HIDDEN THREATS
The Persistence of Radical Ideology Among Former Female Terrorist Inmates in Indonesia and the Rejection of Local Wisdom

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Abstract: *This article investigates the enduring threat of radicalism among female ex-convicts in Indonesia who, despite seeming disengagement, retain radical ideologies and reject local wisdom. It explores the complexities of their reintegration by examining how their past experiences in radical groups, through the lens of Bourdieu's concept of "habitus," have shaped their persistent beliefs and behaviors. This ingrained mindset resists societal pressures to conform, leading to a continued rejection of local values promoting harmony. The study hypothesizes that this internalized radicalism, despite outward conformity, poses a latent risk of future radicalization and acts of intolerance, acting as a potential trigger for extremism.*

Keywords: *radical ideology, female ex-convicts, habitus, local wisdom rejection, and reintegration challenges*

INTRODUCTION

Radicalism and terrorism are growing global threats, with various extremist groups actively recruiting individuals, including women, to participate in terrorist activities. In Indonesia, the involvement of women in terrorist networks has become an increasingly worrying phenomenon, especially since the emergence of groups such as Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) affiliated with Islamic State (IS).[1] Women, who were previously more often involved behind the scenes in terrorism networks, are now taking a more active role, including in suicide attack missions, logistics, and propaganda.[2]

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[1] Sidney Jones, and Sidney Solahudin, "TERRORISM IN INDONESIA: A Fading Threat?," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2014, 139–47; Kate Macfarlane, "Indonesian Women and Terrorism: An Analysis of Historical and Contemporary Trends," *Politics and Governance* 12 (April 17, 2024): 7724, https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.7724.

[2] Eva F. Nisa, "Muslim Women in Contemporary Indonesia: Online Conflicting Narratives behind the Women Ulama Congress," *Asian Studies Review* 43, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 434–54, https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1632796.

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This current research sees that reintegrating ex-convicted terrorists, especially women, into society has been one of the biggest challenges in Indonesia's counter-radicalization efforts. Although they have outwardly completed their prison sentences, many of these ex-prisoners continue to hold on to deeply internalized radical ideologies. This raises concerns that their social reintegration is not accompanied by effective deradicalization, which may ultimately lead them to reject local values promoting harmony, tolerance, and diversity.[3] In this context, local wisdom, which often acts as a tool to reduce social conflicts and strengthen social cohesion, becomes a target of rejection by ex-convict terrorists who still adhere to exclusive ideologies.[4]

This research uses Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory to analyze how the past experiences of former female terrorist inmates shape and reinforce their ideological dispositions, which continue to persist even after their return to society. Habitus refers to a set of dispositions internalized by individuals through social interactions and repeated experiences, shaping their perspectives, actions, and responses to the social world.[5] In this context, the radical habitus that has been embedded through their involvement in terrorist groups influences their views on local wisdom and the reintegration process.

The hypothesis proposed in this study is that although former female terrorist prisoners seem to have been socially integrated, the radical habitus that has been embedded in them persists. They tend to reject local wisdom values that promote harmony and tolerance, which in turn can pose a latent threat to society. This research aims to identify how this radical habitus operates in the daily lives of former female terrorist inmates, as well as to understand the dynamics of their rejection of local wisdom that is considered incompatible with their ideology.

By understanding these dynamics, this research makes an essential contribution to the study of deradicalization, reintegration, and the potential hidden dangers of radicalism in Indonesia. It offers insights for the development of more effective policies in addressing these issues. Through a qualitative approach, this research seeks to explore in-depth insights into the daily experiences of former female terrorist prisoners and the challenges they face in the reintegration process.

FEMALE EX-TERRORIST CONVICT'S REINTEGRATION INTO SOCIETY: LITERATURE REVIEW

The reintegration of female ex-terrorist convicts into society is a multifaceted process that requires a comprehensive approach, integrating both structured programs and community-based support systems. Effective strategies for reintegration include addressing gender-specific needs, providing educational and employment opportunities, and fostering community acceptance and support. Programs like Health Link, which offer direct services such as case management and policy advocacy, have shown success in

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[3] Julie Chernov Hwang, *Why Terrorists Quit: The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists* (Ithaca: Cornell University press, 2018).

[4] Azyumardi Azra, *Islam nusantara, jaringan global dan lokal*, Cet. 1 (Bandung: Mizan : Didistribusikan oleh Mizan Media Utama, 2002).

[5] Pierre Bourdieu and Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Nachdr., Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010).

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assisting women with substance abuse and psychological issues, which are often underlying factors in criminal behaviour.[6] Similarly, Project PROVE emphasizes the importance of educational support and employment as critical factors for successful reintegration, highlighting the unique challenges faced by women, such as family responsibilities and employment discrimination.[7] Community-based approaches, as seen in Colombia, stress the importance of social participation and acceptance by the community to minimize recidivism and enhance security perceptions.[8] This is supported by the restorative community justice model, which emphasizes the role of the community in building relationships of support and control around the offender, thus increasing the likelihood of successful reintegration.[9]

In post-conflict settings, such as Northern Uganda, reintegration programs that involve participatory processes and address structural barriers like patriarchal values have been effective. These programs focus on enhancing competent functioning, social inclusion, and financial stability, demonstrating the benefits of using participatory action research to create self-directed peer-support reintegration models.[10] Furthermore, addressing the specific needs of women in post-conflict societies, such as those returning home after significant conflicts, is crucial. Integrating gender into development activities and ensuring women are central to socioeconomic recovery processes can significantly aid their reintegration.[11] Local wisdom and community support play a critical role in this process by providing informal social control and support, vital forms of social capital necessary for reintegration. Community therapeutic interventions, which increase social network size and decrease isolation, also contribute to successful reintegration by enhancing self-efficacy beliefs among women in transition.[12] Additionally, addressing the intersectionality of gender, class, and race, as discussed in the context of women exiting prison, is essential to understanding the broader structural reforms needed to support reintegration.[13] Overall, a socio-ecological approach that combines structured programs

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[6] B. E. Richie, "Reintegrating Women Leaving Jail into Urban Communities: A Description of a Model Program," *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 78, no. 2 (June 1, 2001): 290–303, https://doi.org/10.1093/jurban/78.2.290.

[7] Patricia Case et al., "Providing Educational Support for Female Ex-Inmates: Project PROVE as a Model for Social Reintegration," *Journal of Correctional Education* 56, no. 2 (June 2005): 146–57.

[8] Oliver Kaplan and Enzo Nussio, "Community Counts: The Social Reintegration of Ex-Combatants in Colombia," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35, no. 2 (March 2018): 132–53, https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894215614506.

[9] Gordon Bazemore and Carsten Erbe, "Operationalizing the Community Variable in Offender Reintegration: Theory and Practice for Developing Intervention Social Capital," *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 1, no. 3 (July 2003): 246–75, https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204003001003002.

[10] Michelle Savard, "The Reintegration of Young Mothers in Northern Uganda: Considering Post-War Spaces for Change" (Ph.D thesis, Canada, Concordia University., 2019).

[11] Naomi Cahn, Dina Francesca Haynes, and Fionnuala D. Ni Aolain, "Returning Home: Women in Post-Conflict Societies," *U. Balt. L. Rev. 339*, 2010.

[12] Paula T. McWhirter, "Community Therapeutic Intervention for Women Healing from Trauma," *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work* 31, no. 4 (December 2006): 339–51, https://doi.org/10.1080/01933920600918857.

[13] Bree Carlton and Marie Segrave, *Women Exiting Prison: Critical Essays on Gender, Post-Release Support and Survival*, Routledge Studies in Crime and Society 5 (London: Routledge, 2013).

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with community-based support while addressing gender-specific needs and structural barriers is most effective for the reintegration of female ex-terrorist convicts into society.

PIERRE BOURDIEU'S HABITUS THEORY

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus serves as a cornerstone for understanding how social structures shape individual behaviours, dispositions, and practices. According to Bourdieu, habitus refers to a system of durable, transposable dispositions that individuals internalize through their experiences and social environments. [14] These dispositions shape how individuals perceive, act, and react to the world around them. Habitus operates unconsciously, deeply ingraining social norms and values into the individual's psyche and reproducing social structures over time.[15]

In the context of radicalism, habitus can explain how deeply entrenched beliefs and values developed within radical environments persist even after external circumstances change. These dispositions, shaped by continuous exposure to radical ideology, become so ingrained that they inform conscious actions and unconscious perceptions of the world.[16] Thus, habitus offers a framework to examine how former female terrorist inmates may outwardly conform to societal expectations of reintegration while internally adhering to radical ideologies. This internal conflict between outward conformity and persistent radical beliefs highlights the complexities of social reintegration for former female terrorists. As they navigate societal expectations, their habitus may clash with new environments that challenge their ingrained dispositions, potentially leading to cognitive dissonance. The implications of this struggle extend beyond individual experiences; they raise critical questions about the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs designed without understanding how deeply entrenched ideologies can resist change.[17]

Moreover, examining these dynamics through Bourdieu's lens reveals the necessity of creating supportive contexts that address behavioral compliance and engage with the underlying belief systems shaped by past experiences in radical settings.[18] Such an approach could foster more meaningful pathways toward genuine reintegration, emphasizing the importance of addressing the complex interplay between habitus and external influences.

APPLICATION OF HABITUS IN RADICAL IDEOLOGY

The application of habitus in the context of radical ideology highlights how radical beliefs, once internalized, become part of an individual's habitus. Research suggests that

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[14] Bourdieu and Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

[15] Karl Maton, "Habitus," in *Pierre Bourdieu*, ed. Michael Grenfell, 1st ed. (Acumen Publishing Limited, 2008), 49–66, https://doi.org/10.1017/UPO9781844654031.006.

[16] Michael Grenfell, ed., *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, 2. ed, Key Concepts (London: Routledge, 2012).

[17] Pierre Bourdieu and Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, Reprinted (Stanford, Calif: Stanford Univ. Press, 2008).

[18] Cristina Costa, Ciaran Burke, and Mark Murphy, "Capturing Habitus: Theory, Method and Reflexivity," *International Journal of Research & Method in Education* 42, no. 1 (January 2019): 19–32, https://doi.org/10.1080/1743727X.2017.1420771.

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radical environments, such as terrorist organizations, create a field—a social space where specific norms, values, and practices are cultivated.[19] In such fields, members are exposed to specific ideologies, practices, and behaviors that shape their habitus. As individuals operate within this radical field, they internalize these beliefs, which become durable and difficult to alter, even when removed from the original environment.[20]

For former female terrorist inmates in Indonesia, their habitus has been shaped by years of immersion in radical ideologies. Despite efforts to disengage from extremist activities, the persistence of their radical habitus influences their worldviews, making it challenging for them to embrace local values that promote social harmony and tolerance fully.[21] This phenomenon can be observed in their rejection of local wisdom, which reflects a clash between the dispositions ingrained during their time in radical environments and the expectations of the society they are reintegrating into.

The challenges former radicalized individuals face underscore the importance of addressing their habitus and the broader socio-political context that shapes their reintegration. For instance, systemic inequalities and perceived injustices in their communities can exacerbate feelings of alienation, reinforcing a cycle where the radical habitus continues to exert influence over their identities.[22] This dynamic suggests that interventions to facilitate disengagement from extremist ideologies must be holistic, encompassing psychological support and community engagement initiatives that foster inclusive environments. Moreover, understanding how these individuals navigate their new social fields is crucial, as it reflects the ongoing interplay between individual agency and structural constraints, ultimately impacting their ability to adapt and embrace local values.

Building upon Bourdieu's theory, the hypothesis for this study posits that despite outward signs of reintegration, the deeply ingrained radical habitus of former female terrorist inmates continues to influence their behaviors and perceptions. This habitus manifests in their rejection of local wisdom and values that promote tolerance and social harmony. Specifically, the research explores how the habitus formed in radical contexts creates cognitive dissonance when these individuals are expected to conform to societal norms fundamentally at odds with their internalized radical ideologies.[23]

This current study hypothesizes that the persistence of this radical habitus represents a significant barrier to the effective reintegration of former female terrorists. Even when disengaged from extremist activities, their ideological commitment—shaped by their habitus—remains, leading them to privately reject the values of local wisdom.

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[19] L. Wacquant, "Esclarecer o Habitus," *Educação & Linguagem* 10, no. 16 (December 31, 2007): 63–71, https://doi.org/10.15603/2176-1043/el.v10n16p63-71.

[20] Jeroen Gunning and Richard Jackson, "What's so 'Religious' about 'Religious Terrorism'?," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 4, no. 3 (December 2011): 369–88, https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2011.623405.

[21] Bart Willem Schuurman and Max Taylor, "Reconsidering Radicalization: Fanaticism and the Link between Ideas and Violence," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12, no. 1 (February 2018): 3–22.

[22] Bo Anderson et al., "Reactions to Inequity," *Acta Sociologica* 12, no. 1 (January 1969): 1–12, https://doi.org/10.1177/000169936901200101.

[23] Eitan Y. Alimi, Lorenzo Bosi, and Chares Demetriou, *The Dynamics of Radicalization: A Relational and Comparative Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199937707.001.0001.

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This internalized rejection poses a hidden threat, as it can serve as a foundation for future radicalization or the perpetuation of extremist beliefs within their social networks.[24] Thus, the hypothesis underscores the need for reintegration programs to address outward behavior and the more profound, ingrained dispositions that former radicals carry with them.

The Persistence of Radical Ideology Despite Reintegration

The findings of this study reveal a significant persistence of radical ideology among former female terrorist inmates in Indonesia despite their formal reintegration into society. Although outwardly, these women may have disengaged from active involvement in extremist activities, their internal ideological commitment remains unchanged. This persistence is evidenced by their continued subscription to radical beliefs, which remain hidden from public view but are expressed in private interactions. Research suggests that ideological persistence is not unique to Indonesia but reflects a broader global trend observed in post-terrorism reintegration.[25] The findings corroborate earlier studies indicating that disengagement from violent acts does not necessarily equate to deradicalization,[26] particularly when individuals resist alternative value systems that promote peace and social cohesion.

This persistence poses a significant risk to national security, as these individuals may act as passive conduits for spreading extremist ideologies, mainly within close-knit social groups and familial networks. In line with findings from related studies, ideological commitment post-incarceration poses a latent threat that can serve as the foundation for future radicalization or violent recidivism.[27] This underscores the complex nature of reintegration, where the cessation of violent behavior does not necessarily indicate a shift in ideological stance.

Moreover, the social dynamics surrounding reintegration can further complicate the ideological landscape for former female terrorists, as they often find themselves navigating a precarious balance between societal expectations and their ingrained beliefs. The role of community support systems in either facilitating or hindering this process cannot be overlooked; supportive environments may inadvertently allow radical ideologies to fester if not actively challenged.[28] Furthermore, similar patterns have been observed among male ex-combatants globally, where the absence of robust deradicalization programs leads to a resurgence of extremist sentiments within

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[24] Mohammed Hafez and Creighton Mullins, "The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38, no. 11 (November 2, 2015): 958–75, https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1051375.

[25] Schuurman and Taylor, "Reconsidering Radicalization: Fanaticism and the Link between Ideas and Violence."

[26] John Horgan, *Walking Away from Terrorism: Accounts of Disengagement from Radical and Extremist Movements* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2009).

[27] Mary Beth Altier et al., "Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist Disengagement Events from Eighty-Seven Autobiographical Accounts," *Security Studies* 26, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 305–32, https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2017.1280307.

[28] Schuurman and Taylor, "Reconsidering Radicalization: Fanaticism and the Link between Ideas and Violence."

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marginalized groups.[29] These insights highlight the critical need for comprehensive interventions that address both the psychological and social dimensions of reintegration, ensuring that individuals are not only distanced from violent actions but also encouraged to critically re-evaluate their ideological commitments in favor of more constructive worldviews.[30]This requires collaboration between governments, NGOs, and community leaders to create tailored programs that foster resilience and promote social cohesion. Such initiatives should also incorporate educational components that challenge extremist narratives and provide alternative pathways for personal development, ultimately contributing to a more peaceful society.

Additionally, ongoing support systems must be established to ensure that individuals feel connected and valued within their communities, reducing the likelihood of re-engagement with extremist ideologies. These support systems can include mentorship programs, vocational training, and mental health services that address the underlying issues contributing to radicalization, fostering a sense of belonging and purpose. Furthermore, leveraging technology can enhance these efforts by facilitating communication and resource sharing among stakeholders, enabling a more coordinated response to the challenges posed by extremism.

Habitus as a Framework for Understanding Ideological Commitment

Bourdieu's concept of habitus offers a compelling framework for understanding the durability of radical ideological commitment among former female terrorists. The findings show that these women's radical ideologies, having been deeply internalized during their active years in extremist groups, form part of their habitus—a system of ingrained beliefs and dispositions that influence their perceptions and actions. Even after being removed from radical environments, the habitus shaped by these experiences remains a strong determinant of their behavior.[31] As habitus is resilient to change, it provides an explanation for why radical ideologies persist, even when external pressures and societal norms push for ideological transformation.

This is consistent with studies demonstrating that the internalization of radical beliefs creates durable cognitive frameworks, which are difficult to dismantle, especially when reinforced by a social context that continues to affirm these values.[32] In this case, the radical habitus shapes how these women view the world, causing them to reject mainstream values, including the principles of local wisdom that promote peace and communal harmony. The durability of this radical habitus means that former terrorists, even after disengaging from extremist actions, continue to operate within the same cognitive frameworks that guided their radical involvement.[33]

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[29] Horgan, *Walking Away from Terrorism*.

[30] Scott H. Decker and David C. Pyrooz, "The Imprisonment-Extremism Nexus: Continuity and Change in Activism and Radicalism Intentions in a Longitudinal Study of Prisoner Reentry," ed. Stéphanie Baggio, *PLOS ONE* 15, no. 11 (November 30, 2020): e0242910, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0242910.

[31] Bourdieu and Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

[32] Gunning and Jackson, "What's so 'Religious' about 'Religious Terrorism'?"

[33] Donatella Della Porta, "Radicalization: A Relational Perspective," *Annual Review of Political Science* 21, no. 1 (May 11, 2018): 461–74, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-042716-102314.

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Moreover, the persistence of a radical habitus among former female terrorists raises critical questions about reintegration strategies and their effectiveness in facilitating ideological transformation. Traditional approaches that focus solely on cognitive restructuring may overlook the deeply embedded nature of these beliefs within an individual's habitus, which Bourdieu argues is shaped by social conditions and collective experiences.[34] As such, interventions must address individual attitudes and consider the broader social contexts that continue to validate extremist ideologies, echoing the concerns raised by Lahire regarding the need for a more nuanced understanding of individual agency within social structures.[35] By fostering environments that challenge existing narratives and promote alternative identities, it may be possible to gradually reshape the habitus itself, paving the way for genuine ideological shifts that align with communal values of peace and cooperation.

Rejection of Local Wisdom: A Reflection of Radical Habitus

One of the key findings of this study is the consistent rejection of local wisdom and values by former terrorist inmates, which serves as a manifestation of their radical habitus. Local wisdom in Indonesia is deeply rooted in values of communal harmony, tolerance, and peace. Yet, this current research finds these women express clear resistance to adopting these values, reflecting a dissonance between their internal ideological frameworks and the norms of the broader society. This rejection is not just an act of defiance but indicates the extent to which radical ideology has shaped their perceptions of legitimacy and morality.

Their rejection of local wisdom reflects the continued influence of radical teachings, which often delegitimize local cultural practices as un-Islamic or contrary to their ideological interpretations. The findings support the argument that radical ideologies create a dichotomous worldview, where individuals view local customs and values as incompatible with their beliefs, reinforcing their isolation from broader society.[36] This perpetuates a cycle of exclusion, where the inability or unwillingness to embrace local wisdom further marginalizes these individuals from the community, making successful reintegration all the more challenging.

This isolation affects their social interactions and hinders their ability to engage in constructive dialogue, ultimately stifling opportunities for personal growth and understanding. This disconnection from local wisdom not only exacerbates their social alienation but also raises critical questions about the potential pathways for rehabilitation and reintegration. As these individuals navigate their post-incarceration lives, the challenge lies in bridging the gap between radical ideologies and the rich tapestry of local customs that promote inclusivity and understanding. Engaging with local wisdom can serve as a vital mechanism for fostering empathy and community ties, essential for healing

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[34] Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu*.

[35] Tony Bennett, "Habitus Clivé: Aesthetics and Politics in the Work of Pierre Bourdieu," *New Literary History* 38, no. 1 (December 2007): 201–28, https://doi.org/10.1353/nlh.2007.0013.

[36] Michael A. Hogg, "Uncertain Self in a Changing World: A Foundation for Radicalisation, Populism, and Autocratic Leadership," *European Review of Social Psychology* 32, no. 2 (July 3, 2021): 235–68, https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2020.1827628.

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and personal transformation. [37] Moreover, recognizing and valuing the historical significance of local practices offers an opportunity to counteract extremist narratives that dismiss such traditions as irrelevant or misguided.[38] Ultimately, facilitating dialogues that honor individual experiences and communal values may pave the way toward a more harmonious coexistence, allowing for the reclamation of identity rooted in cultural heritage rather than ideological extremism.

Implications for Reintegration Programs

The persistence of radical habitus and the rejection of local wisdom among former female terrorist inmates have significant implications for the design and implementation of reintegration programs. The findings suggest that current reintegration strategies, which often focus on behavioral disengagement from extremist activities, may be insufficient to address the deeper ideological commitments that continue to guide these individuals' lives. Reintegration programs that fail to account for the underlying habitus are unlikely to achieve long-term ideological transformation.[39]

To mitigate this issue, reintegration programs must incorporate more comprehensive strategies that address both the external behaviors and internal belief systems of former terrorists. Programs should aim to gradually deconstruct the radical habitus through sustained psychological, social, and ideological interventions that promote the adoption of alternative value systems, including local wisdom that fosters peace and tolerance.[40] Additionally, involving local communities and cultural leaders in the reintegration process could provide former radicals with positive examples of local wisdom in practice, helping to bridge the gap between their ideological dispositions and societal expectations.

Furthermore, the findings underscore the importance of post-reintegration monitoring, as ideological persistence represents a latent risk. Reintegration programs must include long-term support systems that continue to engage former radicals, preventing potential re-radicalization and ensuring that they do not relapse into extremist ideologies.[41] By addressing the complexities of the radical habitus, reintegration programs can more effectively support the ideological transformation and social reintegration of former terrorist inmates.

CONCLUSION

This research has demonstrated the enduring persistence of radical ideologies among former female terrorist inmates in Indonesia, even after formal reintegration into

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[37] Harianto Ii, Teguh Satria Amin, and Zulfitri Zulfitri, "Validation of Local Wisdom and Culture as Justification of Cultural Tolerance in Padang Sidempuan, North Sumatra," *JPPI (Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Indonesia)* 9, no. 3 (September 1, 2023): 1306, https://doi.org/10.29210/020232842.

[38] Luh Putu Sri Ariyani, Tuty Mariyati, and Anantawikrama Tungga Atmadja, "Local Wisdom As An Action Guidelines Against Dutch Colonialism In Indonesian National History," *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative Inquiry* 12, no. 9 (2021).

[39] Horgan, *Walking Away from Terrorism*.

[40] Schuurman and Taylor, "Reconsidering Radicalization: Fanaticism and the Link between Ideas and Violence."

[41] Altier et al., "Why They Leave."

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society. The findings illustrate that despite disengaging from extremist activities, these women remain ideologically committed to radicalism, a commitment deeply entrenched in their habitus. Bourdieu's theory of habitus provides a critical lens to understand the durability of these ideological dispositions, offering insights into how radical beliefs, once internalized, become resistant to external pressures and societal norms.

The persistence of radical habitus manifests in rejecting local wisdom, which embodies values of peace, tolerance, and communal harmony. This rejection is not merely an act of non-conformity but a reflection of the deep ideological framework that continues to guide these women's perceptions and behaviors. The inability to reconcile their radical habitus with the societal expectations of integration highlights a fundamental barrier to successful reintegration, posing a latent threat to social stability and security.

The implications of these findings extend to the design and implementation of reintegration programs. Current approaches, which predominantly focus on behavioral disengagement from extremist activities, are insufficient in addressing the persisting deeper ideological commitments. Effective reintegration programs must, therefore, adopt a more holistic approach, incorporating psychological, social, and ideological interventions that target the underlying radical habitus. Moreover, including local cultural practices and wisdom in these programs may allow former terrorists to reconnect with societal values, fostering a more meaningful and sustainable reintegration process.

Finally, the study emphasizes the need for ongoing support and monitoring post-reintegration, as the persistence of radical ideology represents a potential risk for future radicalization or recidivism. Reintegration programs hope to achieve long-term ideological transformation and social stability by addressing the complex interplay between radical ideology and habitus. The findings of this study contribute to a growing body of literature on post-terrorism reintegration and underscore the necessity for comprehensive, evidence-based strategies to mitigate the risks associated with the persistence of radical habitus among former terrorists.

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