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Autonomy or Submission? The Position of Women in the Tradition of *Londho iha* (Elopement) in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

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Abstract

The practice of elopement among the Bima people is closely tied to traditional dynamics, local norms, legal frameworks, and religion. This study examines the role of women in elopement and whether it is a form of autonomy or submission. Using qualitative research methods, the study focuses on elopement (*londho iha*) in Samili Village, located in Woha District, Bima Regency, West Nusa Tenggara. The findings reveal that women occupy a nuanced position in *londho iha*, one that is both autonomous and submissive. On the one hand, this tradition can be interpreted as a way for women to express their autonomy in choosing a life partner. On the other hand, it functions as a social mechanism that subjects women to customary and social pressures. Women in the *londho iha* tradition are complex subjects. They have the agency to make decisions, but these decisions are often constrained by patriarchal norms that govern their lives. *Londho iha* is not merely a patriarchal tradition, but also a space in which Bima women strive to exercise their agency within the constraints of a complex social system. Women's agency in *londho iha* is ambivalent. It can liberate them, but it can also trap them within patriarchal structures. Thus, this practice should be understood as a dynamic interplay of power, culture, and the acting subject rather than as a manifestation of total domination or absolute freedom.

Praktik kawin lari yang terjadi pada masyarakat Bima sangat terkait dengan dinamika adat, norma lokal, hukum dan agama. Studi ini mengkaji apakah posisi perempuan dalam praktik kawin lari merupakan bentuk otonomi atau ketundukan. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif, studi ini mengambil kasus kawin lari (*londho iha*) di Desa Samili, Kecamatan Woha, Kabupaten Bima, Nusa Tenggara Barat. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa dalam praktik *londho iha*, perempuan memiliki posisi yang kompleks, otonom juga sekaligus ketundukan. Tradisi ini dapat dilihat sebagai cara perempuan untuk mengekspresikan otonomi mereka dalam memilih pasangan hidup. Sebaliknya, praktik ini juga dapat dianggap sebagai mekanisme sosial yang menempatkan perempuan di bawah tekanan adat dan sosial. Perempuan dalam tradisi *londho iha* merupakan subjek yang kompleks. Ia sebagai agensi yang dapat mengambil keputusan, namun keputusan tersebut sering dibatasi oleh norma patriarki yang mengontrol kehidupan mereka. *Londho iha* bukan sekadar tradisi patriarkal, melainkan juga medan di mana perempuan Bima berupaya menjalankan agensinya dalam batasan sistem sosial yang kompleks. Agensi perempuan dalam *londho iha* bersifat ambivalen, dapat memerdekakan di satu sisi, tapi tetap bisa menjebak mereka dalam struktur patriarki di sisi lain. Oleh karena itu, praktik ini harus dibaca sebagai proses dinamis antara kekuasaan, budaya, dan subjek yang bertindak, bukan sebagai bentuk dominasi total ataupun kebebasan mutlak.

Keywords: agency; autonomy; elopement; *londho iha*; patriarchal; submission

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Introduction

Elopement, locally known as *kawin lari* or *merariq*, is a common social phenomenon in many traditional Indonesian communities, particularly in regions such as Lombok, Bali, and parts of Sumatra and Sulawesi. It has a long history deeply rooted in customary law (*adat*), local culture, and patriarchal norms that regulate marriage, sexuality, and family honor (Blackwood 2010; Platt 2017). In these contexts, elopement is not merely a romantic act but a socially embedded practice that reflects the tension between personal choice and communal control over women's bodies and marital decisions (Boellstorff 2007; Davies 2010). Underage teenagers often carry out this practice as a symbolic escape or resistance against arranged marriage, economic constraints, or social restrictions, in which the bride is taken to the groom's home to signify a union outside formal parental consent (Bennet 2005; Jones, Hull, and Mohamad 2015). While some communities continue to view it as a legitimate customary pathway to marriage, others see it as a problematic tradition that intersects with issues of gender inequality, child marriage, and the erosion of women's autonomy (Grijns and Horii 2018; Nisa 2018; Platt 2017).

Academic research has extensively examined elopement as a cultural tradition and social phenomenon. Muhsinin, Arjani, and Wiasti (2022) and Koesbardiati et al. (2025) demonstrate how elopement carries deep cultural symbolism while challenging the balance between individual rights, family honor, and traditional values. Hussin (2023) established how elopement is a sociocultural phenomenon that goes beyond mere violations of law or norms, impacting family stability, socioeconomic pressures, and potential gender-based stigmatization.

In Banyuwangi's Using community, the tradition of elopement is known as *melayokaken* and occurs when young couples decide to marry without the bride's parents' consent, and the woman is taken away by the man as a form of resistance against marriage prohibitions. According to Haryono, Sofyan, and Samudji (2017), this tradition is a form of social adaptation to tensions in the matchmaking process, but not without complex social implications. Legally, it may be considered a violation of children's rights and could involve abduction or violence.

A study of runaway marriages on Buru Island in the Maluku region by Hukunala, Andries, and Pattiruhu (2023) shows that such unions, locally known as *kaweng heka*, symbolize courage, true love, and resistance against arranged marriages or family prohibitions. This tradition typically occurs due to differences in social status, family conflicts, or certain prohibitions in cultural customs. In the region of East Kolaka, elopement is called *mombolasuako* and commonly done because the bride's parents disapprove of the marriage and demand a higher dowry, making elopement a practical solution (Elen 2024). Although *mombolasuako* originated as an alternative to formal procedures, it can be recognized if the couple completes customary rites and gains family approval. Hence, this tradition addresses social and economic tensions without compromising the legitimacy of the marriage. Similarly, in the Muna region of Southeast Sulawesi, *dopofileighoo* represents more than elopement; it is part of a structured cultural mechanism (Aso 2022) that blends customary systems with religious law, designed to maintain social harmony and marital legitimacy.

In the Manggarai culture of East Nusa Tenggara, elopement is also a practical strategy that arises in response to internal and external pressures. While religious and legal frameworks

permit the practice when proper procedures are followed, Naitboho (2022) notes that its immediate consequences may include financial strain, familial conflicts, and potential marital instability, revealing complex ramifications.

Among communities in the West Nusa Tenggara region, the *merariq* tradition is an integral part of Lombok Island's cultural identity, bridging traditional values with widely observed Islamic teachings (Nasir 2020; Pakasi et al. 2024). Those who uphold the tradition are open to making adjustments to comply with Islamic principles (Harun et al. 2024). However, Hukunala et al. (2023) note that such elopement practices can negatively impact women's social standing, as they can be perceived as a violation of propriety norms and customary law, potentially also triggering conflicts between families and clans. Although *merariq* is often carried out without the knowledge of the bride's parents, it is mainly a symbolic and usually consensual act under customary norms (Badarudin 2024; Yaqin et al. 2022). Koesbardiati et al. (2025) and (Jariah, Rahman, and Amir P. (2022) note that this practice persists as a cultural adaptation that integrates traditional, religious, and local economic values.

Londho iha is a traditional elopement practice among the Bima people, where couples run away from home to get married without their families' initial consent. Following tradition, after eloping, the man must return the woman in a traditional procession called *londho ncera*, followed by a legal marriage (Putri 2018; Taifikurahman 2020). While some consider *londho iha* a violation of norms, Kusuma-wardana and Kuncorowati (2022) states that this practice is culturally accepted as an adaptive mechanism to overcome obstacles in the process of officiating a marriage. Notably, this practice persists among Bima's Muslim community despite its tension with Islamic teaching, showing the complex interaction between custom and religion in the context of marriage (Hasan et al. 2022).

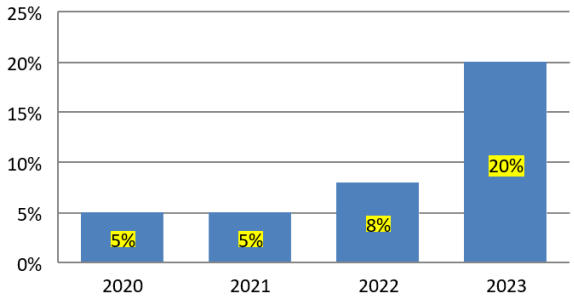
While local perceptions of elopement remain varied, Muhsinin et al. (2022) found that it represents a shift from traditional expectations towards more adaptive cultural flexibility. Platt's research (2012) in the West Nusa Tenggara region, specifically Bima and Lombok, shows elopement as a symbolic ritual and cultural practice marked by tensions between customary norms, family reputation, and women's agency. After eloping, young couples typically face pressures to formalize their marriage. In such cases, women's autonomy over subsequent decisions is often diminished because it is socially considered too late to revoke the marriage.

This article examines the specific elopement practice of *londho iha* in Bima and how it can have different implications for women's agency, simultaneously representing potential autonomy while reinforcing structures of female subjugation, as existing research has yet to examine this tension between empowerment and constraint. This paper focuses on Samili Village in the Woha district, as the number of early-age elopements in this village is relatively high. According to data from the village office, teenagers aged 15–18 carry out elopement, with the number increasing each year (see Figure 1).

This study centers around two questions: What factors cause the practice of *londho iha* in Bima's Samili Village? To what extent does the practice constitute women's autonomy versus subjugation?

Qualitative data was collected from September 2023 to April 2024 through observation and in-depth interviews. Twenty informants who understood the research context were interviewed, including women who had participated in *londho iha*, their families, and local community leaders.

Figure 1
Data of *Londho iha* (Elopement Marriages) in Samili Village, 2020–2023



Source: Samili Village Government, Woha Subdistrict, Bima Regency

This study uses Walby's theory of patriarchy (1991) to examine the subordination of women within the social system. The study also employs Sen's (1999) theory of agency to examine women's autonomy in decision-making and life direction in social, economic, and cultural contexts, as cited in Crocker and Robeyns (2009). Ortner's theory of agency (Ortner 1984, 2006) is used to examine the hidden agency of women who practice *londho iha*, viewing that women possess the potential for resistance and social change in spite of pressures from power dynamics and cultural norms.

The qualitative methods employed in this study are crucial to comprehend the role of women in *londho iha*, exploring the meanings, experiences, and cultural norms attributed to the particular social phenomena (Creswell and Poth 2024). This helps us understand how women interpret their specific experiences of *londho iha* in the context of autonomy versus submission (Tisdell and Merriam 2009).

Contributing Factors to Elopement

Interview findings revealed prevalent factors attracting women to the practice of *londho iha*, including parental disapproval, high and unaffordable dowry payments, desire to marry a man of their own choosing, socioeconomic pressures, and spontaneous romantic decisions. Each case demonstrated unique motivations and circumstances. One informant, NH (age 16), stated that she resorted to *londho iha* because she did not have parental approval to be married:

> "Initially, I chose to elope because we both wanted to continue our relationship. However, my parents did not give their blessing, so my boyfriend and I eloped, and I was taken to Ngali Village. Our goal was to get married. If we didn't love each other, perhaps we wouldn't have gone as far as eloping."

Informant F (age 15) similarly said she agreed to elope with her boyfriend because she loved him, even though she was still underage:

> "I had never been in a relationship before. My first boyfriend is now my husband. When my boyfriend asked me to elope, I agreed because I was only 15 and in ninth grade. I didn't fully understand marriage. I immediately agreed to my boyfriend's request to elope."

Dowry is another reason behind resorting to elopement; the informant, NH, expressed:

> "My parents asked for a high dowry that my boyfriend could not afford. We planned to do *londho iha* because, once we did, my parents would not demand a high dowry."

Informant U (age 17) expressed a similar sentiment:

> "I never intended to choose *londho iha*, but circumstances forced me to do so. I had already been proposed to, and the dowry had been determined. However, an unexpected event occurred: my future husband's onion harvest decreased, so he couldn't provide the dowry as initially agreed. I chose *londho iha* so my wedding plans could still go ahead."

Economic pressure contributes to women viewing *londho iha* as a means of alleviating financial strain on their families. Informant A (age 16) stated:

> "I haven't lived with my parents since first grade because they divorced. I thought it would be better for me to get married so that I wouldn't be a burden on family members, which is why I decided to do *londho iha*."

Londho iha is also done out of necessity when women feel that they have no other option in their previous circumstances. Informant S (age 16) stated the following:

> "I did *londho iha* because my parents never gave me freedom. They never allowed me to go out with friends or play with them. So, maybe one way out of this situation was to get married. At that time, I was still underage according to the Religious Affairs Office's requirements, so I chose *londho iha*."

Based on the interviews, it appears that the young women exercised agency in choosing their partners and initiating elopement, particularly when their families prohibit or disapprove of their relationships due to social or economic status or arranged marriages. In the context of parental disapproval of marriage, *londho iha* provides young women with a social outlet to express their preferences. However, this choice cannot be wholly seen as a free act, but rather a result of negotiation and compromise with customary norms. In many cases, women's autonomy operates within boundaries determined by custom and community morality (Platt 2012).

Another informant stated that she initiated *londho iha* on her own because she wanted to speed up the marriage. NR (age 17) said:

> "My marriage had already been planned, but I had to wait until the next year because I was not old enough to [legally] marry. This made me think of suggesting *londho iha* because the process would be easier and faster."

Such sentiments reveal that women can act on their own desires and goals in life. As Bennet (2005) argues, Indonesian women should not be viewed as merely submissive to religious and cultural norms; rather, they demonstrate complex agency in negotiating their desires and futures.

Another cause of *londho iha* is spontaneous romantic decisions. Sometimes, women in romantic situations agree to run away without fully comprehending the consequences. As revealed by informant N (age 16):

> "I had gone to a wedding with my boyfriend, who deliberately did not take me home with various excuses and told me to stay at his house overnight. The next day, he asked me to marry him, saying it was inappropriate for a woman to spend the night at a man's house, even if nothing happened. I innocently agreed to his request. At that time, I was not thinking clearly, so *londho iha* happened."

Londho iha continues to evolve as it is practiced for various reasons, including unplanned pregnancies, low educational attainment, environmental influences, and familial rejection of marriage proposals (Kusumawardana and Kuncorowati 2022). Socio-cultural factors also influence those who elope, generally

involving young adolescents. Cultural practices related to gender vary across regions in Indonesia, so it is important to understand the context of *londho iha* marriages that typically occur before the age of 20 and are legally categorized as child marriages. In Bima, such marriages are considered part of customary norms and seen as a means of preserving family honor and preventing extramarital relationships (Platt 2017).

Londho iha elopement has been observed across generations, being part of the Bima community's value system, norms, and customs. It is socially recognized as a valid marriage if both families have reached an agreement. In a recent case, *londho iha* addressed the issue of teenage relationships, as expressed by informant F (age 52), a community leader:

> "It could be one way to resolve issues involving teenagers who have become pregnant out of wedlock."

As an alternative option employed when formal marriage is not possible, the tradition enables the couple to live together while upholding local customary values through a customary resolution process. But in many cases, women and families who practice *londho iha* face stigmatization and social sanctions, such as gossip and ridicule. The women who practice *londho iha* are sometimes considered to be immoral and lacking self-respect because they are seen as unable to protect their honor. Consequently, it is not uncommon for their families to ignore them out of disappointment over their actions. Informant S (age 55), a community leader, conveyed this:

> "*Londho iha* causes gossip within the community, damaging families' reputations because it is considered inappropriate. It is not surprising when the family of a teenager who does *londho iha* is ostracized."

One teenager's parent stated that he and his family had to bear the shame caused by his daughter's actions:

> "It's embarrassing because in a small community like ours, it will definitely be the subject of gossip among neighbors. As parents, we have no choice but to agree to an elopement if our daughter insists on it, because if she doesn't, no man will want her, as the neighbors will immediately consider it inappropriate."

According to the *londho iha* custom, the couple will return to their families after eloping, with the woman's family usually accepting the marriage after negotiating with traditional and religious leaders. This plays a role in shaping the structure and dynamics of marriage in the Bima community. Elopement is often chosen by young couples as a form of resistance against family control, but it can also reinforce male dominance in domestic relationships. Religion and local customs often become intertwined forces that limit or legitimize women's choices. Nevertheless, women are not passive subjects in this dynamic, rather employing the interpretive space in religion and customs to negotiate their position, albeit often within a patriarchal framework (Platt 2012).

Patriarchal customs often limit women's rights and freedoms, including in customary law, where gender inequality is often reinforced to limit women's agency, a key dynamic in rural areas that are strongly influenced by traditional norms. Despite appearing to be an active choice, elopement is often a complex situation in which some women feel forced or have no choice after becoming involved (Platt 2012); social and familial pressure can trap them in a marriage they later regret. After eloping, women become increasingly vulnerable socially as their families face stigma from the community, and customary pressures make annulling the marriage difficult.

Although women are considered active in the initial decision-making process, they often have little control over subsequent processes, including conflict resolution between families, conditions of the marriage, and the continuation of the relationship. A woman's reputation becomes a symbol of her family's honor, and *londho iha* can be seen as reinforcing control over women (Haeratun 2025).

Wedding traditions in Bima are heavily influenced by cultural and religious norms, with a powerful influence on marriage-related decisions (Sugitanata et al. 2023). Women face limitations in fighting for their rights within marriage. Although elope-ment is considered part of local culture and tradition, it often creates social tension and challenges existing gender norms (Platt 2017); furthermore, women's role in marriage is not merely the result of a patriarchal social structure but also a space for negotiation and agency, albeit often limited. Platt (2017) concludes that women develop cultural and religious strategies to gain power and dignity or simply to survive in unequal social structures, with marriage being one such arena.

Autonomy or Subordination? Women's Position in *Londho Iha*

Interview data reveal that women exercise apparent autonomy when deciding to elope. However, they are also constrained by cultural and religious laws that require them to accept the risks involved and obey societal rules. Elopement often serves as a means for women and men to challenge parental authority in choosing their spouse, where women can act as subjects or agents with autonomy. This role can be seen as an agent of change by challenging traditions passed down from generation to generation. With awareness and consent, women can challenge traditions by questioning the *londho iha* tradition, which is considered unfair or disadvantageous to them. However, the same practice also positions women as objects of tradition and social consequence; while they stand to gain freedom from unwanted arranged marriages, they also face social stigma, gossip, and isolation from family and society.

In the context of *londho iha*, women can choose their life partners without interference from their families, demonstrating the negotiation power they wield as an act of resistance against family or community authority. This act is sometimes seen as a violation of the social order, but it is also seen as an affirmation of the right to choose a life partner. Paradoxically, *londho iha* also represents subordination due to the lack of full consent, owing to socio-cultural pressure and stigma against eloped women from the community, including considering them to be "no longer virgins" or "worthless." Such stigmas may limit women's choices and opportunities after *londho iha*, where the woman's family often feels compelled to accept the marriage to preserve the family's reputation. The woman then becomes an object of negotiation between the two families.

In Indonesia and other cultures, the tradition of elopement has complex meanings for women as it represents both a form of autonomy and subordination. In the case of *londho iha*, these two modalities cannot be distinguished as opposites, but rather interrelated and closely connected as women exercise their choice in marital selection while facing societal rules and cultural norms. Platt (2012) emphasizes that the practice of elopement in Lombok reflects the complex interplay of gender dynamics, custom, social control, and women's desires; while women are not entirely passive, their freedom of movement is limited by social structures that emphasize honor and family control. Hence,

their agency in this process is ambivalent: they are active actors within the constraints of local social structures and gender norms.

In Bima tradition, matrifocality, the central role of women in the kinship system, is the primary means for Muslim women to exercise their agency and foster collective solidarity (Wardatun 2019). This culture encourages women to make decisions collectively, especially regarding marriage and decisions such as engaging in *londho iha* for reasons including avoiding an unwanted marriage or expressing their personal choices in selecting a spouse. *Londho iha* is a tool to negotiate their position in societal and family structures, particularly in a society with strong patriarchal norms. Still, participating in *londho iha* pose the aforementioned social and economic risks for women.

Understanding women's position in the tradition of *londho iha* elopement requires an interdisciplinary approach by looking at theories of gender, customs, and power. As Walby (1991) and Beauvoir (1998) posit that patriarchy is a social system that places men in a dominant position in both the domestic and public spheres, *londho iha* can be seen as a representation of the patriarchal structure in Bima society, wherein women face limited freedom to determine their own fate, including in matters of marriage. Their autonomy in *londho iha* to make a decision that impacts their lives can be examined using Sen's (1999) theory of women's agency as cited in Crocker and Robeyns (2009), defined as a person's ability to act to achieve goals that are valuable to them.

We can therefore establish that *londho iha* can provide women with an avenue to strategically negotiate their agency within the intersection of religious norms and local traditions, as marriages in the Bima culture are often governed by Islamic law and tradition. As Moore (2015) states, women's agency is layered, situational, and can appear contradictory.

According to the theory of agency posited by Ortner (1984, 2006), individuals have agency even within a framework shaped by social and cultural norms, and despite appearing 'submissive' to such norms, women demonstrate hidden agency towards resistance and social change. While many customary practices that appear to grant women freedom are actually based on patriarchal norms that subordinate women, culture is not a single value system but rather an arena of conflict and struggle over meaning, women's agency is not always overt or radical; it can manifest in subtle, implicit, and ambiguous forms of resistance. Hence, the *londho iha* tradition can be seen as a form of resistance against patriarchal norms.

Women's responses to systems of inequality can also be viewed through the concept of "patriarchal bargains" (Kandiyoti 1988, 2016), aiming to maximize their security and well-being despite gender-based constraints. The concept holds that patriarchy is not uniform, but rather diverse and changing depending on each society's social, economic, and cultural structures. Furthermore, it emphasizes that women's apparent subordination is not a sign of the absence of agency, but rather an adaptive strategy within structures they do not control. Women make compromises within the patriarchal system to gain short- or long-term benefits, such as economic protection or family status. Hence, women in various societies should not be merely seen as 'victims' of patriarchy as they participate in negotiating their positions within the system, as well as in response to dynamic changes in gender systems amid modernization and social change.

This view is shared by Ortner (2006) in the concept of "thick resistance," where agency may

not always be clearly defined as either resistance or compliance, and where social actions always occur within historical and cultural structures. For example, women practicing *londho iha* may make compromises with the patriarchal system by running away with a partner who places them in an unequal power relationship. Their agency exists but is constrained by norms, male family control, and social pressure. In this context, *londho iha* becomes a space for symbolic negotiation over the value of honor, even though it risks reinforcing restrictive norms. As a result, women find themselves in an ambiguous situation: while apparently having the freedom to choose their life partner, social pressure and customary rules constrain their choices. A comparable example can be found in Akurugu, Dery, and Domanban research (2022) on marriage and gender power relations through the practice of bridewealth in Africa, which has a similarly ambivalent impact in demonstrating women's apparent autonomy alongside subjugated position in marriage, furthermore strengthening family structures while at the same time limiting women's freedom and agency.

In the Bima community, where patriarchal values and norms prevail and women have little say in marital choice, the autonomy offered by *londho iha* is one way to avoid unwanted marriages. Women are fully aware of their right to accept or reject *londho iha*, and they may consciously agree that it is the best solution (Wardatun 2024). However, the extent of women's autonomy can vary depending on the social and cultural context (Rammohan and Johar 2009). In *londho iha*, women have a certain degree of autonomy, though not complete autonomy, as eloping is seen as a way to escape restrictions such as family disapproval or express their preferences regarding their life partner.

The theory of female agency (Ahearn 2001) emphasizes that women can act independently and make decisions that affect their lives despite social barriers. From this perspective, elopement is a form of resistance against societal control that prevents women from autonomously making marital choices. However, customary demands or pressure from male spouses themselves can force women into eloping when they do not fully desire to do so. In various cultures in Indonesia, including Bima, patriarchal structures of local customs serve to control women's choices. Traditions of elopement often serve to legitimize patriarchy rather than fully represent women's autonomy.

Conclusion

The Bima tradition of elopement cannot be classified as either autonomous or subjugating for women. While it can provide an opportunity for women to exercise agency, in many contexts it reinforces patriarchal structures and subjugation. The position of women in the *londho iha* tradition is complex and cannot be generalized. There is a wide spectrum of its practitioners, ranging from women who display autonomy to choose their path in life to women who feel that they have become victims of subjugation by societal norms. To understand women's position in *londho iha*, one must consider the social and cultural context of Bima cultural norms in influencing the practice of *londho iha* and women's perception. Examining the position of women in the *londho iha* tradition reveals a paradox between autonomy and subjugation in the context of gender. On the one hand, this tradition can be seen as a means for women to express autonomy in choosing their life partners. On the other hand, it can also be regarded as a social mechanism that reinforces the patriarchal system, ultimately placing

women under pressure from customary and social norms.

This research is important in informing discussions about the position and role of women in complex social systems. Further studies involving Bima women regarding this tradition are needed to understand its meaning and its impact on women's lives after they have eloped. To understand women's agency in the practice of *londho iha*, an approach that considers cultural, social, and religious complexities is required. It is important to consider how women perceive their options within traditional norms and how they navigate their roles in society.

From a theoretical perspective, although women appear to have agency and autonomy in choosing their life partners, this study found that they actually face social pressures and customary rules that limit their choices and subjugate their position in public life. Many customary practices that seem to grant women freedom still subject them to patriarchal norms that place them in a subordinate position in society. Customary marriage traditions, particularly elopement in Bima, present a dilemma between cultural preservation and protecting women's rights. It is important to recognize that women's autonomy in marriage cannot be understood solely in terms of tradition, but must be examined within the context of the surrounding power, economic, and legal relationships.[]

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