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



NEW MODEL OF TERRORISM THREAT IN INDONESIA: EAST JAVA CASE STUDY

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Abstract: *This article discusses a new model of the threat of Indonesian terrorism, especially in the East Java region. Indonesian terrorism continues to grow even more dangerous than before because terrorism has a dynamic nature following the times. The research method for this article was a literature study, with data collection techniques using the Harzing PoP 8 application and some data from Google Scholar. The relevant references collected were converted into RIS data types using the Mendeley application. The RIS data was then processed using VOSviewer software to visualize data about previous research related to a new model of the Indonesian terrorism threat. The authors found that terrorism has survived to this day because it found new ways of recruiting and carrying out its acts of terror. Terrorism no longer focuses on a man as the perpetrator but involves women and even children in their actions. Terrorism can also utilize technological sophistication to support group movements and their acts of terror. This is evidenced by the blocking of 600 social media accounts by BNPT, which often uploads radical content in Indonesia.*

Keywords: *Children; Indonesia; Terrorism; Threat; Women*

INTRODUCTION

East Java is an Indonesian territory that has become a strategic place for the development of terrorism. It often becomes a highlight in national online news related to terrorist arrests. In 2021, East Java was referred to as a terrorist emergency red zone and the spread of extreme radicalism (Toriq 2021). Because of this, the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) has determined four areas for terrorism control in East Java: Surabaya, Lamongan, Malang, and Magetan (Pratiwi and Faizal 2022). In the same year, during the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, Densus 88¹ succeeded in arresting 22 suspected Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist group members spread across Bojonegoro, Malang, Mojokerto, Surabaya, and Sidoarjo (Kominfo 2021). This terrorism cannot be separated from the influence of the global terrorist groups al-Qaeda and ISIS, which want to expand their network. Both al-Qaeda and ISIS have strategies and tactics to gather strength in various countries. In al-Qaeda's strategy, they build group strength and military quality by requiring members to undergo formal education and physical training before joining Jihad. While ISIS has a different pattern, it does not need strong members if it wants to commit Jihad. ISIS tends to gather strength by utilizing social media for mobilization, recruitment, and other jihad actions (Sholeh 2016).

¹ Established on June 30, 2003, in response to the 2002 Bali bombings, Counterterrorism Special Detachment 88, also known as Densus 88, is a top-tier counter-terrorism squad within the Indonesian National Police.

This difference then influences local terrorist groups in carrying out terror acts throughout Indonesia, where local terrorist groups design new attack methods that are not detected by the security forces (Wicaksono 2018). One of them is the involvement of women and children in acts of terrorism.

Several of the 2018 bomb attacks in Surabaya became concrete evidence of ISIS' new strategy in propagating the group's ideology. The act of terrorism that occurred in mid-2018 was a new chapter of the threat of terrorism because the perpetrators were a family who had just returned from Syria, namely, Dita Oepriarto (father), Puji Kuswati (mother), their two sons and two daughters (Qori'ah 2019). The unexpected bomb explosion left 13 people dead and dozens injured. In addition, a professor of sociology at Airlangga University revealed that the bomb attack was an attack that shocked the people of East Java, especially Surabaya, because, since the 2000 Mojokerto Christmas bombings, the atmosphere in Surabaya was very conducive. Hence, the explosion triggered panic and confusion simultaneously (Asiyah et al. 2020). Their attack has shifted the method of terrorist attack in Indonesia's history, which was isolated primarily to individuals and currently has been bringing their family members. In the case of the Surabaya bombing in 2018, Dita's family supports the terrorist group *Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD)*, a local Indonesian terrorist group affiliated with ISIS (Alfarisy 2021).

In various countries, acts of terrorism involving women have been carried out by several terrorist groups, such as the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP), Irish Republican Army (IRA), Boko Haram Group, Red Brigades, and so forth (Musfia 2017). However, involving women and children as perpetrators of terror in Indonesia creates societal anxiety. Terrorist groups tend to use women as mothers to transmit radical ideologies to their children, even though the image of women is always depicted as creatures full of love and tenderness (Qori'ah 2019).

Based on the description above, this research answers how to model the threat of terrorism in Indonesia, especially in East Java. According to Harmon, 30% of international terrorists currently include women in their actions, and this has been seen in Indonesia, where Dian Yulia Novi, a woman who planned to attack the State Palace bombing, and Ika Puspitasari, who planned to detonate a bomb in Bali (Hartana 2017). The involvement of women or their wives and children as terrorist actors is carried out to deceive the security forces because women and children are rarely investigated (Lindawati 2018). Therefore, this study discusses the terrorist threat with their new terror strategy.

METHODOLOGY

This article used a literature study with secondary data from the Google Scholar website. Some data were collected using the Harzing PoP 8 Application, with the keywords: children, Indonesia, model, terrorism, threat, and women. In addition, the authors used several references from national news to help complete information related to the topic under study.

The data analysis was carried out with several applications, namely by entering all relevant references into the Mendeley application to be converted into RIS data types. RIS data was reprocessed using the VOSviewer application, which displayed the most researched data visualization and the relationship of each keyword in the reference. Through Figure 1, the authors expect readers to understand how the relationship between women, children, and cyber is a terrorism threat.

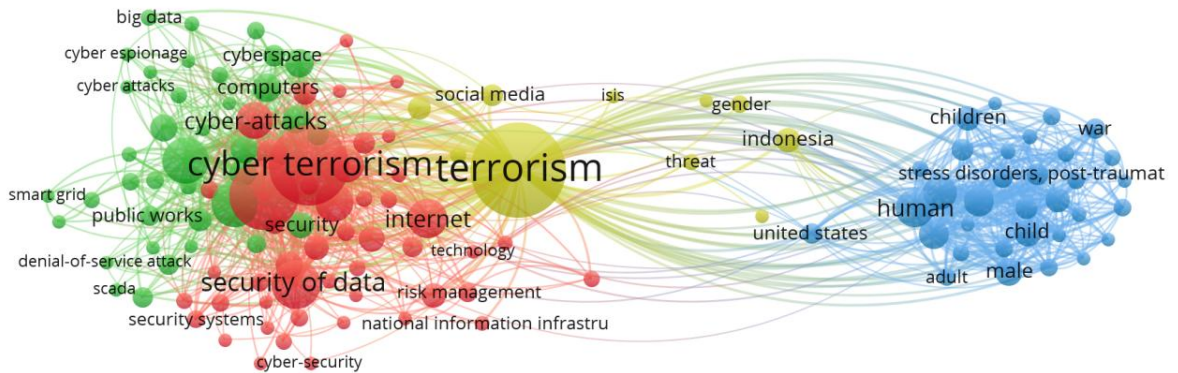


Figure 1: Co-occurrence of Terrorism Threat in Indonesia (Source: Authors' depiction)

The above co-occurrence is the visualization of the linkage of keywords in the references the authors have collected. Among the many keywords that exist, the word terrorism is the biggest. The point of terrorism that appears more prominent among other keywords means that there is much research related to terrorism. Different keywords are factors that influence terrorism, whether they have a small or large impact.

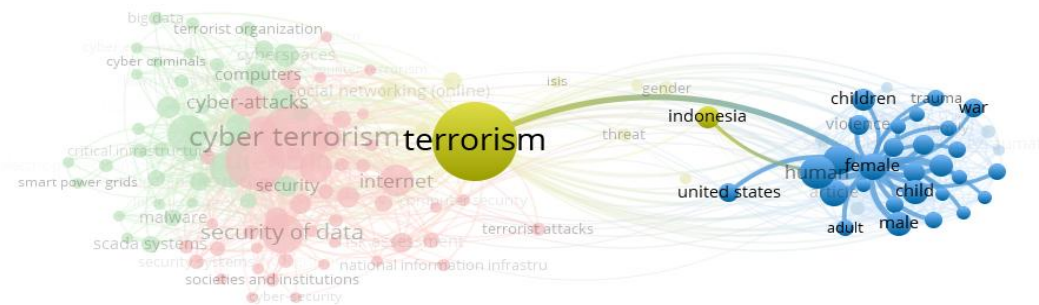


Figure 2: Co-occurrence of Female and Terrorism (Source: Authors' depiction)

While the second co-occurrence is an example of another keyword that affects terrorism, the authors refer to females. As seen, female is related to several words such as terrorism, Indonesia, children, male, social aspect, and others.

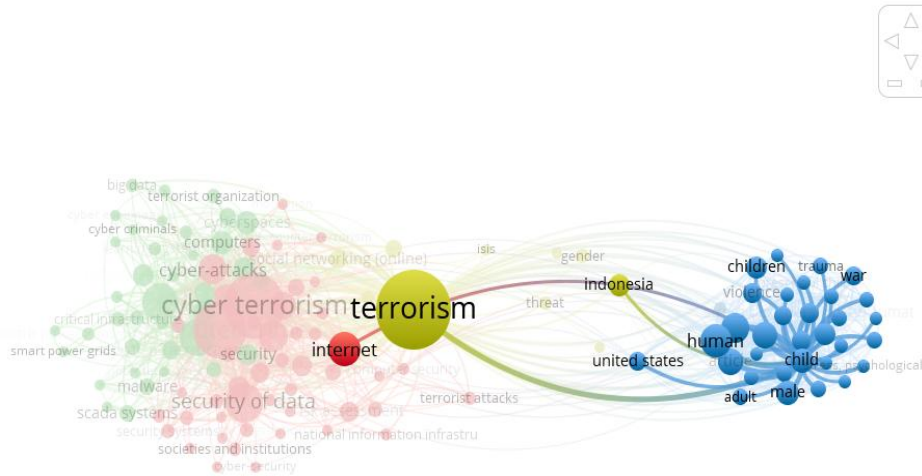


Figure 3: Co-occurrence of Children and Terrorism (Source: Authors’ depiction)

The authors also visualize the children’s relationship with terrorism. Like the female above, the children are related to several essential keywords, such as terrorism, Internet, adult, family, coping behavior, and female. This visualization shows the relationship or influence of each existing keyword on the topic of terrorism to be researched. Through this visualization, the authors hope readers can understand the authors who discuss Indonesian terrorism related to women, children, and cyber as the spread of the radical ideology of terrorism.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Historically, Indonesian terrorism has never been separated from the terrorist attacks in 2000. However, the 2018 suicide bombings in Surabaya, East Java, and 2019 in Sibolga, North Sumatra, signaled the birth of a new pattern of the role of women and children in Indonesian terrorism, which was previously passive and has now become active (Achsin 2019). In addition, technological advances have facilitated terrorist groups to spread their understanding of Indonesia through online magazine propaganda and to try to influence Indonesian Millennial Muslims to become their representatives (Affan 2018).

Involvement of Women or Wives and Children as Terrorists

The issue of terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia cannot be separated from the fundamental problems, namely, economic backwardness and political injustice. These conditions gave birth to groups demanding justice, rejecting ongoing conditions, and wanting complete changes quickly, even though radically (Rahmatullah 2017).

Since the 2000s, radical groups or terrorist suspects who carry out terror acts in Indonesia have been identified with men. Some examples were Santoso, the early leader of the East Indonesia Mujahidin, Noordin M Top, terrorist actors involved in the 2000 Christmas Bombings, the 2003 Marriot Bombings, and the Bombings at the Australian Embassy in 2004. Moreover, Dr Azhari or Azhari Husin, a terrorist from Malaysia who was involved in the Bali Bombings I and II, the Marriot Bombings, Amrozi, and Ali Gufron are examples of men involved in terrorist groups (Sani 2021). However, since 2018, a new threat has been born regarding the perpetrators of the Indonesian bombing terror, in which women and children are involved in jihad actions.

Several reasons can explain why women join and become terrorists. First, most women join radical Islamic state groups of free will. Second, they are driven by personal problems, such as economic, social, or political problems, which make them start a religious search and explore the various options of Islamic groups available (Nuraniyah 2018). However, in their actions, most women are only more active in domestic terrorism movements than in international groups (Gonzalez-Perez 2008). The role of women was previously limited to being the primary target for acts of brutal terrorism. Some examples are those carried out by the Nigerian Boko Haram group and terrorist groups in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, where women are always considered weak creatures, vulnerable and helpless. Hence, they become victims of hostages (Mulia 2019). Over time, the role of women slowly shifted. Women are considered loyal creatures, so they are believed to be dedicated to carrying out jihad actions. For example, Susilo Putri Munawaroh's wife, along with Noordin M Top's second and third wives, Munfiatun and Ariana Rahma, protected and hid Noordin M Top, Quqayah bint Husen Luceno who protected and helped hide her husband Umar Patek's information. Even Deni Carmelita, the BNN secretary, was found guilty of obstructing the investigation of Pepi Fernando, the Serpong bomber (Asiyah et al. 2020).

Regarding the spread of radicalism, Indonesian women are divided into some groups that have the potential to be involved in ISIS. The first group is the female migrant workers in the Middle East and East Asia. The reason is that a high level of confidence and competence in Arabic and English characterizes this group. Expertise in using technology will enable them to form communities and recruit and collect donations. The second is the women who join ISIS because they are part of the families of jihadists, usually women who marry because of the influence of ISIS propaganda. The third deported citizens, those who wanted to join ISIS to unite with their husbands but were arrested or deported, ultimately made women more radical and frustrated (Resnyansky et al. 2022). The presence of female militants is valid for terrorist groups in supporting male jihadis because, in practice, women are involved as wives or mothers to raise the next generation. In addition to supporting male jihadis, women are also used by terrorist groups to facilitate the group's propaganda, logistics, recruitment, and fundraising (Jadoon et al. 2020).

The bombings in 2018 in Surabaya showed that women involved in terrorist groups had a dual role in which a JAD combatant, Dita, applied Islamic law that his wife, Puji, must obey her husband, so she was obliged to carry out a suicide bombing mission. As a wife, Puji transferred a radical understanding to her children to do the same thing as her parents did (Achsin 2019). In Indonesia, children as perpetrators of terrorism are not clear about the law regarding the existence and doctrine they receive because of their parents.

Children are considered individuals who are not physically, mentally, and socially ready, so children are very vulnerable to actions from adults (Sondakh et al. 2020). Children are considered

emotionally immature individuals, and in the case of terrorism, children are only mediators because children only receive the results of exposure from their parents, family, or surrounding social factors that affect their psychology (Nadeem et al. 2022). Based on this, terrorist groups take the opportunity to commit terror acts. Children become a way to deceive because there is little potential for suspicion (Lindawati 2018).

In addition, children become terrorists usually because there is coercion and threats from adults, as happened to underage girls kidnapped by the Boko Haram group, where they were forced to become suicide bombers in the Maiduguri military power center (Mulia 2019). As for the case in Surabaya, whether through threats or not, Dita's sons Yusuf (18 years old) and Firman (16 years old) managed to enter the Immaculate Santa Maria Church and blew themselves up during the mass. Without waiting long, from a different place, Praise the wife and her two daughters, Fadhila (12 years) and Famela (9 years), who blow themselves up at the Indonesian Christian Church (Tabrani 2019). Then, a day later, still from the same terrorist group but different families carried out the same action at the Surabaya Police Station. The suicide bombers were headed by Tri Murtiono (husband), Tri Ernawati (wife), Muhammad Daffa Murdana (19 years old), Muhammad Darih Satria Murdana (15 years old), and Aisyah Assahara Putri (8 years old). However, the princess is said to have survived the bomb explosion (Wicaksono 2018).

This incident shows that with the strategy of involving women and children in implementing jihad terrorism, they have the upper hand because they succeeded in carrying out bombings with many casualties. According to data published by the Global Terrorism Database, the bomb explosion that occurred less than 25 hours in Surabaya caused approximately 40 people to be injured and 10 people to die (Database 2021). Women who are used as wives by mujahid have different principles: partners who take care of the household and supporters of the husband's spirit and can even represent leading the household when the husband is in Jihad (Jusman 2016). As creatures seen as vulnerable and helpless, women have been married by mujahideen for further radical ideological doctrine since the beginning of the marriage.

After successfully implanting radical understandings, such as the idea that as the wife of a mujahid, the mother is no longer merely a teacher (*ustadzah*) for the children but also a combatant who assists her husband, women have made a significant contribution in a short time. Ika Puspitasari, Nurul Azmy Tibyani, and Rosmawati are other examples of women's roles as suicide bombers and hackers who divert funds from company websites to their group accounts (Asiyah et al. 2020). Jadoon, who conducted research by collecting data on female militants who belonged to international terrorist groups, said that women's participation increased from 2015-2017. Most of them joined ISIS, and they created new strategies for local terrorist groups (Jadoon et al. 2020).

Cyber Path as Ideology Spreading Strategy and Attack

In addition to women and children, cyber paths or technological advances are also a strategy for acts of terrorism in Indonesia, especially in East Java. In East Java, the terrorist group Jamaah Ansharut Daulah was the most active, and this group was the mastermind behind the bombing in Surabaya involving women and children.

The dominant terrorist group in East Java is referred to as a terrorist group that is less structured and systematic because of the process of recruiting and regenerating members of the

group (Syeirazi 2018). As a group heavily involved in action in East Java, JAD usually conducts a recruitment process or dissemination of understanding through *halaqah* or *taklim* assemblies. The target is young people who want to learn about religion and seek identity (Alfarisy 2021).

However, to gather large numbers of followers quickly, this ISIS-supporting terrorist group uses technology to spread its propaganda and ideology. This strategy is closely related to the ISIS group, which aggressively influences Indonesian millennial Muslims to carry out operations independently (Affan 2018).

It should be noted that the reason for using this strategy is not technological sophistication, helping terrorists create a new generation of jihadists who are not limited to a country and are not limited in the number of followers (Awan 2017). In addition to unlimited reach, the Internet allows new ways to make terrorist groups continue to grow because today's people's daily lives cannot be separated from the Internet (Jangada Correia 2021). The Internet plays an essential role in terrorist financing efforts. The Internet helps terrorist groups build networks to raise funds and transfer their wealth throughout the international system (Tierney 2018). The dissemination via the Internet is also targeted at young people. Young people are known as people who quickly master virtual spaces because of curiosity. Cyberterrorism is referred to as modern terrorism because the network attacks psychologically by spreading disinformation, intimidation, panic, fear, and public threats (Vilić 2017). These acts of terrorism via the Internet utilize several applications, such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Myspace, LinkedIn, and Digg, as a forum for content about their understanding (Khan et al. 2019). Terrorist acts are not limited to that. They also recruit through video games and websites and communicate with the help of applications (Deshpande and Thakare 2019). Because of this strategy, they are called innovative and reliable in acting.

Using cyber paths as a strategy makes planning attacks by terrorist groups difficult to prevent. Because the cyber route is considered adequate and efficient for spreading radicalism, even with unlimited access, fast, cheap, and easy (Hatta 2018). The cyber path fosters radicalism through a partial understanding of the content. It tends to create misunderstandings about the term Jihad, which results in the meaning of the struggle against lust turning into actions that destroy to kill (Indraswari and Wiswayana 2020). In simple terms, they tend to design violence in such a way as to create extreme fear.

For example, Aman Abdurrahman, a fellow jihadist with Abu Bakar Baasyir, well-known as the founder of Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), uses his blog to publish articles and translate books about radicalism. Many times, Aman even gives orders for acts of terror (Caruban 2020). Aman's various writings were able to build and influence local Indonesian ISIS networks. Even because of this, Sydney Jones, a member of the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, revealed that Aman was more radical and had more significant influence than his predecessor, Abu Bakar Baasyir, as the leader of Jamaah Islamiyah (Republika.id 2018). Imam Samudra also distributes via the Internet. Imam even openly wrote about his views on the role played in the 2002 Bali Bombings. Imam said that the Internet is essential as a medium for acts of terrorism because the Internet provides opportunities for propaganda and hacking (Sholeh 2016).

In early 2021, an observer of terrorism, Al Chaidar, revealed that the JAD terrorist group was involved in a bomb attack at the Makassar Cathedral Church. This group, recognized for its dominance in East Java, has evolved into the most brutal terrorist organization in Indonesia due to its growing strength on social media, enabling them to recruit members across 19 provinces in Indonesia

(Rahayu 2021). One of their content channels is the Annajiyah Media Center, an ISIS support group disseminated on social media platforms such as Telegram and Facebook. This center distributes posters and propaganda to facilitate the execution of Amaliyah's actions (CNN 2022).

In addition, JAD terrorist links also use Instagram to promote their ideology and propaganda. The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) said that throughout 2021, approximately 600 accounts were actively spreading radical content, and from 2017 to 2021, Kominfo blocked 21,330 content from various Indonesian social media (Wahidin 2022).

CONCLUSION

The description above illustrates that Indonesia is facing a severe new terrorist threat. They are starting from the role of women, shifting from being gentle and loving to women who are equal to men in Jihad, such as suicide bombers, managing funding, and recruiting. Even considered loyal creatures, jihadists make their devoted wives supporters and are required to be able to transfer knowledge to their children. This terrorist threat becomes even more concerning because children are the successors of adults who will carry on their parents' struggle. In connection with terrorist threats via the Internet or cyber channels, terrorist groups will persist in developing their networks in response to ongoing developments. Consequently, the Internet may facilitate the emergence of numerous terrorist acts capable of breaching high-security measures. The discovery of 600 radical accounts by the BNPT throughout 2021 illustrates how significantly terrorist groups exert influence across all levels of society.

CRediT AUTHOR STATEMENT

Gonda Yumitro: Conceptualization, methodology, and writing - reviewing and editing.

Rizki Febriani: Investigation and data curation.

Ali Roziqin: Formal analysis and investigation.

Sukma Oktaviani: Writing - original draft preparation.

All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the article.

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