Protection of Women from Cultural, Physical, and Sexual Violence in West Sumatra, Indonesia

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DISCLAIMER

Protection of Women from Cultural, Physical, and Sexual Violence in West Sumatra, Indonesia

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Abstract: Violence against women is one of the most horrifying global issues that threaten human life in Indonesia and other numerous part of the world. Currently, Indonesia is in a state of emergency concerning violence against women. The current study discusses the development of the protection of women from structural and cultural threats, and explores the delays toward the protection of women from such threats of violence. A library research was employed by collecting literature on the issues of violence against women. The study showed that there were various local and global factors ranging from economic, cultural, political, and structural factors that trigger the extraordinary numbers of violence against women. The results also demonstrate that the main effort to protect women from cultural and structural violence is by strengthening the role of women in the culture and the society.

Keywords: Protection of Women, Structural Hardness, Cultural Violence, Humanity Civilization

Introduction

The egregiously exploitative violence—whether sexual, psychological, economical, or physical—faced by women in Indonesia and various countries today is found to be perpetuated by antiquated stereotypical roles appertained to women (Alhabib, Nur, and Jones 2010; Hossain et al. 2010; Huda 2006; Johnson, Ollus, and Nevala 2007; Niaz 2003; Raymond 2004; Stark and Ager 2011; Watts and Zimmerman 2002). Previous studies have found that these atrocious acts of violence against women can be seen by the various realities occurring globally against women, i.e., rape, murder, sexual abuse, child marriage, and marginalization in many political policies. Further research (e.g., Abaza 2011; Fontes and McCloskey 2011; Kutmanaliev 2015; Miles 2002; Perry 2003; Purifoye 2014) has found that violence against women was not only happening in domestic settings but also in the broader public sphere—in public transportation, cafés, campuses, schools, offices, and tourist spots.

As reported by Morgan and Politoff (2012), Walby and Myhill (2001), violence against women is extreme and unwarranted. The perpetrators of these brutal acts were not only relatives but also individuals from work, school, and regrettably, even religious leaders. Consequently, the degree of violence against women in Indonesia is continuously and drastically increasing annually. Data from National Women's Liberation regarding violence against women in Indonesia stated that in 2015, there were as many as 16,217 cases, and in 2016 this increased to 259,150 cases (Sakina 2017). This data also showed that in 2016, sexual violence was the most prevalent aggression perpetrated against women (Millett 2016; Minza 2016; Walker 2016). As a result, government leaders are now worried that in Indonesia sexual violence against women is becoming a crisis.

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Appelbaum, Iaconi, and Matousek (2007), Huda (2006), Niaz (2003) stated that the often "unseen," but yet very realistic, violence against women occurs not only as a result of cultural exploitation but also by way of various community practices and government policies. This abuse can be seen in the structural violence affected through different government policies, and as a result of antiquated cultural practices that are still taking place in our modern societies (Hadler 2008). Fundamentally, the government, under the pretext of prosperity, creates many policies that marginalize women through subversion of those same policies, as with Article 65, Paragraph 1 of Law No 12/2003, for example, which states that all political parties must have a 30% representation of female officers. Yet, the quota of female representation is, and has been, far below 30 percent (Hanani 2012).

Nonetheless, the implications of these policies, both consciously and unconsciously, incite violence against women. These clandestine conditions of structural violence often occur unnoticed in conjunction with the emergence of traditional Islamic religious law (*Sharia*), which has more of a patriarchal narrative of Indonesian Muslim women as domestic workers rather than competent political agents (Adeney-Risakotta 2016; Fanani 2017; Parsons and Mietzner 2009). Still, the impact of these policies can be seen in the minimal regard for the welfare of women.

Violence against women is a moral insult against modern societies (Alhabib, Nur, and Jones 2010). Various human rights issues will always arise in the midst of progress (Giddens and Sutton 2010; Jones and Karsten 2008). Unfortunately, the welfare of women is often inversely proportional to the rate of development offered by the changing times (Watts and Zimmerman 2002). Controversies among the pioneers of justice, continue to surface when injustice, such as violence against women, is discussed (Katz 2018; Kitzinger 2004; Niaz 2003). The reality is that within this controversial social and political atmosphere often referred to as a juggernaut atmosphere (a destructive, crushing, and at the same time, an insensitive atmosphere without proper recognition for the safety of women), violence against women is still happening, and has not yet been eradicated (Johnson, Ollus, and Nevala 2007).

Women in a genuine globalized society should no longer be negatively publicized. They should be protected by Islamic governmental organizations and programs (Hanani 2012), rather than being discriminated against by the same political organizations, or by the culture. They should no longer be represented as a second-class group, or as "chattel" in a male-dominated society (Sakina 2017). Women should be considered as an equivalent group, treated with impartiality and justice. Regrettably, injustices occur when influenced by the perception of men that women should be viewed as a subordinate working class. The problems of women continue to be marginalized as long as the men see themselves as commanding associates of the subordinate class of women, not as their equal (Sakina 2017). It is realized in different social areas, including structural and cultural areas (Risman 2004).

More to the point, cultural cycle theory shows that the cycle of violence against women is an underlying recurring cycle (Taillieu and Brownridge 2010). Cultural and government organizations continue to refuse to provide adequate protection for women. Therefore, violence against women will persist, and the number of cases will continue to increase drastically. Cultural cycle theory may well indicate the humanitarian threats present in developing nations. Prior research has independently examined the dangers of either social or structural violence, or cultural violence, or the need for protection of women, but to the best of the knowledge of the authors has yet to synchronously examine these factors, particularly in the West Sumatra region of Indonesia. For that reason, this article, through a thorough review of the current literature on said subject, ventures to explain and analyze the development of the protection of women from both structural threats and cultural threats, and to explore the delays towards the protection of women from such threats of violence.

Structural Violence against Women

Structural violence against women is violence without a clear actor, and which is built into and inherent in the governmental structure of a society (Niaz 2003). This type of abuse can be observed both implicitly and explicitly in Indonesia through government policy, organizational, ideological, manuscripts, corporate, and bureaucracy (Parsons and Mietzner 2009). Marginalization and violence against women can be seen, for example, through various regulations riddled with controversy that is inspired by Sharia law (Adeney-Risakotta 2016). These traditional religious regulations misinterpret the needs of women and even establish and promote opportunities for women to further become victims of violence (Fanani 2017).

At present, the emergence of multimedia-based mobile phone groups offering unregistered marriages and virgin auctions is overwhelming (Ilahi 2018). Women become commodities of human trafficking moderated through multimedia schemes (Hossain et al. 2010; Huda 2006). This nauseating manipulation of women is just one of the many structural constructs of violence against women. These appalling circumstances make women out to be merely exhibitions and transparent media-prostituted objects (Raymond 2004). This viciousness against women deeply dehumanizes them. If it is not handled well, it would prolong the existence of victims of sexual violence, chattel, and property to be bought and sold. In reality, the force of the market for unregistered marriages and virgins has led to the harassment of women through organized agents, who view women as a sales commodity without considering their sense of humanity (Hossain et al. 2010; Huda 2006). Consequently, the vulnerable classes of women become marketable commodities by multimedia-based marketing groups (Escobar 2001; Krüger and Levy 2001).

Structural and government localities in Indonesia were not spared in strengthening local regulations and policies that offer protection for women who are seen as the weakest group (Putri 2012). Still, these protections are biased and do not contain valid justice for women. The perception of women as being the focus of fault, such as in cases of rape, domestic or public violence, and others vial incidences can be seen in the general reality of the society (Putra, Mashuri, and Zaduqisti 2015). For example, in the case of rape, women have sometimes been the party to blame in Indonesia. The victim is regularly accused of leading-on the rapist by not wearing her "*hijab*" [head covering], or because the victim is wandering around at night without her "*muhrim*" [family relationship], or sometimes the victim is blatant, though deceitfully accused of being raped because she was flirtatious (Irwan and Margaretha 2020; Nilan et al. 2014; Putri 2012).

Structural violence is officially and irrefutably constructed through economic, political, medical, and legal systems, so most women do not realize that structural violence is considered as violence against women. Regrettably, the society accepts structural violence because they believe that these things were constructed in the form of official regulations (Banerjee 2006). The ignorance of structural violence has, directly and indirectly, exasperated the cases of violence against women. The government administration can serve as a convenient uninterested mediator, where the willingness to prosecute an offender is often challenged due to the interpretation of the law by the officials (Ritzer and Goodman 2004a; 2004b). In numerous cases during colonial times, people would often follow the law as a safeguard to avoid punishment, even though they were unable to dispute the unfair bureaucracy. As long as no one can challenge the unjust bureaucracy, the unfair bureaucratic colonization continues to exist (Butler, Gluch, and Mitchell 2007).

In our modern society, the power of information technology has become a mode that directly and indirectly encourages violence against women (Barus et al. 2018; Hamayotsu 2013). Television has become a tool that promotes different forms of violence against women. Advertisements, posters, and entertainment have become products that make it more appealing for people to commit acts of violence against women (Revita, Trioclarise, and Gunawan 2017).

In transitional societies with a very high level of public imitation such as Indonesian context, the illusions of violence against women presented in entertainment seem to concrete by its audiences (Fontes and McCloskey 2011; Martam 2016).

For instance, research concerning women in the realm of entertainment has been conducted on the attributes of masculinity and femininity in Indian television, where the characteristics of entertainment have inseparably become indicative of structural violence against women (Banerjee 2006; Radhakrishnan 2009; Ray 2000; Thapan 2001). Indian media portrays men as being selfless, confident, and rational leaders, whereas women are seen as dependent, emotional, and subordinate followers (Banerjee 2006). These massive and elusive differences between genders, directly and indirectly, are visualized and translated into reality by the viewers. This visualization creates realistic opportunities that make the audience believe that women are a group of weak objects that even serve as a symbol of power for men in the structural world (Sakina 2017). These negative attributes have actively developed in the normative sphere so that society perceives it as a truth. This perspective makes women feel comfortable being a subordinate group. The visualized differences between men and women, directly and indirectly, facilitate women to become objects of violence in a patriarchal society (Sakina 2017).

Cultural Violence against Women

Cultural violence is violence that is culturally preserved (Jati, Joebagio, and Prasetya 2019). This type of violence is regarded as a righteous act and sometimes considered normal by being passed down as a tradition belonging to a community group (Multazam 2014). Cultural violence against women can be seen by various practices that have been normalized by certain societies, for example, in the tradition of female circumcision (Clarence-Smith 2012). Consider the examples of the *panamousuku* tradition of the *Naulu* tribe in Maluku that alienates the menstruating and pregnant women because it is considered unclean, or the *bakabung* tradition in West Sumatra where the custom of marriage is that men are superior over women (Tanahitumesseng et al. 2017).

Cultural violence is sometimes acknowledged as social control, both consciously and unconsciously, where that control leads to women being harmed and is often legitimized based on constructed cultural norms (Alexandra 2019). In the above examples, we can see various normative legitimizations. Let us look again at female circumcision, which is the normative acceptance of religion (Multazam 2014). However, in practice within society, the circumcision sometimes is harm for women because of genital cutting. In the *panamousuku* tradition of the *Naulu* tribe, menstruating women and women who will give birth should be isolated from the community because, in their tradition, these women cause harm and misfortune to the tribe (Tanahitumesseng et al. 2017). The tribe believes that these women should be banished and kept away from their families and communities. Now consider the tradition of *bakabuang*, where a man who has ritualistically divorced his wife, but still wants to return to his partner, for an agreed-upon fee can pretend to marry another woman temporarily (Kosasih 2013). Nevertheless, in this tradition, women are culturally marginalized in a hidden thread of violence. Here, women are regarded as an object that can be undoubtedly traded, as well as used as an object of trade for other commodities (Tidey 2019).

Violence against women in the cultural realm is seen through various circumstances ranging from family settings to undenied individual respect (Tidey 2019). In family settings, for example, from the division of labor to sexual affairs, women are viewed as being "under the man," so they bear a more demanding workload than men (Ray 2000). Besides, violence occurring in households is considered a frequent and ordinary matter and that it should not be unnecessarily reported and therefore mediated. In this situation, women are often used as an object of violence (Niaz 2003). This behavior makes domestic violence a critical issue that is

difficult to remove from society. According to a report from the World Health Organization, globally, 40 to 70 percent of women die because of domestic violence each year (Hanani 2012).

Women's labor group is the community that often experiences violence (Johnson, Ollus, and Nevala 2007). In other words, they are always positioned as domestic workers (Ray 2000). If women work outside the home, many individuals point to this as a form of work that is not appropriate for women. Women are believed only to be needed as caregivers, maids, and housekeepers; therefore, if children misbehave, the women are blamed for failing to educate the children (Koning et al. 2013). Women sometimes comfortably welcome this stigma as a domestic servant, so women are reluctant to engage and participate in the public sphere, including fighting for their rights (Ray 2000).

Likewise, women are viewed as being unequal to or even under men because women are often regarded as being weak, so they tend to experience many types of discrimination within the workplace (Ray 2000). Women face wage discrimination by given lower wages for undertaking the same duties as a man. This wage disparity occurs primarily in non-formal sector jobs where women are considered as weak and not as resilient as men (Krüger and Levy 2001). Nevertheless, the women do the same work, have equal working hours, and create similar products (Koning et al. 2013). The stigma that women are weaker than men has become a cultural construction in discriminating against women in order to pay them lower wages (Appelbaum et al. 2007).

In addition to the stigma that women are seen as being under a man's power, women are often romanticized in different aspects, from the sexual element to the political aspect (Fontes and McCloskey 2011). The sexual aspect can be seen from the presence of women as prostitutes, and the presence of women for casual male sexual encounters. One stigma is the presence of women as prostitutes where sex is promoted for the benefit of male sexual gratification (Ebintra 2011). This stigma is often accompanied by unfair and unjust law enforcement (Aisyah 2012). This is evident in the way that the prostitutes are punished. In this case, arrests and rehabilitation are only offered to women, while men are not given any harsh treatment. Consequently, even though both parties are involved, this leads to an imbalance in the punishment of immoral acts against the woman (Muttaqin 2014).

In cases of rape and sexual harassment, women do not have the power to uphold legal justice in local society (Fontes and McCloskey 2011). The stigma of society always shows that women are the triggers, and to punish women, in this case, is a very natural thing (Nilan et al. 2014). Not to mention social punishment that is so impartial to women (De Jonge 2019; Putri 2012). In matrilineal areas such as in West Sumatra, women are scorned and barred from society. They do not receive any rights of defense at either the cultural or social levels (Tanahitumesseng et al. 2017).

An indicator of cultural violence as social control is evidenced by the low number of Indonesian women in the political field (Appelbaum et al. 2007; Banerjee 2006). Affirmative action needs to take place by involving women as administrators in political parties (Dewi 2015; Rinaldo 2011). Affirmative action in Indonesia states that 30 percent of legislative candidates in every election, as presented since the 2004 general election, must be women (Aspinall and Mietzner 2010; Purwanti 2015). However, in the 2004 election, only 11.09 percent of women occupied parliament, far less than men. In the 2019, the quota of women representation is defined by Indonesian law. This system can increase the representation of women to 18.03 percent. Representation of women at 18.03 percent is considered high compared to Malaysia (9.9%), and Thailand (13.3%) (Aspinall and Mietzner 2010).

Nevertheless, this figure is still lower than Cambodia and the Philippines, which have reached 20 percent female representation respectfully, and Timor Leste, which has reached an astounding 30 percent. To date, twenty-four countries in the world already have above 30 percent representation of women in parliament. Rwanda at 56.3 percent has the highest percentage in the world of representation of women in parliament, with Andora at second

position with 53.6 percent, and the third position goes to Sweden at 45 percent. Indonesia is sitting at number sixty-four in the world ranking (Hanani 2012; Shiffman 2003).

Cultural violence occurs because women unknowingly feel comfortable with the culture that is not partial to them, and they accept that cultural discomfort as just the nature of being a woman (Alexandra 2019). This false sense of reality forces women to experience hidden cultural violence continuously (Tidey 2019). Women are often harassed in many settings. They often experience violence and discrimination. For this reason, women have broken free from this stigma, and they need to take action to fight the injustice so that women are no longer categorized and grouped as a subordinate group who only play a small role in society (Krüger and Levy 2001; Minza 2016; Radhakrishnan 2009; Risman 2004).

Protection for Women

To address violence against women and its impacts in the humanitarian field, both formal and informal safeguards should be made for the protection of women (Hanani 2012). Legal safeguards should be an essential part of the well-defined role of the government in overcoming this problem (Sakina 2017). These safeguards can be established through the law protecting the rights of women, and by organizing and mobilizing institutions for the protection of women so that women are more pro-active to fight the injustices, they suffer (Hanani 2012). Formal protection can be mobilized by various social protection programs and organizations for women and children that currently exist in Indonesia, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Social Protection Programs and Organizations in Indonesia

No	Name of the Programs and Organizations
1	Integrated Service Center for Women and Children Empowerment [Pusat pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak–P2TP2A]
2	Center for Gender and Children Studies
3	Institute of Observer and Child Protection [Lembaga Pemerhati dan Perlindungan Anak Limpapeh–LPPA Limpapeh]
4	Association of Women's Organizations [Gabungan Organisasi Wanita–GOW]
5	Women Entrepreneurs Association [Ikatan Pengusaha Wanita–IWAPI]
6	Majelis Taklim Organization [Badan Kontak Majelis Taklim–BKMT]
7	Indonesian Doctor's Wife's Association [Ikatan Istri Dokter Indonesia–IIDI]
8	Union of Women of the Republic of Indonesia [Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia –Perwari]
9	Family of the Regional House of Representatives Union [Ikatan Keluarga Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah–IKADE]
10	Indonesian Midwives Association [Ikatan Bidan Indonesia–IBI]
11	Association of Attorney Officers' Wives [Ikatan Adiyaksa Dharmakarini–IAD]
12	Association of TNI soldiers' Wives [Persit Kartika Chandra Kirana–Persit KCK]
13	Organization of women's justice [Dharma Yutikarini]
14	Association of Regional Bankers' Wives [Ikatan Istri Bank Daerah–ISBANDA]
15	Women's Association of Bank Rakyat Indonesia [Ikatan Wanita Bank Rakyat Indonesia–IWABRI]
16	Association of Police Officers' Wives [Bhayangkari]
17	Family Welfare Development [Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga–PKK]
18	Women Organization in Government Office [Dharma Wanita]

Source: Hanani 2012

Violence against women is a clear violation of human rights. The appalling acts of violence against women must be stopped. Therefore, in effort to prevent further acts of both traditional and locally based violence against women, and to broaden public awareness of such horrific acts through Affirmative Action, the government of the Republic of Indonesia has issued the following corresponding regulations, such as Law No. 87 of 1984 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights; Law no. Law No. 23 of 2004 on Elimination of Domestic Violence; Government Regulation no. 4 of 2006 on the Implementation of Cooperation and Recovery of Victims of Domestic Violence; Law no. 13 of 2006 on the Protection of Witnesses and Victims; Law no. 21, the Year 2007 on the Eradication of Crime of Trafficking in Persons; Government Regulation no. 9 of 2008 concerning Procedures of Integrated Service Mechanism for Witness or Victims of Trafficking in Persons; and Law no. 44 of 2008 on Pornography, and Law no. 36 The year 2009 on Health (Hanani 2012). Despite these facts, the government has issued the above mentioned regulations, the neglect, and repression, and the marginalization of women can still be seen in the local communities. Accordingly, the government should also focus on community-based protection to help educate members of local communities to create a sense of responsibility to protect women (Hanani 2012).

Traditional and Locally Based Violence

Indonesian society consists of various ethnicities and tribes that are abounding with local wisdom, rich with the combination of knowledge and traditions of the local peoples (Niaz 2003). The protection of indigenous women based on local indigenous wisdom is necessary. To help in reducing the traditional and locally based violence against women, many communities have initiated traditionally-based protections of women, e.g., West Sumatra localities, were advocating for the protection of women can be seen in various local policies through *adat Minangkabau*, a system of local customs, in opposition to the traditional Islamic religious law (*Sharia*), that regulates the interaction of the members of a society (Abdullah 1966; Adeney-Risakotta 2016; Zakia 2011). Together with gender-equitable law product policy which empowers women to have the opportunity to develop themselves and solve their problems (Tanahitumesseng et al. 2017).

Broadening Public Awareness

The community must also conduct pro-active movements as with women-initiated organizations that can encourage women to engage in activities to confront the problems they encounter. In West Sumatra, there is an association of women's organizations such as *Bundo Kanduang*, *Perempuan Berkabar*, *and Nurani Perempuan*, and *Kultur Dapur* (Blackwood 2001; Hanani 2012). These organizations were created in response to the conditions, phenomena, and problems faced by women in the West Sumatra. The organization of Perempuan Berkabar was established to assist women who could not get sufficient justice. This organization focuses its attention on handling unclear issues of violence against women.

Women need space to freely talk about their experiences and experience conditions where their voices can be heard. Women have pioneered movements like this in the era of colonization, such as Rohana Kuddus (1884–1972), who established the first female newspaper in Indonesia called Soenting Melayoe. The *Journal of Asraq*, a journal of women writers published by Kaoem Iboe Soematera Society in 1924 that later changed its name on August 17, 1928, to *Soeara Kaoem Iboe Soematera Journal* (Hadler 2008).

Not only women but also men should openly discuss women's issues. For example, Hamka (2016) skillfully presented a discussion about women's issues by a man in their book, compiled by his father, entitled *Ayahku* (My Father), which tells of the fate of Hamka's mother. Writings

such as Hamka's (2016) should continue to appear in the contemporary context so that various problems of women are not fossilized in the minds of the government and of the communities.

Involvement of Women in Affirmative Action

One way out of the mire of both structural and cultural violence against women is to "increase the representation of women in areas of employment, education, and culture from which they have been historically exclude'" through the use of affirmative action (Fullinwider 2018). The issue of violence against women is a consequence due to the limited awareness of women involved in solving the problems of women, and inadequate pro-women policies (Adeney-Risakotta 2016). This narrow awareness can be seen from the limited involvement of women in making laws, budgets, and policies. If the number of women involved in handling the problem associated with the rights of women is still trivial, then the issues of women will continue to perpetuate (Banerjee 2006). In Indonesia, which has a population of over 250 million, we can see that the involvement of women in government legislature is insignificant (Dewi 2015). Accordingly, it is natural that the violence and injustice against women in Indonesia is still a problem. In fact, in 2016 and early 2017, Indonesia became known as a country that has reached an emergency status in the area of violence against women (Jati, Joebagio, and Prasetya 2019).

Conclusion

Structural and cultural violence against women will always exist if both the visible and hidden stigma of abuse is still constructed within the patriarchal society of Indonesia (Sakina 2017). The violence against women caused by structuralism in Indonesia is still the most prominent violence against women (Adeney-Risakotta 2016; Niaz 2003; Parsons and Mietzner 2009). In the cultural sphere, women are nonetheless considered as second-class, and their social status is still lower than men (Jati, Joebagio, and Prasetya 2019; Multazam 2014; Tanahitumesseng et al. 2017). This demeaning cultural position of women often makes women an object of violence.

In order for women to be more involved in parliament and political parties, which focus on the issues faced by women in Indonesia, all political parties must have 30 percent representation of female officers as per Article 65, Paragraph 1 of Law No 12/2003 and Law No. 10/2008. Likewise, it is crucial to policymaking that the political parties adhere to the quota principle implemented in the 2004 and 2009 elections in Indonesia by nominating 30 percent female representatives from each political party as candidates for the election of candidates for House of Representatives, Provincial Representatives, and District/City Representatives (Hanani 2012).

In this regard, it is necessary to protect women who are mobilized in various structures of the state, local, and community government. The apparent impact in opposition to violence against women has been set by the very involvement of women in various public and government domains since they are the ones who best understand the problems of women. In this manner, the participation of women in parliament and political parties can contribute to the welfare of women. The indispensable social protection offered to women through programs and organizations for women and children can be highlighted through strengthening the role of women in the culture and the society and protecting traditional women in their effort to advocate for women.

This research does have its limitations. Although the plight of violence against women is generalizable as a global pandemic, this study primarily delved into the issues of violence against women in the West Sumatra region of Indonesia. Additionally, this study, to a nominal degree focused on the impact of traditional Islamic religious law on the rights of women in Indonesia, future research should look at the impact of Sharia Law on a more significant part of the population of Indonesia.

In short, women are still seen as subordinate in the male-dominated Indonesian society. This mindset can be found in various cultural and structural arenas. However, the reality of the issues faced by women in Indonesia is neglected and often not strictly viewed, either by women or others, as critical. Therefore, as long as structural and cultural beliefs continue to construct violence against women, the welfare of women will continue to be in jeopardy.

Acknowledgment

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