

Women and Terrorism: Hegemony of Patriarchal Culture and Poverty as Drivers of Terrorism Action by Women

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Abstract: Poverty is not only interpreted as economic poverty but also has wider problems. Economic poverty can be only overcome if poverty in other various aspects of life is also overcome. Poverty is very close to women because women are more vulnerable to impoverishment, especially structural impoverishment. This is because women are marginalized in political, economic and social spaces. Women become helpless due to the hegemony of patriarchal culture and repressive social structures. So that women tend to accept injustice in their position as part of society. In the end, impoverishment of women as a result of the hegemony of patriarchal culture actually contributed to the involvement of women in terrorist activities in various regions of Indonesia, for example, suicide bombings in Surabaya some times ago.

Keywords: Women, Patriarchy, Poverty, Terrorism

1. Introduction

Nowdays, the world has undergone a continuous change in its international agenda. Every country is facing challenges which is related to non-military threats. The big consequence that must be faced from the existence of non-military threats is the asymmetric threat. An asymmetrical threat surfaces from the presence of unbalanced forces. This has led to the symptom of rebellion by non-state actors over the state as the dominant factor in an international system.

In International Relations Studies, the concept of "balance of power" was born in the period of the formation of political ties or Greek cooperation at the same time before the Treaty of Westphalia reached its agreement in 1648. The concept of "balance of power" provides a special picture for non-state actors to take action which ultimately presents no reasonable. One form of this unnatural threat is acts of terrorism. In the Republic of Indonesia Defense White Paper issued by the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia in 2008, it was explained that terrorism is one of the priority issues that fundamentally change the concept of security. The concept of security which initially prioritized a conventional approach, ultimately considered and applied a holistic approach.

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One form of asymmetric threat is radicalism (radicalism) through the use of violence or terror (terrorism). Based on the history, terrorism has emerged and is used as a tool for revolutionaries to improve conditions that they should not experience such as political and economic injustice. Then terrorism is also used by the rebels in overthrowing the government or suppressing colonies.

Meanwhile, religious and ethnic minorities struggle to escape from the society where they believe that has discriminated against themselves. The people also struggle with using terrorist tactics in achieving this goal. Terrorism can also be carried out by those who aim to harm and harm race or other social groups that are considered threatening their lives. On the opposite side, terrorism can also be carried out by the government as a tool or instrument in suppressing those whom it considers as opponents. This is related to the counter-asymmetric threats made by the state against non-state actors who oppose it. While on the other hand, radical and conservative stakeholders also use terrorism as a tactic on their political agenda. Therefore, terrorism is one of the asymmetric threats that are closely related to radicalism as a reinforcement of its action.

Terrorism plays a significant role in implementing a holistic approach as a tool for governments in a country to achieve its national interests, namely protecting the safety of individual societies. The international agenda which is increasingly entering the contemporary era illustrates that currently the main actors behind operations and acts of terrorism are not only carried out by men, but also by women.

This also happens in Indonesia, where acts of terrorism are still a threat to a safe and peaceful life. Since entering 2000, terror in Indonesia has begun to be active, starting with the Jakarta Stock Exchange bombing, then the first Bali bombing in 2002, and more recently, precisely in May 2018 with a Church bombing in Surabaya. It is interesting because the perpetrators of the suicide bombing are not only men but also women, even involving children. Even if we look at the culture of Indonesian society today, patriarchal culture is still quite strong in the community. Women are considered as weak, motherly, emotional, irrational, and have no right to their own decisions. Women become *konco wingking*, *manut katut* with men as leaders. However, at that time the gender mindset revolution began to be echoed especially by feminists. One example is Amina Wadud who is known as a Muslim feminist with her idea of "Gender Jihad" [1].

Therefore, this article tries to describe how the helplessness of women due to the dominance and hegemony of patriarchal culture which is still quite strong, coupled with the poverty faced, actually plays a major role in the involvement of women in acts of terror that have rocked Indonesia in recent years.

2. The hegemony of Patriarchal Culture and Women's Injustice

"Women's degrees are lower than men", an expression that we often hear and generally applies to society, even today. This assumption is reflected in general prejudices such as a wife must serve her husband, the woman goes to heaven or to hell with her husband, the woman has the duty to serve her husband and care for the child, and so forth. These prejudices have been strengthened by the moral structure of society that is manifested in religious, traditional and cultural regulations. After all, as long as we remember, even our ancestors, the situation is already like this.

This kind of prejudice shows the strong patriarchal culture inherent in society. Patriarchy is an ideology that refers to gender differences which assume that men are superior to women. Patriarchy is formed historically from the dynamics of relations and social organizations where men dominate women. As an ideology, patriarchy can be defined briefly as male power, social relations with which men control [2]. Patriarchy as an ideology unites in human culture. The rules that govern the relationship between men and women can take different forms in each society. So, placing men as superordinates of women is an ideology.

Patriarchy as a system places adult men in a central position or most importantly, while others such as wives and children are positioned according to the interests of the adult male. In a patriarchal system, women are positioned as wives in charge of assisting, completing, serving, and serving their husbands, while children are positioned as the next generation and entertainers of their fathers. That is, in a patriarchal culture the position of women is placed under the position of men, thus giving birth to many cases of violence against women due to this kind of constructive thinking.

Everything related to human life was finally constructed and devoted to strengthening the position of men in the patriarchal system, such as community law, marriage law, inheritance law, and so forth. In addition, the perspective on morals, customs, beliefs, art, ideology, religion, is fully regulated to perpetuate this patriarchal system. Therefore, it can be said that patriarchy is the oldest system which is the main enemy of women in their struggle to achieve equality between men and women.

This is what causes the construction of thinking our society to date still considers that women do not have a meaningful role in human life in general. Starting when women are born, followed by when women enter childhood, they have been treated differently from men. Women since childhood have been introduced to games that refer to the domestic field, such as being presented with puppet games, cooking and so on. Stepping on adolescents, women are crammed with advice that good women are those who are able to please their husbands, so young women begin to be taught how to prepare themselves to be physically pleasing women through caring for themselves and given a message to always obey and obey their husbands. This understanding carried over to the end of women's lives.

According to Mansour Fasih, the injustices which are experienced by women manifested in various forms. Based on the various forms of injustice, women are vulnerable to being victims of this injustice. Some forms of injustice experienced by women are due to the development and perpetuation of patriarchal culture, namely: [3]

First, the marginalization of women, where men are considered superior and women are in the inferior region. The source of the marginalization of women is like government policies, beliefs, interpretations of religion, traditions, or even scientific assumptions. For example in the realm of employment is very low female wages. Marginalization of women does not only occur in households, communities, and even countries.

Second, subordination, this happens to women due to the view of gender bias that occurs in all aspects of different forms, from one place to another and from time to time. The notion that women are irrational, prioritizing emotional traits and speaking more on the basis of feelings than on rationality results in the appearance of attitudes that place women in unimportant positions, both in discrimination and in policy.

Third, stereotype, namely labeling (labeling, stamp, verdict) is negative towards women, especially in the context of social relations with men so that it always causes harm to women. Many government regulations, religious rules, culture, and community habits are developed because of these stereotypes.

Fourth, violence or violence against women which is an attack or invasion of the physical as well as psychological psychological integrity of a person to the economy. This is due to the power inequalities that exist in society. Forms of violence against women include rape, sexual abuse, prostitution, and pornography.

Fifth, excessive workload, where not a few women bear a double burden, namely inside and outside the home. Job assignment to women in the area around the house that tends to be considered low-key and unproductive compared to the type of work that men usually do. The imposition of domestic, inferior and unproductive jobs like this results in injustice towards women.

Even though at this time it can be seen that the role of a woman is no longer confined to household duties, women are seen as having the same position and role as a man. The equal position and role of women and men commonly referred to like the concept of gender equality. Where women are seen as no longer only struggling in the domestic sphere, but have entered the public sphere. Women can also access various aspects of life which are also their rights, such as education and employment [4]. However, this has not been fully achieved by women.

The hegemony of patriarchal culture that is still exist until now sometimes makes women seem to be the obstacles in the effort to realize equality between men and women its self. This can be seen from the fact that women inherit patriarchal culture regarding the role and function of women to their children and grandchildren. This is undeniable as a result of the process of planting patriarchal ideologies that have been going on for a long time, which hegemony the thoughts of women and ultimately women assume that their roles and functions which only lie in the domestic domain are natural or even as God's destiny.

The length and length of the process of patriarchal cultural hegemony are done by separating women from society, from the turbulence of everyday life, from *the struggle to live*, which once made women become physically, mentally and spiritually healthy. The impact is that now women are weak creatures, where their fate no longer depends on their personality but is very dependent on the men who become their husbands.

3. Women's Faced Poverty

Talking about poverty is not just a mere economic problem, it is not just a matter of culture as assumed by modernists. There is a much deeper problem, namely, poverty occurs because there are structural problems that cause inequality of access to economic resources among groups of people called structural poverty. The existing structure is dominated by certain members of the community, so they master the economic, social, political and cultural means, and this is what causes the imbalance.

The dominance of some members of the community group towards various facilities and resources raises a new understanding, that the problem of poverty is not merely an economic problem, but also the existence of essential human needs that are not met. These needs include subsistence needs, affection, security, identity, protection, creation, freedom, participation and leisure time. If these needs are not met, then this condition can be said as total poverty in various faces and shapes [5].

Subsistence needs arise when the needs for clothing, food, shelter and other basic needs are not met due to low income. While poverty affection manifests itself in various forms of oppression because of the exploitative pattern of relations between humans and humans or humans with nature. Furthermore, protection poverty arises due to the widespread culture of violence, while the system of protection of people's rights and needs is very minimal. Understanding poverty is defined as the inability to meet needs because of the low quantity and quality of education. Participatory poverty is the marginalization of community groups from the policy-making process because of discrimination. Whereas identity poverty arises when the existing socio-cultural values are destroyed because of the imposition of foreign values on local culture [6].

Everyone has a different experience in dealing with gaps and helplessness that causes a person to enter the circle of poverty, especially women. Poverty with a woman's face can be seen when she is in the family's private space, there is value about the sexual division of labor, and globalization.

Faced with men, women are in weak positions and relationships. Women's access to financial resources in the family is very unprofitable. In poor families, financial management matters are left to women, but ironically, in families with better economies, family finances tend to be controlled by men. At the same time, when government assistance programs are aimed at poor families, assistance is channeled to men because they are identified as the head of the household. In fact, the facts often show

that the aid money is not necessarily used for shared purposes in the household, but rather is used for the benefit of men themselves.

In addition, women also have limited access to enter the workforce and more directed to managing households that are considered unproductive. Even if women work outside the home, the burden of managing the household is still borne by women. On the other hand, a national economic system integrated into a world market or globalization has an impact on the neglect of women's welfare. Therefore, women-faced poverty places women in a weak situation, making them more vulnerable to violence and other negative impacts. The pressure of poverty makes many village girls snared at early age marriages, increasing cases of domestic violence, and trafficking in women. In addition, injustice and social alienation also provide fertile ground for the strengthening of religious intolerance and fundamentalism.

4. Terrorism

The definition of terrorism until now is still in debating, so that until now there has been no universally accepted definition of terrorism. Although there are experts who formulate it, the absence of a uniform definition according to international law on terrorism does not necessarily nullify the legal definition of terrorism. Each country defines according to its national law to regulate, prevent, and overcome terrorism. The word terrorist and terrorism comes from the Latin word "*terrere*" which more or less means making trembling or trembling. The word terror can also cause horror [7].

Basically, the term terrorism is a concept that has a sensitive connotation because terrorism results in the emergence of victims of innocent civilians. Terrorism as a social phenomenon develops along with the development of human civilization. The methods used to commit violence and fear are also increasingly sophisticated along with the sophistication of modern technology. The process of globalization and the culture of modern society has become a fertile ground for the development of terrorism. The ease of creating fear with high technology and the development of information through extensive media, making networks and acts of terror increasingly easy to achieve its objectives [8].

Terrorism is difficult to define because the term is often used to refer to acts of general violence committed by political enemies. Terrorism is the right name for hitting one's political opponents, because it is difficult to provide a definition, occupying diplomats and international law experts, but there are no internationally accepted definitions [9]. The difficulty faced is changing the face of terrorism from time to time. At certain times terrorism is an act carried out by the state, at other times terrorism is carried out by non-state groups, or by both. Walter Laquer stated that there would not be a definition that could summarize the variety of terrorism that had emerged in history [10].

According to T. P. Thornton terrorism is defined as a symbolic act designed to influence political wisdom and behavior in extra-strict ways, especially with the use of violence and threats of violence [11]. Whereas the terror process according to E. V. Walter contains elements of acts or threats of violence, emotional reactions to extreme fear from the victims or potential victims, and social impacts that follow violence or threats of violence and fear that arises later [12].

James Adams formulates terrorism as a threat of physical violence by individuals or groups for political purposes, whether for the sake of or against existing power if acts of terrorism are intended to surprise, paralyze or intimidate a target group greater than the direct victims [13]. Terrorism involves groups that try to subvert certain regimes to correct national group complaints, or to undermine existing international political arrangements.

Of the many opinions about terrorism, it can generally be concluded that terrorism is an organized crime movement that has networks in various forms and types, motivated by a variety of motivations and specific objectives that have been planned using tools or facilities that have been designed in such a way that objects that are targets of terror crimes can be carried out correctly and measurably.

5. Women and Terrorism

So far, it is generally understood that the root of the problem of terrorism is the issue of religion (ideological differences), namely Islam versus non-Islam. This perspective is not wrong because in general radical Islamic groups, Islam is wanted as a principle of life that must be adopted in the constitutional system. However, is a religion (Islam) really the cause of the emergence of terrorism? Of course, we cannot rush to answer that religion is a determinant factor in this problem. In this connection, we need to consider the root problem of terrorism by using another perspective.

Tracking the roots of terrorism is actually very complex. This means that terrorism is not only caused by a single factor as mentioned above. Political, social and economic aspects are also integral and fundamental parts that can lead to the emergence of terrorism.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. In its history, terrorism was caused by the desire of a group of Muslims who wanted the purification of religious teachings in the pre-independence period. In this context, some Muslims are considered no longer walking as the teachings recommended by the Prophet Muhammad and the guidance of the Qur'an. As a result, several groups of Muslims felt the need to straighten out Muslims who were considered to have lost their way not only by means of oral preaching but also by means of violence (jihad).

From this, it can be seen that the emergence of terrorism in the pre-independence period was more influenced by ideological factors. However, in the current context, terrorism has a slightly different style compared to the pre-independence period. Terrorism is currently not only motivated by religious issues, but also because of economic and political issues. Interestingly, currently terrorists are not only dominated by men, but women have also begun to become involved as terrorism actors in Indonesia.

The phenomenon of the involvement of women in acts of terrorism was initially limited to helping or supporting acts of terrorism because they had a relationship with the perpetrators of the marriage bond. For example, the involvement of Putri Munawaroh, the terrorist wife of Hadi Susilo alias Adib, who helped hide Noordin M. Top.

The potential of women in terrorist activities in Indonesia in their development is no longer limited to helping hide terrorists. Women can also be used in intelligence activities or other underground movements that can support acts of terrorism. Women can be used by terrorist networks to find and gather information on targets of terror or the movement of security forces. Women are more effective in seeking information because they have flexibility in appearance and little suspicion from the target. Not only limited to seeking information, but women are also involved in the work of protecting acts of terrorism.

Suicide bombings involving women became a further development of acts of terrorism, such as in suicide bombings in three locations in Surabaya in May 2018 ago. The role of women can also develop not only as actors who help terrorists but also can become leaders of terror groups. This role can occur in terrorist groups based on certain nationalism or ethnic groups. However, it is rather difficult to materialize when viewed from the point of view of a radical Islam-based terrorist group that recognizes that a leader can be a man. The role of women in acts of terrorism that are based on radical Islam is quite small, but the emergence of their actions in an event of terror such as a suicide bombing will lead to a dramatic situation and greater public attention to the event. Heroic and heartbreaking stories will emerge behind these events that will foster sympathy from the community and provoke a much more passionate spirit of jihad from men in the terror group.

Women have been victims of ideology, indoctrination, stigmatization, media, and conflicts resulting from terrorism. In general, the usual ways to make women join a terrorist network include marriage, friendship, worship, social media, and so on. In fact, terrorism has entered and taken root in the family system of terrorists. So it is not surprising that women can also become perpetrators, no longer limited

to being targeted for the recruitment of radical doctrines. This means that women who are currently active terrorists cannot be separated from the decisions of their husbands or husbands involved in acts of terrorism.

The doctrine of obedience in the midst of a patriarchal culture in a radical group society weakens women's bargaining position. In general, women's position is determined by society, especially by men. So women follow what their family decides, in this case, the head of the family or husband. Culturally, in patriarchal culture women will be very obedient to their husbands under any circumstances. Recruiting women by marrying is a mode of recruiting women in terrorist networks. In addition, many women are considered more easily affected, especially those who have family and economic problems. Choice of women also has tactical and strategic aspects. Women as terrorists will outwit the security forces because terrorists have been synonymous with men so far.

The massive propaganda of terrorist networks and the recruitment model, one of which through social media, provides hope for women to emigrate to areas where the terrorist network is developing. This is because they feel that the network can accommodate various complaints, dissatisfaction living under un-Islamic values, a sense of injustice in the home country, the desire to enjoy life under the Islamic Khilafah as part of the *amaliyah* and economic promises of high salaries and all the lucrative free facilities.

Religion can be said as the basis of a very friendly belief in women. But on the other hand, women are very vulnerable to exposure to radical ideologies because with inadequate literacy skills make it less critical in receiving and understanding information, especially through social media. In this context, patriarchal culture has been firmly attached to religion. So that in religious discourse, women are considered as the second party and are only allowed in the domestic sphere. The view that women are subordinated and marginalized parties are one of the factors that encourage women to play an active role as actors in acts of terrorism. Their involvement in acts of terrorism is not as a form or method of how they came out and rebelled from this patriarchal culture. However, precisely this patriarchal culture is used to invite women to be involved in acts of terrorism.

That is, the involvement of women in acts of terrorism shows that they are not wanting to free themselves from the shackles of patriarchal culture and also do not want to change women's freedom in understanding religion. In fact, they remain loyal to their husbands and act as supporters of their husbands. However, because fundamentalist radical movements like this give an ideological understanding to women that what they are doing is a way of struggle for God, then they do not complain at all. They are actually proud that giving birth to children to serve the biological needs of men is also considered a way of *jihad*.

The birth of terrorism is not only motivated by ideological issues, but injustice in economic matters also plays a role in giving birth to acts of terrorism. Terrorism can occur as a result of the frustration of several groups of poor people who cannot survive in their lives. Groups that experience prolonged pressure and frustration are very vulnerable to two things, namely doing violence and being easily influenced by outsiders for various kinds of interests. As a result, this condition will greatly facilitate terrorist leaders to indoctrinate with misleading teachings on groups of poor people.

The frustration experienced by someone causes them to easily accept any teachings without being understood and studied first, let alone the teachings using religious justification. This can be seen from the fact that the actors in the suicide bombings that occurred in various regions in Indonesia such as Imam Samudera and Amrozi were people from middle to lower economic backgrounds.

On the other hand, government policies in the economic field that marginalize the lower class of society also result in public dissatisfaction which in turn gives rise to radical actions on a person. Although not influenced by outsiders for certain interests, such as religion, marginalization, and

discrimination, in the end, sparked public dissatisfaction, especially the poor, which made the group easy to commit acts of violence.

This shows that acts of terrorism can be triggered by the limited access to economic resources caused by discriminatory government policies. The existence of striking economic differences between the rich and the poor is a real reality in Indonesia today. Therefore, acts of terrorism thrive because the government's economic policies are only focused on infrastructure development and at the same time ignore the development of human resources and socio-cultural aspects so that many people are marginalized in the economic system. This condition ultimately led to community dissatisfaction which triggered acts of terrorism.

Factors of poverty can give birth to fundamentalist ideologies that are close to acts of terrorism and facts show that poverty raises the demographic community that is most affected by this phenomenon. Relative deprivation and despair due to poor living as sources of frustration for the community, especially Muslims. In addition, women's choice for fundamentalist ideology was also driven by factors of financial shortages. Financial availability is crucial for a woman's life. Hope women usually have couples who are already working and not unemployed [14].

It cannot be denied that the confusion of patriarchal culture causes inequality in relations between men and women in all aspects of life, both economic, social, cultural and political. The position of women under men in patriarchal culture makes women forced to submit and always obey men. Every decision was taken by men, even if it is very unfavorable for women, must still be accepted and carried out. This is also experienced by women who are the wives of the perpetrators of terrorist acts in Indonesia.

The helplessness of women in the patriarchal hegemony of culture makes them unable to resist acts of terror carried out by their husbands, not even a few who use them to help succeed the acts of terror carried out. The elaboration between the justification of religion and patriarchal culture is a medium for indoctrinating women to justify, support and assist acts of terrorism. In its development, women are no longer just helping, but also act as perpetrators of terrorist acts.

This situation is exacerbated by the lack of economic conditions so that it can create frustration in living life. So it is not surprising that women are easily influenced and involved in acts of terrorism. Not to mention if the husband becomes a victim in acts of terror such as suicide bombings or is captured by security forces due to acts of terror, it will give a burden both psychologically and economically to women as the wives of the perpetrators of terrorist acts. This is certainly a gap to influence and invite women into a terrorist network. Compliance with men is due to the hegemony of patriarchal culture and frustration due to weak economic conditions, especially if it has been left behind by the husband, making women not hesitate and not reluctant to get involved in acts of terrorism.

6. Conclusion

Along with the development of current acts of terrorism, the involvement of women in acts of terrorism certainly needs special attention. Initially, women were only in the position of helping terrorist acts carried out by men, especially if those who did were her husband. But at present, it is precisely women who are the actors in acts of terrorism, such as suicide bombings which in recent years have been rampant in Indonesia. Women are often used by terrorist groups to commit terror because they are considered more effective and efficient considering women are considered harmless so that the examination of women is not too strict. Moreover, in general, men who are still identical are considered as perpetrators of various acts of terror in the country.

Of course, this does not happen suddenly, but there is a process behind the involvement of women in acts of terrorism. *First*, the hegemony of patriarchal culture that causes inequality in relations between men and women in all aspects of life. Women are positioned below men so they must submit and obey

men. As a result, if the man or the husband commits an act of terror, then the woman is powerless to refuse and even help because of their obedience and submission to men. *Secondly*, the economic pressure from poverty raises frustration that can lead to violence. Weak economic conditions due to economic injustice that is obtained make it easier for someone to be influenced by certain groups that have interests, especially terrorist groups.

Therefore, it is very difficult not to say that even though women act as the main actors in the terrorist movement, they are actually just victims. Victims from the ideology of the husband or family, victims of religious indoctrination who are impartial to the humanity, victims of stigmatization from the community, media victims, and victims of poverty. Women are again just victims of conditions created by patriarchal power elites.

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