

# BREAK THE CHAIN OF TERRORISM THROUGH DERADICALIZATION OF (FORMER) TERRORISTS' CHILDREN: NARRATION FROM AL-HIDAYAH PESANTREN MEDAN

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## ABSTRACT

Many countries strongly rely on deradicalization path to solve terrorism catastrophe. However, they mostly still focus on the terrorists themselves and lack of attention to the people around them particularly their children. While in some local to the international cases of terrorism, children have involved actively in those acts. This article delivers a significant instance on how to avert the new generation of terrorism particularly from the kinship path. This article focuses on an Islamic boarding school or pesantren (Al-Hidayah) run by a former terrorist (Al-Ghazali) with the main purpose is deradicalization program towards the terrorists' children. This article is based on the field research, the collecting of the data using depth interview as the primer data and exposure some references as the secondary data. This article found that deradicalization towards terrorist's children is better under the education platform or pesantren, because it provides two things; firstly, children can gain their right to reach the education after they were marginalized even excluded from their former school. Secondly, it becomes a new home for the children where support the way to apply deradicalization program through the formal model (within the class) and informal model (out the class). There are four significant program that Al-Hidayah pesantren applied namely a green school, life skill, tahfiz class, and trauma healing. Generally, it is success as a curative and preventive action. Although the pesantren receives some financial supports from the government and some other parties, it still struggles to raise more funds to provide free education for its student.

**Keywords:** Deradicalization, terrorists' children, former terrorist, pesantren.

## INTRODUCTION

Deradicalization has increasingly become a major and important focus after the frequency acts of terrorism has increased<sup>1</sup>. Various programs have already been carried out in an attempt to pull back the terrorists. Aside from being a healing process, the concept of deradicalization also focused on preventing efforts so that no more seeds or newcomers to terrorist groups. The factors that cause radicalism cannot be said to be a single, but it is very complex. The structure of the group and recruitment patterns have shifted

from classical forms where the radicalization process is conducted by direct meetings and groups, to millennial form where someone can be radicalized without following a forum or *pengajian*. Therefore digital age then challenges the existence of the organizational structure and gender.

So far, deradicalization programs in Indonesia have focused on the former terrorist prisoners. For example, government agencies such as the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) in cooperation with police provide space and opportunity to ex-terrorists to live a normal life back and these ex terrorists is expected to be an example for other terrorists.

<sup>1</sup>The emergence of ISIS in 2014 resulted many terrorism attacks in the middle East, Indonesia, and Western as well.

They supposed to quit from terrorism then start a new chapter of their life. In addition, Police and BNPT also provide assistance to terrorist wives whose husbands are in prison or passed away. Furthermore, mentoring is done through two forms, economic approach and personal approach. Other than the efforts to deradicalize terrorists and their wives, there is another important thing that has previously lack of attention of the state, is the terrorist children. In general, majority of them have started and have been influenced by radical ideologies. It is the fact that the easiest way to spread terrorist's ideology is through kinship (Ismail, 2006).

In some conflicts, children, and adolescents also left traces of their involvement as soldiers or child soldiers in Ambon. The conflict on behalf of the Christian and Islamic community in Ambon in 1999 required Ronald Regang to become the head of a child army from the Christian community. Meanwhile, Iskandar Slamet was also directly involved in the fighting and joined the jihadist community there (BBC, 21 October 2018). Children and adolescents in conflict areas such as Palestine and Syria today have also been actively involved in fighting the opponent military. One of the countries well-known for its many child soldiers, namely Sudan, the endless conflict does not provide many choices for boys and girls there besides taking up arms. It is estimated that there are still around 19,000 child soldiers in Sudan who are still actively involved in the battlefield; this is one of the main focuses of the United Nations regarding the release of these children. In the end of 2018, 30 child soldiers in Sudan had returned to their communities and attended symbolic ceremonies by removing their military weapons and then receiving uniforms and other school supplies. They also get physical and mental recovery (Aljazeera, 1 November 2018).

The latest incident in Indonesia in the mid-2018 is four children from one family committed suicide bombs with their parents. This indicates that today the radicalization process has also

been discussed at the dining tables of a family<sup>2</sup>. It means that all the member of that family talking their purpose often. Thus not only the children of former terrorists need to be considered, but also the children who may be radicalized with his family at this time. Therefore, it is important to implement a curriculum that brings the values of tolerance, multiculturalism and inclusiveness in a *pesantren*.

This paper presents a profile of a boarding-based religious educational institution (called *pesantren*) that can be one of the strategic bidders and ways to respond the problem of terrorism in Indonesia. It focuses on three research questions, how the processes of some deradicalization programs that have been conducted by government, community and individuals have their own focus and characteristics. BNPT together with the Police and other parties run a deradicalization program in the prisons. Meanwhile some former terrorist inmates established a community as a place to implement their creativity together.

Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* is coming as a pioneer of educational institution which focuses on deradicalization of terrorist's children. The combination of formal education and informal education in the form of life values, in this case how a Muslim child can love his country with Islamic values that he has. This *pesantren* is located in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra. There are two regions in North Sumatra as the bases of terrorism namely Payah Kumbuh and Tanjung Balai. One of the conditions why those places become a breeding place for terrorism is its location which borders directly with Aceh and accesses the borders of territory with Malaysia. In 2010, around more than 20 terrorists were captured by the police in Tanjung Balai. They are responsible for several terrorism cases in the North Sumatra region. A mobile meatball trader and online motorcycle taxi driver were also arrested

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<sup>2</sup>This term are used by head of the county police of Malang to depict how terrorism become a whole family business today, refers to the family suicide bomb case in Surabaya.

by the police with alleged terrorism in 2016. Especially in Deli Serdang, there are currently around 40 people who are indicated to be radical and under the supervision of BNPT and BIN or state intelligence agency. This information was conveyed by the head of the ministry of religious affairs of Deli Serdang. He had attended the socialization of deradicalization program carried out by BNPT in Jakarta. The activity involved Islamic instructors from all regions in Indonesia, but so far there has been no further evaluation after that meeting<sup>3</sup>. Reflect those contexts, this article focus on four main questions, who runs Al-Hidayah Pesantren? Why pesantren become the medium of deradicalization program? What are the strategic programs that they applied? To what extent is success of its programs toward the students?

Some of cases indicate that deradicalization programs are always born in places that are also a hotbed of terrorism. As it is mentioned in literature review, Khairul Ghazali and the other former terrorist inmates such Ali Fauzi, Zainal Muttaqin, and Abdurrahman Ayyub running the program of deradicalization in their home town. It is hoped that it will be able to erode and to eliminate terrorism in that region. Interestingly, this deradicalization program is actually stronger in the hand of former terrorists. They have two-ways strategic relationship, with government and civic institutions or organizations. On the other hand they also have challenges after leaving and separating themselves from the terrorists who are still active and enduring. In contrast, as a form of resistance to the deradicalization program carried out by the government, there is a solidarity action called GASHIBU or *Gerakan Sehari Seribu*. The charity movement is to help the financial needs of terrorist's family who died or served at detention. GASHIBU is run by an extremist community. This movement became quite dangerous because while collecting donations, they actively voiced that the terrorist prisoners should be released by the police (Taufiqurrohman and Arianti,

<sup>3</sup>interview with the Head of Ministry of Religious Affairs of Deli Serdang, 10 October 2018.

2014). It could be one of the triggers of banning deradicalization program by certain groups is an expression of disappointment over the treatment of terrorism that ended with violence, arrests, torture and even killing suspected terrorists. The human rights perspective is a challenge so that the wider community is more sympathetic and fully supports the deradicalization program later (Hilmy, 2013).

Among the studies on deradicalization, there are two regions that are often become the center of attention, namely the Middle East and Southeast Asia as the largest of Muslim population. Interestingly, a study shows that shielded programs in Southeast Asia are relatively more success than in the Middle East (Angle Rabasa et al., 2010). Indicators of success in this context can be seen in Yemen and Libya which still have unclear elements of deradicalization<sup>4</sup>. While for some countries in Southeast Asia such as Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines are relatively uniform in the completeness the elements used even use different instruments in carrying out them. Particularly in the context of Indonesia, some researchers see it success significantly. Rabasa explained that the element of culture has a strong contribution in implementing deradicalization program. A model of the deradicalization approach cannot immediately be transplanted in all regions. We must involve elements of the existing cultural context (Angle Rabasa et al., 2010).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

After 9/11 tragedy, the western (America) claimed that Islam and terrorism have strong relation. So that Islamic boarding school was suspected become one of the main sources of terrorism. This issue is indeed inseparable with political side on how a western country wanted to conquer the eastern one (Zamroni, 2005: 177-178). Moreover, some perpetrators of Bali bombing in

<sup>4</sup>Can be seen in table 3.1 p. 89 "Overview of Middle Eastern Program" in Angle Rabasa et al. They enhance the completeness of the deradicalization indicators between Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Libya and Iraq.

Indonesia came from Islamic boarding school strength that kind of assumption. However, when we see the percentage of pesantren in Indonesia, there is only small number of radical *pesantren* existed. Therefore it was erroneous to generalize *Pesantren* as the source of terrorism because in fact many terrorists are not coming from the Islamic boarding school<sup>5</sup>. Abu Rokhmad (2012) argued that pesantren has both possibilities to be a seed of radicalism and a place for preventing radicalism as well (Rokhmad, 2012: 80). Some *pesantren* has taught the students with radical ideology, while the other are well-known as inclusive and moderate ones. Meanwhile, public schools are also vulnerable to radicalism. It is found that some teachers hold radical thought, Islamic group for students' extra curricula grew up, and some text books contained of teaching to hate other different religions (Rokhmad, 2012: 20). Instead of seeing *pesantren* as a source of terrorism, some scholars inquired moderate and plural face of *pesantren*. Muhammad Qosim (2006) through his comprehensive field research argued that *pesantren* in Indonesia is tolerant, inclusive, and well behaved. Because historically, *pesantren* has existed along with the local people and they hold the principle of nationalism (Qosim, 2006). Rustam Ibrahim (2015) in his writing suggested the way to do deradicalization in *pesantren* such as *pesantren* should not teach jihad with ward, but with education. The education about Islam as the blessed to entire world must be done through certain stages in practical, so the direction will fit with the condition of the object of the missionary endeavor (Ibrahim, 2015).

Other than Khairul Ghazali, there are three former terrorist inmates who run deradicalization movement. They are Ali Fauzi, established a deradicalization program based on the informal pesantren, Zainal Muttaqin using group of Islamic study to deliver his deradicalization program, and Abdurrahman Ayyub also did the same way with Muttaqin<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Kahirul Ghazali

<sup>6</sup> Presented by research team of research and development Ministry of Religious Affairs November 30 2019 in Santika Premiere Slipi Jakarta.

There are several studies on Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*. Harahap and Irmayani (2017) focused their study on two issues in that *pesantren* namely the background of that *pesantren* and the reason of why that *pesantren* trying to educate the terrorists' children to anticipate the growing understanding of radicalism. Briefly, there are three things become the background of this *pesantren*; firstly, it is because Khairul Ghazali wants to redeem his sin. Secondly, he wants to save the education of terrorists' children. Lastly, Al-Hidayah *pesantren* expected to become the role model of deradicalization boarding school (Harahap and Irmayani, 2017). Furthermore, Harahap and Zulkarnaen explored it from the history of its *pesantren* and how the radicalization program applied on it, especially it is about the curriculum of that *pesantren*. They found that Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* aimed to deradicalize terrorist's children. While the curriculum that they used is the same with the other schools except the local knowledge or *muatan lokal* in which they are significantly using deradicalization teaching (Harahap and Zulkarnain, 2018). Considering those previous studies, the significant of this research is trying to figure out the dynamic of Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* on how they apply deradicalization program and to what extent it success toward the students. This article also fulfils the gap on the narration of students in that *pesantren*.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Deradicalization in Indonesia was first initiated by Surya Dharma Salim in 2003 as the former head of the Special Anti-Terrorism 88 Arrangement after the Bomb Bali II incident. The main model approach used is "soft power" in the sense of prioritizing cultural approaches. This program is intended to foster terrorist prisoners or who have joined terrorist groups so that they change their perspective, so that they will no longer legalize violence in the name of religion. However, in certain cases, the program does not have to emphasize the total elimination of radical ideology (Taufiqurrohman and Arianti, 2014: 11).

That idea is similar with the concept of Neumann (2010) which states that deradicalization refers to subsidy changes in ideology but it does not necessarily require total change. Therefore, deradicalization is often linked and compared with the concept of disengagement, namely the situation in which extremists decide not to commit violence and at any time can rejoin their groups to commit violence. For instance, the case of terrorism in Poso shows that most former terrorist inmates are at any time ready to use violence if conflict emerged (Hwang et al., 2013). It is because that radical ideologies continue to be stored and can even develop in themselves. It can be concluded that disengagement refers to behavior, while deradicalization refers to ideologies that can strengthen behavior (Horgan, 2008; Rabasa, 2010; Koehler, 2010). Both of them intersect and depend on each other.

Similar to the radicalization process which has many trigger factors, deradicalization can also be achieved with various approaches that are considered effective to change the terrorist's way of life. In general the term deradicalization is not only used for terrorists especially in the name of Islam. But it is also used to diverse ideologies or movements that can lead to conflict and fear in the community. For example the movement of Marxism-Leninism as the ideology of the Soviet Union must experience an ideological shift after the death of its leader (Tucker, 1967), the Japanese Communist Party which also experienced ideological change as one of the main agendas under Kenji Miyamoto (N. Kim, 1976) and The French Communist Party who experience deradicalization from within the party itself due to some historical facts that require them to adjust (Ellen and Carlton, 1979). While regarding deradicalization of terrorism in the name of Islam, so far there has never been a group deradicalization but individual deradicalization. Deradicalization intended for reducing radical insights that lead onto violence.

Angle Rabasa (2010) conceptualizes that at least there are some elements that must be used in deradicalization efforts. First is affection,

it is interpreted as a form of human that needs to be treated well and warmly. Since the start of the deradicalization program, the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) and the police agreed that the approach was to be friends with terrorist prisoners. There is no repressive action instead state provides good assistance and service. The family of terrorist prisoners is a priority as a form of state presence, this can neutralize terrorist hatred of the state and government. The police conducted economic empowerment of terrorist wives by providing capital assistance, school tuition assistance for terrorist children, and providing travel tickets for families of terrorists who want to visit them in prison. The police also ensured that terrorist prisoners were treated well during their detention period (E. Schulze, 2008). Even terrorist inmates are allowed to marry while serving prison terms. This last policy is quite dilemma because giving them the opportunity to get married will be a new form of alliance in the terrorism group.

The second element is pragmatic or communicative approach, how the government and police try to understand the background and context of terrorist prisoners. In addition, the actions and speeches they gave during the detention period could help mapping the appropriate handling of each terrorist inmate. This approach is needed so that there are no gaps between programs initiated with the needs of terrorist prisoners in the process of deradicalization.

The third element is ideology, this phase becomes an important part in the effort of deradicalization. Based on research conducted by the Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs, there is a strong relationship between religious understanding and acts of terrorism carried out, in this case the religious understanding of Islam. From several cases, terrorist prisoners have backgrounds in the NU, Muhammadiyah, PERSIS and Salafi families. But on their journey they used the Salafi Wahabi ideology which always dwelled on the issues of khilafiyah and anti-tradition. They like the

Salafi figures and love to read the works written by Asy Syaikh Muhammad Nashiruddin Al Bani, Abdul Aziz bin Baaz, Ibn Taymiyah, Ahmad bin Hambal, Abdullah bin Abdul Wahab, Ramadhan Ramadhan, Al Jawahiri and others (Wakhid et al., 2015). Even though the development of the terrorism movement afterwards is increasingly diverse and complex, there are similar patrons in voicing their demands. Therefore, the religious ideology approach is one of the main focuses involving several institutions. Some countries implement theological dialogues conveyed by religious leaders or religious institutions that are partners of the state and the police. For the Indonesian context, involving former radicalists or terrorist convicts is one effective way of deconstructing radical thinking. According to Rabasa, theological dialogue or *pengajian* can also be formally applied in certain classes or programs (Rabasa et al., 2010: 43). This means that it is possible to formulate a special deradicalization program with a schedule for theological dialogue classes according to the level of understanding possessed by the terrorist prisoners. Before European and American countries initiated a number of theological approaches that were effective in deradicalization, Islamic scientists (Fazlur Rahman) had introduced effective ways to deradicalize views of what and how Islam. There are strong moral principles in the Qur'an and does not always talking about the law to execute (Zuhdi, 2010: 94).

The three elements above can be used to see and understand the deradicalization program carried out by Kharul Ghazali through the Al-Hidayah boarding school. However, it should be underlined that the significant difference from the program is focus on terrorist children whose deradicalization process cannot be fully equated with their parents. So it needs a separate analytical tool to see what deradicalization programs for terrorist children are packaged in a formal educational institution. Attractive understanding the cultural or family approach combined with an approach that is called pedagogy. The atmosphere of education is dependable on the interaction

between teachers and their students about what happened and what should have happened. The interaction is directed at one goal as covered by the vision and mission of an educational institution (Robandi, 2008). Referring to the vision and mission of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*, there are three specific points which mention specific differences between *pesantren* based on deradicalization and *pesantren* in general. First, efforts to rehabilitate, re-educate and deradicalize radicalism. Secondly, saving generations of people from radical ideologies. Third, re-education of students and the wider community of anarchism and terrorism.

Involving former radicalists in deradicalization programs is evidence that they are a strategic catalyst in reducing the amount of terrorism in Indonesia. Especially if the deradicalization initiation was born from the former radicalists themselves, this phenomenon is a good hope for the government and the police that deserve to be fully supported. Strong and continuous *trust building* is actually owned by fellow terrorist prisoners (Schultze, 2008). Like the former leader of the terrorism group known as the name Nagih Ibrahim in Egypt who wrote his ideological shift regarding jihad and gave a big influence to some of his followers (Raffie, 2015: 42).

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This qualitative research uses the technique of collecting *life history* and depth interviews with the main informant, Khairul Ghazali. Then it was strengthened by secondary informants who had been involved in the deradicalization program in Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*. While other supporting references come from several books written by Khairul Ghazali. Especially the books that write about the journey of his life during his involvement in several terrorist operations to the turning point in his life in realizing how long he has been trapped in the wrong ideology. Researchers visited Khairul Ghazali in a *pesantren* directly which he had built for almost three years. Additional information that is useful

as a supporter of the data as well as confirmation of the suitability of what has been obtained from the main informant, which comes from the wife of Khairul Ghazali itself named Kartini Lubis. Actually he also experienced the same phase of life as her husband, but could not be legally proven to be involved in a terrorism group. The significant difference from this research lies in the deradicalization program which is packaged in a formal education environment, so it is important to understand the vision and mission of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*. Learning methods and teaching are obtained from the results of interviews with school principals, teachers or *ustadz*. Additional information was also obtained from the community around the *pesantren* to see the efforts to reintegrate with the community. Interviews with *santri* at Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* helped this study in reading to what extent the success of the deradicalization program that had been carried out.

This article talks about the strategy of deconstruction of radical thinking carried out by Khairul Ghazali, an ex-terrorist from the descendants of a family of sympathizers of NII who in his teens joined JI. Ghazali was involved in several acts of terrorism such as military training in the mountains of Junto Aceh, Robbery at Medan CIMB Niaga Bank and Attack on the Silver Overlay Police Station. All the narratives in this study came from tracing various references and in-depth interviews with 12 people who has the strategic role in *pesantren* namely Khairul Ghazali, Kartini Lubis, Kartini Panggabean, Zulkarnain Nazution, Hoiruddin Hasibuan, Haris Iskandar, Muhammad Aribun, Sri Wahyudi, Zulharbi Zalim Dongoran, Mutia, Irfansyah Budi, and Ahmad Basori. In term of narration of their student, I interviewed two of students named Azzam and Iqbal. In order to respect the children conditions there, it is not easy to interview all the students there except the one who has understood their parent trajectory and decided to against terrorism. This research also tried to read the circulation of activities and interactions in the *pesantren*. This article presents a brief biography

of Khairul Ghazali and his journey from becoming active in terrorism groups, detained by the police, and finally decides to choose a peaceful way of life and fight terrorism ideologically and run deradicalization based *pesantren*.

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### **Profile of Figure (Journey from Exposure to Awareness)**

Khairul Ghazali alias Abu Ahmad Yasin was born on April 29, 1965 in Deli Serdang, nicknamed Buya Ghazali. Forced to drop out of school during the second grade of junior high school because his parents cannot afford to pay anymore. then he undergone non-formal courses at the Arabic Language Education Institute in Medan, the *Kitab Kuning* course, and other Islamic science courses under the auspices of the NII under instructor Gaos Taufik (NII figures involved in the events of Command Jihad (1976)). In the 1980s, through his hobby of writing, Buya Ghazali diligently wrote short stories and poems in several print media Medan and can be a good income for teenagers at that time. In 1985, precisely Buya Ghazali, aged 17, he decided to migrate to Malaysia as an illegal migrant worker. Even though Buya

Ghazali's main goal is jihad. There had time to do some work ranging from laborers in a company to being an editor in a print media there. After six years working in Malaysia, Buya Ghazali had time to go home and get married. Then returned to Malaysia by taking his wife with him. Buya lived with his wife and their children for twelve years in Malaysia before finally being deported by Malaysia government for not having official documents as overseas worker there.

For the radicalization process experienced by Buya Ghazali it can be said that it has happened since his childhood. Because life around a radical family whose parents strongly supports the establishment of the Islamic State of Indonesia and justify acts of terrorism to pursue Islamic state. But his parents can be merely as passive sympathizers or supporters which do not involved and take a direct role. Buya Ghazali often mentioned that radicalist networks would not be far from family or kinship. He prefers to call it a descendant of "genetics" ideology that lives in a family. The same is in harmony with suicide bombings carried out by one family in Surabaya. Parents as the first gate have strong hegemony to shape their children's mindsets. Even a child who lives in a family that is quite radical has been disciplined since they were children (Fikriyati and Azca, 2019).

Buya Ghazali's journey in Malaysia from the beginning before marriage to having children there became the main process of radicalization which was getting stronger. It motivated Buya Ghazali to carry out jihad which came back in his homeland. In general, the factors that influenced Buya Ghazali were the jihad attacks that occurred in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine. In the same year (1985) Buya met directly with Abdullah Sungkar as the leader of Jamaah Islamiyah who had only lived in Malaysia for a year. Learning and doctrine directly by the leadership JI makes Buya proficient and painstakingly takes on the role of an ideologist or brain washing later on terrorism groups in Indonesia. So Buya was never directly involved in the operations carried out by his group, but rather became an advisor, initiator, blessing

and decision maker in every act of terrorism committed. Buya had attended military training in Malaysia to prepare for Afghanistan, but because of the inadequate operational funds, Buya could not be dispatched. Finally Buya continued to study at the Lukmanul Hakim *Pesantren* which was founded by Abdullah Sungkar in Malaysia. There, Buya studied fiqh of jihad and dialogue with several terrorist in Indonesia like Gaus Taufik Masduki, Noordin M. Top, Dr. Azhari, Imam Samudra, Mukhlas, Abdurr ahman Ayyub, Hamzah Siregar and Muhammad Al-Faruk. Buya moved from Kuala Lumpur, Johor, Selangor and Kelantan several times.

#### 1. Deportation and Finding a New Field for Jihad

After spending twelve years in Malaysia along with his wife and children, Buya Ghazali and his family were eventually deported by the police in Malaysia for not having official documents in 1989. Buya and other friends chose Tanjung Balai as an easy route for crossing Malaysia - Indonesia. They then saw Tanjung Balai as the right new field of jihad to spread their ideology and doctrine. In addition, the geographical location of Tanjung Balai as a border area that is also close to Aceh has made the coordination of fellow Jamaah Mujahid stronger.

Groups such as Jamaah Islamiyah and the Indonesian Islamic state always use the recruitment method and dissemination their teaching through study groups or forums. Unlike the new model that is heavily used by ISIS through online platforms. Thus the kinship between the groups of groups more powerful because of the emotional relationship that existed during the period studied. Buya Ghazali fosters and oversees the Tahfiz boarding school and a forum for the *pengajian* of the *pengajian* Al-Quds in Tanjung Balai from 2004 to 2009. Buya did not explain significantly whether the Tahfidz *Pesantren* and the *pengajian* were also used for the dissemination of ideology or not. However Buya said after the arresting streak by police in North Sumatra in 2010, there were 20 more terrorists were captured and killed in 6 people.

One of the raids was the house of Buya Ghazali. In 2009 Buya Ghazali rejoin the jihad cells under the command of Dulmatin cs to make preparations I'dad (Military Training) in Aceh at Jalin Juntho mountain. His job was as an ideologist (instructor) to doctrine the jihadists to be prepared to Jantho mount, including preparation in terms of place, funds (fa'i) and weapons, by making Medan as a transit place.

The arresting of Buya and friends left many cadres (about 400 people) who have been indoctrinated who had a string ideology and ready to carry out jihad. But it is could not be seen clearly whether they eventually join into another group, or create a new group or choose to return to life in common. This has become one of its own concerns in the spread of radical notions, especially in the North Sumatra region.

Another method that Buya Ghazali and his wife did in recruiting was to offer themselves to teach in *pesantren kilat* at public schools. They were given a place and trust because of their background in managing the *pesantren* tahfiz and group of *pengajian*. They began recruiting teenagers who seemed to have the potential to carry out jihad. For example student who look naughty or stubborn among other friends or even vice versa, and student who look very quiet. However, because Jemaah Islamiyah only involved women after marrying male members, the recruitment process in schools through the lightning *pesantren* program only targeted boys.

Buya Ghazali was sentenced to six years in prison with several demands for his involvement as one of the initiators and advisors in military training in Aceh, the attack on the Hamparan Perak police station and the robbery of the CIMB Niaga Medan bank. Buya was detained in three different prisons, namely Mako Brimob Kelapa Dua Depok, Detention Center for North Sumatra Regional Police and the the regional police office in Medan. Buya also had a chance to hide the Poso terrorist DPO at his house because the relationship between Jamaah Islamiyah in Sulawesi and Sumatra was quite strong even it

was proven by marriage alliance between Santoso and Basri who married Bima's woman.

## 2. The Turning Point Behind the Prison

In accordance with the Poso case, Hwang et al. (2014) formulated five factors which driving someone to secede from jihadist circles. First, there is a new environment outside the jihadist group. Second, pressure from parents and partners. Third, analysis of weaknesses and strengths of existing choices or cost-benefits analysis. Fourth, disappointment with tactics and leaders. Fifth, personal change and professional priority. Influence and government contributions are minimal in this contest. In contrast to this study, it was found that the involvement and contribution of government was quite large in it.

It can be said that Buya Ghazali experienced a change of perspective regarding jihad which was fairly rapid, namely four months after capturing the period of detention and increasingly being formed during the period of detention until he release from the prisons. Buya found a turning point in her life and wanted to do something as an expression to straighten out her mistakes and friends. So that, there will no longer the new jihadist who sacrifice their lives joining terrorism. There are several elements who have contributed to the changes experienced by Buya. First, dialogues conducted with the police or densus 88 while at the Mako Brimob detention center. He was treated as brothers who needs special assistance.

Secondly, routinely *pengajian* conducted by several institutions in collaboration with BNPT. This phase influenced Buya Ghazali a lot because the speakers who were appointed directly by the police and BNPT had a strong character to bring him become more moderate and inclusive thoughts. The institution that is also partnered in this program is the Ministry of Religion and the Indonesian Ulema Council. However, among several presenters who were presented at the *pengajian*, there was one figure who most influenced Buya Ghazali. He is Abdurrahman Ayyub, a man who is very close to

Abdullah Sungkar and first chose the moderate path. They both interacted directly when both were still in Malaysia. This condition further supports dialogue between the two. Furthermore, Abdurrahman Ayyub also has extensive insight and knowledge in the deradicalization strategy.

Some former terrorist prisoners have also been invited by the Lapas and BNPT to deliver lectures or studies in the prison of terrorist prisoners. Because they have a strategic role as people who have undergone the same thing and finally decided to choose a better way of life. Among then people who has joined in terrorism group, trust is easier to be built and these points are the main consideration by terrorist prisoners who have just decided to follow the same path.

The third factor that can be said to be dominant and most influential on Buya Ghazali's change is the role of his wife and children. Buya's wife or usually called Umi Kartini often visited Buya during his detention period. This is where the awareness is very strong and more convincing Buya that he has made a wrong thing and he has to mend it. Umi Kartini often describes the impact that terrorism has left behind. Starting from killing innocent people, children who began to be neglected and stigmatized from their friends and environment, to the economic life of the family who eventually stagnated. At that time Buya's wife had to support her four children and had just given birth to the youngest child. Buya acknowledged that the presence of the youngest child made him increasingly mellow and felt useless because he could not carry out his responsibilities as a husband and father.

A study tries to see how much the role of a wife in influencing their husbands to do jihad or otherwise leave the path of jihad. If the relationship of kinship becomes an important circulation in the recruitment of terrorism, then the same thing also applies to deradicalization or *disengagement*. Because in a family, the most simple to complex understanding is built. The family has also become a place of return for ex-radicalists without stigmatizing. So the study of

the role of the family is also important to develop in deradicalization.

### 3. Demonstrating Deradicalization Through Writing

Buya Ghazali's passion in writing became a separate point that was also used in voicing deradicalization. Some of his books which is previously published in Malaysia are *30 Wasiat Imam Syafi'i, Kisah-kisah Doa dan Taubat Para Nabi dan Rasul, Misteri Aura dan Energi Sedekah, Misteri Aura dan Energi Sholat, Misteri Aura dan Energi Dzikir, Misteri Aura dan Energi Ayat Kursi, Misteri Aura dan Energi Surah Ak-Fatihah, Mystery Aura dan Energi Surah Yasin*. This ability made Buya Ghazali more productive to write especially during his prison term.

Some of the works of Buya Ghazali, which were published in Indonesia, when he underwent a period of detention. The first book entitled *24 Jam Melawan Setan*, and then the second is *Aksi Perampokan Bukan Fa'i* as a reflection and criticism of robbery actions which are often carried out by terrorists to support operational costs. As it is known that Buya Ghazali was also involved in the robbery of the CIMB Niaga bank, the book was a negation of what terrorists believed was lawful to rob for the sake of Allah's religion. *Mereka Bukan Thogut* is the second book of Buya in prison, this book tries to counter key perspective is always used for committing acts of terrorism and against the government and teaching it. Then the last book that was completed before being released from the prison period was the *Kabut Jihad*. A novel that tells the story of Buya Ghazali's life journey from beginning to join the terrorist network to undergoing a period of detention. Buya provided an important reflection of how the turmoil had to let go and replace the ideology which had been believed to be the most correct.

Buya Ghazali also wrote other works after being released from prison namely *Aksi Teror Bukan Jihad* and *Bersama Rasulullah di Pintu Surga*. With these five works, Buya Ghazali became the most productive terrorist ex-convict

and produced many works that discussed terrorism and ideological deconstruction in it. He influenced many of his compatriots to migrate and leave terrorism. While Buya broke up with friends who were still active because he was considered an apostate.

Describing the effective deradicalization of Ghazali's life changes, researchers borrowed the concept that was proposed by Sukabdi (2015: 16) where there were 17 indicators ranging from the easiest to the hardest to achieve namely: openness, critical thinking, understanding of the war state and peaceful state, feeling empathy for victims of terrorism, away from violence, self-reinforcement, continuation to continue learning, conformity with the wider community, social reintegration, thinking independently, tolerant of other groups, having good relationships with diverse communities, understanding local wisdom, understanding citizenship, courage to resist pressure from previous groups, promoting messages of peace to the public, resilience to promoting anti-violence messages to the community, inspire young people to become agents of peace and promote anti-violence in their country.

Achievement experienced by Buya is at stake Ghazali had the highest viewed from every phase of life experienced from start openness with the police and government to run Islamic boarding schools, won the trust of the broader community until his determination to make his students as agents of peace.

### **Deconstruction of Radical Thought**

The deradicalization model introduced by Khairul Ghazali is in the form of a pesantren. He chose *pesantren* because it was his dream with his wife for a long time and was also considered appropriate for the education of former terrorist children. Buya Ghazali who never studied directly in the boarding school admitted that all the terrorists that exist, can be said coming from schools less than 10%. It's just that it's sometimes generalized. *Pesantren* Al-Hidayah want to prove that a terrorist is not born from a *pesantren* even

not coming from the descendent of the terrorists. When it was first established, Buya Ghazali borrowed the name of the Darus Syifa *Pesantren* for operational permits because at that time he was still prisoner so he could not take care of the permit. After receiving support from the BNPT, the Police and the regional government, it was then inaugurated with the name Al-Hidayah Islamic boarding school.

The *pesantren* is located in Mencirim Village, Kutalimbaru District, Deli Serdang Regency, North Sumatra. What drives Ghazali and his wife to run these schools that is a fact that children facing difficult life after their parents died or were arrested by the police. They difficulty accessing education which should be the right of every children. The problem comes from the costs of losing a spine permanently or temporarily.

In addition there are some children who experience rejection from public schools after knowing their status as the son of a terrorist. Also being marginalized in their own environment means that children need a sense of belonging to the new environment. This anxiety began to be discussed by Ghazali and his wife since he was still in detention. Therefore they both feel called to present space for these children to be able to access education like the other children. Ghazali always emphasized that every child has the right being able to access education without differentiating their background. But for this one case, the state has not paid attention to these terrorist children and only focuses on law enforcement against terrorists. Even though there are strategic opportunities that can be utilized in relation to deradicalization.

So that shortly after completing his detention period, Ghazali and his wife began pioneering the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* in July of 2015 with a small *Mushollah* (praying room) which was also used as a place to study. At first they only had five *santri* where their parents were friends of Ghazali while active in terrorism groups.

The second main objective is to educate the children not to idolize and follow what their

parents have done before. In other words the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* is deradicalize the terrorist's children. Because it cannot be denied that since childhood they have been indirectly educated by their parents with the principles of jihad they have applied. Thus the children have great potential to continue what their parents have done. This will be aggravated if a child has his own revenge against the police for example who have arrested or even killed their parents. Not to mention anti-state and anti-non-Islamic views that have also been internalized in a child of a certain age who has been able to absorb the ideologies of their parents.

Parents have a very strong role to radicalize their children. Mid-2017 to the phenomenon of suicide bombing as a family that the first in the world in which involve husbands and wives and four children. After the incident began to be known if the children did not really want to take the subject of Pancasila and Citizenship in the school. They have begun to show their ideology and radical behavior, but they cannot be detected by the school. Conversely, parents have an important role in the process of deradicalizing their children who had left their cities and countries to join terrorism groups (Sikkens, 2017).

V. Arianti (2018) sees the potential threat to the radicalization of children in Indonesia carried out institutionally. All About 101 children from Indonesia were trained by ISIS in Iraq in 2017. Arianti found 5 boarding schools based on *Pesantrens* managed by *Jamaah Ansharud Daulah* (JAD) which spread across southern Java, South Sumatra and Central Sulawesi. The school promoted ideological support for ISIS. Thus, the study of the radicalization is as important as the deradicalization of children today.

After the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* began operating, the government began to pay attention and support. Some of those who took on the role were the National Counter Terrorism Agency, North Sumatra Regional Police Chief, PT Perkebunan Nusantara, North Sumatra Governor and the Terrorism Prevention Communication

Forum in the North Sumatra region under the auspices of the BNPT. They collaborate and work together to do the development process. For the regional office of the Ministry of Religion, specifically the guidance of the Islamic community itself, has not taken a significant role in the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*. But it has built a pretty good communication. Based on information from Ghazali, the parties involved are still in the physical order or built the building and have not been involved in curriculum design, teaching methods or character building. Ghazali and his wife together with school principals and other educators independently discussed methods that were considered effective to be applied to the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*.

Basically Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* apply the same teaching method to schools and other *pesantren* using the K13 curriculum. While the implementation of deradicalization programs is carried out in a "manual" manner, said Ghazali. The meaning of the word manual here is a deradicalization method that is carried out directly without a written design. The process of applying deradicalization is tucked in between teaching and learning activities and also the experiences of everyday life. Ghazali's wife explained that treatment of the children of former terrorists will be different to the treatment of former terrorists themselves. They cannot be presented with ideologies of tolerance and explicit nationalism. Because it will make them less interested and difficult to digest. So the method is green. This is applied through the message of life lessons delivered at any time. For example, a simple thing like a Muslim should forgive and not hold grudges like what was taught by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Although it does not written down, the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* combines Islamic values and nationalism that are in harmony and can co-exist each other. The deradicalization program implemented can also be said to be informal deradicalization. They do not prepare definite and standard teaching materials for deradicalization. But the *pesantren's* commitment to curative and preventive radicalization is clearly reflected in

their vision and mission.

Meanwhile, most education institutions today are still less sensitive to the urgency of deradicalization in schools. Rokhmad (2012) explores some schools and found that some teachers claim to be the students who have understood the radical lack of knowledge about Islam, units of Islamic studies in schools is growing but there is no guarantee of immunity radicalism because teaching are delivering by the third parties, in teaching materials there are several statements that can encourage students to hate other religions and nations. Three approaches that should be applied in educational institutions are preventive approaches for those who have not been radicalized, curative for those that have been radicalized and preserved for those who rely on moderate thinking. Multicultural inclusive Islamic education is also one of the specific factors regarding what needs to be prepared by educational institutions (Muqoyyidin, 2012). According to Halimi et al., It is important to focus on the teacher and student approach of a scientific discipline to understand the dynamics of religious understanding sessions in the deradicalization process. They discovered the concept that utilizing science and an in-depth approach to learning can deliver radical cognitive thinking transformations which can then be obtained separate themselves from radical thinking and behavior (Editorial Note, 2014).

Some of the ways used by Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* are like watching movies with children. The films show the image of holding region and nationalism also give the *santri* motivation to pursue their dreams. For example, *Negeri Lima Menara*, *Garuda di Dadaku* and others. Next, the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* is scheduled after the morning prayer for the history of Islamic stories both in the Koran and in the hadith. During this session that much was told about how Islam also spread peacefully without hurting. Thus all humans, animals, nature and plants get blessings from Islam itself. There are also several stories about the stories of the prophet's friends who are willing to experience hardship to help others.

Muhammad Aribun, as the *tahfiz* teacher of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*, also shared the story of how Muslims were able to live peacefully alongside with Jews and Christians in Medina at the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

For certain stories sometimes there are students who cry because they were hear how Islam is a religion of love. This is where Ghazali said that what their parents had done was contrary to Islamic values as a blessing for all nature. So that the *santri* should forgive the mistakes made by their parents and not do the same thing. Even though it cannot be denied that the re-education of ex-terrorist children requires time not the instant process.

Reference materials are referred to in the form of stories that took place in the prophet's day and friends. In the form of stories of humanism, morality that builds characteristic to become a person who saves and Islam who is *rahmatan lil alamin*. Hayatuz Sahabah's book, *Fiqh Sabilul Muhtadin*, the two sources as the main, additional books on *Fiqh of Sunnah Haetami* or *Haetabih*, *Fiqh of Jihad Yusuf Al-qardawih*.

Regarding the dynamics or development of the Al-Hidayah *santri*, the lodge did not have a standard indicator in seeing the changes experienced by the *santri*. It should be noted that the *santri* have relatively diverse ages until the level of understanding of their ideology also varies. The simplest indicator is to look at changes in the behavior of the *santri* and how they view a case. Based on information from Kartini Panggabean who is currently the head of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*, there were significant changes to the *santri*. Before becoming headmaster, Kartini was a teacher who taught and accompanied the *santri* since the beginning. Thus she knew exactly every change and development experienced by the *santri*. Most of the students at the beginning of entering were very rigid and would only speak for certain things. If there is a problem between one *santri* and another *santri*, they immediately use violence to solve it. This is related to the principle that their parents have that something wrong must be punished and acted upon. But along with

the process they experienced, the *santri* became increasingly friendly and no longer prioritized violence in solving problems between them. The psychological condition of *santri* is very important to be understood by the teachers and coaches in the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* because they have their own trauma when they witness their parents being executed or arrested by the police. Besides that, the stigma and stereotypes they get make it difficult for them to integrate with new people and society in general.

The interesting thing conveyed by Kartini is about the ideals or goals of life of the *santri*. In the early days of entering the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*, almost all *santri* expressed their aspirations to become mujahids or terrorists. Continuing what their parents have done. Even when they play games, they prefer the role of terrorists rather than as police or security forces. After a long process in the *pesantren*, they finally changed their ideals. Some aspire to become police even though initially they were very hostile and traumatized by the police. When the BNPT chairman visited the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*, there was one *santri* who stated that he wanted to become the chairman of the BNPT later. This indicates that they want to fight terrorism and create peace. The other ideal they have is wanting to be the leader of an *pesantren* like Ghazali. Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* revives Jihad narratives that create not destruction. So that the jihad they can do now is to study seriously and take on roles that can benefit human beings.

One of the best moments in building nationalism towards the *santri* is to involve and entrust them to take the role as *paskibraka* or flag raisers in the celebration of Indonesia independence day on August 17, 2018. The ceremony was attended by students from schools around *pesantren*, the general public, local government and polices.

Of the twenty-four *santri* currently available, five of them come from surrounding communities. This is related to the purpose of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* that wants to integrate and blend ex-terrorist's children with the other children. This

method will support the radicalization process later because when they were with their parents, they were quite closed to the surrounding community. In the future, Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* will receive more public students. This *pesantren* has a mega plan which will be realized at least ten years from now and is currently still under construction. Ghazali will implement a cross-subsidy system for the *santri*. That is, specifically for children of former terrorists who need it, it will be free while the general *santri* will be charged. But the overall number of *santri* is currently schooled free of charge by the *pesantren*.

The source of funds obtained by Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* for operational costs is derived from the results of plantations and agriculture managed by *pesantren*. They plant corn, cassava, and peanuts. They also cultivated right fairies. At present, Ghazali and *santri* will also pioneer chicken farms. About thirty hectares of land were given by PT. Perkebunan Nusantara includes the location of *pesantren* to be used as support from the government. In addition, there are several private donors who provide assistance in the form of cash and logistics directly. But despite all that, Ghazali and his wife were still struggle fulfilling all their needs. Funding is one of the biggest challenges going forward. Considering that currently all financing is released to the *santri*. So far there has been no regular and definite budget from the government to ensure the continued existence of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* in the future. Other obstacles currently faced is they still lack of space such as class room and educators as well. As a result, they were forced to bring together several classes in one lesson. But still giving different levels of subjects.

The status of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* as the first to pioneer formal education for ex-terrorist's children is very strategic to be developed in the future. This is evidenced by the number of parties who visited him. Starting from government agencies, academics and practitioners in the country to several parties from abroad such as Australia, Britain, Germany and the Netherlands. Ali Fauzi in Lamongan has

also long formed a community of former terrorist inmates and conducted training for their children. Unfortunately the movement did not use a formal education facilities and only in the development of the Koran Education Park. So during a meeting of former terrorists at the Istiqlal mosque facilitated by the BNPT in mid-2018, there were around 30 ex-terrorists who wished to register their children in the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*. However, inadequate facilities make it impossible to increase the number of students at this time.

After getting a rejection from the community, the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* was finally able to attract the trust of the community that they were carrying a good goal for the people and the nation. This case can lead to narratives that boarding schools are the biggest source that gave birth to terrorists. While the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* comes with a different narrative that *pesantren* are also able to be a solution to radicalism in Indonesia. The strategic function of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* is to take preventive actions against other children who have not been contaminated with the ideologies of radicalism, intolerance and terrorism. Also carry out curative actions on children who have been exposed to radicalism ideology. It can be assumed that cognitive structure as a long-term program in preventing radicalization is the subsequent effects of existing deradicalization programs (Woodward et al., 2010).

### **Deradicalization Strategy for Radical Thought**

Khairul Ghazali applied four important elements in the deradicalization strategy that was applied. The four elements can be described as follows:

#### 1. Green School/School of Nature

When you first visited the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*, the natural scenery became the main treat. This *pesantren* is surrounded by greenery such as corn, cassava, peanuts and so on. From its inception until now, teaching and learning activities are more dominant in out door and together with nature directly. Formerly students

were invited to study in bamboo booths in the middle of rice fields. Until now, the *santri* are still studying in the open gazebo or in the courtyard of the mosque.

*Santri* is invited to be closer to nature while deliver peace value of Islam that are not only a blessing for humans but also a blessing for all nature. So that the students are taught to be able to maintain good relations with people from different religious background and all the creation of God. Green schools enhance and hone the care of the *santri* in treating other creations. Peaceful environment is also easy to find because it's far from the crowded city. Khairul Ghazali said, children become selfless with their desires.

#### 2. Life Skill

The closeness of the *santri* to nature is also used to hone the ability of the *santri* in farming. They are given additional activities to learn and independently grow crops. As one of the sources of funding for Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*, the process of farming from planting to harvest always involves the *santri*. In addition, students are also taught to cultivate fish. In the boarding school complex, there is a pool that is used as a place for fish cultivation. The *santri* also did their weekends by fishing in the fish pond. Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* are pioneering the cultivation of free-range chicken and goats. Means that the *santri* gained additional knowledge and abilities in raising livestock.

#### 3. Tahfiz class

Usually done at 2:00 p.m. until entering the Azhar prayer time. In this class it is also combined with the teachings of the hadith and its interpretation that teaches the values of peace. The students were very enthusiastic in attending this class and often had dialogues with their teacher. For example, some *santri* basically know some hadiths that often used by the terrorist and make dialogue with their teacher about it.

#### 4. Trauma Healing

This element becomes the main program that requires time that is not instant and involves all the

elements above. This section has been explained in part on the design of deconstruction, but here will be supplemented by some information from one of the *santri* who felt that many changes had occurred to him after joining at the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*. He is Azzam, his parents were arrested by the police and sentenced to 8 years in prison.

Abi used to go home late at night and sometimes did not go home. His friends came at home and each of them carried a weapon. Also, I was interested in following Abi to take up arms and fight in the way of Allah. But, now I realize that what Abi did was wrong and not true jihad. Jihad is like what we do now, school and study well (Interview with Azzam, Al-Hidayah *santri*).

Azzam wants to be a peace agent because he always remembers Buya Ghazali's message that Islam is a religion that guards peace. Azzam used to be afraid of the police, but not anymore after the police often visited and approached the *santri*. In addition to Azzam, there were also six *santri* who had hatred and trauma towards the police for shooting dead their father. But with the trauma healing process carried out, two of them actually aspired to become police later.

Prof. Sarlito Sarwono, used to be called as father of Indonesian psychology, came in June 2016 and interacted directly with the children of the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*, he said that these children had fully recovered from the elements of radicalism. Even four of them were very open and ready to be asked about their family background and what their response was to their father who was embroiled in the radicalism group.

## CONCLUSION

Khairul Ghazali came from a family of radical (passive) descendants, in his youth he decided to study and join Jamaah Islamiyah in Malaysia. There, he met directly with Abdullah Sungkar and several terrorists who were also responsible for some attacks in Indonesia. After returning to Indonesia, Ghazali became increasingly active and was involved in several incidents of terrorism in North Sumatra. Changes or turning points were experienced by Ghazal during his

detention period. Khairul Ghazali as a former radicalist conducted a deradicalization program through the face of *pesantren*. Program has become the first in Indonesia because of the focus on deradicalization of terrorist's children. The process of deradicalization is done manually without being written in a curriculum or teaching material. There are four strategies applied by Khairul Ghazali in the process of deradicalization namely green school, life skills, tahfiz and trauma healing. These four strategies proved effective for the *santri* there. Deradicalization that running by Ghazali have two spheres. Curative for children who have been exposed to radical ideology and preventive deradicalization for children who have not been exposed to radical ideology. Challenges and obstacles faced include Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* still struggling in financial matters because all *santri* are fully funded. Khairul Ghazali tried to connect with several government agencies so that they could be mitigated in terms of financing. He also manages the land for farming and the result is the operational costs of the *pesantren*. Another challenge is that some parents in prison still object and lack trust if their children are in school at the Al-Hidayah *Pesantren*. But with dialogue and approach, Khairul Ghazali gained the trust of the parents of the *santri*.

In general, Al-Hidayah *Pesantren* has not had a measuring instruments to see to what extent deradicalization program success. For example, it does not have a psychologist who assists the children during their time in *pesantren*. Regarding this case, it is important to give more attention to terrorists' children because there are many more of them out of attention of the government and other parties that focus on this issue. For the future study, it is suggested to involve their parents' perspective on this program.

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