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Motherhood and Terrorism: Understanding Female Involvement through Typologies in Indonesia

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Abstract. The phenomenon of female terrorism is a new field of study that challenges traditional understandings that often associate women with their compassionate attitudes and maternal roles. Through a feminist and risk assessment perspective, this research investigates the typology of motherhood-based female terrorism, focusing on the manifestation of maternal values and their intersection with extremist ideologies. This study used qualitative analysis of primary and secondary data sources, including interviews with 20 female perpetrators of terrorism, focus group discussions with 15 experts in the field of terrorism, and analysis of scholarly literature. This study underscores the existence of women's agency and semi-autonomy in terrorism activities based on the preceding experiences of oppression, victimization, manipulation, and mystification. The character and value of motherhood of female terrorists depend on social and cultural practices throughout the subject's life. Based on the experiences of these informants, this study identifies seven typologies of motherhood-based female terrorism, namely (1) Lone of Motherhood; (2) Underage Motherhood; (3) Paramilitary Motherhood; (4) Entrepreneur Motherhood; (5) Academia Motherhood; (6) Migrant Motherhood; (7) Domestic Motherhood. In conclusion, this study offers critical insights into the typology of motherhood-based female terrorism and provides a foundation for future research and policy development aimed at addressing the complexities of female participation in extremist activities**.**

Keywords. Female terrorism, motherhood, typology, risk identification, gender-based counter-terrorism policy

Introduction

Motherhood is perceived as highly complex and poses a distinct challenge in women's lives. The construction of motherhood within patriarchy often confines and limits the choices available to women, simultaneously affecting relationships between men and women and altering the division of labor, household dynamics, and even sexuality. This situation resonates with Adrienne Rich's (1976) writing, stating that motherhood is not merely an experience but a standardized value permeating almost every aspect of women's lives. In other words, motherhood is not just about women's individual experiences [1]. However, it is embedded as a value that influences the dichotomy between the ideal and non-ideal actualization of motherhood. However, as it evolves, motherhood also becomes part of the patriarchal cultural

construction, with meanings that can vary across different dimensions of space and time, constantly subject to alteration, challenge, or redesign in diverse ways or forms (Rich, 1976). Even Kowino (2013) in their study reveals that the experience of motherhood should no longer be confined to the role of women giving birth [2]. In other words, someone can have children without being associated with motherhood, or conversely, not having children (child ownership) does not automatically diminish the value of motherhood.

The construction of motherhood demands that women possess uniform maternal qualities such as compassion, gentleness, and non-violence. Therefore, if there are deviations from this realization, they appear as something deviant and contrary to nature. This is evident in the public perception that portrays women involved in terrorism as a fatal and irrational reality because they are seen as violating the socially established values and norms of motherhood.

At the same time, the fact that the more open propaganda of the ISIS group has led to an increase in the diversity of women's roles in terrorist activities, including as propagandists, hackers, active recruiters, establishing charitable fundraising bodies, and even female suicide bombers [3][4]. Regarding these roles, they are often depicted in the media with bias, with narratives about women often being exaggerated while their handling is tendentially ignored. This is exemplified in the reporting of suicide bombing cases in several churches in the city of Surabaya, Indonesia. Although involving one family, the media coverage tends to emphasize the cruelty of women as "crazy" mothers who involve their children in such suicide bombing acts without uncovering the true motivations or triggers behind such events. This situation has been described by Sjoberg & Gentry (2009) in their book titled "Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics" that the agency of women in crime is often rejected, leading to their portrayal ending up in the indictment of the maternal social identity they possess because they are deemed no longer advocating widely accepted maternal values [5].

Several previous studies have addressed the transformation of women's roles in terrorist activities by Gan et al. (2019), IPAC (2017), and Spencer (2016) [6][7][8]. However, these three studies did not specifically mention the transformation of women's roles in terrorism with relevance to the concept of cultural ideas and practices of motherhood, only bringing about distortions regarding women's dual roles. Gan et al. (2019) revealed the shift in women's roles and motivations within ISIS [2]. Spencer (2016) discussed various activities by female networks and analyzed why women hold specific roles in the caliphate [7]. Furthermore, IPAC, in a study titled "From Mothers to Bombers," discussed the shift in women's roles in terrorism in Indonesia, which were previously identified with the role of mothers in instilling values in their children, becoming more active and courageous in taking on frontline roles in terrorist groups, including becoming suicide bombers [8]. However, the perspective that separates motherhood and terrorism as antithetical phenomena undergoing significant changes has the potential to form an understanding that fails to capture the complexity of women's maternal experiences among those involved in terrorism.

This study examines the increasing role of women in terrorism indirectly, which still has continuity with the development of the culture of motherhood in a broader context, where various movements have attempted to redefine motherhood (Taskarina *et al.*, 2022) through transformative practices in social, cultural, and political changes that are possible. Women's lived experiences and the culture surrounding them are highly complex, requiring a dynamic perspective and openness to situational analysis to understand them.

In Indonesia, there have been several acts of terrorism involving significant roles of women recorded in 2016, including the case involving DYN (2016) for bombing the

Presidential Palace, followed by bombings in various locations in Surabaya (2018), a bombing in Sibolga (2019), an attack on the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (2019), and two recent cases throughout 2021, namely the church bombing in Makassar and the attack on the National Police Headquarters (Mabes Polri). Meanwhile, overall, based on data compiled by BNPT (2023) from various sources, there have been 65 cases involving women convicted since the Bali Bombings in 2002 up to December 2023[9].

Unfortunately, the phenomenon of the transformation of women's roles in terrorism in various countries tends not to be accompanied by adequate counter-terrorism strategies, where most of the policies found still focus on male terrorists. Brown (2016), in her study on counter-terrorism policies and programs in the United Kingdom, found that counter-terrorism policies tended to focus on men and support gender hierarchies. In practice, it relies on ideas of masculinity and femininity, with the handling of women tending to be limited to activities within the domestic sphere [10].

Furthermore, the National Counterterrorism Agency in Indonesia and other relevant ministries and agencies have implemented the National Action Plan for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) leading to terrorism, based on Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2021. The implementation strategy of this CVE Action Plan prioritizes the fulfillment of human rights, the supremacy of law and justice, gender mainstreaming, and the fulfillment of children's rights. The actions outlined in the CVE Action Plan do indeed begin to focus on the roles and involvement of women. However, unfortunately, they are limited to prevention efforts, such as training and mentoring local actors in preparedness efforts and increasing awareness of the role of women as peace advocates in the prevention and countering of violent extremism leading to terrorism. Overall, counter-terrorism policies in Indonesia have not yet fully addressed targets such as female terrorist convicts and former female terrorist convicts.

Therefore, this study uncovers the experiences of motherhood among female terrorists in a broader dimension, focusing on domestic experiences, reproduction, and childcare, as well as the entire spectrum of motherhood values that they believe. Furthermore, this study also initiates alternative approaches related to the prevention and handling of female terrorist perpetrators through a typology of motherhood-based female terrorism, formed through the identification process of life experiences in women involved in and engaging in terrorism activities that intersect with the socio-cultural practices of motherhood in Indonesia. The formulation of these alternative approaches is essential given the increasing concern about women as terrorists, as well as the lack of attention to former female terrorist convicts, thus requiring sustained policy mainstreaming.

Conceptual framework

Typology

This study constructs a typology of Motherhood-based Female Terrorism (MbFT) based on the experiences and values embraced by female terrorist perpetrators. This typology of motherhood in the context of terrorism (MbFT) categorizes female terrorist subjects in Indonesia based on their characteristics, traits, and values. This includes their educational background, marital status, occupation, caregiving, and involvement in social environments. Experiences are analyzed through the intersection of motherhood based on the history of experiences regarding social class, religion, family, competence, maternal agency, socio-political situations, and internet influence [1]. Thus, distinctive characteristics emerge for each typology of motherhood-based female terrorism.

Motherhood and Feminist Approach

Motherhood in this study stems from Adrienne Rich's concept (1976), which refers to women's experiences defined by the system, and it should be empowered rather than constrained [1]. Although inevitable, motherhood also carries historical and ideological values. In line with this, the study also agrees with Kowino's (2013) research that motherhood should no longer be limited to the role of childbirth. In other words, someone can be associated with motherhood without necessarily having children, as motherhood fundamentally does not diminish the value of motherhood [2].

The theorization of motherhood developed in this study opens up the perspective that motherhood is not a singular practice. It encompasses identity, experience, and agency, which contribute to the development of existence. Similarly, existence does not discard the essence of motherhood.

In its correlation with feminist scholarly traditions, motherhood in this study, despite employing a feminist approach, is not intended to classify within feminist waves that dichotomize and make analyses of female subjects more vulnerable. Additionally, the feminist approach aims to articulate the fundamental differences in various women's experiences related to race, class, sexual orientation, and other identities as phenomena that transcend conditions [11]. Thus, a holistic understanding can be obtained by focusing on women's lived experiences as paramount, particularly in their involvement in terrorist group activities.

Risk Management Related to Terrorism Potential

Risk management is a process that helps minimize the level of risk through three stages: risk identification, risk assessment, and risk mitigation [12]. This study adopts one of the fundamental concepts of risk management from Crichton (1999): the risk triangle, which is described as follows [13].

Figure 1. Risk Triangle by Crichton
Source : Crichton,1999

In the model of this study, risk is perceived as the probability of loss from a situation and action that depends on three main HEV elements: hazard, vulnerability, and exposure. As seen in Figure 1, the hazard element is understood as the subject's ability, skills, or resources that influence the level of hazard that may be produced. Furthermore, the vulnerability element in the context of this study is understood as various situations that make the subject potentially

much more susceptible to exploitation and involvement in terrorist groups. Lastly, the exposure element is understood as various ways or media that encourage the subject's exposure to terrorist ideologies and activities.

The HEV analysis will be used to measure risk impact, which can be assessed through a risk matrix. A risk matrix is a risk measurement tool with the horizontal axis representing the impact of risk and the vertical axis representing the probability of the risk occurrence [12]. Risk can be calculated by multiplying the probability of an event occurring by the impact or consequences of that event (risk = p x i). This is illustrated in the following diagram.

Impact
How severe would the outcomes be if the risk occurred?

Probability
What is the probability the risk will happen?

	Insignificant 1	Minor 2	Significant 3	Major 4	Severe 5
5 Almost Certain	Medium 5	High 10	Very high 15	Extreme 20	Extreme 25
4 Likely	Medium 4	Medium 8	High 12	Very high 16	Extreme 20
3 Moderate	Low 3	Medium 6	Medium 9	High 12	Very high 15
2 Unlikely	Very low 2	Low 4	Medium 6	Medium 8	High 10
1 Rare	Very low 1	Very low 2	Low 3	Medium 4	Medium 5

Figure 2: Matrix Risk 5x5
Source: Bao, Li, Wu, 2022

In the context of this research, risk management is used to continue identifying exposure risks in each typology of motherhood-based female terrorism and assess the vulnerability of each typology through HEV. Furthermore, risk assessment weighting is based on stakeholders' risk perception, including policymakers in counter-terrorism sectors, academics, and practitioners. Thus, the risk assessment is based on qualitative assumptions that describe the perceived risk of various typologies of motherhood-based female terrorism. Perceived risk refers to an individual's subjective evaluation of the negative impact of a particular externality or situation based on their social and cultural contexts [14].

The risk triangle in this study is used to assess the potential risks in each typology based on the experiences of female informants involved in terrorism activities and their intersection with motherhood aspects. This analysis serves as the basis for understanding the potential roles or positions of women in terrorist groups based on the typology of motherhood-based female terrorism. The results of the risk analysis measure the risks associated with the roles performed by female perpetrators within terrorist groups. This risk assessment can provide a new vision by applying gender sensitivity in counter-terrorism strategies in Indonesia.

Research method

Research Approach & Data Collection

This study adopts a qualitative feminist approach that recognizes women's experiences influencing knowledge, perspectives, and decision-making processes, particularly in actualizing

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maternal values (motherhood) through in-depth and systematic data collection involving coding processes and data comparison to generate conceptual categories and relationships among the identified categories. The qualitative feminist approach and grounded theory are employed, considering that women's experiences in motherhood and terrorism activities are complex, diverse, and non-universal [15].

This study's primary data collection method involves in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 female informants who have been involved in terrorism activities in Indonesia. The consent for interviews and all interview ethics procedures were conducted while prioritizing the rights of research informants. Additionally, the researcher conducted focus group discussions and interviews to collect data from 15 key informants consisting of policymakers, practitioners, and academics to address novelty in the context of counterterrorism strategy. Furthermore, secondary data for this study were obtained from government agencies such as the National Counterterrorism Agency and the Special Counterterrorism Detachment of the Indonesian National Police.

Result & discussion

Result

Educational Background & Occupation of Informants

The research findings show that the 20 female informants involved in terrorist activities have diverse educational backgrounds. 3 (three) informants graduated from elementary school (SD), 5 (five) from junior high school (SMP/Mts), 6 (six) from senior high school (SMA/SMK), while the remaining 6 (six) graduated from higher education institutions (college/university). Similarly, regarding work experience, as seen in Figure 2, it is noted that there are five types of occupational backgrounds among informants, including academics, government officials, migrant workers, housewives, and entrepreneurs.

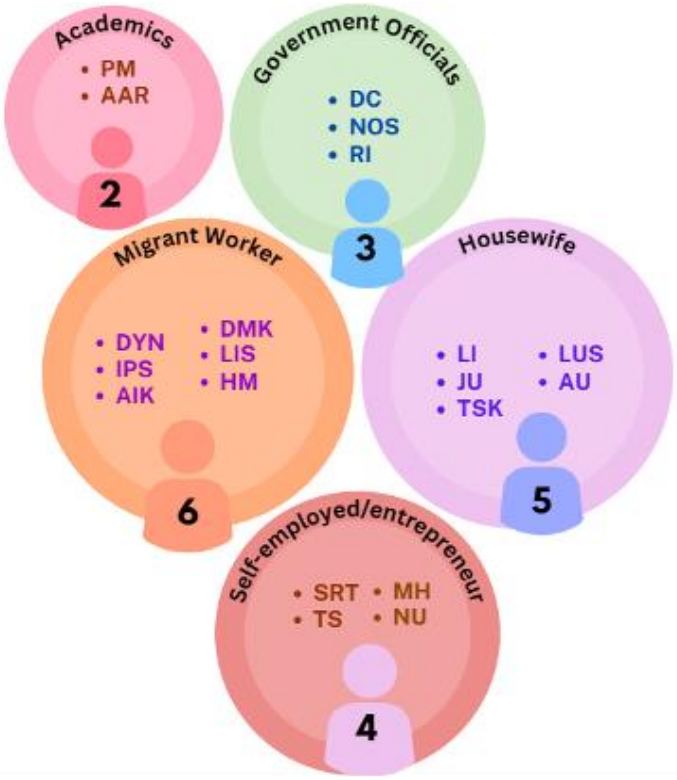

Figure 3: Occupational History of Informants
Source: Researcher's Findings, 2023

The data contradicts the perception that women involved in terrorist groups are those primarily engaged in domestic or household affairs. Opening opportunities for women to fill roles and positions in various fields of work provides a new space to demonstrate agency and achieve economic independence [16]. Even though they may work within limited scopes, this accessibility leads to daily earnings and thus creates independence for women. The diversity of the data also indicates that there is no direct correlation found between one's economic ability and background or occupation with female participation in terrorist groups.

The Intersection of Motherhood Values Among Female Perpetrators of Terrorism

From the experiences of all informants who have been involved in terrorist activities, it is known that there is a desire to continue education to higher levels, their involvement in various lines of work, and views on childbearing that are no longer a priority, challenging normative assumptions about motherhood. Therefore, a perspective is needed that can capture the complexity of motherhood, especially women's experiences in terrorist activities, in order to reveal the reality of different female experiences. In other words, the concept of motherhood through this intersectional approach is used to highlight various experiences of women in different social contexts and settings.

This study finds the embodiment of maternal values in broader aspects, stemming from class, religion, competence, family, empowerment, social and political factors, and the internet, in line with the findings of Hallstein, O'Reilly, & Giles (2020) [17]. Thus, this study sees the decision to engage in terrorist activities not as negating the value of motherhood but rather as manifested in different forms at various intersections of women's lives.

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The Significant Role of Women in Terrorism

This study does not primarily analyze the radicalization process of women. However, the narratives of the initial experiences of female subjects are integral in addressing this issue, albeit not in depth. The study notes that the radicalization process of women is complex and varies from individual to individual. Various individual, group, and macro factors (such as socio-political conditions, patriarchal ideology, and economic disparities) drive individuals or groups. The internalization of radical values targets various aspects of women's lives, both at the minor level, such as the family, and in other social spheres, such as work, religious groups, or through digital spaces, such as social media.

The Intensification of Radicalism Propaganda in various spheres implies that women have played a more significant role in terrorist groups in recent years, particularly in operational roles. This fact simultaneously indicates that terrorist groups increasingly target and rely on women to carry out and expand their group activities as their best camouflage.

Referring to the interview results of 20 informants, it was found that 16 roles of female involvement in terrorist activities were identified, 8 of which were support roles (light blue), and the other 8 were operational roles (dark blue). The support roles included accompanying their husbands, preparing logistics, knowing terrorist action plans, hiding suspected terrorists, performing allegiance pledges, participating in offline and online radical studies, and escorting new members. Meanwhile, the operational roles included acting as propagandists, funding, recruiting jihadi brides, attending training sessions, engaging in weapon contacts, planning weapon purchases, planning bombings, and planning jihad to Syria. This is illustrated in Figure 4 below:

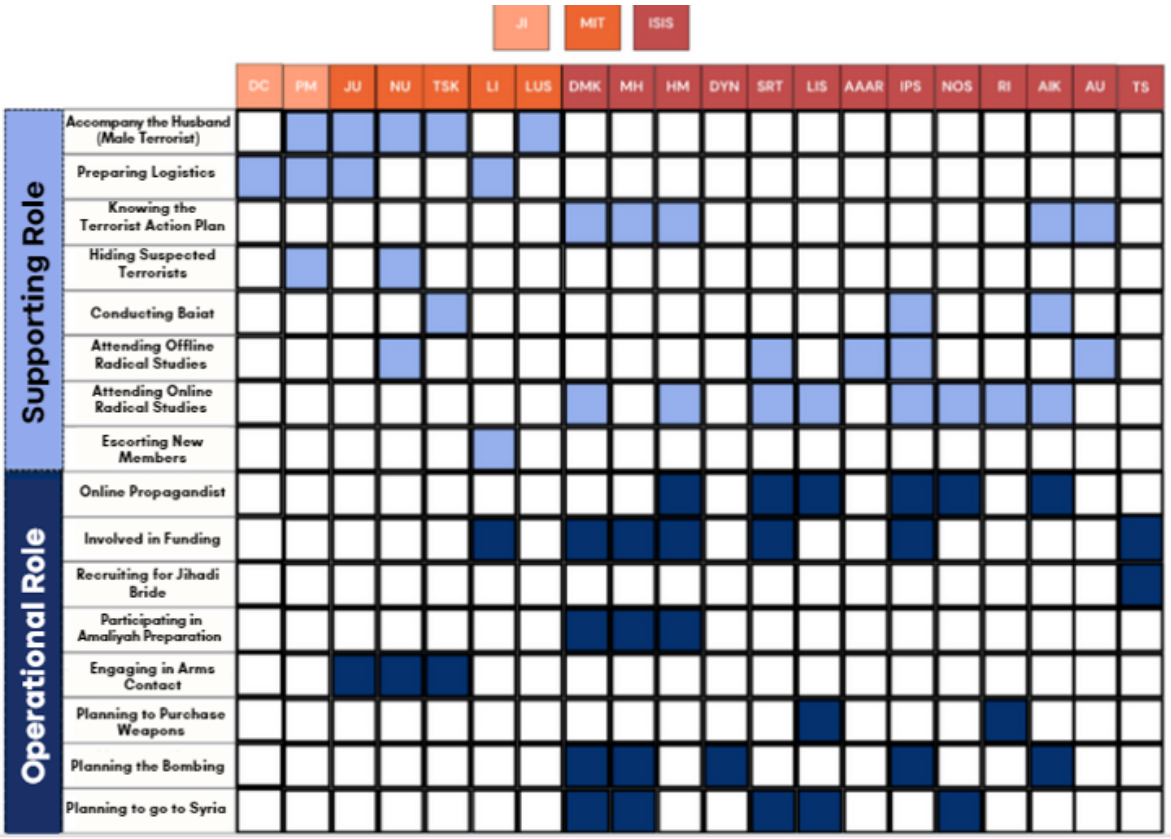

Figure 4: Infographic of Women's Activities in Terrorist Groups
Source: Author's Data Analysis, 2023

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Based on their affiliation with terrorist groups, the 20 informants are divided into 3 groups, namely JI (Jamaah Islamiyah), MIT (Mujahidin Indonesia Timur), and ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). Those associated with JI (highlighted in sage color) tend only to be involved in supporting roles. Meanwhile, there is a significant transformation evident when looking at the table towards the right, where female perpetrators affiliated with MIT and ISIS start to show their involvement in operational roles. In the MIT group itself (highlighted in orange), the operational roles are less prevalent than those performed by women who join the ISIS-affiliated wing in Indonesia. This indicates that the MIT group, originally a local terrorist group, changed strategy after pledging allegiance to ISIS in 2014, involving women. Moving further to the right (joining ISIS - highlighted in brick red), a greater variety of operational roles is being performed, which is quite severe. The complexity of light blue and dark blue colors marks this. Thus, this aligns with the previous premise that ISIS propaganda has opened up space and opportunities for women to be more actively involved at the forefront of terrorist activities.

Discussion

MbFT Typologies & New Counter-terrorism Strategies

Based on the life experiences of 20 female perpetrators, the intersection of motherhood struggles, and their involvement in terrorist activities, this study categorizes subjects into 7 Motherhood-based Female Terrorism (MbFT) typologies. These include lone motherhood, underage motherhood, paramilitary motherhood, entrepreneur motherhood, academia motherhood, migrant motherhood, and domestic motherhood.

The findings of MbFT typologies also indicate how women's involvement is not devoid of control by others who exploit them from the outset. However, at the same time, these decisions are also driven by the desire to demonstrate contribution, empathy, and agency in line with the values and capacities of the subjects. This aligns with O'Reilly's (2007) findings that motherhood can indeed be a source of disempowerment in patriarchal oppression [18]. However, at the same time, it can be a motivating force for empowerment amid various social constraints.

As mentioned earlier, the seven typologies are not constructed to compare the level of danger among them. Instead, they aim to provide an overview of the prominent characteristics of each typology, particularly in the context of vulnerability and the potential for involvement in terrorism activities in the future. The depiction of each typology is also based on the results of risk assessment referring to the HEV [13].

The Lone of Motherhood

The naming of this typology is based on the experiences of informant subjects who feel they do not need support from the social environment in their lives. The lone motherhood type, which is characterized by being alone, such as being a widow or a single parent, extends beyond marital status to include a lack of support systems and genuine social interaction limitations, tending towards isolation. This becomes a vulnerability aspect that increases the likelihood of subjects being involved in terrorist groups. Subjects in this typology consider the internet space more comfortable for actualizing values in an egalitarian manner.

Women perpetrators identified as lone of motherhood tend to have firm beliefs and thoughts regarding jihad, paradise, and the caliphate system, stemming from convictions based on various information they receive, especially in the digital space. This situation is in line with what Sageman (2008) revealed, that the proliferation of social media platforms, ease of access, and anonymity bring individuals closer together even if they have never met face-to-face, as

they share the same fantasy dreams, making the digital space seem like home to them. At the same time, this provides advantages for terrorist groups in the form of ease in providing remote mobilization instructions [19]. Thus, the internet becomes a gateway for exposure to risks for subjects of this type.

2) Underage Motherhood

Subjects of underage motherhood have the characteristic of starting married life at a young age and forming their first career in terrorist networks through marriage, even having children before reaching adulthood (18 years old). Child marriage becomes an exclusive exposure pathway for underage motherhood in the recruitment of terrorist groups, consciously or unconsciously receiving the mystification of narratives built as the pride of a mujahid's wife.

Furthermore, due to facing the dynamics of early marriage life, the psychological condition of the subjects tends to be unstable. This makes it easier for others outside the subject, especially the partner, to exert pressure and control over the subject. Moreover, the limited educational opportunities and the lack of chances to develop oneself lead the subject to experience social and economic dependency on family members. These factors contribute to the vulnerability aspect of underage motherhood subjects and encourage a mindset of unquestioning obedience - accepting without any basis whatever they receive from those closest to them (especially their partners).

Based on the interviews conducted, they sacrifice their right to life and their children to fulfill the urges of their husbands/male relatives who have joined terrorist groups earlier. This extraordinary loyalty becomes a hazardous aspect for subjects of this type. Consequently, there is a possibility of the subjects being involved in roles such as logistics/domestic support or becoming suicide bombers along with their partners. In order to continue accompanying their partners, it is not uncommon for subjects to move residences frequently or hide from law enforcement. Here is a quote from one of the interviews with female perpetrators classified under this category.

"*Dalam pelarian, di tenda persembunyian juga masih mengerjakan pekerjaan rumah, bersih-bersih. Tapi tau sendiri kan di hutan, kita di gunung selalu pindah-pindah. Jadinya kita pikir khawatirnya tiba-tiba diserang. Karena masak di tempat terbuka, apa lagi kita orang menggunakan niqab begini* — While were on a run, we still have to do household chores, such as cleaning. But you know, we always have to move around in the forest and the mountains. So, we constantly have this fear of being ambush. Because we cook in the open area, especially since we wear niqabs like this." (Interview Result from Informant JU, 2022)

The underage motherhood subjects understand the limited role of women in conventional understanding instilled by their partners, particularly in terms of reproduction, household chores, and childcare [1]. The patriarchal dominance inherent in underage motherhood shapes the perspective of women in this category that agency and political views are not part of maternal instinct and thus need to be set aside [17]. The internalization of these conventional values is one of the patriarchal group's missions to control women's agency within the group.

3) Paramilitary Motherhood

The term "paramilitary" is not defined as a formal military institution carrying out special operations or referring to a specific military organization structure. The naming of this type implies the abilities, competencies, and subculture trained similarly to paramilitary education [20]. The subjects of paramilitary motherhood are female perpetrators who have strategic perspectives, tactical capabilities, access to weaponry, and experience in law enforcement. All these accesses and skills the subjects possess become a hazard on their own

when they are involved in terrorist activities. Subjects in this typology are at risk of being utilized as attackers or suicide bombers.

Most of the subjects of paramilitary motherhood have a background in higher education and have worked in government or law enforcement environments. However, their sources of religious education are relatively limited, so various pieces of information that claim to be in the name of religious struggle are often accepted unquestionably by the subjects. This is a vulnerability aspect for subjects of paramilitary motherhood.

Referring to the interview findings, subjects in this typology claim that they often witness deviations in the government environment. This background of disappointment leads to the decision to become involved in terrorist groups. This is interpreted as part of resistance and an effort to do something else considered better. This is illustrated by the statement of a research informant, as follows.

"*Kalo di Polri, saya pikirnya khawatir jadi kafir (thogut). Karena saya sudah mulai paham ilmu dan ikut kajian ISIS. Jadi, hukum-hukum di Polri itu menggunakan hukum buatan manusia. Jadi dari situ, aku udah nggak mau lagi patuh. Terus yang tadinya mungkin pencuri, [di Islam ada hukum] potong tangan, kalo di Polri kan [hukumannya] masuk penjara. Jadi itu nggak sesuai dengan hukum yang Allah buat gitu. Jadi saya berpendapat kalo penjara, kan buatan manusia.* – What i learned from the National Police (*POLRI*), I am afraid I will become an infidel (*thogut*) because I've started to gain knowledge from ISIS. So, the laws the police use are man-made laws. Hence, I do not want to obey anymore. In example, the punishment of theft, [in Islam there is a law] cutting off the hand, but in the police, the punishment is prison. So, the punishment (from the man-made laws) does not comply with the laws made by Allah. So, I think that prison is made by humans." (Result of Interview with Informant NOS, 2022).

Furthermore, due to limited sources of knowledge, subjects tend to seek information outside their workplace, such as through the Internet or specific religious groups. The intensity of social media serves as a catalyst that accelerates their radicalization process and serves as a gateway for significant exposure, leading them to engage in terrorist group activities.

4) Entrepreneur Motherhood (Mompreneur)

The naming of this typology is based on the researcher's findings in many articles related to female entrepreneurs in search engine results. In the context of this study, subjects categorized as entrepreneur motherhood, commonly abbreviated as mompreneurs, are those who simultaneously fulfill domestic roles and operate their businesses on a personal level. Their ability to manage business and household responsibilities enables women in this category to build networks and communicate effectively. However, all of these capacities and resources possessed by the subjects become hazards when involved in terrorist groups, as they are at risk of participating in the financing of terrorist activities.

The high intensity of internet and social media usage, extensive networks, and regular contact with new people open the possibility of exposure. Through online and offline business spaces, terrorist groups often intentionally disseminate radical ideology, caliphate concepts, etc., under the guise of proselytization. Additionally, they attempt to shape the perspective that joining their group is equivalent to engaging in a social cause. This was revealed by informants as follows:

"*Intinya saya bantu orang gitu maksudnya kalo denger mereka kesusahan terus kita ada kan gimana gitu. Intinya itu. Yang menggerakkan, karena sebelumnya, saya merasa pernah jadi orang susah* — In essence, I help people, you know. When I hear about their difficulties, we are there for them, you know. That's the gist of it. What drives me is because, before, I felt like I was once in a difficult situation." (Result of Interview with Informant MH, 2022)

Finally, the high level of empathy makes mompreneur subjects who have savings or who still work as entrepreneurs trapped in the network of terrorist activities. The excessive empathy that is exploited becomes a vulnerability aspect in the mompreneur typology, and there are even subjects who do not regret losing their business income or being involved in terrorist activities. This is as expressed by one of the informants in the interview as follows :

"*Ana tidak menyesal dengan amaliyah ana, termasuk ana di penjara, tidak menyesal sama sekali. Mudah-mudahan kelak jadi hujjah di hadapan Allah. Kalau ana bukan seorang qoidun. Walaupun bukan disebut mujahidah juga, tapi ana pernah ber-amaliyah, ana pernah berniat* — I never regret my actions, including being imprisoned. I never regret it at all. Hopefully, it will become proof in front of Allah. Even though I am not a *qoidun* (*this term is often used by radical groups to refer to those who only sit in studies and discuss jihad but do not want to directly engage in actual jihad actions*). Even though not called a *mujahidah* either (*this term is attributed as an "identity" to women directly involved in terrorist actions such as attacks or becoming suicide bombers*), I have performed actions, I have intended." (The result of Interview with Informant TS, 2022).

5) Academia Motherhood

The naming of academia motherhood within one of the typology categories is based on Hillier's study (2023) investigating the relationship between the roles of mothers and academics [21]. In this study, the academia motherhood typology is understood as those who have access and opportunities to move forward in the field of education. Their persuasive abilities and networking skills enable female perpetrators to influence the perspectives of others, including in the indoctrination of radical values.

The academia motherhood subjects not only rely on their educational background but also possess a strong willingness to learn and platforms to disseminate knowledge in formal and non-formal forums. The experiences, accessibility, and expertise of academia motherhood pose a hazard as they have the potential to regenerate values through academic forums, influencing fellow women, children, or anyone connected. This typology has the potential to be involved in creating radical content or recruiting new members.

Subjects of academia motherhood tend to be open to extreme views from various sources, not limited to one specific community. Many assumptions are challenged and discussed without feeling marginalized or more correct. Their great curiosity and relentless search, while not entirely negative, still open up opportunities and vulnerabilities for academia motherhood subjects to be radicalized, either through personal involvement (self-radicalization) or due to manipulation by others. The strong desire to learn about this typology is reflected in the following statement by a subject.

"*aku juga ngerasa kayak kita sama-sama belajar juga, apalagi soal agama nggak akan pernah selesai. walaupun memang kita pernah salah, yang paling penting kita kan* willing to learn. *Justru bukan kita belajar supaya kita pinter, sebenernya supaya kita tau, ada hal lagi yang nggak kita tau ternyata* — I also feel like we're both learning, especially when it comes to religion. It will never end. Even though we may have been wrong before, most importantly, we're willing to learn. Actually, we're not learning to be smart, but rather to know that there are things we didn't know before." (Results of Interview with AAR, 2022).

The breadth of academia motherhood's activities makes the sources of exposure to radical ideologies and terrorist activities much more diverse. Subjects can be exposed to radical values through various means, such as the internet, books, and study forums. Given all aspects of hazard, vulnerability, and exposure, the involvement of academia motherhood in terrorism

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needs to be monitored, especially considering that the public perception of this type is considered noble. Moreover, most subjects are educators who play a significant role in shaping societal attitudes and understanding.

6) Migrant Motherhood

The terminology "migrant" in this study does not refer to the migration of women into terrorist groups but instead refers to Indonesian migrant workers who consistently work abroad for a certain period and continuously return to being migrant workers. The pressures of needs experienced by the subjects, the lack of support systems, situational instability, and the limited development of skills are vulnerability factors for this typology and serve as sources of exploitation by terrorist groups.

The random acquisition of information during their time as migrant workers or circulating in digital spaces regarding instant heavenly tranquility prompts firm and fervent decision-making to engage in terrorist activities, ranging from merely attending studies and consistent involvement in funding, albeit not in large amounts, to participation in planning attacks and bombings. This then marks the beginning of the exposure of migrant workers to terrorist activities. This situation is expressed by one informant as follows:

"*Ya kalau waktu itu kan nggak sengaja nih, ada apa itu berita bom yang Solo itu Kepunten Gereja Kepunten Solo. Nah terus nggak sengaja kan saya klik ar-rahmah.com. Pertama akses lewat handphone.* — Yes, back then it was unintentional, you know, there was this news about the bombing in Solo, at the Kepunten Church in Solo. Then, accidentally, I clicked on ar-rahmah.com. Initially, I accessed it through my cellphone." (Result of Interview with IPS, 2022).

Migrant workers have the means through the financial capabilities acquired as income. Additionally, they are supported by the spirit and enthusiasm to demonstrate personal agency. The migrant motherhood type then assesses that terrorist group activities provide an open space to occupy important positions to express their ideas, which they have never had the opportunity to do throughout their work and independence as a woman. This indeed becomes a hazardous aspect on its own, as migrant motherhood can potentially become collectors or contributors of financial support when they are involved in terrorist groups.

7) Domestic Motherhood

In this study's findings, domestic motherhood is understood as those who may have worked or never worked but consciously choose to engage more in domestic activities. Unlike underage motherhood, in terms of age, this type has reached adulthood and has been within the network of terrorist families since early on. The situational condition is where female perpetrators of this type provide total support to family members involved in terrorism and overlook risks to themselves. In this case, close relations with family and partners trigger women's exposure.

The close relations and connections with family/partners in women of the domestic motherhood type ultimately become aspects of vulnerability because they indirectly have significant dependence, both economically and psychosocially, on family members, especially husbands/close relatives (kinship network). This condition then gives rise to hazards as it fosters strong loyalty between the subjects and their family members, leading them to engage in dangerous activities such as terrorism without a thorough understanding of radical ideologies and other values within the terrorist group. This is evident as documented in the AU examination report, as follows.

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"*..kemudian saya diajak oleh kaka saya yang bernama UL yang merupakan pelaku bom bunuh diri di gereja Jolo, Philipina, untuk datang ke perumahan Villa Mutiara Makassar untuk belajar mengaji, yang kebetulan saya juga mempunyai kakak yang tinggal di Kompleks Villa Mutiara yang bernama RZ, dengan ajakan UL tersebut, akhirnya saya mengiyakan dan ikuti ke Kompleks Villa Mutiara yang jaraknya sekitar 10 km dari tempat tinggal saya..*

..Then I was invited by my older sister named UL, who was involved in the suicide bombing at the Jolo church in the Philippines, to come to the Villa Mutiara Makassar housing complex to study the Quran. Coincidentally, I also have a brother named RZ, who lives in the Villa Mutiara Complex. With UL's invitation, I finally agreed and followed him to the Villa Mutiara Complex, which is about 10 km away from my residence." (Examination Report of AU, 2022)

The results of the Examination Report above illustrate how AU, as a female subject of the domestic motherhood type, never fails to consider her family, even when deciding to become involved in terrorist groups.

Risk Matrix of Female Terrorism Typologies (MbFT) in Indonesia

Based on a combination of in-depth interviews with 20 female perpetrators regarding their roles during their involvement with terrorist groups, Examination Reports (BAP) and Court Decisions, as well as the results of Focus Group Discussions (FGD) involving opinions from experts and practitioners, researchers were able to formulate a risk typology analysis as presented in the following table:

No	Typology	Role	p	i	Risk
1	Lone Motherhood	Martyr/Bomber	4	5	Extreme 20
2	Underage Motherhood	Logistics/Support	5	2	High 10
		Bomb martyr together with husband	5	4	Extreme 20
3	Paramilitary Motherhood	Perpetrator of the attack	5	5	Extreme 25
4	Mompreneur	Fundraiser/Facilitator	5	3	Very High 15
5	Academia Motherhood	Propagandist/Recruiter	4	4	Very High 16
6	Migrant Motherhood	Fundraiser	4	3	High 12
		Martyrs of the attack	4	4	Extreme 20
7	Domestic Motherhood	Logistics/Support	5	2	High 10

Table 1: Analysis of Risk Matrix for MbFT Typologies
Source: Researcher's Analysis, 2023

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Table 1 shows that the paramilitary motherhood typology has the highest risk value, categorized as extreme at 25. This is due to the assumption that the competencies of the subjects in this typology can create new cells (recruitment), have access to firearms, and are familiar with explosives, which can pose the most significant challenges in handling and intervention. Based on probability, this typology is highly likely to carry out such actions, which will have devastating consequences if these roles are pursued.

The next type, lone of motherhood, ranks second with an extreme category of 20. This is because female subjects in this typology tend to isolate themselves from their surroundings and often prioritize the afterlife as superior to worldly life. Their tendency to isolate themselves leads these perpetrator subjects to rely heavily on social media to fulfill their knowledge content needs, which align with their worldview. The significant potential of female subjects in this typology is to become lone actors in carrying out unpredictable attacks (lone wolf terrorism). However, these female subjects do not possess the capability to harm other female subjects. They need more resources due to limited interaction and solely rely on the internet based on its search algorithms. While the subjects of this typology are extreme only to themselves, their actions can have damaging impacts if they become martyrs of the attack.

Next is the typology of underage motherhood, which has the same score as the lone of motherhood typology, which is extreme 20. Subjects in this typology exhibit high loyalty to their husbands and kinship relationships within their group. Getting married at a young age contributes to the closed-mindedness and cultivation of obedience to their husbands and families. Therefore, their role in the terrorist group may involve logistical support (high 10), and they may also accompany their husbands to become martyrs of the attack due to their obedience (Extreme 20). Their obedience to their husbands is such that they do whatever they command without questioning the morality of such behavior.

Next is the typology of migrant motherhood with the same risk level as the two previous typologies, reaching an extreme of 20. Female subjects in this typology can also have dual roles. This is evidenced by the roles articulated by informants in this research; they are targeted by terrorist groups to become martyrs of the attack, either with weapons or suicide bombs, as well as for funding purposes. The extreme score in this typology refers to the role of attack martyrs among female subjects who work as migrant workers. Subjects in this typology have distant kinship relations with their families and relatives. They are impulsive due to their vulnerability as workers.

On the other hand, their economic resources are sufficient, so they tend to strongly desire to contribute, especially in the name of religion and humanity. The emptiness and void in their hearts due to being far from their families are filled with humanitarian and religious propaganda. Consequently, they have a high likelihood of involvement and becoming martyrs with devastating consequences (Extreme 20). On the other hand, funding roles under the pretext of charity also pose high risks (High 12) because if it were not for the funds from migrant worker sources, terrorist actions could potentially be prevented.

The following typology is entrepreneurs' motherhood (mompreneurs) with a very high-risk level of 15, primarily involving funding roles. Terrorist groups exploit the exposure and vulnerability of these female entrepreneurs within their extensive networks as entrepreneurs. Their social flexibility makes them easily approachable, and propaganda networking can be utilized through their online shop trading routes. This typology also readily spends money, especially in the name of humanity and religion. Female entrepreneurs tend to have a strong empathy when faced with humanitarian contributions. The risk score for this typology is very

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high (15) because the likelihood of female entrepreneurs being involved in terrorist activities is highly probable, with significant consequences.

Next, the typology of academia motherhood, with a very high-risk score of 16, plays the roles of propagandists and recruiters. Their access to the educational world and learning environments, both formal and non-formal, drives the potential involvement and risk of female subjects in this typology, which is highly likely and has a significant impact on terrorist group activities. Women in this typology are considered inspirational figures and respected individuals in their surroundings, attracting attention and indoctrination. They possess the ability to create content and analyze situations well. Their high level of curiosity increases the potential for their involvement, and they strongly adhere to the principles and initial perspectives regarding the terrorist groups they believe to be correct. Although they continue to learn, convincing evidence takes a long time to influence them. Handling this typology also requires tactics, especially in its approach strategies.

Turning to the typology of domestic motherhood, female subjects in this typology share similarities with the underage motherhood typology, where obedience and loyalty to the family are the 'breath' of their daily lives. Although not initiated with early marriage, women's lives in this typology revolve solely around assistance. They seem ready to be paired with other members of the terrorist group and follow other commands given by the dominant male figure in their family. Most subjects in this typology have critical thinking skills, but their familial instincts and ties overshadow these. This typology poses a very high risk, with a score of high 10; their involvement can be anticipated, but the impact is minor.

Concerning the elaboration of the seven typologies and their respective risks above, it is reiterated that this analysis is not intended to compare the danger levels among typologies but rather to provide a new perspective on understanding female perpetrator subjects nuancedly. This allows the public to avoid relying solely on skewed media analyses when highlighting issues and enables governments to formulate gender-sensitive policies.

Conclusion

The Motherhood-based Female Terrorism typology seeks to explore the unique experiences of female perpetrators. It provides a new perspective on assessing the potential risks of women's involvement in terrorist groups in Indonesia. This typology is formulated through a proportional analysis of women's experiences in terrorism and their intersection with the dimension of motherhood, resulting in categories that have different aspects of danger, vulnerability, and exposure in each typology. However, convergence among typologies is highly possible, especially with intervention and rehabilitation efforts for subjects. Additionally, the dynamics of maternal experiences depend on the social and cultural practices evolving in a specific place and time, making this typology not absolute. Based on the data findings and analysis description, several key points serve as conclusions in the study, including the following:

1. Motherhood is manifested as an inherent value in women, characterized by love, compassion, and happiness, and it correlates with the fulfillment of life goals that may be implemented differently from social and cultural norms (the antithesis of motherhood), especially among female terrorists. For example, women who carry out suicide bombings with their children still prioritize maternal values, aiming for paradise as a better fulfillment of life goals than surviving in the world.

2. The characteristics and values of motherhood embraced by each female terrorist can vary, depending on the social and cultural practices experienced throughout their lives, resulting in distinct typologies.
3. The manifestation of motherhood in the context of female terrorism is a continuous, dynamic process that encompasses all aspects of the informant's life experiences, from before their involvement in terrorist actions to post-criminal justice proceedings.
4. The characteristics emerging from each typology are shaped by the subjects' experiences and backgrounds, including educational history, marriage, employment, childcare, and involvement in social environments. Levels of independence, intellectuality, and power relations do not have their measures in this research, as the main focus is not to classify subjects based on specific levels but to form egalitarian typologies that do not precede one another.
5. There is a need for specific approaches to handling and preventive projections, considering the potential risks of each typology of motherhood-based female terrorism.

These findings can be utilized in prevention and intervention efforts, particularly in determining strategies for approaching potential perpetrators and former female terrorists. Apart from raising awareness, these findings can construct a unique perspective on counterterrorism policies, primarily through interventions and programs.

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