



The Role of Women in Terrorism in Indonesia

Dyah Ayu Mahardhika^{1*}, Sapto Priyanto²

^{1,2}Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia

mahardhikadyah@gmail.com^{1*}, sapto.priyanto09@ui.ac.id²

*Corresponding Author

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Abstract

The involvement of women in terrorism in Indonesia has been seen since 2000 which was marked by Munfiatun's involvement as Noordin Muhammad Top's second wife in acts of terrorism at the Marriot Hotel in 2003 and the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in 2004. At this time, women do not act as the main actors but as supporters based on the relationship between husband and wife. Changes in the status of women's roles in acts of terrorism began to be seen in 2016 after the arrest of Dian Yulia Novi as the perpetrator in the pot bomb case in Bekasi. After the arrest, there was an increase in the involvement of women in acts of terrorism. Social media has succeeded in changing the role of women into perpetrators of terrorist actions. This article aims to determine the factors causing the increase in the role of women in terrorism in Indonesia, both in the form of bomb threats, attacks on officers, and suicide bombings. This study uses qualitative methods with secondary data sourced from court decisions and news in the national media from 2016 to 2022. This research found that husband and wife relationships aren't the main cause of women's involvement in Indonesian terrorism. Through the theory of the hypodermic needle, it was obtained that the media can provide information that affects society at large. These theories are considered appropriate in describing the propaganda of terrorist groups against female terror perpetrators in Indonesia where the media has a major influence in changing the thinking of the audience, directing the behavior of the audience, shaping attitudes, and even initiating the implementation of terror acts.

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INTRODUCTION

Suhardi Alius (Head of the National Counterterrorism Agency/BNPT period 2016 until 2020) stated that the internet has become one of the media that plays an important role in spreading radicalism and terrorism in society (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika, 2023). The development of the era of globalization that gave rise to internet media made the communication media used by terrorists increasingly developed. They try to adapt their abilities to the development of existing communication and information technology (Sarinastiti & Vardhani, 2018). From a global perspective in the 21st century, two important events in the world have had a major impact on the development of terrorism history, namely the terror in the United States (U.S) on September 11, 2001 (9/11) and the Arab Spring phenomenon (Tabrani, 2022). After 9/11, acts of terrorism were identified with the use of religious symbols, both in the implementation of actions and group movements. Meanwhile, the Arab Spring phenomenon is considered the forerunner of jihad in the global realm under the control of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the turning point for acts of terrorism occurred after the Bali Bombings I and Bali Bombings II. The incident seemed to be a sign for terror groups to start other actions in Indonesia.

Terrorism is an act of violence by causes fear to achieve certain goals. The emergence of acts of terror in the last few decades has become quite a serious concern in Indonesia. Terrorism that occurs in Indonesia has ideological, historical, and political linkages and is part of the dynamics of the strategic environment at the global and regional levels. In his research, Mubarok explained that the existence of the above interests will greatly affect the pattern and color of media content (Mubarok & Wulandari, 2018; Rahmawati, 2020). Terrorism has long been a male-dominated occupation (Bloom, 2010). In Islamic culture, men are seen as the owners and protectors of the women's honor in the family. Therefore, in Islamic extremism, honor can only be found in her role as a fighter (soldier) while a woman's honor is found at home. In acts of terrorism, the perpetrator is a holy warrior who dies a martyrdom and is declared a hero, either before or after his death (Möller-Leimkühler, 2018).

Over time, in recent years, the significance of the role of women in terrorist organizations has been discovered (Gan, Neo, Chin, & Khader, 2019). In fact, in reality, women have become part of the terrorist movement, both as supporters and fighters (Banks, 2019). This is reinforced through the participation of women who reach 60% in rebel groups (Bigio & Vogelstein, 2019). In international terrorism, women's involvement is demonstrated through the role of Ulrike Meinhof, a left-wing terrorist and one of the founders of the German Red Army who was involved in terror acts and bank robberies (heists) between 1970 and 1972 (Senathalia & Nurjanah, 2022). In the political conflict, the name of Dolours and Marian Price, her sister, emerged as the perpetrators of the bombing at the Old Bailey, London on March 8, 1973, which resulted in one person dying and more than 200 people injured (Azra, 2021). In the suicide bombing case, Sana Mahaydali became known as the "Southern Bride" for her success in blowing herself up near several vehicles carrying Israeli soldiers in Lebanon. Sana was sent by the Syrian Socialist Party (SSNP/PPS), a pro-Syrian Lebanese organization (Knop, 2007).

In recent years, acts of terrorism in Indonesia have placed women as perpetrators of terrorism. Based on data from the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) in 2020, stated that from 2004 to 2015, the arrest of women involved in acts of terrorism was no more than two people per year, even within a period of several years there was no involvement of women in acts of terrorism. However, in the period 2018 to 2019, there was an increase in the arrest of more than 30 women involved in acts of terrorism (IPAC,

2020). This is in line with the statement of Milda Istiqomah, Legal and Human Rights Researcher of the Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information (LP3ES) and lecturer at the Faculty of Law, Universitas Brawijaya Malang that during the period 2001-2020, the number of female prisoners related to the act of terrorism throughout Indonesia reached 39 people. Meanwhile, in 2018, there were 13 women involved in acts of terrorism in Indonesia, and in 2019 it increased by 15 (Dzulfaroh & Hardiyanto, 2021).

The beginning of women's involvement in Indonesia in acts of terrorism is known through the role of Munfiatun, the second wife of Noordin Muhammad Top who was involved in acts of terrorism at the Marriot Hotel in 2003 and the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in 2004. Munfiatun is the first Indonesian woman to be involved in a terrorism case. Not only Munfiatun, other women have also been involved in terrorism cases in Indonesia in the period 2004-2009, including Putri Munawaroh (first wife of Nurdin M. Top), Munfiatun (second wife of Nurdin M. Top), Arina Rahma (third wife of Nurdin M. Top), Inggrid Wahyu Cahyaningsih (wife of Sugeng Waluyo who helped the Cimanggis Bomb terrorist), Rasidah bint Subari (wife of Husaini bin Ismail, perpetrator of the bombing in Singapore), Ruqayah bint Husen (wife of Umar Patek), Deni Carmelita (wife of Pepi Fernando, perpetrator of the book bomb and Serpong bomb), Rosmawati (Santoso group) and Nurul Azmy Tibyani (Santoso group network) (Bhakti, 2016).

In such cases, the involvement of women in acts of terrorism is dominated by marital relations with terror perpetrators, where the role of women is only as a supporter of the action. This phenomenon then gives rise to the assumption that women have been 'brainwashed', forced, and influenced by closer men (Nuraniyah, 2018). After the declaration of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2014, the role of women in networks and acts of terrorism slowly transformed. The position of women in networks and acts of terrorism is not only as supporters but also as actors (Ulfa & Sugara, 2021).

The traditional role of women in most Islamic terrorist groups is to serve their husbands and children. Women are not allowed to leave the home, unless there is a legitimate reason, such as the necessity to wage jihad in the absence of men or the necessity to study the Quran (Ali, 2015; Gan, Neo, Chin, & Khader, 2019). This conception fits the social of Islamic militant groups that seek to limit the role of women in society to fit their group's ultra-traditionalist conception (Gan, Neo, Chin, & Khader, 2019). Sayyid Qutb, one of the key figures in modern militant Islamism, envisioned a social hierarchy in which "it was divinely ordained that the man be the head of the family and the breadwinner, while women act as ancestor and creator so that it becomes imperative for women to submit to their husbands and family duties to the exclusion of all activities outside of these (Gan, Neo, Chin, & Khader, 2019; Shehadeh, 2004).

Research conducted by Gan, Neo, Chin, & Khader (2019) noted that, although women still carry out their traditional roles, women have gradually taken a proactive role in acts of terrorism, including as suicide bombers. It concluded that in particular, there are two prominent roles for ISIS women in the future. First, women can be harnessed to influence the behavior of the next generation of warriors. This condition is in line with the traditional role of women as figures who must submit to their husbands and family, including in their role of caring for, nurturing, and raising children. Second, women are not only passive but refer to their role as supporting actors in acts of terrorism. But it is also a portrayal of her role as a heroic wife fighting alongside her husband as well as a loving mother nurturing the next generation of jihadist fighters with legitimate firsthand experience.

Quoted from the official BNPT website, Komjen Pol. Boy, Rafli Amar (Head of the National Counterterrorism Agency/BNPT period 2020 until 2023) in the Terrorism Prevention Coordination Forum (FKPT) in North Sumatra in 2022 stated that there has been an increase in women's involvement in terrorist activities in Indonesia in the last 10 years. Meanwhile, as many as 18 young Indonesian women were involved in acts of terrorism (BNPT, 2022). Meanwhile, Brigadier General Petrus Reinhard Golose (Director of Enforcement at BNPT) signaled the recruitment of women by terrorists to participate in terror acts in Indonesia. The recruited women were then placed in strategic positions in the war waged by the ISIS terrorist organization (Nurhayati, 2015; Qori'ah, 2019).

This is evidenced by the disclosure of Dian Yulia Novi's involvement as a pot bomb perpetrator in Bekasi in 2016. For her actions, Dian Yulia Novi became the first woman in Indonesia to act as an active perpetrator in terrorism crimes. Dian was arrested by Densus Anti-terror Detachment 88 on December 10, 2016, a day before she allegedly planned to detonate a pot bomb in the State Palace area, Jakarta (Utama, 2017). Dian was motivated to carry out *istisyadiyah*, a suicide bombing after communicating with Tutin Sugiarti through social media in 2015 (Wijaya, 2020). Based on the Fatwa of Shaykh Hamuud bin 'Uqlaa' About Amaliyyah Istishhaadiyyah translated by Abu Musa Ath-Thoyyaar, on December 22, 2005, *istisyadiyah* was dying for the purpose of jihad defending religion or seeking the pleasure of Allah (Munip, 2017). In the same year, the arrest of Ika Puspitasari (Tasnimah Salsabila) was also arrested for allegedly planning a suicide bombing in Bali on New Year's Eve 2017. Dian and Ika are female terrorists who have a background as migrant workers and pledged allegiance to ISIS through social media.

The change in the role of women in terrorist organizations is in line with the statement of terrorism expert, Sidney Jones, explained that there are 40 Indonesian women and 100 children under the age of 15 who have decided to join the ISIS group and study directly in Syria (Qori'ah, 2019). Some transnational groups such as ISIS, Jabhat Al Nusra, and Al-Qaeda have been shown to use social media to communicate with their supporters to openly disseminate their disseminating their activities in the name of "jihad" (Sari & Syauqillah, 2022). Social media is one of the keys to the success of terror extremist organizations in conducting global recruitment (Golan & Lim, 2016). The U.S. government has also described the use of social media platforms by terror extremist groups as unprecedented (Golan & Lim, 2016; Weimann, 2015).

The recruitment of women by terror organizations is motivated by strategic values and tactical advantages in the hope that women will reduce the likelihood of suspicion by law enforcement agencies, create more media attention, and be more effective in increasing the motivation of men to commit acts of terror (Knop, 2007; Parvez & Hastings, 2022). Targeting women is done online via social media and messaging apps. The use of the internet allows recruiters to specifically tailor messages directed toward women (Parvez & Hastings, 2022; Weimann, 2014). Mughis stated that women's involvement was due to open access to information, the developments of the global situation, and the emergence of a new wave of terrorism carried by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) which encouraged an increase in the role of women in the forefront of terrorism. The forms of increasing the role of women in terrorist groups, among others radical propagandists, suicide bombers, technologists/hackers, rioters, and active recruiters (Mughis, 2022).

In research conducted by Parvez & Hastings (2022) in analyzing the role of digital media on women's involvement in terrorism in Bangladesh, life cycle analysis used models from Horgan. Through this analysis, the author argues that digital media

influences the terrorism process in three ways, namely, providing greater reach to recruitment targets and allowing terrorist groups to reach different individuals. Second, digital media helps terrorists strengthen women's beliefs while convincing them to actively engage in extremist activities. Third, digital media provides opportunities for terrorist groups to inform the decisions of group leaders and targets against individuals and small groups that may not be directly related to carrying out actions, by the general guidelines of jihadist organizations. The use of digital media has indirectly made it easier for terrorist groups to spread their influence without worrying about obstacles from aspects of territorial boundaries or distance.

Parvez & Hastings (2022) show that digital media has played a major role in accelerating and expanding the recruitment of female terrorism members. Both emphasized that the use of digital media provides opportunities for terrorist groups to control the continuity of their propaganda and the formation of narratives supported by anonymity. Although the study was able to present a comparative picture of recruitment results between men and women in terrorist groups, it has not been able to show how digital media can change mindsets and even move women to take action. In acts of terrorism, it is necessary to understand the existence of three important elements, namely first, understanding and ideology. Understanding occupies the first position because one will not commit acts of terrorism without a strong ideology. Second, movements and networks that develop religious beliefs which then give birth to terrorists or those who have the courage and confidence to commit acts of terrorism. Third, acts or acts of terrorism (Hendropriyono, 2009).

The change in women's roles from supporting actors to main actors in acts of terror shows that there are factors that cause changes. In a study conducted by Parvez & Hastings (2022), it is stated that digital media influenced women's participation in acts of terrorism in the Bangladesh territory. Meanwhile, in the case of female terrorism in Indonesia, the discovery of a shift in the role of female terrorists from supporters to perpetrators strengthened after the terror act committed by Dian Yulia Novi after allegiance to ISIS through social media. Through the research conducted, researchers tried to show that social media not only changed the role of Dian Yulia Novi and Ika Puspitasari as the main perpetrators of terrorism but also other women who were also designated as the main perpetrators of terrorism. Therefore, this article aims to determine the factors causing the increase in the role of women in terrorism in Indonesia, both in the form of bomb threats, attacks on officers, and suicide bombings.

METHODS

The research uses qualitative methods which refer to the use of secondary data. Data on the number of female terrorist perpetrators in Indonesia was obtained from reports on female terrorism cases published in local newspapers with digital access. The information obtained is then strengthened by the collection of court documents which were accessed from the Indonesian Supreme Court website. Restrictions were placed on searching for news data in newspapers in the 2016-2022 period. The selection of the year was based on the first year of the discovery of women's terrorism cases in Indonesia, namely Dian Yulia Novi in 2016 which was considered the beginning of women's involvement as the main perpetrators in terrorism cases. Therefore, 2016 is considered a year that marks a shift in the role of women in their involvement in the implementation of terror acts. Considering that before the 2016 period, the role of women in terror acts was a supporter of the action. Meanwhile, since 2016, women have begun to participate in acts of terrorism with the status of the main perpetrators.

The collecting of reports from digital newspapers begins with a search via google.com with the keywords reporting on women's acts of terrorism in Indonesia, by writing the name of the perpetrator of the terrorist act, the location of the terrorist act, the affiliation of the terror perpetrator with terror organizations such as JAD (*Jamaah Ansharut Daulah*) and ISIS. Furthermore, a search was carried out related to jihadist organizations related to female terrorist perpetrators followed by a search for other information related to the perpetrators, including the motives and process of the perpetrators joining as members of terror. After the data is obtained, the process of checking information through the Indonesian Supreme Court website page. The data obtained is then displayed in tabular form to facilitate reading.

In the analysis process, this research uses the hypodermic needle theory or bullet theory. The hypodermic needle theory or Bullet Theory is one of the theories about the effects of mass communication first proposed by Wilbur Schramm in the 1950s (Dewi, 2014). The theory was then developed in the early 20th century through the incorporation of psychological and sociological theories available at that time (Guback, 1968). This theory states the vulnerability of the audience to the messages of mass communication. Wilbur Schramm also mentioned that if the message is delivered "right on target", it will get the desired effect. This is what underlies an assumption similar to bullet theory, namely that mass media causes strong, directed, and immediate effects. This assumption is also in line with the notion of "stimulus-response" that became to be known through psychological research in the 1930s, so this theory is also referred to as stimulus-response theory (Bineham, 1988).

This theory holds that the effect of mass communication messages is powerful and more or less universal on all audiences affected by the media because the media presents powerful stimulation that is uniformly noticed by the audience. Furthermore, stimuli evoke urges, emotions, or other processes that are hardly controlled by the audience. This theory assumes that the audience is helpless (passive) when 'fired at' by mass media stimuli. This condition then causes each audience to give the same response to stimuli coming from the mass media (Dewi, 2014). Therefore, the use of hypodermic needle theory is considered appropriate to describe how terror groups can influence audiences who are considered passive, to cause changes in audience behavior. In this case, social media is described as a giant needle that injects a passive audience, making it easily influenced. Therefore, the information and message conveyed will be well received and have a strong effect on communicants. This is by the description of how the bullet fired, precisely hitting the target, as desired by the person who fired the bullet.

This condition is considered by what Dian Yulia Novi experienced. In one of the interviews conducted by TV One television station on Dian Yulia Novi on December 13, 2016, Dian mentioned that she knew about radical teachings through Facebook social media. Through Facebook, Dian learned radical ideas by reading statuses related to jihadists. Dian was active on Facebook for about a year and during that time had managed to collect material about muamalah, fiqh, creed, and Islamic history in the form of articles and audio voice (Akhmadi, 2016). After studying the material, Dian became interested in carrying out jihad actions. In this case, Dian can be described as a passive audience who gets bullets (jihadist material) continuously, so that in the end it raises the desire to take action according to what has been learned and believed to be true. This process and impact will later be described by researchers to show how the process of women's involvement in acts of terrorism is caused by the influence of social media. However, this theory is considered to have limitations because of the possibility of information or messages being received by audiences who are not passive, so there is a tendency for

audiences to make choices other than the information. On the other hand, information or messages are considered to be more effective in having an impact if the audience is in a group or community that is homogeneous because it is considered to have a similar mindset.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Indonesian Female Terrorists

After the arrest of Dian Yulia Novi, there was an increase in the involvement of other women in acts of terrorism in Indonesia. Also in 2016, the arrest of Ika Puspitasari (Tasnimah Salsabila) was allegedly prepared as a 'bride candidate' for suicide bombings in Bali (Purnama, 2016) and became one of the providers and supporters of funds for acts of terrorism (East Jakarta District Court Decision Number 479 of 2017). Dian and Ika are female terrorists who have a background as migrant workers and pledged allegiance to ISIS through Facebook. Noor Huda Ismail (Terrorism Observer) in one of the news articles in Indonesia stated that Dian lived in Taiwan when she started studying jihadist groups and ISIS through social media. Dian and her husband, Nur Solihin, communicated through Facebook and continued to the encrypted social media platform Telegram (Nursalikhah, 2018).

In addition to the two, other migrant workers involved in terrorism cases are Fatmawati Mizani and Anggi Indah Kusuma who also pledged allegiance to ISIS through social media. Noor Huda Ismail (Terrorism Observer) stated that Fatmawati Mizani had been exposed to radical networks and knew her husband through social media, but rejected the doctrine of carrying out suicide bombings (Nursalikhah, 2018). Meanwhile, Anggi, during her time as a migrant worker, actively spread ISIS propaganda on social media which led to her deportation at the end of 2016. In 2017, Anggi was rearrested by Densus for planning bombings in Jakarta and Bandung with her husband Adilatul Rahman (Quanandi, Kertopati, & Timur, 2022) and for involvement in terrorism financing (East Jakarta District Court Decision Number 600 of 2019). Another name that adds to the list of women's involvement in acts of terrorism is Titin Sugiarti who acts as a motivator for Dian Yulia Novi to fight for jihad.

After the arrest of the three, women's involvement in acts of terrorism resurfaced after riots in Mako Brimob Kelapa Dua in May 2018. In this case, the police managed to arrest two women who planned to attack police members, namely Siska Nur Azizah and Dita Siska Millenia. Both were exposed to jihadist understanding and supported ISIS through social media. Still, in 2018, acts of terrorism involving women again occurred in three Surabaya churches by one family member, namely Dita Supriyanto (father), Puji Kuswati (mother), and their children, namely, Fadila Sari, Pamela Riskika, Yusuf Fadil, and Firman Halim (Tabrani, 2022). Furthermore, in 2021, there was also a bombing at the Makassar Cathedral Church carried out by a married couple, Lukman and Yogi Sahafitri Fortuna (Dewi) who allegedly had an attachment to the bomber in Jolo, Philippines through their relationship with Risaldi, a suspected terrorist who died during his arrest at Villa Mutiara in January 2021 (Hayati, 2021). The Jolo bombing occurred in 2020 at the Cathedral of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, south of Jolo, Philippines. Although it occurred in the Philippines, this bombing was carried out by a married couple from Makassar, namely Rullie Rian Zeke and Ulfah Handayani Saleh (Muhaimin, 2019). At the end of March 2021, a case of female terrorism resurfaced through an attack carried out by a woman at the National Police Headquarters. This action was carried out by Zakiah Aini using an airsoft gun. Zakiah Aini pledged allegiance to ISIS through social media (Arbi, 2021). Finally, in 2022, an act of female terrorism occurred in front of the state

palace carried out by Siti Eliana. Based on Densus 88's identification, Siti Eliana was affiliated with the banned organization Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (now ex-HTI) and the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) through social media (Jatengtime, 2022).

Based on this basis, the author tries to write a list of the involvement of Indonesian women in acts of terrorism, as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. List of Women's Terrorism Cases in Indonesia for the period 2016 to 2022 (Jatengtime, 2022; Muhaimin, 2019; East Jakarta District Court Decision Number 479 of 2017; Quanandi, Kertopati, & Timur, 2022; Tabrani, 2022)

Name	Cases	Group	Recruitment Source	Action Type
Dian Yulia Novi (Migrant Workers)	Pot bomb planning at Merdeka Palace/2016	ISIS-affiliated	Social media	Lone wolf
Titin Sugiarti	Motivator Dian Yulia Novi	ISIS-affiliated	Social media	Motivator
Ika Puspitasari/Tasnimah Salsabila (Migrant Workers; funding)	Bomb planning outside Java (Bali)/2016	ISIS-affiliated	Social media	Lone wolf
Fatmawati Mizani (Migrant Workers)	Indoctrinated terrorism, but rejected carrying out suicide bombings	ISIS-affiliated	Social media	-
Anggi Indah Kusuma (Migrant Workers; ideologue; Young Farmer Bandung network)	Planning bomb attacks in Jakarta and Bandung with her husband Adilatul Rahman/2017	ISIS-affiliated	Social media	Family
Siska Nur Azizah alias Siska alias Fatmah alias Teteh	Planning an attack on police officers Mako Brimob Kelapa Dua/2018	ISIS-affiliated	Social media	Group
Dita Siska Millenia Maumil alias Ukhti Dita	Planning an attack on police officers Mako Brimob Kelapa Dua/2018	JAD affiliated with ISIS	Social media	Group
Puji Kuswati	Church Bomb Surabaya (2018)	JAD affiliated with ISIS	Family relationships (husband and wife)	Family
Dewi Anggraini	Bomber's wife commits suicide in police office Polrestabes Medan (2019) - Actively communicate with prisoners on social media - Planning the bombing in Bali - Plan to terrorize places of worship in Medan	JAD affiliated with ISIS	Family relationships (husband and wife)	Family

Yogi Safitri Fortuna (Dewi)	Church Bomb Makassar with her husband, Lukman (2021)	JAD affiliated with ISIS	Family relationships (husband and wife)	Family
Zakiah Aini	Indonesian National Police headquarters attacker (2021)	ISIS-affiliated	Social media	Lone wolf
Siti Eliana	Merdeka Palace attacker (2022)	Indicated part of ex-HTI	Social media	Lone wolf

Table 1 shows that from 2016 to 2017 the recruitment of women in terrorist groups or organizations, in this case ISIS and JAD was carried out through social media. However, from 2018 to 2021, the recruitment of women was not only carried out through social media but also marriage. Recruitment through social media is back in 2022. However, in the case of acts of terrorism that occurred in 2022, there has been no indication of the involvement of JAD or ISIS groups as found in cases in the period 2016 to 2021. Based on the history of some of the cases above, it was found that the involvement of women in acts of terrorism today is not only based on their status as wives of terror perpetrators. This proves that there has been a shift in the role of female terrorist perpetrators, where women are now more courageous to carry out acts of terror independently without involving male perpetrators (individuals) after the formation of ISIS.

Indication of the Role of Social Media in Women's Involvement in Terrorism in Indonesia

The comparison of media influence and family relationships in women's terrorism in Indonesia processed by the author can be seen in Table 2. It was found that during the period 2016 to 2022, cases of female terrorism in Indonesia resulting from social media will reach 9 cases, while those resulting from the influence of family relationships (husband and wife) only reach 3 cases. These results show the magnitude of social media's influence in shaping attitudes and directing human behavior.

Table 2. Comparison of Media Influence and Family Relationships in Women's Terrorism in Indonesia

Year	Impression	
	Social Media	Family relationships (husband and wife)
2016	4	-
2017	1	-
2018	2	1
2019	-	1
2021	1	1
2022	1	-
Total	9	3

From the results of fact, collection carried out through digital news sources supported by court documents collection, women's involvement in acts of terrorism in Indonesia in the period 2016 to 2020 cannot be separated from the role of digital media, which in this case refers to the use of the internet and social media. This is based on the background of women terror perpetrators who know the understanding of terrorism and

jihad and even the implementation of allegiance to ISIS carried out through social media, so that they can give birth to the phenomenon of lone wolf action, to give birth to the phenomenon of lone wolf action, as in the cases of Dian Yulia Novi, Ika Puspitasari, Zakiah Aini and Siti Eliana.

Content on social media is considered effective in polarizing public opinion in response to acts of terrorism, whether it becomes a support group or even a contra group. In counter groups, actions committed by terrorist groups will be considered a threat and terror in society, especially for the families of the victims. On the other hand, acts of terrorism can actually be seen as the realization of the ideological ideals of terrorists. Not only that, the publication of acts of terrorism contained in social media is indirectly able to foster a sense of amazement for audiences who consider that acts of terror are a form of jihad, so they will play a role in recruiting members of terrorism.

Based on the Statista report, the number of internet users in Indonesia in the period 2016 to 2022 continues to increase. In 2016, the number of internet users reached 132.85 million, while in 2022 the number will reach 249.56 million users (Degenhard, 2023). Meanwhile, based on 2022 We Are Social and Hootsuite report, social media users in Indonesia as of January 2022 amounted to 191.4 million users, or 68.9% of the Indonesian population. Of these, as many as 46.5% of users are women (Kemp, 2016). Every social media user in Indonesia on average has as many accounts as there are. The five most popular social media platforms accessed by Indonesian people are YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp, and Twitter. We Are Social and Hootsuite reported that the increase in the number of social media users occurred significantly since the 2016 period, namely 34.2% from the 2015 period, which amounted to 72 million users (Kemp, 2016).

Komjen Pol. Boy Rafli Amar (Head of the National Counterterrorism Agency/BNPT for the period 2020 until 2023) in one of the conferences in Jakarta, stated that BNPT had found around 600 sites and accounts on various radical social media platforms that spread more than 900 propaganda content. Details of the number of accounts from social media, namely Facebook with 167 accounts, WhatsApp 156 contacts or groups, Telegram with 119 channels or groups, Twitter 85 accounts or groups, Instagram 50 accounts,

Youtube 24 accounts, websites 14 links and others 1 account (DetikNews, 2022). This means that during the 2022 period, Facebook has the largest percentage of media used by terror groups in spreading radicalism propaganda, which is around 27.8%, followed by WhatsApp with 26%, Telegram 19.8%, Twitter 14.1%, Instagram at 8.3% and Youtube 4%. This condition reinforces the author's processed data since 2016, it was found that there was an influence of social media use on the increase in women's acts of terrorism in Indonesia. Facebook's position as the second platform that is widely accessed in Indonesia also shows that the platform is still likely to be used by terror groups to perform bait, such as Dian Yulia Novi and Ika Puspitasari who pledged allegiance to ISIS.

In the hypodermic needle theory, it is stated that mass communication messages provide strong stimulation, causing responses in the form of emotions or other processes that are almost uncontrolled by the audience. In the context of terrorism, stimuli provided through social media are carried out by the ISIS group by utilizing the 'Doomsday' narrative and calling on Muslims to join the "caliphate" proclaimed by the group concerned (Nursalikhah, 2018). The identical meaning of the caliphate as the application of Islamic sharia in constitutional law and referring to the Quran and sunnah, is considered to be the basis for terrorist groups in attracting the involvement of women to participate in their groups. The presentation of jihad material that is given continuously through content in digital media, has slowly but surely influenced the mindset of women

and had an impact on the emergence of initiation in the application of the concept of jihad through the implementation of acts of terrorism.

The assumption that the audience is helpless (passive) when being “shot” by mass media stimuli is realized by the continuous distribution of narratives through social media. Seeing the impact produced in the form of suicide committed by Indonesian women, it can be concluded that the stimuli provided by the terror group have been “right on target”. Through the portrayal of the hypodermic needle theory, the internet, and social media are used as tools to expand the influence of the understanding of terrorism encapsulated in the concept of jihad. The information is conveyed massively and can be well received until in the end it gives birth to homogeneous thinking in the audience without considering the truth of the information conveyed. Unlimited access to information and communication on the internet and social media also increases the effectiveness of propaganda, recruitment, and even funding, as happened in the case of Anggi Indah Kusuma.

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

Through social media, terror groups try to highlight the role of women and try to foster the fighting spirit of women. Stressed that the implementation of jihad is not only for men but affirmed that women are also capable of participating in jihad actions. This shows that the growing use of technology is becoming a new platform for terrorist groups to expand their influence more easily and precisely as well as difficult to control. By grouping terrorism cases involving women based on recruitment sources, it can be seen that during the period 2016 to 2022, the number of female terrorism cases in Indonesia was dominated by the role of social media rather than the influence of family relationships (husband and wife). This condition confirms that social media contributes greatly as one of the tools or media in spreading terror understandings which are ultimately used as a driving for terrorism among women in Indonesia.

This study only shows the influence of digital media on the role of women in acts of terrorism in Indonesia. In fact, there is an opportunity for the influence of digital media on the role of men in acts of terrorism in Indonesia. Meanwhile, until now, it is not known how the influence of social media is a driver of terrorism among men in Indonesia. For this reason, further research is needed related to the influence of social media on acts of terrorism in Indonesia which focuses on male terrorist perpetrators, especially in the period 2016 to 2022. The use of the concepts of caliphate and jihad which are considered to be the main keys by terrorist groups in attracting the attention of Indonesian women indirectly shows the need for a balance of literacy between the meaning of Islam as a belief and the ideology of Pancasila as an identity as an Indonesian citizen. The application of the concept of diversity as in the motto ‘Bhineka Tunggal Ika’ which means different but still one is considered to need to be re-emphasized to the community, both through the educational and social fields with the use of digital media in creating thoughts in the community that constitutional law in Indonesia is based on the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila, not Islamic law.

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