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Women's involvement in terrorism in Indonesia (A study of nirmilitary defence strategies to counter the threat of terrorism by involving women)

Ratna Damayanti¹, Amany Lubis², Ichsan Malik³, Yusuf Ali⁴, Agus Adriyanto⁵

¹ Doctoral student of Indonesia Defence University, ^{2,3,4} Lecturers in the Doctoral Programme at the Indonesia Defence University, ⁵ Lecturer of Naval Defence Strategy Study Program, Faculty of Defence Strategy, Indonesia Defense University

ratdubes@gmail.com

Abstract. The phenomenon of women's involvement in acts of terrorism around the world is growing, including acts of terrorism in Indonesia that use women as suicide bombers. Terrorism crimes are included in non-military threats so that they must be faced with non-military strategies. In this case, BNPT is the leading sector in implementing non-military strategies to prevent women from being involved in terrorism and also deradicalisation efforts for prisoners, deportees and returnees. The purpose of this study is to analyse how the motives and factors of women can be involved in terrorism and how the non-military defence strategy to overcome women's involvement in terrorism. The research method used is qualitative which is conducted by using desk review technique. The results show that there are two opinions found to be the root cause of women's involvement in terrorism, the first is patriarchy culture and women as victims. But the tendency in Indonesia that occurs is women as victims, the powerlessness of women who are bound by patriarchal culture, the limited insight they have is also the reason so that women are victims of terrorism itself, the findings of the other root of the problem are social inequality or economic problems. Non-military strategy can be implemented by increasing awareness and education for women with a religious approach, economic empowerment, and also women's equality.

Keywords. Women, Terrorism, Strategy, Defence, Non-military

1. Introduction

The May 2018 terrorist attacks in Surabaya have shocked people, not only in Indonesia, but also around the world. The new modus operandi in these acts of terror is to involve a family in committing suicide bombings.¹ Dita's family is one of the three families involved in the acts of terror in East Java over a period of two consecutive days in May 2018. The involvement of wives and minor children in suicide bombings has become a new modus operandi and further strengthens the role of women in terrorism. Not only that, in 2019, Abu

Hamzah's wife also became the executor of the Sibolga Bombing Terror, then in 2021 there was Zakiah Aini who opened fire at the Police.¹

Headquarters Complex, and also in 2022 a veiled woman pointed a gun at the Paspampres in the State Palace area.²

The involvement of women in terrorism in Indonesia is not something new. In 2016, Dian Yulia Novi in Bekasi was arrested before becoming a martyr to blow up the state palace with a pot bomb, followed by the arrest of other female terrorists, one of whom was the wife of terrorist Santoso (Mulia, 2018). Most female terrorists have roles in logistics, funding, hiding terrorists or their husbands, supplying explosives, firearms and ammunition, and other terrorist activities (Hartana, 2017). Although it is not something new, the involvement of women in terrorism has reached an important role, namely as martyrs, furthermore in the case of the Dita Family in Surabaya, women as mothers also involved their children as martyrs.

The discussion of women being involved in terrorism and radicalism has been around for a long time. Al Qaeda has Umm Osama, one of the female figures in Al Qaeda. The idea of recruiting women was initially inspired by a successful operation in Afghanistan by sending young women as bomb martyrs in areas that were difficult for the enemy to reach (Nes in Hartana, 2017). This was eventually also done by the ISIS network in Indonesia in recruiting women who placed women in a strategic position in the war (Golose in Hartana, 2017).

The Surabaya bombings shocked many people, including the National Commission on Violence Against Women. Komnas Perempuan believes that efforts are needed to suppress the growing trend of using women in radicalism and terrorism. Networks of terrorist groups perceive that women can be more radical and easier to manipulate the security forces. The strategic role of a mother makes it easier to instil radical ideology into children so that these children are ready to become martyrs of suicide bombers. This is also consistent with the results of the Global Study 1325 which further states that gender-based violence is a strategic and comprehensive tactic of terrorists.³

Not only in Indonesia, the roots of women's involvement in terrorism have been going on for a long time. Musdah Mulia (2018), in her writing, tells the story of Vera Zasulich, which is the beginning of women's involvement in terrorism. Vera Zasulich, a Russian woman who supported Marxism, shot the then Governor of St. Petersburg, Colonel Trepov, for whipping Bogolyubov, who was on trial for not removing his hat as a sign of respect during Colonel Trepov's presence. During the trial, Zasulich claimed that he was not a murderer but a terrorist. Without realising it, Zasulich's story became famous and was a factor in the growth of terrorism in Russia that led to the assassination of Tsar II (Mulia, 2018). After her story became so popular, the existence of women in terrorism has also increased, especially in countries in conflict.

Women also have specific roles both as supporters of terrorism and involved in terrorism operations, one of which is in Palestine. One of the most famous Palestinian women

¹ Damarjati, Danu. 2018. Terrorism in 2018: Family Bombing Shakes Surabaya. Detik.com, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4358370/terorisme-terlaknat-2018-bom-sekeluarga-mengguncang-surabaya> accessed on 09 January 2024

² Antara Kaltara. 2022. *Why are young women targeted by terrorists to become members?* Kaltara Antaranews.com, <https://kaltara.antaranews.com/berita/498029/telaah--mengapa-wanita-muda-sasaran-teroris-untuk-digaet-jadi-anggota-> accessed on 01 February 2024.

³ Rachman, Dylan Aprialdo & Sabrina Asril. 2018. *The Trend of Using Women in Acts of Terrorism must be Suppressed.* Kompas.com: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/17/08145381/tren-penggunaan-perempuan-dalam-aksi-terorisme-harus-ditekan> accessed on 11 January 2024.

involved in terrorism is Leila Khaled, who became an inspiration for Palestinian militants in the 1970s, after she was involved in several confrontational actions with the Israeli army with the Palestine Liberation Front.

There are many discussions about women's involvement in acts of terrorism, one of which is what is conveyed in the book *Women and Terrorism* by Leebarty Taskarina (2018), through this book attention is given to the forgotten victims of terrorism crimes, namely women who are usually the wives or even children of terrorists. The argumentation in this paper sees that women and children involved in terrorism are not the perpetrators of terrorism crimes, but the victims. This is due to the dominance of the patriarchal system that eventually makes these women victims and willing to commit terrorist crimes. Musdah Mulia (2018) in this case explains that women become powerless in choosing because they must obey and follow their husbands in accordance with the applicable sharia, from this perspective, it can be said that women and children become victims like what happened in Surabaya. In accordance with this, Taskarina (2018) also wrote how women do not understand the involvement or activities carried out by their husbands. Wives only follow their husbands' orders in accordance with religious law and the norms that apply in their environment.

The phenomenon of women's involvement in acts of terrorism has shifted from a supporting role to a leading role in suicide bombings, even going so far as to bring their children as martyrs. This is interesting to study, starting with finding the background, motives, and reasons for women's involvement in terrorism. However, what is very important is to determine strategies that can be a solution for women who have been exposed to radicalism and terrorism, as well as in preventing women who are involved in acts of terrorism.

2. Literature Review

a. Terrorism and Radicalism in Indonesia.

Terrorism is an attempt to spread fear among the public. However, since long ago, terrorism has always had political motives as its basis. Dissatisfaction with the existing government is then associated with ideological or religious fanaticism (Oberschall, 2004). In the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) 2023, released data that terror attacks in 2022 resulted in 3,955 fatalities. Indonesia alone, ranks 24th in the list of countries most implicated by terrorism and is also in a worrying situation.⁴

Purba & Syauqillah (2022) traced the origin of terrorism and radicalism to the emergence of Islamic extremism through Darul Islam (DI), then Jamaah Islamiah, which later became ISIS today. DI/TII once attempted to make Indonesia an Islamic state by using violence and weapons. After DI/TII was suppressed, Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) was formed with the same goal. Although formed in 1993, JI experienced significant development when Al Qaeda began to show its existence by carrying out the 9/11 attacks in 2001 on the WTC Building in the United States (Prandyana, 2022).

JI is responsible for several bombings in Indonesia which were carried out massively and gradually. Since the first bombings carried out by JI, namely, Bali Bombing I in 2002, Bali Bombing 2 in 2005, Bombing at JW Marriot Hotel in 2003 (Rachmawati, 2022). After several JI leading actors were killed, and also the US captured Al-Qaeda leader, Osama Bin Laden, some former JI members joined the ISIS network, the organisation of Pro-Islamic states of Iraq

⁴ Institute For Economic & Peace. 2023. *Global Terrorism Index 2023: Measuring the Impact of Terrorism*. Sydney: March 2023. Available from: <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/GTI-2023-web-170423.pdf> accessed on 17 Januari 2024.

and Syria (Purba & Syauqillah, 2022). They formed Jamaah Ansharut Dawlah (JAD), a smaller network but a violent group (Amelia in Purba & Syauqillah, 2022).

b. Women's Role in Terrorism

In discussing the role of women in terrorism in Indonesia, it is best to start with the motivation and background of female terrorists. There are two different and conflicting opinions. First, the opinion of Taskarina (2018) and also supported by Musdah Mulia (2018), which states that women are victims of terrorism and also an environment that adheres to patriarchal lines. Meanwhile, a different opinion by Rex Hudson (2002), wrote that women are not victims but consciously want to involve themselves in acts of terrorism with different motivations from men, namely wanting a better life for their children. Hudson's opinion may fit the motivation of women who are involved in terrorist acts who move alone such as Dian Yulia Novi who moves alone *lone wolf* and wants to become a martyr not because she follows her husband but because of her will to jihad. However, there are more cases of female terrorists before the shift to the involvement of women and children as martyrs. If we look at the bombing phenomenon in Surabaya, Rex Hudson's opinion is irrelevant because it is not aimed at a better life for their children.

Debbie Affianty (in Taskarina, 2018; Purba & Syauqillah, 2022) mentioned that there are four important factors that encourage women to engage in terrorism, namely religious, ideological, political, and personal factors. Taskarina (2018) wrote an interesting thing about caliphate *sisterhood*. This term is used based on her research in the field that these women terrorists are in the same environment, namely the wives of terrorists who then become an identity and are equally indoctrinated in carrying out obligations to their husbands. Furthermore, being part of the sisterhood of women caliphs is the completion of religion (Purba & Syauqillah, 2022). Ideological factors, according to Hikam (2016), radical ideology can make civilians become terrorists (non-state actors). In addition, there are conflicts between adherents of certain religions and other groups (*ingroup* and *outgroup*). Meanwhile, political factors are based on feelings of unacceptance of discriminatory regulations by the government, especially those that do not refer to *sharia* law. Personal factors, there is a process of doctrine and recruitment for women either through technological intermediaries such as social media, or the environment (Affianty, 2017).

c. Non-military Defence

In the effort to tackle terrorism in Indonesia, the government places the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) as the *leading sector* that is authorised to formulate and make policies and strategies as well as being the coordinator in the field of counterterrorism. In the policy aspect, BNPT has three areas, namely, 1) Prevention, protection and deradicalisation, 2) prosecution and capacity building, and 3) The field of international co-operation.⁵

BNPT's policy in countering terrorism emphasises integrative and comprehensive counterterrorism efforts. So far, it is known that the handling of terrorists: *hard approach* and *soft approach* (Alexandra, 2017). *Hard approach* is an approach through prosecution, intelligence, as well as international coordination and collaboration. *The United States*, as a country that was attacked by terrorists on 9/11, applied the *hard approach* through the *Patriot*

⁵ BNPT. 2024. *BNPT Secretary General Explains the Need for Institutional Adjustments to Strengthen Prevention and Deradicalisation*. <https://www.bnpt.go.id/sestama-bnpt-jelaskan-perlunya-penyesuaian-kelembagaan-untuk-perkuat-pencegahan-dan-deradikalisasi> accessed on 29 January 2024.

Act policy as a legitimisation for the military to eradicate terrorists to the region and even other countries. In Islamic countries, there is IMAFT (Islamic Military Alliance to Fight Terrorism), an alliance of Islamic countries to fight terrorism through the *hard approach* method.

Meanwhile, the *soft approach* is an approach that is more directed towards prevention and also deradicalisation as has been done by BNPT so far. The *soft approach* product owned by BNPT is deradicalisation. Deradicalisation owned by BNPT is carried out both inside the prison and outside the prison with the stages of identification, rehabilitation, reeducation, and resocialisation, and is carried out through psychological, cultural, economic, and especially religious approaches (Aryeno et.al., 2022).

The policy must be integrative and comprehensive, involving all components of the nation, both government ministries/institutions (K/L) and the community in countering terrorism in Indonesia. It is in this position that BNPT, as the *leading sector*, coordinates all potential resources from various elements of the nation in countering terrorism.

The role and function of BNPT as the *leading sector* in counter-terrorism efforts is in accordance with the principles of non-military defence. Non-military defence is the participation of the people and all national resources in national defence, both as a Reserve Component and Support Component prepared to face military threats and as a civil defence function in the face of non-military threats. This is written in Law Number 3 of 2002 concerning State Defence Article 7 Paragraph (2) in the face of military threats, and in Article 7 Paragraph (3) the civil defence function in the face of non-military threats.

In the crime of terrorism, it is often considered a non-military threat because the main context is to spread fear in society, not a gun battle. Although it is a non-military threat, it requires a non-military strategy that requires a *hybrid* approach between civilian and military agencies because it is often a complex threat.

3. Methods

This research uses a qualitative method with descriptive analysis. Qualitative methods are used in researching social fields because they are based on observations made by humans or researchers (Sugiyono, 2014). In the qualitative analysis process, the researcher becomes the main instrument (Moleong, 2018). The techniques used in this research are observation and desk review documentation. Observation is done by observing the object to be studied, namely the phenomenon of women's involvement in terrorism. The desk review method is used to observe and collect data used as research data sources, in the form of books, journals, articles, laws related to women in terrorism and non-military defence strategies. The collected data was then analysed using descriptive method.

4. Discussions

a. Women's Role in Terrorism Networks

Terrorism in Indonesia has existed since the country's independence from the colonisers (Taskarina, 2018). Since Indonesia's independence, we have known about the DI/TII Rebellion which aimed to establish an Islamic state. Over time, radicalism has had its ups and downs but has never really disappeared from Indonesia. The desire to establish an Islamic state still exists today. From the DI/TII Movement, it then became Jamaah Islamiyah which is affiliated with Al-Qaeda, and finally became Jamaah Ansharut Dawlah (JAD) which has links to ISIS (Purba & Syauqillah, 2022). Throughout this journey, women's involvement has experienced the development of roles and involvement in acts of terrorism.

Affiyanti (2017) explained the forms of women's involvement in jihadism and terrorism groups, namely loyal followers and companions, propagandists and recruitment agents, and martyrs. In the book Taskarina (2018), it is written about several stories of women involved in terrorism, including Ummi Delima and Ummi Yazid. Ummi Delima was told that she did not know exactly about the activities and work of her husband, Bimo, who joined the JI network. However, Ummi Delima joined her husband with the role of a companion who fulfils daily needs such as cleaning, cooking, and swallowing birth control pills so as not to get pregnant. Likewise with Ummi Yazid, who was eventually forced to join her husband's group into the forest to accompany her husband who was in the same group as Bimo.

The role of women in terrorism networks to accompany and follow as wives is the most common role encountered.

The next role is as a propaganda expert and recruitment agent. One of them is Ummu Absa alias Tutin Sugiarti, who recruited many terrorists, one of whom was Dian Yulia Novi (Triskaputri, 2019). Ummu Absa first learnt about the DI network through *Facebook* and the *Telegram* application. Ummu Absa also often met and gathered with the wives of terrorists, who were having economic difficulties, so she was moved to create a group on social media to help raise funds. Through social media, Ummu Absa also routinely spread the teachings of jihad and managed to recruit women who wanted to join terrorism, one of whom was Dian. Ummu Absa is just one example of how propaganda can be spread through the internet and social media, from being initially exposed to propaganda to becoming a propaganda expert to successfully recruiting other terrorists.

ISIS carries out propaganda and recruitment through technology, especially social media. Unlike the network in Indonesia, ISIS women are not allowed to go into battle but play an important role in propaganda and recruitment through the internet (Affiyanti, 2017). In the era of social media, ISIS women spread their ideology and propaganda abroad, mobilising troops or people who want to join ISIS, including Indonesia. They capitalise on people's disappointment with the government and are promised a better life and economy with a government with Islamic teachings with their radical and intolerant teachings. The proliferation of propaganda videos and content on social media has led to the mobilisation of many Indonesians to Syria as well as domestic terrorism networks.

The last role of women is as martyrs who participate or are directly involved in carrying out terrorist attacks. In recent years, the role of women who take part in combat or as suicide brides has increased in Indonesia. Starting from 2016 to 2022, women involved with terrorism have begun to become martyrs in various ways, such as by bombing churches with their children, acting alone in carrying out terrorist acts such as Dian Yulia Novi and Zakiah Aini.

b. Women's Motivation for Terrorism

In addressing the increasing trend of women's involvement in terrorism, we must start with what motivates women who are involved in terrorism. Of course, many would answer that the reason is the pursuit of heaven, but if analysed, there are various factors that motivate women to get involved in terrorism.

Taskarina (2018) explains that the women interviewed in her book told her that their motivation was simply to follow their husbands' orders and words without knowing the purpose of the group movement that their husbands joined. Taskarina (2018) and Musdah Mulia agree that women are victims of the prevailing culture and teachings that obeying their husbands is rewarded with heaven.

Furthermore, Affianty (2017) analysed several factors that motivate women to be involved in terrorism, including; religious factors, ideological factors, political factors, and personal factors. The religious factor is where there is a brotherhood of caliphs, these women terrorists are in the same environment, namely the wives of terrorists who then become an identity and are equally indoctrinated in carrying out obligations to their husbands. Furthermore, being part of the khalifah women's brotherhood is the completion of religion (Purba & Syauqillah, 2022). This factor is shared by almost all women involved in terrorism. The reason for following their husband's orders, jihad in the path of Allah, the promise of heaven by inviting 70 family members, made women involved in acts of terrorism. Wives are willing to accompany their husbands in and out of the forest and leave their children for the guarantee of heaven.

Ideological factors, according to Hikam (2016), radical ideology can make civilians become terrorists (non-state actors). In addition, there is a conflict between adherents of certain religions and other groups (*ingroup* and *outgroup*). Taskarina (2018) wrote about the experience of one of the women involved in terrorism, Ummi Delima. For a long time, Ummi Delima has worn a veil and dressed in black. The neighbourhood where she lived stigmatised Ummi Delima, so she became increasingly isolated from her environment. Finally, Ummi Delima found the right environment by joining the recitation which eventually brought her together with Bimo, a terrorist leader. The rejection of her neighbourhood based solely on her style of dress led Ummi Delima to become involved in acts of terrorism.

Political factors are based on a feeling of unacceptance of discriminatory regulations by the government, especially those that do not refer to sharia law. The existence of economic disparity in society is one of the reasons why political factors emerge for wives involved in terrorism. In addition, technology has a big influence on the spread of propaganda about shariah law that should be applied in Indonesia. They believe that if Indonesia does not embrace and implement Islamic *sharia* in its government and legal system, it is on the wrong path. Nining is one of those who believes this. Nining planned to go to Syria with her friends in September 2016 before being arrested by the authorities (Triskaputri, 2019). Nining and others saw through social media how their friends who had migrated to Syria were prospering and living happily. In opposite, many Indonesians in Syria are begging the government to allow them to return to Indonesia, as their lives are more difficult and they are in the midst of war.

Personal factors, the process of doctrine and recruitment for women, either through technological intermediaries such as social media, or the environment (Affianty, 2017). Similar to political factors, personal factors are strongly influenced

by the spread of doctrine and propaganda on social media. They are influenced to participate in jihad, either going to Syria or jihad in their own country, by committing acts of terror. The findings on the perpetrators of the Surabaya bombing in 2018, apart from inviting their children, this family turned out to come from the upper middle class. This can be seen from the residential complex where they live and their daily life activities. This is where it can be seen how personal factors are driving Dita's wife to get involved in acts of terrorism with her children, they are willing to leave a comfortable life to become martyrs because they are promised heaven.

The factors above are the drivers and motivations of how women can be involved in acts of terrorism, either in groups with their husbands or families, or acting alone or *lonewolf*. However, there is one factor that is very influential and can be added, namely environmental factors. These women are actually victims of the environment, the environment where they live, the environment that introduces them to terrorism networks, the environment that forces them

to marry terrorists, the environment that wants the existence of the group by spreading terror and making them have to become martyrs or 'brides'.

c. Non-Military Defence Strategies Involving Women

In tackling and dealing with the problem of women involved in terrorism, an appropriate non-military strategy involving women is needed. The non-military strategy in dealing with terrorism in Indonesia is led by BNPT with the assistance of other agencies/institutions. In efforts to prevent and also deradicalise women who have been involved in terrorism, there must be involvement from women in developing appropriate and comprehensive steps and solutions.

Director of Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN) for Indonesia Dwi Rubiyanti Kholifah said women empowerment is needed in handling terrorism.⁶ This is in line with what Taskarina (2018) wrote, that an important initial foundation is to provide equality space for women in various matters, including expressing opinions and also involvement in handling terrorism. Often, policies and strategies that are made and implemented do not involve women, so there is no space to express their real needs. Likewise, in the context of when they are involved in terrorism because of orders or following their husbands, social construction has been made how a wife's nature is to follow her husband. This is also confirmed in verses in the holy book that are interpreted differently by propaganda experts and terrorist recruiters, so that they willingly follow their husbands in carrying out terror missions.

In terms of prevention, in addition to opening the widest possible space for equality, especially in opinion for women, is to avoid environments that are exposed to terrorism. Most women involved in terrorism started by marrying a terrorist who was introduced to them by a recitation teacher or their own relatives. This is why it is important for BNPT and TNI-Polri to coordinate in gathering existing terrorism networks, starting from the place of residence, family, to recitation or group gatherings. In addition, recruitment also comes from technology, especially social media. Therefore, it is important for the government to protect the public from radicalism and terrorism content on the internet. Although it is difficult to stem, the government must also start instilling a culture of literacy and state defence from an early age, to filter content on the internet and not be easily exposed to terrorism.

In 2022, BNPT, together with INFID and Fatayat NU, produced a book on Technical Guidelines for Assisting Deported/Returned Women and Children Exposed to Radicalism. This technical guidebook was made for local governments, civil society organisations, and religious community organisations. It fully discusses the introduction to radical terrorism, as well as the procedures for handling and assisting the programme. Unfortunately, this mentoring book is only for deportees and returnees, and does not cover female terrorism prisoners.

The Prasasti Perdamaian Foundation, in the book "Women, Terrorism and Life in Prison", writes that there are still many shortcomings in the handling and deradicalisation of female prisoners. This includes from prisons to deradicalisation programs carried out both inside and outside the prison. Until now, female prisoners are still combined with other female prisoners in women's prisons scattered throughout Indonesia, while the special prison for prisoners in Nusakambangan is not yet friendly to women.

⁶ Wardah, Fathiyah. 2018. *Need for Women's Empowerment in Handling Terrorism*. *VOAIndonesia.com*: <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/perlu-pemberdayaan-perempuan-dalam-penanganan-terorisme/4630165.html> accessed on 23 February 2024.

For the deradicalisation programme, BNPT makes two schemes, namely, inside the prison and outside the prison (Triskaputri, 2019). Inside the prison, there are several stages of deradicalisation including: identification, rehabilitation, reeducation, resocialisation, observation and evaluation. Meanwhile, the stages outside the prison include identification, counter-radicalisation coaching, observation, and evaluation. However, the reality on the ground is not as easy as on paper. In the prison itself, deradicalisation has not been effective due to difficulties such as the rejection of prisoners to be fostered; prison officers prioritise security and prevent clashes between prisoners or between prisoners and officers; there is concern if prisoners are brought together, gather, or socialise; and there is no special module, training, and guidelines for fostering prisoners for prison officers. This was confirmed by prison officials in Bandung where Dian Yulia Novi lives. Ibu Suci, Dian's guardian, admitted that Dian refused to be given guidance and was difficult to approach, so the intervention could only be done by approaching Dian's son who also lived in the prison (Triskaputri, 2019).

In some prisons, female prisoners do not have their own cells due to space constraints. This is vulnerable because other female prisoners can be exposed to radicalism if the female prisoner spreads her understanding and doctrine, especially if she is a propaganda expert in her network. The limited space, facilities, and competent guardians make it difficult to deradicalise and provide effective guidance to female prisoners.

The second scheme is deradicalisation outside prison. The scheme outside prison is carried out for former prisoners so that they can live in the community. Of course, ex-convicts are considered to have received deradicalisation when in prison, so when they leave prison the deradicalisation carried out is a counter-radicalisation defence and observation. This often does not work because deradicalisation in prisons turns out to be ineffective, and ex-militants return to their previous environment. In that environment, ex-militants are ostracised because they are considered defectors by their group and have been branded by deradicalisation. Finally, the ex-militants showed their existence again by committing terrorist acts such as the Thamrin bombing in 2016. Seeing from the two approaches taken, the *hard approach* and the *soft approach* are still experiencing obstacles, so it is important to develop a new strategy and approach.

Persuasive approach is an approach that influences individuals who are exposed to the ideology of terrorism and commit acts of terrorism to change their views and abandon the ideology. Non-military strategies can use a persuasive approach by involving women. Here are some ways:

a) Awareness Raising and Education for Women with a Religious Approach.

This strategy is carried out by providing education and training on the threats and dangers of terrorism and armed conflict. This is certainly not easy, especially if it starts with women who are in the circle of terrorism. Therefore, it is important to start with caution. Usually, they will tend to avoid people from the government, let alone BNPT. Therefore, it is necessary to involve religious leaders from the local community as facilitators so that awareness and education can be instilled. There needs to be equality between the facilitators and the women who are prone to terrorism so that these women can express their feelings, emotions, and desires in the future. As noted by Malik (2007) in the *Training Manual on Peace Building and Conflict Prevention*, this way they will realise that communication between facilitators is an important key in producing a comprehensive solution.

b) Economic Empowerment.

Much of the propaganda by the terrorists was to promise a better economy than in the country led by the current government. Some of the women involved think about the importance of the future for their children. It is hoped that economic empowerment for women will be one of the persuasive factors for women to avoid terrorism. An equitable economy is one of the most important rights of citizens, therefore it is also an essential factor in preventing women from being involved in terrorism.

c) Women's Equality.

An explanation of the motives and reasons why many women participate in acts of terrorism is the strong patriarchal culture that influences these women to participate in various acts of terrorism. Women should be given equality so that they can express their opinions, emotions, and feelings without being labelled as violating religion or disobeying their husbands. Therefore, both religious and community leaders should start campaigning for equality and also involve women in neighbourhood communities. This involvement will make women participate in positive activities and prevent them from being exposed to radicalism. Women should indeed be involved in making policies, especially for *Countering Violence Extremism / Preventing Violent Extremism* (CVE / PVE). Women are expert mediators in the family, their considerations and opinions will be more effective in deradicalisation efforts, so women should be further involved in this CVE/PVE effort (Quilliam Foundation in d'Estaing, 2017).

5. Conclusions

From the analysis of the discussion above, it can be concluded that women's involvement in terrorism cannot be separated from the root causes of terrorism, the root causes themselves are not only one and fixed, but become complex things, such as patriarchal domination, religious idealism or ideology, the desire for a better life, coupled with technology and social media that make propaganda spread further. Based on the analyses above, the non-military defence strategy that can be carried out is a persuasive approach through increasing awareness and education for women with a religious approach, economic empowerment, and women's equality. Of course, this is not easy, it requires political will from the government as a form of seriousness in preventing women from being involved in acts of terrorism in Indonesia.

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