

RELATIONSHIP PATTERNS OF EXTREMIST CONVICTED HUSBANDS AND WIVES IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This paper examines the relationship patterns of extremist married couples in Indonesia. The analysis was carried out using the descriptive analysis method on the data collected through literature searches by utilising previous research reports from certain agencies and mass media reports related to convicted extremist couples in Indonesia. The results showed that there were two patterns of relationships formed between husband-and-wife terrorist couples. In the early phase of pre-ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) women, the wife played more of a role as a follower of her husband (own property), while in the next phase (ISIS Cluster), there was a shift in the relationship between husband and wife terrorist couples, where the relationship that occurs is senior-junior partner; the wife is not just a follower but rather actively and independently in making decisions to become part of extremists to terrorists, both as seniors and juniors from their husbands. This shows the changing role of women in acts of terror, in line with changes in the husband-wife relationship of extremist couples. These phenomena can influence each other. The independence that women have begun to show in their involvement in the extremist world requires the state, apparatus, and society to see women from a different perspective. Women are not always the victims of extremist acts in the family.

Keywords: Convicted Spouses, Terrorism Cases, Indonesia

Abstrak

Tulisan ini menganalisis pola relasi pasangan suami istri ekstrimis di Indonesia. Analisis dilakukan dengan metode analisis deskriptif pada data-data yang dikumpulkan melalui penelusuran pustaka dengan memanfaatkan penelitian terdahulu laporan instansi dan laporan media massa terkait pasangan ekstrimis terpidana di Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan ada dua pola relasi yang terbentuk antara suami-istri pasangan teroris. Pada fase awal pre (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) ISIS Women, istri lebih berperan sebagai pengikut suami (own property) sedangkan pada fase selanjutnya (ISIS Cluster) ada pergeseran relasi antara suami istri pasangan teroris, dimana hubungan yang terjadi adalah senior-junior partner, istri bukan hanya sekedar pengikut, melainkan turut aktif dan mandiri dalam mengambil keputusan untuk menjadi bagian dari ekstrimis hingga teroris baik sebagai senior maupun junior dari suami. Hal ini menunjukkan perubahan peran perempuan dalam aksi teror, sejalan dengan perubahan relasi suami-istri pasangan ekstrimis. Fenomena tersebut dapat saling mempengaruhi satu sama lain.

Kemandirian yang mulai ditunjukkan perempuan dalam keterlibatannya di dunia ekstrimis mengharuskan negara, aparat, dan masyarakat harus melihat perempuan dengan perspektif yang berbeda. Tidak selamanya perempuan adalah korban dari tindakan ekstrimis dalam keluarga.

Kata Kunci: Pasangan Terpidana, Kasus Pidana, Indonesia

Introduction

A series on Netflix titled *Bodyguard* caught my interest in conducting a study on women and terrorism cases. The series tells the story of a suicide bombing attempt carried out by a woman named Nadia. Fortunately, the bombing attempt was thwarted by the local police. During the interrogation, Nadia admitted that she was ordered by her husband to act. The police believed Nadia's innocent confession and treated her like a woman who was a victim of brainwashing by a terrorist network, in this case, her husband. However, at the end of the episode, an interesting plot twist appears, where Nadia is the main actor in the suicide bombing attempt; in fact, she is an engineer who produces bombs and facilitates the terrorist network. All law enforcement officers in the series were fooled. Women are no longer always considered victims. In the real world, of course, there are many Nadias out there.

Ebohon stated in her research that women are feminine figures who play a role in maintaining human life. They are producers, consumers, and agents in fostering healthy social, political, and economic development in society. The existence of this perspective leads to the idea in society that women are figures who always emphasise peace, motherhood, and care rather than committing violence.¹ On the other hand, women also have a role in community development, and women's interests contribute to the nation's socioculture.² Women can also be

said to be effective as leaders because they tend to be more patient, empathetic, and multitasking.³

Society's stereotypes of women can be seen from how they are identified based on their gender when doing jobs that are identical to men, such as female soldiers, female politicians, female CEOs, and even female terrorists. On the other hand, jobs that are identical to women do not use the word "women," for example, maids; there is no term for female maids, female teachers, or female nurses. The existence of the identification of bravery as identical to men and gentleness as identical to women makes acts of violence appear as something that is outside the ideal type of women. The existence of this stereotype then makes women forget that they can be involved in terrorist actions.⁴ Moreover, women are involved in terrorist families. The involvement of women as terrorists in marriage bonds is not very visible.⁵

Until 2019, based on the IPAC (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict) report, there were at least 39 female extremist-terrorists who were serving their sentences or awaiting trial. Several factors have caused the increasing number of extremists in Indonesia, including the rise of ISIS and propaganda that is directly aimed at women, the spread of encrypted messages and chat groups on social media specifically for women,

HUMANISMA: Journal of Gender Studies 7, no. 2 (2023): 196–205. h. 196.

³ Mutia Kahanna, "The Effectiveness of Women's Leadership in the Digital Era," *HUMANISMA: Journal of Gender Studies* 5, no. 2 (2021): 159–171, h. 163.

⁴ Febyorita Amelia, Pujo Widodo, dan Arief Budiarto, "Motivasi Wanita Sebagai Pelaku Aksi Terorisme Di Indonesia," *Peperangan Asimetris (PA)* 6, no. 1 (2020).

⁵ Ricky Martin dan August Hamonangan Pasaribu, "Aksi Penembakan Di Lingkungan Mabes Polri Sebagai Bentuk Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Terorisme," *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan* 6, no. 1 (2022): 2176–81, h. 2177.

¹ Tunde Agara, "Gendering terrorism: Women, gender, terrorism and suicide bombers," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 5, no. 6 (2015): 115–25, h. 117.

² Roman Rezki Utama dan Roslinwati Roslinwati, "Kaili Women in Strengthening The Family Economy,"

the availability of role models of female combatants in ISIS operations, the recognition by male extremists that women are less likely to be suspected and therefore useful in jihad operations, a change in the perception of law enforcement officers by viewing women as perpetrators rather than victims, and the existence of laws and regulations that facilitate arrests for various supporting roles in their involvement in acts of violence.⁶ The arrest of women who were linked to terrorist networks has occurred since 2004. It was Munfiatun al-Fitri; she was charged with falsifying a marriage certificate and facilitating the hiding of Nurdin M. Top, her husband, who was a fugitive in the bombing of the Marriott Hotel. The first arrest of a female terrorist occurred in 2016, namely Dian Yuli Novi, the perpetrator of the pan bomb in Bekasi. The tragedy also revealed the fact that there was involvement of several women in acts of terrorism.⁷

In addition to Dian's name, several other names followed. Ika Puspita Sari from Purworejo, who launched a suicide bombing outside Java, and Umi Delima, Santoso's wife in Poso. With the arrest of these people, of course, the list of women involved in terrorism has grown longer. Women are no longer just "supporting roles" in terrorist networks; they are now subjects who can also take part in the field. This has also become a new mode of operation throughout the history of terrorism. The emergence of female and child actors in acts of terror shows that the concept of jihad no longer only applies to men but also to women.⁸ Propaganda in the name of religion has become an attractive medium for attracting

female terrorist martyrs.⁹ The results of the interview conducted by Tempo with Siska and Dita stated that their involvement in the terrorist network was based on their sympathy for the terrorists who were fighting Thagut. Thagut in this case is the government, including the police and the DPR.¹⁰

Since the rise of ISIS, they have indeed changed their recruitment strategy from using conventional war methods to more passive methods. In addition, the rise of social media has become a ninja way for ISIS to recruit women and children more massively. The women are recruited by befriending them online and then seduced under the pretext that they love them.¹¹ The involvement of women in extremist networks that lead to acts of terror cannot be separated from their recruitment patterns, one of which is through marriage, a halal love story.¹² The 39 women who are serving their sentences, at least 23 of them were involved with their husbands, who are also terrorist leaders. The female prisoners were arrested from 2004 to 2019. Based on their arrest cases, there was a shift in the role of women in acts of terror; for example, from 2004 to 2015, women were placed in supporting roles. Then, starting in 2016, when Dian was arrested, the role of women has become the main actor of terrorism in Indonesia.

This paper attempts to analyse the relationship pattern of extremist-terrorist husband-wife couples in the extremist movement in Indonesia, looking at the role and recruitment

⁶ IPAC, "Extremist Women Behind Bars in Indonesia" (IPAC, 2020).

⁷ Musdah Mulia, "Perempuan dalam gerakan terorisme di Indonesia," *Al-Wardah: Jurnal Kajian Perempuan, Gender dan Agama* 12, no. 1 (2019): 80–95, h. 80.

⁸ Debbie Affianty, "Perempuan dalam Kelompok Jihadis dan Terorisme," dalam *Reformulasi Ajaran Islam: Jihad, Khilafah dan Terorisme* (Bandung: Mizan, 2017), h. 340.

⁹ Wijaya, "Peran Manipulasi Informasi Terhadap Keikutsertaan Perempuan Dalam Gerakan Terorisme," *Journal of Terrorism Studies* 2(1), h. 94-113.

¹⁰ Martin dan Pasaribu, "Aksi Penembakan Di Lingkungan Mabes Polri Sebagai Bentuk Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Terorisme."

¹¹ Ashley Binetti, "A new frontier: Human trafficking and ISIS's recruitment of women from the west," *INFORMATION2ACTION. Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security* 4, no. 8 (2015): h.16.

¹² Zaky Ismail dkk., "Perempuan dan teror: memahami peran kombatan perempuan dalam kampanye ISIS," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional-Cakra Studi Global Strategis* 14, no. 1 (2021): 125–41.

system of women who experience dynamics that influence the relationship pattern of husband and wife (as a couple) that they establish. This study formulates the following problem: How does the relationship pattern of husband and wife of convicted extremist couples in Indonesia change? To answer the formulation of the problem, the author uses a qualitative research method with a literature study approach. The primary data used in this study are agency reports and mass media reports related to convicted extremist couples in Indonesia from time to time. Secondary data are in the form of journals, books, or encyclopedias. The analysis is carried out by first reducing the existing data and then interpreting the data based on the analysis theory used by the author, namely the theory of relational patterns.

Women and Terrorism

There are various backgrounds or motives for someone to become part of a terrorist group. Nationally, they can be grouped into religious extremism, tribal nationalism leading to separatism, and certain interest groups that want to cause chaos.¹³ Extremist groups based on religious extremism factors build exclusive communities that believe they are the most correct and closest to God. Fighting against infidels is part of the obligation, and when they fall on the field of jihad, they will enter heaven.¹⁴ The second group is one that feels oppressed,¹⁵ and feel that there is injustice in a country's government system. Terrorist acts are carried out to gain political independence or broad autonomy in the region concerned. The targets of this

second group are more towards government buildings. As for the third group, they tend to launch their terror acts for political, economic, and social reasons to protect certain interests, such as the legal process.

In other references, it is mentioned that terror acts originate from people with radical views. Radicalism that leads to terrorism can be based on several things, namely a sense of dissatisfaction, feeling marginalised, alienated, and desperate.¹⁶ If in the terror acts, previously the role of women was more passive, then in the research Mothers to Bombers: The Evolution of Indonesian Women Extremists¹⁷ shows that women then actively seek more operational roles in extremist organizations. There was a bombing in Surabaya involving a mother and child in 2018, as well as a husband and wife who carried out a suicide bombing in front of the Makassar Cathedral church. Even though these actions have occurred, officers still consider that women's participation as actors is still considered a supporting role or a victim of male terrorist trickery.¹⁸

Research on women's participation in terrorism networks categorizes them into two groups. First, women's involvement as perpetrators and involvement as victims. Social media propaganda and information become tools to recruit them to become part of the

¹³ Leebarty Taskarina, *Perempuan dan Terorisme-Kisah Perempuan dalam Kejahatan Terorisme* (Elex Media Komputindo, 2018), h. 5.

¹⁴ Akbar Hassani, Muhammad Nasir Badu, dan Eni Susanti, "Keterlibatan Perempuan Dalam Jaringan Terorisme Internasional di Indonesia," *MANDAR: Social Science Journal* 1, no. 2 (2022): 132–43. Lihat juga Nur Kasanah, "Perempuan dalam Jerat Terorisme: Analisis Motivasi Pelaku Bom Bunuh Diri di Indonesia," *IJouGS: Indonesian Journal of Gender Studies* 2, no. 2 (2021): 34–43.

¹⁵ Musdah Mulia, "Perempuan dalam Kubangan Terorisme di Indonesia," t.t, h.10.

¹⁶ Abdul Karim Rahanar dan Elfrida Ratnawati Gultom, "Penanggulangan Tindak Pidana Terorisme Di Indonesia dengan Pendekatan Penal dan Non Penal," *PALAR (Pakuan Law review)* 9, no. 1 (2023): 14–25, h. 15. Lihat juga Bellynda Shafira Aryeno, Teguh Suratman, dan Riski Febria Nurita, "Peran Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT) dalam Upaya Penanggulangan Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata (KKB) sebagai Kejahatan Terorisme (Studi di Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme)," *Bhirawa Law Journal* 3, no. 1 (2022): 74–81.

¹⁷ Researchers Team, "Mothers to Bombers: The Evolution of Indonesian Women Extremists," 2017.

¹⁸ Adrianus GIDEON, "Perempuan Dan Terorisme: Menelaah Peran Kaum Perempuan Dalam Mendukung Pergerakan Terorisme Di Indonesia." (PhD Thesis, STFK Ledalero, 2021).

perpetrators of terror acts.¹⁹ In addition, another catalyst that influences women's involvement in terrorist networks is the movement of international terrorist networks that massively utilise internet technology. In fact, these activities have become a global mode, pattern, and strategy for recruiting female terrorists.²⁰

The women's enthusiasm in seeking operational roles can be seen in how they decided to seek and marry terrorists. This is as explained by Munfiatun, Putri Munawaroh, Deni Carmelita, and Nurul Azmy Tibyani, who indeed firmly stated that they wanted to marry Mujahideen. They were all arrested for failing to report their knowledge of terrorist activities to the authorities or for harboring a fugitive. Of the four names above, only Munfiatun is connected to the extremist organization Jemaah Islamiyah. Her role as a supporter of terror actions may not be separated from the organisation, which indeed prohibits women from taking part in actions.²¹

Based on the 2020 IPAC data, the existence of 39 female prisoners who were caught as extremists or terrorists can be divided into two clusters. First, the pre-ISIS cluster, namely those who were caught before 2014, while women who were caught after 2014, were generally connected to ISIS. They include the East Indonesia Mujahidin (MIT) supporter group, migrants, and deportees. Many became radicalised through online connections; some made their first contact with ISIS supporters through religious studies. In the MIT support group, they are women who help the survival of the MIT group, both as combatants, suppliers, and financial managers. Included in them are the wives of the leaders of

the terrorist gangs, such as Jumiatusun, wife of Santoso; Tini Sutanti, wife of Ali Kalora; and Nurmi Usman, wife of Basri. Also included are Ali Kalora's sister, Linda Ipa, and Rosmawati, who were arrested with her husband, who supplied the needs of the MIT Camp.

Another cluster is the cluster of women inspired by the Surabaya Bomber. Many Indonesian women were inspired by the writings of accounts written on social media about Palestinian, Iraqi, and Chechen women who became combatants. However, the suicide bombing tragedy in Surabaya involving the entire family had the greatest impact. Where at the next time (July 2018), two women from Indramayu were arrested for planning an attack on a police station with their husbands. In March 2019 in Sibolga, North Sumatra, an extremist named Abu Hamzah enticed three women, all of whom he married, into a deadly bombing plan. After being caught, his first wife, Marnita Sari, barricaded herself with her children and detonated a bomb in her house, killing them. Two other women, Rosliana and Tanjung Balai, married Hamzah because they only wanted to be part of the terror act. She wanted to avenge the death of her first husband, Andri, who was killed by Densus 88. The third woman, Yuliati Sri Rahayuningrum, committed suicide during interrogation by drinking toilet cleaner. Then the group/cluster of people who were deported for being involved in terrorism. They are Arti and Meilani Indira Dewi. From these clusters, most of those who were caught were husbands and wives. Their desire to become the wives of extremists or terrorists became their own way to make them join the organization. Their position as wives created their own relationship that influenced their position in the terrorist action.

Relationship Patterns of Husband and Wife

Marriage is a gateway for husband and wife to embark on a new life journey. There are rights and obligations that previously did not exist, and

¹⁹Wijaya, "Peran Manipulasi Informasi Terhadap Keikutsertaan Perempuan Dalam Gerakan Terorisme."

²⁰Maria Ulfa dan Robi Sugara, "Tindakan Sosial Keterlibatan Perempuan dalam Jaringan dan Aksi Terorisme di Indonesia," *Sang Pencerah: Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Muhammadiyah Buton* 8, no. 1 (2022): 278–94, h. 281.

²¹Amalina Abdul Nasir, "Women in Terrorism: Evolution from Jemaah Islamiyah to Islamic State in Indonesia and Malaysia," t.t.

actions that were previously prohibited are permitted after marriage. The responsibility of husband and wife in carrying out these rights and obligations creates a relationship between the two. In this context, the husband-and-wife relationship is a social relationship between men and women based on the skills, roles, functions, and qualities of each individual that are dynamic, meaning they follow the social changes that occur. The family is a small institution in society that is formed through marriage, which gives birth to each social role and function. With these social roles, it is hoped that the goals of the family can be achieved.²² The relationship between husband and wife has always changed. According to Lock, as quoted by Rifqi Awati Zahara, the relationship in an institutional family has changed to a companionship relationship. The relationship between husband and wife in an institutional family depends on factors outside the family, such as customs, laws, and public opinion. However, these influences have begun to diminish. The relationship between husband and wife is more based on affection, reciprocity, and mutual agreement.²³

As with other families, extremist/radical Islamic groups to terrorists also have families, groups, or communities as the smallest unit in society. The relationships created within them are certainly strongly influenced by religious doctrines that are understood radically in building an Islamic family. According to Scanzoni, husband-wife relations can be mapped into four patterns, *namely owner property, head complement, senior-junior partner, and equal partner*.²⁴ In the owner property pattern, the wife is the property of the husband, just like the property of money or goods. The husband's job is to earn a living or as a leader, and the wife is as a household

manager. In this marriage pattern, the prevailing pattern is the wife's job to make her husband happy and take care of the household; the wife must obey her husband; the wife must give birth to children's names; the wife must educate her children well so that they can bring a good name to her husband.²⁵

While the head complement pattern of the wife is as a complement to the husband, in this pattern the husband and wife can plan activities together, but the final decision remains in the hands of the husband. In the junior-senior partner pattern, the wife's position is no longer as a complement but as a friend. This change occurs because women also contribute economically even though the main breadwinner is a man. So the husband's power is still greater than the wife's. In the equal partner pattern, there is no higher or lower position between husband and wife. The wife gets the same rights and obligations to develop herself fully and do household tasks. The husband's work is as important as the wife's work.²⁶

Wives of Convicted Extremists

In the case of 39 female prisoners, most of whom were caught with their husbands, the pattern of their relationship can be traced through how they were caught and the reasons for their arrest. In the early phase, before 2016, when Dian Yuli, the perpetrator of the pressure cooker bomb, was arrested, there were several women who were arrested because they were caught in terrorist cases with their husbands. Munfiatun was arrested in September 2004 after her husband Nurdin M Top was involved in a bomb operation at the Australian embassy in Jakarta. She was arrested for hiding Nurdin M

²² Aisyah, "Relasi Gender dalam Institusi Keluarga (Pandangan Teori Sosial dan Feminis)," h. 214.

²³ TapiOmas Ihromi, *Bunga rampai sosiologi keluarga* (Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1999), h. 100.

²⁴ Letha Scanzoni dan John Scanzoni, "Men, women and change: A sociology of marriage and family.," 1976.

²⁵ Maghfur Ahmad, "Relasi suami isteri dalam Islam radikal: Kajian fenomenologi keluarga teroris," 2014, h. 38.

²⁶ Siti Mumun Muniroh Maghfur Ahmad dan Miftahul Ula, *Perempuan Di Balik Teroris: Kajian Religiusitas, Penyesuaian Diri Dan Pola Relasi Suami Isteri Tersangka Teroris Di Kota Pekalongan* (Stain Press, 2013), h.139.

Top who was a fugitive. Munfiatun married Nurdin because she wanted to marry a mujahid.

Munfiatun admitted that she never knew where her husband went. Nurdin never told Munfiatun what activities he was doing; Munfiatun also considered it none of her business. Since July 19, 2004 (their last meeting), Munfiatun and Nurdin only exchanged news by phone or letter. In Nurdin's letters, he asked for news and asked his wife to be patient and steadfast and always pray for him. However, there was no address found for the letter to be sent; it was only written "Bumi Allah" and the date the letter was written.²⁷ Munfiatun admitted that she never knew where her husband went. Nurdin never told Munfiatun what activities he was doing; Munfiatun also considered it none of her business. Since July 19, 2004 (their last meeting), Munfiatun and Nurdin only exchanged news by phone or letter. In Nurdin's letters, he asked for news and asked his wife to be patient and steadfast and always pray for him. However, there was no address found for the letter to be sent; it was only written "Bumi Allah" and the date the letter was written.

Five years later, a woman named Putri Munawarah was arrested with the same charges as Munfiatun. She had hidden the terrorist Nurdin M. Top in her solo house. Putri claimed not to know Nurdin M Top; her husband Hadi Susilo only said that Nurdin and his two colleagues were clerics and stayed overnight at their house. However, after almost two months, her husband finally told Munawarah who they were. After her husband was killed in a raid by Densus 88 with Nurdin M Top, in 2010, she remarried another extremist, Ridwan Lestahulu from Ambon, who was serving his sentence in Porong Prison via video call. Munawarah was only released in 2012, and her husband was released in 2014. After that, they returned to

Ambon, and in 2020, he was arrested again for trying to send ammunition to MIT.

In April 2011, Deni Carmelita, a former employee of the National Narcotics Agency (BNN), was arrested for playing a supporting role in the mastermind of the bomb terror attack, namely her husband Pepi Fernando. Pepi himself was connected to Daulat Islamiyah/Islamic State of Indonesia (DI/NII). However, after being released, both were observed to no longer be connected to the terrorist movement. A year after Deni's arrest, Nurul Azmi Tibyani (March 2012) was arrested for terrorism offences; she helped her husband transfer money from a credit card hacking scheme used to fund training in Poso.

Unlike the previous two women who were more passive, namely based on instructions from their husbands, Nurul Azmi was seen to be more active in the extremist movement. She even started it in college and used marriage as a path to strengthen her position in the extremist group. Initially, Nurul married a Bangladeshi extremist, then remarried a hacker who she used to commit theft. Nurul Azmi was arrested for hacking other people's financial accounts through cyberspace. The stolen money was donated to the Poso terrorist group.²⁸ Rosmawati, who was arrested in 2015 and also supplied MIT Poso with her husband, did something similar. Both were involved in helping to manage and provide funds for MIT. Rosmawati was tasked with collecting and managing funds sent for Santoso's POK activities and preparing and delivering MIT logistics. Both of them also knew the whereabouts of the Wanted List (DPO) Poso.

A year passed, and Umi Delima, the wife of Santoso, the leader of MIT who was shot dead during a pursuit, managed to escape from the

²⁸ Tim Web Kejari Jaksel, "Sidang perkara teroris kelompok hacker situs bisnis online dengan terdakwa, NURUL AZMI TIBYANI," *Kejari-Jaksel*, diakses 21 November 2021, <http://www.en.kejari-jaksel.go.id/read/news/2012/09/27/446/sidang-perkara-teroris-kelompok-hacker-situs-bisnis-online-dengan-terdakwa-nurul-azmi-tibyani-446>.

²⁷ IPAC, "Extremist Women Behind Bars in Indonesia," h. 16

authorities. However, finally, after five days of her escape, Umi Delima surrendered herself to the police. Umi Delima was the first female combatant in Poso. After being released in 2018, Umi Delima remarried an extremist named Asrak, who was then caught in 2019. In the same year, Nurmi Isman, the wife of Basri (a JI supporter in Poso), was also caught. Nurmi is also one of three female combatants in Poso. Still from MIT, Tini Susanti, the wife of Ali Kalora, was also arrested in 2016. She is the third female MIT combatant, along with Jumiatun and Nurmi Usman.

Throughout the initial phase of the arrest of women due to terror, namely 2014-2014, as discussed above, it shows that there is a process of evolution or change in women's attitudes toward taking on the role of terrorists. First, those who are only obedient to their husbands, and second, those who are actively involved in acts of terror by taking on a more advanced role than just being backstage players without any knowledge from their husbands about the terror they are carrying out. However, even so, these women have not yet become the main actors. The involvement of women as the main actors of terror has been seen since the arrest of Dian Yulia Novi; she was caught as the first female suicide bomber in Indonesia. She became radicalised online while working as a migrant worker in Taiwan but also came to believe that carrying out a suicide operation would guarantee her sick father's access to heaven.

After returning to Indonesia, she sought contacts among the extremists and was eventually introduced to and became the second wife of Nur Solihin, an ISIS supporter from Bahrin Naim's network. The marriage was part of her strategy to legitimize her actions because she understood from an ISIS fatwa that women needed permission from their husbands to carry out any operations outside the home. Since 2014 ISIS announced the formation of the al-Khansaa

Brigade consisting of women²⁹ and officially recruited women to join in terror actions since 2017.³⁰ The peak was a suicide bombing carried out by Dita and her family in 3 churches in Surabaya in 2018. In this action, not only his wife was involved as an actor but also his four children. The day after, Tri Murtiono, his wife Tri Ernawati, and their three children also carried out a suicide bombing at the Surabaya Police Headquarters. These bombers were related to Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), which is an organisation supporting ISIS in Indonesia. ISIS also claimed that they were the masterminds behind the suicide bombing. The arrests of female terrorists continue with increasing intensity. In 2018 alone, at least 8 women were arrested.

They are people who actively operate to support the movements of the terrorist leaders with their husbands. Among them are Damayani and Agus Satrio, Emil Lestari and Ilham Fauzan (Senior JAD East Java), Nurhasanah and Galuh Rosita, Arti Alifah, and Uzair Cholid. And in 2019, Wahyuningsih and Busron, Rosliana, and Abi Hamzah were caught who were involved in the 2019 Sibolga bombing and became the second wife of the mastermind, Abu Hamzah, when she tried to avenge the death of her first husband, who was killed by police in October 2018. She also supplied some bomb materials. Sutiayah and her husband, Asep Roni, who were killed while assembling a bomb, were also caught in 2019. Previously, she was also married to Muhammad Arsyad, who was also a Poso sympathizer. Furthermore, Nesti Ode and Galang Jiwa Pradana: Nesti herself is a former female police officer in the criminal unit of the North Maluku Police Command; because of her actions, she was sent home, and after that, she married Galang and then settled in Yogyakarta with the

²⁹ Tracking Terorisme, "al-Khansaa Brigade," *trackingterorisme.org* (blog), t.t., diakses 23 November 2021.

³⁰ Kalis Mardiyasih, Perempuan Tak lagi Menjadi Korban Tapi Pelaku Terorisme, Kenapa?, 7 April 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CONC2g5DP_o.

hope of being more directly involved in pro-ISIS activities.

Fitri and Syahrial Alamsyah were also arrested in 2019. Before marrying extremist Syahrial, Fitri herself had been actively working independently as an extremist through online learning. Marriage to fellow extremists is certainly an alternative way for Fitri to strengthen her position as part of the extremists. Still in 2019, Marifah Hasanah and Amirudin Pro-ISIS extremists, Novita Aditia and Abdul Aziz, and Dewi Anggraini, wife of Rabial Muslim Nasution, the suicide bomber at the Medan Police in November 2019. In Dewi's case, Dewi was the one who allegedly taught radicalism to Rabial, her husband, until she finally became a suicide bomb bride. Lastly, Umu Syifa was arrested in 2020 and is the wife of MIT leader Ali Koara.

Evolution of Husband-Wife Relations of Extremist-Terrorist Couples

The terms radicalism, extremism, and terrorism often appear together. Although intertwined, these three things actually have different meanings. Often, people who are radical are considered extreme and are part of terrorists. In fact, radical people are not necessarily extreme, and extreme people are not necessarily terrorists. Although often to become a terrorist, someone must first become an extremist. At this point, we need to understand radicalism more about the basic attitude that requires comprehensive change to the existing system and order and, therefore, can be more patient in waiting for the expected change. If the desire to change the system hits a dead end, it is not uncommon for radicals to legitimise the use of violence to realise their Islamic vision. From here, extremism develops.

Extremism emphasises the path of violence as the main and even the only method considered legitimate to bring about political change. Extremism is always revolutionary because it is related to the methods and means used to overthrow and break down the old system and

build on the ruins of a completely new system. The change is expected to occur quickly and instantly and through violence. Unlike radicalism, extremism shows impatience in waiting for change by choosing violent tactics. From extremism, terrorism develops. Terrorism is the peak of violent action. Violence can occur without terror, but there is no terror without violence.³¹

The 2020 IPAC report summarizes female prisoners who were caught as extremists and terrorists and most of them were married couples. As previously explained, in the pre-ISIS phase, the wives who were caught played a passive role by obeying their husbands' wishes. The role of women was as a provider of assistance to their husbands who were terrorists or their husbands' friends who were fugitives. The main perpetrators (men) also take advantage of their wives. They hope that the behaviour of their women/wives is not too prominent and escapes the attention of the authorities. The position of women themselves in their group is not advantageous, especially when making decisions. Women are obliged to do what their husbands order, especially when they are sure that what they do is also *ijtihad*, then they feel obliged to follow their husbands.³²

At this level, viewing them as victims must be done. This will later have an impact on how to provide treatment to them during the punishment process and the deradicalisation process. Especially for those who are completely unaware of their husband's crimes as experienced by AA and HM in the research conducted by Ahmad and Ula that at the time of the raid on AA by, a wedding was being held. His family and wife were

³¹ Iman Fadhilah, Syaifuddin Syaifuddin, dan Retno Mawarini, "Narasi Dan Politik Identitas: Pola Penyebaran Dan Penerimaan Radikalisme Dan Terorisme Di Jawa Tengah Narration And Politic Of Identity: The Pattern Of Prevalance And Acceptance Of Radicalism And Terrorism In Central Java," *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi)* 2, no. 01 (2016): 15–28, h. 20-21.

³² Taskarina, *Perempuan dan Terorisme-Kisah Perempuan dalam Kejahatan Terorisme*, h. 9.

hysterical. They did not expect that AA was involved in 'illegal' activities. HM as a wife felt deceived and lied to by her husband, AA. AA's husband had never been open about his activities.³³ AA's experience shows several things: first, the husband is the sole authority holder; second, as a result of the authority holder, the husband can do anything without the wife's knowledge; third, whatever the husband does must be considered right, and the wife must not contradict her husband. However, this does not necessarily cause them to escape punishment. Wives who consciously provide assistance to their husbands are doing something deliberate, as was done by Munawarah with her husband.³⁴

Based on this, it can be said that the relationship that is built between husband and wife is still limited to their own property. The wife is considered the property of the husband, who must obey and follow whatever the husband wants. In the next phase, namely the ISIS Cluster, women, especially the wives of extremists and terrorists, move more actively and intensely. They consciously make the decision to become part of an extremist/terror group. They even use a marriage strategy by marrying the terrorist leaders to launch their actions. Either as combatants, fund providers, or suicide bombers. Because they have the same goal, the relationship that is built in this husband-and-wife group is a junior-senior partner, not to mention their relationship as an equal partner. This is because they still believe that the husband has a bigger role because of his position as a husband. Junior-Senior partners want a relationship like friends, exchanging information, fulfilling each other's obligations, and having the opportunity to take the initiative or act independently.

This is what Nesti and Galang did. Nesti, a former police officer, first got in touch with Galang through online media.³⁵ Their first face-to-face meeting took place in Surabaya in April, where his main interest appeared to be in buying weapons (which may have led to his interest in marrying a policewoman). He later told police that he wanted to marry her to further his interest in the Islamic State,³⁶ migrate to a more Islamic community, and take part with her in jihadist operations (*amaliyah*). Based on this reality, viewing women at this level to no longer be "victims" is something that needs to be considered. This can again influence how they should receive psychological treatment as perpetrators. The mentality of a perpetrator should be different from the mentality of a victim. In this case, the authorities must pay full attention to deradicalisation efforts and adjust prison protocols as appropriate for male extremists and terrorists.

Conclusion

In a period of about 15 years, there have been at least 40 women imprisoned due to being dragged into special criminal cases, namely terrorism. In the IPAC report, these women are referred to as extremist women, where most of them committed crimes with their husbands. These extremist women/wives can be grouped into two based on their movement patterns, namely pre-ISIS women and ISIS clusters. Based on the husband-wife relationship built by the convicts, both pre-ISIS women and the ISIS cluster have different patterns. During the Pre-ISIS Women era, the relationship between them was more passive because of her position as own

³³ Ahmad dan Ula, *Perempuan Di Balik Teroris: Kajian Religiusitas, Penyesuaian Diri Dan Pola Relasi Suami Istri Tersangka Teroris Di Kota Pekalongan*, h. 150-154.

³⁴ Ahmad dan Ula, *Perempuan Di Balik Teroris: Kajian Religiusitas, Penyesuaian Diri Dan Pola Relasi Suami Istri Tersangka Teroris Di Kota Pekalongan*, h. 150.

³⁵ Media Online merupakan salah satu media yang digunakan oleh jaringan terorisme dalam menyebarkan propagandanya. Lihat penelitian Sonia Yolla Viqwan, "Keterlibatan Perempuan Terhadap Aksi Tindak Pidana Terorisme Melalui Media Sosial (Studi Kasus Marifah Hasanah Dalam Putusan Nomor: 617/Pid. Sus/2020/Pn. Jkt. Tim)," 2022.

³⁶ IPAC, "Extremist Women Behind Bars in Indonesia," h. 25

property, then in the ISIS Cluster women were more active and independent in joining the terror group; even the tactics they (the women) used were through marriage. With the same extremist background between husband and wife, the relationship between the two emphasised the senior-junior partner relationship. This shows that, in addition to changes in the role of women in acts of terror, there has also been a change in the relationship between husband and wife of extremist couples. The independence that women have begun to show in their involvement in the extremist world requires the state, authorities, and society to see women from a different perspective. Where women are not always victims of extremist actions in the family. In this regard, it is appropriate to treat the wives of these extremists in a different way in terms of their deradicalisation because it will affect the success of their output later.

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