

## FROM JIHADISTS TO PEACE WARRIORS

### Mentoring Poso Islamic Jihadists Using the Heart, Hand, and Head Approach

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**Abstract.** This article results from the author's qualitative research on the Poso terrorist prisoner community for six months in prison and one year outside of prison with Heart, Hand and Head approach. The objectives are: First, to change the mindset of the Poso jihadist community from terrorists to peace warriors. Second, to formulate the concept of terrorist mentoring with the Heart, Hand, and Head approach. The main questions of this research were focused on: 1). How were profile and pattern of mentoring with the Heart, Hand, and Head approach for the ex-jihadist Poso?, and 2). What activities did the former Poso jihadists do as Peace Warriors?. To answer this problem, the methods used: 1). Phenomenological Descriptive, 2). Bloom's Taxonomy and Social Pedagogic Learning Method; and 3). Mentoring Guide from the Center for Health Leadership & Practice Public Health Institute Oakland. Data collection techniques employed were observation, in-depth interview, and documentation. The results show that 1). The profile of the ex-Poso jihadists is the executor of the Tentena bombing, the mutilation of five Christian high school students, and the shooting coordinator of Pastor Susianti. Then, the pattern of mentoring is divided into two parts: in prison, due to time constraints, it emphasizes the aspects of building trust and winning sympathy (Heart). Outside of prison, the three approaches of Heart, Hand, and Head are carried out holistic and integrative. 2). Former Poso jihadists carry out three activities as peace warriors: First, becoming a speaker for counter-terrorism activities. Second, to be part of the deradicalization process of the East Indonesian Mujahidin group. Third, attracting ten former Poso terrorists to join the peace warriors.

**Keywords:** Terrorist, Jihadist, Peace Warriors, Mentoring, and Heart, Hand, and Head Approach

**Abstrak.** Artikel ini adalah hasil penelitian kualitatif penulis pada kelompok narapidana teroris Poso di penjara selama enam bulan dan satu tahun di luar penjara dengan menggunakan pendekatan Heart, Hand dan Head. Tujuannya adalah: Pertama, untuk merubah mindset kelompok jihadis Poso dari teroris menjadi pejuang perdamaian.

Kedua, untuk memformulasikan konsep pendampingan teroris dengan menggunakan pendekatan Heart, Hand dan Head. Masalah utama penelitian ini adalah: 1). Bagaimana profil dan pola pendampingan mantan jihadis Poso dengan pendekatan Heart, Hand dan Head?, dan 2).Aktivitas apa saja yang dilakukan eks kelompok jihadis Poso sebagai pejuang perdamaian?. . Untuk menjawab masalah ini, metode yang digunakan: 1). Phenomenological Descriptive, 2). Bloom's Taxonomy and Social Pedagogic Learning Method; and 3). Mentoring Guide from the Center for Health Leadership & Practice Public Health Institute Oakland. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi, wawancara mendalam dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa: 1). Profil eks jihadis Poso adalah: eksekutor bom tentena, mutilator lima siswi SMA Kristen Poso, Koordinator Penembakan pendeta Susianti. Adapun pola pendampingan dibagi menjadi dua bagian: di Penjara, karena terbatasnya waktu, penekanannya lebih ke aspek membangun kepercayaan dan memenangkan simpati (Heart), sedang di luar penjara, pendekatan Heart, Hand, dan Head dikerjakan secara integrative dan holistic. 2). Ada tiga aktivitas yang dilakukan oleh eks jihadis Poso sebagai pejuang perdamaian: Pertama, menjadi narasumber pada kegiatan counter terrorism. Kedua, menjadi bagian dari proses deradikalisasi kelompok mujahidin Indonesia Timur. Ketiga, mengajak atau menarik sepuluh eks jihadis Poso untuk bergabung dan menjadi pejuang perdamaian.

**Kata Kunci:** Teroris, Jihadis, Pejuang Perdamaian, Pendampingan, dan Pendekatan Heart, Hand, dan Head

## Introduction

Indonesia is one of the countries in Southeast Asia where ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and other extremist groups have little influence compared to countries in the West, Europe, and the Middle East.<sup>1</sup> However, the number of terrorists from the ISIS and Al-Qaeda groups currently imprisoned in Indonesia has the potential to threaten the country's security and stability.<sup>2</sup> From 2006 to 2013, the Indonesian government, for example, tried and convicted 322 terrorists throughout

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<sup>1</sup> Indonesia is ranked 37 and is one of the countries that are considered low or average in terms of the impact of terrorism. Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Terrorism Index Measuring the Impact of Terrorism," 2020, p.8, <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/GTI-2020-Briefing.pdf>, accessed 9 Des 2020.

<sup>2</sup> See The International Crisis Group, "How Indonesian Extremists Regroup" (16 Jul 2012), <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/how-indonesian-extremists-regroup>, accessed 10 Des 2019.

Indonesia.<sup>3</sup> Although this number, on the one hand, has contributed to the reduction of terrorism acts in Indonesia, on the other hand, it has a hidden threat, especially when viewed from the quality of guidance and assistance in prisons in Indonesia for those convicted of terrorists.<sup>4</sup>

Two pieces of evidence in the field show the potential threat in question: First, many of them are greeted when they leave the prison by their old networks that provide social and financial support. The incident experienced by Iqbal Khusaeni alias Rambo, for example, a former terrorist convict arrested in Cipayung, East Jakarta, on 21 August, 2013, turned out to be involved again in a number of the cases such as supplying weapons or throwing Molotov cocktails in front of the Oikumene Church, Samarinda, East Kalimantan. The perpetrator of the church bombing was Juhanda (32 years), who previously served in prison for an explosion attempt in Serpong in 2011. In Central Sulawesi, the former Poso terrorist prisoner arrested in Tojo Una-Una Regency is suspected of fundraising through robbery (*fa'i*) such as committing motorbike theft to fund activities in carrying out their acts of terror.<sup>5</sup> Second, when the countries become better at detecting, investigating, and prosecuting suspects of terrorism, including returning foreign terrorist fighters, prison services worldwide, including Indonesia, face an increasing number of terrorists in their institutions. Prisons are generally not yet a 'final school for terrorists' where violent extremist radicalization spreads like wildfire.<sup>6</sup>

What happened in Indonesia may be similar to that in America. European countries may have produced more ISIS, al-Qaeda, and other extremist group followers than the United States. However, the significant numbers of terrorists

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<sup>3</sup> Mohd Adhe Bhakti, "Daftar Nama Pelaku Tindak Pidana Terorisme Dan Kasusnya (2006-2013)," [https://www.academia.edu/36014221/DAFTAR\\_NAMA\\_PELAKU\\_TINDAK\\_PIDANA\\_TERORISME\\_DAN\\_KASUSNYA\\_2006\\_2013\\_pdf](https://www.academia.edu/36014221/DAFTAR_NAMA_PELAKU_TINDAK_PIDANA_TERORISME_DAN_KASUSNYA_2006_2013_pdf), accessed 9 August 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Iip Kamaludin, "Efektivitas Pembinaan Narapidana Terorisme Dalam Upaya Deradikalisasi Di Lembaga Masyarakat," *Al-Adl: Jurnal Hukum* 12, no. 2 (2020), pp. 303-33.

<sup>5</sup> Lukman S. Thahir, *Hasil Penelitian Dan Pendampingan Mantan Narapidana Teroris Poso* (Jakarta: Harakatuna, 2019).

<sup>6</sup> Vision of Humanity, "Global Terrorism Index: Managing, Rehabilitating & Reintegrating Terrorism Offenders," <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/managing-rehabilitating-reintegrating-terrorism-offenders/>, 9 August 2019.

currently incarcerated in America potentially raise the frightening issue of public safety <sup>7</sup>. Since 2001, for example, America has prosecuted more than 400 jihadist terrorists. However, only a few will spend the rest of their lives in prison, while most are free. In the next five years alone, 61 convicts of terrorism - nearly a quarter of those currently incarcerated, with an average age of 27 - will complete their sentences and re-enter society. Given the high recidivism rate, it is difficult to predict their future behavior accurately. Nevertheless, it raises potentially deadly counter-terrorism challenges, and the country may not be prepared to tackle them.<sup>8</sup>

Like America, many countries are concerned imprisonment of terrorist problems. On the other hand, governments are confused about the consequences or dangers posed after the terrorists are released from prison and back to society. Based on the reports from Lorenzo Vidimo and Seamus Hughes of the George Washington University Extremism Program, America, Israel, France, Great Britain, and other countries that constantly face the threat of terrorism find that putting terrorists in prison does not solve the problem. In prison, this terrorist network is making matters worse. Both warned that jihadists freed in the United States could pose the same problem and called for a more comprehensive approach to dealing with the risk of jihadists who have left prison.

This paper results from the author's qualitative research during his six months in prison guiding the Poso jihadist group and about one year after being released from prison, using the Heart, Hand, and Head approach. This approach is inspired and elaborated on the Bloom's Taxonomy model, namely three different learning level domains: cognitive (knowledge), psychomotor (skills),

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<sup>7</sup> Nurdin, N. (2016). Radicalism on Worl Wide Web and Propaganda Strategy *Al-Ulum*, 16(2)

<sup>8</sup> Wallace and Fran F. Townsend Mark, Ambassador D., "When the Terrorists Come Home: The Need for Rehabilitating and Reintegrating America's Convicted Jihadist," [https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/CEP\\_Report\\_When\\_Terrorists\\_Come\\_Home\\_120618.pdf](https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/CEP_Report_When_Terrorists_Come_Home_120618.pdf), accessed 10 August 2019.

affective (attitude or self),<sup>9</sup> and social educational learning initiated by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a Swiss educational reformist, which emphasizes that teaching must be a unity of head, heart, and hands; or, in other words, the unity of cognitive, affective and psychomotor learning.<sup>10</sup>

Because those who were educated in this study were not “ordinary students”, in terms of the group of violent extremism, Bloom’s categorization of cognitive, psychomotor, affective, and Pestalozzi’s typology of head, heart and hand, was changed to heart (affective), hand (skill), and head. Because the development of Poso jihadists emphasizes empathy and emotion, this model borrows Max Weber’s concept of *verstehen*,<sup>11</sup> and in this mentoring process as an entry point to gain trust and sympathy from the ex-Poso jihadist group, it is easier to accept than a head that seems to see from both wrong or right dimension, regardless of dialogue. The head is placed in the last level with the assumption that after the researcher gets the complete trust and sympathy of the Poso jihadist group (heart), it then helps and encourages them to develop their skills (hand). The deradicalization process (Head) is very likely to be accepted by the Poso jihadist group. In this way, this method is different from other approaches that seek to achieve “deradicalization” by focusing on “cognitive” changes, as carried out by the Indonesian government, in this case the BNPT, which the Asia Report No. 142 said that it was not able to formulate the concept of deradicalization properly, especially in the context of deradicalization of terrorist convicts.<sup>12</sup>

The aim of this paper is the following: First, to change the mind of prisoners and former Poso jihadists from terrorists to peacemakers. Second, to

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<sup>9</sup> Malissa Mahmud et al., “Theories into Practices: Bloom’s Taxonomy, Comprehensive Learning Theories (CLT) and E-Assessments,” in *Conference: The 2018 International Conference on Educational Assessment and Policy (ICEAP, 2018)*, 2019, pp. 22-27.

<sup>10</sup> Senka Gazibara, “‘Head, Heart and Hands Learning’ - A Challenge for Contemporary Education,” *Journal of Education Culture and Society* 4, no. 1 (January 11, 2020), pp.71-82.

<sup>11</sup> Taufik Abdullah, *Agama, Etos Kerja Dan Perkembangan Ekonomi* (Bandung: LP3ES, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> International Crisis Group, “‘Deradicalisation’ and Indonesian Prisons: Executive Summary and Recommendations,” [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/45470/142\\_deradicalisation\\_and\\_indonesian\\_prisons.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/45470/142_deradicalisation_and_indonesian_prisons.pdf), accessed 25 Sep 2019.

formulate a model for coaching terrorist prisoners and former terrorist convicts using the Heart, Hand, and Head approach. The questions of the research are 1). What is the pattern of training former Poso Jihadists with the Heart, Hand, and Head approach? 2) What activities did the former Poso jihadists do as Peace warriors?

### Research Method

This research uses a qualitative study<sup>13,14</sup> focusing on the development of the Poso, Central Sulawesi, Indonesian jihadist group employing the Heart, Hand, and Head Approach. This approach is inspired by Bloom's Taxonomy model's holistic and integrative framework (Cognitive, Psychomotoric, affective) and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's social pedagogic learning (Head, Heart and Hand). The author then processed the same material and used it as a coaching model, but the composition was changed. Bloom, for example, starts with cognitive ability (head), then skill (hand), and attitude (heart). Although Pestalozzi's concept is initially the same as Bloom with head aspect, the middle is different, namely Heart and Hand. Meanwhile, the mentoring approach starts with a change in attitude (Heart), then skills (Hand), and finally comes cognition (head). For details, see table 1 below:

Table 1: Difference in Approach Composition

Bloom Approach			Pestalozzi Approach			Mentoring Approach		
Cognitive Head	Psychomotor Hand	Affective Heart	Head	Heart	Hand	Heart	Hand	Head

For this mentoring process to be systematic and measurable, two methods are used: First, Phenomenological descriptive,<sup>15</sup> a method that involves direct exploration by blending with objects (intuition) so that they can understand the essence (analysis), then explain the meaning of a particular phenomenon

<sup>13</sup> Shahid Khan, "Qualitative Research Method - Phenomenology," *Asian Social Science* 10, no. 21 (October 30, 2014), pp. 298-310.

<sup>14</sup> Latepo, I., Suharto, S., & Nurdin, N. (2021). Understanding Muslim Preaching Students' Use of Social Media. *International Journal of International Relations, Media and Mass Communication Studies*, 7(1), 52-66.

<sup>15</sup> Helen J. Streubert, *Streubert, Helen J.* (Philadelphia: Wolters Kluwer Health | Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2011), p. 80.

(description), in this case, the ex-Poso terror convicts. Second, the Mentoring Guide method from the Center for Health Leadership & Practice Public Health Institute Oakland. This method is intended to understand the steps and workings of the heart, hand, and head approach, guided by the critical mentoring skills: 1). Listening Actively, 2). Building Trust, 3). Determining Goals and Building Capacity, and 4). Encouraging & Inspiring.<sup>16</sup>

The research was carried out in Poso, Central Sulawesi, for three reasons: First, Poso can be a “colony” of two world international terrorist organizations, al-Qaeda through its JI network and ISIS through the East Indonesian Mujahidin. Although their figures have been killed and imprisoned, their influence is still strong in Poso. Second, even though the Poso communal conflict has ended, the threat of terrorism is still ongoing today, especially coming from the East Indonesian Mujahidin group. Third, Poso is among the areas where the most convicted ex-convicts are in Indonesia. Data collection techniques include observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation<sup>17,18</sup>. The selection of informants was carried out using purposive sampling, which determines sampling by determining specific characteristics that have been previously known<sup>19</sup>. All data obtained were analyzed through the process of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion or verification<sup>20</sup>

## Result and Discussion

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<sup>16</sup> The Center for Health Leadership & Practice, “Mentoring Guide: A Guide for Mentors,” The Center for Health Leadership & Practice, 2003, <https://www.rackham.umich.edu/downloads/more-mentoring-guide-for-mentors.pdf>, accessed 8 July 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Nurdin, N., & Ahsan, M. N. (2016). Strategi Pencegahan Bahaya Konten Radikal Dan Pornografi Di Internet. *Al-Mishbah: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah dan Komunikasi*, 12(2), 155-167.

<sup>18</sup> Pribadi, M., & Nurdin, N. (2021). The Practice of Salawat Nariyah in Rural Javanese Society Indonesia: Religiosity or Sociality? *Review of International Geographical Education Online*, 11(5), 2545-2555.

<sup>19</sup> Ermawati, E., Musyahidah, S., & Nurdin, N. (2021). Muslim Society Perspective on Islamic Banking Corporate Social Responsibility in Indonesia (Based On Qur'an and Hadits Economic Themes). *International Journal of Business and Management Review*, 9(3), 29-40.

<sup>20</sup> Rusli, R., & Nurdin, N. (2021). Understanding Indonesia millennia Ulama online knowledge acquisition and use in daily fatwa making habits. *Education and Information Technologies*. doi:10.1007/s10639-021-10779-7

The research results are classified into two issues: The first is the profiles and patterns of the former Poso jihadists with the Heart, Hand, and Head Approach, and the second is the activities of the former Poso Jihadists as peace warriors.

#### *The Profile and pattern of coaching Poso ex-Jihadists*

The personal profiles of the five former Poso jihadists who were part of this mentoring program are Hasanudin, Amril Ngide, Ardin Djantu, Yudi Parsan, and Fitrah. Their profile is briefly described below, as follows.

##### *A. Hasanuddin*

He was born in Wonogiri on 27 December, 1976, raised in an established tradition of religious education, starting from Ibtidaiyah, Tsanawiyah, and Aliyah, and attended the Islamic College (IAIN) in Semarang. However, he has not finished, because he was recruited by the Jama'ah Islamiyah terrorist group through the Islamic studies circle on his campus and mentored in Mindanao, Philippines. In this country, Hasanudin was a student of the Class of 1998 at the Moro military academy, Philippines, belonging to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) group. After graduating from this academy, in February 2000, he was ordered by his instructor Nasir Abbas to fight on the battlefield with the MILF for two years. In 2002, when he was 25 years old, he returned to Indonesia, brought directly by Nasir Abbas, to go to Poso to take over the leadership of Jama'ah Islamiyah in Tanah Runtuh Poso one of the camps or centers of the struggle for terrorism of Jama'ah Islamiyah in Indonesia. One year later, in March 2003, in this region, he married the daughter of Adnan Arsal. This Poso religious figure was influential during the communal Islam-Christian conflict, namely Aminah Adnan Arsal. He was caught in Palu, with the case of mutilation of five Christian high school students, with a sentence of 20 years in prison.<sup>21</sup>

##### *B. Amril Ngide*

Many people in their village were shocked and disbelieved when Densus 88 announced that Amril Ngide, alias Aat, who was born on 7 October 1978 in

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with Hasanudin, 1 September 2018 in Poso.



Bonesompe Poso. He was one of the Poso terrorists wanted list (DPO) for the case of the bombing at the Tentena market, the bombing of Emanuel church in Palu, and the theft of jewelry shop in Bambaru market in Palu. The community, including his parents, demonstrated against the accusation. They assumed that the police had wrongly arrested him. They did not believe that a young man was known to be friendly, quiet, and did not hang out much with his neighbors and the people in his village could be someone who dared to blow up the Tentena market with a bomb. However, after almost a year, especially when Amril Ngiode returned to Poso, after hiding in Morowali for six months and three months in Solo, Central Java, at his parents' insistence, he was considered quiet, surrendered himself to the police. Based on this case, Aat was sentenced to prison for 16 years.<sup>22</sup>

#### *C. Ardin Djantu*

Like Aat, Ardin Djantu, alias Rojak, born in the village of Lawanga Poso, is also on the DPO Densus 88 list as an actor in the bombing of the Tentena market, the shooting of Pastor Susianti, and the theft of a gold shop in the old market of Palu. However, unlike Aat, Ardin did not surrender to the police. Instead, he fought with Densus 88 squad in his area of Lawanga. In that gunfight with the police, even though he was shot in both his legs and arms, he was still standing and fighting, but due to a large number of Densus 88 troops, he retreated, assisted by a barracuda car to find a hiding place. However, because he was physically weakened, he was finally caught by Densus 88. Based on this case, he was sentenced to 16 years.<sup>23</sup>

#### *D. Yudi Heryanto Parsan*

Unlike Aat and Ardin, Yudi Parsan, alias Udit, was not directly involved in the shootings, killings, or bombings, both in Poso and Palu. Yudi was born on 26 July 1977 in Ampana. He is a field coordinator and surveyor; his job is to carry out the survey of the site or arrange all plans for the acts of violence to be carried out. He also handles the preparation period, which includes location

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with Amril Ngiode, 28 July 2018 in Poso.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Ardin, 28 July 2018 in Poso.

surveys, shooting executions, and post-shooting, including the place to go and the execution duration. However, he was arrested by DENSUS 88, and imprisoned for ten years and three months in the case of the shooting of Pastor Susianti Tinulele at the Effatha Church, Palu, on 18 July 2004.<sup>24</sup>

#### *E. Fitrah*

Unlike the seniors above, this young man named Fitrah was born on 28 June 1984 in Masamba village, Poso Pesisir. He was 20 when he took part in the action. He was invited and just joined with other friends in the robbery as a form of defense for fellow Muslims who were struggling and needed funds. However, the police discovered their operation for stealing at 14:00 on the Trans Sulawesi road. There was shooting between them and the police, resulting in them withdrawing and canceling the operation. The next day, he and other friends, including Santoso (who became the leader of the East Indonesian Mujahidin), were arrested by the police, taken to the Central Sulawesi Regional Police in Palu, and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. After leaving prison with Santoso, he was still invited by Santoso to join the MIT group, but he refused.<sup>25</sup>

For more details on the self-descriptions of the five former terrorist convicts above, see table 2 below.

Table 2: Description of Poso Jihadists

No	Name	Alias	Date and place of birth	Case	length of detention (year)	Age
1.	Hasanudin	Hasan, Slamet Raharjo	Wonogiri, Jawa Tengah, 27 December 1976	Mutilation of 7 students at Christian High School	20	25
2.	Amril Ngiode	Aat, Memet, Ujang,	Bonesompe, Poso, 7 October 1978	Bombing at the Tentena Market, Emanuel Church Palu	16	24
3.	Ardin	Rojak	Lawanga,	Bombing at the	16	30

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Yudi Parsan, 29 July 2018 in Poso.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Fitrah, 2 September 2018 in Poso.

	Djantu		Poso, 15 June 1971	Tentena Market, the shooting of Pastor Susianti, and theft at Gold Shop at Market Tua in Palu		
4.	Yudi Parsan	Udit	Poso, 26 July 1977	Shooting of Pastor Susianti, Palu	10 and 3 months	24
5.	Fitrah		Masamba, Poso Pesisir, 28 June 1984	Theft car with Santoso	3	20

About the coaching pattern for the Poso Jihadists using the Heart, Hand, and Head approach, this group was divided into two periods: First, the period when they were in prison, and second, the period when they were outside. This is due to the consideration that mentoring space in prisons is very li and also related to the self-awareness of this group to or not to join the mentoring program if they have left prison. Another consideration is that the author, as a mentor, has high expectations for this group that the mentoring process in prison can be an entry point for sustainable programs beyond those that are more informal, open, and unlimited time. Below will be explained the period of coaching referred to as follows:

#### *1. Heart-Based on Coaching in Prison*

As explained earlier in this paper, the mentoring process for the Poso jihadist group was carried out in several stages with the main focus on the aspect of the heart. Why is the emphasis on the heart, not the hand and head? The consideration is not solely the limitations of space and time but also since the problem of building trust and attracting sympathy among Poso terrorist prisoners is not simple. It takes persistence, patience, ability to listen and know the steps in the mentoring process, as will be described below.

First, building the relationship. This stage is the introductory stage in which the author begins to build trust with the Poso jihadist group. To be accepted and the connection can be made effectively, the author first contacted

Muhammad Asri, a comrade in arms when the turmoil happened in Poso, to condition the researcher's to meet them. This was conducted before the researcher introduced himself, explaining his background, experiences, interests, and hopes. When meeting and dealing with them face to face, Muhammad Asri is familiar with the researcher, and during the turbulent period in Poso, the author frequently communicated with him. Through Muhammad Asri, the plan for the meeting was set, and it was from him that the information on who should be met earlier was received.<sup>26</sup>

The chief of Petobo Prison, Iskandar, conveyed that the researcher's plan to meet face to face would be carried out in a closed room at the office of the Head of the Prison Development Division.<sup>27</sup>First, Amril Ngiode (convicted in the bombing of Tentena market), as suggested by Aci being the first person to meet the researcher, and in order followed by Arifudin Lako alias Broer (convicted for the shooting of the prosecutor Silalahi), Tugiran (flashlight bomb), Abdurrahman Kalahe, alias Abu Bakar, and Hasanudin (mutilation of Christian female student).

In the interview with each of the Poso jihadists, the researcher introduced himself and explained the aims and objectives, listened more, and empathized with their experiences. Here, the Heart approach is used with the principle of actively listening. The researcher showed an interest in what they had to say and reflected on essential aspects of what they said to show that the researcher understood their words and feelings. In addition, the researcher used body language (such as making eye contact) to show that the researcher was paying attention to what they were saying.

For example, Amril Ngiode expressed his emotions seeing many Muslim bodies washed away in the Poso river due to the massacre committed by Christians at the Walisongo Islamic boarding school. There were even several bodies in the sack gathered together without the head. Aat said, "One by one, I pulled from the river and finally accumulated so much. My mind was rebellious

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Muhammad Asri, 16 August 2014 in Palu.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Head of Prison IIA Palu, Iskandar, 20 August 2014 in Palu.

at that time, and it was engraved in my heart to seek revenge. A few days later, the intention was carried out by carrying out the bombing of the Tentena Traditional Market.” That is the chronology of why Aat blew up the market, resulting in many deaths from Christians.<sup>28</sup> When hearing Aat’s explanation, the researcher's response at that time, although disagreeing with his way, was empathetic to him while clarifying the basis of his murderous act through a sharp gaze on him while standing up. This attitude turned out to get sympathy from Aat, and then he offered to go to the next meeting and convince the researcher that he would later inform other friends to be willing to be interviewed.

Second, exchanging information and setting goals. In this second stage, the researcher exchanged a lot of information with the Poso jihadist group and tried to set goals. By doing this, the researcher gained insight into their goals and expectations. In addition, the researcher occasionally provided support on the various problems and challenges they will face in the future. For example, whatever people’s perceptions of themselves, they should not be reactive in facing them. Finally, citing the views of the wise, the researcher tried to direct their new life goals with straightforward language: “No one can hurt you without your consent”. Therefore, do not be influenced by what other people say. You are the one who determines yourself.

With this kind of move, the jihadists feel respected, and as a consequence, they are willing to exchange information about their future. Hasanudin responded well to the researcher's presence. Due to his realization that the researcher was the secretary-general of the Alkhairaat Organization, one of the largest religious organizations in Eastern Indonesia, he knew this organization's role very well when the communal conflict occurred in Poso. Therefore, he was impressed with the researcher because the researcher intended to involve and care for them as the second person in this organization. The researcher also conveyed greetings from a fellow researcher, the former Bali bombing jihadist

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<sup>28</sup> Interview with Amril Ngide in Prison IIA Palu, 22 August 2014.

Ali Fauzi, whom Hasanudin knew very well. Ali Fauzi has been aware of and worked for the benefit of humanity in national forums as a peace speaker together with the researcher. The researcher also informed Hasanudin that Ali Fauzi had been invited to many countries in Indonesia, including the international community, to talk about Poso problems. Even roughly, he sometimes “sold” Poso issues.

Hearing this information, Hasanudin simultaneously disagreed if Ali Fauzi brought Poso with him. Hasanudin said, “Ali Fauzi did not know Poso”. Responding to Hasanudin's negative attitude, the researcher encouraged him by saying, “Why do not you talk about Poso? Hearing this offer, Hasanudin was silent for a moment, then asked the researcher, “Could it be?” The researcher spontaneously answered, “why not?” The researcher said that it is much better if people who know Poso talk about Poso. Towards this answer, Hasanudin and the researcher discussed the long-term goals plan after leaving prison. Hasanudin even promised the researcher that he would visit the researcher's house when he was free someday.<sup>29</sup>

These are examples of the Poso jihadist mentoring process for six months in prison. Of the five terrorist convicts who were mentored while researching at the Petobo Prison, only two terrorist convicts were committed to continuing the ongoing research guidance process when released. The two terrorist convicts were Hasanudin and Amril Ngiode. As for the other three of them, Tugiran, when he met the researcher in Poso, he was not interested in joining the mentoring program because he wanted to focus on taking care of the family economy. Arifudin Lako had a different reason. He will be concerned about managing the foundation he established himself, namely Rumah Katu, engaged in broadcasting where he grew up. He was also as the director through his filmmaking, “Jalan Pulang” (coming home). Therefore, the researcher no longer needed to invite him because he was considered sufficiently enough. As for Abdurrahman Kalahe, he passed away a week after his release.

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with Hasanudin in Prison IIA Palu, 14 October 2014.

## 2. Heart, Hand, and Head-Based Coaching outside Prison

This out-of-prison mentoring program started with Hasanudin's visit to the author's house after a few days he was released from prison. The author was surprised by his presence and did not think Hasanudin would come home as he had promised while researching prison. However, the time interval from the research in jail to his release was about two years, and the researcher never came to revisit the prison.

After making small talk and reminiscing about the meetings and friendships while in prison, Hasanudin expressed his desire to continue the mentoring program for himself, including several former Poso terrorists whom he would invite together to participate in the ongoing mentoring program. Including Ardin, whose author knew him when he was following the mentoring process while researching at the prison in the district of Tojo Una-Una. Two other ex-jihadists whose authors do not know him were Yudi Parsan and Fitrah. Responding to Hasanudin's invitation, like a traveler thirsty in the middle of the desert and then finds an oasis, the author appreciated this invitation and discussed this will in question the next day in a café in the city of Palu. This place of meeting is offered to see the extent to which Hasanudin's attitude has changed after leaving prison, particularly with the cafe, which, in the mind of the former Poso jihadist, is considered an unethical and "un-Islamic" place. It turned out that Hasanudin agreed, and it was from that time the program started until this article was written.<sup>30</sup> The author divides it into three levels for more systematic: Heart, Hand, and Head.

### *Heart Approach*

The Heart approach began when after five months of meeting with Hasanudin. He contacted the author and said that his four friends in Poso were ready to meet and hear the direction of the mentoring or coaching program from the author. As this program was initially implemented in prison, the author made the same perceptions toward each other regarding the mentoring

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Hasanudin, 4 March 2017.

approach used, goal setting, and activity plan for one year. The implementation of mentoring steps is nothing different from that in prison, except that outside the prison, the meeting time is long, and what is developed is not only regarding the affective aspect or “Heart”, but also both the psychomotor aspects, “Hand” and cognitive aspects, “Head”. Because the sympathy and trust created through building relationships (first step) and information exchange (second step) in prison have been well established for jihadi groups who have just joined outside the prison, especially after a few months they have received guidance in terms of their “Heart”. The jihadist mentoring process outside the prison will be further improved concerning the third step, still on the aspect of “Heart”. After that, the “Hand” and “Head” aspects will be described.

The third step of this Heart-based mentoring for jihadists is working towards goals/ deepening the engagement. This is the longest stage in the mentoring process. Here, the author will help the Poso jihadist group change their paradigm of thinking from a jihadist to a peace warrior, from the object of various activities carried out by both the government and non-governmental organizations to be the subject of change. To achieve this goal, jihadists and the author as their mentor carry on many conversations, discussions, and dialogues. The author shared materials in various learning and development activities and introduced them to different communities from their groups, such as a visit to various community leaders, interfaith, and government leaders. It is a rich phase characterized by openness and trust, meaningful discussion, and the implementation of new insights and approaches.

Here, the Poso jihadist group needs continual encouragement from the author as their mentor. The author felt comfortable challenging them to think in new ways or approach the problems differently. For example, the group of jihadists was directly involved in the Forum Group Discussion (FGD) to determine the Poso people's perceptions of their existence after leaving prison. From the various views that developed in the forum regarding their existence, the people of Poso, both Muslim and Christian, responded positively to their desire to promote Poso as a peaceful city. For example, the view of Pastor



Zakaria Widodo<sup>31</sup>, in his interview after the FGD, stated that he was happy and responded well if former Poso jihadists wanted to change themselves and become the people who want to promote peace in Poso. Rusli, the chairman of the Muhammadiyah in Poso, considered the Poso jihadist group's intention and determination to be a pioneer of peace extraordinary.<sup>32</sup> The Regent of Poso, Darmin Agustinus Sigilipu, even invited a group of ex-Poso jihadists and asked them to be part of the peace process in Poso.<sup>33</sup>

The fourth step of the Heart approach is planning for the future. At this stage, the author made plans for the success of the Poso jihadist group. Here, as a jihadist mentor, the author seeks to explore other types of support they may still need; determine the types of interests and practical skills they need in the future. In other words, this fourth stage is the entrance to preparing the psychomotor aspects of Poso jihadists, which is called practical skill sharing or strengthening and developing parts of their Hands.

#### *The Hand Approach*

The community's high expectations for the involvement of jihadist groups in realizing peace in Poso require them to have skills. For this purpose, the author prepares the basics of special skills for the jihadist group by developing aspects of their Hands or psychomotor competencies based on the interests and needs of each member.

In interviews with the five Poso jihadist groups, the most formidable challenge for the Poso jihadist group to realize Poso peace, in particular, and Indonesia in general, in promoting peace is their lack of skills and courage to appear in public as speakers or as subjects of change. Indeed, it is not easy for a former murderer to be invited to become a public speaker. For example, as Fitrah said, "it is easier for us to be invited to carry weapons and kill people than to be asked to speak. However, since this is for the sake of the peacekeeping mission in Indonesia, and Poso, in particular, there will be no more violence and

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with the Priest Zakaria Widodo in Poso, 12 November 2018.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with the Chairman of Muhammadiyah in Poso, 12 November 2018.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Regent of Poso, Darmin Sigilipu, in his office, 13 November 2018.

war,” Fitrah said, “I will try to follow”.<sup>34</sup> The same was expressed by Ardin, “the important thing is that we are mentored and guided so that we can easily adjust ourselves”.<sup>35</sup> To encourage their hopes and desires, as a mentor, the author tried to offer this group two programs for their psychomotor development: self-empowerment training or character building and economic empowerment through the interests of each jihadist.

First, for self-development, the author, as a mentor, made a workshop for character building and public speaking. The participants were only devoted to the five Poso jihadists, given various theories and practices on how they were confident to speak and appear in public. To make this activity fluid, the author asked them to talk about the personal experiences of each jihadist in Poso, both when they started joining the jihadist group Jama’ah Islamiyah and the East Indonesia Mujahidin group well as until they committed acts of violence and murder. As a mentor, the author helped them formulate as simple as possible all their experiences so that they were exciting and not boring. For example, at least four points must be conveyed when they appear as resource persons in terrorism prevention activities: 1)—starting with greetings, 2). Introducing the names of each and what is the motive for committing acts of terrorism, 3. Briefly describe the process of violence they achieved. 4). Delivering messages of peace and ending with a closing greeting.

Second, for economic empowerment, the author asked each jihadist to convey their respective interests and talents so that what they will do is enjoyable and does not burden them. Of the five jihadists,<sup>36</sup> there were two interested in becoming contractors, namely Ardin and Yudi Parsan. Their reason is that they have done this work before; however, the only problem is that they have not received complete trust. It is still in the form of a given sub-activity because they are considered unable to make a good and correct report.

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with Fitrah in Poso, 2 January 2019.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Ardin in Poso, 4 January 2019.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with five Poso ex-jihadist before the Program of Character Building was held in Poso, 15 February 2019.

Meanwhile, Aat and Fitrah are more interested in trade and tourism aspects. Aat, for example, wants to open a food and beverage stall, while Fitrah, because he has land located on the coast of Poso, intends to open a tourist location. The main problem for him was capital. Hasanudin, on the other hand, is more interested in the development of Islamic education because of his father-in-law, KH. Adnan Arsal is managing a boarding school. The severe obstacle he faces is the lack of facilities and infrastructure at the Islamic boarding school built by his father-in-law.

As a solution to the economic problems proposed by each of these jihadists, as a mentor, the author carried out business entrepreneurship development training involving the government and stakeholders related to the issues they are currently facing. For the case of Ardin and Yudi, for example, the author invited the Contractors Association in Poso to teach them how to make tender proposals and prepare good and correct reports. In the case of Aat and Fitrah, the author invited the government to help with capital. In contrast, for Hasanudin, the researcher asked the Education Office to allocate a budget for his in-law's boarding school facilities and infrastructure.

With Hand's approach based on interests and needs, the Poso jihadists felt that they have been cared for and helped from the difficulties and felt that there was always someone to refer to if they encountered various obstacles in the field. Hasanudin, for example, once asked the author for help because his wife wanted to sell fried rice. The funds needed were around 30 million, both for the cart, tent, chairs, and dining table. This plan was then communicated to the government. A few weeks later, all the necessary equipment was delivered to Hasanudin in Poso. When receiving the assistance, Hasanudin immediately contacted me and thanked me for all the support

By solving their economic problems like that, Hand's approach is not solely related to developing their financial business skills. Still, the most important thing here is that Hand's approach strengthens and reinforces the Poso jihadist group's confidence in the author as their mentor in solving

problems in their lives. In other words, building trust and empathy, which are needed in the Heart approach, received support and justification through the Hand approach. Vice versa, with Hand approach the issue of breaking the ideological chain of radicalism will crystallize and melt. As will be described below, one of the indicators is the desire of Hasanudin and his friends. They always ask when the aspect of their head will be touched and dismantled so that friends, said Hasanudin, can understand Islam, not through their previous leader, either from al-Qaeda or ISIS.

#### *Head Approach*

This approach focuses more on the cognitive content of the head of the Poso jihadist group. Because their heads have been infiltrated and even indoctrinated so deeply by teachers, Kiai, and jihadist leaders who have become idols who are hard-liners, to “brainwash” them, there are two steps taken: first, the early detection stage, which includes the efforts to find out the level of understanding and potential for the radicalism of the Poso jihadist group; second, the Intervention stage, that consists of the action taken to overcome the radical understanding, attitudes and behavior among Poso jihadists.

This early detection stage is used as the first basis for the development of the Poso jihadist group with the head aspect, starting when the hand approach is in process. This idea was inspired by the suggestion of the Poso jihadist group to create a particular WA group for the author and the five Poso jihadists. The goal is intended as a forum for communication between the author and jihadist groups and a means of dialogue, sharing information, and asking questions about their problems, including issues that develop in society. Thus, the WA Group was created, which they named “Kafilah Pejuang Perdamaian” (the Peace Warriors Caravan). This WA group that contained various information they shared became an essential and strategic tool for the sustainability and development of coaching on their Head aspect. This WA group thus becomes a mirror for the author to identify and detect early the ideological elements attached to their heads and how to intervene. The example includes the

clarification requested by Hasanudin regarding acts of violence perpetrated by a group of Islamic organizations in Indonesia through shared videos. Is it a hoax or not? According to him, “if this is true, we have been taught to be radical by a group, even though by joining the Peace warriors Caravan (KPP) and the like, we have begun to be able to accept the reality of this Indonesian today. However, with the style and character of the group, we were taught to be radical and intolerant instead. Hopefully, it will not get bigger and bigger. The relevant parties must stop these methods.”

To respond to Hasanudin’s statement, the author responded to this group by stating that: “There are many phenomena like this, especially in Java. There is an impression of oppression from the majority against the minority. Regardless of whether the organization is right or wrong, the police should not allow a group of organizations to terrorize someone in the name of the truth. The principle of the presumption of innocence must be respected. For those trying to impose an ideology prohibited by the state, a persuasive approach needs to be taken because there are no problems that suddenly arise. There are many and varied triggers. Therefore, let us be wise in looking at every problem and not rush to the conclusions that will ultimately harm humans.” This was the response of the author as a mentor to Hasanudin.

Of the five jihadist groups, Hasanudin was the most active in sending various information, both related to issues of relations between Islam and the state, radicalism, terrorism, HTI, FPI Habib Rizik, clarification of news in the media related to Islam, whether they are a hoax or not, unfair treatment of the state in solving the problems of the Papuan separatist group, and various humanitarian activities carried out by him through the activities of caring for the humanity of his pesantren. Meanwhile, Ardin, Aat and Yudi Parsan's comments mainly were related to their economic problems and only occasionally gave responses to the issue of radicalism. Meanwhile, Fitrah seems to be more silent and without comment unless there are activities related to his economic empowerment.

In general, it can be understood and detected early the cognitive content of their head. Even though they are no longer directly involved in the acts of violence associated with their former terrorist network, their narratives were still supporting for violence. This was seen in their discussions in their WA group. On the one hand, this phenomenon requires a direct answer to them as a form of initial coaching with Head aspect, and on the other hand, it becomes the primary guideline in taking intervention steps on their cognition, mind, and head.

As an intervention step, the author conducted a Training of Trainers for former Poso terrorists as peace warriors. This activity aims: First, to improve the understanding and skills of former Poso jihadists in using a Heart, Hand, and Head based intervention approach, and second, to change the mindset of former Poso jihadists with their religious understanding from radical Muslim to moderate-tolerant one.

To make this intervention based on Head's approach run as expected, the training model takes the form of a coaching clinic, that is, special and in-depth guidance in the form of training or question-and-answer sessions aimed at mastering the knowledge about the position of Islam in the Indonesian context. For this purpose, the author invited several national and regional speakers, including 1. Prof. Nasarudin Umar to discuss the issue of Islam and the caliphate, 2. Dr. Yudi Lathif on Islam and 'Indonesianness'; 3. Prof. Rusli on exposing the dangers of Salafism, 4. KH. Ali Aljufrie, Head of MUI Central Sulawesi, on Islam as the religion of peace, and 5. Dr Lukman on the philosophy of counter-terrorism intervention. This training lasted for three days, and because it was carried out during the Covid-19 period in Palu, national speakers were online, and regional speakers were offline.

The response of Jihadist groups in Poso to this training varied widely. Hasanududin, for example, not only got benefits in terms of knowledge and insight about Islam and 'Indonesianness', but also was more confident because his efforts to become part of the peace process in Indonesia received positive support from national and regional speakers. Ardin, as in every dialogue, is

more concerned with the caliphate system in Indonesia, became more enthusiastic because his head which had only been filled with the caliphate system, was exposed with input and explanations on the issue of the caliphate and 'Indonesianness'. Aat, Yudi Parsan, and Fitrah, although they were primarily silent in various discussions and dialogues, they felt happy because they were treated in a friendly and humane way.<sup>37</sup>

#### *The Activities of Poso's Ex-Jihadists as Peace warriors*

Former Poso jihadists carry out three activities after mentoring terrorists in Poso and Palu, Central Sulawesi. First, being a speaker in two similar activities held in Poso and Palu, including a talk show with the Kafilah Pejuang Perdamaian as former terrorist convicts, with students from Poso and Palu. This activity was held on 31 August 2019 and was attended by around 400 participants, including students, university students, religious leaders, government, and various religious and social organizations. In this activity, because it was their first time speaking in public, and to avoid self-inconfidence from the Poso jihadist group, the author acted as a mentor, leading the dialogue as a moderator or facilitator. The author gave the concepts that had been prepared for them to read and learn long before the activity was carried out. The first speaker was Hasanuddin, because he can speak and was previously the leader of the Jamaah Islamiyah in Poso, which was agreed by his friends to be the chairman of the Kafilah. This is intended that other friends would be motivated to speak in front of the public. With Hasanudin as the first speaker and successful in his presentation, Aat, Ardin, Yudi Parsan, and Fitrah also performed well and answered various questions from the participants. Their first activities were in direct contact with the community, both in Poso and Palu.

Second, being the initiator of the deradicalization program for the MIT group and the Central Sulawesi Police Chief, Syafril Nursal. In this program, the five Poso jihadists were involved and became part of the process of breaking the

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with five Poso ex-jihadist on 9 July 2020 at the closing of Training of Trainers in Palu.

chain of terrorism in Poso. Their duties include 1). Persuading terrorist groups who joined the MIT terrorist network to surrender peacefully. For this program, two people from the MIT group were successfully persuaded, namely Syarifudin Thalib alias Udin and Firmansyah alias Thoriq, and surrendered on 17 March 2020. 2). Conducting regular meetings with several former terrorist convicts who are considered to have ties to the MIT group. This effort is intended to seek information regarding the movement of the MIT group in Poso and find out whether or not former terrorist convicts were involved and assisted in this movement. The Kafilah found that one of their friends was involved in the MIT group based on this assessment. The Kafilah conveyed this to the Regional Police Chief Syafril during a meeting with him. On 1 September 2020, the person was arrested.

Third, invite and encourage several former Poso convicts to join the Kafilah Pejuang Perdamaian. Ten people are willing to join the program. The researcher communicated with the Ministry of Social Affairs, in order to help the Kafilah closer to other former Poso terrorists. As a result, these ten people and five people from the Kafilah could get social assistance. This effort received a positive response, and the fifteen former Poso jihadists were asked to draft a budget of aid provided to them, which is five million rupiahs per person.

The effort to turn the Poso jihadist group into peace warriors is not easy. It takes a long time, patience, seriousness, and high commitment to succeed. Jesse Morton, a former terrorist convict recruiter of al-Qaeda in America, admitted he had difficulties guiding ex-terrorist convicts to abandon their ideology or move away from the environment that fuels their desire to commit violence.<sup>38</sup> The same applies to Nasir Abbas, a former leader of Southeast Asian terrorists. In this case, he encouraged the government, BNPT, not to give up and continue running the deradicalization program. According to him, based on his own

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<sup>38</sup> Imam (ed.) Solehudin, "Ditjen PAS Benarkan Insiden Penyerangan Terhadap Nasir Abbas," JawaPos.com, 2016, <https://www.jawapos.com/nasional/hankam/15/12/2016/ditjen-pas-benarkan-insiden-penyserangan-terhadap-nasir-abbas/>, accessed 19 April 2020.



experience, it took him a long time to finally accept.<sup>39</sup> A resident of Madiun Prison even beat him during a visit by a team from the Directorate General of Social Corrections and a working group from the University of Indonesia.<sup>40</sup>

Learning from the author's experience to guide former Poso jihadists and several former ISIS jihadists with Nurhuda Ismail from Yayasan Prasasti Perdamain Jakarta, the Government of Indonesia should be open to developing methods and approaches to the intervention against ex-jihadists in Indonesia. However, the concept of deradicalization is not "everything" and becomes a "closed ideology". The assumption of BNPT, which later became the primary goal of the deradicalization program, for example, is that "the perpetrators of terrorism in Indonesia mainly carry out their actions based on Jihad, so the deradicalization program is designed to provide counter arguments towards their radical understanding of Islam by reintroducing the teachings of moderate Islam. According to the author, this is such a rash and hasty assumption. The author believes that no one is born a terrorist. To become a terrorist, one can follow several trajectories, ranging from political, economic, and family grievances to responding to peer pressure or following in the footsteps of family members.

Therefore, the problem of dealing with ex-jihadists in Indonesia is not only seen from one aspect (Jihad), but must be portrayed from various dimensions and approaches that are more innovative and comprehensive. It should not start from their cognition (Head), but from building empathy and trust (Heart), which has implications for their willingness to accept and open up to other people's invitations to empower themselves (Hand). Eventually, they become open-minded to the differences in ways of thinking and religion (Head). This paper is one of the proposed approaches. It can be used as a reference for

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<sup>39</sup> Arie Firdaus, "BNPT: 25 Napi Teroris Masih Radikal," *Berita Benar*, 2016, <https://www.benarnews.org/indonesian/berita/bnpt-25-napi-teroris-masih-radikal-02022016125637.html>, accessed 7 Jul 2020.

<sup>40</sup> Saella; Utomo Fitriana Tri Cahyo; Pattipelo, Shary Charlotte, "Upaya BNPT Dalam Melaksanakan Program Deradikalisasi Di Indonesia," *Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 1 (2017), pp. 187-94.

the government to handle and make the policies for dealing with ex-terrorist convicts and prisoners in Indonesia.

### **Concluding Remarks**

First, being a terrorist with a dark background does not mean that they cannot change. With holistic and integral guidance and an approach that starts from the heart, assisted with developing skills and finding solutions in economic problems (hand), the five ex-Poso jihadists' radical way of thinking and attitude can be changed and directed in a positive direction. As a result, the five ex-Poso jihadists separated from their old terrorist network. They changed their perspective to reject the use of violence and became the subjects of change who are willing to work in the Kafilah Pejuang Perdamaian community.

Second, not many people realize that former terrorists can be invited and involved in the deradicalization process in this country. The various activities that the five ex-Poso jihadists have carried out through the forum they formed and named the Kafilah Pejuang Perdamaian are clear evidence of their efforts to become part of dealing with the problem of deradicalization in Indonesia. Not much can be expected from this community. Still, at least their activities for peace in this country can trigger and motivate other ex-convicts to get rid of the influence of their old terrorist networks and work for a more peaceful Indonesia.

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