The way of a patriarchal bargain: how the bargain under the structure and agency perspective

Ismah Tita Ruslin

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Ushuluddin and Philosophy, University of State Islamic (UIN) Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia.

Corresponding author: ismahtitaruslin78@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to present a different perspective on presenting patriarchal bargains from the existing ones. The patriarchal system is generally understood as a system that places men as superior to women. In the western view, the patriarchal system has become a ‘way of life which is considered ahistorical, eternal and the subordination of women is a universal act, so this hierarchy has always existed and will continue, and like other natural rules, this rule is also unchangeable and unnecessary. Questioned again. Radical feminists embrace and apply classical patriarchal theory to explain almost all forms of male domination over the exploitation of women. However, women’s responses to male domination vary widely, according to the objective opportunities available under each patriarchal variant, thus through patriarchal bargaining, Kandiyoti opens up opportunities for women to see patriarchy as an entity that is not eternal. Patriarchal bargain studies have also emerged with the dominance of a strong agency character. The agency character is indeed considered to have the power to target other forces outside the structure, but this becomes problematic because patriarchal bargain studies seem to ignore the existence of (partial) structure. While according to Giddens, agency plays in the realm of structure, just as the structure is an unavoidable epistemic aspect in social science, the structure is not conceptualized as only placing constraints on human agency, but is also seen as possible. Social change cannot be seen partially, both structure and agency are present simultaneously and interactively.

1. Introduction

The patriarchal system is generally understood as a system that places men as superior to women. Walby (1990) defines patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women. According to Lerner (1989), patriarchy in a broader sense could mean the realization and institutionalization of male
domination over women and children in a family and the expansion of male domination over women in society generally. The patriarchal system works through institutions such as academies, churches, customs, and the family, each justifies and reinforces the subordination of women over men (Millett; 1977).

The roots of patriarchy can be traced to ancient Greece with the social community’s existence where the father played a major role in society as the ruler of the family as well as the tribe. Aristotle also reinforces in his great work ‘politics‘ (Cornelius: 2002) that the position of men is higher as subjects who govern while women are lower as objects of being ruled. the role of women in their nature as natural subjects, thus inequality is permanent. Prancis (1985) in Johnson (2005) describes the experience of human life characterized by male domination history, control, and violence.

The patriarchal characteristics that give privileges to men bear strong assumptions from radical feminism which views all forms of subordination over women as a result of patriarchal domination (Hartmann; 1979, Jacson: 1996 in Gimenez 2016). The construction of patriarchy is not only as civilization existed in the past which was seen as giving privileges to men or the polarization of men and women's positions due to the biological nature. However, the general feminist view sees patriarchy as unfair, subordinating, discriminating, and even oppressing women's social system. As Pateman (1988) concludes: "the patriarchal construction of the distinction between masculinity and femininity is a political view of freedom and submission".

Meanwhile, western imperialism had influenced the way to see the east patriarchy. Contemporary imperialism complicates the oppression of women in the third world (Mohanty; 1991). Generally, the west view of patriarchy presents historical homogenization and reductionism. It then made the third world women over patriarchy as a monolithic subject that looks singular. The West seems to have turned a blind eye to its role of ‘patriarchizing’ all social patterns that exist in the East. One of the important think of it is related to the emergence of the tendency of resistance.

The patterns of resistance to patriarchy began to emerge in the third world where one of them was through the concept of patriarchal bargain initiated by Kandiyoti (1988). Kandiyoti explores a new path from the dominant patriarchal discourse, his criticism of radical feminists on the monolithic assumption that women's subordination occurs due to patriarchal domination, is in line with Kandiyoti’s criticism of the socialist feminist view that synthesizes patriarchy and capitalism as a source of women's oppression. According to Kandiyoti (1988), various forms of patriarchy in variant contexts present women with different "rules of the game". As well as calling for different strategies to maximize security and optimize life choices, women with various potentials come through active 'resistance' in the face of oppression.

A form of resistance to the dominant patriarchal discourse, the general route of the study of dominant patriarchal bargaining puts forward agency determination, the direction of the study can be mapped as follows: First, experts view that women's agency is a form of resistance in opposing patriarchal hierarchies and norms (Bayat; 2007, Gurpinar; 2015). Gatwick & Karanja; 2016), Second, experts state that women's involvement is based on the ability to act and maximize opportunities in exercising their rights to empower
themselves (Kibria, 1990; Mahmood, 2001; 2005; Nisa, 2013; Bouras, 2017; Nielsen, 2019; Mujahiduddin, 2019). Fourth, experts describe agency in the form of actor negotiations, through the way women negotiate with men in regulating and accommodating the pattern of rules that are set and determining and limiting gender roles (Lindrige et.al; 2016; Gram et.al; 2018; Odok, 2019). Fifth, women's agency extends their negotiations into the realm of structure (Tonessen, 2010; Okeke-Ihijerika, 2017; Sitlhou, 2015; Moore, 2019; Kawarazuka et.al; 2019). Thus, the dominant issues of women's involvement in the patriarchal realm are generally dominated by the agency character.

In the development of social science, the agency approach is seen as having advantages, namely: First, this approach can target other forces outside the structure, especially regarding the way people and social formations negotiate the reality of their circumstances (Bruijn.M, et.al; 2007), as Hekman (1995) sees feminists in particular as using the agency as the way to resolve tensions between individual and patriarchy which is often seen as a dominant and deterministic social structure. Second, the agency approach is considered able to explain the real terms of actor roles and workings in presenting and maintaining power (Bunge in Marsh and Stocker; 2002). Furthermore, Kabeer (2010) and Richardson (2018) add that studies of agency not only show how actors act but also illustrate how decisions can be made independently and quickly. But on the other hand, this condition is problematic because the agency approach also has weaknesses, namely: First, criticism of agency has long been put forward when it only presents a partial view of the world, although it is still considered valid, it ignores organizational complexity (Hiers in Eisendhart; 1989). Second, the scope of the agency is seen as too narrow and has few testable implications (Perrow; 1986). Third, the problem that arises when focusing on the agency is the neglect of structure while agency plays in the realm of structure (Giddens, 1984), as Sewell (1992) states that structure is an unavoidable epistemic aspect in social science.

Giddens (1984) has criticized the tendency of some social scientists who place themselves on one side or the other of agency-structure dualism, therefore, he seeks to transcend this dualism through what he calls structuration that structure and agency are not entities. Separate, both interdependent, and interrelated internally and dialectically interactive. Thus, women with strategies are not only read as acts of agency and offer the impression that the existence of structure tends to be secondary, but both are important to be presented interactively.

2. Patriarchal Bargain

The term of the patriarchal bargain was first presented by Deniz Kandiyoti (1988) in highlighting patriarchy by describing a condition in which rules, and scripts in gender relations can be redefined or renegotiated through women's efforts in strategy amid concrete obstacles to patriarchal domination. In developing strategies, women maximize security and optimize life choices with various potentials for active or passive resistance.

Reflecting on the patriarchal system in Sub-Saharan Africa and the classical patriarchy of the South, East, and Middle East (especially Muslims) or the so-called 'belt' of patriarchy (Caldwel; 1971), Kandiyoti contrasts how women present different 'rules of the game'. In Sub-Saharan Africa, related to polygynous insecurity, women protest by
protecting and maximizing the autonomy they have, in contrast to women in classical patriarchy who tend to strategize through submission and manipulation to get long-term security in the household and family. Thus, through patriarchal bargaining, Kandiyoti shows that women present different strategies in dealing with oppression, it determined by the opportunities available under each of the following forms of patriarchy in terms of class, caste, and ethnicity.

Patriarchal bargaining is presented not only as a form of criticism of the patriarchy term which often evokes too monolithic conceptions in historical contexts in the West but also as a criticism of radical feminism and socialist feminists. Under its views, women's subordination is a result of patriarchal domination, and often see women as passive victims.

Under Kandiyoti’s term, the feminist assumptions above have failed due to they ignore contextual variants such as cultural, and historical, which differ in the dynamics of gender relations where it is possible at a certain point the position of patriarchy can be negotiated. Therefore, Kandiyoti focuses on the rationality of women negotiating and compromising their positions and relationships with men, and the impact of cultural values in supporting patriarchal bargaining (Lindrige et. al; 2016). Thus the 'an-sich' patriarchy is not an eternal or unchanging entity but this system is vulnerable to historical transformations that open up new areas of struggle and redefinition of relations between genders.

However, Kandiyoti realizes that patriarchal bargaining is a difficult compromise, on the one hand, there is a possibility of uncontrollable agency while on the other hand agency is constrained because of "rules and scripts governing gender relations" (Kandiyoti; 1988). This is a consequence when the patriarchal bargaining framework is not intended to oppose the dominant discourse/overthrow patriarchy, but this concept is an ongoing process in which women are active participants who take advantage of the potential to gain recognition within the existing system rather than simply placing women as passive victims. This means that patriarchal bargaining is not only about women's resources and constraints, but also considering the potential benefits received by women. As Gerami and Lehnerer (2001), Shankar and Northcott (2009) Chaudhuri et.al (2015), and Blaydes (2008), see that women sometimes support patriarchal arrangements because they expect long-term benefits. Banstead (2020) also supports Kandiyoti's assumption, that patriarchal bargaining still limits women but on the other hand it offers a space where women can develop strategies and negotiate autonomy issues which can include public or private domains or both. Likewise, Nielsen (2019) argues that women sometimes get the authority to work precisely when preserving patriarchy rather than fighting it.

The study of the main features of the patriarchal bargain was initially described in the household domain, how historical transformations represented the actions of wives in negotiating and compromising their position and relationship with their husbands in controlling household reproductive activities and turmoil within the husband's family boundaries (Kibria; 1990; Lindrige et.al; 2016, Gram et.al; 2018), then developed in a wider scope of patriarchy (public), where women's strategies were presented in the customary domain (Sitlhou; 2015, Moore; 2019), community (Ngunjiri; 2013, Phan and

While Kandiyoti’s emphasis on agency aspects is one of the advantages of the patriarchal bargaining framework, Banstead (2020) at least maps out four advantages of Kandiyoti’s approach. First, in emphasizing negotiation, the conceptual framework is similar to the institutional approach in political science which emphasizes how actors negotiate political institutions and outcomes. Second, Kandiyoti’s 'bargaining patriarchy' emphasizes women's agency, thus this approach helps scholars break away from rigid deterministic paradigms, such as cultural and economic modernization theory, which sees outcomes as largely determined by forces beyond women's control. Third, that bargaining can occur in various forms across cultures, in Arab culture for example, in Kandiyoti's view, it is not essential, but varies between space and time, space inside and outside the Arab world. Fourth, his approach makes patriarchy multidimensional, enabling it to explain the different results researchers have observed across different forms of gender inequality. As Banstead, Ngunjiri (2013) reaffirms Kandiyoti's assumption, that only by understanding women's constraints, then finding out how women develop strategies and overcome obstacles can we better understand patriarchy.

3. The Mapping of agency strategy

It is not an exaggeration if Kandiyoti's thoughts on patriarchal bargain are considered spectacular, it is not only because Kandiyoti's study explores a new path of patriarchy that is different from the western context, but the advantages of this theory, among others, proposed by Banstead (2020), can offer a multidimensional view of patriarchy and a study of patriarchal bargaining. provide direction for research programs where people will continue to innovate in reading the patriarchal bargain.

Likewise, what is presented in this route, the reading of the patriarchal bargain is described through various agency strategies with an emphasis on active agencies. Under the term of Kabeer (2010), the active agency is carrying out purposeful choices based on women's reflexivity. There are at least three directions of agency studies that will be put forward: First, the agency is shown through women's resistance strategies, both in the form of organized collective resistance and in the form of daily resistance. Collective resistance in the public sphere, among others, is shown by the study of Gurpinar (2015) which describes the Egyptian secular feminist strategy in carrying out indirect resistance to the regime of the state after the Egyptian revolution in 2011, Gurpinar added to the Kandiyoti context that the ruling regime context is the entry point in seeing the patriarchal work.

Bargain where Egyptian secular feminist women delay patriarchal bargaining in the era of the Muslim Brotherhood because they do not see negotiation space, on the contrary, they return to present patriarchal bargains when the potential for space appears in the El-Sisi regime. While the agency strategy through patriarchal bargaining in everyday resistance is described by Bayat (2007) through the way women in Iran present themselves through the power of presence, Iranian Muslim women under an authoritarian regime fight against gender discrimination, not necessarily by using the
term "movement", identified by deliberate collective protest and informed by structured and established theories and mobilization strategies that are open but 'sufficient' through everyday life practices, such as wearing an unshari’a hijab (not covering all the hair) which is deemed inappropriate or inappropriate. immoral in the view of the Islamic State of Iran. Thus women maneuver without causing open conflict. Another strategy of resistance through the study of Gatwiri and Karanja (2016) which presents women's resistance through silence as power, is that the use of soft power by culturally marginalized segments of society can produce significant changes in hegemonic orders such as patriarchy.

Second, the direction of agency strategy in this section is focused on women's empowerment, Mahmood (2001) opposes the view of women's agency which is often defined by classical feminist theorists as resistance to domination relationships, Mahmood agrees with Kandiyoti (1988) that women maximize security and optimize life choices by various potentials, thus agency is interpreted as the capacity of women to act and maximize existing opportunities to play a wider role in a limited space. In another work, through an ethnographic study of the women's mosque movement in Egypt, through the concept of political piety, Mahmood (2005) shows how women have created a new space for themselves, changed the historical character of mosques, and the teaching of Islam which has been seen as only male-centered through empowered women.

In line with Mahmood, Bouras (2017) presents a variant of the empowerment of Salafi women in post-revolutionary Egypt in 2011, using the concept of performativity developed by Butler (1990). Revolutionary discourses that have performativity power are maximized by middle-class Salafi women in spreading Salafi ideology through social networks, their appearance in public media and the political arena has surpassed Salafi discourses which have so far limited themselves to private spaces that are not exposed. The same thing was also observed by Nielsen (2019) that political pragmatism was able to encourage changes in patriarchal social movements, through patriarchal bargaining. Nielsen (2019) describes the empowerment of Salafi women in the United States as an authority as a Daiya in social media, as well as presents the finding that Salafi women in positions of authority can work precisely when preserving patriarchy rather than fighting it.

Women's agencies in the Islamic movement are also presented by Mujahiduddin (2019) following Mahmood (2005), that political piety underlies the involvement of women in Islamic movements in Indonesia which presents spaces for women's empowerment as reflected in Wahdah Islamiyah and Hizbut Tahrir. All forms of incentives, benefits, and challenges in women's participation are a form of embodiment of religious observance and worship of God.

Thus, the patriarchal bargain studies presented, look more at women's agency based on women's self-awareness, the term empowerment is more appropriate to use and at the same time choose not to see women's actions that are read as mere opposition or synonyms inspired by classical feminists. At this point, agency is not defined as resistance, but rather as capacity, as Bell and Hindmoor in Lowndes, et.al (2014)
emphasize that agency capacity is in efforts to maximize resources, and it strongly supports agency work.

Third, if the description of agency in the previous two directions only focused on women's actions, then the study of the patriarchal bargain on this route also emphasizes the involvement of men in women's strategies. Kibria (1990) describes how the migration effect results in agency-level negotiations in the fulfillment of the household economy of the Vietnamese immigrant community in Philadelphia through the way women and men regulate and accommodate established regulatory patterns, and define and limit gender roles between them. The same thing is also described by Lindrige et.al (2016) that the fulfillment of household consumption presents a coalition of wives and husbands in overcoming gender roles, or as Gram et.al (2018) shows the wife's strategy to control her alliance with her husband in a 'secret financial strategy' of mother-in-law's financial autonomy in rural Nepal. This condition illustrates that men and women are resources who can negotiate maximizing choices within the constraints of the patriarchal structure.

The assumption above is reinforced by Odok (2019), using the lens of negotiable feminism from Nnaemeka (2004), women's empowerment in Northern Nigeria is based on cooperation between women and men in challenging the 'entrenched' hegemony of Salafism in almost all social institutions and processes distributed by society. over male domination. Through women's empowerment as a decolonization force, especially when shared customary values become the basis for women's empowerment, patriarchy is open to change, no matter how old and repressive the patricentric system is. The above conditions add variants to the agency strategy in the study of patriarchal negotiations when the context of 'forcing' male actors to be involved in compromising women's choices.

Fourth, the agency in this path further expands the previous view (Kibria; 1990, Lindrige; 2016, Gram et.al; 2018, Odok; 2019) where agency is not only in the form of actor negotiations (women and men) but is described more broadly through agency negotiations to structures presented in various patriarchal contexts, both in the household and in the public. Kawarazuka et.al; (2019) examine women's negotiations in the lives of Mijikenda fishermen in Kenya on family food security that women who are creative and at the same time productive can change the gender structure not only in partners but extend to kinship patterns without having to directly oppose local structures to maintain the long-term security of their families.

In a similar context, Okeke-Ihijerika (2017) borrows the feminist view of postcolonialism in describing how Nigerian women use agency through creative ways to defend rights and gain loyalty in interacting with administrative structures in higher education. Agency mobilization does not have to be in quantity, even if it is small, but with certain qualities, women can change the configuration of power in the public sphere, including when they are involved in decision-making without having to be open about gender inequality. Likewise, Tonessen (2010) uses a constructivist approach in examining Islamic feminists in Sudan, which has paved the way for women to negotiate with the state, as well as demonstrating the ability of women to control patriarchy in connection with the codification of Islamic law.
Likewise, in the context of adat, Sitlhou (2015) points out that negotiation of women missionaries against adat structures then has the potential to change the structure of gender relations in accessing land ownership by Kuki women in northeastern India who are marginalized by patriarchal customs and support for religious legitimacy. Thus the agency on this route is illustrated that although it does not completely want to change the patriarchal order, direct negotiations regarding the structure can at least or more likely produce new areas in gender relations.

The agency studies dominance above answers the character of structural-instrumentalist studies that seem to override the role of agency (Moghissi; 2000, Le Renard; 2014, Saleem & Yount; 2017, Nagra; 2018, Pandah; 2018). Experts see that experts tend to be preoccupied with seeing women's obedience only within patriarchal boundaries to ignore women's active agency which is based on women's self-awareness (Galagher (2017) or as Archer (in Lowndes et al; 2014) says the structure has nullified agency reflexivity. Galagher and Archer, Banstead (2020) also criticize political scientists who lack a conception of patriarchy and fail to draw feminist theory from sociological and women's studies, as a result the reading of patriarchy so far as a 'vocabulary' of political science, especially in the Middle East and North Africa limits the explanation of patriarchy and tends to perpetuate gender inequality, according to Banstead (2020) by conceptualizing gender relations through patriarchal bargaining as a system that is constantly being renegotiated, it will enable political scientists to better integrate gender into other institutional theories in Eastern political studies. Middle by seeing that both the system and political outcomes are shaped by bargaining between actors.

4. Interaction of structure - agency and criticism of patriarchy

According to Giddens in Priyono (2002), the structure is the rules (rules) and resources (resources) that are formed from and form the repetition of social practices. This is where the duality of structure and agency interact in a process where social structure is both an outcome (outcome) and a medium (medium) of social practice. As for the limitations of patriarchal bargain studies so far, with the determination of the agency that negotiates the structure, the structure is seen only as an outcome, this is because so far the structure (patriarchy) is considered rigid, immune from an agency. While the structure as a means (medium) of social practice itself has not been touched, Giddens (1976: 1993) it can be empowering.

Likewise, Sewell (1992) adds that structure does not see the agency as an opponent, but as a constituent of the structure (enabling/empowering), but being an agent means being able to exercise control over the social relations in which one is involved, which in turn implies the ability to change social relations to some degree. Thus both are important to present because the structure is where the agency 'plays'. Thus, in the study of structuration, the duality of structure and agency as well as the centrality of space and time are the two central themes that form the axis of Giddens' thought.

The general direction of the study of the patriarchal bargain by emphasizing seeing the agency is not negated has contributed to how subordinated actors interpret their power through the available choices. The dominance of agency studies is in line with the assumption of Moran and Payne (2014) that the dominant tradition in political science
has been agency-centered, although Banstead (2020) rejects it because he has not seen it in reading patriarchy in the Middle East. However, it should be noted that studies with a focus on agency character also have limitations, as mentioned earlier in this manuscript.

Observing the previous critical studies of patriarchy which are generally presented in agency determination, it is deemed necessary to look at other ways of describing the management of women's roles in the patriarchal system. Through works on this route, the study of patriarchy is presented differently by presenting structure as an inseparable element when an agency works, as Giddens (1984) sees that social systems work beyond the determination of structure and agency, namely both dialectically influence one another.

As shown by Ngunjiri (2013) through the use of structuration, Somali immigrant women in Norway with the spirit of Islamic feminism have succeeded in increasing their position as empowered women both in the household and in public, this is the result of the bargaining process of women (agency) against the structure. The intersection of norms, identities, and patriarchal structures with gender, ethnicity, Islam, and traditional Somali culture in the Norwegian welfare state are factors that strengthen the structure in which Somali women's negotiations and bargaining take place. It's just that Ngunjiri's study is still strongly presented with the character of agency, the perspective of Islamic feminism used tends to obscure the agency-structure interaction which is the analytical tool, the result is that the depiction of duality presented in a dialectical manner still strongly illustrates the dominant role of agency.

The study of Phan and Bhattarai (2013) illustrates that patriarchal bargain alone is not sufficient for women's bargaining power in rural Kaski, Nepal, due to the weak bargaining power of women in access to land and agriculture. Using strategic niche management theory, women need a strategic space to maximize bargaining power in securing their rights at the same time that women's actions are seen as needing ongoing support when the issues being discussed are relatively competitive or compatible with the ruling regime.

The involvement of structure and agency was also put forward by Thompson and Jongwilaiwan (2013) in describing the work of transnational patriarchal bargaining in the case of migration marriages of Thai women and Singaporean men. Thompson and Jongwilaiwan criticize Robinson (2007) for describing marriage migration as a market metaphor (reductive commodification of women) but a duality phenomenon. Whereas previous studies by Ngunjiri (2013) and Phan and Bhattarai (2013) added another theory to strengthen the patriarchal bargain in explaining ongoing structuration, Thompson and Jongwilaiwan (2013) did not. Both consider that the concept of patriarchal bargaining finds compatibility with Giddens' contemporary theory of structuration which emphasizes the interaction between systemic conditions and individual or group agency, where social conditions allow and limit agents in acting, while group and individual action and agency generate, reproduce and over time can change the social system itself.
The work on this route has carried out a different reading of Kandiyoti's thesis and those after him who presented agency as something important and dominant to be presented in looking at a patriarchal bargain. In my opinion, the perspective of Kandiyoti needs to be strengthened by Thompson and Jongwilaiwan presenting Giddens' interactive element in a comprehensive reading of patriarchal bargain, this also enhances the reading of a partial patriarchal negotiation study.

To analyze the patriarchal bargain workings, according to Thompson and Jongwilaiwan (2013), it is necessary to first look at the workings of the context, that the agency interaction and the built structure do not just exist in space. Certain contexts open up opportunities for systemic conditions to change, these changes allow women to move more broadly even though they are still under restrictions. Context can be interpreted as a cross-section of a structure that can shape and change the existence of a structure to move more fluidly. The involvement of agencies on the other hand is an unavoidable thing, both have a dialectical effect, this is what then results in the empirical fact of the appearance of women as functional actors. The dimension of resistance to structure ignores aspects of duality, while space and time are not just arenas of action but aspects that can influence constitutive actions and community organization, meaning that without space and time, there will be no action.

5. Conclusion

Kandiyoti has explored new avenues for presenting readings on patriarchy in developing countries. Patriarchal bargaining is presented not only as a form of criticism of the term patriarchy which often evokes too monolithic conceptions in historical contexts in the West but also as a criticism of radical feminism and socialist feminists who view women's subordination as a result of patriarchal domination and often see women as passive victims. Patriarchal bargaining through women's negotiations, as well as context transformation, shows that patriarchy is not an eternal entity.

It's just that the reading character is dominantly strong in representing agency, the dominance of the agency character is also a form of back criticism against political scientists who lack a conception of patriarchy and fail to draw feminist theory from sociological and women's studies, as a result, the reading of patriarchy has so far been a 'vocabulary' of political science, especially in Classical patriarchy (the Middle East and North Africa) limit the explanation of patriarchy and tends to perpetuate gender inequality. Agency euphoria on the other hand leaves a weakness because it ignores structural aspects. While agencies do not seem to realize they are working in the realm of structure, it is neglected in classical patriarchal buildings because the structure is only often seen as a rigid and constraining aspect, while the structure has another side that can mobilize resources (enabling).

Conflicts of Interest
Author declare there is no conflict of interest.
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