

From Innocence to Terror: The Role of Children in the 2018 Surabaya Church Bombing

Dari Kepolosan ke Teror: Peran Anak dalam Bom Gereja Surabaya 2018

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Abstract: *Terrorism has evolved, with children now being targeted and recruited as cadres by groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). On May 13, 2018, a suicide bombing in Surabaya, East Java, involved four child perpetrators, siblings named Fadhil, Firman, Fadhila, and Famela, causing widespread public alarm. This study analyzes the involvement of children in the 2018 Surabaya Bombing. Using a descriptive qualitative research method, primary data were collected through interviews and secondary data from journals, books, and other relevant sources. The findings indicate that children's involvement in terrorism follows the six steps outlined by Fathali Moghaddam for becoming a terrorist. Factors such as low operational costs, media attraction, and effective physical targeting make children appealing as terrorist actors.*

Keywords: *Terrorists, Children, 2018 Surabaya Church Bombing, Actor, Security*

Abstrak: *Terorisme telah berkembang, dengan anak-anak sekarang menjadi sasaran dan direkrut sebagai kader oleh kelompok seperti Negara Islam Irak dan Suriah (ISIS). Pada 13 Mei 2018, bom bunuh diri di Surabaya, Jawa Timur, melibatkan empat anak sebagai pelaku, saudara kandung bernama Fadhil, Firman, Fadhila, dan Famela, yang menyebabkan kekhawatiran masyarakat luas. Studi ini menganalisis keterlibatan anak-anak dalam*



kasus Bom Surabaya 2018. Menggunakan metode penelitian deskriptif kualitatif, data primer dikumpulkan melalui wawancara dan data sekunder dari jurnal, buku, dan sumber relevan lainnya. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa keterlibatan anak-anak dalam terorisme mengikuti enam langkah yang diuraikan oleh Fathali Moghaddam untuk menjadi teroris. Faktor-faktor seperti biaya operasional rendah, daya tarik media, dan efektivitas dalam menyentuh sasaran secara fisik membuat anak-anak menarik sebagai aktor teroris

Kata kunci: *Teroris, Anak-Anak, Bom Gereja Surabaya 2018, Pelaku, Keamanan*

Introduction

All terrorist organizations from Asia to Africa look to recruit children.¹ This has shown dynamic and progressive development. In general, the involvement of children in acts of terror has become a global problem. Many considerations lead to children being recruited into terrorist groups. Specifically in Indonesia, this has happened, as evidenced by the Surabaya bomb case in 2018. The incident has become a new problem in dealing with national terrorism.

One aspect that has experienced significant development is the actors involved in it, including children. Asian Muslim Action Network data records that around 3,500 young people in western countries were recruited by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) through social media in 2015. Furthermore, in 2017, there were around 1,500 children undergoing military training at the Islamic State of Iraq military training camps. and Syria.² In these cases, children are involved and can have roles ranging from being informants in terrorist activities to being used as martyrs or suicide bombers.

In the concept of children, UNICEF defines children as residents aged 0 to 18 years.³ This definition is in line with Law Number 35 of 2014 concerning Amendments to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, where a child is defined as someone who is not yet 18 years old, including children who are still in the womb. Koesnan defines children as young people at a young age in spirit and life journey because they are

¹ Zehra Eroğlu Can, "Children Recruiting And Exploiting By Terrorist Groups," *E-DATR* 16 (2022): 109-128.

² Robert J. Brym, and Bader Araj, "Suicide Bombing as Strategy and Interaction: The Case of the Second Intifada," *Social Forces* 84, no. 4 (2006): 1969-1986.

³ S. Yadav, R. Poswal, S. Pandya, and D. D. Singh, Frequently Asked Questions on Child Rights. Save the Children. December 10, 2013. <https://rlsa.gov.in/JJ%20Consultation%20Material/J4C/Child%20Rights.pdf>.

easily influenced by their surroundings.⁴ So that as social beings who are vulnerable and weak, children are often placed in the most disadvantaged position, do not have the right to voice, and often become victims of acts of violence and violations of their rights.⁵

Referring to Andrew Fraser's article entitled *Martyrdom's Children: The Tragedy of Child Suicide Bombers in Afghanistan*, said that there has been an increase in the number of children involved in Afghanistan in suicide bombings.⁶ The involvement of children in acts of terror is a phenomenon that recently occurred before the Taliban controlled Afghanistan in 2022. The results of Fraser's research found several indications of the involvement of children in acts of terror which were more due to the factor of poverty which then led the children's journey to an education system managed by Taliban. In this education system, children will start a new chapter, namely the stage of indoctrination about the description of heaven, sex, and welfare to give birth to militancy towards the Taliban to change the destiny of these children in a better direction. In several cases it was also found that there was an influential role of the Taliban network clerics in the recruitment process to facilitate these children to enter education managed by the Taliban.

In line with Fraser's research, Gray & Matchin III's research, entitled *Children: The New Face of Terrorism*, discusses terrorist children who are members of the Tamil Tiger organization in Sri Lanka.⁷ In this study, it is explained that the causes of children's involvement in the Tamil Tiger organization are more influenced by family conditions to propaganda to fight against the Sri Lankan Government which is always called for by the Tamil Tiger figures. On the other hand, Brym & Araj in their research *Suicide Bombing as Strategy and Interaction: The Case of the Second Intifada*, provides slightly different research results regarding acts of terror involving children in Palestine.⁸ In this research, it is conveyed that the phenomenon of the intifada carried out by children in Palestine tends to be driven by awareness to fight against repressive actions carried out by Israel.

⁴ R. A. Koesnan, *Susunan Pidana dalam Negara Sosialis Indonesia* (Bandung: Sumur, 2005). 1.

⁵ Arief Gosita, *Masalah Perlindungan Anak* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 1992), 1.

⁶ Alistair Fraser, "Martyrdom's Children: The Tragedy of Child Suicide Bombers in Afghanistan." *Canadian Military Journal* 17, no. 3 (2017): 40–52.

⁷ David H. Gray, and Thomas O. M. "Children: The New Face of Terrorism." *International NGO Journal* 3, no. 6 (2008): 108–114.

⁸ Brym, and Araj, "Suicide Bombing as Strategy" 1969–1986.

The involvement of children in acts of terror does not only occur globally but also nationally. On May 13, 2018, in Surabaya, East Java, there was a suicide bombing which was proven to have involved children. The bombings took place at three churches in Surabaya, namely the Santa Maria Church, the Indonesian Christian Church, and the Central Pentecostal Church. This action was carried out by a family, namely Dita Oepriarto (Leader of Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) Surabaya) and Puji Kuswati (his wife) with their four children, namely Fadhil, Firman, Fadhila and Famela.⁹ The involvement of all members of Dita's family in the Surabaya Bombing was the first case which became the starting point for the terror case which also actively involved children. The incident caused public concern that created a sense of insecurity. Moreover, children can be exploited by adults (parents) for their weaknesses to be exploited and then brainwashed so that they are indoctrinated by instilling deviant/radical Islamic ideology, so that there is no rejection.¹⁰ On the other hand, the involvement of children in acts of terror can make it difficult for security forces to detect the movement patterns of these terror attacks.

Sidney Jones (Terrorism Researcher from the Institute for Policy Analyst of Conflict (IPAC)) acknowledged the family terror act committed by the JAD Surabaya group in his article in *The Interpreter* entitled "Surabaya and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) Family", ISIS is an organization that has succeeded in changing the pattern and concept of jihad to become a family affair.¹¹ In this case the woman is considered the "lioness" while the children are her "cubs." Many sympathizers supporting ISIS, both women, are dissatisfied with the traditional roles given by ISIS to them, and even children who are affected by their environment. So, it is not uncommon that many ISIS sympathizers want more action and admire the role of women and children as suicide bombers, as has happened in Palestine, Iraq and Syria.

The involvement of children in terrorist networks in a global context is basically not something new. However, the involvement of children has become increasingly active and worrying since the emergence of ISIS. In the era of the existence of ISIS, children were used by this terror

⁹ Ani K. Wening and Suryo Teguh Wahyudi, "Analisis Kriminologi Keterlibatan Perempuan dan Anak dalam Tindak Pidana Terorisme di Indonesia," *Widya Yuridika: Jurnal Hukum* (2021): 5-16.

¹⁰ Saraswati, and Elsafira Maghfiroti Resyanta, "Pemprofilan Pelaku Teroris Anak." *Etnoreflika: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya* 9, No. 2 (2020). 130-139, <https://doi.org/10.33772/etnoreflika.v9i2.831>.

¹¹ Sidney Jones, "Surabaya and the ISIS Family," *The Interpreter*, May 15, 2018, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/surabaya-isis-family>.

group as suicide bombers, soldiers on the front lines, shields, and spies.¹² Even though the involvement of children in terrorist organizations or war situations is not something new, their involvement in the operationalization of acts of extreme violence by ISIS is becoming increasingly progressive. At a certain level, the involvement of these children has proven to be a threat to security at the domestic and international levels as well as a potential for terror in the future if not handled properly.

Harits Abu Ulya (Terrorism Observer from The Community Ideological Islamic Analyst) explained that the involvement of women and children in acts of terror adopted by JAD, especially in the case of the Church Bombing in Surabaya, was a terror group's strategy to obscure their tracks.¹³ So that it will be easier for terrorists to enter locations that are targets of terror. Al Chaidar also added that JAD's attack pattern tends to be random. The attacks made are still small-scale, the impact is also less measurable and more likely to target publication as an effect.¹⁴ Even Khairul Fahmi (terrorism researcher from the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISESS)) explained that JAD often evaluates each of its attacks. One of them is behaving in accordance with the surrounding environment. In appearance and patterns of social interaction, the JAD group is difficult to distinguish from society in general because they can behave in the opposite way to radical groups.¹⁵ This is what adds to the record that the supporters of the "daulah" in Indonesia can legalize various ways to support their jihad.

The involvement of children in acts of terrorism in Surabaya will not occur without any causal factors. To analyze a crime committed by a person, a theoretical analysis tool is needed. Paying attention to the involvement of children as perpetrators of terror, the author uses the concept of P. W. Singer which describes three reasons why terror groups recruit and use children in their actions and combined with Fathali Moghaddam's theory which explains the six rungs of the ladder of exposure for someone to become a terrorist. Therefore, this article will answer these research question

¹² Laporan Penelitian Center Terrorism and Radicalism Studies (CTRS) bekerjasama dengan Research Center for Terrorism and Security (REACTS). 2019. Surabaya.

¹³ Laporan Penelitian Center Terrorism and Radicalism Studies (CTRS) bekerja sama dengan Research Center for Terrorism and Security (REACTS). 2019. Surabaya.

¹⁴ Felix Nathaniel, "Analisis Serangan Bom di Surabaya: Taktik dan Pesan Baru Teroris", *Tirto.id*, May 16, 2018, <https://tirto.id/analisis-serangan-bom-di-surabaya-taktik-danpesan-baru-teroris-cKuj>

¹⁵ Ibid

- a. What are the factors that cause children to become involved in acts of terror?
- b. How to involve children as terror actors in the 2018 Surabaya bombings?

This article is expected to provide new insights and contributions in the study of terrorism by examining the 2018 Surabaya bomb case study in aspects such as

1. Involvement of Children as Terrorists: This provides a new perspective on the tactics used by terrorist groups such as ISIS to recruit and utilize children to carry out their acts of terror.
2. Stages Model of Becoming a Terrorist: This article adopts the concept from P. W. Singer and the six rungs theory to terrorism by Fathali Moghaddam, which explains the radicalization process that children experience before they become terrorists. It provides deep insight into how children can be influenced and manipulated by terrorist ideology.

Method

This study uses a qualitative research design. Qualitative research is research that is based on building a detailed view of the object studied, formed by words, a holistic and complex picture.¹⁶ This study uses a descriptive method with a qualitative approach aiming to analyze efforts to radicalize children so that they become perpetrators of the 2018 Surabaya bombings which are impossible to reach with quantitative formulas. Qualitative methods will form direct interactions between researchers and research targets so that they can obtain complete data for a more in-depth analysis process. Researchers will try to understand the process in the case and describe it. Through positive interactions, researchers can provide objective views that are in accordance with research objectives.

Sources and types of data used in this study are primary data and secondary data. Primary data in this study were obtained from semi-structured interviews with seven informants who have skills and experience in the field of terrorism specifically related to the Church Bombing case in Surabaya in 2018, including: State Intelligence Agency (BIN), Security Intelligence of the Indonesian National Police (Intelkam Polri), National Agency Countering Terrorism (BNPT), Terrorism

¹⁶ L. J. Moleong, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2013), 1.

Researcher and Practitioner. Meanwhile, the secondary data were obtained from literature studies and other literature on the topics of discussion of radicalism, terrorism, as well as documents that discuss the involvement of children in matters of terrorism.

The data analysis technique in this study used qualitative analysis through data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. For data reduction, the article must detail the process of filtering out irrelevant information and focusing on relevant data, perhaps through thematic categorization. Data validation was carried out to check the credibility of the resulting analysis. In this research, validation from experts is used to increase the trust and credibility of the research analysis, thus facilitating the understanding and interpretation of the data.¹⁷

Triangulation in this study uses various data sources that have been examined through evidence to build justifications or decisions regarding themes in a coherent or related manner. Data triangulation is used by examining and comparing various data, especially from interview data from various sources and comparing them in news and academic journals.

Finding and Analysis

This section shows the research findings and its analysis. Data is not displayed in the form of raw materials but may be discussed with related references. The author can provide a table but must explain in detail what the table means. Please do not display multiple tables without an explanation of them.

a. Factors Causing Children's Involvement in Terror Actions

Children are the next generation of the nation; they have an important role in the continuation of a civilization in the future. Children should get a good education from childhood. However, if they have received distorted lessons, especially related to religion, then this has the potential to become a problem.

The involvement of children in acts of terror will not just happen, this certainly has factors that cause their involvement so that they can become perpetrators of acts of terror. Based on the Appendix to the Regulation of the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child

¹⁷ Ishaq, *Metode Penelitian Hukum dan Penulisan Skripsi, Tesis, serta Disertasi* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2017), 1.

Protection No. 7 of 2019 concerning Guidelines for the Protection of Children from Radicalism and Criminal Acts of Terrorism, it is stated that there are external and internal factors that cause children to be involved in terrorism cases. Furthermore, external factors can come from several causes such as parents, media, environment, poverty, and education. Families, especially parents, can exert a significant influence on children so that they are involved as terrorists. Especially if the parents of the child have been previously exposed or even become active actors in terrorism. The media also has an important role, such as the internet and social media, which can expose websites to present da'wah accounts that lead to radical understanding or even terror.

Furthermore, the environment can also be a cause, for example friends who become children's playgrounds can invite them to be directly involved in terrorist networks. Poverty is a common factor because the perpetrators of criminal terrorism often come from poor families. They are given lures and promises that make children interested. Although in practice today, the factor of poverty can still be debated because in several terror cases that occurred, several actors actually had quite well-established economic backgrounds. Finally, the educational factor, in general, children who become perpetrators of terror have a low level of education or have been influenced by teachers who provide radical understanding at the school where they study who are identified as providing radical understanding and terror. In this context, several terror groups use Islamic boarding schools (Ponpes) to their Quran Houses (RQ) or Tahfidz Houses (RT) to transfer this understanding. While internal causal factors are causes that come from within the child himself such as a lack of strength in terms of understanding religion, not having an insight into nationality, age, gender where in this context boys have a more militant tendency, intelligence and emotional maturity.

In line with the causal factors above, based on interviews between Anjar Kartika Wening and Slamet Tri Wahyuni and Yuliana Yuli, there are at least three factors that cause children's involvement in acts of terror.¹⁸ First, the age factor, children who are involved in acts of terror have been taught and instilled with the notions of radicalism and terrorism from a young age. The second factor is a sense of obedience to parents. Children obey the orders and teachings of their parents as a form of devotion to their parents. The third factor is direction from parents. Parents of children who are involved in acts of terror have a central role because usually they

¹⁸ Wening, and Wahyudi. "Analisis Kriminologi Keterlibatan Perempuan dan Anak," 5-16.

can easily give directions for their children to come to recitations that teach an understanding of the radicalism doctrine that they agree with.

This is in line with Purba & Syauqillah's research entitled *Causality and Probability Analysis of Factors Causing Terrorism for Women and Children: Victims or Perpetrators?* looking at the relationship between radicalism, terrorism and extremism which results in the safety of women and children.¹⁹ The results of this study indicate that women and children have a large role as tools of terrorism to facilitate their actions, the main causes that occur start from religious deviations, misleading religious teacher doctrines and understanding of radicalism by perpetrators with economic motives, justice motives, situational motives, social motives, superiority motives and actualization motives.

Furthermore, Mahyani in her writing entitled *Legal Protection of Children as Perpetrators of Terrorism*, states that children as perpetrators of criminal acts of terrorism cannot be considered as perpetrators of crimes, but victims of crime, victims of terrorist networks, victims of doctrine, exploitation of thoughts, propaganda from people's invitations parents or adults around it so it must be specially protected.²⁰ Especially in Indonesia, where the majority of the religion is Muslim, so it has an impact on the characteristics of a patrilineal family which results in a high sense of obedience to parents (especially fathers).

P. W. Singer in his article *The New Children of Terror* also outlines several reasons why terror groups recruit and use children in their actions²¹, including:

- a. Children are a relatively inexpensive way to build strength. This is based on the standard cost of using weapons which is relatively expensive, but with human bombs it can be cheap.
- b. From a strategic perspective, involving children in violence/terror is a way to attract media coverage. Meanwhile, from a tactical aspect, the role of children in violence/terror can make security forces tend to be less vigilant.
- c. The involvement of children in acts of terror is also an effective way to avoid or damage public tools/facilities. As happened

¹⁹ Candra A. Purba, and Muhammad Syauqillah. "Analisis Kausalitas dan Probabilitas Faktor Penyebab Terorisme Perempuan dan Anak: Korban atau Pelaku?" *ijd-demos* 4, no. 4 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.37950/ijd.v4i4.344>

²⁰ Ani Mahyani, "Perlindungan Hukum Anak Sebagai Pelaku Terorisme." *Jurnal Hukum Magnum Opus* 2, no. 1 (2019): 47, <https://doi.org/10.30996/jhmo.v2i2.2180>

²¹ P. W. Singer, *The New Children of Terror* (California: University of California Press. 2006), <https://www.ucpress.edu/book/9780520248762/children-at-war>

in Palestine, the involvement of children in acts of terror can specifically touch the main target of the bombing, namely the Israeli army.

Apart from that, the idea of joining children in terror organizations was also explained by P. W. Singer which tends to be based on several factors²², such as:

a. Misleading religious motivation

While most religions are categorically against suicide, most also tend to extol the concept of martyrdom, to die for one's beliefs. This trend is touching in many areas of Islam, where the concept of jihad has been distorted and extended by radical groups to declare holy war against unbelievers.

b. Economic motivation

Examining historical facts, leaders of terrorist groups such as Osama bin Laden from Al Qaeda tend to target young people with poor economic backgrounds to become their soldiers. Moreover, this offer was made to children who grew up in conflict zones and refugee camps who could not imagine any other way to help their families get out of the slump.

c. Social motivation

The role of parents in encouraging their children to be directly involved with terror groups is considered effective. In this situation, children are given an understanding that their involvement in jihad is interpreted as an effort to gain honor, pride and avoid shame from their environment. There is even a family in Canada who deliberately sent their child to be involved in a terror group out of hatred for the West and wrong ideas about Islam.

d. The role of educational institutions

Militant groups in several areas take advantage of terrorist children by running their own schools. These institutions are then used as recruiting and training sites for future terrorists. Like what Hamas did in Palestine, they made a series of schools that were politicized, even on the school walls, posters/labels like "The children of the kindergarten are the Shaheed of tomorrow" are deliberately written.

²² Ibid., 109-114.

e. The Role of the Environment and Media Propaganda

The social environment can help children build their identity to strengthen the tendency to strive for jihad. Especially with the role of media propaganda such as TV and others, messages that are conditional on violence can easily be inserted.

f. Revenge

The loss of relatives, friends or family plays a big role in growing enthusiasm and motivating children to wage jihad.

Thus, based on the factors that cause children's involvement in acts of terror described earlier, it can be simplified that there are two factors that involve children in acts of terror, namely external factors and internal factors. External factors are factors that come from outside the child's self, these factors can come from parents, media, environment, poverty, education to revenge. The internal factors are factors that arise from within the child such as a desire to serve, lack of national and religious knowledge, emotional maturity, intelligence, age and gender.

b. Efforts to Involve Children as Perpetrators of the 2018 Surabaya Bombing Terror

The conclusion contains a summary of the research problem and its findings. The writer can recommend to the next researcher to discuss and debate the missing discussion from this research/study.

The church bombing in Surabaya that occurred on May 13 2018, around 06.00 to 08.00 WIB, took place in three different places, including the Immaculate Santa Maria Church on Jalan Ngagel Madya No. 1, Baratajaya, Kec. Gubeng, Surabaya City, Indonesian Christian Church on Jalan Raya Diponegoro, No. 145, Tegalsari, Surabaya, and the Pentecostal Church on Jalan Arjuna, Surabaya, East Java. During the action, it was identified that the suicide bomber came from the same family,²³ namely:

- a. Dita Oepriarto (Mr/ 47 years);
- b. Puji Kuswati (Mother/ 43 years);
- c. Yusuf Fadhil (Child/ 18 years old);
- d. Firman Halim (Children/ 16 years old);

²³Surya Online, "Identitas Ke-6 Pelaku Bom Surabaya Ternyata Satu Keluarga." *Kontan.co.id*, May 13, 2018. <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/identitas-ke-6-pelaku-bom-surabaya-ternyata-satu-keluarga>

- e. Fadhila Sari (Children/ 12 years); And
- f. Famela Rizqita (Children/ 9 years).

Based on Hendro Wicaksono's explanation, the church bombing that occurred in Surabaya by a family member of Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) was triggered by the riot at the Mobile Brigade Headquarters Headquarters Kelapa Dua, Depok, West Java, from 8 to 10 May 2018.²⁴ The terror act was one of a series from several "amaliyah" action plans that have been planned by several families in a network with Dita Oepriarto. Leebarty Taskarina said the same thing that the involvement of families in terror activities is one of the characteristics of the Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) group which is part of the ISIS affiliate.²⁵ The action decision was taken with the hope that if a family does "amaliyah" together, they will enter heaven without the risk of anyone being left behind or to avoid wickedness or disbelief that will ensnare their children if in the future both parents die as a result of carrying out terrorist activities.²⁶

Based on Rama's information obtained from the interview results, it was explained that Dita Oepriarto's efforts to involve his wife and four children could be regarded as a strategy or motive to deceive or in terms of deception or deception, so that it was difficult for law enforcement officials to detect activities, both plans, processes and implementation of actions. the suicide bomb.²⁷ This opinion is also supported by the results of an interview with Leebarty Taskarina, who in her report explained that intimacy formed from family closeness has an impact on strong ideological commitments to terror, minimizing public attention and covert communication efforts, making supervision difficult. In addition, the full power of parents who in this context are husbands/fathers, can facilitate efforts to give orders to their children to engage in terror activities.²⁸

The church bombing terror act in Surabaya, which had the aim of spreading fear widely, added by Rama that all members of Dita Oepriarto's family, both his wife and children, actively assisted Dita in his terrorist acts.²⁹ They helped Dita starting from the preparatory process in the form of monotheism and physical training (Idad), collecting explosives,

²⁴ Heru Wicaksono, "Analisis Kriminologis: Serangan Bom Bunuh Diri di Surabaya," *Deviance: Jurnal Kriminologi* 2, no. 2 (2018): 88-101.

²⁵ Taskarina, Interview.

²⁶ Laporan Seksi Analisis Intelijen Subdirektorat Intelijen Direktorat Penindakan Deputy Bidang Penindakan dan Pembinaan Kemampuan BNPT. 2020. Jakarta.

²⁷ Rama, Interview.

²⁸ Taskarina, Interview.

²⁹ Ibid

transaction/purchase of materials, compounding/making bombs to being involved as perpetrators or executors of the Church Bombing Action in Surabaya. This is supported by findings where Dita is known to have used his son to help buy some bomb-making materials such as nails and the like, to his wife who was taught to use e-commerce to other media such as minimarkets and the like to obscure payment efforts for purchasing some of the materials used for compounding bomb³⁰. It was also found that Dita used her children to help her buy bomb-making materials such as nails and the like³¹.

Rama explained that the process of involving children in the church bombing terror act in Surabaya could not just happen³². Initially they were given a limited study which was only intended for the family circle and then continued with a consistent pattern of monotheism coaching and physical training (Idad). Generally coaching will be separated, where parents will gather with parents and children will gather with children. Children will be put into a special room to be indoctrinated through extreme videos with the aim of spurring and increasing children's sense of courage to carry out acts of terror.

Ulta Levania further explained that the father has a central role in influencing his family members. Based on the explanation of Ais (Tri Murtiono's son who is a fellow teacher of Dita Oepriarto) who survived the Surabaya Polrestabes terror attack, said that in his daily life his father often showed jihad videos, giving an understanding of the urgency of the importance of jihad because of the imminent end of the world, the importance of Muslims to fight infidels and "*thogut*", and forbid to strictly prohibit memorizing Pancasila and respecting the Red and White Flag as a form of jihad and having to fight infidels.³³ In addition, from the findings of other secondary data where Hilya and Faizah (Anton's son who is a colleague of Dita Oepriarto's study) had said that he had been physically trained by Anton and taught how to take up arms to prepare himself for the war he had planned with Dita. . Faiza also explained that she felt normal when she found out that her parents often carried out bomb-making activities at home while concocting the basic ingredients for bombs in their room. Apart from that, Hilya and Faiza also stated that Anton is a father figure as well as being used as a role model who is considered a leader who is firm and strong in defending his religion.³⁴

³⁰ Rama, Interview.

³¹ Ibid

³² Ibid

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Laporan Penelitian Center Terrorism and Radicalism Studies (CTRS) bekerjasama

The role of Dita Oepriarto’s four children in the church bombing terror act in Surabaya is also in accordance with the concept of P. W. Singer who outlined three reasons why terror groups recruit and use children in their actions. First, the low cost needed to build strength, in line with the ease with which Dita and Puji recruited their children, so there was no resistance. Second, attracting media coverage as well as making the security forces less vigilant. The church bombing case in Surabaya, which is an extraordinary case, has attracted the attention of many parties as well as made it difficult for the security forces to detect Dita’s group’s “amaliyah” action plan. Moreover, the revision of the Terrorism Law had not yet been completed, at that time it was another inhibiting factor for the security forces in carrying out their duties and functions. Third, the involvement of children is an effective effort to hit specific targets, as seen from Dita’s children having no doubts about reaching the church until they blew themselves up near several church members who were victims at that time. Efforts to involve all family members including wives and children are a characteristic of the ISIS group, it is believed that it will avoid the risk of family members being left behind going to heaven to avoid wickedness or disbelief that will ensnare their children if in the future both parents die as a result of carrying out terrorist activities.

Table 1. Data Analysis on Child Participants

Concept of P. W. Singer	Data Research	Data Analysis
1. The low cost required to build strength.	Dita Oepriarto and several of his network partners often include their wives and children in radical preaching. ³⁵	In line with the ease with which Dita and Puji recruited their children, there was no resistance.

dengan Research Center for Terrorism and Security (REACTS). (2019). Surabaya

³⁵ Laporan Penelitian Center Terrorism and Radicalism Studies (CTRS) bekerjasama dengan Research Center for Terrorism and Security (REACTS). (2019). Surabaya.

<p>2. Attracting media coverage as well as making the security forces less vigilant.</p>	<p>The church bombing in Surabaya was an extraordinary action because it involved all members of the family.³⁶</p>	<p>The church bombing case in Surabaya, which is an extraordinary case, has attracted the attention of many parties as well as made it difficult for the security forces to detect Dita's group's "amaliyah" action plan.</p>
<p>3. Effective to hit the target specifically.</p>	<p>Dita Oepriarto's efforts to involve his wife and four children can be regarded as a strategy or motive to deceive or in terms of deception or deception, so that it is difficult for law enforcement officials to detect the activities of the plan, process, and execution of the suicide bombing.³⁷</p>	<p>Dita's children had no doubts about reaching the church until they blew themselves up near several church members who were victims at that time.</p>

Source: Processed by researchers, April 2021

The involvement of Dita Oepriarto's family members, starting from his wife and children who are known to be active in helping Dita, starting from preparatory activities in the form of monotheism and physical coaching (Idad) recitals, collecting explosives, transactions/ buying materials, compounding/making bombs to getting involved as the perpetrator or executor of the Church Bombing Action in Surabaya, is in line with Fathali Moghaddam's concept which explains about the six rungs of the ladder of exposure for someone to become a terrorist actor.

First, the stage of psychological interpretation which is based on the acquisition of knowledge during preparation (recitation). Reflecting on the explanation of Hilya and Faiza (Anton's son (Another Dita network)) who think that suicide bombing is an action that can take him straight to heaven, without a process of reckoning or calculating good and bad deeds before someone is decided to enter heaven or hell, this is a form of how Psychologically a person can be influenced by his mindset.

Second, the stages of looking for ways to improve conditions to find the masterminds who tyrannize Muslims. This is in line with the

³⁶ Abbas, Interview.

³⁷ Rama, Interview.

2018 Mako Brimob incident which attracted the sympathy of many terror groups to become active and support the terrorist convict resistance.

Third, the stages of influencing persuasive messages that lead to blaming groups or countries. This is based on the belief of Dita and her group that the State of Indonesia is not an Islamic State that implements Islamic law and sharia.

Fourth, belief in the form of resistance by using all means, including against violence by suicide bombings. This is in accordance with the understanding of Dita and his network that they do not hesitate to involve their wives and children as perpetrators of terror.

Fifth, the preparation of an action plan which is in accordance with the findings related to the activities of Dita and his network in the form of physical training activities (Idad), collecting explosives, transactions/ buying materials, and compounding/making bombs. Related to this, Hilya and Faizah’s explanation can be one illustration where both of them admit that Anton (his father) had trained them physically to teach them how to take up arms in order to prepare themselves for war. Sixth, which is the top of the ladder is a form of courage for Dita and her family which was implemented through acts of terror.

Table 2. Analysis of Data on the Flow of a Person Becoming a Terrorist

Fathali Moghaddam Concept	Research data	Data Analysis
1. Stages of psychological interpretation.	Hilya and Faiza’s explanation that suicide bombing is an act that can take one straight to heaven, without a process of reckoning or calculating good and bad deeds before someone is decided to enter heaven or hell is one form of how psychologically a person can be influenced by his mindset. ³⁸	Acquisition of knowledge during preparation (Recitation).

³⁸ Laporan Penelitian Center Terrorism and Radicalism Studies (CTRS) bekerjasama dengan Research Center for Terrorism and Security (REACTS). (2019). Surabaya.

<p>2. The stages of looking for ways to improve conditions to find the masterminds who tyrannize Muslims.</p>	<p>The church bombing in Surabaya, one of which was triggered by the incident at the Mobile Brigade Headquarters Prison Kelapa Dua, Depok, West Java, on 8 to 10 May 2018.³⁹</p>	<p>The 2018 Mako Brimob incident attracted the sympathy of many terrorist groups to actively participate and support the terrorist convict resistance.</p>
<p>3. Stages of influence of persuasive messages that lead to blaming groups or countries.</p>	<p>The notion that Indonesia is a disbelieving country for some terror groups.⁴⁰</p>	<p>The belief of Dita and her group that the State of Indonesia is not an Islamic State that implements Islamic law and sharia.</p>
<p>4. Belief in the form of resistance by using all means, including against violence by suicide bombings.</p>	<p>Ustadz Cholid Abu Bakar, who in his activities often invites his students, Dita Oepriyanto and several of his network partners, to involve their wives and children in radical recitations to plans for suicide bombings.⁴¹</p>	<p>Dita's understanding and his network are not reluctant to involve his wife and children as perpetrators of terror.</p>
<p>5. Preparation of an action plan.</p>	<p>All members of Dita Oepriyanto's family are known to have been active in helping, starting from preparatory activities in the form of "tauhid" and physical training (Idad), collecting explosives, transactions/buying materials, to compounding/making bombs.⁴²</p>	<p>Several things were prepared by Dita and her network before the action, namely: physical training activities (Idad), collecting explosives, transactions/buying materials, to compounding/making bombs.</p>
<p>6. Top ladder/execution</p>	<p>All members of Dita Oepriyanto's family were involved as perpetrators or executors of the Church Bombing Action in Surabaya.⁴³</p>	<p>Dita's family attacked the church.</p>

Source: Processed by researchers, April 2021

³⁹ Wicaksono, "Analisis Kriminologis," 88-101.

⁴⁰ Brojo, Interview.

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Rama, Interview.

⁴³ Ibid

Based on the explanation above, the use of family in terror networks is seen as an effective way to facilitate the spread of radical and extremist views. Moreover, families can provide guarantees starting from the recruitment of members, financial availability, as well as minimizing the potential for intruders or defectors to the detection of terror group activities from security forces.

Through this case, we can learn that children's involvement in acts of terrorism has social and psychological implications in the form of psychological trauma and social stigma. Children involved in acts of terrorism often experience deep trauma. They may experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and anxiety that can last a lifetime.⁴⁴ Children of terror perpetrators and their families may face heavy social stigma. They can be ostracized or discriminated against by society, which can worsen their psychological situation.⁴⁵

Therefore, law enforcement officials must optimize comprehensive actions to protect children from the dangers of ISIS terrorism starting from an approach that includes prevention, rehabilitation and firm law enforcement against individuals or organizations that recruit and exploit children in terrorist activities. It is even possible that international cooperation and information exchange is also needed to track and stop networks involved in recruiting children in terrorism, considering that based on reports from UNODC, several networks ISIS in Syria, Iraq, Nigeria and Somalia actively recruits and trains children as soldiers, suicide bombers and propagandists.⁴⁶

Conclusion

The involvement of children as perpetrators of terror is one part of developments in acts of terrorism. The involvement of children in terror cases does not only occur in a global context but also nationally. The involvement of children as perpetrators of terror can occur due to several causative factors. There are two factors that cause the involvement of

⁴⁴ Anna Pemberton and Pieter Aarten, "Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma and Social Suffering," *Journal of Loss and Trauma* 22, no. 4 (2017): 355-358.

⁴⁵ Mark J. D. Jordans et al., "Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Post-Conflict Settings," *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 12, no. 1 (2012).

⁴⁶ UNODC. "Handbook on Children Recruited and Exploited by Terrorist and Violent Extremist Groups: The Role of the Justice System". Vienna, 2017. https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/Child-Victims/Handbook_on_Children_Recruited_and_Exploited_by_Terrorist_and_Violent_Extremist_Groups_the_Role_of_the_Justice_System.E.pdf.

children as perpetrators of terror, namely external factors which include parents, media, environment, poverty, education to revenge, and internal factors including a desire to serve, lack of knowledge of nationality and religion, emotional maturity, intelligence, age and gender.

The church bombing case in Surabaya that occurred on May 13, 2018, has proven to be a sign that the use of family, in this case children in terror networks, is seen as an effective way to spread radical and extremist views. Moreover, children make it easy for their parents to make them active actors in acts of terrorism, starting from the stages of psychological interpretation, the stages of finding ways to improve conditions, the stages of influencing persuasive messages, the stages of strengthening beliefs, the stages of action planning to the final stage, namely the execution process. Furthermore, it was also agreed that the use of children as terrorists could provide guarantees ranging from easy recruitment of members, minimizing the potential for intruders or defectors who could be detected by security forces to effective efforts to physically touch targets.

Therefore, several steps to strengthen prevention are needed to understand the dynamics of ISIS terrorist recruitment efforts involving children, starting from further comprehensive studies that map the evolution of recruitment methods, mapping social networks and the technology used, psychosocial factors that make children vulnerable to recruitment, thus rehabilitation and reintegration actions for the children involved so that they can return to normal life and not fall back into terrorist networks.

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