

STRATEGY FOR UTILISING FAMILY SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR WIDOWS OF POSO CONFLICT VICTIMS 2008 - 2012

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DOI : <http://dx.doi.org/10.30983/humanisme.v7i1>

Submission: June 9, 2023

Revised: July 15, 2023

Published: July 30, 2023

Abstract

This study aims to reveal the ways in which widows of conflict victims manage their assets and their abilities in an effort to survive and improve social welfare after the Poso conflict. Data were obtained from two sources: an analysis of literature during the Poso conflict and interviews with victims and their relatives. The results of the study show that widows in desperate situations save their lives from threats and riots by utilising social capital by relying on relatives with ownership. Assets and capabilities are linked by access and property ownership. This was built before the conflict occurred so as to strengthen the bonds of post-conflict social capital with kinship strength among the closest relatives, such as parents, siblings, and nephews or nieces, based on the same religion, for their survival.

Keywords: Conflict, Capital, Adaptation, Social Welfare

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan mengungkap cara-cara para janda korban konflik mengelola aset dan kemampuannya sebagai upaya bertahan hidup dan meningkatkan kesejahteraan sosial pasca konflik Poso. Data diperoleh dari dua sumber data, yaitu analisis literatur selama konflik Poso dan wawancara dengan korban dan kerabatnya. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa: janda-janda dalam keadaan terdesak menyelamatkan nyawa dari ancaman dan huru-hara memanfaatkan modal sosial dengan mengandalkan kerabat dengan kepemilikan Aset dan kapabilitas yang dibubungkan oleh akses dan properti yang dimiliki. Hal tersebut dibangun sebelum konflik terjadi sehingga mempererat jalinan modal sosial pasca konflik dengan kekuatan kekerabatan terdekat seperti orang tua, saudara, keponakan dengan dilandaskan pada agama yang sama untuk keberlangsungan hidupnya.

Kata Kunci: Konflik, Modal, Penyesuaian, Kesejahteraan

Introduction

Social events, such as conflict or war, carry various kinds of consequences, both overt and hidden.¹ Those involved in the conflict may be killed, missing, or physically disabled. They are victims². On the other

hand, those who are not involved in the conflict can also become vulnerable, such as women, children, and the elderly.³ Losing a husband during a conflict is a form of vulnerability in itself,⁴ because widows are

¹Margaret Hutchison and Emily Robertson, (2015), 'Introduction: Art, War, and Truth – Images of Conflict', *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, pp 103–108.

²Cox & Pardasani, (2017), 'Aging and Human Rights: A Rights-Based Approach to Social Work with Older Adults', *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*, pp 98-99

³Kelly, (2022) *Conflict, War and Revolution The Problem of Politics in International Political Thought*, 1st edn, London: LSE Press, pp 1-6

⁴Carpenter, (2005), 'Women , Children and Other Vulnerable Groups ": Gender , Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a 'Transnational'', pp 296–297

victims of a large number of conflicts, while they are not the cause of the conflict⁵.

Many women became widows because their husbands were killed or disappeared and, until now, have not been found.⁶Data from events such as the Ukraine war and other conflicts have pushed the number of people fleeing to more than 100 million for the first time on record. Attacks on healthcare facilities in Afghanistan have hampered access for 300,000 people, while only half of Yemen's healthcare facilities are operational. The conflict would have caused acute food insecurity for 140 million people in 24 countries by the end of 2021.⁷

Almost all widowed refugees also lost their livelihoods. Some of them choose to return to their village and continue their lives, though houses and property have been burned. At first, they were gardening in their own fields; Now they don't know what to do.⁸ Because the access given is limited, the widows work anything to pay for the needs of their children and families. Such as working on other people's land, becoming a laundry worker, trading, or making other small businesses, even though the results are limited. The cocoa garden that used to be life support had to be sold because it was far from where I lived, and I didn't dare go to the garden anymore because I was worried

⁵Mir et al., (2022), 'Lived Experiences of Widows of Armed Conflict in Kashmir: A Qualitative Study', *OMEGA - Journal of Death and Dying*

⁶Dube, (2022); 'Isolation and Its Impact on Widows: Insights from Low-Resourced Communities in Binga District, Zimbabwe', *Social Sciences*, pp 3-4

⁷vassily A. Thomas-Greenfield, Linda; Xavier Biang, Michel; Nebenzia, 'Ninety Per Cent of War-Time Casualties Are Civilians, Speakers Stress, Pressing Security Council to Fulfil Responsibility, Protect Innocent People in Conflicts', *United Nations*, 2022, pp. 1-3
<<https://press.un.org/en/2022/sc14904.doc.htm>> [accessed 13 July 2023].

⁸Radzilani-Makatu, (2015)'Multiple Losses and Gains: Tshivenda-Speaking Widows' Accounts in the Context of the Death of a Husband', *Journal Of Sociology And Social Anthropology*, pp 494-495

about the security conditions. The job options available are working in the fields or growing vegetables in the garden near the house. With an income not sufficient to live, poverty took a toll on the woman and her family when they fled. Some examples of widows who are forced to work anything to make ends meet Among other things, such as selling in the market or opening a food stall, There is also a widow who admitted that she was forced to remarry in the hope that someone would help earn a living for herself and her child and fulfil the need for security.⁹ In fact, many of them, with limited capital skills, become rubber plantation workers or work as washers.¹⁰

Women whose husbands have died,¹¹ mostly choose not to return to their home villages.¹² They chose to flee to Islamic boarding schools, orphanages, or relatives' homes, either in Palu City or in Poso Kota, Tentena, and Lage Subdistricts. The reason they chose not to return was because of the trauma of the conflict and the lack of security guarantees. The Women Commission's¹³ report on women refugees illustrates that sociologically, the result of the conflict is a shift in the pattern of women's lives. Events related to the difficulty of getting a job that has an impact on the difficulty of meeting the needs of daily life, the loss of a number of family members, physical violence, sexual

⁹Dina, (2015); *Women and Sharia Law in Northern Indonesia Local Women's NGOs and the Reform of Islamic Law in Aceh*, 1st edn, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2015, p 4

¹⁰Kenen, (2021)'Uncoupled: American Widows in Times of Uncertainty and Ambiguous Norms', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, pp 550-554

¹¹Gogali, (2009); *Konflik Poso, Suara Perempuan Dan Anak Menuju Rekonsiliasi Ingatan*, ed. by Kunto AA, 1st edn, Yogyakarta: Galang Press, pp 5-10

¹²McRae, (2007), 'Criminal Justice and Communal Conflict: A Case Study of the Trial of Fabianus Tibo, Domingus Da Silva, and Marinus Riwu', *Indonesia*, pp 79-81

¹³Komnas Perempuan, (2009) *Women Ensnared By Impunity : Violence & Intervention*. Jakarta, p 3

violence, and a weak position in political rights are realities that women victims of conflict now have to face.¹⁴ This condition burdens women.¹⁵ Meanwhile, under normal conditions, she is never involved in real-life processes such as working to meet household needs or being actively involved in social communities.¹⁶ Conflict forces women to work to meet family needs and domestic matters that have been a burden so far, such as taking care of children and so on.¹⁷ In addition, when working to meet the needs of family life, they often experience sexual and physical violence, both in the public and domestic spheres.¹⁸

Post-conflict is a necessity to get serious attention, especially those with the dimension of conflict because there are still a number of new problems.¹⁹ For example, the conflict that occurred in Poso District, specifically in Poso Pesisir District, Lage District, or North Pamona and Tentena Districts, has claimed many lives and property losses. The data obtained explains the death toll of 1,129 people, the number of houses burned to 1754 units, and the number

of refugees amounting to 93,254 people.²⁰ Of the number of refugees, there are about 745 women who are widows²¹. Through field data searches in August 2011, the authors obtained data from Lage District regarding the number of widows who were victims of conflict - as many as 51 people.

Post-conflict causes problems that require serious handling,²² but have not been handled properly, therefore many social groups are also experiencing various kinds of problems,²³ including not properly handling the socio - economic vulnerabilities experienced by widows who are victims of conflict in Poso.²⁴ Condition as above,²⁵ it is increasingly difficult for widows to get out of conditions of social vulnerability.²⁶ Besides that, widows face obstacles in meeting the needs of their family members.²⁷ Considering that not all of them have skills that can be used to earn a living in accordance with the world of work,²⁸ because all this time they depend on their husbands for their lives when they are still alive.²⁹ In addition, the

¹⁴Wanda Fitri, (2019), 'Women and Deradicalism: Understanding the Women'S Role in Developing Peaceful Culture', *HUMANISMA : Journal of Gender Studies*, p 50

¹⁵Suyito Suyito and others, (2019), 'Penguatan Kapasitas Perempuan Sebagai Stakeholder Dalam Penanggulangan Korban Bencana Banjir Di Pangkalan', *HUMANISMA : Journal of Gender Studies*, p 141

¹⁶Berry, (2018), 'War, Women, and Power', in *War, Women, and Power: From Violence to Mobilization in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Cambridge University Press, pp 18-21

¹⁷Cerrato & Cifre, (2018), 'Gender Inequality in Household Chores and Work-Family Conflict', *Frontiers in Psychology*, pp 2-3

¹⁸Chung & van der Lippe, (2020), 'Flexible Working, Work-Life Balance, and Gender Equality: Introduction', *Social Indicators Research*, p 367

¹⁹Blackburn, (2010), 'The Impact of Armed Conflict on Widowhood: Case Studies from Sri Lanka, Cambodia and East Timor', *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, pp 61-63

²⁰Kabupaten Poso Badan Pusat Statistik, *Kecamatan Lage Dalam Angka*, 1st edn (Poso: Badan Pusat Statistik, Kabupaten Poso, 2012). p 12

²¹Komnas Perempuan.

²²Dube, (2022), 'Isolation and Its Impact on Widows: Insights from Low-Resourced Communities in Binga District, Zimbabwe', *Social Sciences*, pp 4-6

²³Wichitra, (2018), 'Gender Analysis of Communal Conflicts in Indonesia', *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, p 26

²⁴Yadav, (2020), 'Can Women Benefit from War? Women's Agency in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies', *Journal of Peace Research*, p 453

²⁵Rismawati, (2011), 'Bertahan Hidup Di Pengungsian Kaum Janda Korban Konflik Poso', *Academica*, pp 595-599

²⁶Subagya, (2018), 'Women Stories Of The Violent Conflict In Poso And Trauma Healing', *International Journal of Humanity Studies*, pp 108-110

²⁷Rismawati, (2011), 'Bertahan Hidup Di Pengungsian Kaum Janda Korban Konflik Poso', *Academica*, pp 595-599

²⁸Collins, (2014), 'Managing Widowhood in Later Life: The Challenges Encountered', *International Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation*, pp 72-73

²⁹Dasgupta, (2017), 'Women Alone: The Problems and Challenges of Widows in India',

classical understanding that places women more active in the domestic area.³⁰

The various situations above can be ascertained to be rationalities that can bring women (widows) unable to survive coupled with social burdens when their status changes to being the head of the family (Women headed household).³¹ Therefore, the main problem in this study is what and how widows who are victims of the Poso social conflict use strategies and social capital in the context of their survival and their families. It is including strategy, access, social capital and any capabilities are at stake for its survival.³²

A. Rationality as the Embodiment of Family Social Capital and Adaptation

Rational theory builds the assumption that every human being is basically rational by always considering the principles of efficiency and effectiveness in carrying out every action.³³ Determinant factors such as the strong solidarity of the peasant community, the subsistence of the peasant economy and the production relations of the pre-capitalist society are still recognized,³⁴ but the influence of rationality is always placed in the context of the operation of the rational interest mechanism of individual members in

a community. This statement strengthens the phenomenon of widows who are victims of conflict in carrying out their lives based on rational choices.³⁵ The basic idea in rational choice orientation is that "people act purposively toward goals, with goals and actions shaped by values or preferences".³⁶ A more precise conceptualization of rational actors comes from economics, which sees actors choosing those actions that will maximize the benefits, or satisfaction of their needs and wants.

People don't always act rationally in the real world, but he feels that this makes little difference. The implicit assumption is that the theoretical predictions made here will be substantially the same whether the actor acts exactly according to rationality as is usually understood or deviates in the ways that have been observed. Given its orientation on individual rational action, it focuses on meso-micro problems, or how a combination of individual actions gives rise to the behaviour of the system. The theory of rationality in this paper is linked to a scheme of social capital that is constructed in an arena (living space) of post-conflict widows. Anything the widows do may appear normal, but it is the formation of a strategy by awakening their life processes. This theory is also used by the author to explain the existing base materials and then to reconnect widow victims of conflict with the people who will help them within the framework of their social structure. Meanwhile, the widow, as a victim of conflict, aligns her priorities with her relationship with her environment and the

International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (IJHSS), pp 35-36

³⁰Gunawardane, (2017); 'Continuities and Discontinuities of Life of Military War Widows in the Post- War Sri Lankan Society', *American Scientific Research Journal for Engineering, Technology, and Sciences (ASRJETS)*, pp 180-183

³¹Strandh & Yusriza, (2021), 'War Widows' Everyday Understandings of Peace in Aceh, Indonesia', *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, pp 103-104

³²Bokek-Cohen & Ben-Asher, (2018), 'The Double Exclusion of Bedouin War Widows', *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, pp 114-114

³³Upali & Gunawardana, (2016), 'Military War Widows in Post-War Sri Lanka', *Journal of Conflict, Peace and Development Studies*, p 2

³⁴Bourdieu, (2011), 'The Forms of Capital', in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, ed. by Granovette Mark and Swedberg Richard, 1st edn (New York: Greenwood Press., 2011), pp. 79–80

³⁵Bourdieu, (2018), 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction', in *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change*, ed. by Richard Brown, 1st edn (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 81–84

³⁶Coleman, (1990), *Foundations of Social Theory*, 1st edn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp 3-9

power she has. Coleman³⁷ and Bourdieu³⁸ are also interested in the meso-to-micro relationship, or how the system limits these behavioral orientations.

Finally, they clearly show an interest in that aspect of the meso-micro relationship, or the impact of an individual's actions on the actions of other individuals.³⁹ Individual actions cannot be separated from the social reality they face. This reality is based on rational choices that are influenced by: First, social relations: there are several forms of relationships in each community, namely cooperation, competition, conflict, and accommodation. Theoretically, social relations are divided into two parts, namely: (1) social relations are associative, and (2) social relations are dissociative.⁴⁰ Associative social relationships are interactions that tend to establish unity and increase the solidarity of group members.⁴¹ Cooperation can be carried out by at least two individuals to achieve a common goal. In achieving these common goals, the parties involved in the collaboration understand each other's abilities and help each other so that synergies are established.⁴² Coping strategies can be

defined as a person's ability to apply a set of ways to overcome various problems that surround his life. Some observers of social issues term it "asset portfolio management." Based on this concept,⁴³ created an analytical framework called "The Asset Vulnerability Framework". This framework covers various asset management issues, such as the parties involved in the cooperation understanding each other's abilities and helping each other so that synergies are established. Labour assets, for example, involve the involvement of women and children in the family to work to help the household economy.⁴⁴

1. Human capital assets, for example, take advantage of health status that can determine people's capacity to work or skills and education that determine the return or work results (return) for the labour they expend.
2. Productive assets, for example, using houses, fields, and livestock for their daily needs.⁴⁵
3. Household relation assets, for example, utilize networks and support from extended family systems, ethnic groups, labor migration and remittance mechanisms.⁴⁶
4. Social capital assets, for example, utilize local social institutions, social gatherings, and informal credit

³⁷Coleman, (1988), 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', *American Journal of Sociology*, pp 98–100

³⁸Wacquant & Bourdieu, (1992), 'An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology', in *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, ed. by Loic D Wacquant and Pierre Bourdieu, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, pp i-iv

³⁹Rusi Jaspal, Kevin Carriere, and Fathali Moghaddam, (2016), 'Bridging Micro, Meso, and Macro Processes in Social Psychology', in *Psychology as the Science of Human Being*, ed. by Jaan Valsiner and others, 1st edn (Switzerland: Springer International, pp. 265–267

⁴⁰Bourdieu & Wacquant, (2013), 'Symbolic Capital and Social Classes', *Journal of Classical Sociology*, pp 293–296

⁴¹Baczko & Dorronsoro, (2021), 'Thinking about Civil Wars with and beyond Bourdieu: State, Capital and Habitus in Critical Contexts', *Journal of Classical Sociology*, p 199

⁴²Asquith (2019), 'Bourdieu and Social Capital', in *Rebuilding Lives After Genocide Migration, Adaptation*

and *Acculturation*, 1st edn, New York: Palgrave Macmillan Cham, pp. 27–30.

⁴³Moser (1998), 'The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies', *World Development*, 2–4

⁴⁴Asquith, (2019), 'Bourdieu and Social Capital', in *Rebuilding Lives After Genocide Migration, Adaptation and Acculturation*, 1st edn, New York: Palgrave Macmillan Cham, pp. 27–30.

⁴⁵Bourdieu, (2011), 'The Forms of Capital', in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, ed. by Granovette Mark and Swedberg Richard, 1st edn (New York: Greenwood Press., 2011), pp. 79–80

⁴⁶Bourdieu & Wacquant, (2013), 'Symbolic Capital and Social Classes', *Journal of Classical Sociology*, pp 293–296

providers and the family economic system.⁴⁷

Method

The Poso conflict took place between 1999 and 2002, while from 2003 to 2012 there were sparks of conflict, but this period is referred to as post-conflict. Therefore, this study uses a case study, which aims to describe and recall the situation,⁴⁸ existence and social networks as a strategy for widows who are victims of conflict in carrying out their lives.⁴⁹ This research was carried out from 2018 to 2019 in Lage District, Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, because this area was one of the centers of the Poso conflict riots. Lage sub-district was also chosen because it is one of the largest refugee places for widows of conflict victims, and also as a place for refugees to return to collect their remains and make peace with the past.

Informants in this study were selected purposefully with the following criteria: (1) widows of conflict victims; (2) a minimum education level of junior high school; (3) having a job and still living in former conflict areas; and (4) a minimum of two dependents, including children and parents or nephews. The informants in this study were five people. The data in this study are in the form of documents, archives, and interviews.

Discussion

Living in a New Social Space

The hardest thing for widows to feel is when they have to save themselves by evacuating to a place that is truly safe for

themselves and their families. The widow generally fled to the house of the closest relatives, such as in-laws, relatives, and cousins. It is this social space that is available; At first, it felt awkward because it had existed, but once left with the nuclear family that was formed, they return to this social space because of the death of their husband. Widows of conflict victims are temporarily dependent on food, shelter, and rest. But at the same time, they also still have to have income to reduce the economic burden on the family they live in and prepare costs for their sudden needs.

In efforts to meet the basic needs of life, a substantial issue that is always faced by families or households is how the individuals in them can try their best and work together to meet household needs so that their survival is maintained. Every member of the household must have the will to earn a living, no matter how small the income is. Household members also have a concern for the survival of the household above their personal interests. Each member of the household can earn an income that serves to maintain mutual survival. In such a situation, the current division of labor is flexible and adaptive to efforts to fulfill household needs.

The adaptation pattern of conflict victims' widows consists of two categories, namely individuals and groups. At the individual level, the adaptation strategy adopted occurs within the farming family environment by changing the old paradigm, namely entering the informal sector of village trade, doing various jobs, mobilizing all family members to participate in increasing family income, and reducing the level of daily consumption needs. At the group level, the adaptation strategy adopted is to form a social network. As found in Lage District, widows use various methods, such as maximising their individual potential in the

⁴⁷Houston, (2019), 'Extending Bourdieu for Critical Social Work', in *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Social Work*, ed. by Stephen Webb, 1st edn, London: Routledge, pp 3-5

⁴⁸Gizelis, (2018), 'Systematic Study of Gender, Conflict, and Peace', *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*, pp 1-2

⁴⁹Skjelsboek & Smith, (2001), *Peace and Conflict*, ed. by Inger Skjelsboek and Dan Smith, 1st edn (London: Sage Publication, pp 7-10

form of skills. They are skilled at making cakes, and the food is then sold. There are also widows who have teaching skills and are used to earn income in several schools. In addition, to optimise her strategy, the widow also takes advantage of her husband's leftovers, such as cocoa plantations that are rented out to other people with a profit-sharing system. There are also those who use their houses for sales, such as selling gasoline, selling pulses, refilling gallons of water, and so on. In fact, widows' family members, like their brothers and sisters and their children, also work hard to help the widow do productive things.

Bourdieu argues that the essence of social capital is a social network that is interwoven in everyday life or a set of special relationships formed between groups of people.⁵⁰ The characteristics of the relationship can be used as a tool to interpret the social behaviour and motives of the people involved in it. Each individual in the family is allowed to enter various social groups available in society and establish social ties based on the elements of kinship, neighbourhood, and friendship. These social ties can take place between those who have the same socioeconomic status and those who do not.⁵¹

The basis that is used to form social networks is the existence of social relationships that are charged with interests and feelings. The forms of social networks discussed are horizontal and vertical social networks in the form of kin networks, neighbour networks, and mixed networks. The network of relatives is seen from the

specific social relations between a group of people based on lineage, marriage, and religion; the neighbour network is seen from the proximity of the place of residence; and the mixed network is an accumulation of the social relations of relatives and the social networks of neighbours.

Building Social Relationships.

The relationships in question are informal. These social relations are needed so that their interests can be fulfilled, they can obtain socio-economic resources, and they can overcome various difficulties they face. In these relationships, there are social relations involving parties who have relatively the same socio-economic status, in terms of the resources obtained and the resources exchanged, and social relations built by people who do not have the same socio-economic status. symmetrical. The author will explain two social relations, namely: first, how widows take advantage of kinship social relations. Second, how widows take advantage of non-kinship social relations

Utilizing Kinship Social Relations.

In the lives of rural communities, family and kinship ties, neighbors, and local friendships are the primary groups that become the basic unit for the formation of community groups and determine the continuity of informal cooperation between them. The position and function of the primary group are very urgent in social life in rural areas. The relationship between relatives in economic matters, help, and social protection is a cooperative relationship between relatives. The social relations formed between primary members not only contribute to the survival of each other but also play a role in creating a stable and sustainable social unity.

A special strategy, which is a natural way to deal with things that are emergency and uncertain, is to ask for help from their

⁵⁰Bourdieu, (1993), *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. by Randal Jhanson (United States: Columbia University Press, pp 1-3

⁵¹Bourdieu, (2011), 'The Forms of Capital', in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, ed. by Granovette Mark and Swedberg Richard, 1st edn, New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 79-80

relatives, both near and far, when facing difficulties. security and the scarcity of the necessary resources. As stated by GZL (48 years):

“[...]At that time, I was still living in Tentena. I first left my grandmother in Tentena, and I started slowly coming back here. After that, later in junior high school, he moved here to Kasiguncu Middle School; The second one was still afraid to come back here. [...], so the help of his grandmother provides guidance because both of them live there and are taught every day. [...]”.

In addition to using his parents, GZL also uses his other closest relative, namely his nephew, who is a police officer, when taking care of his son as a police officer. GZL continues his story for the author like this:

“[...]my struggle until my son became a policewoman, yes. Indeed, the first time he was in high school, he worked at PLN. After receiving an acceptance, he registered at the hammer but did not pass. [...] but because there is an open registration for female police officers here, she registers to pass. Then he went to Palu and passed the test, and this could come along. But at that time, I didn't know that entering a police force was a lot of money, and I think at that time I entered, so as far as I knew, I relied on intelligence. Because I heard there was this, I heard a lot of fees. I've been thinking about that time! The poor thing already passed the test; there is no charge, ouch! disappointed, for sure. Only at that time did I have a nephew here; both of them went to school; my son was already a police officer, so at that time, I asked for help. Please help first. If he is accepted, the discussion will be behind his back; if so, later he will be replaced with money. So he helped. [...]”. (Interview: Lage, February 1, 2018)my struggle until

my son became a policewoman, yes. Indeed, the first time he was in high school, he worked at PLN. After receiving an acceptance, he registered at the hammer but did not pass. [...] but because there is an open registration for female police officers here, she registers to pass. Then he went to Palu and passed the test, and this could come along. But at that time, I didn't know that entering a police force was a lot of money, and I think at that time I entered, so as far as I knew, I relied on intelligence. Because I heard there was this, I heard a lot of fees. I've been thinking about that time! The poor thing already passed the test; there is no charge, ouch! disappointed, for sure. Only at that time did I have a nephew here; both of them went to school; my son was already a police officer, so at that time, I asked for help. Please help first. If he is accepted, the discussion will be behind his back; if so, later he will be replaced with money. So he helped. [...]”. (Interview: Lage, February 1, 2018)

The situation is the same with KTMH.

He felt the importance of close family help to save his life during the conflict. KTMH said: "During the conflict, I took refuge in my family's house; the son of my uncle (cousin) who took care of us was also a cousin at that time. I lived for a month and just moved to find a boarding house still in Palu. (Interview: Lage, February 5, 2018)

What was experienced by KTMH and GZL was also experienced by ADL in Lage, who lived permanently with his sister. ADL said, "[...]. Anyway, I graduated from here and then because, because I also wanted to pay for him to continue his education, he couldn't afford it. He was also a child who didn't want to demand more from his parents. He said that if my mother really couldn't afford me anymore, when his

grandma was there, he went abroad. Bali. His grandma is dead; it's just the family." (Interview: Lage, March 9, 2018). From the direct narrative of the informant above, it can be seen how widows carry out adaptation strategies to survive by utilising social relationships with their relatives.

Utilizing Non-kinship Social Relations.

In addition to taking advantage of kin relations, the informants also took advantage of non-relative social relations as part of their efforts to sustain life. These non-relative social relationships are very diverse; some of these are with officials, foundation owners, cooperatives, banks, and churches.

Building relationships with relatives and non-relatives of widowed conflict victims is based on feelings, namely, between one another to do something that will always act in a mutually supportive action pattern; At least the others will not act against themselves and their group, as indicated by the informant who capitalizes on trust in borrowing money in the cooperative and then helping his neighbors by buying land whose future is unclear..

Seeing the reality of the relationships that exist in the life of the community in the location of the widow victims of the conflict, it is very relevant, as expressed by Sajigjo and Pudjiwati, that please help is done between neighbouring communities or a group or close relative by holding a sense of trust between one another. same other. The neighbourly life is based on the principles of mutual help and kinship, which is a network strategy used by widows when their families are trapped by the economic crisis.⁵²

Informants began to develop social relationships outside of their relatives to strengthen their social life after the economic

recovery occurred. Social relations with officials, businessmen, traders, bank employees, and so on are things that informants do as an effort that indirectly affects their economic interests. In that context, almost all informants experienced economic improvement in various aspects, such as getting capital assistance from banks, becoming civil servants because there were insiders who took care of them, obtaining social assistance through officials, and so on, as a result of this kinship.

The social relations of kinship and non-kinship always begin with the aspect of "trust" between them. At the same time, there is reciprocity. For example, the bank does not provide business capital loans for free, but there is an agreement that must be agreed upon as a form of reward and bond. Likewise, an informant's child who graduates to become a police officer is also accompanied by rewards. All these phenomena always contain elements of trust and reciprocity. The reciprocity phenomenon also explains the existence of "rationality" in the behavior of informants in establishing their survival as a strategy.

The conditions experienced by the informants above prove that the dimensions of a relationship can last. Moreover, these two elements contain a dimension of "rationality" that benefits both parties who engage in social relations in order to improve the social welfare of widows who are victims of social conflict.

Asset Utilization and Informant Capabilities.

In this study, the assets and capabilities referred to refer to the classification proposed by Moser. Moser divides assets and capabilities into three parts, namely: labour assets, human capital assets, productive assets, and household relations assets, as the benefits of existing social capital.

⁵²Subagya, Y. Tri, (2018), 'Women Stories Of The Violent Conflict In Poso And Trauma Healing', *International Journal of Humanity Studies*, pp 102

Labor Assets

In this labour asset, any remaining family members, especially women and children of widows, are classified as labour assets. They are given an economic role by involving them in every commercial activity that aims to help the household economy. Some of the informants of this study involved their children and siblings in working to meet the needs of the family.

As happened to Verna, the daughter of ADL. After graduating from high school, Verna did not go to college. He prefers to work to lighten his mother's burden. Verna was finally allowed to look for work by ADL and followed her grandmother, who lived in Denpasar, sometime after finishing her schooling. In Denpasar, Verna has worked at the Gallery, a large mall, since 2008. It seems that Verna represents her mother's talent as someone who can take advantage of her free time, namely taking the time to sell food in the form of simple catering with her friends for people around her home. Verna lives in a rented house with some of her co-workers and jointly pays the rent. Because the distance is quite far, Verna doesn't live at her grandma's house.

Likewise, as told by KTMH and his sister, they moved to Palu City and rented a boarding room. KTMH's motivation at that time was to be willing to do anything, considering the needs of her infant child. Together with his brother, they go hand in hand doing any kind of work, such as selling kale leaves or washing and ironing people's homes. At that time, they got 50,000 and paid an average of Rp.50.000 per month for each job. While in Palu, KTMH worked out the cost of living with his siblings by dividing the cost equally. But how do you make money, please, in your own way? There are seven of them in one boarding house. Of the seven people, if all of them are collected, it is

enough to reduce the cost of living. KTMH recounted:

“[...]In the tight living conditions at that time, any activity that is worth money and good we do. Especially when the children were still young and needed milk, we really prioritised it.” (Results of interview at Lage, March 18, 2018)

Like what happened to ONDJ and his two children. His first son worked, helping his mother look after the stall. In addition, he also opened a business like his late father did, namely making artificial teeth. As told by ONDJ:

“[...]What really benefits us is the dental craftsmanship that Aco has mastered. Until now, my husband's dental customers still believed in our quality. Because Aco was really trained by his father to be skilled.” (Results of interview at Lage, April 5, 2018).

Human Capital Asset

The human capital assets referred to in this study include skills, expertise, or education possessed by the informants. These assets are used to the maximum extent possible to produce something productive for the survival of the informants' households. At the research site, most of the informants have human capital assets in the form of skills such as baking and food, managing, and developing small-scale businesses. However, above all, the education aspect is the highest priority for the informants.

As told by GZL and rewritten by the author. In living her post-conflict life, GZL only relies on her husband's retired salary plus her own salary as an elementary school teacher. For GZL, a promising future is when someone has a steady income every month and gets benefits at retirement, and that is only obtained by becoming a civil

servant. Therefore, he sent his children to work as civil servants. When taking care of his third child to become a police officer, he needed an uphill battle and endured every lengthy bureaucratic process.

After his first child graduated from high school, he had a chance to work at PLN (Electrical State Company) in the hope that after receiving a civil servant he could register in Palu, but he did not pass. At that time, his son also planned to go to college but was hampered by costs. At the same time, there was an open registration for policewomen in Poso, and then he registered, and it turned out that he passed the dossier test. The next test had to be taken in Palu, and it passed. Now, the child is the backbone of the family. As told by GZL and rewritten by the author. In living her post-conflict life, GZL only relies on her husband's retired salary plus her own salary as an elementary school teacher. For GZL, a promising future is when someone has a steady income every month and gets benefits at retirement, and that is only obtained by becoming a civil servant.

Therefore, he sent his children to work as civil servants. When taking care of his third child to become a police officer, he needed an uphill battle and endured every lengthy bureaucratic process. After his first child graduated from high school, he had a chance to work at PLN (Electrical State Company) in the hope that after receiving a civil servant he could register in Palu, but he did not pass. At that time, his son also planned to go to college but was hampered by costs. At the same time, there was an open registration for policewomen in Poso, and then he registered, and it turned out that he passed the dossier test. The next test had to be taken in Palu, and it passed. Now, the child is the backbone of the family.

Earning Assets

Following the general understanding of productive assets, namely everything outside of humans that can be used to give rise to economic or commercial value, such as houses, rice fields, livestock, and land, The use of houses as a business location, strengthened by business management strategies with the aim of generating greater income by utilising the potential of the assets owned, also characterises a rational economic choice where profit considerations are a priority.

Verna's trip to Bali left her mother, ADL, in Poso. ADL chooses to live with his sister and helps her run a boutique in Tentena. He also used the opportunity to sell food, such as cakes. ADL's sister works for an agency in Poso and doesn't have much time to manage her boutique. From the sales of cakes and the salary from the boutique's profits, ADL saves for daily living needs and helps Verna. What ADL does is a form of strategy that adapts the business of selling cakes for boutique customers. Verna's trip to Bali left her mother, ADL, in Poso. ADL chooses to live with his sister and helps her run a boutique in Tentena. He also used the opportunity to sell food, such as cakes. ADL's sister works for an agency in Poso and doesn't have much time to manage her boutique. From the sales of cakes and the salary from the boutique's profits, ADL saves for daily living needs and helps Verna. What ADL does is a form of strategy that adapts the business of selling cakes for boutique customers.

In 2006, STJL returned to Lage because it wanted to re-manage the remaining land. He heard the news that the refugees would be built by the government. However, after a year had passed and no help had come, finally STJL, with his son and brother, tried agriculture. The vacant land he owns is used for planting kale, and the results

are quite good, reaching 50,000 per day. Around the Kangkung plant, seasonal crops are also planted, namely sweet potatoes and eggplant. To manage the land, STJL is assisted by other widows with a profit-sharing system. Marketing for the produce is not a hassle because the retailers come to them directly in the garden, and the location of their garden is not far from the market. STJL revealed this to the author, like this:

"[...] my thoughts right now are how to make quick money. After seeing this vacant lot near the house, I immediately responded and decided to take advantage of it by growing whatever people need every day, and that is vegetables." (Results of interview in Lage, July 18, 2018)

Household or Family relationship assets

In the context of utilising family, especially those closest to them, in various ways, it is a strategic step taken by widows of conflict victims in terms of managing children to work, providing child care, and asking for loan assistance in the form of money in order to meet urgent needs. They use family support, as happened in the case of SHRT, who decided to flee to Palu with his brother for 3 months. After that, he returned to the Banggai Islands and to his father-in-law's house. To support their children's needs for nine months, SHRT sells tempeh, chips, and cakes. While living at his mother-in-law's house, he was assisted by his sister-in-law in the form of a sack of soybeans and a raft of tempeh. After nine months in the Banggai Islands, he went to Palu to send his children to school there.

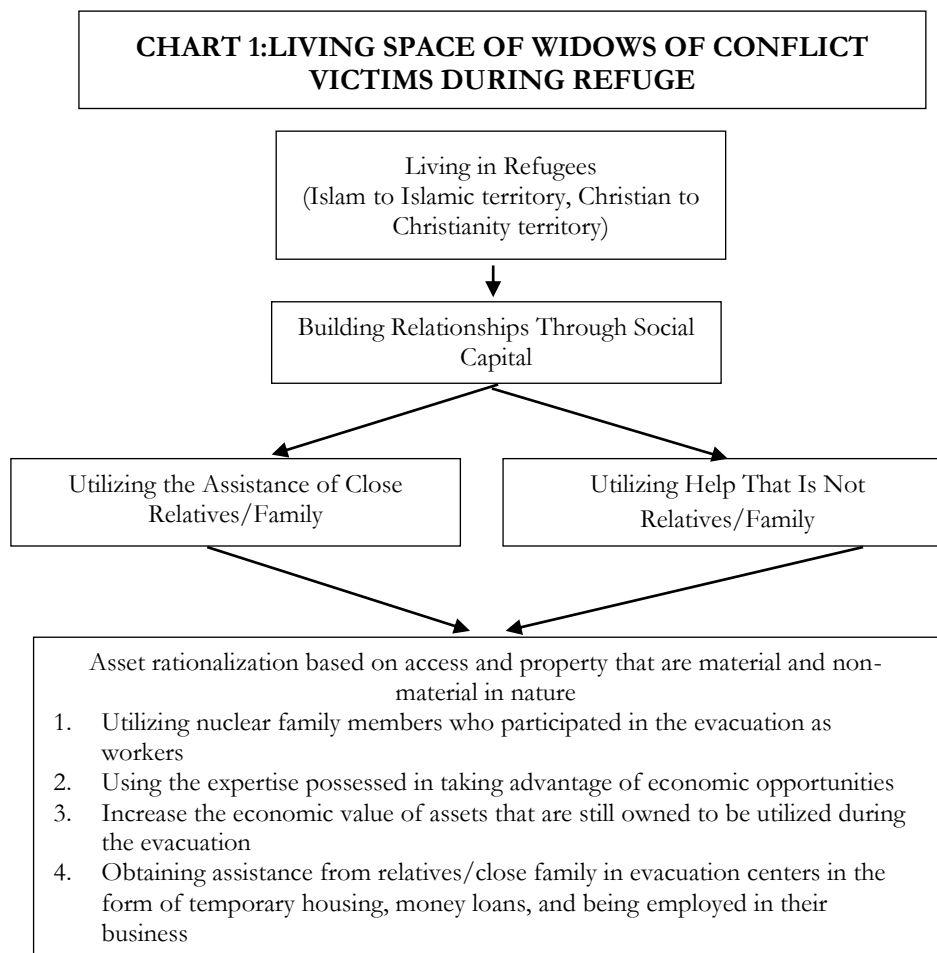
For SHRT, the closest people who can be trusted to help him face the demands of life are his in-laws and siblings. At her parents-in-law's house, SHRT is very helpful in supporting her two children. In addition, he was also assisted by his brother-in-law in the form of a capital loan.

The same thing happened to ADL. In the midst of his confusion about the cost of children entering high school, unexpectedly there was assistance from a foundation from Surabaya that was engaged in the humanitarian field for the victims of the Poso conflict, which was introduced by his family. The foundation covered all of Verna's education costs until she finished high school. Almost the same thing happened to GZL, which also received assistance in the form of rice and money from a humanitarian foundation. He also received external assistance from the association for widows of conflict victims at the Tentena Church. The motivation is so that the widow does not dissolve in sadness and builds her spirit of life again. Likewise with KTMH, thanks to the help of a friend, he received capital assistance of \$30 million from the bank with a guarantee for a house certificate to open a shop. Since then, KTMH has been serious about trading any kind of Eiger-branded goods.

In the context of this research, both existing and newly formed social capital are abstracted through the use of social networks around them. Several case studies that have been described describe the use of social capital contained in the social system and asset ownership at the research site by widows with the intention of maintaining their survival, strengthening the descriptions above,⁵³ makes the analytical framework "The Asset Vulnerability Framework". This framework includes various asset management strategies that can be used to make adjustments or develop certain strategies to maintain viability. One of them is productive assets, for example, houses, rice fields, livestock, plants, or the necessities of

⁵³Moser, (1998), 'The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies', *World Development*, 2–4

life. The outline of the findings and discussion above is described in Chart 1 as follows:



Conclusion

The results of this study reveal the adaptation strategy of widows who are victims of social conflict through the use of social capital by widows of victims of social conflict in fulfilling social welfare: first, building social kinship relations, especially with parents, siblings, cousins, nieces, and nephews; second, building non-relative social relations with officials, owners of the foundations of financial institutions, especially banks and cooperatives, as well as religious institutions.

The use of widows assets and capabilities concerns: First, human capital assets Where widows optimise children (working age) and women in helping work, They take advantage of the skills or expertise

they have, such as food-making skills, teaching skills, and business skills. Second, social relations are assets where they take advantage of the existence of family (relatives and non-relatives) to help ease the burden of life, such as a place to evacuate, leave children, and work partners. Third, productive assets Where the widow uses her house and land directly or indirectly to make money. Fourth, social capital assets, namely building social relations with anyone based on mutual trust and reciprocity.

This research is an attempt to recall the events and social processes that have been experienced by widows of Poso conflict victims in their survival. Therefore, is the need for new data regarding existing social network ties still maintained today? If so,

what formed it, and if not, why did it happen? In addition, further research on the impact of psychology and trauma, as well as efforts to make peace with the past, needs to be based on assumptions.

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