

Women Victimization on Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS): A Critical Analysis On Terrorist Wives

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Abstract

Nowadays, perpetrators on terrorism are not male dominated. Research in this thesis discusses women involvement as terrorist wives to support their husband and their terrorist group. This research focused on the process of how wives were brought and involved in terrorism by their husband. Terrorist wives are the invisible victim of terrorism, they are involved not by their own will. Pressure, intimidations, dominance and symbolic violence in their household moving towards new kind of victimization. Using qualitative approach in dept interview with two terrorist wives, this research found terrorist wives experienced multiple victimization. Another findings is also made that wives are unconcious that they are actually victims with society unawareness shows that there is omission by the government. Terrorist wives are not only experienced multiple impacts, but also they are neglected victims of counter-terrorism systems.

Keywords: *victimization; terrorism; terrorist wives; neglected victims.*

Abstrak

Saat ini kejahatan terorisme tidak lagi didominasi oleh laki-laki. Penelitian ini membahas mengenai pelibatan perempuan sebagai istri pelaku kejahatan terorisme dalam mendukung aktivitas teror suaminya atau kelompok suaminya. Penelitian ini fokus pada proses bagaimana istri dilibatkan oleh suaminya. Istri pelaku kejahatan terorisme adalah korban terselubung dari kejahatan terorisme, mereka dilibatkan bukan karena keinginan mereka sendiri. Tekanan, intimidasi, kesenjangan kekuasaan dan kekerasan simbolik di dalam rumah tangga mengarah pada arus baru viktimisasi. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan wawancara mendalam dengan dua istri teroris, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa mereka mengalami viktimisasi berganda (multiple victimisation). Temuan lain yakni bahwa ketidaksadaran (unconcious) istri pelaku kejahatan terorisme sebagai korban bersamaan dengan ketidakpedulian (unawareness) dari masyarakat menunjukkan adanya pembiaran (ommission) oleh negara. Bukan hanya dampak berganda yang mereka terima namun menjadi korban terlupakan dari system penanggulangan terorisme.

Kata kunci: *viktimisasi, terorisme, istri pelaku kejahatan terorisme, korban terlupakan*

Introduction

An act of terrorism has always received tremendous attention from all law enforcement officers as well as the public. This type of crime caused massive victims, both physical and mental, which even lead to a prolonged impact. Suicide bombings, hate speeches, the threat of kidnappings and hostage taking, have become one of ways of an act of terror. Fear and intimidation are the end result of this type of crime. However, this is not in line with the attention that victims of terrorism get. They are sometimes neglected. The attention that these victims get remains a marginalized issue. In the same area, research that looks at the experience of victims of terrorism is underdeveloped, fragmented and often isolated from the broader studies of the phenomenon of political violence. In the criminological and victimological disciplines, but more so in the sub-field of Terrorism Studies, victim-focused study is sparse.¹

Being a victim of terrorism cannot be compared with other victims of crime. But there is a fundamental difference that distinguishes the political motivation behind the terror movement itself. This then distinguishes the motivation of terrorist acts from other criminal motivations that also characterize the experiences of victims of terrorism from victims of ordinary crime.

Globally, based on the annual report of Global Terrorism Index 2016², 29,376 people were killed by terrorism in 2015. A number of ISIS (Islamic State Iraq and Syria) affiliates are carrying out attacks in 28 countries in 2015, that is 15 attacks more than what happened in 2014. Deaths due to terrorism in the countries of the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and development) increased from 77 people in 2014 to 577 people in 2015 and more than half the deaths were linked to ISIS (Islamic State Iraq and Syria).³ It reached a highest record and the majority occurred in 5 (five) countries, namely Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan and Syria. The 2016 GTI report states that terrorist acts committed in 2016 are heavily concentrated in violence, mostly done by some groups in small countries. From that data, four groups are responsible for 74 percent of the deaths by terrorism acts, i.e. ISIS, Boko Haram, Taliban and al-Qaeda. In OECD countries, the deaths due to terrorism are dramatically increased in 2015, by 650 percent compared

¹ Javier Argomaniz & Orla Lynch, *International Perspectives on Terrorist Victimisation: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1.

² National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, *Global Terrorism Index 2016: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism*, College Park: Institute for Economics and Peace.

³ National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, *Global Terrorism Index 2016: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism*, College Park: Institute for Economics and Peace, 3.

to 2014. In addition, 21 out of 34 OECD countries have experienced at least one terrorist attack with the majority of deaths found in Turkey and France.

Another data from the United Nations aid mission for Iraq, UNAMI (The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq) stated nearly 7,000 civilians have been killed in Iraq by ISIS terrorist attacks and armed conflicts in the country. Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Iraq, Jan Kubis said that terrorist attacks have increased since the end of 2016 until early 2017.⁴

Data from Directorate General of Corrections until October 2016 stated that there were 223 terrorism detainees. Since Law no. 15 of 2003 on Terrorism was in effect, there were already 9 women who were declared to be involved and have a role in terrorism. These women have had face the trial ever since. Most of the 9 women are the wives of terrorists.⁵ Meanwhile, the Directorate of De-radicalization of the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT) mapped 17 provinces to conduct de-radicalization programs to terrorist detainees in the region, 15 provinces including the number of areas where the wife of the perpetrator of terrorism attempted to undergo de-radicalization program. 6 of the 15 Provinces stated that there were 51 wives of terrorism perpetrators identified.⁶ This number is only two-fifths out of 15 Provinces where terrorists have wives and families.

This paper addresses the neglected victims of terrorism. They are the wives of the terrorists. Furthermore, they are wives who are unconsciously involved in the terrorist network. These involvements are always judged that their actions are the extra ordinary criminal acts which equal to the criminal acts committed by their husband. The argument in this paper leads that wives who are involved in terrorism-related crimes are actually victims. This happens because the involvement of these wives in the act of terrorism is dominated by the familial system. These wives are brought involuntarily to the terrorist network by their husbands, fathers, brothers, uncles and even fellow sisters. This involvement which has the element of unintentional is a form of victimization. Basically, not all forms of victimization lead to physical injury, but the powerlessness to choose, symbols and values to be obeyed as a wife become the turning point that shows they are neglected victims.

⁴ Victor Maulana, "PBB: Sepanjang 2016 7000 Warga Sipil Tewas di Irak", *Sindonews*, (January, 3 2017).

⁵ Mohd Adhe Bhakti, "Perempuan dan Terorisme", Pusat Kajian Radikalisme dan Deradikalisasi, (February, 2016).

⁶ National Agency of Counter-Terrorism, *Laporan Akuntabilitas Kinerja Instansi Pemerintah*, Bogor: Unpublished Document.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Victimology

This theory will be used to explain the experience of victimization which are suffered by the wife of the terrorists. Walklate divided the two approaches of victimology, positivist victimology also known as conventional victimology and critical victimology. Positivist psychiatry focuses on identifying the underlying factors with non-random risk.⁷ Walklate explains positivist victimology and the survey work emanating from it, can provide snapshots of the regularities of criminal victimization but cannot provide an understanding of the social and historical production and reproduction of those regularities through time and space, as a consequence, cannot facilitate and understanding of the irregularities of criminal victimization."⁸

The second approach is critical victimology. This aroused because of the failure daily social process to identify and address the victimization events. Especially as Miers pointed out that there are weaknesses in simplifying and reflecting to disclose the inability that label which was build gained legitimacy from a label. Christie called this the ideal form of victim since it is based on social construction and this needs to be discussed more critically rather than simply classifying the type of victims of the crime.⁹

Critical victimology was articulated in Walklate is a term used in a variety of ways, but referring here to the potential use and value of applying the Structuration theory of Giddens to the victimization experience."¹⁰ This view places the need for an empirical policy agenda, as well as a concern for knowing the actual reality of the victim. Critical victimology in regard with structuration is strongly influenced by Bhaskar¹¹, Giddens¹². Critical victimology is defined as an attempt to examine the wider social context in which some versions of victimology have become more dominant than others and also to understand how those versions of victimology are interwoven with questions of policy response and service delivery to victims of crime."¹³

In this critical approach, two concepts are often discussed in the

⁷ Sandra Walklate, "Researching Victims of Crime: Critical Victimology", *Social Justice*, Volume 17, Number 3 (March, 1990).

⁸ Sandra Walklate, *Imaging the Victims of Crime*, (New York: Open University Press, 2007), 35.

⁹ Nils Christie, "The Ideal Victim" in Ezzat A. Fattah (ed.) *From Crime Policy to Victim Policy*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1986), 17-30.

¹⁰ Sandra Walklate, *Imaging the Victims of Crime*, (New York: Open University Press, 2007), 161.

¹¹ Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science*, (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Press, 1978).

¹² Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

¹³ William Doerner & Steven Lab, *Victimology*, (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing, 2012), 13.

critical ideology of political victimization and structural victimization. Both of these concepts are often linked to the crime by the state (state crime), because it is a political and in macro level, where the state has an interest in them to decide to act or left. State crime is basically deviance form of the organization involving of human rights violations committed by the state or state agencies.¹⁴ Referring back to the definition of Azar¹⁵ and Kiza¹⁶ who mentioned that structural victimization is basically partly due to the presence or occurrence of power disparities. Political victimization is a political effort by the state through the government to abandon the process of victimization from the source of victimization. Elias¹⁷ argued that the source of victimization is the root of the problem originated from: institutions, perpetrators, victims and systems.¹⁸

The criminal justice system and law enforcement for act of terrorism, in reality actually are blaming the terrorist wives' position (system blaming) and even judging families of terrorists as guilty as the terrorists, so the system counter-terrorism carried by BNPT is still questionable due to many internal issues in the system's policy.

Generally, they are in a hierarchy created by the political and economic system which generated disproportion in the distribution of wealth and power, thus putting the group as a victim of crime. In realist criminology framework, the group is identified as children, women, and ethnic groups, the poor and disabled groups.¹⁹ In this case, the wives of the perpetrators of terrorist crime experience a structural victimization. This is not based on the reason that they became a victim, but an unintentional life experience that positioned them as neglected victims of extraordinary crime.

Feminist Theory

This theory is used to describe the inequalities that the wives experienced in life and lead to victimization. Burgess-Proctor recognized that feminism is not a theory of unity, as feminist theory has

¹⁴ Tonny Ward, "State Harms" in Paddy Hillyard, Christina Pantazis, Steve Tombs, Dave Gordon (eds.) *Beyond Criminology: Taking Harm Seriously*, (London: Pluto Pers, 2004), 84.

¹⁵ Edward E. Azar, "Development Diplomacy", in Joyce R. Starr & Addeane S. Caellegh (eds.) *A Shared Destiny: Near East Regional Development and Cooperation*, (New York: Preager, 1983).

¹⁶ Ernesto Kiza, "Victimization in Wars: A Framework for Further Inquiry", in Uwe Ewald & Ksenija Turkovi (eds.) *Large Scale Victimisation as a Potential Source of Terroris Activities: Importance of Regaining Security in Post Conflict Societies*, (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2006).

¹⁷ Robert Elias, *The Politics of Victimization: Victims, Victimology and Human Rights*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹⁸ Margaret Gonzalez-Perez, *Women and Terrorism: Female Activity in Domestic and International Terror Groups*, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 71-106.

¹⁹ Martin O'Brien & Majid Yar, *Criminology: The Key Concepts*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 44.

known to be divided into five major perspectives.²⁰ Liberal feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism, socialist feminism, postmodern feminism.²¹ Although these five approaches are commonly known as feminist perspectives, it does not mean that other perspectives are not as important as feminist theory.

Movement and the development of feminist theory itself began because of gender inequality. Ritzer & Goodman also explained that there are four themes that mark the theory of gender inequality.²² Firstly, men and women are placed in society not only differently, but also unequal. Specifically, women obtain less material resources, social status, power and opportunities for self-actualization than men who divide their social positions by class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education, nationality and other important social factors. Secondly, it comes from community organizations, not from biological or personality differences of men and women. Thirdly, situationally women are less powerful than men to meet their needs together in the framework of self-actualization. Fourthly, all theories of gender inequality respond to this structure by attempting to gender equality.

The failure to understand gender politics creates a narrow view about crime and criminal justice and also fails to explain some of the most distinctive features of gender. This process is illustrated in the circle of inequality. Symbolic violence is a form of violence that is multilayer and very complex. The normalization of violence occurring within the study occurs in two levels.²³ First, the reality that they experience places them as poor, marginalized women, loses their rights in socio-economic life, and lives in an environment where gender-based physical, sexual, and violence are common in the environment.

The feminist view generally sees that the system places women in unequal, wrong, injurious, destructive and unjust relationships. This is not only an oppressive and exploitative act which is not only unlawful, but also detrimental.²⁴

Some feminists argue that gender injustice is due to the biological differences between men and women. Some considers this due to the

²⁰ Amanda Burgess-Proctor, "Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Crime: Future Directions for Feminist Criminology", *Feminist Criminology*, Volume 1, Number 1 (January, 2006).

²¹ Amanda Burgess-Proctor, "Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Crime: Future Directions for Feminist Criminology", *Feminist Criminology*, Volume 1, Number 1 (January, 2006).

²² George Ritzer & Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media, 2004)

²³ Treena Orchard, "Of Sex Work and Survival: Women's Experiences of Symbolic Violence", *International Human Trafficking, Prostitution, & Sex Work Conference*, Toledo 18-19 September 2014, University of Toledo, 21.

²⁴ Andrew Karmen, *Crime Victims: An Introduction to Victimology*, (Belmont: Wasdsworth Cengage Learning, 2010).

ownership structure of capital, etc.²⁵ The position of a wife is used and indoctrinated with patriarchal thinking by her husband, symbols that labeled to the wife naturalized through culture (such as housework). This process makes them unaware that they are experiencing inequality and have become victims of symbolic violence.²⁶ As explained that symbolic violence in the form of oppression way of thinking, like affection. The hardest thing to overcome is the symbolic violence that operates through discourse. This is called symbolic because the impact that can be seen in physical violence is not visible. Victims do not feel that they have been dominated or manipulated.

Symbolic violence occurs because of ignorance and dominant or regulated confessions. Symbolic principle is known and accepted, both by the master and the submissive. This symbolic principle is the way of language, thinking, work and act. Symbolic violence is institutionalized through an agreement that the submissive cannot do to the dominant.²⁷ Ritzer & Goodman discussed the concept of dominance in symbolic violence. "Domination is any relationship in which the dominant party (individual or collective) is managed to make the other submissive party (individual or collective) as a tool of his will and refused to recognize the subjectivity freedom of the submissive party."²⁸

Women as wives live it as a reasonable obedience. The impact of symbolic violence is subtle and invisible even to the victims themselves. This dominance is accomplished through symbolic means of communication and knowledge. It is possible that symbolic violence takes place through the ignorance, recognition or feelings of the victim.

Research Methods

This research uses qualitative approach. According to Husserl, humans have understanding and appreciation of every phenomenon that passes. Understanding and appreciation are very influential on their behavior. Phenomenology seeks to uncover, learn and understand a phenomenon as well as its unique context experienced by the individual to the level of "beliefs" of the concerned individual. Hence, to understand it, should be based on the point of view of paradigms and beliefs directly from the concerned individual as subjects (first

²⁵ Clare Chambers, *Sex, Culture, and Justice: The Limits of Choice*, (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008)

²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Dominasi Maskulin*, (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2010).

²⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Dominasi Maskulin*, 50.

²⁸ George Ritzer & Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media, 2004), 427.

hand experiences).²⁹

The informant of this research was chosen intentionally by the researcher. It is done by purposive sampling, where the selection of informants is determined based on special considerations. Methodologically, this technique can be interpreted as a process of sampling by first determining the samples to be taken, then the choosing the samples on the basis of certain goals as long as it does not deviate from the characteristics that had been set before.³⁰

The informants in this study consisted of two wives of terrorism perpetrators from the MIT group - Poso, Informant I, Umi Delima, wife of Santoso (Chairman of East Indonesia Mujahidin Group) and Umi Fadil, wife of Ali Kalora (Member of Santoso). The reason for choosing Santoso's wife as an informant in this research is because Umi Delima became the first woman to take part to join guerrilla in forest in Poso, Central Sulawesi. Umi Fadil is chosen because she was pregnant when the authority pursued and caught her. Her journey and her experience to follow her husband guerrilla in the forest in her condition are such an interesting subject in the study of the victims. Moreover, her life in the forest along with her current criminal justice process became a series of life (life-history) is important to be chosen to address the problem and to answer the research question.

Results and Analysis

Terrorist Wives as Victims

From the findings, in the course of their life (their life history) are found several indications that point out that they are victims. Yet without them realizing that there was a change in the period before their marriage, then the period of marriage where they were involve in the act of terrorism which made them victims.

Referring to the definition of a victim from the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power adopted by UN General Assembly Resolution No. 40/43, victims are individuals and groups who have suffered, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or denial of the fundamental rights, both because of the action (by the act) or through negligence (by omission). A person may be considered a victim despite their offender status, whether their offender is known, detained, prosecuted or convicted, and regardless of the family relationship between the

²⁹ Haris Herdiansyah, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif untuk Ilmu-ilmu Sosial*, (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2014).

³⁰ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif dan R.D.*, (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2008), 85.

perpetrator and the victim.

In relation to the above definition, both Umi Delima and Umi Fadil should be referred to as victims, since both of them suffered because of their husbands' involvement to the East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT) in Poso. They suffered both physically and mentally, including their livelihoods for the family. They are only asked to follow their husbands to the forest while their activities as a human being are very limited. They had nothing to do with the violence perpetrated by their husbands as a form of rebellion against Republic of Indonesia and their wish to establish the state of Daulah Islamiyah in Indonesia. Based on the interviews, they acknowledged that they do not know exactly why the terror group was established and the use of violence against law enforcement officers. What their husbands taught was only hate speech to non-Muslims and the apparatus which not an effort to change the state ideology from Pancasila to Shariah Islam.

Referring to the above mentioned understanding of the victim, hence the suffering experienced by the informants during their life journey as follow:

| Informant | Period of Time | Physical Abuse | Psychological and Emotional Abuse | Economic and Financial Abuse | Basic Human Rights Denial |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Umi Delima (Informant I) | Childhood to Adolescence | | √ | | |
| | During Marriage | | √ | √ | √ |
| | Involvement | | | √ | √ |
| Umi Fadil (Informant II) | Childhood to Adolescence | | | | |
| | During Marriage | | √ | √ | |
| | Involvement | | √ | | √ |

Umi Delima

Santoso wedded Umi Delima in an unregistered Islamic marriage (nikah siri) when she was younger than 16 years old. Santoso married a daughter that came far from his hometown with the help of an ustadzah, wife of ustadz at Madrasa (Pondok Pesantren) in Bima- West Nusa Tenggara, where Umi Delima went school. Based on the journey

of her life, as a girl she went to study in Islamic boarding school, hence she lived separately from her mother. Her parents were divorced. All of these made impact to her character. Her quietness and introversion are some of the effect. The pattern of socialization that was built when she was still in the school, starting from the most intimate socialization agent which is the family was not well established. Her tendency to be quite and lack of socializing did not end there. The community reacted when Umi Delima came home from Madrasa with a veil. Her community and her mother's family thought the veil was a strange and different habit.

In her childhood she experienced labeling and stigmatizing which not only came from the family and but also from the community. This certainly provided a memory in her reasoning regarding accepting differences. The lessons about aqidah, fiqh and other lessons in school were not in accordance with what she was experiencing, so a solitary and no association became a way out for Umi Delima in order to cope to the environment. The next adaptation that she experienced was doing the activity when she had school holiday by washing and helping do household chores in other people's homes. In addition to helping elderly, Umi Delima did not give much thought to the stigma given to her as a social reaction.

According to Goffman stigmatization is the nature of what is very clear and is supposed to have a great influence on the individual personality so that the individual is not able to act in the usual way. Such stigmatization becomes a barrier to full social acceptance, so that people can be cornered or feel cornered. In that condition, Umi Delima looked for different association groups which had similarity to her.³¹

In some theoretical studies of modern criminology, deviations are seen as a consequence of conflict of value, which means that individuals follow culturally justified but legal behavior by most societies. Umi Delima then chose to marry at a very young age, leaving her mother and sister in Bima. There was a conflict of value which Umi Delima considered and by marriage it became the right liberation solution so that she can be accepted in the society that she perceived as had the same characteristic with her. This meant that through marriage, her using niqab (veil) can be justified and accepted in her new community, rather than her former community in Bima.

After marrying Santoso, Umi Delima imagined that the marriage can improve her life. In reality, hijrah (act of moving) to Poso proved

³¹ Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963)

to bring nothing good for her. Umi Delima often got rejection from Santoso' family. Although she acknowledged that she did not recognize Santoso' first wife, Santoso' brother and sister did not want to accommodate her during Santoso run in the forest. Umi Delima previously lived in Pondok Pesantren known to her husband and his group. Other time, she rented several places and continued to move with the help of Ali Kalora' wife Umi Fadil. The money that Santoso gave to her was also very limited, at some point she needed to live in with the family of several members of her husband group.

Mythen, Walklate, & Khan research on "suspect community" found that counter-terrorism leaves behind community that were perceived as perpetrators of terrorism. Not only the main perpetrators but the youngsters in the community and the wives. Referring to the findings from the field, Umi Delima experienced the same thing when she was married to Santoso who was on Police Wanted List. She suffered stigmatization, alienation and violence.³² The interviews also confirmed that during the marriage and residence moving, Umi Delima was often not accepted in her husband's environment. Partly because she was the second wife and because of the unregistered marriage they had. Some assumed that she became a burden to other family members, some were also unwilling to accept her because Santoso' group became the target of the Police search. If they played role in her life, they thought they would experience the same thing. In her marriage, Umi Delima suffered psychological injury, economic loss and denial her right to life, such as not being free as a wife.

Furthermore, when Umi Delima was involved in Santoso' group Mujahidin of East Indonesia (MIT), she was asked to leave her child, Delima who was only 8 (eight) months old. Then, she was told to follow her husband's command with the logic that as a wife of a wanted person, she would also experience the same thing, i.e. arrested and tortured by the authority. So it was better to leave the child and go in hiding in the forest. In her journey, Umi Delima also faced dilemma of leaving Delima, as mentioned above, besides experiencing psychological and emotional abuse.

Umi Fadil

Umi Fadil worked on Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Church World Services (CWS) to help children recovery in Poso

³² Gabe Mythen, Sandra Walklate, & Fatima Khan, "I'm Muslim, But I'm Not Terrorist: Victimization, Risky Identities and the Performance of Safety", *The British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 49, Number 6 (November, 2009).

for over a year post-conflict, before she got married. Umi Fadil was married twice. In her first marriage, her husband was killed without any known cause. Her second marriage with Ali Kalora also went through taaruf process, but Umi Fadil' family and Ali' family met in the home and taaruf was done as Umi Fadil' wish.

During the marriage Umi Fadil received psychological and emotional disturbances not from her husband, but from the news of confusion in the community that said Ali was wanted by the police just like Santoso did. This happened because Santoso came from the same village with Umi Fadil and Ali also was familiar with Santoso through Umi Fadil. At first Umi Fadil did not see the close relationship between her husband and Santoso. Umi Fadil who had two houses both in Poso and Ambon (her husband's village), felt uneasy and restless when the news reached her. Ali himself no longer wanted to go to Poso to visit his house, so Umi Fadil had lived quite long in Ambon.

After living a few months in Poso and had experienced raid because it was thought that her husband Ali was with her. Umi Fadil received word from her husband, that he had joined Santoso in the forest. Umi Fadil has 3 children. Fadil is her first child from her first husband who had died, Ain and Kholid are her children with Ali.

Knowing her husband was in the forest with Santoso, Umi Fadil was confused. She did not know whether to be happy or sad. This happened because of the traumatic situation of the conflict she experienced, including the death of his first husband. Skepticism on the authorities also encompassed her reasoning. And so Umi Fadil accepted her situation being separated with her husband without the financial help provided by her husband. During the marriage and the time her husband spent in the forest, Umi Fadil got money from Santoso so that she was bound emotionally to help group Santoso group.

As a consequence, Umi Fadil indirectly took part in the Santoso group. Her direct involvement occurred when Santoso asked Umi Fadil to visit her husband in the forest because Umi Delima (Santoso' wife) and Umi Nurmi (Basri' wife) had also joined in the group.

Umi Fadil intended to only visit for two days because she had to take care of her three children, however when Umi Fadil visited her husband, she finally forced to join this group continuously because the ever increasing and tight authority search on the group, just like Santoso said. Umi Fadil certainly experienced psychological distress, having to live separately from her three children. She could only hear the news of her three sick children when she was in the forest. With a weak condition, Umi Fadil found eating difficulty and she even had no intention to live, because at that point, she had been in running from

the authority in the forest for more than a year. Umi Fadil experienced physical injury, broken bones even almost fell in a steep ravine because she was not ready and equipped with the guerrilla in the forest. She also claimed no interested in weapons and assembling bombs. During the journey, she just cried and looking for ways to get down. But this did not work and her effort was futile. Moreover, Umi Fadil became pregnant while in the forest and continued to run with her husband' group. Without intensive care, Umi Fadil followed her husband will.

The above description of injury, the pressure and other losses which terrorist wives experienced then their involvement in the act of terrorism indicate that both of them are victims. As research that was conducted by Tauhidillah, these wives are basically anonymous and neglected victims.³³ They are anonymous because they are not included in the Government's policy regarding their position and the protection that they desperately need to have. They get no protection, they get label and stigma instead. So they just construct themselves as what are labels people put on them.

Meanwhile, they are not aware that they are victims. Victims over their position and structure as a wife. They had to do their responsibility as wives who need to take care of their own domestic except when they had to stay with their husband group in the forest. The group thought that if they were caught, they could endanger the existence of Mujahideen of Eastern Indonesia (MIT) group. There was change existence of self-concept to these wives. This was experienced by Umi Delima and Umi Fadil so they position became worse as symbolic victims.

Involvement of the Terrorist Wives as a Multiple Victimization

Elias stated that the source of victimization which became the root of the problem which means blaming the victims was sourced from the institution, the perpetrator, the victim himself and the existing system.³⁴ This study then analyzes that the source of victimization comes from the perpetrators of terrorism crimes, namely their husbands and some family negligence that is done so that they become victims in disguised marriage.

Victimization that sourced from the husband for instance is a form of acceptance of the value implanted through the power gap between

³³ Muhammad Alfath Tauhidillah, "Korban sebagai Dampak dari TP Terorisme: Yang Anonim dan Terlupakan", *Jurnal Kriminologi Indonesia*, Volume 5, Number 2 (August, 2009).

³⁴ Robert Elias, *The Politics of Victimization: Victims, Victimology and Human Rights*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

a husband and a wife. The dominance of a husband is so attached then make the values and norms invested is internalized. Ashforth & Mael explained that internalization is the incorporation of values, attitudes, and whatnot in oneself as a principle (I believe).³⁵ Believed values and norms are much more attached to the individual than the individual's own identity.

Multiple Victimization on Umi Delima

Taking Umi Delima experiences to consideration, she indirectly recruited by Santoso through marriage. The first victimization begins when Umi Delima was still in Madrasa (Pesantren) where the veil she had chosen to wear was considered a member of terrorist group. The second victimization happened when his brother as her guardian allowed her to be married to man who was wanted by the police. Moreover, marrying Santoso became a starting point for the recruitment of women as wives and their involvement in terrorism. Eileen McDonald found that this pattern of wives being recruited by their husbands, brothers, fathers or sisters has not been unusual for European recruits into al-Qaida.³⁶ However, Umi Delima certainly did not realized this, because the appeal of marriage and the idea that though marriage she could help reduce her mother burden.

In her marriage to Santoso, he played more dominant role in determining where Umi Delima had to go and stay. This had happened also because Umi Delima age. She was very young when she got married. In this case, Umi Delima familiarized to accept that man (husband) is the owner of the truth. Walklate described as "various 'victimizing relationships' have structural properties that shape their duration over time and space in ways that cannot be entirely reduced merely to the subsequent reinforcement of a priori individual risk."³⁷ Male dominance is so thick when it comes to defining the attitude and his wife's behavior. Referring to Bourdieu, Susanti explained that the dominance of men (husbands) occurs through discourse (in family relationships and in community). Male dominance is happening, sometimes regarded as a natural and acceptable, but in truth, it is actually violence.³⁸ Boerdieu referred to this as symbolic violence.³⁹

³⁵ Blake E. Ashfort & Fred Mael, "Social Identity Theory and the Organization", *The Academy of Management Review*, Volume 14, Number 1 (January, 1989).

³⁶ R. Kim Cragin & Sara A. Daly, *Women As Terrorists*, (California: Abc-Clio, 2009), 40.

³⁷ Sandra Walklate, *Imaging the Victims of Crime*, (New York: Open University Press, 2007), 79.

³⁸ Vinita Susanti, "Pembunuhan oleh Istri dalam Konteks Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (KDRT): Studi terhadap Empat Terpidana Perempuan di Lembaga Pemasyarakatan Wanita Bandung", *Disertasi Program Doktor Departemen Sosiologi Universitas Indonesia*, (2015).

³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Dominasi Maskulin*,

In this imbalance power of relations, Umi Delima must obey her husband's decision on her life and family. Seeing what Santoso ordered to his wife, Umi Delima is an evidence of domination and symbolic violence that are made:

1. She had to leave Delima and left her with the Santoso's sister.
2. She had to join Santoso to the forest.
3. She had to take contraceptive pills while she was in the forest.

Umi Delima recognized her inner conflict when she was asked to leave Delima. The other outcomes after all these events passed were exclusion from society, alienation because of her status (not only as the widow of a terrorist but also a former convict terrorists). She has the same status with other terrorist prisoners. Umi Delima is not the only one who received stigma and label, her daughter, Delima and her other children will experience this effect. Meanwhile, with the patterns of socialization and behavior during the course of her life shaped Umi Delima for choose people into groups (peer). The next prediction is that Delima will have the same mindset as her mother. Cragin and Daly stated that in the end, women sometimes teach their sons and daughters that terrorism is worthwhile and justified, suggesting an informal role of recruitment, even if terrorist leaders do not consciously recognize or acknowledge it.⁴⁰ In her interview, Umi Delima said that she will choose education for her children with the emphasis on Islamic sharia education rather than teaching in public schools. This pattern would be predicted to have a major impact in Umi Delima life. Umi Delima strongly rejected education that is approved by the government, knowledge of which was formed by Santoso to her will certainly effect on her parenting to her daughter, Delima.

Amanda Third looked at the great role of the media in determining the involvement of women as perpetrators of terrorism who joined the group the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA).⁴¹ Media then constructed that there was double deviations towards the woman. Social needs and comforts of life will only be an unfulfilled discourse in their lives and a number of other rejection makes repeated and layered victimization.

If this keeps growing unabated, social groups from the past or the Islamic militant group will get closer even more to her. Unfortunately, if the choice falls back on a group of former members of her husband or other terror groups will be the amplification of the oppression towards women as a wife, which then she will be even more caught up in terrorism in greater scale.

⁴⁰ R. Kim Cragin & Sara A. Daly, *Women As Terrorists*,

⁴¹ Amanda Third, *Gender and The Political*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Multiple Victimization on Umi Fadil

Umi Fadil was brought by her husband to participate in the forest around July 2015, after preceded by Umi Delimas who were asked by Santoso to join him since January 2015. Umi Fadil was never originally agreed to participate in guerrilla in the forest with Ali. Fadil Umi arrival into the forest was intended just to visit her husband for two days.

Since joining her husband and his MIT group in the forest, Fadil Umi was separated from her children and continued to cry. It was not uncommon for her to suffer physical injury because her condition did not suitable for guerrilla warfare in the forest. This was worsen by her pregnancy. Her body was weak because it was difficult to eat hence this slowed down the MIT group' movement. Despite her pregnancy, Santoso still barred Umi Fadil to go from the forest fearing that she might uncover the existence of the group. Unconsciously, Umi Fadil experiencing the same thing that is symbolic violence. Basically symbolic violence is the application of the above categories of thought and perception of social agents at that time. It is a merger of the subconscious structures that tend to perpetuate the action of the dominator. In some views, symbolic violence is stronger than physical violence because of the type of violence is in the mode of action and structural knowledge of an individual and the legitimacy of the social order in this case is MIT group.

Since joining this group, Umi Fadil was miserable. She had to endure a lot of thing. Apart from separation from her three children, she had inner conflict not to intervene. She had to tend to meet her husband biological need despite being pregnant in the middle of the forest, while the group had to keep running from the authority and firefight which became a custom. The next impact of victimization was when she experienced judgment that put her position in the same level as her husband, which to the date was still wanted by the police. She was arrested in Rutan Brimob and again parted with her three children. Additionally, she gave birth behind the bar, under surveillance of the apparatus. Muqotil, her fourth child got used to a life behind the restriction of the bars and rationed food. There was limited space for her child, the demand of greater space for her infant to grow and develop were not met. Umi Fadil often felt psychological and emotional stress.

Eddyono expressed the need for restitution to covert victims, where it needed to rebuild situation of the victim before the incident.⁴²

⁴² Supriyadi Widodo Eddyono, *Minimnya Hak Korban dalam RUU Pemberantasan Terorisme Usulan Rekomendasi atas RUU Pemberantasan terorisme di Indonesia (DIM terkait Hak Korban Terorisme)*, (Jakarta: Institute for Criminal Justice Reform, 2012).

Quietness and comfort of the environment must be guaranteed by the state against the wife and child perpetrators of terrorism. Victimization that they experienced was not finished until they were named as a suspect. Life experiences and also their children would have their own stamp in life and society. The need for their presences to be recognized were still unfulfilled as Umi Delima and her children. Moreover, Umi Fadil husband is still at large until today. Then it is possible, Umi Fadil life is still far from peace and comfort.

Conclusions

Based on the findings and analysis can be summed up, that is: (1) Women as wives were involved because of the husband are a victim of physical, psychological, financial and other basic rights. (2) Women as wives of perpetrators of terrorism experienced victimization in the long process starting from the early days of marriage until the time of engagement. (3) State is insensitive and does not have a bias against women, terrorist wives.

Referring to the above conclusion, this study recommend to put terrorist wives as victims, so that if they are proved to be involved in criminal acts of terrorism, it does not necessarily means it is their decision. Caution is needed in determining the status of terrorist wives. As for the case of purposeful marriage (without descendants) to carry out amaliyah (in the form of suicide bombings) it is necessary to do further research.

In the case of this study, there should be more research conducted if they are to be named as suspects. The treatment of terrorist wives also needs to be sensitive to the victims, so as not only viewing them as real actors. A holistic approach should be done seriously in some branch of sciences, such as opening the opportunity for the wives to have open and moderate communication and socialization so they can interact and have other activities. During this time, the handling of the wives were still passive, by merely giving them economic aids, hence they still did not have a center of activity, limited access to follow a moderate study groups.⁴³ They have more interaction with their husbands or virtual world through social media and easily influenced by hoax news.

The current coaching and mentoring that is done by BNPT have not a clear policy standards. They are still relying on the goodwill of the policy owner. The result of this is inconsistencies. On the other hand, plans to form a counter-radicalization SOP to terrorist wives and wives

⁴³ Jane Huckerbery, "When Women Become Terrorist", *The New York Times*, (January, 21 2015).

of prisoners of terrorism who then were involved is not yet seen to be compiled. BNPT as government representative and coordinator for counter-terrorism in Indonesia needs to consider this, in order for the terrorist wives not to fall on the same circle after serving their sentence verdict. Nuraniyah mentioned that DapurUmmahat Aseer, charity that supports widows of terrorists or female jihadists really intends to do next amaliyah.⁴⁴

In this study, it is recommended a moderate education that offers peace and tolerance to be conducted and encouraged by the Government. Not only at national (public) school but also in faith-based schools. Examination of the curriculum, teaching materials and textbooks need to be structurally by the State through the relevant ministries. In addition, providing the opportunity for girls to get the right education equal to boys in all areas of Indonesia will also minimize the tendency to be a terrorist wife who are then involved in terrorism. With these efforts, there should be early awareness implanted to promote peace and conflict resolution.

In addition, children and terrorist wives also require and need social rehabilitation program and de-radicalization, especially those convicted of crimes of terrorism. Then, the government also must show concern for creating real justice for these wives and children of terrorists. Eddyono called it a guarantee non-repetition of victimization resulting from the case. Repetition of victimization in this case could be expulsion from one area to another where they are not welcome in the neighborhood and community because their husbands labeled as terrorists, including themselves. Some of the recommendations proposed in this study is to support the de-radicalization efforts towards maximizing the wives, namely:⁴⁵

1. Deradicalization efforts are still hampered by the limited of deradicalization officers and relying heavily on external cooperation. It's time for BNPT to recruit new deradicalization personnel with appropriate competence to involve directly into the field as an agent even though they are the agents of their country should have the disguise of non-state actors. This is intended to build easier trust rather than them being introduced as government representatives who tend to get the apathy from the wives. We recommend for dealing with the terrorist wives, deradicalization needed female

⁴⁴ Nava Nuraniyah, "Mothers to Bombers: The Evolution of Indonesian Women Extremists", *Institute of Conflict and Policy Analysis*, (January, 17 2017).

⁴⁵ Supriyadi Widodo Eddyono, *Minimnya Hak Korban dalam RUU Pemberantasan Terorisme Usulan Rekomendasi atas RUU Pemberantasan terorisme di Indonesia (DIM terkait Hak Korban Terorisme)*, Jakarta: Institute for Criminal Justice Reform, 2012.

- officers (ahwat) so they can develop empathy in friendship. Therefore, the mentoring endeavor to these terrorist wives is not impeded on the issue of mahram or not.
2. In addition to building a necessary trust, deradicalization officers who are recruited need to create a psychological bond as well. Just like the quick respond system, it prioritizes the urging needs of the wives however rigid bureaucracy constrained this long enough and cannot meet their diversified demands. The program is to maintain the continuity of their alliances as a vulnerable group of victims is not only to provide assistance and sort out the needs that can be addressed and cannot be addressed. For example, the educational needs of terrorist children. They are entitled to get a decent education and freedom from exclusion. The de-radicalization officer should be able to give them this. As consequences, there will not be charity from terrorist network who can approach them and offer comfort and peace in their life, especially offering free education for terrorist children through their educational institutions that are allegedly become the place for recruitment of terrorist groups.
 3. Conducting a persuasive approach not only to the wives but also to their children in the framework of the identification and mapping of their group. Thus the deradicalization officers must have an idea of the values and norms that are taught their husbands or fathers. On the other hand, in the span of the de-radicalization officer closeness to these terrorist wives and children, indirectly they will get right to gather data on the network of their husband, which they may know as a friend of the husband or their abi (father). Moreover, this persuasive approach can be done by opening their horizons in relation to the outside world (in general), for example, justice, welfare and legal issues faced by their husband (if the husband was arrested). So that the information which the officers give can answer their questions. Generally, they have limited knowledge in the field of law and as a result they consider the government judge their husband cases as unfair and unjust.
 4. Both the wife and the children can be a deradicalization agent, only if the de-radicalization officer has managed to provide guidance to these families within a certain period. Another advantages is without knowingly the de-radicalization officer has conducted awareness and make change. For example, when they have not had the knowledge or follow the moderate teachings who supports the wife' role in the household and building a family with the

principle of equality of deliberation.⁴⁶ This implies the existence of a balanced position in determining whether a decision on the level of agreement. If this the wives realize this knowledge, it surely will change the pattern of their thought.

5. Deradicalization officers need to be guaranteed of their rights, security and identity when they are doing their job. These rights and security can be fulfilled and regulated by BNPT." They are considered equally guilty or more so-called "wife of a terrorist." In all sense, both of the roles are actually victims.

Demystifying model in the development of consciousness that they are oppressed and neglected victims needs to take place in several stages. Furthermore, religious based approach is a reference that cannot be removed in effort of raising consciousness to elevate the women class and position as the wives of the perpetrators of terrorism who have erroneous interpretation of religion.

National Counter Terrorism Agency as a representative of the government should begin to take into consideration the de-radicalization and feminist based counter-radicalization, thus not only use the terminology soft approach as a general effort undertaken. Specific actions to embrace them with a feminist perspective may be an alternative to the neglected problems of managing the terrorists wives and the mystification of women's involvement in terrorist activities.

⁴⁶ Nasaruddin Umar, *Ketika Fikih Membela Perempuan*, (Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2014).

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