

Familial Terrorism: An Anthropological Analysis on Familial Suicide Bombings in Surabaya, 13-14 May 2018

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Abstract: *This article examines the three bombings in Surabaya, West Java on May 2018 where a few minor group of intellectual was behind the scene of this bombings plot. By utilizing the Gramsci's concept of intellectual and Hoffman theory of violent intellectual, I elaborate this bombing plot in an anthropological way of analysis. The Surabaya 2018 bombing was a series of bomb explosions in various places in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, East Java on 13-14 May 2018. Three places included places of worship in the Church of Santa Maria Tidak Bercela, GKI Diponegoro, and the Central Pentecostal Church of Surabaya (GPPS) Sawahan. Two other places each in the Wonocolo Flats complex in Taman, Sidoarjo and Surabaya Polrestabes Headquarters. Sociologically, the group of JAD (Jamaah Ansharu Daulah) in Surabaya was claimed to be responsible as perpetrators. JAD is a kind of organic intellectual group who run a radical support for anti establishment movement in Indonesia aspired for the khilafah (Islamic superstate) in Syria and Iraq run under the banner of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria).*

Index terms: *familial suicide bombing; ISIS; khilafah; Surabaya; JAD*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Surabaya 2018 bombing was a series of bomb explosions in various places in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, East Java on 13-14 May 2018. Bombings in three churches in Surabaya and also in Mapolrestabes Surabaya and Sidoarjo were a ferocity of terrorism committed by three families with motives very strong theology: jihad and wanting to go to heaven as a family together. All actors from a series of bomb attacks in Surabaya were carried out by a family of six, including Dita Upriyanto (48), his wife Puji Kuswati (43) and invited four of his children, Yusuf Fadil (18), Firman Halim (16), Fadilah Sari (12), and Pamela Rizkita (9). National Police Chief Tito Karnavian in his press conference stated that this family had just been back from Syria and was a sympathizer of the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS) and was a network of the Daulah Ansharu Jamaah (JAD) and Jamaat Ansharut Tauhid (JAT).

In the division of his duties, Dita Upriyanto was the driver of the Avanza car who crashed into the GPPS of the Sawahan Congregation. Before committing the crime, Dita took down his wife Puji Kuswati and her two daughters, FS (12) and PR (9), at the GKI Diponegoro. These three people have been paired with three bombs wrapped around the waist. In the police statement, his wife's body and two children were damaged in the abdomen.

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While the perpetrators in the Catholic Church of Santa Maria Tak Bercela are believed to be Dita's sons, namely Yusuf Fadil (18) and FH (16). They ride motorbikes and hold bombs to be blown up. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria through its news agency, Amaq News Agency, stated that they were responsible for this attack.

There is a statement accompanying the malignancy as jihad. God rejects the claim of jihad in the name of his religion which is noble and full of humanism. Verse 22: 40 God strongly rejects the partial actions of some people over others where attacks on monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques are called malignancies. All cruelty, savagery, destruction without knowledge is not from Islam and not the teachings of Islam. In Islam warfare also has rules, not to damage, let alone houses of worship, while plants and animals are forbidden to be destroyed.

The words of the Prophet SAW stated that: "You must not kill parents who are old, children and women ..." (HR. Abu Dawud, no. 2614; Ibn Abi Syaibah, 6/438; al-Baihaqi 17932). Any religion must reject brutal terrorism involving children in a very brutal suicide bombing attempt with an obscure message to be conveyed to the authorities or the public. In Islam, there is never such a thing as terrorism, as can be justified by the most radical scholars or schools.

As a scientist studying terrorism, I was truly shocked, shocked by the events that claimed dozens of lives of the names of God in monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques involving children who never knew hatred at a very young and pure age. Even Ustadz Aman Abdurrahman as the organic leader and ideologist of this terrorist group turned out to blame and never told his followers or worshipers to commit acts of terror by seeing their own wives and children.

Bruce Hoffman (2005: 72) mentions that terrorists are "violent intellectuals" because they use violence that relies on authoritative sources of clericalness among those with referential references, though weak. And, the intellectuals who live and care for these terrorists are *ulama su* (rotten ulamas) who are real terrorists. Children and even their parents, father and mother, are also victims who are under the influence of compulsion in a terrible indoctrination. Terrorism carried out by JAD is a crime committed by intellectual actors who are anti-human and renegade[6].

For Gramsci (1971: 110), intellectuals consist of two regions, namely theory (traditional intellectual) and relate it to social reality (organic intellectual). Organic intellectuals are thus



intellectuals who knowingly and are

able to connect existing social theories and realities, and they join revolutionary groups to support and counter hegemony in a planned transformation. Traditional intellectuals are intellectuals who exist on campuses, in contrast to organic intellectuals who live in the midst of society such as monks and clerics and priests who try to answer every problem that arises from the lower-flowing society who want a simplistic answer[5].

Organic intellectuals often give fatwas in response to every question that arises. These answers or fatwas are then translated by the community in a simple way, with violence and ferocity for each solution of a complicated and controversial problem. Certainly the brutal and sadistic brutality and savagery is the khawarij, a deviant people in Islam. Attacking a zimmi infidel is wrong, especially when a house detonates a house of worship, what a surprise if one is in the name of Islam; but instead destroy what God forbids to destroy. The words of the Prophet Muhammad SAW strictly forbade barbarity and ferocity in any form and in any situation, even in war: "Don't mutilate, do not kill children, or women, or elderly parents, or monks and pastors in their places of worship." (Narrated by Muslim 1731). Those who dare to violate this hadith are only Wahhabi who are referred to in Islam as the khawarij.

In the study of terrorism, Al Chaidar (2015: 255) stated that there are three types Wahabi: (1) Wahabi Sururi; (2) Wahabi Jihadi, and (3) Wahabi Takfiri. This takfiri Wahabi is an exaggeration in expressing his piety. It is Wahabi Takfiri who likes to attack all religious people in all of his places of worship, even those who are fellow Muslims are brutally killed. This takfiri Wahabi believes and misleads some people to support their political goals of reaching the position of caliph without thinking about ethical and legal processes. They straddle sharia legality openly.

If the khawarij organize, they like to make a name that seems to be a sacred institution that defends the establishment of *daulah* (state) and the caliphate. Even fighting in Islam must go through the command of Amir al-mu'minin agreed upon by the Muslims not by small groups underground who are not clear who they are. The khawarij are people who diligently worship and dare to oppose the Prophet Muhammad. Their appearance seemed fierce but greatly damaged the image of Islam as a religious and humane religion. JAD as the khawarij has a Wahabi Takfiri ideology that dares to fight the Prophet and God at once. The victims killed by Khawarij were the best victims loved by Allah. The faithful security apparatus who succeeded in killing the khawarij, is the best killer who does not need to fear human abuse on any pretext.

II. RELATED RESEARCHES

This review literature was conducted to help plan my dissertation research on "Shifting motives and goals of terrorism: a case study of church bomb attacks in Surabaya." The main problem or research question that will be studied is how is the transformation of changes in motives and patterns of terrorist attacks in Indonesia? The concrete question is why does terrorism in Surabaya involve women and children as martyrs? Therefore, in general the

purpose of this research is to analyze the evolution of changes in patterns and motives of terror attacks in Indonesia.

In order to answer the problem or research question, I propose two methods of literature review. First, tracking efforts on a number of literatures that discuss terrorism and radicalism. Second, tracking efforts on a number of literature discussing the involvement of women and children in terrorist suicide bombings. These two methods become approaches to review literature on a number of articles in several journals.

Schuurman, Bakker, Gill and Bouhana (2018) discussed the use of the term "lone wolf" which is attached and used by academics and observers in describing the phenomenon of a single attack of terror. The concept of lone wolf is a terror attack with single and independent actors inaccurate because in reality what is called the lone wolf attack is a planned terror attack. In fact, they generally have good social relations with the community. The analytic concept used in dissecting a single terrorist called "lone wolf" is a social analytic of perpetrators which includes the social ties of actors with society, social ties with other groups etc. This concept becomes important to understand so that radicalism never goes alone but there is a process that forms bonds between groups so as to make militant. The conclusion are: first, single actors tend not to care about the security system when operating. secondly, they are involved in interactions with others that allow their actions to leak or be known. Third, they have social relations to build motivation and ability to do violence. Fourth, there is no single actor attack carried out independently or unplanned. In contrast, the "lone wolf" terror attack was carried out in a planned and systematic manner[2].

Nava Nuraniyah (2018) dissected the process of radicalization of women in Indonesia, especially those belonging to the ISIS group. Including is the case of three Indonesian migrant workers who are members of the ISIS group through social media. why do women become extremist and radical? How far do they have a self agency? Why do women play traditional roles as wives while others choose the path of activism to join the ISIS group? Are some of the questions raised in this article. This article aims to uncover the factors that cause women to be involved in radical and extremist actions. The research method used is a virtual ethnographic approach. The author of the article conducts interviews and observations of a number of women who are members of several communities on social media. The results of the study have some interesting findings such as the involvement of women in ISIS radicalism is a personal choice not for coercion, personal choices tend to be influenced by socio-economic conditions that allow women to choose choices radically, besides, it also shows gender bias in counter-radicalism programs that tend to regard women as victims of brainwashing, the fact is that women are not just victims but also agents of radicalism provocateurs[10].

Karen Jacques and Paul J. Taylor (2013) describe the social and educational background of women involved in acts of terrorism. In addition, the background of this research seeks to change the paradigm of patriarchal domination of terrorism. In the case examined by the



authors, terrorism does not recognize gender. How is the involvement of women in acts of terrorism and how can terrorism be carried out by women into questions posed by Jacques and Taylor. Jacques and Taylor aim to show that the involvement of women in acts of terrorism is not just an act of frustration or pressure of life but is a rational action not just a mental disorder. The social concept of isolation is an instrument to find out the process of radicalization of women. This concept explains several variables; marital status, immigrant status and religious conversion. The results of the study found that the characterization of female terrorists as isolated individuals who have no attachment to social groups, lack of consistency in the level of education has a correlation to women's terrorism and the economy is not a single factor of women's involvement in acts of terrorism. Social, economic and educational dimensions are indeed important to know the involvement of women in acts of terrorism, but are not a single factor to be the reason for terrorism. It could be that women's involvement is precisely because of the dominance of patriarchal culture that makes women in husband and wife relationships become victims of the husband's doctrine of women to commit acts of terror[8].

Robert J. Brym and Bader Araj (2006) examined the intifada namely the Palestinian resistance against Israel. The Palestinian intifada movement is not infrequently carried out by carrying out suicide bombing. Social scientists tend to see the suicide bomb phenomenon as another frustrating and psychological act. This explanation in the Palestinian case is inaccurate because suicide bombings in Palestine have special characteristics that get religious justification. What factors make suicide bombings a Palestinian resistance against Israel? What are the motives and goals of suicide bombings in Palestinian-Israeli? Research offers the concept of the relationship between suicide bombings and the repressive actions of the Israeli government. This article provides one finding that suicide bombings in Israel are rational actions based on strategic calculations. In other words, the Palestinian suicide bombing is not just a form of frustration and stress, but an act of awareness to fight the repressive actions of the Israeli government against Palestinians. This article also shows the correlation between Israel's repressive actions will be followed by the ranks of Palestinian suicide bombings[12].

Tunde Agara (2015) discusses the relationship between women, gender and terrorism. The role of women in acts of terrorism can no longer be underestimated. Women's terrorism acts have tremendous strength but become a new history in the world about the involvement of women in terrorism today in the 21st century. Questions about the motivation of some women to be actively involved in terrorism organizations are the lighters in the discussion of this article. For example, do they participate on religious, political or personal grounds? Is the increase in the number of women involved in acts of terrorism carried out through the kidnapping mechanism? Therefore, the dimension of the relationship between gender, women and terrorism is a polemic in the discussion of this article. The involvement of women in acts of terrorism breaks the patriarchal tradition in seeing the role of women merely in

the domestic or secondary area. Women's actions in terrorism organizations actively generate new concepts about women's stereotypes that are active not static. This article gave birth to a new idea of female stereotypes that transcended the traditions of the patriarchal system. The involvement of women in acts of terrorism to suicide bombers should not be a form of deviation, but a rational choice with strategic calculations. This finding is the basis for formulating a counter-terrorism concept that is more egalitarian in gender. Counter-terrorism that is gender biased will become a gap for terrorist groups to enter by actively utilizing women's involvement[13].

Andrew Fraser (2017) discusses the problem of increasing the number of children involved in Afghanistan in the act of suicide bomb martyrs. The involvement of children in the actions of Taliban martyrs is a recent phenomenon in the conflict in Afghanistan. This problem became a polemic in the discussion of this article. Why are children involved in suicide bombings in Afghanistan? What factors are behind the martyr's action? The concept of the exclusiveness of the education system in Afghanistan has triggered a process of radicalization in Afghanistan. The results of the study found that some indications of child involvement in acts of martyrdom terrorism were caused more by the existence of poverty factors which then led children to an educational system managed by the Taliban network. This exclusive education system then provides a doctrine of the image of heaven, sex and welfare, which gave birth to militancy against the Taliban in order to change the family life of the child. In some cases, the role of community leaders was also found; mullahs and Taliban network scholars who facilitate children to enter education managed by the Taliban[1].

Burcu Pinar Alakoc (2017) discuss about a suicide bombing which is a deadly attack rather than a stationary controlled bomb. In particular, this article dissects suicide bombings as a strategic rational choice to destroy what is considered an enemy. Does the implementation of suicide bombing strategies correlate with goals? This question is a light discussion for this article. The author wants to see whether the suicide bombing strategy is a straggly instrument to kill the enemy or vice versa. The concept of lethality or lethal is an instrument to measure the success rate of suicide bombings. Therefore, this concept provides a meaning that sophisticated technology weapons do not compare with suicide bombings because they are relatively costly but have a deadly effect to destroy the enemy.

The results of the study show that the strategy of suicide terrorism has more victim targets than other weapons instruments. Suicide terrorism is very difficult to control compared to other strategies. Therefore, the instrument of suicide is the weapon of terrorism groups by using special attributes inherent in the body[3].

Gray and Matchin (2008) explores the use of children as terrorists and the organizational structure of one of the most feared terrorist groups in the world, Hamas. In particular, this paper investigates terrorist children who are members of the Tamil Tiger organization in Sri Lanka. How are child soldiers in the Tamil Tiger organization trained and indoctrinated? The concept of child terrorism is an instrument for discussion of the author. Defining the concept of child terrorism will



have consequences for counter-terrorism policies against children involved in acts of terrorism. The results of Gray and Matchin's research show that the involvement of children in Tamil Tiger

organizations is more influenced by family conditions. In addition, the propaganda carried out by the leaders of the Tigers has been able to provide doctrine to the children from the outset to carry out combat against the Sri Lankan government[4].

Julie Chernov Hwang and Kirsten E. Schulze (2018) explore the development and evolution of the paths of the entry of radicalism in Indonesia through recitation, conflict, family and school relations. In addition, this article talks about how relational relationships play a role in each path. This research is an attempt to understand the Ambon conflict by understanding the evolution of the development of the entry of radicalism in Ambon. How do religious-based radicalism groups enter Indonesia? The concept that stands out in this article is the evolution of jihadism in Indonesia through four entrances namely recitation, school, local conflict and family relationships. These four concepts are the key to understanding the input of radicalism in Indonesia. The results of the study show that the entry of radicalism in Indonesia through four doors, among others: recitation, local conflict, family and school relations. Recitation instruments are the most prominent door in shaping the process of becoming radicalism[7].

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses library research methods that utilize library resources to obtain research data. Strictly speaking, library research limits its activities only to library collection materials before I conduct field research. This research is a preliminary study of familial suicide terrorism, which is the first reality in the world that challenges science to find its theoretical explanation. The library research I did was not just about reading and recording literature or books as many people have understood so far. What I called as library research or often also called literature study, is a series of activities related to library data collection methods, reading and recording and processing research materials.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Children are the most innocent, innocent, sincere, pure and never hate anyone who becomes his friend in a plural and multicultural environment. Damaging them by indoctrinating or taking them to participate in war or acts of violence is a crime. Children will never be able to be perpetrators of any crime, let alone those with a malignant nuance full of hatred. Exploding bombs in places of worship that are not fortified by weapons is an extraordinary crime. Inviting children to commit crimes is to sacrifice them. Children always fall victim to parental influence. And, parents are often under the influence of ulama su '(rotten ulama) fatwas whose work only indoctrinates and then runs away from their responsibilities. This kind of ulama is the real culprit.

The results of my research show that the scholars of Islamic radicals in Surabaya and surrounding areas are organic intellectuals who break the hegemony of the

capitalist rulers in Indonesia. Seen through the concept of Gramsci, then in order to break the hegemony of the bourgeoisie and formulate a new world view of the proletarian class, Gramsci has a very important favorite instrument, namely "organic intellectual". This group played a significant role in waging a "position war" to take over hegemony.

My research looks at how the influence of the ulema as using the concept of organic Antonio Gramsci. By using the term "intellectual" in a broad sense that is practically equivalent to the "intelligentsia" or all educated classes, Gramsci (1971: 53) sees generally every major class producing its own intellectual layer in charge of maintaining the continuity of its class culture and uniting them based on certain solidarity. Influential scholars in many cases of terrorism anywhere in the world have strong networks, references and followers. Unlike traditional intellectuals who do not have followers or worshipers, organic intellectuals have knowledge and can use and abuse their knowledge towards their own followers, students or worshipers.

Ulama as organic intellectuals are respectable circles and politically have a very crucial position in society. For Gramsci, organic intellectuals are intellectuals who not only explain external social life based on scientific principles, but also use the language of culture to express real feelings and experiences that cannot be expressed by the people themselves (Leszek Kolakowski, 1978: 240). Organic intellectuals are those who are able to feel emotions, enthusiasm and what is felt by the workers, side with them and express what is experienced and objective tendencies of society. In the Surabaya Bomb case (2018) this shows how Khalid Abubakar and also Yahya Khalid played a very organic role, attached and integrated and became a part which then escaped from the pursuit of security forces after the explosion of familial suicide bombs. There is no one who claims morally and intellectually responsible for this family suicide bombing incident where the wives and children of the pilgrims from this cleric recite.

Organic intellectuals such as radical clerics always have answers and reasons for each problem faced. In the effort of social change, it is necessary to formulate and organize an intellectual layer that expresses the actual experience of society with learned beliefs and language. It has the meaning that organic intellectuals will present the voices of the interests of the lower classes of society with high cultural languages so that the worldview, lower class values and beliefs extend throughout society and become a universal language. If this stage is successful, the road will be wider for the lower classes to make revolutionary changes, namely to seize political power.

These Gramsci ideas are very relevant both as literature and as a tool to build social movements, especially the terrorism movement. Antonio Gramsci saw the importance of that revolutionary will and determination in the hearts of the proletariat to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie which had pervaded all dimensions of community life. Therefore, a group of intellectuals and revolutionary parties is needed to realize socialism which in the discussion of religion is known as khilafah or islamic superstate.

Unlike traditional intellectuals such as lecturers or researchers or other educated people such as teachers, scholars are organic intellectuals who are full of the agenda for the struggle for extra parliamentary political power and even extra judicial. Thus it is something very important that the existence of intellectuals is not in the ivory tower, elitist, but must be united and on the side of the workers. Likewise, political parties do not have the duty to inject into the working class a true awareness, but make them aware of the implications of the awareness they already have and the aspects of the struggle. This is all due to the efforts of the workers to plant cultural and ideological hegemony before starting the struggle for political power.

Islamic scholars in Indonesia are always beside their followers and guide them to always be on the political path to achieve the goal of owning the state and the caliphate itself that implements the Islamic legal system. Because in Gramsci's view social change is not solely an attempt to deal with the problems of economic and physical strength, but also involves the struggle for cultural and ideological territories: an effort of the lower classes to free themselves from the culture of the bourgeoisie and to build their own cultural values together with the oppressed and intellectuals who take sides. In this context it can be said that intellectual supremacy is a precondition for achieving political power.

For Gramsci the process of social change is not merely a struggle for political power, but rather a struggle for cultural and ideological power. Gramsci's theory is very appropriate to use in seeing the role and characteristics of Islamic radical scholars in Indonesia in spreading ideology, awareness to live freely from the democratic legal system that has long been opposed. The ulamas carried out a long struggle which was to change people's views from secular views to religious views even to sectarian views. The ulamas as organic intellectuals also planted certain values that were previously unknown to the public. Likewise, a socialist revolution cannot be carried out once through a struggle for political power, but requires a long time in a war of positions to change the views and values of civil society. If civil society has been hegemonized, actually de facto power is already in the hands of the working class, and political leadership can be easily taken over.

These organic scholars are very different from traditional intellectuals who often prostitute themselves in order to get a development project that is shared by the executive authorities. In addition, in the context of today's world order where all aspects of life are under the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism in the form of exploitation of workers to commodification and consumerism, the Gramscian idea of a counter-hegemonic transnational blocco storico (transnational historical block or progressive power) becomes very important. to be seen because it is attached to the group of organic scholars who are trusted, loved and protected by the radical Islamic community in Indonesia.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Terrorism always appears in its very brutal and sadistic form. Terrorism also always emerges viciously, unpredictable before and present in the most perfect form: unrivaled savagery. This savagery is only able to be done by the Khawarij in the past and the Jamaah Ansharud

Daulah in the present. The Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD) is a modern khawarij which is very dangerous to the continuation of Islamic jihad and da'wah. JAD practices sectarian teachings that are very anti-human, namely violent terrorism. This ferocious terrorism was presented by people who claimed to struggle to uphold the religion of God, a religion full of love. This terrorism also appears always in its unpredictable and unpredictable form by reason and science.

Based on the literature review, a number of reviews were found which examined the phenomenon of the involvement of women and children in acts of terrorism. Thus, this phenomenon is new in the pattern and mode of terrorism attacks. However, in general this literature review has a correlation with the dissertation research plan that will be carried out specifically the involvement of women and children in acts of terrorism. Organic scholars always need organizations as their political vehicles to mobilize and also crush communities for their political goals which are considered noble and sacred. Likewise, the concept of Gramsci's hegemony is very useful and becomes an important lesson for party and intellectual politicians. If a party wants to be big and successful all this when the party is able to articulate the real interests of its people. And it is the duty of intellectuals to become agents of change and social liberation. Organic and violent ulamas in Indonesia do not use the party as a tool, but use the Jamaah Ansharu Daulah organization and also the Jamaah Ansharu Tauhid as their cultural vehicle in organizing their followers.***

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