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JIHAD AND INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS TEXTS ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Ahmad Atabik

ahmad.atabik@iainkudus.ac.id

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kudus, Indonesia

Moh Muhtador

muhtador@iainkudus.ac.id

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kudus, Indonesia

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Authors

Name	Ahmad Atabik
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Principal contact for editorial correspondence.

Name	Moh Muhtador

Affiliation	Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kudus, Indonesia
Country	Indonesia
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Title and Abstract

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Abstract

The involvement of women in terrorism circles has led to the emergence of a brand-new terrorist map of the terrorism fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played a private role solely. Their involvement in public spaces in terrorism circles is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's attempts at terror as a series of struggles; it includes defining women's weaknesses and disadvantages by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror, and interpreting *hijrah* and *qital* as justification for *jihad* movement which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, and one ex-convict, as well as the discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. In addition, virtual media is highly effective in spreading propaganda for women's involvement in the struggle domain for two reasons. First, it broadcasted by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight based on historical background. Second, it propagated by offering new religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media tailored to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

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JIHAD AND RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Ahmad Atabik

Faculty of Islamic Theology, IAIN Kudus
ahmad.atabik@iainkudus.ac.id

Moh Muhtador

Faculty of Islamic Theology, IAIN Kudus
Muhtador@iainkudus.ac.id

Abstract

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism resulted in a terrorist's brand-new map of the fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played solely a private role. The women's involvement in public spaces in the circles of terrorism is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's struggle for terror as a series of struggles: including defining women's weaknesses and weaknesses by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror and interpreting hijrah and qital as justification for jihad which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, one ex-convict, and discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. Virtual media is very well employed in spreading propaganda for the women's involvement in the struggle domain by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight historically and offering new

religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media that are modified to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.
Keywords: Jihad, religious interpretation, female terrorists

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society such as Indonesia. There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives of injustice, as well as the Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018, p. 111). Abdurrahman bin Mu'alla al Luwaihiq (2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy and reached its peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Whilst, Dr. Azhari and Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh, Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia, Widodo, & Budiarto, 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion, since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017, p. 4). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect

supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as *recruiters* (Musfia, 2017, p. 176). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia et al., 2020, p. 31).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness that is reinforced by religious dogma, resulting them to have little or no choice but to comply with men who hold power, whether they are father or husband. According to Khaled Abou Fadl (2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Riffat Hasan (1995, p. 36), there is a religious sentiment that gender discrimination is caused by patriarchal system, but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an authoritative source from God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance to their husbands and fathers in order to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky et al., 2022). On the same occasion, the context of 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious

dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and simple to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault, 1977, p. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion, because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on jihad for women are limited to private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace, care for and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh, Magfur, & Ula, 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic state as an issue in trapping women, thus their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia et al., 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi, Rifai, & Marsingga, 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relation, making it difficult for them to escape from the ideology

extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of *hijrah* and *jihad* in the context of penance, which is perceived as *jihad*. Furthermore, they also changed the concept of *jihad* in order to meet their organizations' goals and ideology. The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, that is patriarchy and belief in religious interpretation as the foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and desire to committing suicide.

B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue that was frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to participate in transmitting certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhri min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several *suras*, including QS. al Baqarah 218, QS. an Nisa' 89, QS. al Imran 195, QS. al Anfal 72&74, QS. al Taubah 20 dan QS. Hajj 58. In general, commentators on *hija*r and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

At Thabari (1999, p. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists, in order to provide a sense of security related to the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. Whereas, the *jihad* command excerpted in the verse is to murder or fight in case of difficult circumstances or an attack and the like. This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions who carried out Allah's command, but hoping for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of Badr (Zamakhsyari, 2012, p. 258). This statement is strengthened by al Qurtubi (2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

Al Sya'rawi (252) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit in the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Tabari (1999, pp. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from the polytheists' affiliation.

According to Al Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with

a condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims is clear with a war deed, because the Prophet was prohibited by law to declare war while in Mecca, but after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to enshrine the power of adherents and Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*), since Muslim is not ordered to execute anyone for no acceptable reasons.

The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is solely conditional, only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge. Some of the following interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse's revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors which causes the loss of part of the archeology of interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault, knowledge

originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies, so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

The women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors: internally and externally. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic sharia in its entirety, while external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut* as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles does not only occur in Indonesia, but it has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram. The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, not only serving as little *mujahideen* producers, but also as protectors of organizations and alliances makers (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (2022), family plays a significant role and impact on transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror, so that women can be controlled and

directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya, Prasetyo, & Sudjak, 2020, p. 133). Hence, kinship in terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying on the struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take form of kinship relationship, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian, but several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly patriarchal culture (Wagner, Sen, Permanadeli, & Howarth, 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. Marriage, according to Riffat Hasan (1995) is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

> The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019, p. 38), whereas the pattern of relationships that are often built more of a feudal owner who places husband as a property owner and wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh et al., 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a strong

patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which can take the form of verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to now communicate virtually. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. Not only is it used for communication, but also for economic, cultural, and religious purposes. Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of contemporary religious discourse, which includes varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap in the midst of complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of it's globalisation and popular in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (2005, p. 13), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is shareable as well. Thus, many

religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to Muttaqin (2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual media by certain religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered as more effective in controlling and propagating religious doctrines, such as a convict's wife's confession below:

> *I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms hijrah and qital was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books, and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain annajah web.*

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group makes extensive use of virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as Abdullah Abdullah Azzam (n.d.) on eramuslim website.

> *O ladies! Take care of yourselves from luxury, because it is the foe of jihad.... Teach your children with modesty, manhood, heroism, and jihadi spirit.*

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing potential *Jihadist* as well as raising donations and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play a persuasive authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001). However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in a variety of activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies, and the media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks, such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media, such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017).

> *Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."*

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin, 2020).

These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings, so that they empathize oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and Syria, (Mulia, 2019, p. 87), as can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female mujahedeen, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9 Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out jihad due to the suggestions and inquiries of jihad to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions. Female Muslims are nowadays jealous of this story* (Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar, 2014).

Terrorist organizations, according to Endy Saputro (2010, p. 220), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the *Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict* (2017), there is a shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly undertaken by women. This is

due to the fact that men are easier to detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). Similarly, women are more vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by the terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through force and institutionalization, but through factual control via social media (Muniroh et al., 2012). Terrorists are well aware that they can rule anywhere and at any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

The women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both personal and public spaces. Women who join the terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their husbands in their struggles (Amelia et al., 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in the terrorist circles and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak as a result of the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through the use of religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia et al., 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad* narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women, so that this phenomenon piles up into theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the justification of joyful religious teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> *"Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female*

> *mujahedeens on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as a compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."*

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and Non-Muslims. The Muslim community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter:

> *"Committing hijrah is motivated by emotional distress and spiritual emptiness. This insight is achieved after realizing past wrongdoings, such as violating Allah's sharia laws."*

The religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* are thoroughly used by the terrorist organizations in touching women's emotions and as literature for legitimizing terrorist acts. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings, notably, messages of religious teachings about *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in arrahma.com, "***The Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight***". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not of the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists, through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

> *I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulted from submission to Allah, and qital turns into war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers.*

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* potrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still

a minority, and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital/jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suari (2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists' comment:

> *"For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery."*

This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which is inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes, but are middle-class and highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019, p. 6).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state that to establish an Islamic state in which Western imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished.

Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea on April 10, 2002, as quoted by Almasyah M. Dja'far (2018, p. 111) that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and perception of injustice and western hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (2018, p. 112). However, due to the limited movement space and every action by male bomber spotted, the pattern of action has begun to shift and the initiative to involve women has been taken into account. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding (Qori'ah, 2019, p. 32).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two

women committed acts of terrorism, that is, Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters alone with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to meet her family again in heaven. Another message she wrote was to suggest her parents leaving bank loans because it is deemed usury, which Allah does not approve of. The narration created in the testament for her parents is a faith-based teaching, and the message is also taught to a wife. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick, since the husband's contentment is a heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in patriarchal culture while also establishing herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still

heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, a culture that propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb martyr. The strategy of power over women is well recognized by the terrorists to engage women as successors, because the power works well without the needs for buildings and formal legal implications, and it can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman who held power to manipulate women into their channels.

Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist

This scheme depicts the construction of religious interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning has been distorted to meet the terrorists purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. The meaning of *hijrah* and *qital*, on the other hand, is dominated

by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the value of sentiments and the values of compliance to men who are thought to be leaders who determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because the message has been monopolized by some Muslims with political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings, so that such acts of violence as suicide bombings and terrors are accepted as a truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as there are many factors to take into account, such as marriage, kinship, and camaraderie, that lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations, in the same area, offer glory, benefits, and development for muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the recruitment.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with the terms *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda, thus there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism

that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in female terrorists issue; however, this phenomena still requires more additional investigations, in terms of economic, social, and political aspects, to strengthen the article being published.

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JIHAD AND RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Abstract

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism resulted in a terrorist's brand-new map of the fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played solely a private role. The women's involvement in public spaces in the circles of terrorism is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's struggle for terror as a series of struggles: including defining women's weaknesses and weaknesses by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror and interpreting hijrah and qital as justification for jihad which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, one ex-convict, and discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. Virtual media is very well employed in spreading propaganda for the women's involvement in the struggle domain by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight historically and offering new religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media that are modified to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

Keywords: Jihad, religious interpretation, female terrorists

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society such as Indonesia. There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives of injustice, as well as the Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018, p. 111). Abdurrahman bin Mu'alla al Luwaihiq (2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy and reached its peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Whilst, Dr. Azhari and Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh, Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia, Widodo, & Budiarto, 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Please brief widely in world global review and focus in indonesia about Radical and extremist organizations

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion, since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017, p. 4). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to

their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as *recruiters* (Musfia, 2017, p. 176). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia et al., 2020, p. 31).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness that is reinforced by religious dogma, resulting them to have little or no choice but to comply with men who hold power, whether they are father or husband. According to Khaled Abou Fadl (2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Riffat Hasan (1995, p. 36), there is a religious sentiment that gender discrimination is caused by patriarchal system, but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an authoritative source from God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance to their husbands and fathers in order to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky et al., 2022). On the same occasion, the context of 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who

understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and simple to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault, 1977, p. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion, because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on jihad for women are limited to private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace, care for and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh, Magfur, & Ula, 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic state as an issue in trapping women, thus their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia et al., 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi, Rifai, & Marsingga, 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relation, making it difficult for them to escape from the ideology extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of *hijrah* and *jihad* in the context of penance, which is perceived as *jihad*. Furthermore, they also changed the concept of *jihad* in order to meet their organizations' goals and ideology. The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, that is patriarchy and belief in religious interpretation as the foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and desire to committing suicide.

Please thoroughly views about Radical and relation with extremist organizations

B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue that was frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to participate in transmitting certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhri min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several *suras*, including QS. al Baqarah 218, QS. an Nisa' 89, QS. al Imran 195, QS. al Anfal 72&74, QS. al Taubah 20 dan QS. Hajj 58. In general, commentators on *hija*r and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

At Thabari (1999, p. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists, in order to provide a sense of security related to the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. Whereas, the *jihad* command excerpted in the verse is to murder or fight in case of difficult circumstances or an attack and the like. This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions who carried out Allah's command, but hoping for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of Badr (Zamakhsyari, 2012, p. 258). This statement is strengthened by al Qurtubi (2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

Al Sya'rawi (252) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit in the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Tabari (1999, pp. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from the polytheists' affiliation.

According to Al Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with

a condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims is clear with a war deed, because the Prophet was prohibited by law to declare war while in Mecca, but after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to enshrine the power of adherents and Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*), since Muslim is not ordered to execute anyone for no acceptable reasons.

The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is solely conditional, only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge. Some of the following interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse's revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors which causes the loss of part of the archeology of interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault, knowledge

originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies, so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

Good explanations about Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

The women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors: internally and externally. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic sharia in its entirety, while external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut* as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles does not only occur in Indonesia, but it has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram. The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, not only serving as little *mujahideen* producers, but also as protectors of organizations and alliances makers (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (2022), family plays a

significant role and impact on transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror, so that women can be controlled and directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya, Prasetyo, & Sudjak, 2020, p. 133). Hence, kinship in terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying on the struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take form of kinship relationship, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian, but several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly patriarchal culture (Wagner, Sen, Permanadeli, & Howarth, 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. Marriage, according to Riffat Hasan (1995) is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

> The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019, p. 38), whereas the pattern of relationships that are often built more of a feudal owner who places husband as a property owner and wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh et al.,

2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a strong patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which can take the form of verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against muslims on social media.

Please give and elaborate more effect in injustice against muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to now communicate virtually. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. Not only is it used for communication, but also for economic, cultural, and religious purposes. Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of contemporary religious discourse, which includes varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap in the midst of complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of it's globalisation and popular in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (2005, p. 13), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is shareable as well. Thus, many religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to Muttaqin (2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual media by certain religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered as more effective in controlling and propagating religious doctrines, such as a convict's wife's confession below:

> *I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms hijrah and qital was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books, and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain annajah web.*

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group makes extensive use of virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as

Abdullah Abdullah Azzam (n.d.) on eramuslim website.

> *O ladies! Take care of yourselves from luxury, because it is the foe of jihad.... Teach your children with modesty, manhood, heroism, and jihadi spirit.*

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing potential *Jihadist* as well as raising donations and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play a persuasive authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001). However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in a variety of activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies, and the media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks, such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media, such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017).

> *Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."*

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin, 2020). These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings, so that they empathize oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and Syria, (Mulia, 2019, p. 87), as can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female mujahedeen, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9 Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out jihad due to the suggestions and inquiries of jihad to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions. Female Muslims are nowadays jealous of this story* (Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar, 2014).

Terrorist organizations, according to Endy Saputro (2010, p. 220), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the *Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict* (2017), there is a

shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly undertaken by women. This is due to the fact that men are easier to detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). Similarly, women are more vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by the terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through force and institutionalization, but through factual control via social media (Muniroh et al., 2012). Terrorists are well aware that they can rule anywhere and at any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

Good views

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

The women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both personal and public spaces. Women who join the terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their husbands in their struggles (Amelia et al., 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in the terrorist circles and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak as a result of the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through the use of religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia et al., 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad* narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women, so that this phenomenon piles up into theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the justification of joyful religious

teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> *"Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female mujahedeens on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as a compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."*

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and Non-Muslims. The Muslim community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter:

> *"Committing hijrah is motivated by emotional distress and spiritual emptiness. This insight is achieved after realizing past wrongdoings, such as violating Allah's sharia laws."*

The religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* are thoroughly used by the terrorist organizations in touching women's emotions and as literature for legitimizing terrorist acts. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings, notably, messages of religious teachings about *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in arrahma.com, "***The Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight***". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not of the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists, through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

> *I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulted from submission to Allah, and qital turns into*

war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers.

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* potrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still a minority, and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital/jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suari (2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists' comment:

> *"For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery."*

This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which is inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes, but are middle-class and highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019, p. 6).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the

purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state that to establish an Islamic state in which Western imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea on April 10, 2002, as quoted by Almasyah M. Dja'far (2018, p. 111) that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and perception of injustice and western hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (2018, p. 112). However, due to the limited movement space and every action by male bomber spotted, the pattern of action has begun to shift and the initiative to involve women has been taken into account. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding (Qori'ah, 2019, p. 32).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later

on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two women committed acts of terrorism, that is, Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters alone with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to meet her family again in heaven. Another message she wrote was to suggest her parents leaving bank loans because it is deemed usury, which Allah does not approve of. The narration created in the testament for her parents is a faith-based teaching, and the message is also taught to a wife. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick, since the husband's contentment is a heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new

chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in patriarchal culture while also establishing herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, a culture that propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb martyr. The strategy of power over women is well recognized by the terrorists to engage women as successors, because the power works well without the needs for buildings and formal legal implications, and it can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman who held power to manipulate women into their channels.

Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist

Not clear for this

This scheme depicts the construction of religious interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning

has been distorted to meet the terrorists purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. The meaning of *hijrah* and *qital*, on the other hand, is dominated by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the value of sentiments and the values of compliance to men who are thought to be leaders who determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

Don't have any discussion, why…

F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because the message has been monopolized by some Muslims with political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings, so that such acts of violence as suicide bombings and terrors are accepted as a truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as there are many factors to take into account, such as marriage, kinship, and camaraderie, that lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations, in the same area, offer glory, benefits, and development for muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the recruitment.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with the terms *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda, thus there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in female terrorists issue; however, this phenomena still requires more additional investigations, in terms of economic, social, and political aspects, to strengthen the article being published.

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JIHAD AND RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Abstract

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism resulted in a terrorist's brand-new map of the fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played solely a private role. The women's involvement in public spaces in the circles of terrorism is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's struggle for terror as a series of struggles: including defining women's weaknesses and weaknesses by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror and interpreting hijrah and qital as justification for jihad which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, one ex-convict, and discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. Virtual media is very well employed in spreading propaganda for the women's involvement in the struggle domain by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight historically and offering new religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media that are modified to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

Keywords: Jihad, religious interpretation, female terrorists

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society such as Indonesia. There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives of injustice, as well as the Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018, p. 111). Abdurrahman bin Mu'alla al Luwaihiq (2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy and reached its peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Whilst, Dr. Azhari and Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh, Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia, Widodo, & Budiarto, 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion, since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017, p. 4). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as

recruiters (Musfia, 2017, p. 176). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia et al., 2020, p. 31).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness that is reinforced by religious dogma, resulting them to have little or no choice but to comply with men who hold power, whether they are father or husband. According to Khaled Abou Fadl (2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Riffat Hasan (1995, p. 36), there is a religious sentiment that gender discrimination is caused by patriarchal system, but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an authoritative source from God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance to their husbands and fathers in order to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky et al., 2022). On the same occasion, the context of 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and simple to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault,

1977, p. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion, because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on jihad for women are limited to private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace, care for and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh, Magfur, & Ula, 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic state as an issue in trapping women, thus their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia et al., 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi, Rifai, & Marsingga, 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relation, making it difficult for them to escape from the ideology extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of *hijrah* and *jihad* in the context of penance, which is perceived as *jihad*. Furthermore, they also changed

the concept of *jihad* in order to meet their organizations' goals and ideology. The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, that is patriarchy and belief in religious interpretation as the foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and desire to committing suicide.

B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue that was frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to participate in transmitting certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhri min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several *suras*, including QS. al Baqarah 218, QS. an Nisa' 89, QS. al Imran 195, QS. al Anfal 72&74, QS. al Taubah 20 dan QS. Hajj 58. In general, commentators on *hija*r and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

At Thabari (1999, p. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists, in order to provide a sense of security related to

the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. Whereas, the *jihad* command excerpted in the verse is to murder or fight in case of difficult circumstances or an attack and the like. This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions who carried out Allah's command, but hoping for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of Badr (Zamakhsyari, 2012, p. 258). This statement is strengthened by al Qurtubi (2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

Al Sya'rawi (252) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit in the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Tabari (1999, pp. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from the polytheists' affiliation.

According to Al Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with a condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims is clear with a war deed, because the Prophet was prohibited by law to declare war while in Mecca, but after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to

enshrine the power of adherents and Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*), since Muslim is not ordered to execute anyone for no acceptable reasons.

The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is solely conditional, only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge. Some of the following interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse's revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors which causes the loss of part of the archeology of interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault, knowledge originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies, so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

The women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors: internally and externally. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic sharia in its entirety, while external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut* as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles does not only occur in Indonesia, but it has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram. The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, not only serving as little *mujahideen* producers, but also as protectors of organizations and alliances makers (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (2022), family plays a significant role and impact on transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror, so that women can be controlled and directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya, Prasetyo, & Sudjak, 2020, p. 133). Hence, kinship in terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying on the

struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take form of kinship relationship, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian, but several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly patriarchal culture (Wagner, Sen, Permanadeli, & Howarth, 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. Marriage, according to Riffat Hasan (1995) is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

> The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019, p. 38), whereas the pattern of relationships that are often built more of a feudal owner who places husband as a property owner and wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh et al., 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a strong patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who

are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which can take the form of verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to now communicate virtually. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. Not only is it used for communication, but also for economic, cultural, and religious purposes. Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of contemporary religious discourse, which includes varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap in the midst of complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of it's globalisation and popular in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (2005, p. 13), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is shareable as well. Thus, many religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to Muttaqin (2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual media by certain

religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered as more effective in controlling and propagating religious doctrines, such as a convict's wife's confession below:

> *I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms hijrah and qital was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books, and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain annajah web.*

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group makes extensive use of virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as Abdullah Abdullah Azzam (n.d.) on eramuslim website.

> *O ladies! Take care of yourselves from luxury, because it is the foe of jihad.... Teach your children with modesty, manhood, heroism, and jihadi spirit.*

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing potential

Jihadist as well as raising donations and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play a persuasive authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001). However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in a variety of activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies, and the media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks, such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media, such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017).

> *Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."*

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin, 2020). These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings, so that they empathize oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and

Syria, (Mulia, 2019, p. 87), as can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female mujahedeen, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9 Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out jihad due to the suggestions and inquiries of jihad to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions. Female Muslims are nowadays jealous of this story* (Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar, 2014).

Terrorist organizations, according to Endy Saputro (2010, p. 220), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the *Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict* (2017), there is a shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly undertaken by women. This is due to the fact that men are easier to detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). Similarly, women are more

vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by the terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through force and institutionalization, but through factual control via social media (Muniroh et al., 2012). Terrorists are well aware that they can rule anywhere and at any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

The women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both personal and public spaces. Women who join the terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their husbands in their struggles (Amelia et al., 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in the terrorist circles and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak as a result of the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through the use of religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia et al., 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad* narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women, so that this phenomenon piles up into theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the justification of joyful religious teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> *"Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female mujahedeens on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as a compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."*

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and Non-Muslims. The Muslim community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter:

> *"Committing hijrah is motivated by emotional distress and spiritual emptiness. This insight is achieved after realizing past wrongdoings, such as violating Allah's sharia laws."*

The religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* are thoroughly used by the terrorist organizations in touching women's emotions and as literature for legitimizing terrorist

acts. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings, notably, messages of religious teachings about *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in arrahma.com, "***The Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight***". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not of the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists, through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

> *I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulted from submission to Allah, and qital turns into war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers.*

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* potrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still a minority, and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital/jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by

polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suari (2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists' comment:

> *"For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery."*

This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which is inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes, but are middle-class and highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019, p. 6).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state that to establish an Islamic state in which Western imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea on April 10, 2002, as quoted by Almasyah M. Dja'far (2018, p. 111) that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and

perception of injustice and western hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (2018, p. 112). However, due to the limited movement space and every action by male bomber spotted, the pattern of action has begun to shift and the initiative to involve women has been taken into account. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding (Qori'ah, 2019, p. 32).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two women committed acts of terrorism, that is, Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters alone with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an

intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to meet her family again in heaven. Another message she wrote was to suggest her parents leaving bank loans because it is deemed usury, which Allah does not approve of. The narration created in the testament for her parents is a faith-based teaching, and the message is also taught to a wife. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick, since the husband's contentment is a heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in patriarchal culture while also establishing herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, a culture that propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb martyr. The strategy of power

over women is well recognized by the terrorists to engage women as successors, because the power works well without the needs for buildings and formal legal implications, and it can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman who held power to manipulate women into their channels.

Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist

This scheme depicts the construction of religious interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning has been distorted to meet the terrorists purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. The meaning of *hijrah* and *qital*, on the other hand, is dominated by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the value of sentiments and the values of compliance to men who are thought to be leaders who

determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because the message has been monopolized by some Muslims with political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings, so that such acts of violence as suicide bombings and terrors are accepted as a truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as there are many factors to take into account, such as marriage, kinship, and camaraderie, that lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations, in the same area, offer glory, benefits, and development for muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the recruitment.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with the terms *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda, thus there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in female terrorists issue; however, this phenomena still requires more additional investigations, in terms of economic, social,

and political aspects, to strengthen the article being published.

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Catatan Review 3

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JIHAD AND INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS TEXTS ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Abstract

The involvement of women in terrorism circles has led to the emergence of a brand-new terrorist map of the terrorism fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played a private role solely. Their involvement in public spaces in terrorism circles is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's attempts at terror as a series of struggles; it includes defining women's weaknesses and disadvantages by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror, and interpreting *hijrah* and *qital* as justification for *jihad* movement which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, and one ex-convict, as well as the discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. In addition, virtual media is highly effective in spreading propaganda for women's involvement in the struggle domain for two reasons. First, it broadcasted by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight based on historical background. Second, it propagated by offering new religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media tailored to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

Keywords: Jihad, religious interpretation, female terrorists

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society. The existence of extremist groups spread globally with different typologies, such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), al Qaeda, Taliban (Mubarok & Hamid, 2018; Taskarina, 2020), Boko Haram (Galehan, 2019; Tampomuri, 2019) and several groups that have the same reserve and typology. In Indonesia, extremist groups have had four phases in their development. The first is the emergence of the DI/TII Kartosoewirjo movement. Then, the second is the Komando Jihad movement from the 1970s to 1980s with actors Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Afterward, the third is post-reformation terror and violence movements. The last, fourth phase, is marked by the development of new radical Islamic groups, especially from young groups, which actually still have links with previous generation figures (Mubarak, 2015).

There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives on injustice, as well as Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018). Luwaihiq (2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy, and reached their peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Dr. Azhari and Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia at that time. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh,

Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia et al., 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as *recruiters* (Musfia, 2017). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia et al., 2020).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness reinforced by religious dogma. Consequently, it leaves them with little or no choice but to comply with men in positions of power, whether father or spouse. According to Fadl (2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Hasan (1995, p. 36), there is a religious sentiment that gender discrimination is caused by the patriarchal system but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an authoritative source of God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance with their husbands and fathers to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky et al.,

2022). On the same occasion, the context of 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and straightforward to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault, 1977, p. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on *jihad* for women are limited to private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic State has an issue with trapping women, thus, their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia et al., 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi, Rifai, & Marsingga, 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relations, making it difficult for them to escape from the ideology extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of hijrah and *jihad* in the context

of penance, which is perceived as *jihad*. Furthermore, they also changed the concept of *jihad* to meet their organizations' goals and ideology, like Jihadis's Salafi (Syauqillah & Faton, 2019). The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, which are patriarchal and believe in religious interpretation as the foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and the desire to commit suicide.

B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community, along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to transmit certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhri min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several chapters, including QS. Al Baqarah: 218, QS. An Nisa': 89, QS. Ali Imran: 195, QS. Al Anfal: 72&74, QS. Al Taubah: 20 and QS. Hajj: 58. In general, commentators on *hijra* and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

Thabari (1999, p. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists in order to provide a sense of security related to the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and

one religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. In contrast, the verse includes an element of a jihad order that instructs Muslims to execute or fight in response to challenging conditions, attacks, or other similar situations. This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions, who carried out Allah's command but hoped for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of Badr (Zamakhsyari, 2012, p. 258). This statement is strengthened by al-Qurtubi (2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

Al Sya'rawi (252) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit to the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Thabari (1999, pp. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from their affiliation.

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According to al-Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with the condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims must be apparent with a war action. This is due to the fact that it was against the law for the Prophet to declare war while he was in Mecca. On the contrary, after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to enshrine the power of adherents and Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al-Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*) since Muslims are not ordered to execute anyone for inacceptable reasons.

The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as

well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is conditional only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge. Some of the following interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse's revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors, which causes the loss of part of the archeology of interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault (1980), knowledge originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies, so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

Women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors; internal and external factors. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic Sharia in its entirety. At the same time, external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut,* as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles occurs not only in Indonesia but has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram.

The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a Sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, serving as little mujahideen producers and protectors of organizations and alliance makers (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

Women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (2022), family plays a significant role and impact on transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror so that women can be controlled and directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya et al., 2020). Hence, kinship in terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying on the struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take the form of kinship relationships, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian but to several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly the patriarchal culture (Wagner et al., 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. According to Hasan (1995), marriage is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019). Nevertheless, the relationship pattern is often built more of a feudal owner who places the husband as a property owner and the wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh et al., 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a robust patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which can take the form of verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against Muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to communicate virtually now. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. In addition to its function as a means of communication, it also serves as a tool for economic, cultural, and religious purposes. Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of contemporary religious discourse, which includes

varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap amid the complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of its globalization and popularity in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (2005), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is also shareable. Thus, many religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to Muttaqin (2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual media by certain religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered more effective in controlling and propagating religious doctrines; for instance, the confession of a convict's spouse is presented below:

> I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms *hijrah* and *qital* was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books, and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim Daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain Annajah web. ([name?], personal communication, [date?])

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option

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for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group extensively uses virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as Azzam (n.d.) on the Eramuslim website, "O ladies! Take care of yourselves from luxury, because it is the foe of *jihad*.... Teach your children with modesty, manhood, heroism, and jihadi spirit."

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing potential *Jihadist*s, raising donations, and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play an influential authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001). However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in various activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies through media. The media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks, such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media, such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017).

> Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would

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you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin, 2020). These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings so that they empathize with oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and Syria (Mulia, 2019). It can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah* is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female *mujahedeen*, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9 Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out *jihad* due to the suggestions and inquiries of *jihad* to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions (Jibriel Ar, 2014).

Terrorist organizations, according to Saputro (2010), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017), there is a shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly

undertaken by women. This is due to the fact that men are easier to detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). Similarly, women are more vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through force and institutionalization but through factual control via social media (Muniroh et al., 2012). Terrorists know that they can rule anywhere and at any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

Women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both personal and public spaces. Women who join terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their

husbands in their struggles (Amelia et al., 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in terrorist circles, and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak due to the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia et al., 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad* narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women so that this phenomenon piles up into theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the justification of joyful religious teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> "Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female *mujahedeens* on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Muslim community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad, was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the

believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter**,** "committing hijrah is motivated by emotional distress and spiritual emptiness. This insight is achieved after realizing past wrongdoings, such as violating Allah's Sharia laws."

Terrorist organizations use the religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* inappropriately to manipulate women's emotions and as justification for terrorist acts. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings; notably, messages of religious teachings about *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in Arrahma.com with the title of "the Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or

> leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulting from submission to Allah, and qital turns into war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers. ([name?], personal communication, [date?])

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* portrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still a minority and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital or jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that Muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suarni (2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is the more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over the material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists comment:

> "For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in Sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery." . ([name?], personal communication, [date?])

This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that

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is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which are inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes but are middle-class and highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state to establish an Islamic state in which Western imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea, on April 10, 2002, as quoted by Dja'far (2018), that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and perception of injustice and Western hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (Dja'far, 2018). The constrained mobility and conspicuousness of male bombers have prompted a shift in operational strategies, leading to a consideration of involving women in the initiative. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding (Qori'ah, 2019).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with

her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two women committed acts of terrorism: Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters along with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to meet her family again in heaven. The author proposed that her parents avoid taking out bank loans due to the practice being considered usury, which is not in accordance with the principles of Allah. The narrative constructed in the testament for her parents is a message of faith that is also imparted to her wife. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick since the husband's contentment is heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in a patriarchal culture and establish herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, which propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb martyr. The terrorists have well recognized the strategy of power

over women to engage women as successors because the power works well without the need for buildings and formal legal implications. It can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman, who possess the power to manipulate women into their channels.

This scheme depicts the construction of religious interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning has been distorted to meet the terrorists' purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. On the other hand, the meaning of hijrah and *qital* is dominated by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the values of sentiments and compliance with men who are thought to be leaders who determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist

F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because some Muslims have monopolized the message with political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings so that such acts of violence, such as suicide bombings and terrors, are accepted as truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as many factors to consider, such as marriage, kinship, and camaraderie, lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations in the same area offer glory, benefits, and development for the sake of Muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the recruitment process.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda. Thus, there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in the female terrorists issue; however, this phenomenon still requires additional investigations to strengthen the published article regarding economic, social, and political aspects.

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JIHAD AND INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS TEXTS ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA~~THE QURANIC EXEGESIS FOR FEMALE'S JIHADIS IN INDONESIA~~

Abstract

The involvement of women~~'s involvement~~ in ~~the~~terrorism circles ~~of terrorism~~ has led to the emergence of ~~resulted in~~ a ~~terrorist's~~ brand-new terrorist map of the terrorism ~~fight~~ fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played ~~solely a private role~~a private role solely. ~~The women's~~Their involvement in public spaces in terrorism ~~the~~ circles ~~of terrorism~~ is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's ~~struggle~~ attempts ~~for~~ at terror as a series of struggles~~:~~. it~~:~~ includ~~esing~~ defining women's weaknesses and disadvantages ~~weaknesses by~~by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror, and interpreting *hijrah* and *qital* as justification for *jihad* movement which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, and one ex-convict, ~~and~~ as well as the discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. ~~V~~In addition, virtual media is ~~very well employed~~highly effective in spreading propaganda for ~~the~~ women's involvement in the struggle domain for two reasons. First, it broadcasted by providing *fatwas* on the

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women's consent to fight ~~historically~~ based on historical background. S~~and~~econd, it propagated by offering ~~new~~ new religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media ~~that are modified~~ tailored to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

Keywords: Jihad, religious interpretation, female terrorists

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society. The existence of extremist groups spread globally with different typologies, such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), al Qaeda, Taliban (Mubarok & Hamid, 2018; Taskarina, 2020), Boko Haram (Galehan, 2019; Tampomuri, 2019) and several groups that have the same reserve and typology. In Indonesia, extremist groups have had four phases in their development. The first is the emergence of the DI/TII Kartosoewirjo movement. Then, the second is the Komando Jihad movement from the 1970s to 1980s with actors Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Afterward, the third is post-reformation terror and violence movements. The last, fourth phase, is marked by the development of new radical Islamic groups, especially from young groups, which actually still have links with previous generation figures (Mubarak, 2015).

There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives ~~of~~ on injustice, as well as ~~the~~ Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018~~, hal. 111~~). ~~Abdurrahman bin Mu'alla al~~ Luwaihiq (2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global

issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy, and reached their peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Dr. Azhari and Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia at that time. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh, Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia et al., 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as *recruiters* (Musfia, 2017). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia et al., 2020).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness reinforced by religious dogma. Consequently, it leaves them with little or no choice but to comply with men in positions of power, whether father or spouse. According to Fadl (2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Hasan

(1995, ~~hal~~p. 36), there is a religious sentiment that gender discrimination is caused by the patriarchal system~~,~~ but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an authoritative source ~~from~~ of God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance ~~to their husbands and fathers in order~~with their husbands and fathers to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky et al., 2022). On the same occasion, the context of ~~of~~ 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and ~~simple~~ straightforward to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault, 1977, p~~hal~~. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion~~,~~ because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on *jihad* for women are limited to private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace~~, care for~~ and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh et al.~~, Magfur, & Ula~~, 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic ~~state~~ State has an issue ~~in~~ with trapping women, thus, their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia et al., 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi, Rifai, & Marsingga, 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly

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encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relations, making it difficult for them to escape from the ideology extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of hijrah and *jihad* in the context of penance, which is perceived as *jihad*. Furthermore, they also changed the concept of *jihad* to meet their organizations' goals and ideology, like Jihadis's Salafi (Syauqillah & Faton, 2019). The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, which are patriarchal and believe in religious interpretation as the foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and the desire to commit suicide.

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B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community, along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating frequently
used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to transmit certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhri min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several chapters, including QS. Al Baqarah: 218, QS. Ah

Nisa': 89, QS. Ali Imran: 195, QS. Al Anfal: 72&74, QS. Al Taubah: 20 ~~dan~~ and QS. Hajj: 58. In general, commentators on ~~*hijar*~~ *hijra* and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

Thabari (1999, p. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists in order to provide a sense of security related to the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and one religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. In contrast, the verse includes an element of a jihad order that instructs Muslims to execute or fight in response to challenging conditions, attacks, or other similar situations . This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his . This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions, who carried out Allah's command but hoped for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of Badr (Zamakhsyari, 2012, p. 258). This statement is strengthened by al-Qurtubi (2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

Al Sya'rawi (252) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit to the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Thabari (1999, pp. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from their affiliation.

According to a~~Al~~-Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with ~~a~~ the condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims must be apparent with a war action. This is due to the

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fact that it was against the law for the Prophet to declare war while he was in Mecca .

On the contrary, after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to enshrine the power of adherents and Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al-Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*) since Muslims are not ordered to execute anyone for inacceptable reasons.

The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is conditional only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge. Some of the following interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse's revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors, which causes the loss of part of the archeology of interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault (1980), knowledge originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies, so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

Women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors: internal and external factors. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic Sharia in its entirety. At the same time, external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut*, as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles occurs not only in Indonesia but has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram. The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a Sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, serving as little mujahideen producers and protectors of serving as little mujahideen producers and protectors of organizations and alliance makers (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

~~The w~~Women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (2022), family plays a significant role and impact on transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror~~,~~ so that women can be controlled and directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya et al.~~, Prasetyo, & Sudjak~~, 2020~~, hal. 133~~). Hence, kinship in terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying on the struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take the form of kinship relationships, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before

committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian but to several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly the patriarchal culture (Wagner et al., 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. According to Hasan (1995), marriage is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019). Nevertheless, the relationship pattern is often built more of a feudal owner who places the husband as a property owner and the wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh et al., 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a robust patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which can take the form of verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against Muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to communicate virtually now. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. In addition to its function as a means of communication, it also serves as a tool for economic, cultural, and religious purposes . Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of . Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of contemporary religious discourse, which includes varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap amid the complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of its globalization and popularity in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (2005), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is also shareable. Thus, many religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to Muttaqin (2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual media by certain religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered more effective in controlling and propagating religious doctrines; for instance, the confession of a convict's spouse is presented below:

I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms *hijrah* and *qital* was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books,

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and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim Daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain Annajah web. ([name?, personal communication, [date?])

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group extensively uses virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as Azzam (n.d.) on the Eramuslim website, "

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing potential *Jihadist*s, raising donations, and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play an influential authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001). However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in various activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies through media. The media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks,

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such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media, such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017).

> Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin, 2020). These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings so that they empathize with oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and Syria (Mulia, 2019). It can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah* is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female *mujahedeen*, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9 Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out *jihad* due to the suggestions and inquiries of *jihad* to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions (Jibriel Ar, 2014).
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Terrorist organizations, according to Saputro (2010), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017), there is a shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly undertaken by women. This is due to the fact that men are easier to detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). Similarly, women are more vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through

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force and institutionalization~~,~~ but through factual control via social media (Muniroh et al., 2012). Terrorists ~~are well aware~~know that they can rule anywhere and at any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

Women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both personal and public spaces. Women who join terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their husbands in their struggles (Amelia et al., 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in terrorist circles, and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak due to the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia et al., 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad*

narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women so that this phenomenon piles up into theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the justification of joyful religious teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> "Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female *mujahedeens* on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Muslim community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad, was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter,

> Terrorist organizations use the religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* inappropriately to manipulate women's emotions and as justification for terrorist acts

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~~teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* are thoroughly used by the terrorist organizations in touching women's emotions and as literature for legitimizing terrorist acts~~. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings~~,~~ ; notably, messages of religious teachings about ~~-~~ *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in A~~a~~rrahma.com with the title of ~~,~~ "~~t~~The Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not ~~of~~ the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists~~,~~ through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

Terrorist organizations use the religious teachings that suggest *hijrah*, and *qital*, inappropriately, to manipulate women's emotions and as justification for terrorist acts~~The religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* are thoroughly used by the terrorist organizations in touching women's emotions and as literature for legitimizing terrorist acts~~. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings~~,~~ ; notably, messages of religious teachings about ~~-~~ *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in A~~a~~rrahma.com with the title of ~~,~~ "~~t~~The Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not ~~of~~ the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely

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accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

> I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulting from submission to Allah, and qital turns into war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers. ([name?], personal communication, [date?])

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* portrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still a minority and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital or jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that Muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suarni (2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is the more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over the material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists comment:

> "For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in Sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery." . ([name?], personal

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This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which are inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes but are middle-class and highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state ~~that~~ to establish an Islamic state in which Western imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea, on April 10, 2002, as quoted by ~~Almasyah M.~~ Dja'far (2018~~, hal. 111~~), that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and perception of injustice and W~~w~~estern hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (Dja'far, 2018~~, hal. 112~~). The constrained mobility and conspicuousness of male bombers have prompted a shift in operational strategies, leading to a consideration of involving women in the initiative~~However, due to the limited movement space and every action by male bomber spotted, the pattern of action has begun to shift and the initiative to involve women has been taken into account~~. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding

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(Qori'ah, 2019).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two women committed acts of terrorism: Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters along with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to meet her family again in heaven. The author proposed that her parents avoid taking out bank loans due to the practice being considered usury, which is not in accordance with the principles of Allah

. The narrative constructed in the testament for her parents is a

. The narrative constructed in the testament for her parents is a message of faith that is also imparted to her wife

. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick since the husband's contentment is heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in a patriarchal culture

~~also establishing~~and establish herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, ~~a culture that~~which propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb mary. The ~~strategy of power over women is decorated by terrorists as we decorated the~~ strategy of power over women to engage women as successors~~,~~ because the power works well without the need~~s~~ for buildings and formal legal implications~~, and i~~. It can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman, who ~~held~~ possess the power to manipulate women into their channels.

This scheme depicts the construction of religious interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning has been distorted to meet the terrorists' purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. On the other hand, the meaning of hijrah and *qital* is dominated by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the value s of sentiments and compliance with men who are thought to be leaders who determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

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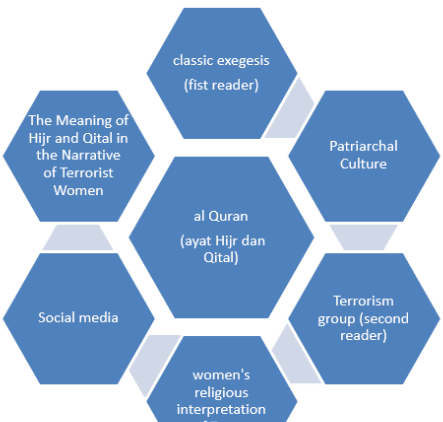
Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist

Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist



F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because some Muslims have monopolized the message with political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings so that such acts of violence, such as suicide bombings and terrors, are accepted as truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as many factors to consider, such as marriage, kinship, and camaraderie, lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations in the same area

offer glory, benefits, and development for the sake of ~~muslims~~ Muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the ~~the~~ recruitment process.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda. Thus, there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in the female terrorists issue; however, this phenomen on still requires additional investigations to strengthen the on still requires additional investigations to strengthen the on still requires additional investigations to strengthen the published article additional investigations to strengthen the published article regarding economic, social, and political aspects.

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JIHAD AND RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Abstract

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism resulted in a terrorist's brand-new map of the fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played solely a private role. The women's involvement in public spaces in the circles of terrorism is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's struggle for terror as a series of struggles: including defining women's weaknesses and weaknesses by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror and interpreting hijrah and qital as justification for jihad which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, one ex-convict, and discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. Virtual media is very well employed in spreading propaganda for the women's involvement in the struggle domain by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight historically and offering new religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media that are modified to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

Keywords: Jihad, religious interpretation, female terrorists

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society. The existence of extremist groups spread globally with different typologies, such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), al Qaeda, the Taliban (Mubarok & Hamid, 2018; Taskarina, 2020), Boko Haram (Galehan, 2019; Tampomuri, 2019) and several groups that have the same reserve and typology. In Indonesia, extremist groups have had four phases in their development, the first being the emergence of the DI/TII Kartosoewirjo movement. second, the Komando Jihad movement from the 1970s to 1980s with actors Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Third, post-reformation terror and violence movements. the fourth phase, marked by the development of new radical Islamic groups, especially from young groups, which actually still have links with previous generation figures (Mubarak, 2015).

There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives of injustice, as well as the Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018, hal. 111). Abdurrahman bin Mu'alla al Luwaihiq (2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy and reached its peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Whilst, Dr. Azhari and Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh,

Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia, Widodo, & Budiarto, 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion, since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017, hal. 4). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as *recruiters* (Musfia, 2017, hal. 176). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia et al., 2020, hal. 31).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness that is reinforced by religious dogma, resulting them to have little or no choice but to comply with men who hold power, whether they are father or husband. According to Khaled Abou Fadl (2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Riffat Hasan (1995, hal. 36), there is a religious sentiment that gender

discrimination is caused by patriarchal system, but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an authoritative source from God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance to their husbands and fathers in order to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky et al., 2022). On the same occasion, the context of 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and simple to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault, 1977, hal. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion, because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on jihad for women are limited to private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace, care for and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh, Magfur, & Ula, 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic state as an issue in trapping women, thus their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since

their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia et al., 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi, Rifai, & Marsingga, 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relation, making it difficult for them to escape from the ideology extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of hijrah and jihad in the context of penance, which is perceived as jihad. Furthermore, they also changed the concept of jihad in order to meet their organizations' goals and ideology, likes Jihadis's Salafi (Syauqillah & Faton, 2019). The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, that is patriarchy and belief in religious interpretation as the foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and desire to committing suicide.

B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue that was frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to participate in transmitting

certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhri min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several *suras*, including QS. al Baqarah 218, QS. an Nisa' 89, QS. al Imran 195, QS. al Anfal 72&74, QS. al Taubah 20 dan QS. Hajj 58. In general, commentators on *hija*r and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

At Thabari (1999, hal. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists, in order to provide a sense of security related to the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. Whereas, the *jihad* command excerpted in the verse is to murder or fight in case of difficult circumstances or an attack and the like. This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions who carried out Allah's command, but hoping for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of Badr (Zamakhsyari, 2012, hal. 258). This statement is strengthened by al Qurtubi (2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times

of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

Al Sya'rawi (252) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit in the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Tabari (1999, hal. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from the polytheists' affiliation.

According to Al Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with a condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims is clear with a war deed, because the Prophet was prohibited by law to declare war while in Mecca, but after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to enshrine the power of adherents and Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*), since Muslim is not ordered to execute anyone for no acceptable reasons.

> The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is solely conditional, only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge. Some of the following

interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse's revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors which causes the loss of part of the archeology of interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault, knowledge originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies, so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

The women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors: internally and externally. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic sharia in its entirety, while external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut* as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles does not only occur in Indonesia, but it has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram. The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, not only serving as little *mujahideen* producers, but also as protectors of organizations and alliances makers (Institute

for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (2022), family plays a significant role and impact on transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror, so that women can be controlled and directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya, Prasetyo, & Sudjak, 2020, hal. 133). Hence, kinship in terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying on the struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take form of kinship relationship, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian, but several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly patriarchal culture (Wagner, Sen, Permanadeli, & Howarth, 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. Marriage, according to Riffat Hasan (1995) is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from

developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019, hal. 38), whereas the pattern of relationships that are often built more of a feudal owner who places husband as a property owner and wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh et al., 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a strong patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which can take the form of verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to now communicate virtually. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. Not only is it used for communication, but also for economic, cultural, and religious purposes. Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of

contemporary religious discourse, which includes varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap in the midst of complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of it's globalisation and popular in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (2005, hal. 13), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is shareable as well. Thus, many religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to Muttaqin (2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual media by certain religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered as more effective in controlling and propagating religious doctrines, such as a convict's wife's confession below:

> *I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms hijrah and qital was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books, and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain annajah web.*

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because

of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group makes extensive use of virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as Abdullah Abdullah Azzam (n.d.) on eramuslim website.

> *O ladies! Take care of yourselves from luxury, because it is the foe of jihad.... Teach your children with modesty, manhood, heroism, and jihadi spirit.*

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing potential *Jihadist* as well as raising donations and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play a persuasive authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001). However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in a variety of activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies, and the media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks, such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media,

such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017).

> *Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."*

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin, 2020). These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings, so that they empathize oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and Syria, (Mulia, 2019, hal. 87), as can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female mujahedeen, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9 Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out jihad due to the suggestions and inquiries of jihad to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions. Female Muslims are nowadays jealous of this story* (Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar, 2014).

Terrorist organizations, according to Endy Saputro (2010, hal. 220), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the *Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict* (2017), there is a shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly undertaken by women. This is due to the fact that men are easier to detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). Similarly, women are more vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by the terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through force and institutionalization, but through factual control via social media (Muniroh et al., 2012). Terrorists are well aware that they can rule anywhere and at

any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

The women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both personal and public spaces. Women who join the terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their husbands in their struggles (Amelia et al., 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in the terrorist circles and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak as a result of the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through the use of religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia et al., 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad* narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women, so that this phenomenon piles up into

theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the justification of joyful religious teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> *"Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female mujahedeens on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as a compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."*

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and Non-Muslims. The Muslim community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted

extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter:

> *"Committing hijrah is motivated by emotional distress and spiritual emptiness. This insight is achieved after realizing past wrongdoings, such as violating Allah's sharia laws."*

The religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* are thoroughly used by the terrorist organizations in touching women's emotions and as literature for legitimizing terrorist acts. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings, notably, messages of religious teachings about *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in arrahma.com, "***The Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight***". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not of the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists, through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

> *I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or*

> *battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulted from submission to Allah, and qital turns into war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers.*

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* potrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still a minority, and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital/jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suari (2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists' comment:

> *"For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery."*

This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which is inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes, but are middle-class and

highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019, hal. 6).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state that to establish an Islamic state in which Western imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea on April 10, 2002, as quoted by Almasyah M. Dja'far (2018, hal. 111) that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and perception of injustice and western hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (2018, hal. 112). However, due to the limited movement space and every action by male bomber spotted, the pattern of action has begun to shift and the initiative to involve women has been taken into account. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding (Qori'ah, 2019, hal.

32).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two women committed acts of terrorism, that is, Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters alone with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to meet her family again in heaven. Another message she wrote was to suggest her parents leaving bank loans because it is deemed usury, which Allah does not approve of. The narration created in the testament for her parents is a faith-based teaching, and the message is also taught to a wife. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick, since the husband's contentment is a heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict,

2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in patriarchal culture while also establishing herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, a culture that propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb martyr. The strategy of power over women is well recognized by the terrorists to engage women as successors, because the power works well without the needs for buildings and formal legal implications, and it can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman who held power to manipulate women into their channels.

This scheme depicts the construction of religious interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning has been distorted to meet the terrorists purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. The meaning of *hijrah* and *qital*, on the other hand, is dominated by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the value of sentiments and the values of compliance to men who are thought to be leaders who determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because the message has been monopolized by some Muslims with political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings, so that such acts of violence as suicide bombings and terrors are accepted as a truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as there are many factors to take into account, such as marriage, kinship, and camaraderie, that lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations, in the same area, offer

glory, benefits, and development for muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the recruitment.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with the terms *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda, thus there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in female terrorists issue; however, this phenomena still requires more additional investigations, in terms of economic, social, and political aspects, to strengthen the article being published.

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JIHAD AND INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS TEXTS ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Ahmad Atabik
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kudus, Indonesia
ahmad.atabik@iainkudus.ac.id
Moh. Muhtador
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kudus, Indonesia
muhtador@iainkudus.ac.id

Abstract

The involvement of women in terrorism circles has led to the emergence of a brand-new terrorist map of the terrorism fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played a private role solely. Their involvement in public spaces in terrorism circles is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's attempts at terror as a series of struggles; it includes defining women's weaknesses and disadvantages by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror, and interpreting *hijrah* and *qital* as justification for *jihad* movement which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, and one ex-convict, as well as the discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. In addition, virtual media is highly effective in spreading propaganda for women's involvement in the struggle domain for two reasons. First, it broadcasted by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight based on historical background. Second, it propagated by offering new religious

interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media tailored to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

Keywords: Jihad, religious interpretation, female terrorists

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society. The existence of extremist groups spread globally with different typologies, such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), al Qaeda, Taliban (Mubarok & Hamid, 2018; Taskarina, 2020), Boko Haram (Galehan, 2019; Tampomuri, 2019) and several groups that have the same reserve and typology. In Indonesia, extremist groups have had four phases in their development. The first is the emergence of the DI/TII Kartosoewirjo movement. Then, the second is the Komando Jihad movement from the 1970s to 1980s with actors Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Afterward, the third is post-reformation terror and violence movements. The last, fourth phase, is marked by the development of new radical Islamic groups, especially from young groups, which actually still have links with previous generation figures (Mubarak, 2015).

There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives on injustice, as well as Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018). Luwaihiq (2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy, and reached their peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Dr. Azhari and

Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia at that time. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh, Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia et al., 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as *recruiters* (Musfia, 2017). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia et al., 2020).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness reinforced by religious dogma. Consequently, it leaves them with little or no choice but to comply with men in positions of power, whether father or spouse. According to Fadl (2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Hasan (1995, p. 36), there is a religious sentiment that gender discrimination is caused by the patriarchal system but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an

authoritative source of God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance with their husbands and fathers to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky et al., 2022). On the same occasion, the context of 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and straightforward to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault, 1977, p. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on *jihad* for women are limited to private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic State has an issue with trapping women, thus, their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia et al., 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi, Rifai, & Marsingga, 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relations, making it

difficult for them to escape from the ideology extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of hijrah and *jihad* in the context of penance, which is perceived as *jihad*. Furthermore, they also changed the concept of *jihad* to meet their organizations' goals and ideology, like Jihadis's Salafi (Syauqillah & Faton, 2019). The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, which are patriarchal and believe in religious interpretation as the foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and the desire to commit suicide.

B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community, along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to transmit certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhriju min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several chapters, including QS. Al Baqarah: 218, QS. An Nisa': 89, QS. Ali Imran: 195, QS. Al Anfal: 72&74, QS. Al Taubah: 20 and QS. Hajj: 58. In general, commentators on *hijrah* and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

Thabari (1999, p. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists in order to provide a sense of security related to the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and one religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. In contrast, the verse includes an element of a jihad order that instructs Muslims to execute or fight in response to challenging conditions, attacks, or other similar situations. This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions, who carried out Allah's command but hoped for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of Badr (Zamakhsyari, 2012, p. 258). This statement is strengthened by al-Qurtubi (2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

Al Sya'rawi (2007) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit to the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Thabari (1999, pp. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from their affiliation.

According to al-Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with the condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims must be apparent with a war action. This is due to the fact that it was against the law for the Prophet to declare war while he was in Mecca. On the contrary, after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to enshrine the power of adherents and

Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al-Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*) since Muslims are not ordered to execute anyone for inacceptable reasons.

The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is conditional only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge.

According to al-Zuhaili (2009), qital in QS. al-Baqarah 216 refers to *jihad* that is made compulsory for a believer to fight enemies who are indeed unbelievers putting harm to Muslims. During his stay in Mecca before hijrah, the Prophet was not permitted to battle unbelievers; instead, he was then allowed to engage in battle with the polytheists who fought him when migrating to Medina. On the other hand, in comprehending this verse, Quraish Shihab (Shihab, 2000) states that in nature, Muslims are opposed to war, and it is, in essence, not accepted by normal people since a war might cause deaths, including the companions whose religion was still growing in their hearts at that time. Allah understood they despised war, yet fighting for justice compelled them when they were hampered.

Al-Shawkani (2014) perceives jihad verses by considering the social and historical contexts in which the verse was revealed. He underlined that *jihad* in Islam was initially intended to defend Muslims against attacks by opponents seeking to undermine Islam. However, as Islam's authority expanded, *jihad* in Islam became more

associated with da'wah efforts and the propagation of Islam. Meanwhile, Imam al-Qushayri (2018) interprets jihad verses by considering the historical context in which they were revealed. According to him, the initial motive for *jihad* in Islam was to defend Muslims from enemies who tried to bring Islam down. However, as Islam's authority expanded, *jihad* in Islam became more associated with da'wah efforts and the propagation of Islam.

Ibn Katsir (2018) interprets jihad verses by referring to Islam's mission of upholding justice and opposing injustice. He emphasized that *jihad* in Islam must be carried out in order to defend the vulnerable and powerless, as well as to oppose unjust and tyrannical regimes. He also stressed the significance of adhering to Islamic norms and values when carrying out *jihad*. According to Al-Nawawi (2016), *jihad* in Islam must conform with Islamic law and ethics. Unjust acts of violence that violate human rights are not tolerated in Islam. He underlined that in Islam, jihad must be carried out in a reasonable and fair manner, and those acts of violence should only be used as a final step after all non-violent attempts have been made.

Some of the following interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse’s revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors, which causes the loss of part of the archeology of

interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault (1980), knowledge originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

Women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors; internal and external factors. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic Sharia in its entirety. At the same time, external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut,* as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles occurs not only in Indonesia but has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram. The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a Sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, serving as little mujahideen producers and protectors of organizations and alliance makers (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

Women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (2022), family plays a significant role and impact on

transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror so that women can be controlled and directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya et al., 2020). Hence, kinship in terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying on the struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take the form of kinship relationships, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian but to several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly the patriarchal culture (Wagner et al., 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. According to Hasan (1995), marriage is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019). Nevertheless, the relationship pattern is often built more of a feudal owner who places the husband as a property owner and the wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh et al., 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a robust patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete

authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which can take the form of verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against Muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to communicate virtually now. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. In addition to its function as a means of communication, it also serves as a tool for economic, cultural, and religious purposes. Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of contemporary religious discourse, which includes varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap amid the complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of its globalization and popularity in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (2005), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is also shareable. Thus, many religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to

Muttaqin (2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual media by certain religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered more effective in controlling and propagating religious doctrines; for instance, the confession of a convict's spouse is presented below:

> I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms *hijrah* and *qital* was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books, and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim Daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain Annajah web. (Fuqada, personal communication, July 29, 2022)

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group extensively uses virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as Azzam on the Eramuslim website, “O ladies! Take care of yourselves from luxury, because it is the foe of *jihad*.... Teach your children with modesty, manhood, heroism, and jihadi spirit” (Azzam, 2021).

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing

potential *Jihadist*s, raising donations, and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play an influential authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001). However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in various activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies through media. The media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks, such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media, such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017).

> Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin, 2020). These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings so that they empathize with oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and Syria (Mulia, 2019). It can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah* is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female *mujahedeen*, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9 Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out *jihad* due to the suggestions and inquiries of *jihad* to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions (Jibriel Ar, 2014).

Terrorist organizations, according to Saputro (2010), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017), there is a shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly undertaken by women. This is due to the fact that men are easier to detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). Similarly, women are more vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in

controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through force and institutionalization but through factual control via social media (Muniroh et al., 2012). Terrorists know that they can rule anywhere and at any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

Women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both personal and public spaces. Women who join terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their husbands in their struggles (Amelia et al., 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in terrorist circles, and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak due to the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia et al., 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad* narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women so that this phenomenon piles up into theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the justification of joyful religious teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> "Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female *mujahedeens* on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Muslim community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad, was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the

hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter**,** "committing hijrah is motivated by emotional distress and spiritual emptiness. This insight is achieved after realizing past wrongdoings, such as violating Allah's Sharia laws."

Terrorist organizations use the religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* inappropriately to manipulate women's emotions and as justification for terrorist acts. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings; notably, messages of religious teachings about *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in Arrahma.com with the title of "the Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

> I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulting from submission to Allah, and qital turns into war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers. (Fuqada, personal communication, July

29, 2022)

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* portrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still a minority and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital or jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that Muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suarni (2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is the more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over the material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists comment:

> "For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in Sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery." (Fuqada, personal communication, July 29, 2022)

This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which are inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes but are middle-class and highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state to establish an Islamic state in which Western

imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea, on April 10, 2002, as quoted by Dja'far (2018), that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and perception of injustice and Western hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (Dja'far, 2018). The constrained mobility and conspicuousness of male bombers have prompted a shift in operational strategies, leading to a consideration of involving women in the initiative. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding (Qori'ah, 2019).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two women committed acts of terrorism: Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters along with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that

the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to meet her family again in heaven. The author proposed that her parents avoid taking out bank loans due to the practice being considered usury, which is not in accordance with the principles of Allah. The narrative constructed in the testament for her parents is a message of faith that is also imparted to her wife. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick since the husband's contentment is heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in a patriarchal culture and establish herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, which propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb martyr. The terrorists have well recognized the strategy of power over women to engage women as successors because the power works well without the need for buildings and formal legal implications. It can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman, who possess the power to manipulate women into their channels.

This scheme depicts the construction of religious

interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning has been distorted to meet the terrorists' purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. On the other hand, the meaning of hijrah and *qital* is dominated by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the values of sentiments and compliance with men who are thought to be leaders who determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist

F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because some Muslims have monopolized the message with political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings so that such acts of violence, such as suicide bombings and terrors, are accepted as truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as many factors to consider, such as marriage, kinship, and camaraderie, lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations in the same area offer glory, benefits, and development for the sake of Muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the recruitment process.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda. Thus, there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in the female terrorists issue; however, this phenomenon still requires additional investigations to strengthen the published article regarding economic, social, and political aspects.

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JIHAD AND INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS TEXTS ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Abstract

The involvement of women in terrorism circles has led to the emergence of a brand-new terrorist map of the terrorism fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played a private role solely. Their involvement in public spaces in terrorism circles is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's attempts at terror as a series of struggles; it includes defining women's weaknesses and disadvantages by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror, and interpreting *hijrah* and *qital* as justification for *jihad* movement which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, and one ex-convict, as well as the discourse of terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. In addition, virtual media is highly effective in spreading propaganda for women's involvement in the struggle domain for two reasons. First, it broadcasted by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight based on historical background. Second, it propagated by offering new religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media tailored to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

Keywords: Jihad, religious interpretation, female terrorists

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society. The existence of extremist groups spread globally with different typologies, such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), al Qaeda, Taliban (Mubarok & Hamid, 2018; Taskarina, 2020), Boko Haram (Galehan, 2019; Tampomuri, 2019) and several groups that have the same reserve and typology. In Indonesia, extremist groups have had four phases in their development. The first is the emergence of the DI/TII Kartosoewirjo movement. Then, the second is the Komando Jihad movement from the 1970s to 1980s with actors Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Afterward, the third is post-reformation terror and violence movements. The last, fourth phase, is marked by the development of new radical Islamic groups, especially from young groups, which actually still have links with previous generation figures (Mubarak, 2015).

There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives on injustice, as well as Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018). Luwaihiq (Luwaihiq, 2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy, and reached their peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Dr. Azhari and Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia at that time. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh, Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia et al., 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical

organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as *recruiters* (Musfia, 2017). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia et al., 2020).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness reinforced by religious dogma. Consequently, it leaves them with little or no choice but to comply with men in positions of power, whether father or spouse. According to Fadl (Fadl, 2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Hasan (Hasan, 1995), there is a religious sentiment that gender discrimination is caused by the patriarchal system but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an authoritative source of God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance with their husbands and fathers to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky et al., 2022). On the same occasion, the context of 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and

straightforward to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault, 1977, p. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on *jihad* for women are limited to private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic State has an issue with trapping women, thus, their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia et al., 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relations, making it difficult for them to escape from the ideology extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of hijrah and *jihad* in the context of penance, which is perceived as *jihad*. Furthermore, they also changed the concept of *jihad* to meet their organizations' goals and ideology, like Jihadis's Salafi (Syauqillah & Faton, 2019). The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, which are patriarchal and believe in religious interpretation as the

foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and the desire to commit suicide.

B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community, along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to transmit certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhri min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several chapters, including QS. Al Baqarah: 218, QS. An Nisa': 89, QS. Ali Imran: 195, QS. Al Anfal: 72&74, QS. Al Taubah: 20 and QS. Hajj: 58. In general, commentators on *hijra* and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

Thabari (1999, p. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists in order to provide a sense of security related to the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and one religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. In contrast, the verse includes an element of a jihad order that instructs Muslims to execute or fight in response to challenging conditions, attacks, or other similar situations. This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions, who carried out Allah's command but hoped for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of

Badr (Zamakhsyari, 2012, p. 258). This statement is strengthened by al-Qurtubi (Qurtubi, 2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

According to Al-Thababa'i (1987), hijrah mentioned in QS. Al-Baqarah 218 refers to migrating from a particular region where it is unsafe to settle under Islamic law to a place where it is more secure and Islamic. Hijrah also refers to the shift from darkness to brightness and from misguidance to Allah's wisdom. Meanwhile, hijrah in this verse, according to al-Razi (2000), implies migrating from a region that rejects Islam to a place that welcomes and supports Islam. Furthermore, hijrah entails giving up sins and immorality and adhering to Allah's and His Messenger's commandments. Hijrah, according to Al-Tabari (2001), should be carried out with wisdom and patience. Those who have migrated (hijrah) and engaged in jihad on behalf of Allah must adhere to Islamic principles and meet challenges with courage and determination.

Al Sya'rawi (2007) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit to the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Thabari (1999, pp. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from their affiliation.

According to al-Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with the condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims must be apparent with a war action. This is due to the fact that it was against the law for the Prophet to declare war while he was in Mecca. On the contrary, after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to

enshrine the power of adherents and Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al-Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*) since Muslims are not ordered to execute anyone for inacceptable reasons.

The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is conditional only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (al-Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge.

According to al-Zuhaili (2009), qital in QS. al-Baqarah 216 refers to jihad that is made compulsory for a believer in fighting enemies who are indeed unbelievers putting a harm to Muslims. During his stay in Mecca before hijrah, the Prophet was not permitted to battle unbelievers; instead, he was then allowed to engage in battle with the polytheists who fought him when migrating to Medina. On the other hand, in comprehending this verse, Quraish Shihab (Shihab, 2000) states that in nature, Muslims are opposed to war, and it is in essence not accepted by normal people, since war might cause deaths, including the companions whose religion was still growing in their hearts at that time. Allah understood they despised war, yet fighting for justice compelled them when they were hampered.

Al-Shawkani (2014) perceives jihad verses by taking the social and historical contexts into account in which the verse was revealed. He underlined that jihad in Islam was initially intended to defend Muslims against attacks by opponents seeking to undermine Islam. However, as Islam's authority expanded, jihad in Islam became more

associated with da'wah efforts and the propagation of Islam. Meanwhile, Imam al-Qushayri (2018) interprets jihad verses by taking the historical context into account in which they were revealed. According to him, the initial motive for jihad in Islam was to defend Muslims from enemies who tried to bring Islam down. However, as Islam's authority expanded, jihad in Islam became more associated with da'wah efforts and the propagation of Islam.

Ibn Katsir (2018) interprets jihad verses by referring to Islam's mission of adhering to justice and opposing injustice. He emphasized that jihad in Islam must be carried out in order to defend the vulnerable and powerless, as well as to oppose unjust and tyrannical regimes. He also stressed on the significance of adhering to Islamic norms and values when carrying out jihad. According to Al-Nawawi (2016), jihad in Islam must be carried out in conformity with Islamic law and ethics. Unjust acts of violence that violate human rights are not tolerated in Islam. He underlined that in Islam, jihad must be carried out in a reasonable and fair manner, and those acts of violence should only be used as a final step after all non-violent attempts have been made.

Some of the following interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse’s revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors, which causes the loss of part of the archeology of

interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault (1980), knowledge originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies, so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

Women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors; internal and external factors. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic Sharia in its entirety. At the same time, external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut,* as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles occurs not only in Indonesia but has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram. The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a Sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, serving as little mujahideen producers and protectors of organizations and alliance makers (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

Women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (Arlinsa, 2022), family plays a significant role and impact on transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror so that women can be controlled and directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya et al., 2020). Hence, kinship in

terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying on the struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take the form of kinship relationships, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian but to several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly the patriarchal culture (Wagner et al., 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. According to Hasan (1995), marriage is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019). Nevertheless, the relationship pattern is often built more of a feudal owner who places the husband as a property owner and the wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh et al., 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a robust patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which can take the form of

verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against Muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to communicate virtually now. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. In addition to its function as a means of communication, it also serves as a tool for economic, cultural, and religious purposes. Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of contemporary religious discourse, which includes varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap amid the complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of its globalization and popularity in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (Eriyanto, 2005), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is also shareable. Thus, many religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to Muttaqin (Muttaqin, 2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual media by certain religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered more effective in controlling and propagating religious

doctrines; for instance, the confession of a convict's spouse is presented below:

> I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms *hijrah* and *qital* was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books, and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim Daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain Annajah web (Fuqada, 2022).

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group extensively uses virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as Azzam on the Eramuslim website, "O ladies! Take care of yourselves from luxury, because it is the foe of *jihad*.... Teach your children with modesty, manhood, heroism, and jihadi spirit." (Azzam, 2021)

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing potential *Jihadist*s, raising donations, and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh et al., 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play an influential authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001).

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However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in various activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies through media. The media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks, such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media, such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

> Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin, 2020). These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings so that they empathize with oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and Syria (Mulia, 2019). It can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah* is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female *mujahedeen*, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9

> Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out *jihad* due to the suggestions and inquiries of *jihad* to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions (Jibriel, 2014).

Terrorist organizations, according to Saputro (2010), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017), there is a shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly undertaken by women. This is due to the fact that men are easier to detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi et al., 2021). Similarly, women are more vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through force and institutionalization but through factual control via social media (Muniroh et al.,

2012). Terrorists know that they can rule anywhere and at any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

Women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both personal and public spaces. Women who join terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their husbands in their struggles (Amelia et al., 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (Natsir, 2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in terrorist circles, and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak due to the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia et al., 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad* narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women so that this phenomenon piles up into theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the

justification of joyful religious teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> "Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female *mujahedeens* on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Muslim community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad, was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; I. J. Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter**,** **"**committing hijrah is motivated by emotional distress and spiritual emptiness. This insight is achieved after realizing past wrongdoings, such as violating Allah's Sharia laws."

Terrorist organizations use the religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* inappropriately to manipulate

women's emotions and as justification for terrorist acts. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings; notably, messages of religious teachings about *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in Arrahma.com with the title of "the Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (Arlinsa, 2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

> I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulting from submission to Allah, and qital turns into war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers (Fuqada, 2022).

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* portrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still a minority and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital or jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that Muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suarni (Suarni, 2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four

types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is the more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over the material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists comment:

> "For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in Sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery." (Fuqada, 2022).

This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which are inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes but are middle-class and highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state to establish an Islamic state in which Western imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea, on April 10, 2002, as quoted by Dja'far (2018), that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and perception of injustice and Western hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law

enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (Dja'far, 2018). The constrained mobility and conspicuousness of male bombers have prompted a shift in operational strategies, leading to a consideration of involving women in the initiative. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding (Qori'ah, 2019).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two women committed acts of terrorism: Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters along with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to meet her family again in heaven. The author proposed that her parents avoid taking out bank loans due to the practice being

considered usury, which is not in accordance with the principles of Allah. The narrative constructed in the testament for her parents is a message of faith that is also imparted to her wife. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick since the husband's contentment is heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in a patriarchal culture and establish herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, which propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb martyr. The terrorists have well recognized the strategy of power over women to engage women as successors because the power works well without the need for buildings and formal legal implications. It can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman, who possess the power to manipulate women into their channels.

This scheme depicts the construction of religious interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning has been distorted to meet the terrorists' purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. On the other hand, the meaning of hijrah and *qital* is dominated by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the values of sentiments and compliance with men who are thought to be leaders who determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist

F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because some Muslims have monopolized the message with political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings so that such acts of violence, such as suicide bombings and terrors, are accepted as truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as many factors to consider, such as marriage,

kinship, and camaraderie, lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations in the same area offer glory, benefits, and development for the sake of Muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the recruitment process.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda. Thus, there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in the female terrorists issue; however, this phenomenon still requires additional investigations to strengthen the published article regarding economic, social, and political aspects.

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JIHAD AND INTERPRETATION OF RELIGIOUS TEXTS ON FEMALE TERRORISTS IN INDONESIA

Ahmad Atabik

ahmad.atabik@iainkudus.ac.id
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kudus, Indonesia

Moh Muhtador

muhtador@iainkudus.ac.id
Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kudus, Indonesia

Abstract

The involvement of women in terrorism circles has led to the emergence of a brand-new terrorist map of the terrorism fight in Indonesia, where women had previously played a private role solely. Their involvement in public spaces in terrorism circles is closely associated with patriarchal culture and transformation in the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* as a means of *jihad*. This paper aims to explore the three domains of women's attempts at terror as a series of struggles; it includes defining women's weaknesses and disadvantages by patriarchal circles, using media to encourage women's emotional enthusiasm in the circle of terror, and interpreting *hijrah* and *qital* as justification for *jihad* movement which becomes a spirit for women to commit terrors. The data in this study came from observations, interviews with two female terrorists, one terrorist advisor, and one ex-convict, as well as the discourse of

terror-related web publications. This study reveals that male terrorists exploit patriarchal culture to establish religious authority in their organizations. In addition, virtual media is highly effective in spreading propaganda for women's involvement in the struggle domain for two reasons. First, it broadcasted by providing *fatwas* on the women's consent to fight based on historical background. Second, it propagated by offering new religious interpretations of the terms *hijrah* and *qital* as *jihad* media tailored to the terrorist organizations' missions and goals.

Keywords: Jihad, Religious Interpretation, Female Terrorists.

A. Introduction

Radical and extremist organizations have been a significant concern in the nation's life because they are a menace in a pluralistic society. The existence of extremist groups spread globally with different typologies, such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), al Qaeda, Taliban (Mubarok & Hamid, 2018; Taskarina, 2020), Boko Haram (Galehan, 2019; Tampomuri, 2019)and several groups that have the same reserve and typology. In Indonesia, extremist groups have had four phases in their development. The first is the emergence of the DI/TII Kartosoewirjo movement. Then, the second is the Komando Jihad movement from the 1970s to 1980s with actors Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Afterward, the third is post-reformation terror and violence movements. The last, fourth phase, is marked by the development of new radical Islamic groups, especially from young groups, which actually still have links with previous generation figures (Mubarak, 2015).

There are several factors that contribute to radical and extremist organizations, such as a lack of knowledge and perspectives on injustice, as well as Western hegemony (Dja'far, 2018). Luwaihiq (2014) classified the existence of extremism into three categories: its relations to scientific methodology, psychological and educational aspects, and social and global issues. Suicide bombings carried out by radical groups shocked Indonesia in 2000, blasting at the Philippines Embassy, and reached their peak during the Bali Bombings I and II. Dr. Azhari and Noordin M. Top were the initial masterminds behind the bombings in Indonesia at that time. The tragedy of the suicide bombings in Indonesia is closely related to the roles of female terrorists, such as Putri Munawaroh, Munfiatun, and Arian Rahma, who assisted in the concealment of Noordin M. Top (Amelia *et al.,* 2020; Qori'ah, 2019).

Women's involvement in radical and extremist movements is a form of devotion since the highest form of devotion for a married woman is to be faithful to her husband. Such doctrine is firmly taught in radical organizations (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). Women's devotion to their spouses in carrying out the suicide bombing campaign is wide-ranging and progressing, such as being indirect supporters; those with social, moral, and material sentiments to their husband's vision, as well as direct supporters with the suicide bombing struggles, despite being not martyrs, rather engaging in training, and those who are directly involved as *recruiters* (Musfia, 2017). The women's engagement in suicide bombings is also inspired by psychological factors, as they are motivated by circumstances, morals, and group solidarity (Amelia *et al.,* 2020).

The women's involvement in the circles of terrorism is founded on paternalistic cultural awareness reinforced by religious dogma. Consequently, it leaves them with little or no choice but to comply with men in positions of power, whether father or spouse. According to Fadl (2001), the use of religious dogma—particularly the Prophet's hadith—in legitimizing a husband's actions against his wife has been sustainable for a long time, and this situation is mostly carried out by religious traditionalist groups. According to Hasan (1995, p. 36), there is a religious sentiment that gender discrimination is caused by the patriarchal system but is justified by religious texts and regarded as an authoritative source of God. Radical organizations are well aware that authoritative religious teachings explicitly mention women's compliance with their husbands and fathers to justify the collective struggle (Resnyansky *et al.,* 2022). On the same occasion, the context of 'power' is used to take control of women, particularly when men employ religious discourse as a medium in undermining and taking control of women through religious dogma, thereby husbands get a role as the ones who understand religious teachings related to women, despite men domination becoming more prevalent. It is possible and straightforward to persuade women to become suicide bombers (Foucault, 1977, p. 101).

Many studies on women in terrorist circles have been conducted with a wide range of perspectives proposed, and these studies do not only focus on comprehending religion because various aspects and indications found in the women's involvement allow the studies to be arranged into three domains. *Firstly*, studies on *jihad* for women are limited to

private areas, such as dealing with care for family disgrace and preparing children to be religious warriors. In this context, women who engage in terrorist behavior are deemed as both instruments and victims (Muniroh *et al.,* 2012; Saputro, 2010). *Secondly*, the Islamic State has an issue with trapping women, thus, their identity has become a new strategy in terrorist acts. Women's roles are considered effective since their strong sense of feminism with naturally affectionate, caring, and non-violent characteristics can accommodate terrorist acts (Amelia *et al.,* 2020; Galehan, 2019; Hartana, 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017; Natsir, 2015; Nurfahmi, Rifai, & Marsingga, 2021). *Thirdly*, the strong patriarchism based on religious messages nearly encourages the doctrine of extremism for women, leading extremism as an ideology to a strong effect on women with family relations, making it difficult for them to escape from the ideology extremism (Arlinsa, 2022; Muttaqin, 2020; Taskarina, 2020).

This study reveals that female terrorists reinterpreted the concept of hijrah and *jihad* in the context of penance, which is perceived as *jihad*. Furthermore, they also changed the concept of *jihad* to meet their organizations' goals and ideology, like Jihadis's Salafi (Syauqillah & Faton, 2019). The existence of *jihad* reinterpretation cannot be separated from the religious cultures experienced by the female terrorist, which are patriarchal and believe in religious interpretation as the foundation of religion. These two reasons contribute to the justification for women's participation in terrorism and the desire to commit suicide.

B. The Concept of *Hijrah* and *Qital* in Exegesis Literature

The phenomenon of *hijrah* and *qital* has now become a trend in the life of the Indonesian Muslim community, along with the development of social media as a platform for expressing contemporary religious ideas. Belatedly, in the 2000s, the two terms became an ideological issue frequently used to recruit and influence others in propagating a certain ideology to transmit certain religious teachings.

The two terms in the Quran have a variety of dialectics, such as *hijr, ukhriju min dhiyar, qital,* and *jihad*. Each term has a particular meaning related to the condition of Arab society at the time of the Quran's revelation. These two words appear side by side with one sentence in the Quran, which is referenced in several chapters, including QS. Al Baqarah: 218, QS. An Nisa': 89, QS. Ali Imran: 195, QS. Al Anfal: 72&74, QS. Al Taubah: 20 and QS. Hajj: 58. In general, commentators on *hijrah* and *qital* verses have had an early Islamic history.

Thabari (1999, p. 317) commented on QS. Al-Baqarah 218 that the term *hijrah* refers to the Muslims' predicament in which they were still threatened and intimidated by the Meccan polytheists in order to provide a sense of security related to the command to migrate (*hijrah*) to a safer place. In this context, the purpose of *hijrah* is to save oneself and one religion from the defamation of idolatrous rulers. In contrast, the verse includes an element of a jihad order that instructs Muslims to execute or fight in response to challenging conditions, attacks, or other similar situations. This verse particularly refers to Abdullah ibn Jahsy and his companions, who carried out Allah's command but hoped for a reward. This occurred two months before the Battle of Badr

(Zamakhsyari, 2012, p. 258). This statement is strengthened by al-Qurtubi (2014), suggesting that the term *hijrah* derived from this verse refers to a command to save the Prophet from the polytheists and hypocrites' wrongdoings in the early days of Islam, such as the Muslims' migration in times of war or to avoid non-permissible things.

Al Sya'rawi (2007) interpreted *hijrah* in this verse as *taklif* for a Muslim to fully commit to the path of Allah through property, position, and family and to get out of difficult situations that can lead to disbelief. Thabari (1999, pp. 17–20) supported this perspective by claiming that *hijrah* is a command to leave the polytheists' territory and separate themselves from their affiliation.

According to al-Maraghi (2002), the earlier verse of QS. Al-Baqarah 218 is the very first one suggesting *qital* (war), with the condition that the hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims must be apparent with a war action. This is due to the fact that it was against the law for the Prophet to declare war while he was in Mecca. On the contrary, after *hijrah*, the *qital* command was applied as a consequence to enshrine the power of adherents and Allah's religion due to the defamation that was threatening in faith for Muslims and the potential to return to the polytheists. Similarly to al-Qurtubi (2014), the *qital* command is applied when someone impedes a Muslim's faith (*tawhid*) since Muslims are not ordered to execute anyone for inacceptable reasons.

The term *qital* literally means to execute hypocrites in a polytheist territory and those changing the country as well as the ban on appointing a leader (government) from the polytheist community. The command to execute is conditional

only if the disbelief and hostility narration is clearly visible (Thabari, 1999). This perspective is supported by al-Qurtubi (2014), who claimed that *qital* is a result of violating the peace pact and pledge.

According to al-Zuhaili (2009), qital in QS. al-Baqarah 216 refers to *jihad* that is made compulsory for a believer to fight enemies who are indeed unbelievers putting harm to Muslims. During his stay in Mecca before hijrah, the Prophet was not permitted to battle unbelievers; instead, he was then allowed to engage in battle with the polytheists who fought him when migrating to Medina. On the other hand, in comprehending this verse, Quraish Shihab (Shihab, 2000) states that in nature, Muslims are opposed to war, and it is, in essence, not accepted by normal people since a war might cause deaths, including the companions whose religion was still growing in their hearts at that time. Allah understood they despised war, yet fighting for justice compelled them when they were hampered.

Al-Shawkani (2014) perceives jihad verses by considering the social and historical contexts in which the verse was revealed. He underlined that *jihad* in Islam was initially intended to defend Muslims against attacks by opponents seeking to undermine Islam. However, as Islam's authority expanded, *jihad* in Islam became more associated with da'wah efforts and the propagation of Islam. Meanwhile, Imam al-Qushayri (2018) interprets jihad verses by considering the historical context in which they were revealed. According to him, the initial motive for *jihad* in Islam was to defend Muslims from enemies who tried to bring Islam down. However, as Islam's authority expanded, *jihad* in

Islam became more associated with da'wah efforts and the propagation of Islam.

Ibn Katsir (2018) interprets jihad verses by referring to Islam's mission of upholding justice and opposing injustice. He emphasized that *jihad* in Islam must be carried out in order to defend the vulnerable and powerless, as well as to oppose unjust and tyrannical regimes. He also stressed the significance of adhering to Islamic norms and values when carrying out *jihad*. According to Al-Nawawi (2016), *jihad* in Islam must conform with Islamic law and ethics. Unjust acts of violence that violate human rights are not tolerated in Islam. He underlined that in Islam, jihad must be carried out in a reasonable and fair manner, and those acts of violence should only be used as a final step after all non-violent attempts have been made.

Some of the following interpretations are based on archaeological information widely documented at its time and served as a reference for the majority of Muslims (Foucault, 1980). This archeology suggests that each commentator's competency and mastery of meaning (concepts) are exceptional in terms of linguistic and socio-historical perspectives of the Qur'an verse's revelation. Therefore, these interpretations have become the archeology of knowledge taken into account in interpreting meanings due to the loss of interpretative religious discourse from historical, cultural, and linguistic factors, which causes the loss of part of the archeology of interpretation knowledge. According to Foucault (1980), knowledge originates from archeology, which is carefully arranged from previous societies so that knowledge can be read and recognized as archeology is still neatly kept.

C. The Patriarchal Circles in Female Terrorists

Women's involvement in terrorism is commonly caused by two factors; internal and external factors. Internal factors focus more on psycho-theological aspects, such as their dreams of living in an Islamic country and carrying out Islamic Sharia in its entirety. At the same time, external factors suggest socio-ideological aspects, such as issues of injustice, democracy, and *tagut,* as motives for women to join terrorist organizations. This women's engagement in terrorist circles occurs not only in Indonesia but has also practically become a global phenomenon, as demonstrated by ISIS and Boko Haram. The Boko Haram organization employed women as weapons in addition to its objective of establishing a Sharia state (Galehan, 2019). These organizations thoroughly exploit women in their struggles, serving as little mujahideen producers and protectors of organizations and alliance makers (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

Women's participation in terrorist acts is associated with the phenomenon of global terrorism, which can closely be correlated with numerous approaches, such as through brotherhood, marriage, and immigrants (Galehan, 2019; Saputro, 2010). One approach is through marriage, which is ideological in nature and compels women to accept their husband's decisions. According to Arlinsa (2022), family plays a significant role and impact on transforming women's thoughts, actions, and terror so that women can be controlled and directed based on the requirements and desires of a husband (Asiya *et al.,* 2020). Hence, kinship in terrorist networks is tightly controlled in order to maintain the hierarchy and produce generations capable of carrying

on the struggle. Terrorist networks in Indonesia take the form of kinship relationships, which can be gained through friendship and marriage, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was arrested before committing a terrorist act.

Patriarchy in terrorist circles did not only happen to Dian but to several other women involved in the circles, such as Zakia. The phenomenon of women becoming terrorists is closely related to the environment, particularly the patriarchal culture (Wagner *et al.,* 2012). Men's dominance in women's lives cannot be undone since this culture justifies controlling women. According to Hasan (1995), marriage is a crime against humanity since it allows patriarchal culture to enslave women and prevent them from developing, which is justified by cultural and religious norms.

The strong patriarchal culture in the circles of terrorism makes women realize that their freedom to move is restricted, so this awareness determines their existence as weak individuals who must be kept safe by strict religious rules (Qori'ah, 2019). Nevertheless, the relationship pattern is often built more of a feudal owner who places the husband as a property owner and the wife as a complement to the husband in all activities (Muniroh *et al.,* 2012). Thus, the phenomenon of women's involvement in the circles of terrorism cannot be separated from a robust patriarchal culture. It can be achieved through marriage, as patriarchal culture demands women to submit to their husbands. According to Puritanism theology, husbands have complete authority over their wives and God (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017). As a result, women who are part of the terrorist circles must agree to a single authority or interpretation in religion, which

can take the form of verdicts, commands, and prohibitions for women undertaken by a husband. The religious context, in the form of a single interpretation, is also a source of reinforcing patriarchal culture in the terrorist circles, as in the case of Dian, who asserts the doctrine of killing, or Zakia, who perceives injustice against Muslims on social media.

D. The *Hijrah* and *Qital* Narration as a Powerful Discourse on Media

The advent of electronic media enables people to communicate virtually now. Virtual media offers significant advantages to its users. In addition to its function as a means of communication, it also serves as a tool for economic, cultural, and religious purposes. Furthermore, it contributes to the enlivening of contemporary religious discourse, which includes varieties and various religious understandings ranging from liberal, moderate, and even extremist. The use of virtual media as a platform to convey religious teachings is a giant leap amid the complex life of contemporary religious communities. Virtual media can better meet the needs of the society's religious aspects because of its globalization and popularity in nature, thereby making it unlimited by time and place (Graham, 1999).

According to Eriyanto (2005), virtual media has a powerful impact on changing and constructing contemporary religious discourse, and it is also shareable. Thus, many religious organizations make use of it as a platform to indoctrinate religious messages. According to Muttaqin (2020), media is a commodification of religion in regards to influencing and propagating ideology. The use of virtual

media by certain religious groups, especially terrorist ones, is considered more effective in controlling and propagating religious doctrines; for instance, the confession of a convict's spouse is presented below:

> I confirmed that my initial exposure to the terms *hijrah* and *qital* was through Islamic magazines, Islamic books, and direct studies from preachers. However, it is currently available through online media and Islamic websites, such as Muslim Daily, arrahmah.com, al Islam, eramuslim.com, and Zain Annajah web. (Fuqada, personal communication, July 29, 2022)

Such group models are typically controlled by specific religious organizations and leaders, and are commonly referred to as *a new religion*, where a person is no longer studying in specific learning spots such as *pesantren*, *musala*, and *surau*, instead of directly through virtual media (Jinan, 2012). Because of the lack of authority, authenticity, and religious competency in the new religion in virtual media, the media has turned into a strategic option for terrorist organizations to promote religious discourse in order to manipulate others.

This group extensively uses virtual networks as a recruitment and propaganda tool that is widely accessible to users who can inspire terrorist attacks (Hartana, 2017), such as Azzam on the Eramuslim website, "O ladies! Take care of yourselves from luxury, because it is the foe of *jihad*.... Teach your children with modesty, manhood, heroism, and jihadi spirit" (Azzam, 2021).

This fatwa indicates that in the early days of the struggle, terrorists exploited women as a second line of defense, preparing them in a secret environment for the jihad fight. This arrangement is a strategy for preparing potential *Jihadist*s, raising donations, and encouraging the husband's struggle (Muniroh *et al.,* 2012; Saputro, 2010). In this scenario, terrorist organizations play an influential authority role, which is believed to be a form of competence given by their expertise through virtual media (Fadl, 2001). However, women's participation in the succeeding struggle was not limited to private areas; they were involved in various activities, including bombings. The reason for this is that terrorist organizations make extensive use of women who are technologically competent to formulate strategies through media. The media is employed as a means of propaganda, media as a means of raising funds and strengthening networks, such as *Jihadist* campaigns that have been propagated through virtual media, such as Dian's involvement in the following excerpt from an interview with Tempo quoted by Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017).

> Dian began with qualms. "Initially, I was curious; why murder, why cutting hands off?" It seems to be really hard. On Facebook, I aggressively disagreed and argued with the jihadists. I was against them for months. Then, they asked me, "Sister, what would you do if you or your family was raped? Are you furious? "Yes, I am."

Terrorist organizations make use of the narration on *hijrah*, Islamic State, Caliphate, and *jihad* by war to recruit women through virtual media (Mupida & Mustolehudin,

2020). These narrations are a form of propaganda designed to arouse the emotions of the Muslim community in order to return to pure Islamic teachings so that they empathize with oppressed women in Islamic countries such as Palestine, Yemen, and Syria (Mulia, 2019). It can be seen from Abu Muhammad Jibriel Ar's remark derived from Arrahmah.com entitled "*Female Muslim's Jealousy of Jihad Practice*."

> *Al-Jihad fi sabilillah* is Islam's ultimate level of devotion. It is the greatest and most laudable pillar and summit of Islam… There she is, a female *mujahedeen*, an orator and spokeswoman for the Prophet's female companions, a hadith narrator, a very courageous mujahedeen who had murdered 9 Roman soldiers at the battle of Yarmuk; … Asma bint Yazid bin As-Sakan Al-Ansariyyah, and Umm Salamah. These two female companions are believed to have been the pioneers of women carrying out *jihad* due to the suggestions and inquiries of *jihad* to the Prophet proposed by the two female companions (Jibriel Ar, 2014).

Terrorist organizations, according to Saputro (2010), make use of arguments about the struggle of female companions who fought in the *Uhud* war. At that time, there were approximately 67 women who fought alongside the Prophet, some of whom were pregnant, and Nusayba was a woman who contributed and was seriously injured. According to the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (2017), there is a shift in the strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to carry out attacks, where bomb executors were initially mostly carried out by men and are now mostly undertaken by women. This is due to the fact that men are easier to

detect when carrying out attacks, as opposed to women, who are more exclusive with a gentle and tactful nature, making it difficult to spot (Hartana, 2017; Nurfahmi *et al.,* 2021). Similarly, women are more vulnerable and easily influenced emotionally by the suffering of female Muslims throughout the Muslim world. Therefore, terrorists can easily control, command, and overtake women through social media. Terrorist organizations employ the strategy of indoctrinating power to recruit new cadres because they have figured out that conventional strategies are no longer effective in controlling and are easily detectable.

The use of power practiced by terrorist organizations through the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* (*jihad*) is seen to be effective in engaging women. They do not hold power through force and institutionalization but through factual control via social media (Muniroh *et al.,* 2012). Terrorists know that they can rule anywhere and at any time utilizing purely religious teachings as justification, such as the hadith suggesting that those who take good care of the families of *jihad* strugglers will receive the same reward as those committing *jihad*. This narration is a strategy adopted by terrorist organizations to persuade women who show their compliance by consciously conducting their faith or passions (Foucault, 1977).

E. Theological Fantasy as Penance in Propagating Terror

Women's participation in terrorist organizations cannot be separated from patriarchal culture, as well as the narration of *jihad* and *qital* on social media as power. These two phenomena have evolved into a new strategy for recruiting and, at the same time, undermining women in both

personal and public spaces. Women who join terrorist circles are conscious of their own flaws and assist their husbands in their struggles (Amelia *et al.,* 2020). According to Lies Marcoes (2015) women deliberately recognize a hierarchy that separates men from women in terrorist circles, and this recognition raises an enthusiasm to make changes to get the same opportunities and hierarchy in their religious beliefs on a theological basis. The women's recognition of their position and hierarchy indicates that they are indeed weak due to the patriarchal system, and one method of undermining women is through religious symbols and teachings.

Religious symbols and teachings are important factors in encouraging women to participate in the field of *jihad* (Amelia *et al.,* 2020). This motivation through a virtual world with the *jihad* narration has become a tool to provide emotional motivation for women so that this phenomenon piles up into theological fantasy, that is, a picture of an individual getting a better life than before with the justification of joyful religious teachings, such as what a *jihadist* advisor claims:

> "Basically, women have a strong desire to take part in the religious struggle. This is achieved after witnessing female *mujahedeens* on social media websites such as arrahmah.com and eramuslim.com as compensation for previous wrongdoings. The women's desire grows when they learn that men engaging in the struggle practice polygamy, leading women to believe that they must fight."

The teachings of *hijrah* and *qital* found in the Qur'an substantially portray the phenomenon of early Arab society in Mecca between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Muslim

community did not have much movement in the early days to propagate their teachings, so the option to take to preserve their faith, along with the Prophet Muhammad, was to migrate as a form of devotion to Islam. Furthermore, they struggled for *jihad* in order to maintain the unity of the believers in their hope for Allah's mercy. The call for hijrah also asserts not to make friends with or seek assistance from hypocrites who criticized the Prophet Muhammad because hypocrites persuaded idolatry, and it was permissible to kill when there was intervention in enshrining Islam during the *hijrah* (Maraghi, 2002; Thabari, 1999). Likewise, hijrah means to serve Prophet Muhammad and strive to uphold his *Sunnah*. This service was done in response to the polytheists' threats to Mecca's believers, who opted to migrate to Medina. However, in the hands of female terrorists, these two terms are interpreted extremely, as found in the Police Headquarters bomber's letter**, "**committing hijrah is motivated by emotional distress and spiritual emptiness. This insight is achieved after realizing past wrongdoings, such as violating Allah's Sharia laws."

Terrorist organizations use the religious teachings that suggest *hijrah* and *qital* inappropriately to manipulate women's emotions and as justification for terrorist acts. The use of religious teachings by the terrorist organizations is to manipulate the contextual meanings; notably, messages of religious teachings about *hijrah* and *qital* are no longer interpreted as a spirit of control and defense, as published in Arrahma.com with the title of "the Qur'an dealing with hijrah and jihad was interpreted with the women's roles to fight". This interpretation simply emphasizes the literal meaning, not the context of the verse's revelation, resulting in coercion

in interpreting the Qur'an verses. According to Arlinsa (2022), the existence of women as a terror may have been caused by spiritual emptiness and compassion. They believe that they are not yet completely accepted in the organizations, so that the women can interpret the verses of the Qur'an along with the life they have been living with the terrorists through both recitation and internal doctrines, such as the following convict's wife's confession:

> I believe that the concept of hijrah is to migrate or leave something to a better place or to be better for Allah. Qital is the practice of jihad in defending Allah by fighting or battling with disbelievers and enemies of Islam... The concept of jihad and qital develops in the transfer of faith resulting from submission to Allah, and qital turns into war to those who are against Islam, particularly disbelievers. (Fuqada, personal communication, July 29, 2022)

As a matter of fact, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* portrays the condition of Muslims in the early days when they were still a minority and how the call for *hijrah* as a form of faith and self-preservation had to be made. Similarly, the call for *qital or jihad* as a form of protection and self-defense that Muslims must carry out in response to violence committed by polytheists and hypocrites (Maraghi, 2002). Suarni (2016) classified *hijrah* in the Quran into four types: struggling strategy, civilization building, unity, and egalitarian community building. The concept established among female terrorists is the more theological-doctrinal nuance that emphasizes the final redemption aspect over the material aspect as individuals, such as an ex-terrorists comment:

> "For me, Jihad means becoming a better person, not just in Sharia physical attributes, but also in spiritual ones. Hijrah means to carry out worship correctly and perfectly. Yet, because Indonesia isn't at war, qital is defined as physically defending Allah's religion. Better prepare yourself physically, be a strong Muslim, be healthy, and have a strong faith. If it's possible, you can engage yourself in sunnah sports, such as horseback riding, swimming, and archery." (Fuqada, personal communication, July 29, 2022)

This reality indicates that the terrorist organizations interpret religious teachings with ideological narration, that is, the spirit of *hijrah* and *qital* patterns which are inspired by political interests to achieve the main goals, as the culprits are no longer from the lower classes but are middle-class and highly educated people (Setiadi, 2019).

According to the ex-wife of a convicted terrorist, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to construct an Islamic sharia state to establish an Islamic state in which Western imperialism, which causes problems for Muslims, is abolished. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) stated at an anti-terrorism conference in Seoul, South Korea, on April 10, 2002, as quoted by Dja'far (2018), that the existence of extremism is caused by two factors: shallow understanding and perception of injustice and Western hegemony. Furthermore, there are four factors contributing to the strength of terrorist organizations; *first,* democracy and human rights reinforcement; *second*, Islamic education and Islamic community's history; *third*, rules of law enforcement; and *fourth*, the concept of national pluralism development (Dja'far, 2018). The constrained mobility and

conspicuousness of male bombers have prompted a shift in operational strategies, leading to a consideration of involving women in the initiative. There are several women involved in the terrorist movements with their own different roles, such as Wahyu Cahyaningsih (the wife of Sugeng Waluyo, the perpetrator of the Cimanggis Bombing), Rasidah bint Subari (the wife of Husain, a fugitive of the Singapore Bombing), Ruqayah bint Husain (the wife of Umar Patek, the culprit of the Bali Bombing I), Deni Carmelita (the wife of Pepi Fernando, the culprit of the Book and Serpong Bombing), Rosmawati, who contributed to the Santoto group's funding (Qori'ah, 2019).

Some of these women were previously involved in terrorist acts, while others with various roles appeared later on, such as Dian Yulia Novi, who was planning to carry out an attack at the *Istana Presiden* (presidential palace) with her husband, who used to be Bahrun Naim's apprentice. Following Dian, two women committed acts of terrorism: Zaskia, who terrorized the National Police Headquarters along with weapons, and YSF, who accompanied her husband, Lukman, to carry out the bombing at the Makasar Cathedral Church. As an intelligence and terrorism observer, Al-Chaidar stated that the motive for the terrorist attack at the Cathedral Church in Makassar was retaliation for the arrest and shooting of their colleagues several months earlier. A woman was responsible for the suicide bombing (Damhuri, 2021). In a short message broadcasted on electronic media, the culprit wrote a testament letter to her parents, stating that the journey taken by the bomber of the Cathedral Church in Makassar was believed to be a path blessed by God and that she hoped to

meet her family again in heaven. The author proposed that her parents avoid taking out bank loans due to the practice being considered usury, which is not in accordance with the principles of Allah. The narrative constructed in the testament for her parents is a message of faith that is also imparted to her wife. In the traditionalist custom, a wife cannot reject a husband's request and invitation even if she is sick since the husband's contentment is heaven for the wife (El Fadl, 2003; Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2017).

The message of the Makassar bombers' story is similar to that of Dian's. Dian's marriage to Solihin opened a new chapter in her life, allowing her to engage in a patriarchal culture and establish herself as a bomb candidate. Marriage is a commanded sacred ritual, but the culture of marriage is still heavily influenced by patriarchal culture, which propagates male hegemony. Dian's journey of marriage and the direction of *jihad* is a form of a patriarchal circle within her, allowing her to become a bomb martyr. The terrorists have well recognized the strategy of power over women to engage women as successors because the power works well without the need for buildings and formal legal implications. It can be through strategic positions, such as Sholihin and Lukman, who possess the power to manipulate women into their channels.

This scheme depicts the construction of religious interpretation on female terrorists, of which verse meaning has been distorted to meet the terrorists' purposes. In interpreting the words *hijrah* and *qital*, the development of the initial interpretation is not seen as a foundation. On the other hand, the meaning of hijrah and *qital* is dominated by patriarchal culture, which is thought to be a religious

teaching. Such interpretations are propagated on social media as justification for recruiting new followers. This content is based on the values of sentiments and compliance with men who are thought to be leaders who determine the lives of women in this world and hereafter.

Archeology of Religious Interpretation on Female Terrorist

F. Conclusion

This article shows that the narration of *hijrah* and *qital* no longer refers to the pure message of religious teachings because some Muslims have monopolized the message with

political interests. These political interests highlight acts of violence over values of religious teachings so that such acts of violence, such as suicide bombings and terrors, are accepted as truth. Furthermore, the concept of *hijrah* and *qital* is a tool used to take control of women into becoming involved with and struggling with terrorist organizations in carrying out acts of terror.

Women's involvement in terrorist circles is not monotonous, as many factors to consider, such as marriage, kinship, and camaraderie, lead to their involvement. Terrorist organizations in the same area offer glory, benefits, and development for the sake of Muslims through social media as a means of provocation for the community to engage in the struggle together. Women who see reality through their emotions are more likely to get involved in the recruitment process.

This article merely reveals the development of theories and meanings associated with *hijrah* and *qital*, which are utilized as media for *jihad* propaganda. Thus, there are many other aspects of the topic dealing with women and terrorism that can be studied further. The authors believe that the effect of religion and patriarchal society is an important factor in the female terrorists issue; however, this phenomenon still requires additional investigations to strengthen the published article regarding economic, social, and political aspects.

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