

# Salasika

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# 'Bride Terrorist' in Indonesia: Is She Still Considered as a Peace Agency?

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## **ABSTRACT**

ISIS and Al-Qaeda are now recruiting women to join terrorism groups. These two large terrorist groups even show the real use of women as suicide bombers in terrorist acts. This is certainly controversial since women have a close relationship with peace. It indicates a shift in traditional feminist thinking saying that women are identical with peace. The involvement of women in terrorism can also be traced in Indonesia. In December 2016, Indonesia was shocked by the arrest of a prospective suicide bomber with her husband. The phenomenon occurred along with female Chechen suicide bombers, Black Widows, who blew themselves up to avenge their husbands' death. This paper aims to explain the involvement of women in the world of terrorism and any reason taken by women to commit suicide bombings. The result of this research revealed that women were involved in terrorism because of patriarchal culture and personal factors that was based on religion by doctrinization in Indonesia.

KEYWORDS: *women, bride, terrorism, Indonesia*

## **INTRODUCTION**

The declaration of war on terrorism constructed a new perspective in Western society about Islamic world, particularly Islamic extremist groups that were seen as threats. Besides Al-Qaeda, another Islamic extremist group is ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), which is currently the world major spotlight that is also using jihad to motivate act for terrorism. In that case, most of terrorist acts were done by men who kindly sacrificed themselves and became fighters for jihad battle. In the same time, extremist terrorist groups, including Al-Qaeda and ISIS, also recruited women to

participate in bombing activities as a new strategic move.

In Indonesia, the increasing threat of terrorism was marked by series of Bali I & II bombings on 12<sup>th</sup> October 2002 and 1<sup>st</sup> October 2005. Furthermore, in 2016, news of the arrest of four women as potential suicide bombers or the "Brides Terrorist" who wanted to attack presidential office shocked many people. In addition to being directly involved in the bombing, they also had a desire to participate in jihadist action with ISIS in Syria. Previous research has revealed that over 100 Indonesian women and children have traveled to Syria to join ISIS since 2013 and most have been

deported (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017; Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017).

Indonesia as the largest Muslim country has high chances for its women to engage in acts of terrorism for jihad. There are various Islamist groups and it becomes a particular reason for women to join extremist groups. Indonesian Government stated there were around 1,200 Indonesian ISIS supporters, recruited through religious events at Mosques and even in educational places, especially universities and Islamic boarding school. Moreover, Al-Qaeda, ISIS and other extremist groups also recruit members through social media. Before 2009, Indonesian women who wanted to be a "cyber jihadist" had to pretend to be a man by using a male name online (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017)

Feminist point of view assumed that terrorism activities were relatively done by men. However, this paper will discuss another side of women who are constructed as agents of peace and associated with the opposite side of war. Theoretically, based on gendered division of violence, men and women are seen as soldiers – mother, protectors – protected, aggressive – passive, battlefield – home front, batterers – victims. However, in this terrorism act, it is hard to sustain these divisions in the face of women's greater visibility and activity (Peterson, 2014).

Furthermore, 'moral feminists' argued that women's special relationship with peace was women's experience of maternity

and can be essentialist views on 'women nature'. Peace became one subject on which women were empowered to speak publicly. Based on these facts, it is clear that the role of women in the 21<sup>st</sup> century becomes high. Even the view that act is another figure of women's agency in their political (or even criminal) violence is denied by those perspective who can only see a woman as women in general. Women have capacity to commit acts of terror that contradict the current idealized notions of women and femininity. Like men, women are rational actors when they commit acts of terrorism (Sjoberg, 2009; Ortvals, 2013).

When the world of terrorism is considered 'masculine', women are present side by side with, even replace, men in carrying out the task to conduct acts of terrorism. This paper discusses another perspective of terrorism from women's point of view, particularly on: (i) how they perceive the current terrorism, as women are now engaged in planned attacks as a new terrorism strategy in Indonesia, and the benefit for women's lives; and (ii) their reason of joining terrorism act. The paper used qualitative research method. In additions, there are various reasons for women to join terrorism as acts of rational political motivations for their crimes. This paper will systematically explain their reasons for conducting series of activities that directly endanger their lives, such as becoming suicide bombers, couriers and fighters.

## **FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON TERRORISM**

According to feminist scholars, terrorism has a very large definition in everyday life. Many feminists within the scope of social work and psychology link between domestic violence terrorism and terrorism. They find that the threat of domestic violence or threats in creating fear such as coercion or intimidation of a spouse against sex control or domestic work forms a repeated pattern that raises anxiety. Feminists also identify wartime rape and general rape as terror tools (Sjoberg, 2009).

In this paper, the intended terrorism is related to religious terrorism and transnational terrorism. Dekmejian states that state and non-state in terrorism become the "spectrum of terror" that goes from genocide and state terrorism to terrorism perpetrated by subnational groups including ethnonationalist, religious or ideological terrorist. Thus, the relationship between acts of state violence and terrorists is obvious, terrorism often provokes other acts of terrorism. Dekmejian defines religious terrorism as "terrorism by cults, sects, and chiliastic offshoots of mainstream faiths that are propelled by fundamentalist zealotry into the political arena to shape it through violence" (Ortbals, 2013).

Feminist thinkers such as Laura Sjoberg in the study of *Feminist Interrogations of Terrorism*, begin by questioning 'where are the women in terrorism?' because, in the understanding of terrorism, women are not a part in the study of the actions and consequences of acts of

terrorism itself. This is because much work on terrorism treats the terrorist as a subject gendered by male definition. Feminist scholar recognizes that women participation in terrorism as terrorists is a phenomenon that is not new. Nevertheless, terrorism activities often explicitly characterize women in terrorism as 'female terrorists' rather than terrorists in general (men are referred to as 'terrorists' only) (Sjoberg, 2009).

Anna J. Cooper reveals that terrorism is a bad side of men and women. In addition, Cooper argues that female terrorists are the product of classical patriarchal thinking and the view that terrorism is not women's job because female terrorist have not been content to just praise the lord and pass the ammunition. Female terrorists provide evidence that they have a harder side to acting than men (Gentry, 2011). De Cataldo Neuburger and Valentini in the analysis of women and terrorism reveal that whatever the case, participation in violent crime never benefits women. Moreover, from a socio-psychological perspective, Deborah M Galvin argues that women in traditional societies have given significant contributions and improvements to female terrorists. Women's decision to engage in terrorist activity or join a terrorist group is often different from men. Women are involved in terrorism on their own initiative and according to their own interests. George Abeyies states that female terrorists will appear primarily in organizations that support feminist or socialistic principles. On the other hand, the form of feminism is

essentially passive and, therefore, cannot participate in terrorist activities. The participation of women in terrorist movement shows that in the revolutionary movement and terrorism, feminist and nationalism are interactive. However, female terrorist activities are not incumbent on the presence feminism (Gentry, 2011).

### **FEMINISTS' PERSPECTIVE OF RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM**

In *The Devil Is In the Details: A Feminist Perspective on a Development, Women's Rights, and Fundamentalisms* article by Ayesha Imam, Shareen Gokal and Isabel Marler define religious fundamentalisms as ideologies with: (1) the use of religion to gain political, social and economic power; (2) the use of religion for discrimination, intolerance and violations of human rights; (3) control of women's bodies as a form of social control; (4) reinforcement of male authority and gender relations in patriarchy; (5) reference to certain religious interpretations and practice as the only truth that exist; (6) the use of coercion and violence in implementing ideology; (7) a shared belief in 'us' against all others (Ayesha Imam, 2017).

Scott W. Hibbard states that religion is a 'multifaceted' phenomenon. On the one side religion manifests as an ethnic teaching that advises peace and reconciliation, on the other side it informs religious communalism and it is the source of war and conflict. In Indonesia, the Islamic world is capable of being represented in the teachings of

religion in general that can coexist with contemporary culture and reality. In addition, there is a wave of radicalism and extremism that comes together, simultaneously with the implementation of democratic governance system in Indonesia. This leads to religious views that reject diversity, equality and peace. However, it can give freedom to extremist groups for carrying out actions that often lead to violence (Ayesha Imam, 2017).

The presence of strong control over gender relations and religious fundamentalism has a high risk of violence against women. Men's gender identity is increasing, aggressive and ready to participate in armed conflict. Women are seen as carriers of culture and religion, and their deportment, dress code and sexuality often form 'good society' characteristics (Steans, 1998). The debate among male terrorists about female fighters (*mujahidaat*) is part of a continuing issue of conversation among Al-Qaeda members and other terrorists or rebel groups. It is also a debate between prominent scholars and some Muslim scholars on the legal opinion of women's defenses, but most agree that women have become an important supporting role in terrorist activities (Ayesha Imam, 2017).

### **WOMEN AS AGENT OF PEACE**

If a series of action related to aggression and violence, such as war and terrorism are associated with men and masculinity, peace is attached to women and feminism. Moral feminists recognize that women have a more peaceful nature than men. The motherhood

of women makes female peace the evidence of superiority than inferiority morale. The nature of motherhood comes from most women's experience of maternity and the exclusion of women from public power. This proves that women have a special relation with peace (Steans, 1998).

Janet Radcliffe Richards argues that the position of women who naturally have a peaceful nature than men will limit women's equality. However, equality and equal rights have never been the sole focus of feminists. On the other hand, feminists also emphasize human connectedness, dialogue and cooperation over dominance and violent confrontation. Women are constantly looking for ways to talk for peace, they are not representatives of decision-making in war. Therefore, if women do not speak for peace, they will be excused from speaking about all aspects of life and death questions (Steans, 1998).

## **WOMEN AS AGENT OF VIOLENCE**

Miranda Alison reveals that women are violent agents. Women are seen as agents who can make their own choices although in hierarchical structures and specific contexts. When women are involved as combatants in combat (military / non-military members/ non-state military members / former military members), they are ready to be trained to do so. The term 'combat' is broadly defined to include terrorist tactics such as bomb-making and killing, as well as other conventional combats (Alison M., 2004). About female terrorism,

Cooper states that "typical of the pitiless attitude of many women terrorists are capable of assuming". Their attitude is one that is hard to match. Cooper also claims that non-human female terrorists are others in their flawed personality and the nature of the 'super man' in their strength (Gentry, 2011).

Like the two different sides of a coin's eye, according to Jean Bethke Elstain, the other side of woman is depicted in a narrative that justifies the making and fighting of war as "Beautiful Souls", innocent souls in war but proper fighters who are responsible for defense. Therefore, women at the same time become victims and causes of war. Women are expected to fight war and violence, but to cooperate in battles struggling to protect their innocence and virginity. In this way, countries marginalize women as they appear to precede their interests. Like men, women are capable of violence. Along with women's freedom, so it is with their violence. Women are like men, perpetrating violence for various reasons, some are rational and irrational. Women are like men, sometimes acting unreasonably and cruel because of bad morals or socio-economic motivation (Gentry, 2011).

## **WOMEN IN ISLAM RADICAL ORGANIZATION**

The rise of radical Islam in Indonesia began at the end of the reign of former President Soeharto in 1998. The radical strength of Islam at that time appeared in a hard-line model with the form of a white-robed Muslim congregation running through the streets of the



city to show they were ready to fight against the enemies of Islam with jihad. The radical Islam action was also colored by Arab-Indonesian scholars threatening to refuse foreigners from coming to Indonesia and conduct a series of demonstrations in implementing sharia based public policy (Allison K., 2013).

Darul Islam (DI) is one of the radical groups in Indonesia. DI began to recruit women more intensively in the early 1980s. The mechanism of indoctrination had two main agendas: 'jilbabsation' or persuading women to wear veil and founding women da'wah groups. Moreover, another radical group, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) implements a rule for women to wear a longer headscarf and veil over face (niqab). JI is based on conservative perspective of women. Women's activities are limited to households, they teach in pesantren or teach only women. According to JI, a woman has three important roles in life, a daughter who has to obey her father, a wife who has to obey her husband and a mother who is responsible for her children's wellbeing and education. The nature of motherhood and the subject of marriage become important for JI. This aims to ensure the survival of mujahidin and protect the organizations as well as to build network because women are important to build alliances. In JI marriage arrangements, women have an important prestige role to marry a mujahidin (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017).

Islamic radical women have a high probability of engaging in acts of terrorism, especially in suicide bombings. This is because the radical network of Islam in Indonesia, especially terrorism network, has a strong linkage with Al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan and ISIS network in Syria. This radical Islamic network has more militant perspective in carrying out its action. In addition, women, especially women who are involved in family conflicts or divorce who are easier to be brainwashed with radical understanding, can be more easily influenced (Tempo, 2017).

## **WOMEN RECRUITED IN TERRORISM**

Membership procedures and radical group recruitment are not made public. One survey of radical group members in Jakarta shows that 35% of respondents are unemployed or have socio-economic difficulties. In addition, 97% believe that the country is unfair to its citizen and 53% say that the government does not care about the fate of Muslims. However, the people still believe that joining radical Islamic groups aims to "combat crime and expiate their earlier sins". Nonetheless, the important role of radical group is occupied by people who come from a well and highly educated background (Fealy, 2004).

In 2010 and 2014, violence involving religious-political non-state actors increased by 58% in Islamist terror groups, such as Jihad fighters and Al-Qaeda attacks (Fealy, 2004). It included Indonesia, of which the majority of the population is Islam. This became a

threat for Indonesians that they started to fight against the radical teachings easily spread in the public space. Indonesia government stated there were around 500 Indonesian ISIS supporters (BBC, 2015) recruited through religious events at mosques and even boarding school.

The involvement of women in radicalist groups in Indonesia has the potential to lead members to participate in acts of terror committed on the basis of group ideology. For organizations, the use of terrorism act is a part of political strategy. The role of women in terrorist activities is a strategic choice for terrorist organizations. Women as propaganda tools provides a new dimension of media for terrorist group. Suicide bombings offer low cost, low technology and low risk in maximizing destruction target and threatening terror. The organizations think to use women with training to give a special surprise to the media. This happens because of the assumption that women tend to get more media attention than men. The concept of women as agents of violence supported by images of female terrorists to attract publicity and widely broadcast organizational messages is contradictory to feminist belief (BBC, 2015).

In addition, terrorist organizations see that there is a religious justification to manipulate more terrorist women. While Islamic religion opposes and is against women in violent acts, terrorist organizations can dramatically alter the position of women. This was conveyed by Osama bin Laden, Al-Qaeda leader, who stated that women play

important roles as supporters, facilitators and promoters in conducting jihad. Female terrorists have a great ability to inspire other women to imitate the actions of their heroes (Knop, 2007).

The increasing threat of terrorism along with the emergence of ISIS group supported by women's ability to advance communication and technology, the threat of women's involvement in terrorist organizations is increasing. Women can participate in radical chat forums, meet with men, read ISIS or Al-Qaeda propaganda and find friends with the same vision and mission. In early 2000, the use of jihad internet made it easy for women to engage in radical Islamic organizations. The internet opens new opportunities for educated young women from families who have no connection with jihad to find new interest in religion, participate in religious chat forums and also read online channels of Islam; therefore, online propaganda is important (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017).

The use of online media increases women's desire to be more active in religious action. This organization changes the pattern of recruitment and the realization of online dating leading to marriage, like the recruitment by ISIS. The presence of an encrypted chat application such as Telegram makes women, most of whom are Indonesian workers and housemaids migrant workers, interested in ISIS. With English ability, education or international experience, some women have become the center of ISIS fundraising, propaganda and social networking. In addition, the

presence of Telegram increases online dating and marriage as experienced by Nurul Azmi Tibyani and Syahadah (not her real name), Indonesian mujahidah who were inspired to do jihad due to the influence of social media (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017). Syahadah used to use a pseudonym of a man to do extremist chats with men from radical Islamic groups. Nurul married repeatedly to online men who were members of extremist organizations linked with criminal acts of embezzlement to finance terrorist camps in Poso. This also occurs in marriages between women and mujahidin candidates (actual fighters in Syria) as well as mutual marriage between ISIS supporters and non-Indonesian supporters. This has led to an increase in women emigration (hijrah) to Syria. Since 2013, more than 100 women have successfully crossed into ISIS territory (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017).

## **THE REASON OF WOMEN'S ENGAGEMENT IN TERRORISM**

Women who have nurturing nature have complex reasons to join terrorism. The reasons can be seen from the personal experience of the individual (such as: revenge for the death of family member), atonement for sins, interpersonal relationships (father, husband, son, brother), political violence, dedication to the ideology believed by the organization and religious belief. Caron E. Gentry reveals that the existence of a motherly nature can motivate female terrorists because sometimes it is women who

“cannot or cannot have children” or mothers who have the nature of violence who have the belief that they “can be martyr after giving birth to martyr”. Gentry defines it as “twisted maternalism”, in which there is a change of direction in the nature of maternalism in women (Ortbals, 2013).

Women are also motivated to join terrorist groups because of their deep attachment to the group's ideology or culture, the desire for emancipation and security as well as coercion problems. Most women are politically motivated to become terrorists in order to end their own suffering and the suffering of their people. This is similar to the case of Putri Munawaroh, the wife of Susilo who refused to surrender after police surrounded her house and opened fire that killed her husband and Noordin M. Top. At the time of the incident, Putri Munawaroh was seven months pregnant and refused to leave because she wanted to die as a martyr and wanted to protect her guests and her husband (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017).

Patriarchal culture can also be the cause of women's engagement in terrorist activities. Patriarchy is a social system in which men hold control over women and children. Women can be terrorist or terrorist facilitators, based on the orders from their husband or husband doctrine. This is experienced by Munfiatun who was the second wife of terrorist Noordin M. Top. Munfiatun acquired the doctrine of jihad and helped her husband to hide from the police. Furthermore, another reason for women engagement in terrorism is for the sake of love. This is related to the

stereotype that a female terrorist follows a lover or husband or her father, brother or cousin to a terrorist group. Karla Cunningham states that this idea is a common theme emphasized by extremist women members themselves. Women are attracted to terrorism because of their loved ones. But the idea of terrorism for the sake of love is different in every individual woman who uses political violence after a tragedy or based on personal disappointment or because of loss of love (Nacos, 2005).

### **INDONESIAN WOMEN AS 'BRIDE TERRORISTS'**

The word 'bride' is a term for women on the day or during and after the wedding day (Oxford Dictionary). Usually people call the bride and groom as married men and women. Marriage certainly aims to build a good household and form a happy family, but the wedding in the concept of jihadist and the word 'bride' in this paper refers to female suicide bombers (or the candidate) who want to take the path of Jihad. Mothers and radical women of Islam in general have a duty to support their men and husbands to go to war. Women are in charge of preparing for logistical needs of war and mentality to participate in war. Women suicide bomber have the purpose to quickly enter paradise, be parts of 72 heavenly angels and cleanse the sins of their 70 relatives (Saputro, 2010).

This happened to Dian Yulia Novi (27 years old), in December 2016. Dian became the first woman candidate for suicide bombing in Indonesia. As a bride, Dian, instructed and given technical

training by her husband, M. Nur Solikin, who is a recruiter for a suicide bomber, acted as a martyr with a pot bomb in a backpack. The bomb was 3 kg with high explosive power and 4,000 km/hour speed (BBC, 2017). The couple received an order and a transfer fund from Bahrun Naim, who is an ISIS follower from Indonesia in Syria. ISIS initially banned the presence of female fighters (mujahidah) for some reasons. However, in July 2016, ISIS removed the ban. ISIS currently allows married women to become fighters without the permission of their husbands to commit suicide bombings. This concept is similar to the concept of the predecessor terrorist group, AL-Qaeda, which invited women as martyrs in 2005 (Speckhard, 2015)

Dian was a woman from Cirebon who originally worked as Indonesian migrant worker in Singapore in 2011 – 2013 and in Taiwan in 2013 – 2016. Dian confessed that it was her personal desire to commit suicide bomb, without coercion from anyone. She was inspired by website and social media (especially the Facebook of ISIS sympathizer, Ulama binti Ghulam) with Islamic tausiah content. The most self-inspiring website is Millah Ibrahim's website discussing about fiqih, muamallah, aqidah, history of Islam in the form of articles and audio (Novi, 2013). In accordance with Bloom's statement regarding the involvement of women in terrorism with the closest relative, Dian was motivated to commit suicide bombing to save his ailing father from hellfire. In her mind, her self-sacrifice as martyr would save herself and her big family from the wrath of God

(Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017). Dian said, "This is not a suicide bomb based on desperation to end life. But to reach the blessings of Allah and get the virtue of jihad fisabilillah" (Novi, 2013).

Dian and M. Nur Solikin marriage was based on the interest in facilities and needs for suicide bombing strategy. Dian tried to find someone who could help her carry out her mission. With the help of Tutin, founder of Ummahat Kitchen charity, whom she knew from Facebook, Dian got acquainted with Solikin (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017). Sidney Jones, an observer of terrorism issues, revealed that the kinship would facilitate communication. This became one of the plots of connected radical Islamic women to make arrangement between muhajidah and muhajidin. Women regard it as part of the process of jihad (Saputro, 2010). Likewise, Dian and Solikin married because of the influence of relations between relatives. However, Dian and Solikin only had long distance relations using Telegram, they did not even recognize each other's faces. All processes were done quickly. In addition, her marriage was also arranged by her husband who was represented by others, without the presence of Dian. Dian learned that Solikin had already had a wife, but the marriage was a way for her to prepare suicide bombings (Novi, 2013).

Dian's confidence to commit suicide bombing had grown stronger since she and Solikin married in October 2016. Dian acquired guidance from Solikin about technical things that must be

done in the field. Solikin arranged all necessary things, including establishing communication with Bahrin Naim. The wife just did the command of the husband without knowing the process in detail (Novi, 2013). In Indonesia, most women engaged in terrorism act played a role as the protector of the terrorist, like hiding the terrorist. It happened to Munfiatun, the wife of Noordin M. Top, who was sentenced to three years in prison on the basis of hiding information about Australian Embassy bombing in 2005 (Saputro, 2010). Dian's capture became one of the signs of other women's aggression in Indonesia terrorism. This incident led to the arrest of several other female terrorist suspects, such as Ika Puspitasari who had been prepared to commit suicide bombings in Bali. Ika is a friend of Solikin whom she knew from Facebook in 2015. Ika is a former Indonesian migrant worker in Hongkong, who funded the plan of terrorist acts in Indonesia with her husband (Institute for Policy Analysis of Content (IPAC), 2017).

## CONCLUSION

The position of women in the world of terrorism needs to be taken into account. Like coins that have two different sides, women serve as agents of peace and agents of violence. The actions and behavior of women in the world of terrorism prove that the traditional feminist thinking, stating that peace is identical with women, has shifted. The current term of 'peace' for women is to sacrifice themselves in a tragic way.

The emergence of female terrorists in Indonesia is triggered

by variety of complex reasons such as family, fate, environment and influence of propaganda. Although we cannot judge their religious views, fundamental beliefs have been chosen by them in their life. This is because women have the right to choose their own path, and they regard it as a form of empowerment. In fact, it becomes very hard to see their reasons. Of course, the role of the state in this case is very important. The state needs to pay serious attention to the welfare of people's lives, so that people do not take shortcuts to end their lives because of the demanding family needs.

The presence of 'bride terrorist' becomes the latest way for terrorist groups to launch its action by making women as the main actors in suicide bombings. The strong influence of extremist groups motivate women to commit suicide bombings and dare to take any risks. Assertiveness and willingness culminated in women can motivate them to do anything to achieve their goals. Aware or not, terrorist groups use women who have always been associated with good things to attract other women to follow the path taken by women terrorists as a form of woman heroic act.

In Indonesia, a country with Muslim majority, patriarchal culture still applies. International terrorist organizations, such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS still make Indonesia the target of recruiting terrorist members. The extremist teachings and member recruitment can be spread and done anywhere and anytime. It makes Indonesian women easily influenced by religious doctrine. Terrorist groups consider it quite easy to influence

women to engage in terrorism acts. This paper does not indicate a negative view of women; however, the authors provide only a description of what is happening today with women based on terrorism phenomenon in Indonesia. Surely, Indonesians were surprised by several women who were arrested for involvement in acts of terrorism. The arrest of Dian Yulia Novi is a sign that women now have an important role in acts of terrorism, namely as female suicide bomber candidates.

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SJ is inspired by the need to put into visibility the Indonesian and South East Asian women to ensure a dissemination of knowledge to a wider general audience.

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