

Counterterrorism Cooperation Strategy Of The National Counterterrorism Agency With The Ministry Of Defense In Tackling Female Terrorists In Indonesia

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Abstract

The relationship between women and terrorism has undergone a significant shift in perspective. Initially, women were associated with being victims of terrorism, but now they play a role in various activities within terrorism. As a result, the burden of rehabilitating female terrorist inmates is disproportionately placed on correctional institutions. Therefore, National Counterterrorism Agency recognizes the importance of implementing mitigation, prevention, and deradicalization programs to have a more effective impact. This study uses qualitative research methods, including interviews and document analysis, and data validation through triangulation. The aim of this research is to examine the implementation, inhibiting and supporting factors, as well as the cooperation strategy between National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense in countering female terrorism in Indonesia. The results of this research first show the implementation of national defense in combating female terrorism in Indonesia through the implementation of the National Defense Awareness Program and increasing cooperation with local governments, TNI, Polri, and other parties. Second, regulatory obstacles are the inhibiting factor, while the supporting factor is the collaboration and coordination with relevant institutions to facilitate the handling of female terrorism in Indonesia. Third, the cooperation strategy of deradicalization between National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense prepares and anticipates potential terrorist threats that can endanger national security, public safety, state sovereignty, and the integrity of all regions of Indonesia..

Keywords: *Deradicalization, Counterterrorism, Defense, Strategy, Women Terrorist*

INTRODUCTION

Today, the relationship between women and terrorism has undergone an important paradigm shift. Indeed, women who were originally thought to be victims of terrorism now have a role in activities in terrorism. The roles in question include supplying and sending terrorist needs and equipment, recruiting, paramedics, supporters, to become suicide bombers and frontline fighters in terrorist activity areas (Sjoberg, 2018). Women and acts of terrorism are very clearly identifiable within groups such as Left Wing Extremist (LWE) in India with ethno-nationalist backgrounds. In addition, women are heavily involved in religious-nationalist movements under the extremist militant groups of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.

Hartana (2017) cites Harmon's estimate that 30% of international terrorists today are women. Indonesian women have also been targeted by terrorists as potential future terrorists in relation to the role of female terrorists in the global terrorist constellation. This is in line with Petrus Reinhard Golose's (2015) claim that "terrorists began recruiting women to join acts of terror in Indonesia" using online media. The women who had been recruited were then given a key role in the conflict being waged by ISIS, a terrorist group. Law and Human Rights researcher of the Institute for Economic and Social Research, Education and Information as well as a lecturer at the Faculty of Law, Universitas Brawijaya Malang Milda Istiqomah in Kompas.com, women in carrying out acts of terror have increased in recent years (Naufal, 2021)

Women are often more influenced by emotions than logic. This uniqueness of women has been studied by ISIS for malicious purposes. Emotional character makes women fully dedicated in their work, making them vulnerable to being recruited into terrorism. As a result, terrorist groups like Islamic State are now using this term to refer to the equality of women and men in carrying out their pioneering role in carrying out suicide attacks, including involving their children. (Antara News, 2020). This is in line with what was stated by the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in April 2022, when they signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the National Counterterrorism Agency. The Minister of PPPA added that women and children are very vulnerable to exposure in terrorism communities. Being victims and perpetrators are one of these vulnerabilities. Therefore, in order to combat terrorism in Indonesia, a special strategy is needed for women and children. (Ministry of PPPA, 2022).

In Indonesia, the first terrorism case involving women was first identified in 2004. At that time, the Special Anti-Terror Detachment 88 of the National Police arrested the wife of terrorist Noordin Muhammad Top, Munifatun. From the results of the investigation, it is known that Munifatun has a sympathetic role in terrorist activities (Egy, 2021). This can be identified in the suicide bombing at the Jakarta Presidential Palace involving a woman, Dian Yulia Novi. In addition, Fatmawati Mizani and Ika Puspitasari as well as several other migrant workers who were affected by radical understanding (Adyatama, 2021). In general, there is still male dominance in terrorism cases compared to women's involvement. However, the increase in women's involvement in terrorism activities shows a significant upward trend (Yudhistira, 2021).

In recent years, terrorism cases involving women have tended to increase. The National Counterterrorism Agency believes it is very important to implement deradicalism prevention and mitigation programs because it can have a broad impact on all levels of society from upstream and downstream. From the explanation above, it can be understood that women need to be paid special attention to in relation to terrorism. In this regard, organizations tasked with combating terrorism, including the National Counterterrorism Agency, carry out deradicalization activities. In line with this, in overcoming acts of terrorism, not only the National Counterterrorism Agency makes efforts to overcome acts of terrorism in Indonesia, but the authority to counter terrorism is also the task of military agencies, namely the Indonesian National Army as mandated by Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army in Article 7 paragraph (2) letter b number 3 expressly states that one of the tasks of Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP) is to overcome acts of terrorism. In addition, the involvement of the Indonesian National Army directly in its authority to carry out enforcement against terrorism crimes is contained in Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Terrorism Crimes into Law Article 43 I paragraphs (1), (2), and paragraph (3).

In this research, there is relevance to the research conducted (Kurnia & Sukabdi, 2021) that women's identity in terrorism is often associated as victims, but women's involvement in terrorism has increased with diverse roles, both as facilitators, recruiters, nurses, couriers, suicide bombers, and frontline fighters in terrorist actions. Although jihad has limited women's involvement, the presence of ISIS in 2014 has increased women's involvement in terrorism as jihadists. Women are given various passive and active roles such as being terrorists. Violent behavior by women is said to be a deviation due to gender stereotypes in society and shifts the perception that women are victims. Using a qualitative descriptive method with literature study to describe the identity and roles of women in terrorism using theoretical analysis of Sheldon

Stryker's Identity Theory (1980) in dealing with women's prominent identities. The prominent identities of women are still not considered as main figures in terrorism, so women are often considered victims. Women in terrorism are characterized by roles that affect their social behavior according to the roles they play as terrorists. The presence of various identities of women will impact terrorism handling policies aimed at women, and they must consider their roles and identities proportionate to their prominent identities.

RESEARCH METHODS

Qualitative research is used in the methodology of this study. The data collection techniques used are interviews and documentation studies. By using confirmation and comparison with additional data sources, triangulating the authenticity of the data helps to guarantee that it can be accounted for. In qualitative research, the validity of data is generally checked throughout the process, from data collection to conclusions. (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The threat of female terrorists has become a special concern of the Indonesian government in the fight against terrorism in the country. Female terrorists can threaten the country's defense in several ways: First, female terrorists can commit acts of terror that endanger the security and stability of the country. Terrorist acts committed by female terrorists can be suicide attacks in strategic places, terrorist attacks in vital places or kidnapping someone to demand a certain offer. Such acts of terrorism can cause material losses, human lives and damage Indonesia's image in the eyes of the world. Second, female terrorists can spread terrorist propaganda and try to get society to support terrorist ideology. Terrorist propaganda can be carried out through the dissemination of misleading information, social media or direct appeals to the public. If this terrorist propaganda succeeds in spreading widely and affecting society, it can cause chaos and instability of society and threaten the integrity and sovereignty of the country.

Women become terrorists because women want to be equal to men. Then, 3 decades after the Iranian War of Independence, Al-Qaeda and the Taliban severely restricted the status of women. In fact, women are very useful in jihadist movements. In the end, ISIS became a turning point for women's participation. This was the beginning when ISIS leaders saw that women had more potential. Women are used as a force of jihad, changing the narrative. They use religion as a shield. Then there are repeat offenders who show up because there is a process. The data I have shows that the total recidivism rate in Indonesia is about 10% of the total. Recidivism is human behavior, not all criminals can be rehabilitated, it is almost impossible due to many factors.

In the Indonesian context, interest in women's participation in ISIS and other radical movements has always been associated with the construction of women as weak human beings and a patriarchal system that lacks the courage to commit acts of violence through acts of terrorism as men do. Women's Aspirations and Awareness to Establish an Islamic State (Caliphate) Based on Islamic Religious Law (Marcoes, 2015). Terrorism is a serious threat to Indonesia's stability and security. Terrorist attacks can cause property damage, death and trauma to affected communities. Terrorist acts can also disrupt the security, order, and integrity of any state or nation. In addition, terrorism can create tensions and conflicts between groups of people,

especially when terrorist acts are ideologically or religiously motivated, can distort bilateral relations and affect bilateral relations with other countries.

The hindrance factor in the deradicalization cooperation strategy between the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense to deal with female terrorists in Indonesia is the problem faced and faced by the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense. The strategy of deradicalization cooperation between the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Department of Defense is hampered by several factors. First, there are no rules on how to treat female and male terrorist prisoners. As a result, more and more female terrorist inmates are disproportionately burdened in prisons. To date, there is no consensus regarding the most effective and efficient risk measurement tool for use with terrorist prisoners in prison, whether men, women or children.

The reason why women become terrorists is that they want to be equal to men. Then, in the three decades after the Iranian revolution, Al-Qaeda and the Taliban severely limited the space for women. However, women were very helpful in the jihad movement. Finally, ISIS became a turning point for women to get involved. This was the beginning for ISIS leaders to see that women had greater potential. Women were used as a force for jihad by changing the narrative. They used religion as a shield. Then, there are recidivists who emerge because of a process. The data I have shows that around 10% of the total number of recidivists in Indonesia. Recidivism is someone's behavior, we cannot change all criminals to become harmless again, it is almost impossible because there are many factors. Of the former prisoners that I interviewed, three of them are still in prison and make terrorist acts as their career, meaning they will continue to be involved in this issue until they are old and remain in this culture (Directorate of Deradicalization National Counterterrorism Agency Analyst Ardi Putra Prasetya, direct interview, September 19, 2022).

This is consistent with previous research used in this study, which found that ISIS utilized social media and online messaging platforms to recruit potential followers. Among those drawn to ISIS-style online propaganda were female migrant workers from Indonesia. With dark pasts, far from religion, and living abroad with a free lifestyle, migrant workers sought redemption by pledging allegiance to the ISIS caliphate. The radicalization process began on Facebook, and some led to online marriages with fellow ISIS extremist supporters through encrypted messaging platforms like Telegram. The presence of women had a positive impact on the implementation of terrorist acts and the migration of jihadis to the ISIS region. Female migrant workers with stable income, foreign language skills, and experience living abroad were willing to provide financial support, recruit, act as intermediaries, and even become suicide bombers. The determination of male jihadis to support ISIS, combined with significant contributions from female migrant workers, has resulted in a mutualistic symbiosis that has significantly increased the ISIS terrorist movement in Indonesia (Subhan, 2020)..

There are regulatory constraints in its implementation in the form of legal problems that hinder the eradication of terrorism. The National Counterterrorism Agency has passed Law Number 5 of 2018 which is very powerful, but there is still much to be done. Among these constraints is the institutional problem of the National Counterterrorism Agency due to its wide deradicalization reach and large area. Moreover, the participation of other ministries and institutions in deradicalization is still lacking. Another major obstacle is the issue of ideology. This is the main obstacle in program implementation and communication. To overcome this, I suggest taking a three-action approach: head, hand, and heart, which is to provide jobs and jobs, take care of families, children, and BPJS, and slowly enter the ideology.

The obstacle for the Ministry of Defense, especially the Indonesian National Army, is that they already have Law Number 3 of 200 concerning Military Operations Other Than War

(OMSP). This will help strengthen counter-terrorism measures in Indonesia. However, the emphasis of Law 5 is on the eradication of criminal acts of terrorism. There is the expression "criminal act of terrorism" which means this is the realm of law enforcement, namely the realm of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia. In this case, the Indonesian National Army plays a role when the Indonesian National Police asks for help or needs something from the Indonesian National Army to deter acts of terrorism that it can use. The Indonesian National Army can play a more active role, but there is no solid legal basis or specific derivative law to regulate this.

The Ministry of Defense has a role in addressing the issue of female terrorism in Indonesia. According to them, the role of the Ministry of Defense in addressing the issue of female terrorism in Indonesia is through the national character building policy carried out by national defense efforts, namely by strengthening the implementation of the National Awareness Development Program (PKBN), increasing cooperation with local governments and other relevant parties in the implementation of national awareness building, assisting relevant ministries and agencies in the development of civic education and increasing the role of mass media in shaping the national character, as well as encouraging relevant ministries and agencies in efforts to improve regulations and the social, cultural, political, legal, and economic systems as one way to change the mindset of the Indonesian society which is the basis of the national character building process (Sub-Director of National Security Awareness Development, Directorate of Strategy, Directorate General of Defense Strategy, Ministry of Defense, Agung Karyanto, direct interview, September 28, 2022).

The role of the Ministry of Defense in addressing the issue of female terrorism in Indonesia is a very important matter. Counterterrorism is closely related to the strategy of maintaining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Indonesia as well as the safety of its citizens. Initially, the Indonesian National Army Special Operations Command was a concept introduced by the Chief of Presidential Staff, General (Ret) Moeldoko. According to Moeldoko, the idea of forming a trimatra unit needed to be revived, as the problem of terrorism was a current threat. Indonesian National Army Special Operations Command was established by Moeldoko when he was serving as the Commander of the Indonesian National Army in 2015. The unit is a combination of special forces from three Indonesian National Army branches, namely the Army's Sat-81 Gultor Kopassus, the Navy's Denjaka Marinir, and the Air Force's Sat-Bravo-90 Paskhas. The legal umbrella for the establishment of Indonesian National Army Special Operations Command is Presidential Regulation No. 42 of 2019.

Indonesian National Army Special Operations Command, which is tasked with carrying out special operations against selected strategic targets and activities to support special operations that require high speed and success in order to safeguard national interests both within and outside the Indonesian territory in support of Indonesian National Army 's main tasks. Indonesian National Army Special Operations Command has a counteraction unit that consists of soldiers from three Matras, namely Satuan 81 Kopassus, Denjaka, and Satbravo 90. These three Indonesian National Army anti-terrorism forces are ready to respond to terrorism threats that occur in various regions of Indonesia, including terrorism threats that occur abroad that threaten Indonesian citizens and Indonesian interests abroad. However, the implementation of Indonesian National Army Special Operations Command in combating female terrorists in Indonesia is currently still not significant because it is directly handled by National Counterterrorism Agency and there is no regulation given to Indonesian National Army Special Operations Command in dealing with female terrorists in Indonesia. So, Indonesian National Army Special Operations Command only conducts programmed and scheduled exercises involving Satgultor TNI in various regions of Indonesia, as well as various forms of building

simulations commonly used by terrorist groups to achieve their goals. For selected strategic targets and national vital objects, direct training is conducted on targets that support such capabilities. Therefore, the strategy of cooperation between the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense in countering female terrorists in Indonesia aims to reduce the number of women involved in terrorist activities and prevent radicalization through a holistic approach involving various parties. This includes efforts to increase awareness and understanding of the risks of radicalization, increase security and intelligence capacity, and provide effective deradicalization and reintegration programs for women involved in terrorist activities. Indonesian National Army's ability to destroy terrorism threats can strengthen the efforts to combat them and is linked to threats to national sovereignty.

Among the constraints of the deradicalization cooperation strategy between the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense to deal with female terrorists in Indonesia are several. First, there are no regulations or rules that affect the TNI Koopssus in carrying out deradicalization activities. As a result, more and more female terrorist inmates are disproportionately burdened in prisons. Second, there are regulatory obstacles in the form of legal problems that hinder the eradication of terrorism. National Counterterrorism Agency has passed Law No. 5 of 2018 which is very powerful, but there is still much to be done. Among these constraints is the institutional problem of the National Counterterrorism Agency due to its wide deradicalization reach and large area. Third, the involvement of other ministries and agencies in deradicalization is still lacking. Fourth, material barriers, ideological issues, are the main obstacles to program implementation and communication, and the supporting factor is cooperation between institutions. The conclusions about the barriers and supporting factors of the deradicalization cooperation strategy between the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense to counter female terrorists in Indonesia show that the obstacles are more than supporting factors, I understand. Therefore, a deradicalization cooperation strategy is needed between the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense to deal with female terrorists in Indonesia, and this deradicalization cooperation program, can be maximized to target Indonesian female terrorists.

Developing the right strategy is essential to provide guidelines and procedures for dealing with the situation and conditions of the evolving strategic environment. Strategy assumes that the future is unpredictable, but developments in the strategic environment can be studied and predicted by formulating appropriate solutions. Afthur F. Lykke (1998) explains that strategies can be implemented by applying objectives, methods, and means in a strategic environment to achieve the desired goals.

Arthur F. Lykke, a strategist, explained the relationship between the three components of strategy, namely ways, means and ends, namely goals:

a Ends

Ends, is the goal, vision and mission or object to be achieved which requires clarity and proper analysis so as to determine the effective and efficient use of ways and means. In this case, the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense have the common goal of a deradicalization cooperation strategy between the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense in accordance with the law that discusses the ideology of the Indonesian nation regarding state defense efforts such as the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila. Then there is Law No. 34 of 20004 concerning the Indonesian National Army As for the ends (objectives) of the counterterrorism cooperation strategy of the National Counterterrorism Agency with the Ministry of Defense is to eradicate terrorism in Indonesia and maintain and protect Indonesia's territorial integrity, state sovereignty, and the safety of everyone from all dangers, both local and foreign.

b Ways

State efforts to combat the threat of terrorism are carried out by establishing strategies that can counter the threat. The infrastructure and facilities used to defend the country from the threat of terrorism are counterterrorism cooperation of the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense in tackling female terrorists in Indonesia. The cooperation of the National Counterterrorism Agency with the Ministry of Defense is to combine the capabilities of each agency, then it is carried out by combining the policies of each agency in dealing with the threat of terrorism. Cooperation between the Ministry of Defense and the National Counterterrorism Agency is carried out with coordination in policymaking on the involvement of the TNI in overcoming terrorism. The National Counterterrorism Agency is the leading sector in countering terrorism, while the Ministry of Defense, which oversees the TNI, is the operational implementing element in the field. The best course of action in preventing potential terrorist atrocities is cooperation in addressing terrorist hazards. The capability and cohesion of efforts to deal with the threat of terrorism can function more smoothly with the cooperation of other agencies tasked with dealing with terrorism. The National Counterterrorism Agency is unable to address the threat of terrorism alone. The presence of the TNI in cooperation with these various institutions is very important if the impact of terrorist activities endangers the national security, territorial integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, or the safety of its residents.

c Means

Deradicalization is a means of reducing radical understanding or activities towards people or groups of terrorist perpetrators or sympathizers and people identified as being exposed to such radical understandings or activities. When viewed from a broader aspect, deradicalization is a set of efforts to change radical beliefs or dogmas into non-radical ones. This is done with diverse approaches, it can be by the method of religious, social, cultural, educational, etc. approaches. Deradicalization offers attention to the families of terrorist perpetrators in addition to terrorist inmates. Some deradicalization initiatives offer financial assistance to spouses and families of terrorist inmates to help them survive. All parties, including mothers, wives, families, religious leaders, psychologists, and psychiatrists, can participate in deradicalization programs. The deradicalization approach outside of prison is achieved through identification, counter-deradicalization coaching, monitoring and evaluation. On the other hand, deradicalization in prisons goes through the phases of identification, rehabilitation, reeducation, resocialization, monitoring to evaluation. The object of deradicalization inside the prison is prisoners involved in terrorism cases, while deradicalization outside the prison is carried out for individuals and groups identified as being exposed to radical understandings that lead to acts of terrorism (Kamaludin, 2021). Related to the function of deradicalization, the National Counterterrorism Agency carries out activities against radical ideological propaganda, prevention of radical ideology, implementation of reeducation and resocialization programs. Deradicalization is a program with many objectives focused on addressing the problem of terrorism as a whole by combating it, preventing the process of radicalization, preventing provocations, spreading hatred, and hostility between religious people to reject the understanding of terror, as well as enriching the comparative treasures of different understandings.

National Counterterrorism Agency, in collaboration with the Ministry of Defense, has a mission to prevent terrorism, deradicalize individuals, enforce counterterrorism measures, and engage in international cooperation in order to address the issue of female terrorists in Indonesia.

National Counterterrorism Agency 's long-term goal is to prevent, enforce, and deradicalize. The methods used by National Counterterrorism Agency include counter-radicalization through education involving women, deradicalization in correctional facilities, and transforming radical ideas into non-existent ones. The means used by National Counterterrorism Agency include legal regulations, synergy with related agencies, enhancement of national defense posture, support for National Counterterrorism Agency, and institutional enhancement in counterterrorism efforts (Directorate of Deradicalization Community Analyst of the National Counterterrorism Agency, Ardi Putra Prasetya, personal interview, September 19, 2022.). This is in line with interviews conducted with various officials under the Indonesian Armed Forces' Headquarters as part of the TNI Anti-Terror Unit, which revealed that the deradicalization cooperation strategy used by The National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense to address female terrorists in Indonesia has the primary goal of safeguarding national interests from terrorism threats. Methods used to achieve this goal include pursuing terrorist groups, regular exercises, coordination and communication with related agencies, and the use of information and communication technology. The means used in this strategy include legal frameworks, national defense posture, support for National Counterterrorism, and institutional efforts in counterterrorism. From the above discussion, it can be concluded that Arthur F. Lykke's theory of strategy comprises three important elements: ends, ways, and means. In the context of counterterrorism in Indonesia, National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense work together in a deradicalization cooperation strategy with the primary goal of eradicating terrorism and preserving national sovereignty. The TNI's ability to destroy terrorism threats can strengthen counterterrorism efforts and is linked to threats against national sovereignty

CONCLUSION

The main objectives of the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Ministry of Defense deradicalization and counterterrorism cooperation strategy are to save the national interest from the threat of terrorism, protect the state and its citizens from the threat of terrorism, prevent acts of terrorism in Indonesia, and maintain the security and stability of the country. The methods used in this strategy include conducting pursuit operations against terrorism groups, routine exercises, cooperating with relevant agencies, coordinating and communicating with relevant agencies, using information and communication technology to collect and analyze information related to terrorists, possessing and developing skills using the necessary equipment in the arrest and security of female terrorists, and seeking to facilitate the needs of deradicalization. And provide recommendations to agencies related to terrorism to maintain mutual coordination and synergy in order to achieve an Indonesia with minimal acts of terrorism

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