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They are Just the Same; Everyday Life of Terrorists' Families in East Java Indonesia

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Abstract:

This article aims to investigate the everyday life of terrorists' families in Surabaya and Sidoarjo East Java Indonesia namely how they have interacted with their neighbors and adapted to the community. Data of this research were gathered through interviews with the neighbors of terrorists' families and related parties, observing the crime scene of the bombing blast and the neighborhood areas where the terrorist families live, and library research. Results of this study show that the terrorist families of suicide bombings and those raided by Detachment 88 Police Squad were recognized as "ordinary people" by their neighbors and colleagues. Their physical appearances were generally just the same as other Muslims living in their neighborhood; even they participated in several social activities held by the

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community and interacted with their neighbors openly. This can be recognized as their strategy of adaptation. Thus, they were accepted by the surrounding community, and at the same time, they could still maintain their inner goals as a member of a terrorist group. This paper used the theory of adaptation and Islamic law to examine these aspects, especially how Islam sees *jihâd* and *Inghimâs*.

Keywords:

Terrorism; Adaptations; Terrorist Family; Suicide Bombers; Martyrdom

Introduction

The terrorists' families are mostly perceived as a closed group living in secret areas supported by the fact that they have interacted only with the member of their inner group for many years.¹ However, this differs from the terrorists' families in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, East Java Indonesia. They have lived and interacted with their neighbors. Their everyday life is the same as other people living in the area. In addition, they mingled with their fellow residents and participated in the *kampong* activities like regular meetings and visiting each other during their sickness or other occasions, even one of them become a board member of the neighborhood association²

Additionally, the physical appearance of people associated with radical groups – typically having long beards and wearing three-fourth pants for men, while women wearing a *niqâb* (a veil covering

¹ Aris Wasita, "Terduga Teroris BT Dikenal Tertutup," *Antaraneews.Com*, July 2, 2019; Dianing Sari, "Seorang Terduga Teroris Di Pondok Kopi Dikenal Tertutup," *Tempo.Co*, April 21, 2011, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/329258/seorang-terduga-teroris-di-pondok-kopi-dikenal-tertutup>; Muh Hasanuddin, "Dua Terduga Teroris Yang Digerebek Densus 88 Hidup Tertutup," *Antaraneews.Com*, January 6, 2021, <https://banten.antaranews.com/berita/146800/dua-terduga-teroris-yang-digerebek-densus-88-hidup-tertutup>; detiknews.com, "Keluarga Eman Tertutup dari Warga Sekitar," *Detiknews.Com*, May 13, 2010, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-1356383/-keluarga-eman-tertutup-dari-warga-sekitar>; Kristi Utami, "Keluarga Terduga Teroris di Batang Tertutup Sejak Pulang dari Malaysia," *Kompas.Id*, March 26, 2020, <https://www.kompas.id/baca/nusantara/2020/03/26/keluarga-terduga-teroris-di-batang-tertutup-sejak-pulang-dari-malaysia/>.

² "Interview with the Neighbors of Terrorists' Families in Surabaya and Sidoarjo" (Surabaya, May 2018).

all faces apart from the eyes) was not found. Instead, they wore typical cloth the same as ordinary Moslem people. These phenomena are difficult to be detected whether there is a terrorist family or not in a certain place until the bomb blast happened and caused many casualties while damaging several properties. How the terrorist's families live in the middle of the community can be seen as the adaptation strategy, therefore they will be accepted to stay in such vicinity and people will not suspect them of having a relationship with the radical actors or members of a terrorist group.

Referring to Robert K Merton's (1959) views on the sociological theory of deviance, the way of terrorist families in those two cities adjust to the environment can be seen as conformist or deviant in which they are different from most terrorists as exclusive and closed ones.³ At the same time, they accept the social norm in general in order to maintain the social order. Therefore, the case of those terrorist families in East Java was an example of how the community sometimes can be a safe haven for terrorists as long as they can adapt to the environment.

The existing studies mainly talk about other aspects such as the origin of terrorism,⁴ the terrorist networks and their development,⁵ the government's counter-terrorism policy,⁶ motivating factors to be involved in terrorism,⁷ religion, and terrorism,⁸ and the

³ Robert K Merton, Leonard Broome, and Leonard, S Cottrell, *Sociology Today*, ed. Robert K Merton and Leonard Cottrell, Leonard Broome (New York: Basic Books Inc, 1959).

⁴ Wiwik Afifah, "Karakteristik Tindak Pidana Terorisme Di Indonesia," *Jurnal AKRAB JUARA* 04, no. 05 (2019): 221-33.

⁵ Hamzah Junaid, "Pergerakan Kelompok Terorisme Dalam Perspektif Barat Dan Islam," *Sulesana* 08, no. 02 (2013): 118-35; Brian J. Phillips, "How Terrorist Organizations Survive: Cooperation and Competition in Terrorist Group Networks" (University of Pittsburgh, 2012).

⁶ Afirus Nurul Fuadi, Widya Sumadinata, and Dadan Suryadipura, "The Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicle to Support Counterterrorism in Indonesia: A Case Study at 51st Air Squadron in 2016-2018," *Central European Journal of International & Security Studies* 12, no. 04 (2018): 48-60; Sidratahta Mukhtar, "Strategi Pemerintah Indonesia Menghadapi Terorisme Dalam Era Demokratisasi," *Jurnal Reformasi* 6, no. 2 (2016): 143-53.

⁷ Mervyn F Bendle, "Existential Terrorism: Civil Society and Its Enemies, Historical Period: 1700 to 2002.," *Australian Journal of Politics & History*. 52, no. 01 (2006): 115-30, <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8497.2006.00411a.x>; Gus Martin

history of terrorism.⁹ Besides, several studies discussed women and terrorism¹⁰ and how it relates to the involvement of children¹¹ in terrorism.¹² In addition, there are many studies on the involvement of women in terrorism at the international level.¹³ Furthermore, terrorism in Indonesia was also discussed by previous scholars with different focuses like the root of terrorism,¹⁴ the concept of

and Fynnwin Prager, *Terrorism, an International Perspective* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publishing, 2019); Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues* (Washington DC: SAGE Publishing, 2020).

⁸ Taj Hashmi, *Global Jihad and America, the Hundred-Year War Beyond Iraq and Afghanistan*, 1st ed. (Washington, DC: SAGE Publishing, 2014); Ram Puniyani, *Deconstructing Terrorist Violence Faith as a Mask*, 1st ed. (Washington, DC: SAGE Publishing, 2015).

⁹ Bruce Maxwell, *Terrorism A Documentary History* (Washington, DC: SAGE Publishing, 2002); Zakiyah, "The Chronicle of Terrorism and Islamic Militancy in Indonesia," *Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion* 01, no. 01 (2016): 19–40, <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v1i1.276>.

¹⁰ Meredith Loken and Anna Zelenz, "Explaining Extremism: Western Women in Daesh," *European Journal of International Security* 03, no. 01 (2018): 45–68, <https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2017.13>; Musdah Mulia, "Perempuan Dalam Gerakan Terorisme Di Indonesia," *Al-Wardah: Jurnal Kajian Perempuan, Gender Dan Agama* 12, no. 01 (2018): 80–95, <https://doi.org/10.46339/al-wardah.v12i1.136>; Unaesah Rahmah, "Women in Jihad: An Indonesian Context," *Counter Terrorist Trends & Analysis*. 12, no. 04 (2020): 21–26; M Endy Saputro, "Probabilitas Teroris Perempuan Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 14, no. 02 (2010): 211–28.

¹¹ Putri Marlenny Puspitawati et al., "Factors Inhibiting the Psychological Recovery Process of Children in Conflict with the Law," *Psikohumaniora: Jurnal Penelitian Psikologi*, 2021, 96, <https://doi.org/10.21580/pjpp.v6i1.6578>.

¹² Anik Farida, Zakiyah, and Koeswinarno, "The Involvement of Women and Children in the Bombing Attack in Indonesia," in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium on Religious Life, ISRL* (Bogor: EAI, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.2-11-2020.2305078>; Dhestina Religia Mujahid, "Peran Keluarga Dalam Proses Disengagement Pelaku Teror Di Indonesia," *Psychopolytan : Jurnal Psikologi* 4, no. 1 (August 2020): 66–76, <https://doi.org/10.36341/psi.v4i1.1325>.

¹³ Anne Aly et al., *Violent Extremism Online: New Perspectives on Terrorism and the Internet* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Tamara Herath, *Women in Terrorism Case of the LTTE*, 1st ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Publishing, 2012); Sofia Patel, "Representations of Women and Gender in DFID's Development-Security-Counterterrorism Nexus," *European Journal of International Security*, 2022, 1–26, <https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2022.16>.

¹⁴ Dinda Rosanti Salsa Bela et al., "Meta-Analysis at the Root of Terrorism from the Perspective of Islamic Movement in Indonesia," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial* 16, no. 02 (2021): 392–420, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v16i2.4817>.

martyrdom in the view of certain groups,¹⁵ the ASEAN countries' policy to eradicate terrorism,¹⁶ and other themes. Those previous researches did not discuss the everyday life of terrorist families. Therefore, this study will examine such a topic and will fill the gap in the discussion of terrorism.

This article will therefore firstly discuss the bombing tragedies as well as the perpetrators then the everyday life of those four terrorist families. Two of them were the suicide bombers of the three churches in Surabaya and the police office of Surabaya, one was suspected terrorists who would detonate the bomb at the determined location, and the last one was linked with those terrorist actors. All these terrorists' families were associated with the *Jamâ'ah Ansharud Daulah*, a radical group that has supported ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria).¹⁷

It is argued that the way of terrorist families interacted and blended with the community was a strategy of adaptation, so they can live unsuspectedly. At the same time, they still pursue the inner goal of their group like destroying their enemy by doing suicide bombing as *jihad*. Therefore, the discourse of suicide bombing and *jihâd* will be examined using the Islamic law perspective, especially on *Inghimâs* and *istishhadi*, and how certain acts can be categorized as part of *jihâd* and allowed by Islamic jurisprudence.

¹⁵ Muzayyin, "The Concept of Martyrdom in the View of Jamâ' Ah Islâmiyah in Indonesia," *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 09, no. 01 (2020): 1-12, <https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v9i1.5367>.

¹⁶ Satria Unggul Wicaksana Prakasa, Sholahuddin Al-Fatih, and Abdurrahman Raden Aji Haqqi, "Terrorism Eradication in ASEAN Countries: Human Rights Perspective," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 16, no. 02 (2021): 327-61, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v16i2.5021>.

¹⁷ Detiknews.com, "Daftar Pelaku Keluarga dalam Bom Bunuh Diri: Bomber Surabaya Hingga Makassar," *Detiknews.Com*, March 30, 2021, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5513399/daftar-pelaku-keluarga-dalam-bom-bunuh-diri-bomber-surabaya-hingga-makassar/1>; dw.com, "Siapa Kelompok JAD Yang Dalangi Teror Di Surabaya?," *Dw.Com*, May 14, 2018, <https://www.dw.com/id/siapa-kelompok-jad-yang-dalangi-teror-di-surabaya/a-43779343>.

Method

This article was written based on field research on the mid of May 2018 and a documentary study during and after the bomb blast happened in Surabaya and Sidoarjo. This research gathered data through interviews, observation, and library research. Interviews in 2018 were conducted with 37 key informants in the field. They were people who can give credible information about the study openly and honestly.¹⁸ They included the neighbors of terrorists' families, the security guard of the housing complex, the head of the village and housing complex, the head and staff of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, police officers, members of the forensic team, the head of public relations of the regional police office and the board members of the three churches.

To select these people, researchers used a snowball method, namely getting names from suggestions given by the initial interviewees. In addition, the data were updated with recently available documents and interviews with the six key informants conducted in February 2023 including the head and staff of children care, staff of the Office of Religious Affairs, and the neighbors of the terrorist families. All these informants agreed to be interviewed as part of the research process in collecting data.

The observation was conducted in the crime location and the neighborhood where the terrorist's families lived. This included those three churches in Surabaya, housing complexes where the suicide bombers resided, and *rusunawa* (*Rumah Susuh Sederhana Sewa*; low-cost flat) in Wonocolo Sidoarjo. Then, library research was done to seek documentary data on terrorism in Indonesia and other related topics. This contained relevant research reports, academic journal articles, and news from the online media.

Result and Discussion

Surabaya and Sidoarjo Bombing Blasts

On Monday morning 13 May 2018, when Christian people were praying at the church and some of them prepared to enter the church, there were big bomb explosions in three churches

¹⁸ John W Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2007).

simultaneously in Surabaya. The first one was detonated at *Santa Maria Tak Bercela Church*, at *Ngagel Madya Street*, Gubeng. The incidence occurred at 07.13 WIB (Western Indonesian Standard Time). Five minutes later, the second bomb explosion happened at *Gereja Kristen Indonesia*, (GKI) at *Diponegoro Street*. Then at 07.50 WIB, the next bomb exploded at the *Gereja Pantekosta Pusat Surabaya* (GPPS church) at *Arjuno Street*.¹⁹ All these incidences caused serious damage to the churches and surrounding properties and led to many casualties including the death of several people and all the perpetrators.²⁰ Interestingly, they all come from one family, including father (DO, 47 years old), mother (PK, 43 years old), and two daughters (FS, 12 years old, and FR, 9 years old), as well as two sons (YF, 18 years old and FH, 16 years old).²¹

The next bomb exploded at the very modest *rusunawa* Block B 5th floor Number 2 Wonocolo Sidoarjo which belonged to AF's family. This explosion happened at around 8 PM on the same day and caused two people's death namely PS (47 years, the wife of AF) and his daughter (HAR, 17 years old), and injured his two kids; FZ (a daughter, 11 years old) and GHA (a son, 10 years old). Meanwhile, AF was shot to death by the police during the ambush, because he attempted to fight back the police. The explosion in this house was detected as an accident during the bomb assembly process, and those bombs would have been detonated by AF at the targeted places.²² The eyewitness mentioned that at first, they thought that the sound of the explosion was caused by a gas tube for cooking, so they would help the victims. However, after seeing several cables on the floor, they called the police to check. The police then confirmed that there was a bomb detonation.²³

¹⁹ "Interview with the Board Members of the Three Churches; Santa Maria Tak Bercela Church, Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI), GPPS" (Surabaya, May 2018).

²⁰ "Observation at the Three Churches: Santa Maria Tak Bercela Church, Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI), GPPS Church" (Surabaya, May 2018).

²¹ "Interview with the Indonesia Automatic Finger Print Identification Team Member" (Surabaya, May 2018).

²² Adrianus Adhi, "Korban Bom Rusunawa Wonocolo Sepanjang Sidoarjo 5 Orang, Ini Kondisi Terakhir Mereka," *Surya.Co.Id*, May 2018; Hamzah Arfah, "Bom Di Rusunawa Wonocolo, 3 Orang Tewas," *Kompas.Com*, May 2018.

²³ "Interview with the Neighbors at Rusunawa, Sidoarjo" (Sidoarjo, May 2018).

One day later, on Monday 14 May 2018 in the morning, a family consisting of father (TM, 51 years old), mother (TE, 44 years old), two sons (MDAM, 20 years old, and MDSM, 16 years) and one daughter (APP, 7 years old) committed suicide bombing at the front gate of the police office in Surabaya. All those bombing actors were dead at the crime scene except APP as she was carried out on the first motorcycle, flung away on the floor, and rescued by a policeman who happened to be there. This incident caused four police and six people to be injured. It is also known that TM is a friend of DO, the bomber of the GPPS church.²⁴

Another shot-dead suspected terrorist was BS (49 years old) at his home in Puri Maharani Housing Estate, Mangsangan Wetan, Sukodono District, Sidoarjo. He was murdered in a raid by The Police and Detachment 88 on Monday morning, May 14 2018 after trying to fight the police.²⁵ Her wife, WQ (48 years old), disappeared and according to her fellow worker, she might be caught and detained by the police.²⁶ When her house was raided by Detachment 88, WQ still worked at her office at the office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Surabaya. The list of attendees recorded that she was present at 07.26 AM; she also participated in the morning parade in the office yard which ended at around 8:00 as she usually did and then left the office without permission to go out. Usually, every time she went out of the office, she would ask permission and tell her fellow workers.²⁷ It was also known that at around 08.32, she still sent a message via WhatsApp to her fellow worker asking for files in a folder on the computer to be stored on the flash disk on her desk. A half-hour later, at around 9:00, there was a shootout at the house she lived.²⁸ After the

²⁴ Andry Haryanto, "Kronologi Bom Bunuh Diri Mapolrestabes Surabaya," *Liputan6.Com*, May 2018; Danu Damarjati, "Terorisme Terlaknat 2018: Bom Sekeluarga Mengguncang Surabaya," *News.Detik.Com*, December 2018.

²⁵ Nur Hadi, "Densus 88 Tangkap 13 Terduga Teroris Di Surabaya Dan Sidoarjo," *Tempo.Co*, May 2018; Fahmi Aziz, "Teroris Yang Ditembak Mati Di Sidoarjo Tokoh Nomor Dua JAD Surabaya," *Merdeka.Com*, May 2018.

²⁶ "Interview with the Head of Administrative and Staff of the Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs Surabaya, East Java" (Surabaya, May 2018).

²⁷ "Interview with the Head of Administrative and Staff of the Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs Surabaya, East Java."

²⁸ "Interview with the Head of Administrative and Staff of the Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs Surabaya, East Java."

incident, WQ had never come to her office at the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Surabaya. She was also fired referring to Government Rule number 05, 2010 about the discipline of civil servants. She has also never visited her house which is now empty and unmaintained.²⁹

The summary of those mentioned names along with their role and position is displayed in the following Table 1;

Table 1. Description of Terrorist Families

No	Name of the family	Name of member	Member of family	Description of Role and Position
1	DO's family	DO	Father	- Suicide bomber at GPPS church - Leader of JAD Surabaya
		PK	Mother	Suicide bombers at <i>Gereja Kristen Indonesia</i> (GKI)
		FS	Daughter	
		FR	Daughter	
		YF	Son	Suicide bombers at <i>Santa Maria Tak Bercela</i> Church
		FH	Son	
2	AF's family	AF	Father	- A member of JAD - Bomb blasted at his house - Shot dead by the police
		PS	Mother	- Dead at the crime scene
		HAR	Daughter	Injured
		FZ	Daughter	
		GHA	Son	
3	TM's family	TM	Father	- Suicide bombers at the front gate of the police office - Dead at the crime scene - TM is member of JAD
		TE	Mother	
		MDA	Son	
		MDS	Son	Injured during the suicide bombing at the front gate of the police office
		APP	Daughter	
4	BS' family	BS	Husband	- Shot dead during the raid by Densu 88 - The Second leader of

²⁹ "Interview with the Staff of the Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs Surabaya and WQ's Neighbors and Colleagues" (Surabaya, February 2023).

				JAD Surabaya
		WQ	Wife	- Disappeared during the raid by Densus 88

The table implies that inviting family members to join a terrorist group is one of the new strategies among terrorist groups, let alone ISIS. Its members also ask their wives, children, siblings, or parents to go to a combat zone, including to travel to Syria and Iraq perceived as “Islamic” countries and family-friendly places practicing Islamic law.³⁰ Previously, it occurred to Bakaroni Brothers who committed a suicide bombing in Brussels, and the Saudi brothers named Abdulrahman and Ibrahim Saleh, along with Pakistani Abdullah Gulzar Khan who committed a suicide bombing at a Shia Mosque in Al Qatif Saudi Arabia.³¹ In the context of Indonesia, these bombing cases were the first successful suicide bombing involving family members which were different from the past when terror action was conducted by adult men only.

Everyday Life of Terrorist Families; Perpetrators’ Profiles and Their Adaptation Strategy

The bombing actors and suspected terrorists in Surabaya and Sidoarjo East Java lived in the middle of the community normally. DO’s family, for instance, had lived in a middle-upper-class housing complex for almost seven years. His house was considered a big house with 100/180 m² type. They bought the house in 2010 and then in 2012, they started to live in it. This housing complex is occupied by people who come from different areas; most of them are Javanese and some are Chinese descendants. The majority are Moslems while several others are Christian and Catholic.³²

Their neighbors had known DO’s family as an “ordinary” family who was friendly as they had interacted with others, even with their non-Moslem neighbors. The nearest house to DO’s house even belongs to a non-Moslem. This neighbor sometimes gave food to DO’s

³⁰ Dean C Alexander, “How Are Family Structures Influential in Potential Terrorist Participation,” April 2019.

³¹ Alexander.

³² “Observation at the Housing Complex Where DO’s Family Lived” (Surabaya, May 2018).

family and was well received without any hesitation. Personally, DO was recognized as a good man; he worked as a merchant of herbal medicine where he and his assistant concocted the medicine in a workshop not far from his house. Furthermore, he had become one of the board members of the neighborhood association (RT; *Rukan Tetangga*). He was also known as a polite and friendly man as he always said hello to his neighbors whenever they met. In addition, he and his family often attended congregational prayers at the nearby mosques of the neighborhood. In short, although DO was identified as the leader of *Jamaah Anshorud Daulah* (JAD) Surabaya, his everyday performance looked similar to other people as he wore cloth the same as other men do. Neither did he have a beard or wear high-water pants as the stereotypical physical performance of men affiliated with radical groups.³³

As for PK, the wife of DO was a housewife as other women did in the area. She had been a board member of PKK (*Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, a neighborhood association) in her neighborhood for almost a year after previously becoming its member. She was in charge to collect donations from the Moslem residents for the mosque. She attended social gatherings like the commemoration of Indonesian Independence Day and paid for the contribution. In short, she interacted with her neighborhood including with non-Muslims, and liked to greet them whenever they met. She wore typical Moslem women's cloth and a veil (instead of *niqâb*). Her cloth was also colorful, not only a black Arab-style shirt as most women from a radical group do. Interestingly, in her bombing action, she wore a black Arab-style shirt and *niqâb*. The bomb was carried out using a female handbag and hiding behind her veil; the same information from a witness and the finding of a female handbag on the crime scene.³⁴

At the bombing scene, along with PK, there were FS and FR who put the bomb tied to their waist as their belt.³⁵ As a consequence, the injury of those deceased girls' bellies was very damaged although

³³ "Interview with the Neighbors of DO's Family" (Surabaya, May 2018).

³⁴ "Interview with the Neighbors of DO's Family."

³⁵ "Interview with a Board Member of GKI" (Surabaya, May 2018).

the upper part of their bodies was fine.³⁶ Like the mother, they also wore a black Arab-style shirt and *niqâb* while the belt bomb was hidden behind their veil. In fact, in their everyday life, these two girls dressed normally like other girls in the neighborhood as they also went to the nearby elementary school.³⁷

The same thing occurred in two sons who studied at nearby schools. YF went to the nearby Senior High School while FH to the nearby Junior High school. FH was even the chief of the student organization at his school. They two often attended congregational prayers along with their father at a nearby mosque, usually for *maghrib*, *'isyâ'*, and *şubuh* prayer. Their neighbors mentioned that these two boys' physical appearances are similar to other children's.³⁸ Today, the house of the DO family was empty and untended since no one wants to maintain it now, and neither does his close family.³⁹ This can be understood that their family did not want to be associated with terrorist groups.

Contrary to the first family, AF's family lived in a low-cost apartment where the bomb explosion took place.⁴⁰ He was identified as a close friend of DO and a fellow member of JAD. His family was also known as ordinary as others living in that flat. He once attended a college in Surabaya for a year majoring in electrical engineering. In his everyday life, he sold cakes made by his wife to earn money. He worked from morning until evening. His outer appearance was also similar to other Muslim men. Based on his neighbor's information, he even sometimes wore such kinds of short pants. He always greeted his neighbors and nodded his head when they met. However, when meeting women without wearing a veil, he would bow his head. He was also described as a reserved and quiet person.⁴¹

AF's wife, PS, also got dressed like other Muslim women by choosing a standard robe and veil instead of the big one or even *niqâb*.

³⁶ "Interview with the Indonesia Automatic Finger Print Identification Team Member."

³⁷ "Interview with the Neighbors of DO's Family," May 2018.

³⁸ "Interview with the Neighbors of DO's Family."

³⁹ "Interview with the Neighbors of DO's Family" (Surabaya, February 2023).

⁴⁰ "Observation at AF's Family Apartment Neighborhood" (Sidoarjo, May 2018).

⁴¹ "Interview with the Neighbor of AF's Family" (Sidoarjo, May 2018).

Besides cooking for cakes to sell, she also liked to receive cake orders from her neighbors. Like her husband, she was deemed as a good and friendly person. She liked to visit neighbors when they were sick along with other women in that neighborhood. In dailies, she also bought her grocery needs from the neighbor's store in the same block.⁴² Although the couple looked like other neighborhood members, the first daughter, HAR, was quite different. She did not attend formal school but studied with her aunt (AF's sister) who lived on the same block as how her younger sister (FZ) and younger brother (GHA) did. In her everyday life, she wore a long dress and veil (*niqâb*). She stayed at her house most of the time and was recognized as a shy girl. On the contrary, her younger sister and younger brother were used to interacting and playing with other children in that area.⁴³

After their treatment at the hospital, those surviving two children were carried out to the children's rehabilitation center in Jakarta under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Child protection commission. In this child care, they received psychological therapy because they have experienced psychological trauma as they lost their parents and the oldest sister. In addition, they received a deradicalization program and then admitted that their parent's ideology was wrong. After three months of treatment, these children went back to their immediate family in East Java. These children were still under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Affairs.⁴⁴

Different from the first two, TM'S family lived in a rented housing complex in Surabaya for almost three months before the bombing tragedy.⁴⁵ The front gate of his house was always closed because from morning to evening, all inhabitants had activities outside. TM worked at a workshop located in Rungkut making home frames. He was known as a reserved and quiet person who only talked when asked. However, when meeting with someone in the neighborhood, he would say a greeting.⁴⁶ During his stay, TM liked to

⁴² "Interview with the Neighbors at Rusunawa, Sidoarjo."

⁴³ "Interview with the Neighbors at Rusunawa, Sidoarjo."

⁴⁴ "Interview with the Director and Childcare Staff" (Jakarta, February 2023).

⁴⁵ "Observation at TM's Family Neighborhood" (Surabaya, May 2018).

⁴⁶ "Interview with the Neighbor of TM's Family" (Surabaya, May 2018).

participate in a *ronda* (a night watch activity) with surrounding neighbors where the location was right in front of his house. During such night watch activities, he did not talk much but had a conversation with certain people discussing religious teaching.⁴⁷ A similar characteristic was shown by his wife, TE. Although wearing ordinary female Moslem clothes and headscarves, she barely interacted with her neighbors. Every morning, she took her son to school on a motorcycle wearing a mask and would be seen returning in the afternoon. She had almost never gone out. However, she liked to greet someone who was in the front of her house.⁴⁸

In line with their parents, two sons of this family, MDA and MDS studied at schools not quite far from the neighborhood. The older was at a senior high school, while the younger was at a nearby junior high school. Their appearance was like other teenagers with ordinary everyday clothing. Sometimes at home, they were seen wearing shorts and shirts. They rarely went out of the house and did not interact with boys in the village. Occasionally, they were seen in the yard in front of their house combing their cat.⁴⁹ The youngest child, AAP, at the time of this study in 2018, was being treated at a nearby hospital in Surabaya. In her everyday life, she went to a public elementary school in Surabaya and often played bikes outside. Furthermore, now she was under the protection of children care and attending school. After her stay in the child rehabilitation center, she received psychological treatment and a deradicalization program that made her *takfiri* level decrease while having a dream to continue her life. In this sense, *takfiri* means other as the infidel, this includes the government, other believers, police officers, and civil servants. At first, she has the willingness to attack those who are considered infidels, but now she has not wanted to commit that action.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ "Interview with the Neighbors of TM's Family and Neighborhood Committee Members" (Surabaya, May 2018).

⁴⁸ "Interview with the Neighbors of TM's Family and Neighborhood Committee Members."

⁴⁹ "Interview with the Neighbors of TM's Family and Neighborhood Committee Members."

⁵⁰ Najwa Shihab, "Pengakuan Anak Pelaku Bom Surabaya" (Indonesia: Shihab, Najwa, May 2018); *Harian Kompas*, "Ais, Anak Pelaku Bom Surabaya Dan Kesalahan Kita" (Indonesia: *Harian Kompas*, February 2023).

The last family indirectly engaged in the bombing tragedy was that of BS. BS was suspected as the second biggest JAD figure in East Java and had links to the bombing of Surabaya churches.⁵¹ He was an alumnus of the Department of Chemical Engineering at a college in Surabaya and graduated in 1996. In his everyday life, he runs the home industry by making liquid soap and perfume for clothes and then selling them. The appearance of his daily clothes did not show any difference from others. In one photo, he was seen wearing a red shirt and a brown jacket, light brown trousers, a hat, and a black backpack. He was known as a kind, sociable and friendly man. Every morning, he took his wife, WQ, to her workplace at the office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Surabaya⁵² where she worked there since 2012.

In her daily appearance, WQ was also an ordinary woman like other staff, wearing ordinary hijab and colorful clothes. She interacted well with her fellow workers and was known as a discipline and responsible worker by participating in the activities held by the office, such as August 17, Kartini's Birthday, and other activities. However, she never talked about her family's problems. All she talked about was office work issues.⁵³ Apart from it, she graduated from an Islamic school in Gresik East Java and a university in Surabaya. Besides, she was known as an obedient wife because every time invited by an office friend for a going out, she would first ask her husband's permission. She also liked to promote liquid soap from her husband's business to her fellow workers.⁵⁴

The data shows how the terrorist families were mostly able to adjust to the community where they lived in. They could interact and adapt with surrounding people. Theoretically, adaption means one's ability to adjust to the environment by changing his/herself to suit the environment or changing the environment to make it favorable to himself/herself.⁵⁵ It is one of the processes to survive in any

⁵¹ Aziz, "Teroris Yang Ditembak Mati di Sidoarjo Tokoh Nomor Dua JAD Surabaya."

⁵² "Interview with the Neighbors of BS's Family and WQ's Fellow Workers" (Surabaya, May 2018).

⁵³ "Interview with WQ's Fellow Workers" (Surabaya, May 2018).

⁵⁴ "Interview with WQ's Fellow Workers."

⁵⁵ W.A Gerungan, *Psikologi Sosial*, IV (Jakarta: PT Refika Adhitama, 2012).

community.⁵⁶ Thus, how the terrorist families interact with their neighbors was a way to live and survive in society. In a more detailed explanation, there are at least six elements of adaptation, namely (a) a process to solve the hindrances, (b) following the social norms to resolve the social pressures, (c) changing process to suit the alteration of the situation, (d) changing process in to suit the created shifting, (e) the use of limited resources for the interest of environment and system, (f) cultural adaptation and other aspects as a result of natural selection.⁵⁷ The terrorist families seem to follow those elements by accepting and respecting cultural differences.⁵⁸ From the four terrorist families described above, three families were recognized as fully inclusive and the rest is partly inclusive.

In relation to their inner group, these families can be deemed as deviant. Merton (1970) identified five forms of deviant behavior that relate to adaptation as follows; (a) conformity; a person's behavior follows the goals and ways determined by society, (b) innovation; a person's behavior follows the goals determined by society but using the forbidden or deviant ways, (c) ritualism; a person accepts the cultural means but rejecting the cultural goals, (d) retreatism; a person rejects both the means and the goals, (e) rebellion; a short term response in a person rejects both goals and means of society.⁵⁹

The terrorist families are different or deviant because they generally accept the goals of the terrorist group but reject the way how their everyday life looks like. This can be seen in the family of DO, AF, and BS. They accepted the social norm and follow social activities in their neighborhood. Even, the wife of BS, WQ, was a civil servant. This is very contradictory to the well-known ideology of terrorist groups in which they usually perceived the government as *ṭagūt*, the enemy because they are deemed not implementing Islamic

⁵⁶ Supardi Suparlan, *Kemiskinan di Perkotaan Bacaan untuk Antropologi Perkotaan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1993).

⁵⁷ Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2017).

⁵⁸ Milton J Bennett, "Towards Ethnorelativism: A Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity," in *Education for the Intercultural Experience*, ed. R.M. Paige, 2nd edition (Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1993), 21-71.

⁵⁹ Robert King Merton, *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England* (New York: H. Fertig, 1970).

law and preferred the “Western democracy”.⁶⁰ The position of BS as the second highest leader of the JAD group in the region had nothing to do with his everyday family life, let alone the occupation of his wife as a civil servant. This highlighted a new phenomenon.

Meanwhile, TM’s family is less deviant because they accepted the terrorist group’s goal while partly accepting the means of organization. TM also interacted with their neighbors but tended to be a quiet person while his wife and children did not interact with the neighbors. However, their neighbors explained that it was not questionable since they were new residents.⁶¹ This conformity choice of adaptation seems as a means in order for the community can fully accept them so their actual goals will not be suspected and the terrorist group’s aims can be achieved.

Another striking phenomenon is that those four families varied in terms of economic level. One was a wealthy family living in a middle-upper class housing complex, while the rests were from middle to low-income families who lived in a *kampong*, housing complex, and very modest flats. These facts indicate that terrorism is not always linked with poverty as many studies said before.⁶² All the adult actors were also working people invalidating the finding of Asal, Fair, and Shellman (2008) that unemployment was one of the factors for joining *jihād*.⁶³ From the educational background level, some of them graduated from the university. This is in line with Alan

⁶⁰ Taufiq Firmansah, “Apa Maksud ‘Thaghut’, Yang Selalu Diserukan Pelaku Teroris terhadap Polisi?,” *Wajibbaca.Com*, May 17, 2018, <https://www.wajibbaca.com/2018/05/apa-maksud-thaghut-yang-selalu.html>.

⁶¹ “Interview with the Neighbors of TM’s Family and Neighborhood Committee Members.”

⁶² Alberto Abadie, “Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism,” *American Economic Review* 96, no. 02 (2006): 50–56, <https://doi.org/10.1257/000282806777211847>; Alan B Krueger and Jitka Malecková, “Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17, no. 04 (2003): 119–44; Alan B Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, “Does Poverty Cause Terrorism?,” *New Republic* 226, no. 24 (2002): 27–33; James A Piazza, “Rooted in Poverty?: Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 01 (2006): 159–77.

⁶³ Victor Asal, Christine Fair, and Stephen Shellman, “Consenting to a Child’s Decision to Join a Jihad: Insights from a Survey of Militant Families in Pakistan,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31 (2008): 1001–22, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100802400201>.

Krueger and Jitka Makecková's research result that the majority of suicide bombers in many countries including Al-Qaida networks, Hezbollah, Hamas, and other terrorist groups are university graduates.⁶⁴ Terrorist groups tend to select an individual with a university degree as they will make fewer mistakes when they did their bombing action.⁶⁵

Is Suicide Bombing Justified by Islamic Law?

Suicide bombing was generally recognized as doing *jihād* and seeking martyrdom by terrorist groups.⁶⁶ The bombing series in East Java was claimed as a "*syāhid* attack", meaning that the bombing action was a part of *jihād*.⁶⁷ This ponders the question of whether Islam allows suicide bombing or not, and whether those actions be considered *jihad* and martyrdom or not.

David Jan Slavicek mentioned that there are at least four preconditions to fulfill for legitimizing suicide bombing according to Islamic law; firstly, the sincere intention (*ikhlas*) of the actors for seeking martyrdom. *Secondly*, the action will give advantages (*maṣlahah*) to the Muslim community by harming the enemy. *Thirdly*, the current situation is the state of war, and *fourthly*, suicide bombing is the only way, and no other suitable tactics.⁶⁸ From these four aspects, the suicide bombing in East Java Indonesia could not accomplish three elements although the terrorists might have had sincere intentions beyond the actions they claimed as *jihād*.

⁶⁴ Krueger and Malecková, "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?"

⁶⁵ Diego Gambetta and Steffen Hertog, "Engineers of Jihad," Sociology Working Papers (Oxford, 2007).

⁶⁶ Muhammad Haniff Hassan, "A Rebuttal of Al-Qaeda and IS' Theological Justification of Suicide Bombing," *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 09, no. 07 (2017).

⁶⁷ Martin Sihombing, "Bom Surabaya: Indonesia, Bom, Dan Kisah Jamaah Ansharut Daulah," *Kabar24.Bisnis.Com*, May 2018; Robi Sugara, "Teroris Di Surabaya Dan 6 Tangga Menuju Bom Bunuh Diri," *The Conversation.Com*, May 2018; Adi Renaldi, "Melacak Jejak Khalid Abu Bakar, Sang Guru Spiritual Pelaku Bom Surabaya," *Vice.Com*, October 2018.

⁶⁸ David Jan Slavicek, "Deconstructing the Shariatic Justification of Suicide Bombings," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31, no. 06 (2008): 553-71, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100802064833>.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Indonesia is not a war state and the Indonesian Muslim community, in general, did not get any benefit at all. As a consequence of there is no conflict or war, there is no need to use suicide tactics to attack others.

Practically, rather than using the word suicide attack, terrorist groups like ISIS or Al Qaeda prefer using the word “*istisyhâdî*” or “martyrdom” for their action. This is because martyrdom has a positive meaning referring to noble status in Islam, namely selling her/his self to God which will bring benefit and frighten the enemy.⁶⁹ More importantly, the “*amaliyah istisyhâdî*” or martyrdom operation was justified as permissible by analogizing it with the concept of *inghimâs* (self-immersion of enemy rank). This analogy was however debated by various scholars believing that these two terms and actions were different.⁷⁰ *Inghimâs* are plunging oneself into a combat situation where the probability of surviving was low. In contrast, suicide bombing was not done on the battlefield and the actor will almost definitely die. Furthermore, in *Inghimâs*, they will probably be killed by the enemy’s weapon but in the suicide bombing, they will be killed by their own weapon.⁷¹

In the Indonesian context, the Indonesian Council Ulama (MUI) issued a fatwa regarding terrorism that is different from *jihad*; terrorism is a well-organized crime against humanity with indiscriminate targets and a threat against a state’s sovereignty and the world’s peace. On the other hand, *jihâd* has two meanings; *firstly*, it means a serious and hard effort to deal with difficulties and defend against enemy aggression, and *secondly*, it is serious continuous efforts to praise the religion of God. Furthermore, MUI stated that terror is

⁶⁹ Hassan, “A Rebuttal of Al-Qaeda and IS’ Theological Justification of Suicide Bombing.”

⁷⁰ Matthias Küntzel, “Suicide Terrorism and Islam,” *American Foreign Policy Interests* 30, no. 04 (2008): 227-32, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920802314051>; Riaz Hassan, “Life as a Weapon: Making Sense of Suicide Bombings,” *Flinders Journal of History & Politics* 26 (January 2010): 39-47; Hassan, “A Rebuttal of Al-Qaeda and IS’ Theological Justification of Suicide Bombing”; Slavicek, “Deconstructing the Shariatic Justification of Suicide Bombings.”

⁷¹ Hassan, “A Rebuttal of Al-Qaeda and IS’ Theological Justification of Suicide Bombing”; Slavicek, “Deconstructing the Shariatic Justification of Suicide Bombings.”

harâm (forbidden) either done by the individual, group, or state. In contrast, *jihâd* is a must or obligation.⁷²

MUI also distinguished suicide action from the *istishhadi*. Suicide is an action for the sake of her/himself and is done either in peaceful (*dâr al-şulh/dâr al-salâm /dâr al-da'wah*) or war areas (*dâr al-harb*) and is recognized as a desperate action. On the other hand, *istishhâdî* was aimed at the sake of God and it was part of *jihâd* conducted in a war area.⁷³ Regarding the bombing action in East Java, to sum up, it can be understood that it was a suicide action instead of *jihâd*.

Conclusion

There is little information on the terrorists' families so far since previous studies did not give much attention to it. Therefore, this study explored how the issue of the terrorist family especially how their everyday life looks like. This research found that all those four terrorist families in East Java had interacted with their neighbors normally, depicting how they adapted to their environment. Their physical appearance was also generally the same as surrounding people instead of similar to people from radical groups. This means that there will be difficult to know whether there is a member of a terrorist group or not until the bombing blast occurred or their existence was arrested by Detachment 88. Moreover, terrorist groups usually claimed suicide bombing as a tool to do *jihâd* and seek martyrdom. However, this notion has been rebutted for the reason that suicide bombing cannot fulfill the requirements to be *istishhâdî* and *inghimâs*. Due to its limitation, this article suggests to engage the broadened and more variety material object to re-examine the finding of this current discussion.

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⁷² Majelis Ulama Indonesia, "Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia Nomor 3 Tahun 2004 Tentang Terorisme" (Jakarta, January 2004).

⁷³ Majelis Ulama Indonesia.

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