



The Deradicalization of Islamic Boarding School in Indonesia: Study About the Prevention of Radicalism and Terrorism Movement in Indonesia

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Abstract. This research is about the deradicalization issue at Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. The object of research is the deradicalization process in Islamic boarding schools. By using a political sociology approach, the research tries to capture the religious radicalism phenomena which are not fully the religious ideology indication but it is also social political tendency. This research is guided by social theories such as radical theory and deradicalization theory. The research method used is qualitative. Collecting data using interviews, observations, documentation and focused discussions (Focus Group Discussion). Data analysis was carried out by means of content analysis, discourse analysis and narrative analysis. Finding of the research is the radicalism action is begun from unsatisfying radical groups toward government, both in terms of economy, law, and politics. The increase of radical groups is influenced by religious doctrine taught by educational institutions affiliated with radical groups in other places. Deradicalisation is done through educational institutions and the roles of religious and state leaders. The roles of priest, curriculum and local community also have big roles in the deradicalization effort of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia.

Keyword: Radicalism, Islamic Boarding School and Deradicalization

Abstrak. Penelitian ini membahas tentang isu deradikalisasi di pondok pesantren di Indonesia. Objek penelitian adalah proses deradikalisasi di pondok pesantren. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan sosiologi politik, penelitian ini mencoba menangkap fenomena radikalisme agama yang tidak sepenuhnya merupakan indikasi ideologi keagamaan tetapi juga merupakan kecenderungan sosial politik. Penelitian ini berpedoman pada teori-teori sosial seperti teori radikal dan teori deradikalisasi. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif. Pengumpulan data menggunakan wawancara, observasi, dokumentasi dan diskusi terfokus (Focus group Discussion). Analisis data dilakukan dengan cara analisis konten, analisis wacana dan analisis naratif. Temuan penelitian ini adalah aksi radikalisme berawal dari ketidakpuasan kelompok radikal terhadap pemerintah, baik dari segi ekonomi, hukum, maupun politik. Meningkatnya kelompok radikal dipengaruhi oleh doktrin agama yang diajarkan oleh lembaga pendidikan yang berafiliasi dengan kelompok radikal di tempat lain. Deradikalisasi dilakukan melalui lembaga pendidikan

dan peran pemimpin agama dan negara. Peran imam, kurikulum dan masyarakat lokal juga memiliki peran besar dalam upaya deradikalisasi pesantren di Indonesia.

Kata kunci: Radikalisme, Pondok Pesantren dan Deradikalisasi.

INTRODUCTION

Talking about religion will never end. The face of religion, which aims to guide its people towards God with love and compassion, seems to have turned into something frightening and threatening the existence of mankind. The face of religion, especially Islam, is always illustrated as a religion of violence and terror. Today's religion is no longer friendly to its adherents, this happens because of a textual and erroneous understanding of religion. In addition, religion is used as a political tool for power by a handful of people to achieve group and group goals.

We have encountered many acts of violence in the name of religion in Indonesia, for example, the bombing in Kuta Bali by Amrozi cs, JW hotel. Mariot, the bombing of a house of worship (church) to the bombing of the Mobile Brigade Command Headquarters in Jakarta is an old network and there is a new network of acts of terrorism and violence in the name of religion. The actions carried out by the terrorist group incidentally came from Islamic boarding schools. Like the Ngruki Islamic boarding school commanded by Abu Bakar Bashir, it was alleged that it was a radical Islamic boarding school that led to acts of terrorism. Islamic boarding schools that teach about religious knowledge and capital for their students to understand religion seem to be inversely proportional to the actions taken by graduates of these Islamic boarding schools.

Islamic boarding school radicalism phenomenon is something strange and recent. Islamic boarding school as a religious institution is not truly founded to deliver radicalism. Islamic boarding school duty is to deliver the cadre of scholars who have broad knowledge (*tafaqquh fi al-din*) (Wahid, 1999). Therefore, Islamic boarding school teaches all of the things related to religion; *tauhid*, *syariat* and *akhlak* (Zayyadi, 2018), (Isnanto, 2018), (Djafar & Ismed, 2021).

In the beginning, the authentic form of Islamic boarding school shows tolerance and peace performance. In the remote areas of Java, Sumatera, and Kalimantan villages, there were many performances of Islamic boarding schools which were successful in discussing the local community culture. Islamic boarding schools in Java, especially Islamic boarding schools that are

Syafi'i, manifest the balance of accommodation with the local culture as a result, the Islamic boarding school has good assimilation with the local community (Yuliyanto, 2021).

The success of Islamic boarding schools becomes the diversity model which is tolerance for all Muslims. Then, it is not surprising that the character of Islam in Indonesia has assumed a friendly and peaceful Muslim. Therefore, the radicalization process rarely seldom or happens in students' circles in the name of religion in the form of violent action.

However, along with the raising of various Islamic boarding school types in Indonesia, from *Salaf* or traditional Islamic boarding schools (teaching only Islamic knowledge, especially Classic Islam) to *Khalaf* or modern Islamic boarding school, teaching both Islamic knowledge and science, the image of Islamic boarding school is slowly changing.

Islamic boarding schools not only become the agent of social changes with their ability to adapt to social tradition but doing the amazing purification. In some cases, such as in Lamongan and Nguruki, the process of doctrinal radicalization. The concept of Jihad for the fighting of religion become a doctrine in *Salaf* Islamic boarding schools, such as Ngruki Islamic boarding house in Solo and Al-Islam Islamic boarding school in Lamongan. It becomes the beginning step in enriching the radicalization phenomenon in Islamic boarding schools (Fanani, 2002). Therefore, radicalization in Indonesia is always related to religious education to outsiders.

Beginning with this issue, the researcher turns down the discussion: what are Islamic boarding school roles in doing radicalization in preventing radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia? And to what extent deradicalization was able to prevent and break Islamic radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia?

This research was conducted in three provinces, namely West Sumatra, North Sumatra, and Riau. This research uses field research with a qualitative approach. According to Abdussamad, this research is research that can produce descriptive data in the form of words in written and oral form which are sourced from interviews and observations of the behavior of the people being studied (Fanani, 2002).

Sources of data in this research consist of literature studies or documentation studies, including sources or reference books in member cadre formation as well as documents about the direction or interests of the social movement itself. Furthermore, the data sources were from informants consisting of Islamic boarding school groups: Islamic boarding school

caretakers, teachers/ustad or ustadzah, students, religious leaders, and community leaders.

In this study, data were collected by involved observation (participant observation) and non-participant observation or non-participant observation. Observations are involved in activities carried out by Islamic boarding schools in giving lessons to students. Besides observation, data collection was carried out by in-depth interviews by asking questions according to predetermined objectives.

Document or literature studies include data collection, document programs, visions, missions, and both short-term, medium-term, and long-term programs are usually implied. Furthermore, the data obtained from informants consisting of various levels were matched with data from other informants, including matches with the results of document studies or literature studies, so that data could be extracted accurately, in detail, and detail. After the data is collected, the researcher tries to analyze the data by reducing the data, displaying the data, analyzing and processing the data, making conclusions, and verifying the data.

Research on Islamic boarding schools and radicalism has been carried out by many previous researchers, such as research conducted by Abdul Malik (2016) entitled Islamic boarding schools' educational culture and Radicalism. In this study, Abdul Malik discusses the educational culture that exists in Islamic boarding schools (Abdul Malik, 2016). This study discusses how the educational culture in Islamic boarding schools causes radicalism. This research has similarities with the research that the author conducted, but the author is more focused on efforts to radicalize Islamic boarding schools in preventing terrorism, while Abdul Malik is more focused on the culture of Islamic boarding schools.

Concluded that Islamic education faces a problem (A. K. Ahmed, 2011). Islamic education is too narrow and encourages the growth of religious chauvinism. One form of religious education in Indonesia that has received the spotlight after the occurrence of several radical actions in the name of religion is Islamic boarding schools. There seems to be a connection between the culture of religious education in Islamic boarding schools and radicalism. The phenomenon of pesantren radicalism is something strange and only recently happened. This research has many similarities with research, especially on the research variable, namely the relationship between Islamic boarding school education and radicalism that has appeared recently,

although the conclusions from Ahmed's writing are different from this research.

Based on the study of the relevant research results, it is necessary to carry out further research as a study of the deradicalization of Islamic boarding schools in preventing terrorism. This is a manifestation of the transformation of thoughts, perspectives, and needs that are owned by the community towards the pattern of Islamic boarding schools in various models. As happened to some Indonesian people in establishing very diverse Islamic boarding schools. This paper tries to unravel the efforts of Islamic boarding schools in carrying out deradicalization in counteracting radicalism and terrorism in Sumatra.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Islamic Boarding School and Problems

Pesantren (Islamic Boarding school) is derived from the word *Pe-santri-an*. *Santri* or students derived from the word *shastra*, saint and learn the religion deeply because they learn the literary book *shastra*, religion book, the attitude book, and book which contains the knowledge. Another opinion said that the word *santri* means saint and means helpful. Meanwhile, the word which is commonly used means always following the teacher (Fanani, 2002). Sometimes, Islamic boarding school or *pesantren* is assumed as the combination of the word *santri* (saint) with the word (helpful) as result the word *pesantren* means the education place for the saint (Fanani, 2002).

Islamic boarding school is also known by the additional term boarding school which means room, hut, and a small house in Indonesia by emphasizing the simplicity of building or boarding school is also derived from the Arabic word *Fundūq* which means bedroom, public building, simple hotel, or contain meaning the place to live which is made from bamboo (Zarkasyi, 2005). Meanwhile, the traditional Islamic boarding school is one kind of Islamic boarding school that maintains the teaching of classic Islamic books as the core of education. Islamic boarding school is an educational institution to learn, understand, get a deep understanding, comprehend, and do the Islamic doctrine by emphasizing the importance of religious attitude as daily guidance.

From all of the definitions above, it can be understood that an Islamic boarding school is a traditional Islamic educational institution studying

religious knowledge (*tafaqquh fi al-din*) by emphasizing the formation of students' attitude under the guidance of priest and *kitab kuning* or yellow book as primer source and masque as the center of activities.

Deradecalize of Islamic Boarding School Education

The radicalism of Islam which is the background of terrorism movement is a problem faced by Southeast Asia Countries, especially Indonesia. As explained by the researcher in the previous chapter, radicalism is not caused by a single factor that stands alone. The factor of social, economy, environment, education, and politics influences Islam radicalism. However, Islam radicalism is often moved by narrow religious understanding, pressure feeling, hegemony, psychosocial insecurity, and local and global injustice. Moslem community is in a war condition facing the power of secular modern society.

This movement is also seen as a direct reaction to the development of countries and nowadays complex problems. The followers of this movement migrated to the city or societies with low social status. This movement got many followers in Islam young generation circles grew under nationalist-secular government.

One of the factors that makes the understanding and radicalism action grow in Indonesia is education. Akbar S. Ahmed concluded that Islamic education faces a problem. Islamic education is too narrow and is pushing the growth of religious chauvinism (A. S. Ahmed, 2004). One of religious education in Indonesia getting the intense attention after radical action happened in the name of religion is Islamic boarding schools.

Since the revealing of Bali bombers involving the graduates of Al-Islam Islamic Boarding School in Lamongan, radicalism is often related to the religious education at Islamic boarding schools. It seems that there is a strong relationship between the religious education in Islamic boarding schools and radicalism. Islamic boarding school radicalism fenomena is something strange and recently happened today. Actually, Islamic boarding school as a religious institution does not establish radicalism. The task of Islamic boarding schools is to deliver the priest cadre with broad knowledge (*tafaqquh fi al-din*) (Wahid, 1999). So, Islamic boarding school teaches all of the things related to religion from *tauhid*, *syariat*, till *akhlak*.

Even in the beginning, the authentic characteristic of Islamic boarding school shows the tolerance and peace performance. In the remote areas of

Java, Sumatera, and Kalimantan villages, the Islamic boarding school performs a successful dialogue with the culture of the local community. Islamic boarding schools in Java, especially Syafi'i believers, show balanced accommodation with local culture so that Islamic boarding schools have good assimilation with the local community. The success of this kind of Islamic boarding school became the diversity model which is tolerance for Muslims in general. It is not surprising that the character of Islam in Indonesia is often assumed to be friendly and peaceful to Muslims. Because of it, the radicalization process almost never happens in students' circles in the name of religious doctrine in the form of violence action.

However, along with various types of Islamic boarding school in Indonesia, from *Salaf* or traditional Islamic boarding school (teaching only religious knowledge, especially classical Islam) to *kehalaf* or modern Islamic boarding school, teaching the general lesson, the face of Islamic boarding school is slowly changing.

Islamic boarding school has not only become a social change agent with its ability to adapt with local culture, however, doing the amazing purification. Even in some cases, such as in Lamongan and Ngruki, Islamic boarding school also produces doctrinal radicalism in Islamic boarding school circles (Fanani, 2002). Because of it, radicalism in Indonesia is always related to the religious education pattern in Islamic boarding schools, exclusive and dogmatic religious teaching that grows hostility with outsiders. The term Zionist-gentile is changed to become the religious realization against any form. In addition, the ideology of jihad understood as war against Zionist-gentile add the sequence of radical action. As a result, any violence action done to break the Zionist-gentile that they are called as the enemy of Islam, is a glorious religious action (*syahid*) (Ali, 2007).

Radical action happens in Islam is mostly caused by Muslims interpretation to the holy book and prophet action which is textual, *scriptural*, and rigid. Al-qur'an and sunnah cannot be understood contextually involving the historical text and contextual dimension. The verses which tend to direct to violence action, such as gentile/*kufur*, *syirik*, and jihad, are often understood as is, without paying attention to sociology and historical context (Cross, 2019). What is unstated behind textual appearances almost ignored, if it is not the meaning is forgotten. In extreme examples, this kind of tendency disturbs Muslims to understand clearly the messages of Al-Qur'an as good

instruments to give guidance on moral values and correct attitude for human life (Effendy, 2001).

According to William Liddle opinion, *scriptualists* view that they are directly involved in intellectual activities trying to adapt the Muhammad message and the meaning of Islam in nowadays social conditions. According to them, messages and meaning are clearly stated in Al-Qur'an and Hadist and it only needs to be done in life (Woodward, 1999). Jargon goes back to Alquran and Sunnah is meant to go back to the root of beginning Islam and puritan prophet practices in finding the authenticity. If Muslims do not go back to their former ways, they will not have welfare.

Going back to Al-Qur'an and sunnah is understood as scripture and totalistic (Hunter, 2001), this is their belief about fighting for Islam by *kaffah*, desire to go back to the past of Islam altogether without paying attention to the social-cultural change that has already passed by Muslims societies. This view shows their literal attitude in understanding the religious text so that it should be the same as Muhammad behavior.

This such kind of interpretation grow the religious attitude which is fierce and harsh, and it grow the violence action, radical, even terror. Explicitly, the rigid Islam interpretation, *scriptural*, *already* gives roles to the growing of violence action in anywhere. In addition, *scriptualists* tend to be joyful and intimate with sword verses (*jihad*), gentile (*tafil*) and polytheists (*tasyrik*).

They like to choose verses having harsh meanings rather than peace verses. Al-Qur'an as the most authoritative source in Islam depends on the Moslems understanding in giving the meaning. Because of it, Islam civilization by Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd is called textual civilization (*badarat al-nash*) (Zayd, 1993).

Effect of Al-Qur'an on the text, the authority to give the meaning of the text depends on the interpreter. The roles of interpreters are very important in delivering the meaning contained in religious doctrine. It is possible with text that already exists, interpreters deliver the meaning based on what the text is. Meanwhile, Islam is not only understood as text (*nash*), but also understood as history which is not ignoring the place and local culture (Yasin, 1990). It means interpretation of text (Al-Qur'an *Nash*) very influencing someone's radical thought in doing religion (Islam).

Scriptural -textual understanding is easily formed by apologetic and exclusive social attitude. In religious social life, if someone or group already

believes in the understanding of the holy book literally-scripturally, there will be no more compromise, negotiation, and consensus. The origin of violence action emerged with religious motifs with literal-scriptural characteristics and its derivation, that is social attitude which is exclusive and apologetic (Adams, 1976).

Religious understanding which is literal, scriptural, and rigid is comprehended by students in Islamic boarding school educational units. Ironically, the educational approach model used is doctrinal-literal-formal, as result the attention to historicity aspects from the existence of human living which is always changed is forgotten. Formally, the thought is consistent on formal-doctrinal formulas on what the religion is, without paying attention and considering the socio-historical conditions that existed on a practical level. Religious education model with literal characteristics does not fully care about historical aspects related to the aspect of sociology, politics, psychology, and economy

Islamic boarding school of Ex – terrorists

One of ways to radicalized in order to broke the radicalism and terrorism action is founding the Islamic boarding school special for ex – terrorist children, such like what Khairul Gazali done, one of ex – terrorist and nowadays he become founder and guide Islamic boarding school of ex – terrorist in Deli Serdang, North Sumatera.

Founded in 2015 by one of ex – terrorists named Khairul Gazali alias Abu Ahmad Yasin who had been sentenced for 6 years jail because of robbery in CIMB bank in August 2010. This Islamic boarding school is one of Gazali's strong desires to break radical understanding.

He wants to guide the children of ex – terrorists who often become victims because of parents' abominable deeds. As a result, vengeance is due to misunderstanding of religious doctrine and the threat of the community expelling them, a psychological problem of every child knowing their parents are terrorists.

“There are many ex – terrorist children who do not go to school or stop to continue their school, even become labor children and it is sure that it is dangerous because they can follow their wrong parents step,” Ghazali says. Ghazali said, the obstacles that are faced at the beginning step in starting this Islamic boarding school comes from the local community. Many of them suspicious with the establishment of Islamic boarding school

accommodating the children of ex – terrorist“ when starting all of this, in the first year we are supported by the security figures and state government by BNPT (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Teroris*) or terrorist prevention national institutions that is interested with our ideas, as result they help us to build class and masque,” he explained.

Islamic boarding school founded by Khairul Gazali named Al-Hidayah Islamic boarding school. In this Al-Hidayah Islamic boarding school, dozens of terrorist children is prevented from wrong concept of Jihad understanding and forgetting the revenge which is placed on their self because their parents must be jailed and killed (Gazali, interview, August 2019).

In Al- Hidayah Islamic Boarding School, Deli Serdang, Classrooms for students,13-14 years old, are located in the center of green park. Al-Hidayah is especially educating for terrorist children. Doing deradicalization and preventing children from wrong religious understanding. All of them started when the head of Islamic boarding school, Khairul Gazali, was still on Jail. Behind Medan jail, a place to spend his punishment for 6 years, prisoner especially for bank robbery and attack on Police of Hamparan Perak sector, Deli Serdang, realizes his mistake that what he had done is wrong.

His jihad action had an effect on many victims. Especially for people who do not know at all. “the idea emerged at the beginning time in the jail,” he said (Gazali, interview, 3 August 2019). Inspiration comes when he knows many terrorist boys stop going to school because there is no fund to continue the school. Many of them become bullying victims.

At the same time, Terorism Prevention National Institution or BNPT do radicalized program. Gazali desire to establish the Islamic boarding school is stronger than before, “if it is ignored, it will be dangerous. Because they will descent their parents wrong spirit,” he explained.

At that time, he saw the state ignoring ex – terrorist children. Without funds, many of them finally stop going to school, although they do not know what their parents already did. The commitments were finally done when he was free with some requirements in 2015. In his village, Sei Mancirin village, Kutalimbaru District, Deli Serdang, Gazali established an Islamic boarding school that at the beginning was named Darusy Syifa' Islamic boarding school.

This Islamic boarding school only has two classrooms with 25 students who are ex – terrorist children. “6 children more from local society children, it aims to assimilate with others so that they are not stigmatized and

discriminated against in education so that they can acculturate with other children " he said (Gazali, interview, 4 August 2019). The first building is a small masque with 5x5 meters made from *mind*i wood. Small masque without a wall still stands until now. ``because of the limitation of funds, we built it without a wall. But the most important thing is it can be used as a place to pray and other religious activities,” gazali said.

In 2016, Gazali started to build dormitories with 5x7 meters. Dormitory is built with the plaited bamboo as wall and sago palm as roof Thatch palm leaves. Dormitory is built by using his own money from the royalty of writing three books with a contra radicalism theme. Then, Gazali brings the ex – terrorist child to stay at a small dormitory. There are 10 students who come from many areas in North Sumatra. But, more than half come from outside Medan city.

In 2017, building a new dormitory is done, because of the increasing number of students who want to learn at Islamic boarding school established by Gazali. However, building development and the number of students raise suspicion and rejection from societies. The form of society rejection is destruction of Islamic boarding school planks done by people who aren't responsible. People doubt that Islamic boarding schools will be terrorist centers. Gazali reports what happened to the security side. Finally, police give advice to the societies that this Islamic boarding school runs a deradicalization program.

The order to not ask sensitive things is to often talk to me before interviewing an ex – terrorist child in the classroom. “Please do not ask about their parents. Moreover, do not ask about how their father died,”. He always gives warning to do so because it is not suitable with a deradicalized spirit, also based on unpleasant experience (Gazali, interview, 5 August 2019).

One time, a journalist came to Islamic boarding school with a group of functionaries. Journalist met one of the students and directly asked about the name of their parents and what their parents already did when they became terrorists. And one of the sad things is when journalists ask about how his parents died.

The students do not react except silently. But he was full of spirit. Sadness and revenge is mixed when the past of his parents is asked. After that, Gazali always warns the guests to not ask about the past of the student's parents. “because what we did here is to get revenge and hatred lost from students' hearts,” he explains. Islamic boarding schools always give basic

knowledge that it will be student modal so that they are able to adapt with the community. Learn and continuously learn. Remembering vocabularies, Arabic vocabularies, becomes compulsory. “every day remembering 3 Arabic vocabularies,” he said

Besides Arabic, the other knowledge is also important. All of this knowledge will be useful when I graduate from Islamic boarding school. After explaining Islamic boarding school, I ask what they want to be. With full of spirit they say, “want to be soldiers,” said one of them. Moreover some of them want to be police, teachers, and entrepreneurs. At the question section, one of the students raised his hand. I approached him. “What is the law for killing?” he flatly asked. I answer, with full consideration, that killing is banned by state and religion. In Islam, killing is only allowed at war.

The prophet of Muhammad gives strict rules when war. That is, killing women, children and the elderly is forbidden. Moreover, it is not allowed to break into a place to pray, and cutting the tree is also forbidden.

“What about killing gentiles?” Ask one of the students.

I explain that, while they do not fight against us, killing nonMuslim is forbidden. Moreover, Indonesia is not only inhabited by Muslims. But also people with other religions. Living with peace, contiguous, respecting one another and helping each other is a necessity. “in Islam, the term *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, brotherhood among Muslims; *Ukhuwah Wathaniyah*, brotherhood among citizens; and *Ukhuwah Basyirah*, brotherhood among humanity is recognized,” I explained.

Besides the government curriculum, he has Islamic boarding school curriculum teaching Islamic material. On every material, he adds the material about *Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin* or Islam as mercy for all of the world. Learning and education process in this Islamic boarding school is the same as the education system in the other schools that are based on the Education department and Ministry of Religious (*kemenag*) curriculum. However, there are additional lessons; deradicalization and Trauma Healing Center. According to Gazali, both lessons are aimed to erase ex – terrorist children's memories of violence after their parents are attacked.

The Optimizing Priest Roles

Other Islamic boarding school deradicalization strategies are optimality the priest roles or Islamic boarding school guidance in educating the students with the understanding of religious and Islamic doctrine that *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. Priests have authority in the founding and formation of good and

right students, and priests have big roles in socializing the negative side of radicalism understanding (Brown, 2019). The optimization of priest roles in building students' character can become a role model in applying Islam tolerance values and synchronization of Islamic doctrine with local wisdom, humanist teaching for many people.

Boarding school is a place and vehicle to filter and train ourselves to honor and respect each other because of the diverse student community. By using classic books, it should be able to formulate Islamic education curriculum which includes tolerance values (*tasamuh*), moderate (*tawasuth*) and *tawazun* (balance). As the oldest educational institutions in Indonesia, basically Islamic boarding schools are expected to be active on doing *tafaqquh fi'l-din*, and doing religious deradicalization (Islam). Religious deradicalization means effort to grow friendly and peaceful religious understanding from a diversity perspective so that every person is willing to accept the normal difference with honesty and straightforwardness (Geovanie, 2015).

Recently, some Islam *jam'iyah* (organization) often act radical, and tend to do intolerance practices in the name of Islam. Islamic deradicalization in Islamic boarding schools is massively done by using a cultural approach. Cultural approach means daily cultural practice in Islamic boarding school that is already done, what is done now, what will always keep over last. Islamic boarding school cultural practice which was made as religious deradicalization media in Islamic boarding school consisted of 4 cultures, including: 1) scientific culture 2) religious culture 3) social culture and 4) political culture (Mukodi, 2014).

Islamic deradicalization practice is implemented at Islamic boarding schools through 5 cultures which relate one and other. The explanation of each cultural practice in Islamic boarding school is explained as follow: First, Islamic boarding school scientific culture. Scientific culture in each Islamic boarding school is basically different, depending on the priest's skill (knowledge) itself. If a priest is an expert on *Fiqh*, *Tauhid*, and *Tasawuf* so Islamic boarding school is centered on that knowledge. On the contrary, if the priest is an expert on *Nahwu*, *Saraf* and Al-Qur'an, so Islamic boarding schools will be developed according to his expertise.

Practically, scientific culture significantly correlates to priest expertise knowledge. Scientific culture in Islamic boarding schools is done through yellow books and *bahṭhal-masā'il*. Yellow book tradition becomes one of ways to find the truth of god. In other words, a vehicle to do dialogue among

qawliyyah verses (Al-Qur'an message) with *kauniyyah* verses (universe marks). It is not only technical teaching such as reading book or remembering the content contained on it. Yellow book tradition is often called a great book or great tradition. It is because it is written by an expert priest (competent) and closely understood with *tabi'in-tabi'in* (Islam khalifah generation). Moreover, some of them lived in the same era with Muhammad friends.

In addition, scientific culture is always placed on *bah'thal- masā'il* culture. In this zone, discussion of *mu'tabarab* books (famous books) have become a universal truth seeking contest on some of society's life problems. *bah'thal- masā'il* tradition is also based on Islam law source (Al-Qur'an, Hadits, *Ijma'*, and *Qiyās*). Various life problems is risen and founded the solution, included terrorism and religious radicalism.

Second, religious culture. Religious culture in Islamic boarding schools is built through living together, including stimulant *ubudiyah* practice (servant or prayer), and *'amaliyah* practice (religious work). Religious culture practice in Islamic boarding schools is done through education, teaching, and *uswatun hasanah* practiced by management, teacher, and priest. The celebration of Muhammad birthday on every *rabiul awal*, is the celebration of *Isra' Mi'raj* of Muhammad. At *Rajab*, the celebration of Islamic new year on every *Muharram* and the celebration of Islamic boarding school anniversary are some of the religious customs which are scheduled every year.

Third, social culture. Islamic boarding school five souls is basically the souls of social-culturalism in *Hidayah* Islamic boarding school, Pekanbaru, including the souls of willingness, simplicity, independence, *Ukhuwah islāmiyyah*, and freedom. Through socio-cultural, Islam deradicalization is growth through the daily of Islamic boarding school residents. The picture of social cultural can be seen on family tradition practice and helping among student which can be seen in the following paragraph:

More than half students in Traditional Islamic boarding school (*Salafiyah*) usually cook independently in order to fulfill their daily food and drink. Cooking together is closely tradition with students' lives. There are times when cooking is done in turn and incidentally. It is generally done at the end of learning time both in the morning, afternoon, or night.

They cook and prepare food in group. Fourth, political culture. Recently, there are many *salafi* Islamic boarding schools or *Khalafiyah* Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia that are affiliated with certain organizations

and parties, as a result Islamic boarding schools have political interest. However, It is not followed by Islamic boarding schools. Moreover, since it was found (1828 M) until now, there is no interest.

It always teaches independent political culture, not taking sides in political parties, social organizations, or other social organizations. Independent tradition that protected, non-block finally placing Islamic boarding school as big house of Muslims. Practically, All of Islam society can accept the existence of Islamic boarding schools. Thus, the fourth cultural form including; scientific culture, religious culture, social culture, and political culture is truly effective in conducting Islam deradicalization in Islamic boarding schools. What has been done by the big family of Islamic boarding schools in conducting Islam deradicalization is directly the same with ideas that were offered by Peter L. Berger.

According to Peter L. Berger, there are two things that can be done in order to prevent religious violence: religious revolution and religious subcultures (Berger, 1991). The first advice related to how religious elite figures are able to grow the realization about the importance of the modern religion model. Modern religion is marked with its characteristics that respect plurality. Humans do not live in areas where there is no diversity and no culture. Humans do not live in homogeneous places and entities, but humans live in heterogeneous places and entities. Then, religion becomes the mode of communication, religion becomes a communication model that is not only vertical to God, but also as a horizontal communication model.

Meanwhile, religion subcultures like subcultures which proposed by Abdurrahman Wahid filtering the influence from the outside. According to Nur Syam, politic and economy factor is two important variable which often intervene the diversity life. As effect, many things is becoming complex, because political factor. Whereas, religion is truly about morality issue, interest to political area and floan economy. The implications are different in political or religious problems. Both of them, actually, are already consistently practiced by the big family of Islamic boarding schools. Religious revolution is practiced through non-block politic culture by priests. On the same side, religious subcultures are practiced through scientific culture, religious culture, and social culture in boarding school residents daily.

CONCLUSION

Islamic boarding schools have a strategic role in counteracting radicalism and terrorism. One of the deradicalization efforts carried out by Islamic boarding schools at the research location that the researchers carried out was by optimizing the role of the kiyai in providing an understanding of Islam that is rahmatan lil alamin to students and providing a religious understanding that is kaffah and not textual. Then building special Islamic boarding schools for children of ex-terrorists, and taking a political, cultural, and social approach. So far, the efforts

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