gang fights committed by children or adolescents fall under the category of juvenile delinquency, which is a form of deviant behavior committed by adolescents that violates social and legal norms. The perpetrators are categorized as Children in Conflict with the Law, referred to as juveniles in conflict with the law, and require special handling in the juvenile criminal justice system.

In its development, crimes committed by children often cause unrest in society, especially physical violence such as gang fights. In this context, children's emotions, which are still not fully stable, and the perception that fighting is a brave and heroic act, often trigger mass fights between students, known as gang fights (Nugroho et al., 2024). Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency/*Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS)*, the percentage of cases of student or university student brawls in Indonesia has fluctuated from 2014 to 2021. In 2014, brawls were recorded in 0.40% of villages or sub-districts in Indonesia. This figure increased in 2018 to 0.65%, but decreased again to 0.22% in 2021. Despite this decline, tawuran still occurs frequently, especially in big cities such as Jakarta. According to police records, the Central Jakarta area experienced an increase in gang fights in June-July 2023, which were dominated by teenagers, both students and school dropouts (Olivia & Movanita, 2023). Gang fights are a worrying form of social deviance because, in addition to causing physical casualties, they also reinforce a culture of violence among teenagers (Pradana et al., 2024; Moitra et al., 2018). In addition, gang fights also affect children's futures and have the potential to impact social order, as continuous acts of violence can normalize aggressive behavior and damage the social structure of the community. Children involved in gang fights are vulnerable to psychological disorders, social stigma, and obstacles in their educational and social development processes. Therefore, handling children with gang fighting deviant behavior is not enough through legal channels alone, but also requires social rehabilitation that is restorative and sustainable.

According to Minister of Social Affairs Regulation Number 09 Article 1 of 2015, social rehabilitation is defined as efforts to restore and develop an individual's abilities so that they can function socially again and be accepted in society. Furthermore, in the Child Protection Law Article 10, it is emphasized that the goal of social rehabilitation for children with disabilities is to restore their social functioning, which includes the ability to carry out social roles, fulfill their rights, solve problems, actualize themselves, and develop their potential in a supportive social environment. In line with this, Abidin (2019) also states that rehabilitation is a process of recovery from a dysfunctional condition to a better state, not only physically and psychologically, but also socially. In the context of children with deviant behavior such as gang fighting, social rehabilitation is crucial to help children manage their emotions, change aggressive mindsets, and prevent recidivism. This is also in line with Law No. 11 of 2012 concerning the Criminal Justice System for Children, which emphasizes the importance of restorative justice and the implementation of diversion as a top priority in handling children in conflict with the law. Imposing criminal penalties on children is a last resort if other alternatives that are more beneficial to the child are not possible (Anwar & Wijaya, 2019).

Without proper social rehabilitation, children are at risk of being trapped in a cycle of repeated deviant behavior, experiencing more serious psychosocial disorders, and encountering difficulties in reintegrating into society. Therefore, social rehabilitation is not only important but also an urgent need in efforts to protect children and prevent repeat offenses in the future. In the implementation of rehabilitation, the role of social workers is crucial in ensuring that the recovery process is effective and sustainable. Utami (2023) research discusses the role of social workers in the rehabilitation of children with behavioral disorders, specifically those who have committed sexual violence. However, the

implementation of rehabilitation still faces various obstacles, such as a lack of monitoring forms, minimal post-rehabilitation services, and limited access to employment and education, requiring synergy between institutions. Furthermore, Ramdani (2020a) research shows that generalist social workers in Yogyakarta use a systemic approach in intervening with child victims of sexual violence, with a process that complies with Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 22 of 2014.

Interventions are carried out through verbal and nonverbal communication, family therapy, and collaboration with medical and psychological personnel, which have proven effective in recovering from severe trauma. Meanwhile, Andari (2020) research emphasizes that community-based social assistance is very important in supporting the rehabilitation process and strengthening the social welfare of juveniles in conflict with the law, especially in the context of children with limited access and vulnerable groups. In general, the four pieces of literature reinforce that the role of social workers is very strategic in the rehabilitation process of juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant behavior, whether through individual, systemic, or collaborative approaches with various related parties.

On the topic of deviant behavior, there are three pieces of literature that discuss the causes and prevention of deviant behavior. The first piece of literature by Urien (2024) shows that low self-esteem and peer pressure have a significant relationship with the tendency for deviant behavior among students. These findings emphasize the importance of the social environment, such as family, school, and peers, in shaping adolescents' resilience to prevent delinquency. The second literature by Albakova et al. (2020) highlights the importance of a structured psychological and pedagogical approach to prevent deviant behavior through three stages of intervention, namely primary (early prevention), secondary (intervention in at-risk groups), and tertiary (rehabilitation for offenders).

This study also emphasizes the importance of inter-agency coordination in supporting adolescents with deviant behavior. Meanwhile, the third literature by Jasmisari & Herdiansah (2022) shows that the socioeconomic status of the family is a major factor that encourages juvenile delinquency. The gap between social expectations and limited access to education and parenting creates psychological pressure that leads to delinquency, both minor and major.

Then, on the theme of rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant behavior, there are three pieces of literature reviewed. The first piece of literature, Savero et al. (2024), emphasizes that social guidance provided by social workers can help juveniles in conflict with the law develop social skills, adapt to social norms, and build self-confidence, which are important components in changing deviant behavior. Furthermore, the Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) approach used in the study by Erawati (2024) provides evidence that deviant behavior, such as smoking and alcohol addiction in juveniles in conflict with the law, can be minimized through structured individual counseling. This approach helps children realize the root causes of their deviant behavior and trains them to respond healthily to social and emotional pressures. Meanwhile, a study by Pradana et al. (2024) shows the importance of an organized social rehabilitation system. Although social rehabilitation programs have been implemented, their success is greatly influenced by the presence and competence of social workers, as well as the availability of support personnel such as psychiatrists. The lack of professional human resources and weak communication with the community hinder the social reintegration of juveniles in conflict with the law after rehabilitation. This confirms that the success of rehabilitating juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant behavior depends not only on the method, but also on the structure of the program implementers and environmental support.

Based on previous research, it has been mentioned that there have been earlier studies that also examined the role of social workers in the rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law at the Handayani Center (Hidayah et al., 2023). However, these researchers focused more on juveniles in conflict with the law with sexually deviant behavior. Meanwhile, in this study, the researchers wanted to examine the process of implementing the role of social workers in the rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law, particularly juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant gang fighting behavior. Thus, the

researcher wants to see whether the process of implementing the role of social workers for juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant sexual violence behavior and juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant gang fighting behavior will be the same or different. Considering that these two types of deviant behavior have different characteristics. Then, the driving and inhibiting factors in the process of implementing the role of social workers in the rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law also need to be explored further.

## 2. Methods

### 2.1 Approach and type of research

The rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant behavior in gang fights at the Handayani Center is carried out gradually and emphasizes continuous assistance by social workers. Therefore, a qualitative approach was chosen so that researchers could explore the dynamics of rehabilitation and understand the social experiences of the parties more comprehensively. The qualitative approach is a research strategy that emphasizes the use of words in the data collection and analysis process, as well as using an inductive approach in explaining the relationship between theory and research data. This approach explains how individuals interpret and view social reality as a constantly changing construct (Bryman, 2012). In addition, this approach is flexible and interpretive, allowing researchers to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the various findings that emerge during the research process. Through this approach, this study aims to describe the process of social workers' roles in the rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant behavior, as well as to identify the factors that support and hinder its implementation. Based on its purpose, there are three types of research, namely exploratory research which aims to explore new topics, descriptive research which aims to describe social phenomena, and explanatory research which aims to explain why an event occurs (Neuman, 2014). Considering the focus of the research to be achieved, this study uses descriptive research to describe in detail and depth the process of role implementation by social workers in the rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant behavior of gang fighting, as well as to identify the factors that support and hinder its implementation.

Descriptive research allows researchers to understand social realities and specific contexts, with the aim of providing a comprehensive picture of a particular situation or event, by answering basic questions such as who, when, where, and how the event occurred, without exploring the cause-and-effect relationship (Neuman, 2014). There are two types of research based on their benefits, namely basic research and applied research. Basic research, also known as academic or pure research, is a type of research designed to advance fundamental knowledge about how the world works and to test theoretical explanations (Neuman, 2014). Meanwhile, applied research is a type of research designed to provide practical solutions (Neuman, 2014). When viewed in terms of its benefits, this research falls under basic research, as it was designed with the aim of deepening knowledge about the process of implementing the role of social workers in the rehabilitation of children with behavioral problems who engage in gang fights, as well as the supporting and inhibiting factors in the implementation of rehabilitation assistance. The location and time of the research will be described below to provide a clearer picture.

### 2.2 Location and time of research

This study was conducted at Sentra Handayani Jakarta, the Sentra Handayani is a center for social services and rehabilitation for children with disabilities/*anak yang berhadapan dengan hukum* (ABH) using an institutional approach. The main focus of this institution is to provide rehabilitation services to PPKS from all categories, including ABH. The location of this study was chosen because Sentra Handayani is a Technical Service Unit under the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs that has handled more than three thousand

children and has social workers who are directly involved in the ABH rehabilitation process (Manalu, 2022). This institution has a national scope of service and plays an important role in handling ABH cases. In addition, in Manalu (2022) states that Jakarta ranks first in the number of ABH cases, making Sentra Handayani the referral rehabilitation center for ABH in the Jakarta area and its surroundings. Not only that, Sentra Handayani is also the only center under KEMENSOS that implements a foster care system and provides special psychosocial support services, including psychosocial therapy as part of rehabilitation efforts for ABH (Sentra Handayani, 2025a). Based on the time of implementation, this study is classified as cross-sectional because it was conducted in a specific period (Neuman, 2014), namely between January and May 2025. This study describes the conditions of as they were at the time the data was collected, without looking at changes that occurred over time.

### *2.3 Data collection techniques*

In this study, data collection techniques were carried out using several methods adapted to a qualitative research approach, namely the collection of narrative data, both in the form of words and images (Neuman, 2014). The data used in this study came from two types of sources, namely primary data and secondary data. Secondary data was obtained in advance through literature studies, which included documents, archives, and various other reading materials relevant to the research topic. Furthermore, primary data in this study was obtained through in-depth interviews and observations of the research subjects to explore more detailed information in line with the research focus. Reinforcing the previous statement, Marshall and Rossman in Patton (2002) explain that the use of interviews, observations, and literature studies can simultaneously increase the validity of findings through a cross-verification process. Therefore, the combination of these three methods complements each other and allows researchers to obtain more accurate and comprehensive data.

### *2.4 Data analysis techniques*

Data analysis techniques are the process of organizing and structuring data by grouping it into specific patterns, categories, and descriptions to facilitate the interpretation process (Patton, 2002). This study uses qualitative data analysis techniques, namely by processing and examining data systematically to suit the research objectives. The data obtained is then analyzed and interpreted to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being studied. The analysis technique in this study refers to the analysis technique developed by Neuman (2014), which includes the processes of conceptualization and coding. Conceptualization helps researchers organize and simplify data so that it is easier to understand. In this process, data is categorized based on themes, concepts, or similar elements. Through this stage, researchers can develop new concepts, formulate conceptual definitions, and explore the relationships between concepts that emerge from field findings. After the data conceptualization process, the next step in data analysis is coding. Data coding is done with the aim of converting raw data into a concept or theme. According to Miles et al. (2014), codes are labels that assign symbolic meaning to the data that has been collected.

## **3. Results and Discussion**

### *3.1 Monitoring and evaluation*

At this stage, social workers will observe the progress of juveniles in conflict with the law, such as whether they obey the rules, participate in all activities, show changes in behavior, and so on. This progress is recorded in a progress report kept by each social worker. To monitor the progress of the PM, social workers will coordinate with foster

parents in the dormitory, psychologists, vocational instructors, religious instructors, and other parties involved with the beneficiaries. As stated by Informant TN as follows.

*"In monitoring and evaluation, we cannot do it alone, because we also have other tasks to do. So, when it comes to the children, we meet more often with foster parents, instructors, and so on, so we usually coordinate with them the most. For example, we also go to the psychologist, foster parents, to find out how the development is going, whether they are showing positive traits or not, things like that." (TN).*

Then, usually, the evaluation of juveniles in conflict with the law progress is not only done unilaterally, but through a discussion forum involving various parties who accompany the child during the rehabilitation period. For example, if it is found that the child's behavior does not show positive changes, or even influences other children to commit violations, a case conference will be held (Hidayat et al., 2024). In this forum, each party, such as vocational instructors, nurses, psychologists, social workers, and foster parents, will present their observations and assessments of the child's progress. From there, the social worker and the team will discuss and determine the next steps to be taken, including whether the child will be discharged. Even before discharge, an evaluation through a CC will still be carried out to ensure the readiness of the child and the receiving environment. As stated by the following informant, WN as follows.

*"For evaluations, we usually hold CC meetings, for example, if there is a child whose behavior has not changed for the better, or perhaps that child is having a negative or bad influence on other children. At the CC meeting, we discuss why the child is like that, and we also ask about the child's development from various parties involved, such as vocational instructors, nurses, psychologists, and foster parents. That's where they report on what the child is like. After that, we discuss what to do going forward." (MM).*

In addition, the TN informant also said that if during the rehabilitation process the juveniles in conflict with the law shows positive progress, such as becoming more disciplined in performing religious duties such as praying on time or diligently reciting the Quran, then this will be an important consideration in the evaluation. These behavioral changes are usually reported through daily monitoring results from various parties involved in the child's assistance. If these reports show significant progress, the institution will hold a CC to discuss the child's development in more depth. Through the CC, the team will consider the possibility of granting rehabilitation leniency, such as shortening the duration of service, as a form of reward for the positive changes that the child has achieved while at the institution.

*"If we can see this from his development, oh yes, his character is slowly changing for the better, and he is also diligent in reciting the Quran and always prays on time. Well, usually when there are reports from the monitoring results, we also hold a CC, because we also strive to ensure that the child's behavior has improved, so we strive to get leniency or shorten the rehabilitation period, like that" (TN).*

Then, the researchers also triangulated with informant DN as the supervisor. Informant DN said something similar, that the process of monitoring juveniles in conflict with the law development was carried out collaboratively with various parties directly involved in the child's daily life. These parties included foster parents, religious instructors, vocational instructors, as well as the health and psychologist teams. Each party periodically provided reports on changes in the child's behavior, discipline, and participation in various activities during the rehabilitation period (Kataja et al., 2022; Krefting, 1991). The informant also added that the results of this monitoring were not only internal records but also key material in the implementation of CC. In CC, all relevant parties sat together to discuss the child's development comprehensively and in depth. The results of these discussions are

used to determine the next steps to be taken, such as whether it is necessary to change the intervention strategy, add certain therapies, or even consider returning the child home if they are deemed to have made significant progress. Thus, the monitoring and evaluation process at the Center is not one-way, but participatory.

### *3.2 Termination and post-rehabilitation*

The termination stage is the final phase of the social worker's role in the rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant behavior. This stage is carried out when the child is assessed to have made significant progress, both psychologically, behaviorally, and socially, so that they are considered ready to return to their original environment. Termination is carried out by reviewing the evaluation process and thorough coordination with various related parties. Based on the account of informant DK, the post-rehabilitation stage is an important part of ensuring the continuity of the juveniles in conflict with the law recovery process. This is because the focus is not only on the readiness of the juveniles in conflict with the law, but also on the readiness of the family as the party that will continue the role of assistance. Then, usually about one to two weeks before discharge, social workers conduct a re-evaluation with the Head of the Residential Working Group and the family to assess the child's condition and readiness. If necessary, the rehabilitation period can be extended. However, if deemed sufficient, social workers will provide reinforcement to the family in the form of information about the child's character, psychological results, and further guidance, so that the family can continue the rehabilitation process appropriately at home.

The post-rehabilitation stage is actually a very important part of the overall rehabilitation process, because it is not only the child who is being prepared, but also the family who will continue to provide support after the child returns to their original environment. Therefore, we usually establish communication with the family, especially as the time of discharge approaches, so that we can be more intensive. Then, usually about one to two weeks before the child is discharged, we typically consult with the head of the Residential Working Group and the family to evaluate the child's condition and progress. If it is found that the child still needs additional rehabilitation, the process will be extended. However, if it is deemed sufficient and nothing else needs to be added, then during the last two weeks we will usually provide reinforcement to the family regarding the child's character and special needs, including psychological results and other important notes, so that the family can continue the rehabilitation process well at home. Complementing the previous findings, informant MM said that social workers also coordinate with social services or neighborhood associations in the juveniles in conflict with the law neighborhood to coordinate them again. However, this is also a challenge, as these parties typically do not pay much attention to juveniles in conflict with the law.

*"Actually, we also coordinate with the social services agency or RT/RW, but they cannot continuously monitor the situation. At least we maintain communication."* (MM)

To reinforce the previous findings, the researchers triangulated the data with supervisors who were involved in overseeing the activities of social workers at the Handayani Center. Based on the triangulation results, it was found that the implementation of the social workers' roles was generally in accordance with the standards set by the institution and reflected the principles of social work oriented towards the needs and recovery of children in need of protection. In practice, the role of social workers involves several main stages. First, at the assessment stage, social workers identify the needs, problems, and potential of children through interviews, observations, and the collection of biopsychosocial data. This stage forms the basis for developing an intervention plan. Second, the planning stage involves designing relevant interventions based on the assessment results and involving juveniles in conflict with the law and their families in agreeing on the form of services to be provided. Third, in the implementation stage, social

workers carry out the planned interventions, such as counseling, therapy, vocational training, and coordination with relevant parties. Fourth, in the monitoring and evaluation stage, social workers monitor the child's progress, evaluate the effectiveness of services, and make adjustments if necessary. Finally, in the termination stage, social workers prepare the child and family for the social reintegration process, including providing reinforcement and important information related to the child's condition. Thus, the actions taken in the process of implementing the role of social workers are appropriate.

### *3.3 The role of social workers in the rehabilitation of children with deviant behavior involving gang fighting*

Based on field findings, a number of informants stated that social workers play a major role in carrying out a series of activities aimed at rehabilitating juveniles in conflict with the law. Informant DK explained that social workers also perform various other functional roles, such as advocating for children's right to education before the school, especially when children are threatened with expulsion due to legal cases they are facing. In such situations, social workers strive to ensure that children can continue their education, or at least leave school in a manner that does not violate their rights and dignity. In addition to being advocates, they also act as brokers or mediators in the mediation and diversion process, as well as facilitators in the implementation of online learning activities for children who are still in school. Their role also extends to being mentors, motivators, and implementers of interventions that are adaptive to the dynamic needs of each child. Although social workers perform many functions at once, the main goal of all these roles remains the same, namely to provide the best service for the welfare and future of children with disabilities.

*"There are many roles that social workers play. For example, as advocates, we provide advocacy, especially to schools. This is because children who are in conflict with the law are often threatened with expulsion from school. Schools usually want to protect their reputation and have their own rules. So we try to advocate for these children to remain in school. If that is not possible, we at least ask that the expulsion process be handled properly, for example, through a letter of resignation rather than a unilateral dismissal letter. Because, yes, they did make a mistake, but their basic rights, such as education, must still be fulfilled. In addition to being advocates, we also sometimes act as brokers during the mediation or diversion process, as mediators. Then there is also the role of facilitator, for example, for children who are still in school but usually online. So, I have to prepare the room and decide who the companion will be, usually from the Residential Working Group because they are in charge of the location. There are many other roles, such as mentor, motivator, and so on. But if asked to explain each one, many social workers might be confused. Because we do everything, but sometimes we don't know which role it falls under. What's important to us is providing the best service for the children."* (DK)

In line with the information provided by informant DK, informant TN added that social workers play a very crucial and significant role among other professions involved in the recovery process of juveniles in conflict with the law. The main focus of this role is on psychosocial recovery, to help juveniles in conflict with the law recover their emotional, social, and psychological conditions so that they can function again in a social environment. In carrying out this task, social workers also act as case managers, which means they are responsible for coordinating the various parties involved in the rehabilitation process, such as psychologists, nurses, caregivers, skills instructors, and teachers.

*"... conducting psychosocial rehabilitation for children in conflict with the law as perpetrators, children in conflict with the law, and children as victims or witnesses. So their role is indeed the most important and significant among other professions. Because social workers here are like case managers, between their colleagues who are*

*psychologists, nurses, caregivers, instructors, or teachers, the core and center of it all is the social workers. So the main task of social workers is more about the psychosocial recovery of juveniles in conflict with the law themselves. It starts from the initial intake, the intake engagement process, then moves into assessment, in-depth interviews, and so on, where the includes counseling, small talks, motivation, or other activities. This also includes identifying their needs." (TN).*

In addition, social workers also act as surrogate parents for juveniles in conflict with the law during their rehabilitation period. Social workers play a key role in guiding the child's development, both in designing rehabilitation plans and overcoming obstacles that may be encountered during activities. All activities and needs of the child are under the supervision and permission of social workers, including important decisions related to education, health, and social interactions of children within the institution.

*"Let's say that the children here have no parents. I am their surrogate parent who will guide them on what their future will be like while they are here and what their future plans are. The parents are also involved, right? The children may have been placed here due to factors related to their parents as well. Therefore, the social worker here is responsible for determining how the child should be guided, what their needs are, and so on. If the child faces any obstacles, the social worker will take responsibility, because any activities or events involving the child must be known to and approved by the social worker." (AZ)*

Based on the results of the researcher's observations during the data collection process at the Handayani Center, it is clear that social workers play various roles in the rehabilitation process of juveniles in conflict with the law. For example, during social guidance activities, social workers actively interact with juveniles in conflict with the law. They not only act as facilitators of activities, but also build emotional closeness with juveniles in conflict with the law through casual communication, personal greetings, and active responses to questions or stories shared by juveniles in conflict with the law. This shows the application of their role as companions and motivators. In addition, during informal moments such as lunch or after sports activities, social workers also maintain interaction.

Table 1. Findings on the implementation of social workers' roles in the rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant behavior involving gang fights

Social Worker Roles in Rehabilitating Gang-Involved Youth		Summary
Process of Implementing the Role of Social Workers	Relationship building and trust building	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Application of a personal and humanistic approach.</li> <li>2. Social workers try to get to know juveniles in conflict with the law by finding out their interests, engaging in small talk, and providing activity media such as books, toys, or notebooks according to juveniles in conflict with the law interests.</li> <li>3. Trust is built through a consistent, empathetic, and non-coercive approach.</li> <li>4. Social workers establish a service contract at the outset to provide an understanding of the rights and obligations of juveniles in conflict with the law during the rehabilitation process.</li> <li>5. Some juveniles in conflict with the law feel close to social workers, while others do not.</li> </ol>
	Assessment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The stages involve identifying the needs, potential, understanding of the problem, and resources possessed by the juveniles in conflict with the law.</li> </ol>

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Designing and Determining Interventions for juveniles in conflict with the law</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. The assessment process cannot be generalized across juveniles in conflict with the law, as each child's condition is different.</li> <li>3. There is a worksheet that contains data on the ABH (family data, educational history, history of legal violations, institutions that refer juveniles in conflict with the law, the biopsychosocial condition of juveniles in conflict with the law, problems experienced, service needs, how ABH spends their free time, potential and resources, as well as the background and impact of the cases faced by juveniles in conflict with the law).</li> <li>4. There are several tools used to deepen the understanding of the ABH's condition, including the hope balloon, body mapping, mobile life, self-reflection, social life, and strengths and weaknesses.</li> <li>5. Assessment can continue throughout the handling process.</li> </ol>  |
| <p>Support for juveniles in conflict with the law</p>                                 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Interventions are designed based on the results of the initial assessment and observations at Rumah Antara, where social workers identify the needs, problems, and potential of ABH with deviant behavior. Observations include behavior, emotional responses, and the specific needs of the child.</li> <li>2. Interventions are designed on an individual basis (case-by- case) because each child's condition is different. The determination of interventions is carried out with the involvement of the ABH and related parties and is adjusted to the characteristics of the case at hand. The ABH will be transferred to a dormitory if they are deemed stable enough to participate in further rehabilitation activities.</li> <li>3. The intervention is designed to be flexible and can be readjusted based on the results of periodic evaluations during the assistance process.</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Support in court is when the child has not yet been sentenced (still in custody), social workers provide assistance from the beginning of the legal process, including the police (BAP), diversion process, transfer of P21 files, to the trial.</li> <li>2. Social workers provide emotional support, explain the trial process, and ensure that the child's rights are fulfilled during the legal process.</li> <li>3. In the diversion and restorative justice processes (regulated in the Child Criminal Justice System Law (SPPA)), social workers are involved in providing recommendations related to the handling of children, developmental assessments, and rehabilitation plans. Social workers can even provide direct input in court if they are certified in SPPA.</li> <li>4. Fulfillment of the basic rights of children, these basic rights include physical needs such as food, clothing, and personal hygiene. In addition, children in the care of the state also have the right to education, either through non-formal schools (SLB-E), skills training, and social guidance. Furthermore, protection and care are provided so that every child in the care of the state continues to receive adequate support while in the institution.</li> </ol> |

	Monitoring and Evaluation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Counseling is an important element in rehabilitation, as it aims to restore emotional well-being and shape positive behavior. Counseling can be conducted individually or in groups, covering activities such as sharing feelings, providing motivation, small talk, and emotional reinforcement.</li> <li>6. Therapy is efforts to restore the psychological and emotional well-being of ABH with deviant behavior. The therapy provided varies, ranging from physical therapy, psychosocial therapy, to mental therapy, which is tailored to the needs and assessment results of each ABH.</li> <li>7. Social guidance aims to shape the mindset and social behavior of ABH so that they can readjust to social norms and develop social skills. ABH are encouraged to improve their attitude and interact with others, while also reflecting on their past erroneous mindsets and actions</li> <li>8. Family strengthening is organizing family support programs in the form of regular meetings that serve as education and psychosocial reinforcement for families. Then, during family visits, social workers hold group discussions for parents or guardians so they can share their experiences and parenting strategies after rehabilitation.</li> </ol>
	Termination and post-rehabilitation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Social workers coordinate with other parties within the institution (foster parents in the dormitory, psychologists, vocational instructors, religious instructors, etc.).</li> <li>2. Evaluation is conducted through case conferences (CC), attended by other parties involved in the ABH rehabilitation process.</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Termination occurs when the child is assessed to have made significant progress, both psychologically, behaviorally, and socially, and is considered ready to return to their original environment. This is done by reviewing the ABH evaluation.</li> <li>2. Social workers also coordinate with social services or the neighborhood association (RT/RW) in the ABH's living environment.</li> <li>3. Preparation of the ABH and family for reintegration.</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Social workers play a major role in the rehabilitation process of children with deviant behavior by acting as advocates in fighting for the children's rights to education, brokers in mediation and diversion, facilitators, mentors, and motivators.</li> <li>2. Social workers also serve as case managers responsible for coordinating the various parties involved in the rehabilitation process, such as psychologists, nurses, caregivers, skills instructors, and teachers.</li> <li>3. Social workers also act as surrogate parents for ABH during their rehabilitation period.</li> </ol>

Furthermore, the Handayan center occasionally approach children to chat casually about the activities they are doing or simply ask how they are doing. These interactions, although seemingly simple, are an important part of building trust in accompanying the juveniles in conflict with the law behavioral change process. Thus, it can be concluded that the role of social workers is not limited to formal activities but is integrated into the daily lives of the children at the Center.

Table 2. The process of implementing the role of social workers in the rehabilitation of ABH with deviant behavior (gang fighting)

The Role of Social Workers in <i>Tawuran</i> Analysis		Rehabilitation
Process of Implementation Based on the concept of Planned Change GIM	Intake and Engagement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. As enablers, social workers create a supportive environment so that ABH can recognize their own needs and potential.</li> <li>2. The role of broker is also evident when social workers bridge the needs of ABH with available rehabilitation facilities, including recommending services according to the characteristics of ABH.</li> <li>3. The role of counselor, through in-depth interviews and informal initial counseling to explore the emotional and social background of ABH.</li> </ol>
The role of social workers Based on the concept (Parsons et al., 1994; Zastrow, 2017)	Assessment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The role of enabler involves social workers' efforts to encourage clients to recognize their needs and develop their capacity for change.</li> <li>2. The role as counselor and researcher, because while fostering relationships with ABH, they also conduct in-depth exploration to gain a comprehensive understanding that forms the basis for further intervention.</li> </ol>
	Planning and Intervention	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The role of social workers as enablers becomes apparent when they encourage the active participation of ABH in social, vocational, and religious guidance activities to rebuild their self-esteem and potential, which had previously been hindered by deviant experiences and legal processes.</li> <li>2. The role as a broker prioritizes the fulfillment of children's basic rights as a whole</li> <li>3. The role of mediator during court proceedings in diversion or mediation processes.</li> <li>4. The role of advocate, advocating for ABH not to be expelled from school and striving to ensure they can continue their education after rehabilitation. In addition, ABH in the legal process prepare social reports for consideration by judges and prosecutors, and ensure children have access to rehabilitation services.</li> <li>5. The role of educator involves their active involvement in educational activities and value formation (SLB-E and social guidance).</li> <li>6. The role of social worker counselors is to provide counseling in the form of emotional and psychosocial support to ABH, especially when they face trauma, anxiety, or personal conflicts.</li> </ol>
	Monitoring and Evaluation,	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The role as a broker by becoming a case manager, so that social workers are responsible for coordinating the various parties involved in the rehabilitation process, such as psychologists, nurses, caregivers, skills instructors, and teachers.</li> <li>2. The role of evaluator, where they systematically analyze changes in children's behavior based on daily reports, observations, and interviews.</li> <li>3. The role of facilitator in CC, managing discussions and ensuring that each party can express their views.</li> <li>4. The role of empowerer is evident when children who show positive changes are given appreciation in the form of a reduction in their rehabilitation period.</li> </ol>

<p>Based on Hasenfeld's theory of people-changing (Hasenfeld, 2010)</p>	<p>Termination and Monitoring</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. The role of the advocate is to indirectly fight for the needs and progress of the child so that they remain primary consideration in the decision-making process.</li> <li>1. The role of the educator and empowerer is to equip families with an understanding of the child's psychosocial condition and appropriate support strategies. Social workers strive to prevent the risk of recidivism that could occur if the child returns to their old environment without a support system in place.</li> <li>2. Social workers act as agents of change who help juveniles in conflict with the law change their behavior and way of thinking. Through assessment, social workers identify the causes of children's involvement in gang fights and develop cognitive and emotional interventions, such as counseling and social guidance, to instill awareness of the negative impacts of gang fights.</li> </ol>
---	-----------------------------------	--

The success of the rehabilitation process for Children in Conflict with the Law (CICL) is highly dependent on various operational and situational aspects in the field. Based on observations and interviews, a number of key elements were found to influence the effectiveness of social workers in dealing with deviant behavior in adolescents. Table 3 below summarizes the supporting factors and main obstacles faced by practitioners while implementing recovery programs at rehabilitation centers.”

Table 3. Supporting and hindering factors faced by social workers in the rehabilitation of juveniles in conflict with the law with deviant gang fighting behavior

Enabling and Inhibiting Factors in Youth Gang Rehabilitation	Challenges
Enabling Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social workers collaborate with nurses, doctors, religious and vocational instructors, courts, social services, and community leaders such as RT/RW.</li> <li>• Social workers attend training courses, seminars, and workshops that support their competencies.</li> <li>• Facilitating task distribution and mutual assistance when workers are assigned outside the institution</li> <li>• The comfortable facilities and environment at the Handayani Center accelerate the recovery of juveniles in conflict with the law</li> </ul>
Barriers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social workers are open with each other, share knowledge, and assist each other in therapy</li> <li>• juveniles in conflict with the law tend to be closed off, resistant, and even manipulative, making the rehabilitation process difficult</li> <li>• Social workers handle many tasks outside the institution, reducing the intensity of their support for juveniles in conflict with the law</li> <li>• Limited operations, especially post- rehabilitation monitoring such as home <i>visits</i></li> <li>• Families that are unsupportive or fail to adapt after the child returns from the institution can lead to recidivism</li> </ul>

The data above shows that cross-sectoral collaboration and staff competency improvement are strong foundations in supporting juveniles in conflict with the law behavioral recovery. Despite the presence of various adequate supporting factors, psychological barriers faced by juveniles in conflict with the law and the lack of family

support remain significant challenges that risk triggering recidivism. Overall, these findings emphasize the need to strengthen the post-rehabilitation monitoring system to address the operational gaps that still exist.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The assistance provided by social workers to juveniles with deviant behavior involved in gang fights at the Handayani Center demonstrates a complex role and unique challenges. Unlike juveniles in conflict with the law in other cases such as theft or drug abuse, juveniles in conflict with the law involved in gang fights are generally involved in collective violence based on group solidarity, revenge, or social pressure from their peers. This behavior is often repeated, organized, and considered a form of self-affirmation, requiring a more comprehensive and in-depth intervention approach. In cases involving deviant behavior such as gang fights, social workers not only carry out protection and basic service provision tasks, but also act as facilitators of behavioral change, advocates for children's rights, emotional counselors, social relationship mediators, service brokers, and educators for the application of social values. All of these roles are carried out in an integrated manner, starting from the initial stages such as the child intake process, biopsychosocial assessment covering family background, environmental factors, and history of involvement in gang fights, to the development of intervention plans specific to the child's needs. Interventions are carried out through various approaches, such as social guidance, individual and group counseling, various types of therapy, and vocational skills training.

In the context of juvenile offenders involved in gang fights, social workers also play an important role in assisting with the legal process faced by juvenile offenders, including in diversion mechanisms and court proceedings. Social workers act as companions to children during the legal process if the juvenile offender is in custody. In addition, they advocate for the fulfillment of the basic rights of juvenile offenders, such as access to education, health services, and participation in rehabilitation programs. The approach used is empathetic, participatory, and emphasizes strengthening the child's capacity. Social workers help children rebuild their self-esteem, manage their emotions, and understand the negative impacts of involvement in collective violence such as gang fights. This assistance process does not stop at rehabilitation in institutions, but continues with efforts to reintegrate children into their families and communities. At this stage, social workers collaborate with families, community leaders, and educational institutions to ensure ongoing support so that children do not fall back into the same deviant behavior. Thus, the process of implementing the role of social workers in handling children involved in gang fights is not only aimed at individual recovery but also at building a social support system that can prevent recidivism and support the successful reintegration of children as a whole.

#### **Acknowledgement**

The authors would like to express gratitude to the reviewers for their invaluable feedback and insightful recommendations, which significantly enhanced the quality and clarity of this manuscript.

#### **Author Contribution**

The authors jointly contributed to all components of this study, including conceptualization, methodology, data collection, formal analysis, drafting of the original manuscript, review and editing, visualization, and project administration.

#### **Funding**

This research did not receive funding from anywhere.

#### **Ethical Review Board Statement**

Not available.

### Informed Consent Statement

This study strictly adhered to ethical principles by obtaining written consent from all informants prior to data collection. Participants were informed of the study's objectives and their right to voluntarily withdraw at any stage without penalty. Given the involvement of children in conflict with the law, anonymity and confidentiality were ensured by using pseudonyms or codes for all data that could identify their identities, thereby safeguarding the informants' privacy and psychological well-being throughout the study.

### Data Availability Statement

Not available.

### Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

### Declaration of Generative AI Use

During the preparation of this work, the author used Grammarly to help improve the grammar, clarity, and academic tone of the manuscript. After using this tool, the author reviewed and edited the content as needed and takes full responsibility for the content of the publication.

### Open Access

©2026 The author(s). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license, and indicate if changes were made. The images or other third-party material in this article are included in the article's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the article's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder. To view a copy of this license, visit: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

### References

- Abidin, Z. (2019). Rehabilitasi sosial anak berhadapan dengan hukum di lembaga indonesia safe house kota malang. *Sosio Konsepsia: Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengembangan Kesejahteraan Sosial*, 8(2), 113-125. <https://doi.org/10.33007/ska.v8i2.1463>
- Albakova, Z. A., Matanis, V. A., Zakasovskaia, I. N., Malaschenko, V. O., Ilkevich, B. V., Zharikov, Y. S., & Dzhambalkhanova, L. A. (2020). Psychological and pedagogical prevention of deviant behavior among the student youth (theory and practice of domestic studies). *EurAsian Journal of BioSciences*, 14(2). <https://www.art-gzhel.ru/download/li5jkw70op98ob5.pdf>
- Andari, S. (2020). Peran pekerja sosial dalam pendampingan sosial. *Sosio Informa*, 6(2), 92-113. <https://doi.org/10.33007/inf.v6i2.2200>
- Anwar, M., & Wijaya, M. R. (2019). Fungsionalisasi dan implikasi asas kepentingan terbaik bagi anak yang berkonflik dengan hukum: Studi putusan Pengadilan Tinggi Tanjung Karang. *Undang: Jurnal Hukum*, 2(2), 265-292. <https://doi.org/10.22437/ujh.2.2.265-292>
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods*. Oxford university press.
- Detiknews. (2024). *KPAI Catat 3.883 aduan pelanggaran hak-perlindungan anak selama 2023*. Detik.com.
- Erawati, D. (2024). *Konseling Individu Pendekatan Cognitife Behaviour Therapy Untuk Mengurangi Perilaku Menyimpang Pada Kasus Minuman Beralkohol dan Merokok Pada Remaja*. *Jurnal ABDIRAJA*, 7(2), 101-112. <https://doi.org/10.24929/adr.v7i2.3666>
- Hasenfeld, Y. (2010). *Human services as complex organizations*. Sage Publications.

- Hidayah, B., Hendrijanto, K., Poerwanti, S. D., Santoso, B., & Puspito, A. N. (2023). Proses rehabilitasi sosial orang dengan gangguan jiwa (ODGJ) pasca pasung di Unit Pelaksanaan Teknis Rehabilitasi Sosial Bina Laras Kediri. *Multidisciplinary Journal*, 6(1), 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.19184/multijournal.v6i1.45032>
- Hidayat, C., Amalia, M., & Mulyana, A. (2024). Fenomena Tawuran Antar Pelajar Sebagai Bentuk Penyimpangan Sosial Pada Kalangan Remaja di Cianjur. *KOMUNITAS: Jurnal Ilmu Sosiologi*, 7(1), 50-61. <https://doi.org/10.30598/komunitasvol7issue1page50-61>
- Jasmisari, M., & Herdiansah, A. G. (2022). Kenakalan remaja di kalangan siswa sekolah menengah atas di Bandung: Studi pendahuluan. *Aliansi: Jurnal Politik, Keamanan Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 137-145. <https://doi.org/10.24198/aliansi.v0i0.41940>
- Kataja, K., Lantela, P., & Romakkaniemi, M. (2022). Dimensions of social rehabilitation: A qualitative interpretive meta-synthesis. *Journal of Social Work*, 22(1), 109-129. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017320979544>
- Krefting, L. (1991). Rigor in qualitative research: The assessment of trustworthiness. *The American journal of occupational therapy*, 45(3), 214-222. <https://doi.org/10.5014/ajot.45.3.214>
- Manalu, I. M. (2022). Bentuk dukungan psikososial yang diberikan oleh pekerja sosial kepada anak berhadapan dengan hukum (ABH) sebagai upaya untuk memulikan keberfungsian sosial (studi deskriptif di Sentra Handayani, Bambu Apus, Jakarta Timur).
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook*. Sage Publications.
- Moitra, T., Mukherjee, I., & Chatterjee, G. (2018). Parenting behavior and juvenile delinquency among low-income families. *Victims & Offenders*, 13(3), 336-348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2017.1323062>
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (Seventh edition, Pearson new international edition). Pearson.
- Nugroho, W., Nurrizky, A., & Nur, M. (2024). Pembinaan Anak Pelaku Tawuran sebagai Implementasi Keadilan Rehabilitatif di Sentra Handayani Jakarta. *Indonesian Journal of Criminal Law*, 6(1), 1-10. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31960/ijocl.v6i1.2360>
- Olivia, X., & Movanita, A. (2023). *Angka tawuran di jakpus meningkat pada Juli, 90 persen pelakunya remaja*. Kompas.com.
- Parsons, R. J., Jorgensen, J. D., & Hernandez, S. H. (1994). *The integration of sosial work practice*. Broock/Cole.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods 3rd. ed*. Sage publications.
- Pradana, I. P. Y. B., Niga, J. D., & Tiran, G. (2024). Implementasi program rehabilitasi sosial pada anak yang berhadapan dengan hukum (ABH). *Journal of Public Administration and Local Governance*, 8(2), 53-73. <https://doi.org/10.31002/jpalg.v8i2.1833>
- Putra, N. N. (2023). *BPHN "Mengasuh": Ini jenis tindak kejahatan dan perilaku kriminal anak yang menjadi fokus BPHN untuk dicegah*. BPHN.go.id.
- Ramdani, R. (2020a). Hak Anak Dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana Anak Di Indonesia. *Negara dan Keadilan*, 9(1), 91-97. <https://doi.org/10.33474/hukum.v9i1.7626>
- Ramdani, I. (2020b). Intervensi Pekerja Sosial Generalis Teradap Klien Anak: Pekerja Sosial Perlindungan Anak Kementerian Sosial RI di DI Yogyakarta. *WELFARE: Jurnal Ilmu Kesejahteraan Sosial*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.14421/welfare.2020.091-03>
- Savero, M. R., Nurussobah, S. F., & Hakim, M. Z. (2024). Implementasi bimbingan sosial terhadap anak berhadapan dengan hukum di Sentra Handayani Jakarta Timur. *Praktik Pekerjaan Sosial dengan Individu dan Keluarga*, 2(1). <https://prosiding.poltekesos.ac.id/index.php/ppsik/article/view/305>
- Urien, J. (2024). Self-esteem, peer pressure and the incidence of deviant behaviour among secondary school Students in Delta State. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Growth Evaluation*, 5(2), 226-232. <https://doi.org/10.54660/IJMRGE.2024.5.2.226-232>
- Utami, S. A. (2023). *Peran pekerja sosial dalam rehabilitasi sosial anak berhadapan dengan hukum di Sentra Handayani*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta.

Zastrow, C. (2017). *Introduction to Social Work and Social Welfare: Empowering People*. Cengage Learning.

### Biographies of Authors

**Zalfa Fakhirah**, Department of Social Welfare, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 10430, Indonesia.

- Email: [zalfa.fakhirah@ui.ac.id](mailto:zalfa.fakhirah@ui.ac.id)
- ORCID: N/A
- Web of Science ResearcherID: N/A
- Scopus Author ID: N/A
- Homepage: N/A

**Sari Viciawati Machdum**, Department of Social Welfare, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 10430, Indonesia.

- Email: [sari.viciawati@ui.ac.id](mailto:sari.viciawati@ui.ac.id)
- ORCID: 0000-0002-3779-8285
- Web of Science ResearcherID: N/A
- Scopus Author ID: 57222898193
- Homepage: <https://sinta.kemdiktisaintek.go.id/authors/profile/6026908>