

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother



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ABSTRACT: This article discusses the reality of regretful experience from a female terrorist of becoming a mother in the perspective of the study of motherhood and terrorism. Female terrorists' activities are often correlated to maternal inequalities. Figure of a mother is always seen as a perfect role and it is women's responsibilities to provide life, full of tenderness, affection and nursing in kindness. On the other hand, motherhood in criminal activities, especially terrorism, is often seen as a new mask in its modus operandi which leads to new exploitation. This study investigates the role and agency of women which are more active in terrorism and its relevancies to motherhood. Regretting motherhood is a research finding that argues if motherhood is a philosophical thing which all women dream about (Donath, 2017). The regret experience occurs since the beginning when a woman becomes a mother or conducting role as a mother, including for women who are involved in terrorism. The findings of this interview are the first study that reveal regretting experience of becoming mother of women involved in terrorism in the context of Indonesia. Women who are involved in terrorism tend to acquire deeper understanding in religion, especially in religion-based parenting, they generally believe if the noble duty of a mother in nurturing and educating, yet this case shows the opposite. The finding of the research argues the general assumption and uncovers the anomalies in the role of motherhood and religious norm which attach to mother involved in terrorism. This research uses in-depth interview method to two terrorism perpetrators, a woman who is a wife and also mother together with her husband, both of them planned to carry out a suicidal bombing in one of regional police headquarters in Indonesia but were thwarted. The result of this study adds argumentation related to repositioning of motherhood in the context of women involved in terrorism as a new perspective.

KEYWORDS: Maternal regret; maternal inequalities; motherhood; religion; terrorism

I. INTRODUCTION

MATERAL REGRET

The world is recently shocked by the widespread trend of anti-marriage and childfree (Bentley University, 2021); (New York Times, 2021). Culturally, in many events and social agendas, the question of getting married and having children becomes common as normative discussion, including in Indonesia (Kompas.com, 2022). The trend turns out to be able to distort the answer of those questions which is a scourge for young generation regarding the time limit to get married and biological clock to have children for women. Despite of its novelty, anti-marriage and childfree trends have statistically affected in three countries including Sweden, Japan, and South Korea (CNBC Indonesia, 2019). On of them, in South Korea, #NoMarriage movement affects the number of birth rate. According to a report from Fox News, birth rate in South Korea is among the lowest in the world and the young generation's interest in working is also very low which cause huge deficit of retirement fund for the country (Kumparan.com, 2019). The population in Japan has also decreased since the Covid-19 Pandemic which affects to the number of schools. In addition, the Japanese also delay to get married or not married at all which give impact to the decreasing of Japan's fertility rate (Nilamsari, 2023).

Referring to that social reality, no matter what option a woman chose, in fact, will always put its own label and judgement. The Inconvenience of a women in marriage also affects on how she performs her role as a mother. Although this movement and trend have widely spread, the construction of motherhood is still closely defined by marriage bond and child ownership (O'Reilly, 2020). O'Reilly (2016) divides the core of motherhood from assumption of patriarchal society, which are (1) that all women in the world are wanting to be a mother (essentialism assumption); (2) that mother's ability and love attach to women (naturalism assumption); (3) that all women will find happiness and fulfil their life goals by becoming mother (idealism

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

assumption). Those three assumptions are like normative rules that frame the future of woman's life, which can not be separated from the role as mother. Therefore, a movement emerges against that construction.

In patriarchal society, becoming a mother is considered as a complete achievement for women. However, that point of view is just a dominant construction of the perfect standard of women which is harmful to the women themselves. Women seem not allowed to have choices and other achievement. Women who eventually choose this option considered as deviant in religious and cultural norm. On the other hand, many feminist literatures and motherhood studies are trapped in arguing the definition of good mother and bad mother only. Inability of women in fulfilling the normative standard of a mother truly brings their lives into hell. Experience and feeling of women who laments about their role as mother seems to be a taboo to be discussed and shape them into a representation of inappropriate mother and even tend to be an evil mother. Goodwin & Huppaz (2010) mention that a good mother is an institutionalized social construction and practiced all at once encouraging women's subordinate role (Zefferey & Buchanan, 2020).

This article focuses on women's regret and inconvenience in facing the changes in their lives when becoming a mother. This concept of regret is not limited to conflict (ambivalence) at the early stage of pregnancy or adjustment to life as a mother in most literacy (Donath, 2017). Regret in this context covers the whole experiences from the beginning, at certain time or during the motherhood. Regret occurs due to the unpreparedness and unwillingness from women to be a mother which then give impact to many things.

Regret is an experience that is always considered as strange to be expressed, especially the regret of being a mother (Donath, 2017), but it is undeniable that the experience exists and is experienced by many women. The journey of becoming a mother is not an easy thing. Physical, psychological, biological, reproductive, social, cultural, financial, and ideological changes surround a woman's journey of becoming a mother. Meanwhile, the experiences of women who play the role of mother are very complex in different situations and context. The complexity of women's experience in motherhood, is not as easy as distinguishing between good and bad, moreover if it is only formed by normative construction of patriarchal society. Even for trivial things, society can easily judge the inability of a mother to cook or mothers who choose to pursue their career instead of taking care of their children as an unreasonable and evil mother or even other judgement.

A mother's remorse becomes indecent thing as if it is on par with crime. So that many mothers tend to be silent in order to not getting more judgement in their lives. A journalist for Mare Claire magazine, Treleaven (2016) revealed that the experience of maternal regret has actually existed since 2008 in America, which based on the publication of the article of Corinne Maier's No Kids: 40 Reasons Not to Have Children. In fact, this controversial topic has developed and was covered by many online media and continued in 2013. Treleaven (2016) explains that there is a Facebook community named I Regret Having Children which has nine thousand members and becomes the subject of the interview of Mari Claire magazine. The result of the interview revealed that many mothers shed their regrets and complaints in closed online media with anonymity. Their main reason is to still be able to express their feeling without having to pay attention to stigma and the impact of judgment of their actions.

According to Zufferey & Buchanan (2020) normative standard of motherhood is harmful dan widening the social discrimination gap to women. Normalization of motherhood such as parenting and handling the chores are seen as if mothers have similar background and condition, harmonious life, less problem with in law and financially secure. This is the form of imbalance situation that needs to be criticized in the study of motherhood. The situation of being homeless, having disability, suffering mental illness, experiencing abusive relationship, becoming mother behind the bars, even including mothers who are affiliating with terror group need to have space in this study. These are things which need to be repositioned that if motherhood is not determined by normative societal standard or institution and culture that shape it.

BOMBER MOTHER: A STUDY FROM INDONESIA

The women involvement in terrorism was first recognized only as obedient partner to conduct the commands from husband dan group leader (Knop, 2007; Cunningham, 2007a; Davis, 2013; Raghavan & Balasubramaniyan, 2014; Regner, 2017). Marriage bond and the ownership of children are main things for women who are involved by her husbands in terrorism activity. Their husbands never order them to be in the same line which they call as the battle for religion. However, the transformation of women role in terrorism activity has been recognized by many researchers in the world or in Indonesia (Cook & Vale, 2018; Biswas & Deylami, 2019; IPAC, 2017; Gan et al., 2019; Shapiro & Maras, 2019). Al-Qaeda and ISIS, two major international terrorist organizations, have made significant impact on the changes of global terrorism development. ISIS seems to open a transitional space for women to have an equal position and carry out the fight as minority group by religious text propaganda (Spencer, 2016; Pearson, 2016; Kneip, 2016; Chatterjee, 2016; Khelggat-Doost, 2017; Biswas & Deylami, 2019).

Women involvement as suicidal bomber has been widely known, on 21st of May 1991, female member of LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) attacked the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, by suicidal bombing (NDTV, 2016); on 25th of January

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

1998, female member of LTTE in Sri Lanka, killed eight people in Kandy City by suicidal bombing (CNN, 1998); in 2006, a pregnant woman from LTTE attacked the head of military staff of Sri Lanka in one of high-security places in Sri Lanka by suicidal bombing (NY Times, 2006). In 2015, Ait Boulahcen was allegedly as part of the key actor in Paris Bataclan Concert Hall bombing and International Stade de France football field. Boulahcen blew herself up and known as the first female suicide bomber in Europe. It shows that the role transformation of women involvement in terrorism especially in global context has occurred before the transformation itself appears in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, there at least several terrorism activities which involving significant role of woman in Indonesia since 2016 and received big attention from media. For example, case of Dian Yulianti Novi (2016) to carry out a bombing in Presidential Palace, and some place in Surabaya (2018), Sibolga bombing (2019), the attack to the Minister of Coordinating of Politics, Law, and Security Affairs (2019), and also the latest case during 2021 such as Church bombing in Makassar and the attack to Police Headquarters.

Referring to the timeline and those events, this article will focus on one of female terrorist case who plan to carry out suicidal bombing with her husband in Indramayu, West Java. The network group is related to the case of a husband and wife who planned to blow themselves up using a pot bomb in Indramayu Police Station but was successfully thwarted. They were arrested in 2018 at their place with some prepared explosive material as evidence.

DMK, a former female terrorist who has completed her sentence in 2011, has background as a migrant worker. She had worked as female worker with experience in Dubai from 2001 to 2005, in Kuwait from 2006 to 2009, and in Saudi Arabia from 2011 to 2014. DMK has three siblings and divorced-family background. Moreover, her parents' divorce leads her into disappointment and trauma because of conflicts that linger in her mind and causes disharmonious at home. Her parents put low attention to their children's education and religious aspect. DMK often witnessed the idolatrous practices by his mother and people around her, such as the serve of offerings and put belief in Shamans. She got her religious education from her uncle whom also part of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the relationship with her parents was not good so she was taken care by the extended family. However, not long after her brother enrolled in Pondok Pesantren, DMK together with her two sisters took part in study and taklim with her brother. The differences in ideology had emerged between her uncle and her brother so they eventually learn from her brother's group.

The acquaintance with her first husband is an unforgettable moment in 2010 but unfortunately, she had to go back to work as female worker (TKW) because she had to pay her mother's debt and it triggered domestic problem then leads into divorce. DMK, after being a widow for two years then undergo a taaruf with one of her brother's friends, AS, and had unregistered married (nikah siri) to be the second wife in 2017. This marriage finally leads her into unpredictable destiny, an experience that has never been imagined about an invitation to fight in the name of religion.

The intention and purpose of DMK and AS actually ended in judge's verdict that gave DMK a four-year sentence and five years for AS. They were both charged with the crime of supplying explosive material and financing terrorism for DMK. It is mentioned that DMK gave money, her saving from being female worker to buy explosive material, in amount of five million rupiahs and gave a used car worth almost ten million rupiahs.

Regarding with the prepared explosive materials found in the rented house are potassium chlorate, potassium nitrate, sulphur, and aluminium. DMK and AS learned how to build the bomb from G and N who are caught earlier. They met three times to learn how to assemble bomb in May and June 2018. The assembled bomb from G and N were firstly ready to use and continued with bomb from DMK and AS. Both couples agreed to attack the Indramayu Police Station, but with different time and method, DMK and AS planned to carry out a suicidal bombing by using a car that would be crashed into the police station during the Independence Day Ceremony in 2018.

Since the divorce from her first husband, she experienced many conflicts with her mother and heart struggle. DMK had no intention to get married again and prioritize her relationship to God. Her trauma leads her into the deepening of her religion knowledge with her brother's friends. Desperately, she even was recognized for being at the point to not continue her life anymore in the world and imagining the happy after life that was always promised for the believers, namely heaven. However, her pilgrimage leads her to the second husband who brings her to the purpose of fighting in the name of religion. It was not easy for her to be a second wife. She had to share her role as wife and mother for her four step children. Despite of it, DMK only wanted a blissful marriage and reaching the heaven faster. One of those ways is by carrying out suicidal bombing in police station. DMK was eager to do it because of the offering from her husband and higher value of the after life compared to the life in this world. The experience of desperation seems bridged with religious narration that she got from the second marriage and instant worship to reach heaven. Unfortunately, DMK was found pregnant. She can not believe that she is able to have children for she was infertile at her first five-year marriage. DMK was sure she can not have children but God gave her when she had plan to "find heaven".

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

Regarding to this case, for what DMK experienced, the normative view might assume that having children would control and put away DMK's intention to blow herself and her husband up by suicidal bombing. It is because the assumption of value and religious norm always put mother as heaven in life. Unfortunately, DMK has another opinion, she thought that having children is not the life she dreamt. She assumed that children obstruct her plan to reach heaven together with her husband. DMK planned to give her child to her little sister and continued her plan to do the suicidal bombing. Her second husband, AS, seemed had no intention to take care of DMK's inner conflict and still continue his activities and meetings with the member of radical group during this suicidal bombing planning.

The theorisation of essentialism of motherhood, naturalism, and idealism are indisputable in DMK's experience and make this case becomes interesting. In fact, regret and inconvenient of a new mother does not bring happiness and love like what the society always glorifies. Including at the Moslem society who always make mother as the door of heaven for her children. DMK was dragged in crime when former husband and wife who taught her to build bomb were caught earlier. She was caught when she had an eight-month pregnancy, almost giving birth, and no happiness at all. In fact, from the result of the interview, DMK has maternal darkness that encourages her not to have children and choose her way to heaven.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

The research in this article is part of research in order to complete author's dissertation study in Department of Criminology, Universitas Indonesia. The title of dissertation is Motherhood Based Female Terrorism in Indonesia. One of the female mother sources, DMK, has different point of view for her role and rarely happens in female Moslem community and patriarchal construction in Indonesia. Therefore, the author specially discusses this phenomenon in a separate case study analysis.

Case study is a detailed qualitative research model about individual during particular time line (Herdiansyah, 2014), which focuses on DMK's case. Black & Champion (1992) proposed the advantages of case study model, including the flexibility in data collection, by interviews, observations, audio-visual materials, and focus group discussions. In addition, it is possible to reach more specific dimension of the investigated topic (Herdiansyah, 2014). Generally, data sources in context of criminology study object, specifically motherhood study, is not always approachable. This cannot be separated from the nature of criminology research object that has relation to bad value, moral and immoral, breaking the law or not, which are very sensitive and not easy to express by civilized people (Mustofa, 2015).

This research also uses document study in a form of court decision which is downloaded by the author from Supreme Court (Mahkamah Agung) website to go into DMK and AS's (her husband) case journey. The purpose is to contextually see DMK's role in terrorism crime. After that, the author searches the information about DMK and AS undergoing criminal sentence by submitting research request letter to the Directorate General of Correction, Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Later on, it is found that DMK undergoes her criminal sentence at Sungguminasa Class IIA Women Prisons, South Sulawesi and her husband at Pasir Putih High Risk Class IIA Prison, Nusa Kambangan.

Next, the author proposes a request for an interview at Prison, through the Directorate General of Correction, Ministry of Law and Human Rights. In-depth interview with DMK was done twice by conveying the identity of author and delivering the interview consent form, each interview was conducted for 4 hours. It is because the topic of the study and its contact with the informant's dark life history which needs quite long time to dig information on the view and life experiences of the informant (Maxfield & Babbie, 2015). The unstructured interviews were done just like casual conversations between women and prioritizing the informant's trust to the author, sometimes the author put some questions about women's lives such as cooking, fashion, and make up.

Undeniably, the study of motherhood in this research is framed with feminist approach. Basically, the feminist research has goal of trying to provide new knowledge which is based on women's experience reality and actively describes the structural changes in social world (Mustofa, 2015). Robbins (1996) stated that "feminist researchers produce feminist research". Basically, the principle of partiality and gender sensitivity of the researcher are very much relied on writing the article. The drawback of women case study which is conducted by women certainly resulted bias, yet to minimize it, this research also reveals the result of the interviews with DMK's husband, AS, to be a triangulation of the author's interview result with DMK.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. *Mask of Motherhood: Transformation of Women's Involvement in Terrorism* (Size 10 & Bold & Italic)

Women involvement in terrorist organization or group is often assumed as a new mask of motherhood that was intended for deceiving. Not only that, this new mask has actually developed into a movement by using the name of women and religion freedom. The value created for women becomes ambiguous and imbalance for it depends on the power owner. Beauvoir (1956), in his first book *Facts and Myths*, revealed a psychoanalytic study regarding 'many faces' myth and incarnated in female figure.

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

Beauvoir's opinion (1956) leads to women ability to disguise themselves, be undetected, to deceive and be 'two-faces' due to socio-cultural practices that give different pressure to their lives. Moreover, women who live with patriarchal background and have no right to express their voices, tend to do extreme actions (Jahanbani & Willis, 2019). Beauvoir (1956) also concluded that myths that were created depend on men's interest and beneficial only (exploitative). Including the necessity of women's role in terrorist group, either as nurturing mother or to carry out the attack.

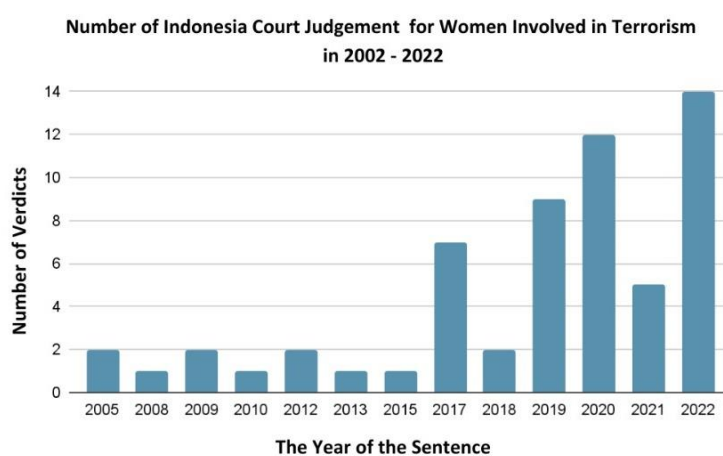
It is undeniable that women's role in terrorism in the global context has transformed, from passive role into active role. A study by Wickham et al., (2020, page 953) mentioned several important roles of women in terrorism, such as being the suicidal bomber, intelligent collector, informant, sexual bait, recruiter, even lone wolf terrorist. Wickham et al., (2020, page 964) also stated that women involvement in terrorism must be considered as critical thing and should not be underestimated for their hidden acts of violence and often unexpected because of the media representation about women, especially Moslem women. Moreover, female suicide bomber is considered more deadly than male suicide bomber because they have feminine characteristic, are rarely checked by security, have more freedom to move, and obtain smoother access to their targets (Alakoc, 2020, page 811).

The changes of passive role of women in terrorism, such as assistance and domestic role, into the active role can be triggered by several factors. Gan et al. (2019, page 214-215) stated that most women who finally join the ISIS have personal motivations and reasons to participate in the activities, for example their social experience. If women are being in an environment which empowers and allows them to explore their potential, this leads into their efficacy improvement and put the foundation for successful performance. In tis context, by proposing "the call to strike" formally among women and using women as role model in their propaganda, ISIS has elevated the women status, provided them platform to broaden their scope of responsibilities, and taken up more position in the frontline.

From political side, the changes of women role in ISIS might also occur because of the decreasing of male troops and male foreign terrorist fighters from outside Iraq and Syria, this is due to the large numbers of male fighters who died in the battle, which causes ISIS to call the women to get spot. The Islamic group itself stated that women are able to be outside home just to be fighters if there is lack of men for jihad¹, or to perform administrative task for the Caliphate. The fact that women are eligible in the frontline shows the desperation of ISIS in utilizing the remaining resources to perform attacks.

Women who become mothers are also often used in terror groups, as mother who takes care of the next generations. A study by Haq (2017) describes the role of motherhood in Laskar-i-Tayyiba (LT) terrorist group in Pakistan. The study explains the supportive role and domestic work as women's responsibilities. The main responsibilities of women in that group are to be the mothers of their offspring whom they call as religion fighters and to spread the message to the surrounding communities. The sadness and grieves of mothers are basically exploited by the LT group to gain large support regarding their goals and political agendas.

In the context of Indonesia, since Bali Bombing I in 2002 until 2022, there are fifty-nine women who have been convicted in terrorism criminal acts. This is the following graph of sentencing data in the last twenty years.



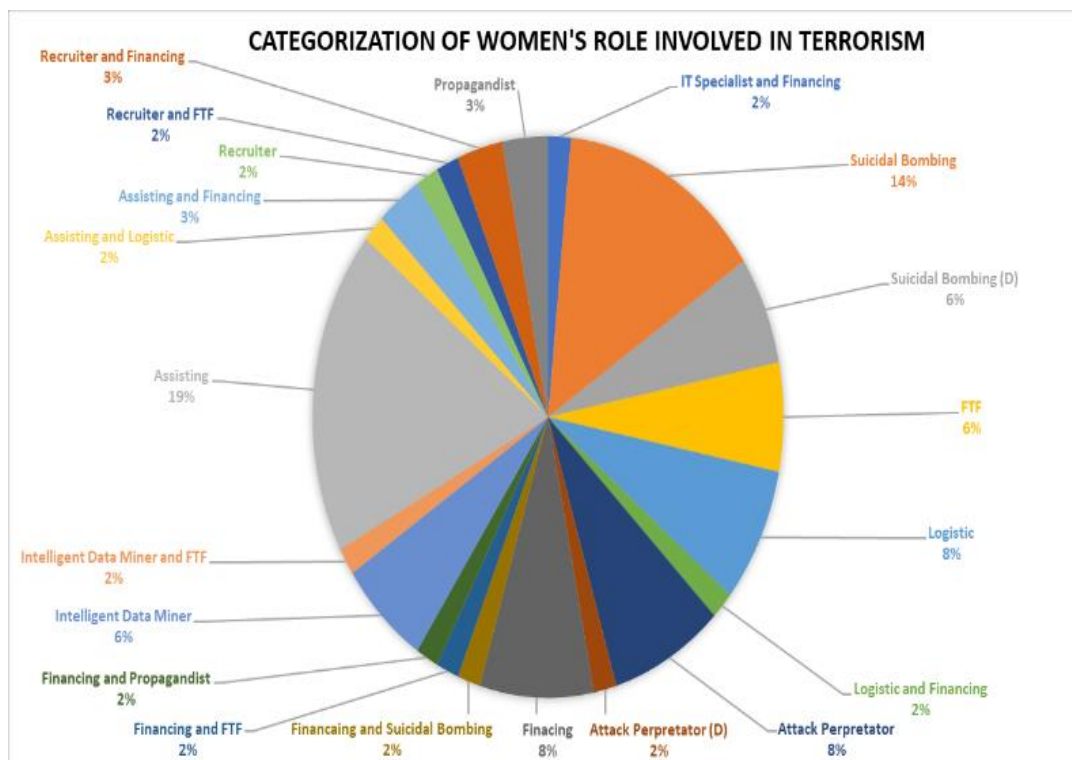
Picture 1. Number of Court Judgement of Women Involved in Terrorism 2002-2022

¹ Jihad is a full-power effort to reach the good deed; a truly effort to defend Islam by sacrificing wealth, body, and soul; holy war to fight the disbeliefs (kafir) to defend Islam with specific requirement (KBBI version V Year 2016). While Rahman (2018) in his study stated Jihad is "fighting" or "trying hard", but not in the meaning of "war in physical violence".

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

Referring to the graph, as previously mentioned, the existence of two big terrorist groups Al-Qaeda and ISIS provides borderline for the women involvement in terrorism activities. The existence of ISIS in 2013-2014 also gives an influence to the women involvement in terrorist groups in Indonesia. AS we can see in the graph, the number of court decision after 2015 are increasing; it shows us if this terrorist group seems provides spot for women to participate in political movement as self-actualization in women's agencies. The data above convinces that women actualization in terrorism is not a small number. This shocking phenomenon put on a new stigma for women. The transformation of value which was passive has now used a new narration to voluntarily participate and carry out attacks, plan a suicidal bombing or those who have already taken an action.

Meanwhile, the author also categorizes the involvement of women in the terrorist group by their roles as shown in the diagram below:



Picture 2. Categorization of Women's Role Involved in Terrorism

According to the diagram above we can see that if the women's roles are varied and many of them have multiple roles. The highest number of roles are Assistance (19%), Suicidal Bombing (14%), and Financing (8%). In addition, many of the female convicts have multiple roles. As stated by Beauvoir (1956), it indicates that women or mothers are multitasking because of the social and cultural pressures, so they are encouraged to take extreme actions, one of which is the role of perpetrators and dying suicidal bomber. Those with died status means that they have carried out the action and causes themselves to die. The total number of women involved is sixty-four, fifty-nine of them have received the verdict and the last five become suicidal bomber and perpetrators causing themselves to die. Women's role in logistic is those who provide places and search for hiding places for the groups, while assistance is those who have role to assist the terror group for purchasing, participating in training, and preparing things aside from providing property and food supplies. The propagandist role is aimed to those who spread the content in order to gather sympathy, while recruiters are those who invite and find new network. Financing is role for those who voluntarily make funding and or collecting fund for terrorist group. In addition, the attacker role and suicidal bomber role are distinguished by the used equipment, sharp weapons, or bomb. The rest of them, FTF, either are those who want to move to the conflicted countries like Iraq, Syria, and South Philippines or those who have returned from these countries.

The shocking incident in Surabaya in 2018 is called as mother of satan (Nugroho, 2018) (Nathaniel, 2018) not only because of the bomb type but because the three family members included their children in suicidal bombing actions. From the normative point of view, this certainly leads to the irrationality of motherhood. It is irrational because how on earth a father and a mother can kill their children together in the name of religion. The author's previous research finding leads to the urgency of motherhood redefinition. In this context, mothers who involve their children in suicidal bombing considered as protector from miserable things in this world (Taskarina, Meliala, & Putri, 2022). The terrorist groups make a narrative construction about afterlife that it is more important, precious, and satisfying than any other things in the world (Maryono, 2020). They make

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

mothers and children as vulnerable target to be exploited and fulfil their political needs. They continuously keep narrating it as propaganda of the battle in the name of religion.

The anomaly pointed in this article is that there is another point of view of reaching the afterlife faster via mother. We can find it in DMK's radical opinion that she wanted to choose her own heaven and regret of being mother because it slows her down from her suicidal bombing action with her husband. So, beside of the motherhood redefinition (Taskarina, Meliala, & Putri, 2022), there are other empirical facts that have relation with regretting motherhood which experienced by mothers in general. Both of these points of views are very rare transformation forms of motherhood value which can be considered as maternal darkness because it is bizarre and can't be explained by a woman. Therefore, these empirical facts need to be discussed further for adding the variety of perspectives and to reposition the construction and judgement for women involved in terrorism.

B. Maternal Darkness: The Unspoken Voice from Former Mother Bomber

Being reluctant to talk about regret in public is certainly a natural thing (Donath, 2017). Moreover, if the regret is a material that can be judged by society. One of those is the experience of becoming mother and facing the burdens and obstacles. Regret in this context is an expansion from contrary experiences but unable to be explained. Sometimes, the inconveniences and complaints from most mothers are normatively considered by judging them as spoiled and whiny, even demanding them to 'just do it, because we all do the same' (O'Reilly, 2020).

Before going through the informant's case questions, the author reviews about the informant's childhood in order to reminisce the happy moments. But then, DMK actually experienced various events that demanded her to grow up earlier and left disappointment that made her away from her parents. DMK has a deep disappointment of her mother since she was a kid until she grew up. Her parents' divorce left big impact on how she hardly adapted and accepted her mother's way of praying and living life with the new husband. Here is the excerpt:

R1 : *What are you afraid of? When your Mom or Dad was angry?*

DMK : *Mom.*

R1 : *Why? What happened when your mom was angry?*

DMK : *She hit me. When my father was angry, he just talked wildly.*

(Interview, April 1, 2022)

DMK : *It's because her second husband. But she didn't want to let her husband go, I mean you, I mean I'm sorry for her but Mom always stands for her husband. She should have defended her children...*

DMK : *She was not responsible for her four children. I couldn't see good things in her. While her husband spent her money. That's why she always stands for him. So, four of us thought that our Mom was under spell. She must have been controlled by her husband.*

DMK : *Hmm Mom... No, nothing about Mom. She's indifferent. No prohibition. My mom has different ways to her children. My Mom, she did too much shirk/neglection so she's different from common people, eh the old people and modern people.*

(Interview, November 29, 2022)

DMK has a deep disappointment because her Mom cheated from her Dad, was in debt, put belief in Shaman, and always served the sajen²/offerings¹. The accumulation of her disappointment resulted in anger and hatred that leads into different way, far from general view about religion, prioritizing the puritan group. This encouragement then leads into the form of ideal things that DMK dreamt about, out of her parents' perspectives. Guildiman & Meloy (2020) called it as pathways to violence which consists of four main factors: (1) anger; (2) shame; (3) blame; (4) loss in love/life. In DMK's case, we can see that parents' divorce, disappointment in parenting, loss her right as child, burden to pay family's debt, and separation with her husband, are the main background.

Referring to that analysis, this article doesn't specifically discuss the radicalization that occurs in mothers. Yet, the changes in DMK's perspective shows that there has been a process of radicalization since her beginning of disappointment. Borum's Four-Stage Model of the Terrorist Mindset (Borum, 2011) divides the terrorists' mindset into four stages: (1) Grievance; (2) Injustice; (3) Target Attribution; (4) Distance/Devaluation. DMK has experienced all the four stages, her perception forms an ideal picture

² Sajen is the offering, a must-served thing in ceremony, and also called as the offering which is served in particular moment in specific order to show belief in spirit/ghost, in particular places (Koentjoroningrat, 2002, page 349). While in KBBI version V Year 2016, Sajen is food (flowers and else) which is served to the spirit and its relative.

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

on how human should prioritize religion, but her trauma and depression of child rearing, especially her mother, give big influence to how she never ever wanted to have children and regret to have it.

DMK, one of former female convicts in terrorism, experienced it. It is unexpected that most terrorist group generally glorify the religion narrative about Mother as a Way to Heaven. But in reality, DMK actually regrets of having children and wants to leave them. She even chooses to look for her own way to heaven together with her husband. Just like a dark twilight, she is deep in silence and stammered when she tells her experience in the interview. The interview begins with asking her childhood and continues to her case. In the middle of the interview, DMK told the author about how she regrets of being pregnant and delaying her suicidal bombing plan at the Regional Police Headquarters in Indonesia. Started with her despair of worldly things, DMK stated that she asked her husband herself to initiate a suicidal bombing. Here are some excerpts from the interview:

DMK : *Yes. I don't want to live anymore. He also wonders why, ((husband)).*

R : *Why?*

DMK : *Yeah, I just don't want to.*

R : *Why not?*

DMK : *That's what I want.*

R : *You want to do it yourself not because of your husband?*

DMK : *No, because of Allah. It's the time.*

(Interview, April 1, 2022)

DMK : *Yeah, I just don't, not really... My motivation is, Insya Allah, heaven. This world is boring to me.*

(Interview, November 29, 2022)

In this part, DMK confidently answered that she prefers to find a blessed way to dead (in her opinion) by doing suicidal bombing. On the second interview, DMK still stated the same thing. She was choked and there is sorrow in her eyes when she talks about her regret of being mother and no regret for still joining the terrorist group. She looked around for several times to make sure no one hear what she said during the interview. However, this stage of conversation has finally occurred after having some small talks with the informant.

R : *You said that you don't want to live anymore. But you have kid, don't you? You would give a new life, right? You didn't think about it at that time?*

DMK : *I did think about it.*

R : *You would raise the kid?*

DMK : *No. No. I would just leave it to Allah, to the Messenger (Rasul) in Jihad². Just it.*

R : *Do you have any regret?*

DMK : *No.*

R : *Do you still want to carry out the Amaliyah?*

DMK : *I still have no idea. Let's see.*

(Interview, April 1, 2022)

R : *Do you want to take care of your own children?*

DMK : *(paused for a moment) ... Just leave it to God.*

(Interview, April 1, 2022)

R : *If I could meet with Abi Syafi'i, do you want to say something to him??*

DMK : *Take a good care of yourself. Be Istiqomah.*

(Interview DMK, April 1, 2022)

Meanwhile, in a separate interview with DMK's husband in Nusa Kambangan High Risk Prison, he agreed with what DMK said.

R : *Did you have any specific reason at that time?*

AS : *Yes. It's because my wife wanted to carry out the Amaliyah³ together.*

³ Amaliyah in terrorism context is an action to seek martyrdom; where a group of radical Moslems often act as suicidal bomber which they call as amaliyah al-isytyshad (Busyro, 2010, page 49).

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

AS : *No matter what, she wants to die together. May be because she really loves me (laughing)*
Okay, look. I have a hope because DMK loves to read Al-Qur'an and repeat it with the translation. So later, I can easily direct her than my first wife.

R : *You mean that DMK is eligible?*

AS : *Yes, she is.*

(Interview AS, November 9, 2022)

In her radicalization process, DMK was encouraged by the opened access through her husband to get the materials for bomb assembling. Borum's disappointment lines are (2011): (1) grievance; (2) ideation; (3) research and planning; (4) preparation; (5) breach-attack. In fact, almost all of these operations are financed by DMK's money including to buy the materials and second-hand car which was used to bring the explosive materials. Those five grievance stages are found in DMK's case.

On the next session, DMK was asked again about her decision whether she wants to change it or leaves her children, she still has the same point of view about jihad dan she also confessed that she was confused to take next step.

R : *After all these things, you said that you want to focus on your child. What would you do if you are offered to join the group again? Would you join them?*

DMK : *Insya Allah if... I'm still joining them actually. (paused for a while). Let's see when my husband is coming.*

R : *Hm'mm. But what about now?*

DMK : *Mmmm, I still have no idea. I'm still confused.*

(Interview DMK, November 9, 2022)

DMK still not want to take care of her child once she already gave birth because her main purpose is the afterlife or heaven, in her perception. She gave her child to her little sister. She wants nothing but the heaven she dreamt about. The same answer occurred at the second interview, the conflict arouses when the author asked if DMK still want to carry out suicidal bombing. DMK waits for her husband's decision and agreement to carry on the plan or not, as if she waits for her husband to free and they continue their terrorism activities (istiqomah). From the beginning, domination of DMK's husband plays important role in decision making. So, it is not surprising that many ambiguous answers come up due to her husband doctrine.

According to this experience, it is important to know that we cannot generalize irrationality view from normative perspective of motherhood, including mothers who are involved in terrorism, experience of women involved in terrorism, and it's undisputable. The regret comes after her dark childhood life or social interaction which was dominated by radical, extreme, and terrorist group that drives her illusion and fantasy of heaven rather than prioritizing motherhood essentialism.

C. Repositioning of Motherhood

Figure of a "Mother" still have a mystical view in most of the society. DMK's experience and how she narrates it gives extraordinary different perspective from most women in terrorist group. Bueskens (2018) mentions that a small group of mothers who are not used to talk in front of people, tend to offer valuable knowledge into social changing process. The image of an ideal mother which is presented by normative motherhood is not easy to reach and causes the mothers feel guilty, grudge, and anxious about their messed and chaotic motherhood experience, as showed in Donath (2017). The relentless tension between motherhood experience and social discourse of motherhood which tried to claim and control it causes the mothers hide their taboo emotion of motherhood regret (Reilly, 2020).

Motherhood has close relation to marital status and children ownership; this narrow meaning of motherhood needs to be reconsidered. Motherhood becomes one of patriarchal culture constructions which has varied meaning in various dimension and time, changeable, continuously challenged, or redesigned with different ways or formulas (rich, 1976). In addition, Kowino (2013) also stated in his study that motherhood experience is not supposedly limited only in women who are giving birth to children. In other word, a person may have children without being associated with motherhood or vice versa, even without child ownership can not nullify the manifestation of motherhood in a woman. Therefore, this article is aimed as initial part of main finding in my research titled motherhood based female terrorism which is redefining (Taskarina, Meliala, & Putri, 2022). However, in the middle of the writing process, the redefining stage is not enough to broaden the argumentation about motherhood, there is another position of motherhood that is visible in the context of women involved in terrorist groups. It is the regretting of motherhood.

The discussion in this area is certainly limited because it is difficult to express in appropriate sentence or even no words is appropriate to express it (Donath, 2017), moreover in the context of women involved in terrorist group. Motherhood is also inseparable from intersection of another dimension which related to women's life reality. Motherhood as an institution and ideology (Rich, 1976) has intersection with other aspects, such as class, religiosity or beliefs, occupation and ability, family,

The Maternal Darkness: A Voice of The Indonesia Former Bomber Mother

internet and mass media, motherhood agency, empowerment, and socio-politics. Therefore, motherhood is not a single concept so that these impacts of intersection will provide different perspective in every woman's experience.

The intersection analysis of motherhood in religious dimension also broaden the paradigm. The past and present variety of religion and belief understanding influences the point of view as social construction and new culture about motherhood (Guignard, 2020, page 157). Women involved in terrorism is offered religious narratives and contexts, in this case is Islam. One of them is the religious argument that said Mother as *madrasatul ula'* (the first madrasah) for their children. This is one of the most popular narratives among women in terrorist group and believed by most of women involved as informant in this research, except for DMK.

DMK's responses and answers are remain the same at both interviews. The neglect of childcare is the impact of her regret from being mother. Yet she kept it herself because it is an uncommon thing for *ummahat* to share to other women in the group. The demand if women could be at the front line like men influences her way of thinking about carrying out suicidal bombing with her husband. The camouflage of her love and affection is poured into her dream of heaven than taking care of her child. DMK's interaction with her mother and the parenting style of her mother tend to push DMK to be apathetic in continue her role as mother. Even her suicidal bombing plan had successfully detected by the police and she is still alive together with her husband and child, DMK still has no intention to plan the parenting system for her child.

DMK's regret reveals that the normative mandate of essentialisation, naturalisation, and idealisation is just an ideological construction that determines how motherhood should be understood and practiced. The construction does not reflect the real and life experiences of women as mother. In this case, those regretful mothers use their real experiences to argue the normative narration of motherhood. Even the regret of a mother does not negate if a woman is not a real mother. The regret of a mother is a real experience that needs attention and guidance. The promotion of empowering mother seems to put aside the fact that experience needs to be changed, repositioning this experience through program guidance and patriarchal counter-narratives on motherhood practices. This can be a renewal of mother empowerment (Reilly, 2020).

The purpose of empowered motherhood is, to take back the power by decreasing patriarchal motherhood practice, discursively or materially, to control and manage emotional regulation on motherhood model. A theory of empowered motherhood begins by positioning mother outside from definition which is institutionalized in patriarchal institution (Rich, 1986). The essence of the empowered motherhood practice is authentic application of mother's experience and prioritize self-love as the basis, so that the full amount of love will relate to how the mother share her love with her children. Butterfield (2010) explained that authenticity is an ethical term which represents the honesty to ourselves, like on making a decision that is consistent with someone's belief and values (Reilly, 2020).

IV. CONCLUSION

Maternal regret is not only about culturally, psychologically, and economically unreadiness; it is also the whole changes of a woman's life which involves physical, biological, reproductive, social, culture, financial, and ideology. DMK's regret experience becomes one of interesting reflection in the context of women involvement in terrorist group. In the midst of women's role for assisting and taking care of the children in terrorist group which are counted as *jihad*, DMK chose to prioritize her fight which she refers as *jihad* even she has to leave her child. Being a suicidal bomber and then caught with her husband, in fact, does not get rid of her main intention and she even refused the parole. All of the law enforcement officers who are in charge for coaching and mentoring tried their best in making ways so DMK wants to tell about her child's development. In the second interview, DMK's face expression and voice tone remain the same.

This is also confirmed with the answers from DMK's husband interview, AS. It is said that DMK's action is pure for heaven purpose and taking along her husband as the more beloved person than her child. This is certainly irrational for normative motherhood perspective, but the reposition of motherhood is also needed in the context of women involved in terrorist group. DMK, who is just recently released form the prison, needs some programs and activities that is not only judging what she had done and believed in the past. The dark crimson side of her experience needs a balance perspective aside from the illusion of heaven. This case study can be a reflection for further research of terrorism and gender to broaden the argumentation of women in involvement in terrorist group, especially about motherhood out from its normative definition.

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