



# Structural pressure and violence against girls: a socio-ecological perspective on gender injustice and legal protection

Ilham Dwi Hatmawan<sup>1</sup>, Ni Made Martini Puteri<sup>1,\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Criminology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia, Depok, West Java 16424, Indonesia.

\*Correspondence: martini.puteri@ui.ac.id

Received Date: May 7, 2024

Revised Date: July 15, 2024

Accepted Date: August 30, 2024

## ABSTRACT

**Background:** Girls in many societies, especially in developing countries, are often burdened with structural pressures stemming from unfavorable social norms, culture and legal systems. These pressures can increase their risk of involvement in violence and discrimination, both as victims and perpetrators. This study aims to understand the dynamics of pressures on girls and how these factors contribute to their involvement in violence, as well as how social and legal systems exacerbate their situation. **Methods:** This research used a qualitative approach with case study analysis on the subject of girls who experienced violence and discrimination. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with research subjects, involving women from various socio-economic backgrounds, as well as analysis of literature relevant to this topic. The Social-Ecological Model was used to describe the interaction between individual, family, community and social policy factors that affect girls. **Findings:** The research found that the pressure on girls starts from birth, with a much heavier social burden compared to boys. This pressure stems from social expectations that place them in narrow gender roles, and a lack of family and social support. Girls who experience violence often go unrecorded in the statistical system, while those who try to protect themselves in ways that are considered “unnatural” are treated more severely by society. **Conclusion:** Girls involved in violence, whether as victims or trapped in harmful social norms, should not be blamed. They are victims of a system that is not in their favor, whether from a legal, social or economic perspective. Therefore, stronger legal protections and more pro-girl social policies are needed to reduce the structural pressures they face and to provide them with equal opportunities to access their basic rights. **Novelty/Originality of this article:** This article provides a new perspective on the structural pressures girls face, which are often overlooked in studies of gender violence and discrimination. Integrating a social-ecological framework, this research highlights the interactions between individual, family, community and social policy factors in shaping girls' experiences of violence, and offers more holistic policy recommendations to protect their rights.

**KEYWORDS:** gender norms; legal protection; socio-ecological model; structural pressure; violence against girls.

## 1. Introduction

In line with the sustainable development goals, children, women and vulnerable groups are groups of concern to gain access to protection services and support. One indicator of well-being is maternal and child mortality (BAPPENAS, 2021). Despite various programs to reduce infant mortality that provide support for women, women are still often cornered in cases of infant mortality. Especially when infant deaths are caused by infanticide. According

### Cite This Article:

Hatmawan, I. D., & Puteri, N. M. (2024). Structural pressure and violence against girls: a socio-ecological perspective on gender injustice and legal protection. *Lexovate: Jurnal Perkembangan Sistem Peradilan*, 1(2), 73–83. <https://doi.org/.....>

**Copyright:** © 2024 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/>).



to Abraham (2016), women have been cornered without seeing the aspects behind the phenomenon.

Discrimination against women, especially in the courtroom, is a manifestation of the imbalance of power relations that prevent women from obtaining fair treatment before the law (UN Women, 2014). In the specific context of disappearances raised in this study, women often commit offenses as a result of the trap of pressure, social injustice, and male dominance that makes women lose the ability to value themselves (Messing & Heeren, 2004). The persistence of punishment in the form of detention of girls and women in various countries shows that the sensitivity of the social environment to the needs of women is still very minimal.

A woman in the United States who experienced postpartum trauma was sentenced to life imprisonment for killing her own baby (Silverman, 2011). The same thing also happens in Indonesia, where the reasons for girls and women who take their children's lives because of worries and fears for their children's future are never heard and considered in court rooms (Rachmawati, 2019; Koesno; 2019; Sudarno, 2017; and Beempah, 2017). These cases are responded to as murder cases without considering the stress and trauma experienced by postpartum women. Here, there is a difference in the way of interpreting the loss of life of babies for women who give birth as an effort to provide protection for their children from the misery of life in the midst of the situation they experience with a legal perspective that solely judges women as the cause of suffering. As a result, fair treatment for women and girls before the law becomes difficult to access for girls and women who commit infanticide.

The state is also unaware that the criminalization of women's choices by society and the state has really had a stigmatizing impact on women. Goffman (1963) explains that the experience of stigmatization can have an impact in weakening an individual's dignity, making him feel less valuable than other members of society. Later, McGrath (2014) also found that the stigmatization obtained by women, especially girls, made them feel depressed, alienated, and stimulated repeated offenses.

The high increase in the number of arrests of girls was found not because girls are more violent, but because society has become more brutal in defining women's actions as delinquency or offenses (Chesney-Lind, M., et al., 2010; Flores, 2008). In fact, the actions taken by girls do not arise because they want to commit offenses. Rather, they are responses to the multiple vulnerabilities and pressures they experience, such as resistance to sexual harassment by friends and family members, pressure from the community environment, limited access to adequate socio-economic conditions, and independent healing efforts for the pressures they experience (Alice Project, 2018 and Flores, 2008).

Studies show that the justice system, from the outset, has stigmatized women who commit infanticide as violent killers, which has implications for the prolonged stigmatizing impact on women (Loughnan, 2012). In the legal constructs of patriarchal societies, the views and experiences of girls and women are often ignored. This makes the further impact of the stigmatization attached to girls and women even more obscure from society's attention. In looking at cases of girls in conflict with the law, it is important not only to use a child's perspective, but also to adequately accommodate a gender perspective (Sherman, 2005). Therefore, this research aims to raise the voices of girls who have been neglected in the Indonesian legal system. This is particularly important because, to date, girls who break the law are often treated from a male perspective (Hodgson, 2020), resulting in the specific needs of girls as individuals who are different from men not being properly accommodated by the state (McGrath, 2014). The purpose of this study is to analyze and understand the structural pressures experienced by girls in Indonesia, as well as explore the social, economic and family factors that contribute to their involvement in violence. It is hoped that this research will provide insight into the importance of a more gender-sensitive approach to law and support better protection for girls in the Indonesian legal system.

## 2. Methods

The data collection process in this study began in the period November to December 2020. The researcher's interest in this research subject stems from the desire to explore the conditions of survivors of sexual violence that lead to infanticide. Society generally assumes that survivors of sexual violence must have the courage to voice their experiences and ask for protection. However, this view often ignores individuals' feelings and meanings of their traumatic experiences. This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design, as done by Goffman (1986) in studying stigma and its impact. The circumstances raised in this research do not allow the use of quantitative measurement scales, so the case study approach was chosen as the most appropriate method to provide a holistic picture of the phenomenon of girls involved in infanticide, with diverse socio-economic backgrounds. The assessment of specific cases was conducted in depth and detail (Bryman, 2012). The writing of this research will adopt a thick description approach, as described by Geertz in Neuman (2014). By using this strategy, researchers can capture the details of the phenomenon under study in depth and describe it in a comprehensive way. Through this approach, the research is expected to dig deeper into the social processes that occur, and present a broader and more detailed narrative of the phenomenon being studied.

This study used three cases with five research subjects, each of whom underwent in-depth interviews. The explanations provided in this research are supported by extracting facts obtained from open documents, such as books, journals, reports, news, and social media content, which enrich the researcher's analysis. Thus, the resulting analysis can explain women's experiences and the phenomenon of infanticide in an in-depth and ethical manner. The three main research subjects involved in this study are KH, RH, and AL, who have a relationship with the Special Development Institute for Children (LPKA) under the auspices of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as research colleagues in community development activities at LPKA. Information about the two research subjects, KH and RH, was obtained through interviews conducted on December 2, 2020, which were preceded by discussions with LPKA officers. The other research subject, AL, was obtained through contact with the researcher's friend who is AL's neighbor. The researcher had previously met AL in 2018 at LPKA, in the context of a community development activity involving the government, non-governmental organizations, and youth organizations that focused on preventing teenage marriage, premarital sex, and drug abuse. To maintain privacy and protect the identity of the research subjects, the researcher decided not to include the specific location of LPKA, which could facilitate tracing the identity of the subjects and invade their privacy.

The primary data collection process and all research procedures were organized and implemented with the comfort of the research subjects in mind, based on two main considerations. First, conducting qualitative research that raises sensitive issues requires time to build a good relationship between researchers and interviewees. Therefore, in the first interview over the phone, the researcher asked general questions to start the conversation. During the data collection process, the researcher always paid attention to the situation and the comfort of the research subjects. Secondly, to ensure that the representation of the interviewees' experiences is well understood, the researcher needs time to check the extent to which their experiences can be adequately analyzed.

It is important to note that the data processing process, which begins with recording the findings during the interviews (field notes) and transcribing the interviews, is not fully included in this research report to maintain the confidentiality of the research subjects' identities. Field notes are notes containing findings obtained during the data collection process in the field, including situations encountered, subject expressions, or other depictions that could not be audio-recorded (Bryman, 2012). After the interviews were conducted, the researcher immediately transcribed the interview results to then continue the data coding process manually using Office 365 software. The coded data was then grouped based on the relevance between the concept of the question and the answers of the research subjects.

### 3. Results and Discussion

The position of girls in society is often marginalized, with high demands for perfection and lack of attention from the surrounding environment. The life of girls is not as easy as researchers had previously imagined. Two of the research subjects, RH and AL, grew up in families with poor economic backgrounds, which further worsened their conditions. Although KH came from a family with better socioeconomic conditions, her life experience was not much different. All three subjects experienced limitations in accessing quality education and lived in an environment that did not support their optimal growth and development.

At this stage, the researcher reflected that the stories of KH, RH and AL made the researcher realize that all this time, the researcher had also believed in the norms prevailing in the community, which indirectly contributed to putting pressure and putting them and other girls at risk of being involved in violence and structural pressure. All three research subjects shared that they were not cared for by their parents and families. For them, affection from their parents is an "expensive item" that they have to fight for at the expense of themselves. When interacted with for this research, the three research subjects basically showed similar gratitude. Currently, the condition of their relationship with their parents is much better than before they were involved with the law. However, the love and attention that they currently receive came at a cost to their self-esteem and honor.

Subject KH, for example, said that he rarely interacted with his parents in the past. She revealed that she often did not come home or came home very late, which caused the emotional distance between her and her parents to widen. KH recalled these times by saying, "I used to not come home often, or if I came home it was late. After coming home, I played again, communication with my parents was not very close, at most I went home to eat, then went out again." KH's feelings indicate discomfort in the relationship with her parents, leading to a lack of healthy communication. This shapes KH's view that her parents are unable to provide the affection she expects, so their relationship is increasingly tenuous.

In line with KH, RH also felt a lack of affection from his parents, who had to share it with RH's newborn sister. RH felt that his parents' attention was focused on his young sister, while he felt neglected. She revealed, "It feels like I'm not loved by my family, Sis... I have a little brother, he was one year old at the time... All of my parents' affection goes to my younger sibling, not to me. So I felt isolated in the family. At that time I started to be naughty, started coming home at night, started to rebel." From RH's story, it can be seen that this feeling of marginalization affected RH's behavior, which became increasingly rebellious in his teenage years. His parents' inability to provide fair attention worsened their relationship, which led RH to move further away from the family.

Subject AL, on the other hand, was reluctant to share his experiences in detail as he felt that his past with his family was quite traumatic and still lingers today. This traumatic experience greatly affected his view of his family and made him reluctant to open his story to others. AL's reluctance to share her story illustrates that her experiences with her family are not good memories that she wants to share. Therefore, the researcher chose not to delve deeper into this matter in order to maintain the comfort and privacy of the research subject. However, AL's attitude still illustrates the huge emotional impact left by her family relationships, which cannot be ignored.

Through the stories of KH, RH and AL, it can actually be reflected that all three of them grew up in families that did not pay attention to their presence. Communication as a means of conveying stories of sadness, anxiety and fear was lost between the three research subjects and their respective parents. In fact, a number of studies have proven that communication is an essential factor and has a major influence on the success of parenting in the family (Zaman, Arslan, Malik, & Mehmood, 2014). Therefore, when communication is not well established, the affection, love, and care that should be transmitted by parents to children and vice versa. As a result, children lose the space to share feelings and experiences that are important for them to make decisions. In situations where children have a heavy life burden, they become confused to share the burden and find a way that is considered

reasonable by parents and their environment. It is clear from this situation that no action taken by a girl is purely of her own free will. There are demands from the norms prevailing in society, the shadows of conforming to parental expectations, and special situations that require them to adjust to circumstances without having the opportunity to tell their heart's desires.

The situation where Subject RH let go of the attention that should have been obtained from his parents to be given to his younger brother is a concrete manifestation of Subject RH's affection for his younger brother and a shadow to ease the responsibilities of his parents. However, when RH showed a response by interacting less with her parents and coming home at night, her environment defined RH as a disobedient daughter. When RH is not equipped with the ability to communicate her intentions and feelings, in that situation she is even more pressured as a disobedient child and blamed for the inability formed by her environment.

In this situation, it is not surprising that the research subjects sought attention, affection and company outside the family, which should be the first place to provide these needs. When they shared that they often came home at night to play with their friends, it indicated that they felt more comfortable outside the home than within their family environment. Based on the confessions of Subjects KH and RH, both were also involved in friendship environments that were supportive and provided comfort. KH, for example, revealed that she felt closer to her boyfriend than to her parents. He stated, "I am not comfortable with my parents, I am close to my boyfriend first... I feel like I have a friend to joke with." This statement illustrates how KH sought a warmer and more enjoyable relationship outside of the family.

However, despite being in a positive friendship environment, RH felt discomfort when her pregnancy became apparent. Friends at school started asking about the truth of her pregnancy, which made RH feel isolated. When RH confided this to her boyfriend, he encouraged her to leave home and stop going to school until she gave birth outside the city. This suggests that although they had friends who could provide support, the influence of their equally irresponsible boyfriends made matters worse. The decision to leave home and give birth outside the city reflects how an unhealthy relationship can influence the decisions made by the research subjects. Thus, despite efforts to seek social support outside the family, the relationship with an irresponsible boyfriend can be a determining factor that pushes them into negative actions.

RH's actions in responding to her boyfriend's encouragement to run away and quit school reflect a form of compliance with the prevailing norms in a patriarchal society. The norm places women in a position that must submit to the orders of men, which in this case is her boyfriend. By following these orders, RH tries to justify her actions so that she is considered obedient, has the ability to bear burdens, and maintain her boyfriend's honor as a form of love in their relationship. This action also illustrates how women are often trapped in the hope of making their surroundings happy, even if it means sacrificing their future and personal freedom.

In retrospect, RH's premarital sexual intercourse during her four years of dating was a form of trust, affection, and obedience to her boyfriend. In the context of a patriarchal society, values have shaped the view that women should follow the will of men, which often limits their choices and freedom. This shows how gender dominance in a patriarchal society influences women's decisions, which are often irrational and limited. To make matters worse, the experience of sexual intercourse for women often leaves physical marks that are difficult to erase, which not only affects them personally but also gives them a label that sticks with them throughout life. Thus, RH, like many other women, is in a very limited situation, where her life choices are controlled by prevailing social norms and pressures. In a patriarchal society, where male dominance is very strong, women are often forced to comply even if it risks compromising their future. This further worsens women's position, as they have to face the lifelong physical and social consequences of premarital sexual intercourse, further emphasizing the existing gender injustices.

The experiences of the research subjects, KH, RH and AL, who grew up in families that were poor or unable to provide adequate basic needs, have been influenced by societal norms and the pressure of existing patriarchal values. These factors create structural pressures that put them at risk of involvement in violence. The situation is further exacerbated by larger policies and systems, such as the education and legal systems, that govern their lives both as students and members of society. In Indonesia, for example, many schools will expel schoolgirls if found guilty of serious offenses, while laws that do not favor women add to the pressure on them.

Such policies place an additional burden on the research subjects, who feel cornered and have no space to protect themselves. Injustices in the education and legal systems lead to the subjects' fear and anxiety of facing unfair treatment from society. They feel that if their personal experiences are exposed, they will face stigma and unfavorable treatment from the wider community. The pressure they experience reflects social injustices that exacerbate their situation, making them more vulnerable to violence and discrimination. The SEM-based Pressure on Girls diagram can be seen in Figure 1.

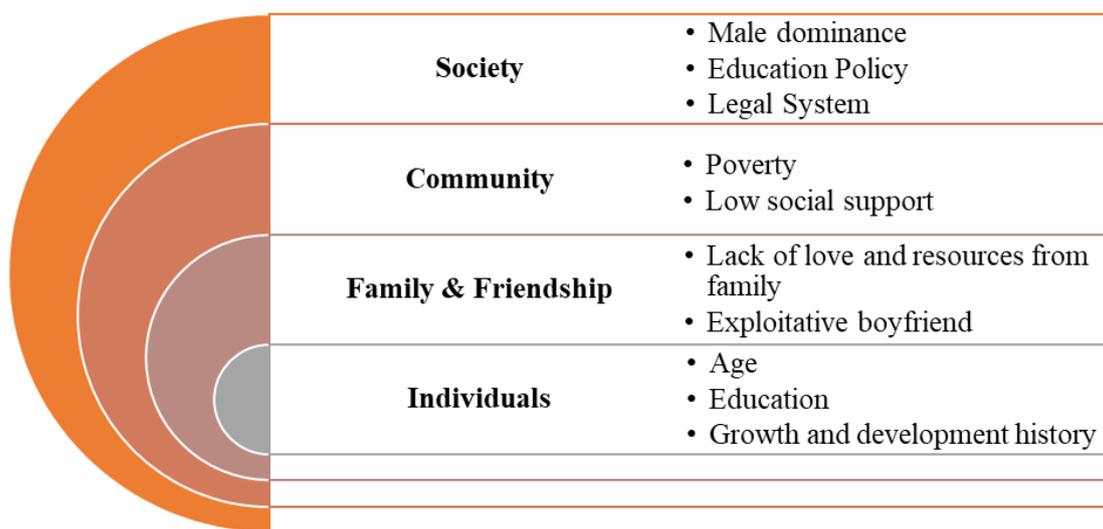


Fig 1. SEM-based pressure on girls diagram

The picture once again shows that immature individuals with female gender roles constructed by society have implications in the form of multiple structural pressures. Pressures at each level based on the social-ecological model (SEM) framework show that all four interact and influence each other, putting girls at increased risk of violent involvement (CDC, 2021; Kerman & Betrus, 2018; Terry, 2014; Clarke, et al., 2012). Environments that are supposed to be safe spaces for them become major contributors to trapping girls so that they cannot escape the risk of structural violence.

The situation where girls are involved with violence can be realized in two (2) forms. First, girls become victims of violence perpetrated by their environment against them. Secondly, girls do not realize that the pressure they are under has stimulated them to imitate and act out actions that are defined as violent and unnatural for girls to do. Where they are expected to be members of society fulfilling the values of masculinity. While girls who are victims of violence are statistically under-recorded because they are deemed not to require a formal response, the helplessness of girls who are cornered for being violent is over-reported (Boppre & Reed, 2020). The situation is further disadvantaged when girls' contexts, backgrounds and stories are considered far-fetched and unacceptable for consideration to provide them with more appropriate protection. The inability of the law to protect the community victimizes girls as a show of strength from the powerful group to reinforce the community's beliefs about their existence and power. This situation seems to cover up the fact that the suffering experienced by girls is an accumulation of the pressure

received from the status that society has assigned to them, the inability of the family to provide adequate resources to socialize properly, the absence of social support and poverty, and the trap of male dominance that also influences the way society treats girls.

The first thing to understand is that since birth, girls have been burdened with far more pressure than boys by society for their status as women with all the biological fates and norms attached to them (Tingle & Vora, 2018; Sen, Ostlin, & George, 2007). Society needs to realize that their thoughts, beliefs, and demands on women have been weighing on women's shoulders before they can even understand who they are. The pressure that continues to accumulate along with the process of women's growth and development ultimately places women as individuals who are forced to submit to unfair expectations of themselves.

The family, which is envisioned to be responsible and a hope for girls to educate and protect them, is not always experienced as such by all girls. There are many limitations of the family that make girls unable to get affection, undergo a resilient character building process, and gain access to quality education, health, and social services that are equal to other girls who are more fortunate. The central position of the family to facilitate girls to experience a decent life for them is a concern in this study. This is because a number of studies have shown that parenting experiences provided by parents to their children have been shown to influence the formation of girls' traits, character and resilience in navigating the ups and downs of life (Pells, Morrow, Maternowska, & Potts, 2018; Zaman, Arslan, Malik, & Mehmood, 2014). These parenting patterns are also related to how parents are able to show adequate love, affection, support, and opportunities to their children.

However, not all children around the world are equally fortunate to enjoy the love they crave. Even just having a place to tell their stories is a luxury for girls, including the subjects in this study. The fact that two out of the three research subjects grew up in poor families is also a concern in this study. This is because studies show that the inability of families to meet quality basic needs, including food, clothing, health, and education, has a distressing impact on children that makes them feel depressed, experience communication failures, and try to get other happiness through ways that they do not realize will harm themselves (Patoari, 2020; Pells, Morrow, Maternowska, & Potts, 2018; Zaman, Arslan, Malik, & Mehmood, 2014).

In such a situation, it is not appropriate for girls to continue to be cornered and made the object of blame for the suffering they receive from those around them. Unfortunately, when girls try to save themselves by joining the surrounding environment, such as communities, friends, or boyfriends, they do not realize that they are surrounded by subjects who put them at risk of pressure and make them involved in violence. By the time girls are in a romantic relationship with a person they are comfortable with and perceive to be able to provide them with affection, a space to talk, and a safe zone, girls are again being tricked and exploited by their boyfriends into proving their trust by giving up their virginity. Studies show that many pubescent girls fall victim to the pressure to prove the sincerity of their affection by engaging in sexual intercourse under pressure that harms them (England & Bearak, 2014; Braxton-Davis, 2010; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1995).

Instead of being a good start for women, the plight of women due to their stressful sexual encounters is the beginning of more labels and stigmatization by their boyfriends, families, and communities. When girls try to hide their pregnancies and kill babies to protect the dignity of their lovers, families, communities, and the wider society, they are labeled as witches, femme fatale, and other labels that degrade their honor by their own immediate environment, thus limiting their space and opportunities to grow and develop in the next phase of life properly (Alice project, 2018; Moore & Osho, 2017; WHO, 2013; Knutsson, 1977).

This situation may open the eyes of the world that girls who are involved in sexual relations under pressure, experience pregnancy, and try to eliminate children obtained from these relationships are not right to be cornered and increasingly suppressed by society as low-class women. All the suffering that women experience is an accumulation of the pressure exerted by the immediate environment around girls who are unable to provide a sense of security and comfort in their growth and development process. If girls have been

said to be the perpetrators of violence and crimes imposed on them, then it is time for them to be recognized as victims of structural pressures and systems that are not in favor of them, so that support efforts for girls involved in violence and crime can be open to all girls in the world.

#### **4. Conclusions**

This research shows that girls, from birth, have been burdened with very heavy social and structural pressures, leading to situations of violence and injustice. These pressures come not only from their social environment, but also from families, communities and legal systems that are inadequate in protecting them. The research identified two main forms of violence experienced by girls: being victims of violence from their environment, and being victims of pressure to imitate or commit acts of violence defined as social norms, such as in romantic relationships that lead to sexual exploitation.

Limited family support and the inability to provide adequate resources exacerbate girls' situations, making them more vulnerable to violence. On the other hand, social norms that require girls to fulfill certain gender roles further worsen their position. Even when they seek to protect themselves, they are often forced to sacrifice their dignity, such as by concealing pregnancies or killing babies to preserve family and community reputation.

This research emphasizes that girls involved in violence and crime should not be blamed or seen as perpetrators, but rather as victims of a system that is not in their favor. For this reason, there is a need for policies and systems that are more favorable to the protection of girls, as well as a more in-depth approach in seeing this problem as a structural problem that requires serious attention from all parties. The sustainability of support and efforts to protect girls in the face of violence is essential to ensure they get equal opportunities to develop in a safe, healthy and stigma-free environment.

#### **Author Contribution**

All authors fully contributed to the writing of this article.

#### **Funding**

This research does not use external funding.

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

Not applicable.

#### **Informed Consent Statement**

Not applicable.

#### **Data Availability Statement**

Not applicable.

#### **Conflicts of Interest**

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

#### **Open Access**

©2024. 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

- Abrahams, N., Mathews, S., Martin, L. J., Lombard, C., Nannan, N., & Jewkes, R. (2016). Gender Differences in Homicide of Neonates, Infants, and Children under 5 y in South Africa: Results from the Cross-Sectional 2009 National Child Homicide Study. *PLoS Medicine*, 13(4), 1-15. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002003>
- Alice Project of Cornell Law School. (2018). *Judged for More Than Her Crime: A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty*. New York: Cornell Law School.
- BAPPENAS. (2021). *Indonesia's Voluntary National Review (VNR) 2021*. Jakarta: Ministry of National Development Planning.
- Beempah, R. T. (2017). Malu Hamil di Luar Nikah, Siswi SMK di Bogor Bunuh Bayinya Artikel ini telah tayang di Kompas.com dengan judul "Malu Hamil di Luar Nikah, Siswi SMK di Bogor Bunuh Bayinya", Retrieved from *Regional Kompas*: <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2017/02/17/18401001/malu.hamil.di.luar.nikah.siswi.smk.di.bogor.bunuh.bayinya>
- Boppre, B., & Reed, S. M. (2021). "I'm not a number, I'm a human being:" A phenomenological study of women's responses to labeling. *Feminist Criminology*, 16(2), 191-215. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085120953488>
- Braxton-Davis, P. (2010). The social psychology of love and attraction. *McNair Scholars Journal*, 14(1), 2. <https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/mcnair/vol14/iss1/2/>
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods*, Ed. IV. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CDC. (2021). The Social-Ecological Model. Retrieved from Centres for Disease Control and Prevention: <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/about/social-ecologicalmodel.html>
- Chesney-Lind, M. (1989). Girls' crime and woman's place: Toward a feminist model of female delinquency. *Crime & Delinquency*, 35(1), 5-29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128789035001002>
- Clarke, L., Lopez-Bonasso, D., McGrew, P., Silbernagel, A., & Sizemore, D. (2012). *Sexual Violence Training and Prevention Resource Toolkit for Working with School-Aged Children and Youth*. West Virginia: The West Virginia Department of Health and Human Resources.
- England, P., & Bearak, J. (2014). The sexual double standard and gender differences in attitudes toward casual sex among US university students. *Demographic Research*, 30, 1327-1338. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26348237>
- Flores, J. R. (2008, Mei). *Violence by Teenage Girls: Trends and Context*. Girls Study Group: Understanding and Responding to Girls' Delinquency, pp. 1-24
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Englewoods Cliff: Prentice-Hall.
- Hendrick, S. S., & Hendrick, C. (1995). Gender differences and similarities in sex and love. *Personal Relationships*, 2(1), 55-65. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6811.1995.tb00077.x>
- Hodgson, J. (2022). Offending girls and restorative justice: A critical analysis. *Youth Justice*, 22(2), 166-188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473225420967751>
- Kerman, T., & Betrus, P. (2020). Violence against women in Turkey: A social ecological framework of determinants and prevention strategies. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 21(3), 510-526. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838018781104>
- Koesno, D. A. (2019, September 6). Pembunuhan Bayi, Baby Blues, & Kondisi Kejiwaan Ibu Usai Melahirkan. Retrieved from *Tirto*: <https://tirto.id/ehDk>
- Loughnan, A. (2012). Gender, 'Madness', and Crime: the Doctrine of Infanticide. In A. Loughnan, *Manifest Madness: Mental Incapacity in Criminal Law* (pp. 202-225). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- McGrath, A. J. (2014). The subjective impact of contact with the criminal justice system: The role of gender and stigmatization. *Crime & Delinquency*, 60(6), 884-908. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128710389589>
- Messing, J. T., & Heeren, J. W. (2004). Another Side of Multiple Murder: Women Killers in the Domestic Context. *Homicide Studies*, 8(2), 123-158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088767903262446>
- Moore, A. N., & Osho, G. S. (2017). An assessment of adolescent pregnancy and social risk factors: Evidence from agencies and organizations in the juvenile justice system. *International Journal of Social Work*, 4(2), 1-14. <http://doi.org/10.5296/ijsw.v4i2.10331>
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Ed. VII. Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited.
- Patoari, M. M. H. (2020). Socio-economic, cultural and family factors causing juvenile delinquency and its consequences in Bangladesh: A look for way out. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Management Studies*, 7(2), 89-98. <https://doi.org/10.20448/journal.500.2020.72.89.98>
- Pells, K., Morrow, V., Maternowska, M. C., & Potts, A. (2018). A socioecological approach to children's experiences of violence: Evidence from Young Lives. *Vulnerable children and youth studies*, 13(1), 26-35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450128.2018.1476746>
- Rachmawati. (2029). Kasus Mutia Bunuh Bayinya, Perkawinan Anak dan Gangguan Mental Setelah Melahirkan. Retrieved from *Regional Kompas*: [https://regional.kompas.com/read/2020/04/13/06260031/kasus-mutia-bunuhbayinya-perkawinan-anak-dan-gangguan-mentalsetelah?utm\\_source=LINE&utm\\_medium=today&utm\\_campaign=messaging](https://regional.kompas.com/read/2020/04/13/06260031/kasus-mutia-bunuhbayinya-perkawinan-anak-dan-gangguan-mentalsetelah?utm_source=LINE&utm_medium=today&utm_campaign=messaging)
- Sen, G., Östlin, P., & George, A. (2007). *Unequal, Unfair, Ineffective and Inefficient Gender Inequity in Health: Why it exists and how we can change it*. Stockholm: Karolinska Institutet.
- Sherman, F. T. (2005). *13 Pathways to Juvenile Detention Reform: Detention Reform and Girls (Challenges and Solutions)*. Baltimore: The Annie E. Casey Foundation.
- Silverman, B. (2011, Agustus 22). Baby Killed in Microwave: Ka Yang, California Woman, Arrested. Retrieved from *Huff Post*: [www.huffpost.com/entry-baby-killed-in-microwave- n 882167](http://www.huffpost.com/entry-baby-killed-in-microwave- n 882167)
- Sudarno, A. (2017). Hamil di Luar Nikah, Siswi SMK di Bogor Nekat Bunuh Bayinya. Retrieved from *Liputan6*: <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/2859016/hamil-di-luar-nikah-siswi-smk-di-bogor-nekat-bunuh-bayinya#>
- Terry, M. S. (2014). Applying the Social Ecological Model to Violence against Women with Disabilities. *Journal of Women's Health Care*, 3(6), 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.4172/2167-0420.1000193>
- Tingle, C., & Vora, S. (2018). *Break The Barriers: First Experiences of Menstruation in The UK*. London: Plan International UK.
- UN Women. (2014). *Women's Rights are Human Rights*. New York and Geneva: United Nations Publication.
- WHO. (2014). Stigma and discrimination. Retrieved from *WHO Europe*: <https://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/noncommunicable-diseases/mental-health/priority-areas/stigma-and-discrimination>
- Zaman, R., Arslan, M., Malik, R. K., & Mehmood, A. (2014). Effect of parenting style on child behavior: A Qualitative Analysis. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 5(26), 112-118. <https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/JEP/article/view/15952>

**Biographies of Author(s)**

**Ilham Dwi Hatmawan**, Department of Criminology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia.

- Email: N/A
- ORCID: N/A
- Web of Science ResearcherID: N/A
- Scopus Author ID: N/A
- Homepage: N/A

**Ni Made Martini Puteri**, Department of Criminology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia.

- Email: [martini.puteri@ui.ac.id](mailto:martini.puteri@ui.ac.id)
- ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-2324-2087>
- Web of Science ResearcherID: N/A
- Scopus Author ID: N/A
- Homepage: N/A