

# Gender-Based Counter-Terrorism Policing: Case Study of Women's Involvement in ISIS Terrorism Network in Indonesia

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## Gender-Based Counter-Terrorism Policing: Case Study of Women's Involvement in ISIS Terrorism Network in Indonesia

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### Abstract

Since 2016, terrorist networks and acts in Indonesia have made women the executor of terror acts who carry out heinous attacks on targets, even through suicide bombings. This violence is manifested by women who are often perceived as gentle, motherly, and far from anarchic actions and act as wives who support the terrors of their husbands. This paper tries to explain the shift in the role and involvement of women in acts of terrorism carried out by the transnational terrorism group ISIS and its networks in Indonesia. This research explores the characteristics of terrorist networks and actions in Indonesia, the cases that occurred, the background of life, and the process of radicalization targeting women. Using a qualitative methodology in the form of case studies and gender concepts with a counter-terrorism approach, this article offers a solution in the form of gender-based counter-terrorism policing as a sharper and more focused approach to preventing acts of terrorism carried out by female terrorists.

**Keywords:** Counter-Terrorism Policing, Terrorism, Women, ISIS, Gender

### Introduction

Various acts of terrorism in Indonesia since the early 2000s show that acts of terrorism are dominated by men, ranging from strategists, recruiters, bomb assemblers, logistics providers, and fundraisers to suicide bombers. However, when Densus 88 arrested Dian Yulia Novi<sup>1</sup>, the bride-to-be of a suicide bomber at the State Palace, in December 2016 in the Bekasi area, the Indonesian people were shocked by the fact that women, although there are relatively less compared to men, can become terrorists. From here, the number of female terrorist acts began to increase, such as the suicide bomber with her two children, Puji Kuswati, at the Indonesian Christian Church in Surabaya in May 2018<sup>2</sup>, Solimah, who was responsible for detonating a bomb in her own house in Sibolga in March 2019<sup>3</sup>, a husband and wife who attacked the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Wiranto in October 2019<sup>4</sup>, as well as two cases in 2021, namely a husband and wife who committed suicide bombings at the Makassar Cathedral Church and Zakiah Aini who shot at the Indonesian National Police Headquarters (Police Headquarters).<sup>5</sup> The above reality also shows that women who previously seemed to only play a role as wives who support their husbands in terrorist activities have recently become a core part of being involved as perpetrators in

<sup>1</sup> Bisma Alief, "Sosok Teroris Dian, Mantan TKW yang Disiapkan Jadi Pengantin," in [news.detik.com](http://news.detik.com), 11 December 2016, accessed from <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3368782/sosok-teroris-dian-mantan-tkw-yang-disiapkan-jadi-pengantin/1> on 20 March 2022.

<sup>2</sup> Juni Kriswanto, "Serangan Bom di Tiga Gereja di Surabaya: Pelaku Bom Bunuh Diri Perempuan yang Membawa Dua Anak," in BBC News Indonesia, accessed from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-44097913> on 20 March 2022.

<sup>3</sup> Juli Hantoro, "Kapolda Sumut: Pelaku Bom Bunuh Diri di Sibolga Bernama Solimah," in [Tempo.co](http://Tempo.co), 14 March 2019, accessed from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1185095/kapolda-sumut-pelaku-bom-bunuh-diri-di-sibolga-bernama-solimah/ful&view=ok> on 20 March 2022.

<sup>4</sup> Syifa Hanifah, "Fakta-fakta Pelaku Penyerangan Wiranto," in Merdeka News, 10 October 2019, accessed from <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/fakta-fakta-pelaku-penyerangan-wiranto.html> on 20 March 2022.

<sup>5</sup> Sabik Aji Taufan, "Kaleidoskop 2021: Bom Gereja sampai Mabes Polri Diserang Teroris," Jawa Pos TV, 30 December 2021, accessed from <https://www.jawapos.com/nasional/hukum-kriminal/30/12/2021/kaleidoskop-2021-bom-gereja-sampai-mabes-polri-diserang-teroris/> on 20 March 2022.

terrorist acts.<sup>6</sup> Take, for example, Ruqayah bint Husen Luceno known as Gina Gutierrez, the wife of Umar Patek who helped hide her husband from being chased by the police or Ingrid Wahyu Cahyaningsing, the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, a member of Aman Abdurahman's application, who provided his house as a training ground for terrorists. There is also Munifiatun, Noordin M. Top's second wife, who is accused of falsifying her husband's identity as a terrorist; Putri Munawaroh, Agus Susilo's wife, who hid three clerics who were suspected of bombing the JW Marriot and Ritz Carlton hotels, and Denny Carmelita, known as Umi Najla, wife of Pepi Fernando - the perpetrator of the BNN book bombing - who hid information about her husband's involvement in several terrorist acts.<sup>7</sup> These women carry out their actions limited to support as a wife who is obedient and obedient to their husbands, but they are not directly involved, let alone become perpetrators of violence.

The Indonesian government, through the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) and the Special Detachment for Counter-Terrorism of the Indonesian National Police (Polri), claim that some counter-terrorism strategies have been able to tackle terrorism in this country. This strategy starts with law enforcement efforts, preventing radical ideas, monitoring radicalism and terrorism activities through cyberspace, arrests and prosecution, deradicalization, coordination and the synergy between institutions and international cooperation. This success is evidenced by the reduced quantity and quality of acts of terror, especially after the influence of ISIS began to fade due to the defeats in Iraq and Syria.

The government's success in this matter certainly deserves appreciation. However, the emergence of the phenomenon of women's involvement as perpetrators of acts of violence in terrorist networks in Indonesia needs to be analyzed more deeply. Their role as mothers who will give birth and form children. The shift in women's behavior in terrorist networks and acts from the early 2000s until now makes the existing cases interesting <sup>7</sup> study. That is why this article wants to explain how this pattern of shifting occurred and why there was a shift in the role of women in terrorism networks and what kind of gender-based counter-terrorism policing model needs to be done by the government, in this case, the National Police, to prevent the involvement of women in acts of terrorism.

### Research Methodology

The research methodology used in this paper is a qualitative methodology with a case study model, where research describes a situation, symptom, fact, or reality of a particular case in more depth by involving the collection of various sources of information related to the topic/title. The case study described how the fact or reality of the occurrence of women entering the circle of terrorism is either directly involved in terrorist groups or networks or individually as "lone wolves". The analysis results are then presented descriptively thematically through library sources that support writing through existing books and other scientific works. Theoretically, a qualitative approach is considered suitable to explore this complex issue intensively.<sup>8</sup> In particular, the case study approach was chosen based on considerations of relevance and data needs. Therefore, several relevant and different cases will be selected to meet the data needs related to policing women objects in terrorism cases.

### Review Literature

The book published by the Wahid Foundation entitled "Intolerance and Radicalism Amongst Women" (Wahid Foundation.2017) reveals the results of studies in several cities in West Java, such as the City of Depok, the City of Bogor and Bogor Regency. In addition, in Central Java; Solo City, Klaten Regency, Sukoharjo Regency or known as Solo Raya and East Java; and Malang City, Malang Regency, Batu City and Sumenep Regency.<sup>9</sup> Where it is revealed that there is a personal relationship in this case which is a marital relationship, making women vulnerable to being exposed to radical ideas of terrorism that are influenced by their partners, especially because their group believes in placing husbands as leaders and

<sup>4</sup> Leebarty Taskarina, *Perempuan dan Terorisme - Kisah Perempuan dalam Kejahatan Terorisme*, Jakarta: Publisher PT Elex Media Komputindo, Gramedia Group, 2018; Zora A. Sukabdi, "Risk Assessment of Women Involved in Terrorism: Indonesian Cases" in *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research*, Vol. 4 Issue 09, P. 2495-2511. DOI <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v4-i9-32>.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.radicalismstudies.org/96/2016/02/reports/special-reports-and-analysis/perempuan-dan-terorisme.html>

<sup>8</sup> Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.). 2009. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Trans. Dariatno et.al. Jogjakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. p.25.

<sup>9</sup> Wahid Foundation. 2017. *Intolerance And Radicalism Amongst Women*. Wahid Foundation Publication, 2017.P.9

women. Women are positioned as "subordinates" who are obliged to obey all orders of their husbands. However, not every case of radicalism in women is caused by obedience to their husbands. In some cases, the wife has been radicalized without the influence of her husband but based on the understanding and ideology she has absorbed. At the same time, she was single, through her educational environment and her association with cells of radical terrorist groups.<sup>10</sup>

Alsudairy, in his book *Women and Radicalism in Saudi Arabia*, reinforces that women have radical ideas and are motivated to join the hardline Islamic groups because of the takfiri ideology, which is internalized in women when they come into contact with members of radical movements. Its influence is more rapid, precisely on women who are educated and have high insight (students to undergraduates); the power of literacy and also the "advice" of mentors makes "jihadists" their political way to change the order of people's lives which are considered contrary to God's law.<sup>11</sup> Coupled with the change in the strategic trend of the ISIS radical terrorist group, for example, since 2013, following their unfavorable position in Syria and Iraq, forced them to change their battle tactics by intensifying their amaliyah activities in every way possible. This strategy change also provides more opportunities for women to play an active role as actors, ranging from disseminating information in cyberspace to inviting sympathizers, planning terrorist acts, assembling explosives, and executing in the field.<sup>12</sup>

The case of Al-Qaeda and ISIS as radical transnational terrorist organizations shows how radicalization makes women become militants. Some of them dared to leave their families, accompanying their husbands in the underground life of the jihadists. They perform various roles ranging from small tasks related to logistics, observing targets selected for operations, gathering information on operating targets, checking the security level of premises, storing weapons and hiding wanted fighters and people, facilitating finances, and support for escape. To the most extreme degree involved in operations, with the assumption that women can carry out terrorist attacks without the knowledge of the security forces.<sup>13</sup>

Many observers have defined terrorism based on perpetrators, activities, methods, targets, and motives. Some of these observers see terrorism as a strategy to achieve goals by spreading fear to the public at large.<sup>14</sup> These observers associate terrorism with the root word terror, which comes from the Latin word *terrere*, which means to frighten. Observers who view terrorism as a strategy see acts of terror carried out by terrorist groups as a political tool, where the perpetrators do so intending to pursue power, gain power and use power to make changes to be what they want.<sup>15</sup> Hendropriyono emphasized that this change must be achieved because the perpetrators base their actions on the value of truth contained within themselves.<sup>16</sup>

While many terrorism observers see terror acts carried out to gain power, Gerard Chaliand likens terrorism to a weapon used by weaker groups against more influential groups.<sup>17</sup> From these various definitions, we can say that terrorism is very thick with the content of particular ideologies or political interests.<sup>18</sup> A C Manullang confirmed this by saying that terrorism is a way to seize power from other groups triggered by several factors such as religious, ideological, ethnic and economic disparities.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, according to Manullang, the blockage of communication between the people and the government or the existence of separatism and fanaticism ideology in society can also trigger acts of terror carried out by community groups against the government of a country.

Recently, acts of terrorism have also been linked to religion and carried out by groups acting in the name of religion and motivated to uphold God's law and justice. Even though the methods used by the group,

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>11</sup> Alsudairy Hend T. 2022. *Women and Radicalism in Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*

<sup>14</sup> Walter Reich (Ed.). 1990. *The Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*, New York: Cambridge University Press, Walter Laquer. 1999. *The New Terrorism, Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction*, London: Phoenix Press; A. Ezeldin. 1987. *Terrorism and Political Violence: An Egyptian Perspective*. Chicago: Office of International Criminal Justice, University of Illinois.

<sup>15</sup> Bruce Hoffman. 2006. *Inside Terrorism*, Berkeley: Columbia University Press.

<sup>16</sup> Hendropriyono. 2009. *Terorisme: Fundamental Kristen, Yahudi, Islam*, Jakarta: Kompas.

<sup>17</sup> Gerard Chaliand. 2016. *The History of Terrorism*, New York: University of California Press.

<sup>18</sup> Angel Damayanti. 2018. Radikalisme Pada Komunitas Non-Islam, in *Deradikalisasi: Kontra Radikalisme & Deideologisasi*, Jakarta: Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

<sup>19</sup> A.C. Manullang. 2001. *Mengungkap Tabu Intelijen: Teror, Motif, dan Rezim*. Jakarta: Panta Rhei.

according to religious leaders, have violated God's law and justice.<sup>20</sup> Related to this, the expert on religious fundamentalism, Karen Armstrong, said that fundamentalist movements emerged as a strong reaction from several groups against secular ideologies that were considered to threaten spiritual purity. This understanding grew along with the world's geopolitical atmosphere in which there was an issue of ideological struggle between religions, especially Islam, which was perceived to have been marginalized by global capitalism and communism in the cold war era.<sup>21</sup>

The involvement of women in recent acts of terrorism shows a shift in roles from being a supporter behind the husband's figure to being an executor of terror. Lindsay O'Rourke, in her publication "What's Special about Female Suicide Terrorism?" mentions, "I show that female attackers are driven by the same general motives and circumstances that drive men." The main motive that drives women to become terrorists is similar to that of men.<sup>22</sup> The involvement of women in terrorism groups based on the results of O'Rourke's analysis is only disaggregated by role, where women in the previous terrorist group circle were only supporters behind the terrorist's husband, who later developed into the main executor of terror acts.

Based on the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) analysis, the involvement of women as terrorists, especially in the ISIS network, began when ISIS targeted and radicalized vulnerable groups in 2014.<sup>23</sup> The so-called vulnerable groups include women, children, workers, migrants who feel oppressed and minority groups based on ethnicity, religion and belief who feel marginalized.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, the top brass or ISIS terror strategists consider women to have "hidden potential" that men do not have.<sup>25</sup> The LP3ES researchers saw women as part of ISIS' combat action strategy in their home region to serve as a tool to trick the guards. Usually, the officers at the guard post, especially male officers, are not so strict and thorough in checking women or mothers. Women are considered to be able to outwit the security forces and are not easily suspected.<sup>26</sup>

Regarding women in terrorism, it was recorded that a woman in Russia named Vera Zasulich, a member of the People's Will group in Russia, 1878 launched an armed attack and shot the Governor of St. Petersburg, Fedor Trepov, who at that time treated Russian political prisoners arbitrarily. In her defense in court, Zasulich described herself as a terrorist, "I am a terrorist, not a murderer."<sup>27</sup> Another record of events is when the Northern Ireland Liberation Organization (IRA) involved women, namely Marian and Dolores Price, who took part in the terrorist bombing that left more than 200 people injured and killed at the Old Bailey. Both were sentenced to life in prison in 1973.<sup>28</sup> Lindsey O'Rourke from the University of Chicago also noted that as conflicts in the Middle East escalated, women took a direct role in acts of terror in Lebanon in the 1980s, when women carried out acts of terror to expel Israeli troops. Elsewhere in the 2000s, the Black Widows group in Chechnya carried out suicide attacks in revenge for the deaths of their husbands who fought for Chechnya's independence from Russia.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Sukring. 2019. Konsensus dan Sikap Para Ulama Salaf Kontemporer dalam Melawan Terorisme dan ISIS. Journal of Law, Halu Oleo Kendari University Central Sulawesi, Volume 3 Issue 1, March 2019:

<sup>21</sup> Neli Rahmah Dan Nelmaya. 2019. Islamic Fundamentalism Karen Armstrong's Perspective And Its Implications For The Identification Of Fundamentalism Groups In Indonesia. Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies Vol. 5, No. 2, July-December 2019.

<sup>22</sup> Lindsey A. O'Rourke. 2009. *What's Special about Female Suicide Terrorism?*

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09636410903369084?journalCode=fsst20> Online publication: 02 December 2009, accessed 24 February 2022.

<sup>23</sup> BBC News Indonesia. 2020. *Terduga Teroris Asal Indonesia Disebut Pemerintah Filipina Rencanakan Bom Bunuh Diri – Jaringan Teroris Perempuan di Indonesia Lebih Aktif* accessed from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-54499142> on 24 February 2022.

<sup>24</sup> Pusat Studi Hak Asasi Manusia Universitas Islam Indonesia (PUSHAM UII). 2012. *Vulnerable Groups Book: Kajian dan Mekanisme Perlindungannya*. Yogyakarta: Pusham UII, Norwegian Center for Human Rights (NCHR) and Oslo University, P. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Nadia Yunita. 2019. *Perempuan Dalam Pusaran Terorisme* accessed from <https://www.infid.org/news/read/> on 25 February 2022. at 11.30 WIB.

<sup>26</sup> Andita Rahma. 2021. *LP3ES Catat Peran Perempuan dalam Jaringan Terorisme Meningkat*, accessed from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1448618/lp3es-catat-peran-perempuan-dalam-jaringan-terorisme-meningkat> on 24 February 2022.

<sup>27</sup> Musdah Mulia. 2019. *Perempuan Dalam Gerakan Terorisme Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: University of Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah.

<sup>28</sup> Nadia Yunita. 2019. *Perempuan dalam Pusaran Terorisme*, accessed from <https://www.infid.org/news/read/perempuan-dalam-pusaran-terorisme> on 24 February 2022.

<sup>29</sup> Patersia Kimandita. 2017. *Perempuan di Pusaran Aksi Terorisme*, accessed from <https://tirto.id/cpnq>, on 24 February 2022.

## Women in the Circle of ISIS Radical Terrorist Groups

The Arab Spring event in 2010, which marked a change in the political system in several Arab countries, prompted the emergence of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Syrian (ISIS) phenomenon. ISIS is an Islamic extremist movement or group that was formed on April 9, 2013, under the leadership of Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi to establish an Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. Jusuf Kalla, in his writings in the Kompas Daily, said that the emergence of ISIS is almost the same as the birth of Al-Qaida.<sup>30</sup> Although many observers believe that ISIS is an incarnation of the Al-Qaida group, the relationship between the two is marked by competition and, in some cases, hostility. So, it seems that ISIS and Al-Qaida are two global terrorist groups involved in a war for supremacy.<sup>31</sup>

Apart from the development of conspiracy theories about the birth of ISIS supported by the United States, the emergence and existence of ISIS have been declared a global threat, where ISIS is considered a terror's monster that is more radical than Al-Qaida. The jihad narrative propagated by ISIS is considered more attractive to the point that it can invite male and female hardline Islamic activists from various parts of the world to support their struggles and are willing to immigrate to Iraq and Syria. This ISIS ideology has spread to multiple countries through massive propaganda using information and communication technology media, including in Southeast Asia and Indonesia. Based on a release from the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), several terrorist groups in Indonesia have been affiliated with ISIS, such as Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), Mujahidin East Indonesia (MIT) and Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) as well as being a group the most prosecuted by law enforcement officers throughout 2021 with more than 350 cases.<sup>32</sup>

Interestingly, from the disclosure of cases and prosecution of these terrorist groups, there is the involvement of women as supporters and even executors of terror acts. Data from BNPT states that in 2018 there were 13 women involved in acts of terror. Meanwhile, in 2019, this number has increased to 15 women.<sup>33</sup> Other data was revealed by the Legal and Human Rights Researcher from the Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information (LP3ES). They noted that 39 female prisoners and convicts were involved in terrorism during the period 2000-2020.<sup>34</sup>

Recruitment or action involving women in ISIS-affiliated terrorism groups in Indonesia imitates international ISIS strategies and tactics involving women in combatant roles, including in artillery troops and suicide bombers. This strategy was taken considering that the number of male ISIS combatants in Iraq and Syria continues to decrease due to severe injuries and deaths in the war. In addition, using women as suicide bombers or artillery troops is considered effective in deceiving opposing armies. Almost the same phenomenon also occurs in Indonesia. Various arrests of members of terrorist groups have made these cells short of cadres and combatants, thus demanding new tactics and strategies. As a result of being pressed and deemed quite effective, the choice to make women a martyr became natural for this group.<sup>35</sup>

In its territory, ISIS involves women in military-style recruitment and training tasks; even it has a special force called Al-Khansaa, whose members are all women.<sup>36</sup> One of the phenomenal female ISIS figures is Allison Fluke Ekren, a woman from the United States who works as a teacher and later became an important figure for the ISIS movement. Allison is tasked with seeking financial and material support, conducting

<sup>30</sup> M Jusuf Kalla. Kompas, 24 April 2015, P. 6. Opening Speech of an International Seminar on the Development of ISIS in Indonesia and its Countermeasures on 23 March 2015.

<sup>31</sup> Najamuddin Khairur Rijal. 2017. Eksistensi dan Perkembangan ISIS: Dari Irak Hingga Indonesia. Paper of International Relations Major, University of Muhammadiyah Malang

<sup>32</sup> Antara. 2021. *BNPT: JI dan JAD Organisasi Terlarang yang Banyak Ditindak pada 2021*, accessed from <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/2612097/bnpt-ji-dan-jad-organisasi-terlarang-yang-banyak-ditindak-pada-2021> on 22 February 2022.

<sup>33</sup> Indriyani Astuti. 2020. *Keterlibatan Perempuan dalam Terorisme Meningkat*, accessed from <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/321674/keterlibatan-perempuan-dalam-terorisme-meningkat>, on 24 February 2022.

<sup>34</sup> Andita Rahma. 2021. *LP3ES Catat Peran Perempuan dalam Jaringan Terorisme Meningkat*, accessed from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1448618/lp3es-catat-peran-perempuan-dalam-jaringan-terorisme-meningkat>, on 24 February 2022.

<sup>35</sup> Said Aqil Siroj. 2017. *Perempuan dan Terorisme*, accessed from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/01/06/12565011/perempuan.dan.terorisme>, on 25 February 2022.

<sup>36</sup> Ayesha Tanzeem. 2014. *ISIS Rekrut Perempuan untuk Dukung Pembertontakan*, accessed from <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/isis-rekrut-perempuan-untuk-dukung-pemberontakan/2430595.html> on 24 February 2022.

conspiracies, and even training ISIS women and children to use weapons. He is also accused of planning and recruiting jihadists to attack campuses and shopping centers in the United States using bombs.<sup>37</sup>

In Indonesia, several case records and disclosures of women's involvement in the ISIS terror group circle include:

- a. The Umi Delima Case; Santoso's wife, East Indonesia Mujahidin terrorist in Poso affiliated with ISIS. Umi Delima was arrested around the end of July 2016 in the Poso hinterland by members of the Tinombala operation unit.
- b. The case of Dian Yulia Novi, the perpetrator who planned to detonate a suicide bomber armed with a Pot Bomb at the State Palace in December 2016. If the plan is successful, Dian Yulia will become ISIS' first female bomber in Indonesia. The woman, born on 4 July 1989, was sentenced to 7.5 years in prison by the court for her involvement in the ISIS terrorism movement.
- c. In the Puji Kuswati case, the perpetrator of the suicide bombing in the Indonesian Christian Church in Surabaya courtyard with his two daughters on 13 May 2018. In that incident, 18 people were killed, including the perpetrator, and 43 others were injured.
- d. Tri Ernawati case; suicide bomber with her husband and child at the gate of City Resort Police Headquarters Surabaya, 14 May 2018. The couple and wife and their two children were killed, while one child was injured
- e. Puspita Sari case; the wife of the alleged terrorist Anton Febrianto died during the raid on the house they lived in in the Wonocolo Flat, Sidoarjo. Puspita Sari committed suicide with her child by blowing herself up on the same day as the Puji Kuswati case in May 2018. Meanwhile, her husband died in a shootout with officers.
- f. Solimah's case; wife of suspected terrorist Abu Hamzah from Sibolga, who blew himself up using a homemade bomb. Soimah committed suicide after 16 hours of being surrounded by officers from Densus Anti-terror 88 in mid-March 2019. In this case, the police also arrested two women suspected of being in Soimah's circle, Syuhama, who was detained in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatra, and Khodijah, who was arrested at his home in Klaten, Central Java.
- g. The case of Yogi Shafitri Fortuna, who died in a suicide bombing with her husband at the Makasar Cathedral at the end of March 2021. It was identified that the husband and wife were members of the JAD terrorist group network affiliated with ISIS.
- h. The case of Zakiyah Aini, a young woman who was killed by the police when she carried out her terror act at the South Jakarta Police Headquarters by pointing a gun at several members of the police. National Police Chief General Listyo Sigit Prabowo revealed that Aini was a "lone wolf" or a single terrorist exposed to the radical ideology of ISIS.<sup>38</sup>

Women members or sympathizers of ISIS who involve themselves in terrorist plots and acts are also exposed in neighboring countries in Southeast Asia, such as the Philippines. Philippine security forces arrested Rezky Fantasya Rullie in Jolo in October 2020. As the wife of Andi Baso, known as Amin Baso, the terrorist leader of the Abu Sayyaf group, Rezky is at the top of the Philippines' most wanted list.<sup>39</sup> Rezky, known as Cici, plans to carry out a suicide bombing in Zamboanga City as revenge for the death of her husband. Rezky was arrested along with two other women, Inda Nhur and Fatima Sandra Jimlani Jama. All of these women are Indonesian citizens. Even before this arrest, a couple of Indonesian citizens named Rullie and Ulfa carried out a terrorist act by blowing themselves up in a church in Jolo on January 27, 2019, which left 22 people dead and 100 injured. Both had undergone a deradicalization program in Indonesia after being deported from Istanbul, Turkey, for their involvement with the ISIS group.<sup>40</sup>

### Radicalization of Women Perpetrators of Terrorism

Former Head of the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), Drs. Ansyad Mbai said terrorism is the biological child of radicalism, so the two cannot be separated. In its activities, radicalization is carried out

<sup>37</sup> Bruce Miyake. 2022. *United States Approach To Terrorism*. Public Lecture for PTIK Graduate Program, on 3 February 2022.

<sup>38</sup> Irwan Nugroho. 2021. "Dari Novi 'Bom Panci' hingga Aini," accessed from <https://news.detik.com/x/detail/intermeso/20210404/Dari-Nov-5om-Panci-Hingga-Aini/> on 24 February 2022.

<sup>39</sup> BBC News Indonesia. 2020. *Terduga Teroris Asal Indonesia Dise-5) Pemerintah Filipina Rencanakan Bom Bunuh Diri - Jaringan Teroris Perempuan di Indonesia Lebih Aktif* accessed from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-54499142> on 24 February 2022.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

through indoctrination or religious da'wah, which is manipulative and misleading, as well as propaganda.<sup>41</sup> From that perspective, the gateway for someone to become a terrorist is a process of radicalization. Initially, radicalizing one's understanding and belief could manifest into acts of terror.

In the case of Dian Yulia Novi, Haula Noor mentioned that as a migrant worker in Taiwan, Dian experienced various life pressures and had anxiety. This unrest became the entry point for his introduction to the ISIS group, which utilizes social media to spread ideology and recruit its members.<sup>42</sup> Through Facebook and Telegram accounts under Ayatul Nissa, Dian is widely acquainted with terms such as jihad, Islamic Daulah, and ISIS. Like a tit for tat, her friendship with several people affiliated with ISIS continued to Dian's entry into the group's circle. Dian even married a member of the ISIS group named Solikhin virtually.<sup>43</sup>

ISIS utilizes social media effectively as a tool of its radicalization as it helps to spread and recruit new members from all over the world., including Indonesia. Based on BNPT's internal research, ISIS' primary strategy is cyberspace. Even ISIS allocates almost 50% of its finances for media interests.<sup>44</sup> ISIS has organized and systematically radicalized through propaganda by producing informational materials in the form of videos, photos, and writings published professionally through ISIS' official media, including the Al-Hayat Media Center, which was established in mid-2014, and broadcast in German, English, French, and Russian.<sup>45</sup> Propaganda carried out by ISIS relies not only on radical groups but also on social media, such as websites, Facebook and Twitter.<sup>46</sup>

One of the victims is a young woman who has become a victim of radicalization by ISIS through cyberspace, as experienced by Dhania and her family. In 2015, Dhania and her family were persuaded to go to Syria to realize their beliefs and hopes of living in the caliphate system. Based on the results of investigations by the authorities, Dhania admitted that she often received information and ISIS propaganda content that was quite hypnotizing, so she did not seek the truth of the data.<sup>47</sup> Another case was revealed when two women named Siska Nur Azizah and Dita Siska Milleni were arrested when they were about to infiltrate the Mobile Brigade Command Headquarters state detention house with sharp weapons and were suspected of carrying out terror during the riots at the Mobil Brigade Headquarters. Based on the depth of the police, both of them know radical ideas from the internet, namely from Whatsapp groups, Instagram, and Telegram channels called Turn Back Crime.<sup>48</sup>

Not only is it able to make someone trapped in the circle of the ISIS terrorist group by taking allegiance online, but the ISIS radicalization process through propaganda on social media is also able to inspire young women to support ISIS' violent ideology and become a 'lone wolf'<sup>49</sup> as happened in the case of Zakiyah Aini. The female terror perpetrator at the National Police Headquarters is an active user of social media who prepares and carries out acts of violence alone, without material assistance from any group. Political Science expert from UCLA, Jeffrey Simon, said that the lone actor was motivated by the ideology and belief of the terrorist group; even though he was not a member, his actions showed understanding and support for the

<sup>41</sup> Subandi. 2021. *Pahami Pola dan Relasi Radikalisme Terkini*, accessed from <http://rdk.fidkom.uinjkt.ac.id/informasi.php/2021/12/02/pahami-pola-dan-relasi-radikalisme-terkini/> on 24 February 2022.

<sup>42</sup> Santi Dwi Putri dan Fendy Eko Wahyudi. 2019. "Cyber Terrorism: Strategi Propaganda dan Rekrutmen ISIS di Internet dan Dampaknya bagi Indonesia Tahun 2014-2019" in *Journal of International Relations* Vol. 5, No. 4, P. 827-833.

<sup>43</sup> Haula Noor. 2019. *Memperkuat Hubungan Keluarga untuk Mencegah Kerentanan Pekerja Migran Terhadap Radikalisasi* accessed from <https://buruhmigran.or.id/2019/03/27/memperkuat-hubungan-keluarga-untuk-mencegah-kerentanan-pekerjamigran-terhadap-radikalisasi/> hal on 24 February 2022.

<sup>44</sup> Benedicta Dian Ariska Candra Sari. 2017. "Media Literasi dalam Kontra Propaganda Radikalisme dan Terorisme melalui Media Internet" in *Peperangan Asimetrik* Vol. 3, No. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Bill Gertz. 2014. "New Al Qaeda Group Produces Recruitment Material for Americans, Westerners", *The Washington Free Beacon*.

<sup>46</sup> Francisco Galamas. 2015. "Terrorism in Indonesia: An Overview", Research Papers Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos. IEDEE.ES.

<sup>47</sup> Siti Mupida, Mustolehudin. 2020. New Media dan Konflik Ekstremis Perempuan Indonesia," in *Journal of Bimas Islam* Vol 13 No. 2. ISSN 2657-1188 (online) ISSN 1978-9009 (print). P. 353.

<sup>48</sup> "Dita Siska Millenia, Ekstremis Produk Media Sosial". Source: <https://www.nu.or.id/opini/dita-siska-millenia-ekstremis-produk-media-sosial-GxyvT>. Accessed on 16 May 2022. at 19.30.wib.

<sup>49</sup> Andi Widiatno, "Tinjauan Yuridis Penanggulangan Tindak Pidana Terorisme dalam Menyebarkan Propaganda Melalui Media Sosial", *Hukum Pidana dan Pembangunan Hukum* 1.1 (2018)

group. Jeffrey Simmon warned that the "Lone Wolf" terror attack is more dangerous because it is difficult to identify, and its modus operandi is only known to individuals without any command.<sup>50</sup>

### Gender-Based Counter-Terrorism Policing

Based on the trends and patterns of recruitment and radicalization as described above, it is appropriate that attention should be given to dealing with terrorism to prioritize women.<sup>51</sup> Even though women in acts of terrorism are perpetrators, in essence, they are still victims of ignorance and powerlessness used by parties who intend to carry out heinous and systematic acts with the aim of terrorism.<sup>52</sup> From a human rights perspective, radicalism and terrorism threaten women because they trigger various forms of violence and exploitation against women.<sup>53</sup> For this reason, the UN Human Rights mechanism has made global policies through the General Recommendation 30 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which is an international human rights agreement that explicitly regulates women's rights and emphasizes the state to protect women from violence and exploitation based on gender as a result of various kinds of conflicts, including terrorism.

The results of the 1325 global study on Sexual Gender Based Violence found that wives and daughters are the most vulnerable groups that are part of the strategies and tactics of acts of terrorism. Nevertheless, on the other hand, there is also a very strategic potential where women can become agents in efforts to prevent terrorism.<sup>54</sup> Based on this view, the approach to terrorism crimes involving women is through law enforcement, empowerment, and mitigation against the spread of radicalism, as well as preventive measures (prevention) against acts of terrorism that take advantage of women.

In law enforcement, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms While Countering Terrorism emphasized that the regulation of criminal acts of terrorism must be regulated by law with precise language.<sup>55</sup> While the UN Security Council resolution No. 2178 the year 2014 emphasizes the importance of empowerment as a mitigation factor in the spread of violent radicalism.<sup>56</sup> There are two dimensions following the UN Security Council resolution that can involve women in overcoming female terrorism, namely: Involving women in discussing legal aspects (legislation) and anti-theorist policies, where each member country must be under the obligation to fight terrorism and must comply with international law, especially the international human rights law, international refugee law, and international humanitarian law.

In the legislative process, the government involves all elements with respect for human rights, in this case, the rights of women in the Indonesian Women's Political Rights Convention, which Constitution ratified (UU) no. 68 of 1958 concerning the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (ICEDAW). The convention regulates the Realization of Women's Equal Position (non-discrimination) in the right to vote and is elected, guarantees participation in policy formulation, opportunities to occupy bureaucratic positions, and guarantees participation in socio-political organizations.<sup>57</sup> The fundamental rights women have mentioned above open roles for women to complement and strengthen each other in effective counter-terrorism measures.

<sup>50</sup> Yulaikan Ramadhani. 2021. *Apa Itu Lone Wolf Terrorism yang Muncul di Aksi Teror Mabes Polri*, accessed from <https://tirto.id/gbGg> on 22 February 2022.

<sup>51</sup> Mohammad Hasan Ansori, Imron Rasyid, Muhamad Arif Sopar Peranto, Johari Efendi, Vidya Hutagalung. 2019. *Memberantas Terorisme Di Indonesia Praktik, Kebijakan Dan Tantangan*. The Habibie Center. P.23.

<sup>52</sup> Musdah Mulia., Op. cit.

<sup>53</sup> National Commission for Women. 2018. *Pernyataan Sikap Komnas Perempuan Merespon Aksi Pegnemboman Beruntun 13-14 Mei 2018* accessed from <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/siaran-pers-detail/pernyataan-sikap-komnas-perempuan-merespon-aksi-pegneboman-beruntun-13-14-mei-2018> on 25 February 2022.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Institute for Criminal Justice Reform. 2017. *Pengertian atau Definisi Terorisme Harus Masuk dalam Pembahasan RUU Terorisme*, accessed from <https://icjr.or.id/pengertian-atau-definisi-terorisme-harus-masuk-dalam-pembahasan-ruu-terorisme/> on 24 February 2022.

<sup>56</sup> <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/pernyataan-sikap-detail/pernyataan-sikap-komnas-perempuan-merespon-aksi-pegneboman-beruntun-13-14-mei-2018>

<sup>57</sup> ELSAM & Indonesia - Australia Legal Development Facility (LDF). 2007. CEDAW Convention Material. Institute for Community Studies and Advocacy, Jakarta. Can be seen on <https://referensi.elsam.or.id/2014/09/hak-asasi-perempuan-dan-konvensi-cedaw>.

Women's empowerment in mitigating the threat of radicalism and terrorism, in the guidelines developed by UNODC, is to reduce the potential for human rights violations from acts of terrorism. Where women can take part in the peace movement. Through the role of the family, community, profession, and being part of the state apparatus, they become women's rights agents at the forefront of mobilizing against the risks of religious violence and political extremism. Women can help formulate policies and proposals to respond to the diverse needs of women, especially mothers and young women, to counter the effects of violent extremism. Mothers' involvement has been shown to help reduce the recruitment of family members from crime groups. Integrating women into the police force can limit excessive use of force, reduce societal tensions and provide opportunities to access marginalized communities vulnerable to radicalism and terrorism.<sup>58</sup>

Regarding the unique role of the police, Law No. 5 the year 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism has mandated the involvement of the police in counter-terrorism. This involvement is done through action or repressive efforts as a complex approach to terrorism perpetrators and prevention efforts as a soft approach, including deradicalization and counter-radicalization programs. In this case, a counter-terrorism policing approach or Counter Terrorism Policing is defined as the "collaboration of police forces working with the intelligence community to help protect the public and our national security by investigating, preventing, and deterring terrorist activity."<sup>59</sup> Viewed from the perspective of counter-terrorism among women, Gender-Based Counter-Terrorism Policing is an even more specific approach for countering and preventing women from being included in the circle of terrorism crimes.

Gender-Based Counter Terrorism Policing emphasizes the collaboration of Indonesian National Police forces, especially the relevant Women Police (Polwan), in intelligence activities as a form step in Counter Terrorism Policing. The presence of policewomen is significant given the rise of cases of women in terrorism circles. Feminine aspects of policing by Women Police, such as communication skills to dig up information such as chatting or "mama-style intelligence," being friendly, easy to get along with, and networking either face-to-face or through social media, are very strategic in counter-terrorism activities. It can be said that intelligence activities that are colored by the "spirit of mothers" are something interesting in policing.<sup>60</sup>

Women Police in Gender-Based Counter Terrorism Policing can perform three tasks: investigating, preventing, and deterring. In investigating, female police-women who tend to be more sensitive to the suffering of others are believed to be more optimal when used in investigative activities in a criminal case than by playing the role of antagonist police.<sup>61</sup> In investigating women in the circle of terrorism, the motherhood approach is expected to disentangle and reveal various terrorist networks.

In the task of preventing, policewomen can provide more communicative information and counseling to groups of women housewives, mothers' communities, religious gatherings, lottery associations, women's sports clubs such as Gowes Clubs, and even millennial urban women on social media. Policing by Women Police in preventing radical terrorist understanding is carried out by conveying messages of peace, compliance with the law, and vigilance so that they are not easily influenced or provoked, which leads to a radical understanding of terrorism. For deterring duties, with her distinctive character as a woman, Policewomen can carry out persuasion, negotiation, and dialogue in certain situations to prevent someone from committing acts of violence or acts of terrorism. On the one hand, policewomen can also act decisively against an anarchist who violates the law.

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

Women in crime cannot be taken lightly, and they even must receive special attention because the fear of the future of terrorists in Indonesia could be in the hands of women. Gender-Based Counter Terrorism Policing is an approach to respond to the development of terrorism by women through the collaboration of police forces, especially Women Police members who can take further action in the Special Detachment 88 Anti-

<sup>58</sup> UNODC. 2020. Mainstreaming Gender In Terrorism Prevention Projects. Publishing and Library Section, United Nations Office at Vienna

<sup>59</sup> UK Counter Terrorism Policing. 2022. Working to Keep People Safe From Terrorism, accessed from <https://www.counterterrorism.police.uk/> on 25 February 2022.

<sup>60</sup> Adrianus Meliala. 2020. Peran Polisi Wanita dalam Polmas Berbasis Gender. Department of Criminology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia Journal of Police Science, Vol. 14, No. 3, December 2020. P. 164

<sup>61</sup> Ibid

Terror (Densus 88 AT) with the intelligence community through policing consisting of Investigating, Preventing, and Deterring.

The author proposes several recommendations to the leadership of the National Police, which, if possible, can be implemented in the short term, medium term, and long term according to the priority scale and level of emergency in overcoming women's problems in the circle.

- a. Short-Term Recommendations: Within a year, the National Police, through a policy led by the National Police, have increased the strength of Women Police in the Police units associated with the special investigations 88 Anti-Terrorism, which have uncovered crimes among the people.
- b. Recommendation Timeframe: Within a period of up to 3 years within the Indonesian National Police institution, the policewomen's capacity and ability to record conflicts against vulnerable groups against each related unit, among others; Special Detachment 88 Anti-Terror (Densus 88 AT), Community Development (Binmas), Security Intelligence (Intelkam), Criminal Investigation and Public Relations of the Police. Through various training and education within the internal or external of the Indonesian National Police, both at home and abroad.
- c. Long-Term Recommendation: Within the next five years, the National Police Institution will produce policewomen who are ready to be assigned to strategic positions capable of making national policies, both at the national and global levels.

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