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USAID/INDONESIA  
GENDER ANALYSIS OF  
COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM

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# USAID/Indonesia

## Gender Analysis of

### Countering Violent Extremism

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## Executive Summary

This gender analysis aims to identify gender issues and gaps at a macro level, and to document these as part of USAID's Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Program preparation. The questions for this analysis have been structured using USAID's Gender Analytical Framework, which focuses on policies and institutions, access to information, gender roles, and social and cultural norms that influence gender roles and leadership patterns.

Qualitative methods have been used in this gender analysis. The findings reported in this study were obtained from a review of documents and research publications on CVE, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Interviews and FGDs were conducted with 54 informants, 20 men and 34 women, from various interest groups. Data analysis was done by triangulation to ensure validity and consistency, and was subsequently interpreted through a gender lens. This gender analysis is not intended to assess or evaluate CVE programs implemented by the Indonesian government or civil society organizations (CSO).

Below is a summary of the results of this gender analysis, focusing on five domains:

1. The policy paradigm for CVE in Indonesia is combating terrorism; as such, prevention efforts are being neglected. The countering terrorism policy pursuant to Law No.15 of 2003 is still gender-neutral in the context of combating or preventing violent extremism. Prevention efforts that are more often initiated by CSOs on the ground reveal weak local government leadership capacity in understanding and responding to the increasingly widespread threats of radicalism and extremism.
2. Community participation in extremist organizations is driven by a combination of internal and external factors. Internal factors include anger towards injustice, marginalization from the public decision-making process, and threats to religious norms and cultural practices. External factors include the presence of extremist organizations promising a collective faith-based togetherness, protection of religious norms, and a collective religious identity.
3. Both men and women become involved in extremist organizations and violent extremism, though extremist organizations rely on male charismatic leadership, and those roles are given to men. Men are believed to have more profound religious knowledge and better ability to lead than women. However, the roles of women are no less strategic than those of men. Women in extremist organizations are given the roles of educators, preachers, fundraisers, recruiters, logistics organizers, and supporters of their husbands. Women are also called on for childbearing and parenting children projected to become Mujahids.
4. Society can play an active role in preventing radicalism and extremism. The differences in the ways women and men perceive the phenomenon of violence – and the differences in how women internalize a sense of security and peace, social harmony, and their different approach to daily life – enable women to take a leadership role in preventing in radicalization and

extremism. As such, women's leadership needs to be promoted within CVE efforts.

5. In crisis situations triggered by radicalism, religious fundamentalism, or violent extremism, both men and women in a family experience grief at the loss of a family member. In the absence of the family leader and main breadwinner, women take up leadership roles in order to sustain the family economy. Women build solidarity networks amongst themselves to support social and economic independence.

To respond to the identified gender issues and inequalities in CVE, the following strategies are recommended:

1. CVE efforts should ensure that a gender perspective, including women's and children's rights, is integrated into relevant laws and policies. Women and women's organizations should participate in all CVE law and policy making processes at the local and national levels.
2. CVE should use a family and community approach to build resilience towards threats of radicalism and violent extremism. Family and community resilience should promote leadership of women and youth in rural and urban areas.
3. The new CVE program should strengthen village governance and community capacity for a more inclusive village development approach.
4. CVE programs should strengthen local government capacity in responding to VE and gender issues related to CVE, including for budget planning, integration in development programs, and inter-sectoral coordination.
5. CVE programs should collaborate with progressive religious-based organizations to disseminate anti-radical narratives, and promote gender equality and diversity through online and offline means.
6. More detailed research is needed on the impacts of propaganda related to polygamy, anti-family planning, and anti-immunization on women's and children's health.

## Acronym

AIPJ II	: Australia Indonesia Partnership for Justice II
BNPT	: <i>Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme / National Counterterrorism Agency</i>
CSO	: Civil Society Organization
CVE	: Countering Violent Extremism
Desmigratif	: <i>Desa Migran Produktif / productive migrant village</i>
Densus 88	: <i>Detasemen Khusus 88 / Special Detachment 88</i>
FGD	: Focus Grup Discussion
FKPT	: <i>Forum Koordinasi Pencegahan Terorisme / Terrorism Prevention Coordination Forum</i>
Kesbangpol	: <i>Kantor Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik / Agency for National and Political Unity</i>
Pos PAUD	: <i>Pos Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini / Early Childhood Education Posts</i>
PPTKLN	: <i>Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Luar Negeri Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan Republik Indonesia / Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers Overseas, Ministry of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia</i>
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
UU	: <i>Undang-Undang / Law</i>
VE	: Violent Extremism
WNI	: <i>Warga Negara Indonesia / Indonesian Citizen</i>

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## **I. Background**

The expansion of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East has had a major impact on Indonesia. The emergence of extremist organizations that have gained widespread support from various social circles and classes has increased the tendency toward religion-based intolerance and the use of violence that threatens human rights, social harmony, and diversity. The Government of Indonesia (GOI) and civil society organizations (CSOs), such as universities, research institutes, faith-based institutions, and women's organizations, have undertaken steps to prevent the spread of extremist ideologies using several initiatives, including research, law enforcement, and rehabilitation.

USAID, together with the GOI, is preparing a project to counter violent extremism that will begin in 2018. For new project development, USAID policy requires that a gender analysis be conducted. The gender analysis provides a systematic approach to identify and gather information linked to the roles, division of work, resources, barriers, needs, opportunities, capacity, and interests of women and men, including girls and boys, in a given social, economic, political, and cultural context. The scope of the analysis depends on the needs identified by the USAID Mission in its efforts to use programs to address gender inequalities and barriers.

### **I.1.Objective**

This gender analysis aims to identify gender issues at the macro level within CVE. It will inform the CVE activity that is being developed by USAID. This analysis examines the legal and policy sectors of CVE, access to information on extremist organizations (EOs) and factors that encourage women and men to join EOs, gender roles in EOs, and the impact of family members' involvement with EOs on men and women. Recommendations from this analysis will be integrated within the new activity scope of work as well as the monitoring, evaluation, and learning framework.

### **I.2.Gender Analysis Questions**

The questions for this gender analysis were developed using the USAID Gender Analysis Framework, which incorporates laws, policies, and institutions; access to resources; gender roles; social and cultural norms; and leadership patterns. Specific questions were developed to strengthen the gender analysis in accordance with the needs of the CVE sector.

Research questions in the framework were structured as following:

#### **A. Laws, Regulations, Policies**

1. What are the regulations and policies related to CVE?
2. How do these regulations and policies affect men and women?

#### **B. Access to Information**

1. How do women and men get information on EOs?
2. How does such information encourage men and women to join EOs?

### C. Gender Roles

1. What is the role of men and women in promoting extremism?
2. What is the role of men and women in EOs?
3. How do social and cultural norms relating to gender roles contribute to encouraging men and women to join EOs?
4. What is the role of men and women in the prevention of violent extremism?

### D. Impact on the Family

1. How are women and men affected by family members' involvement with EOs?
2. How do men and women withstand such impacts?

To respond to the above questions, this report is structured along these four areas, including discussions of socio-cultural norms and leadership patterns relating to gender roles.

## 1.3. Methodology

This gender analysis applies qualitative methods. The findings reported in this study were obtained from a review of documents and research publications on CVE, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and FGDs. Interviews and FGDs were conducted with 54 key informants, 20 men and 34 women, from various interest groups.

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of several organizations that work in the CVE sector, women's organizations, international and national organizations working in the migration sector, faith-based organizations, research institutes related to the CVE programs, representatives of government agencies, and representatives from EOs. The aim of the interviews was to gain insights into the legal and policy situation related to CVE, sources of information on EOs, and how communities access information and are compelled to participate in EOs. Interviews also explored gender roles in EOs and survival strategies of families whose members are involved in VE.

Data was also obtained from FGDs separately with female and male community members in Solo City, and in Tangerang, Dompu, and Bima Districts. Oral informed consent was obtained from all individuals who participated in the FGDs. Note, however, that informants' names and their origins remain confidential and are not included in this report. FGDs were aimed at obtaining information on the forms of VE occurring within communities, and how this violence is being perceived from men's or women's points of view. In addition, FGDs sought to obtain information from male and female community members on local policies related to CVE.

Data was analyzed using triangulation to ensure validity and consistency. Following the analysis, a gender perspective was used to interpret the data. This CVE gender analysis is not intended to assess or evaluate CVE programs implemented by the GOI or CSOs. The identified gender issues that have not yet been addressed – as well as those already addressed by government or CSO actors – will form the knowledge base for enriching the upcoming CVE activity design process. Note that the scope of this gender analysis is limited to the given analytical questions and the information obtained from key informants.

## 2. Results of the CVE Gender Analysis

### 2.1. Laws, Regulations and Policies related to CVE

Indonesia does not have specific laws and regulations that address CVE. Policies for countering VE are inscribed in Law No. 15 of 2003 on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism (the Anti-Terrorism Law). Using this law, combatting terrorism focuses on prosecution by the special anti-terror detachment, better known as Densus 88.<sup>1</sup>

Seven years after the enactment of this Law, the GOI established the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) in 2010. BNPT has three divisions that illustrate its duties and functions: (1) Operations, which collaborates with the special anti-terror detachment of the police to collect and coordinate intelligence, monitoring of possible terrorists, and arrest-related data; (2) Prevention, Protection, and Deradicalization; and (3) International Cooperation.

For more than a decade, the policy of countering terrorism focused on terrorist capture and prosecution. Meanwhile, the handling of conditions prior to terror acts occurring, or prevention efforts, have been less rigorous. Some progress was made in 2011, when the BNPT Prevention Division issued a Strategic Plan for the period of 2010-2014. This plan laid out a prevention strategy with four major objectives: (1) awareness raising through information dissemination, training, and anti-terrorism propaganda; (2) protecting of vital objects, housing, and public spaces from acts of terrorism; (3) reducing dissemination of radical ideologies and propaganda; and (4) protecting communities from radical ideologies, including terminating links among terrorists, their families, and networks.<sup>2</sup>

To complement prevention efforts, BNPT established a Coordination Forum on Terrorism Prevention (FKPT), which began provincial-level activities in 2012 involving religious leaders, youth organizations, academia, and civil society leaders. FKPT activities focus primarily on seminars to stimulate dialogue on the prevention of terrorism. In each province, the Agency for National and Political Unity (Kesbangpol) coordinates the cooperation between FKPT and the provincial government.

Seminars and ceremonial activities are held to disseminate anti-radicalism and anti-terrorism concepts. However, informants from women's organizations criticized the absence of women's issues in seminar content the dialogue on terrorism prevention. They explained that from a woman's perspective, ignoring women's issues related to radicalism is like neglecting human security.<sup>3</sup> Human security here is interpreted as security in everyday human life, characterized by the absence of threats to the body, freedom, and growth, through which women and men can live good lives. Thus, human security is the condition that allows people to live without threats and pressure in order to enjoy their basic human rights.

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<sup>1</sup> More detailed information is available here: International Crisis Group, 2007. "Deradicalization" and the Indonesian Prisons', Asia Report No. 142.

<sup>2</sup> For more information, see BNPT, 'Strategic Deputy Plan for Prevention, Protection and Deradicalization Unit.'

<sup>3</sup> Interview on 8 September 2017.

In seeking to address issues related to human security, women have noted that the Islamic ideologies used by EOs in Indonesia impede the freedom of women and girls, exploiting women's bodies and threatening women's rights. Threats to women's rights can be seen in the practices of polygamy, anti-family planning, and anti-immunization carried out and campaigned for by extremist groups.<sup>4</sup>

Islamic ideologies practiced in the form of domestication of women, exploitation of women's bodies through their wombs, and threats to women's freedom become a human rights concern in Indonesia, especially if the practices of small groups begin to be disseminated through far-reaching campaigns.<sup>5</sup> Informants from women's organizations and communities reported that polygamy, anti-family planning, and anti-immunization practices were found in the families of followers of EOs in one of the study sites.<sup>6</sup> Exploitation of women's wombs to bear children non-stop is a form of gender-based violence that terrorizes women's bodies and goes against the government's family planning policy and one of its objectives to protect women's rights related to reproductive health. Anti-immunization measures practiced on children of families that are followers of EOs are an obstacle to child growth and ignore the government's policies to promote children's health through immunization.

Although, gender-based violence practices that are promulgated EOs' Islamic ideologies are on the rise in Indonesia, the GOI does not yet view this issue as part of the problem of terrorism. Meanwhile, gender-based violence inherent in the development of radicalism shows that Islamic ideology-based radicalism produces different impacts on the lives of men and women. Therefore, in future, the legal and policy paradigm concerning CVE should recognize the difference in these impacts. A gender perspective needs to be integrated into CVE-related policies by acknowledging the different experiences of women and men in understanding terror, security, and peace.

Law No.15 of 2003 is still viewed essentially as a gender-neutral law.<sup>7</sup> The fact that both women and men are presently involved in terrorism demonstrates that integrating a gender perspective into the Counterterrorism Law, as well as into regulations and actions plans, would be indispensable at the national and local levels. It is important to underline that FGD participants in the three research areas of this analysis showed skepticism towards local governments' capacity to deal with extremism.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, women's organizations doubted that local governments are able to integrate gender issues into the countering and prevention of extremism.<sup>9</sup> As such, more in-depth research is required to map out the situation and capacity of local governments in CVE.

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<sup>4</sup> Interview on 11 September 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Interview on 9 September 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Interview on 28 September 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Interview on 9 September 2017.

<sup>8</sup> FGDs on 18, 22, 27 September 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Interview on 11 September 2017.

## 2.2. Access to Information

Information about extremist organizations and radical ideologies is generally accessible through two channels: offline and online. Online channels include Facebook, internet websites, Twitter, WhatsApp, and Telegram. Offline channels consist of various magazines produced by EOs, as well as human interaction during prayers, at the *majelis taklim* (informal Islamic educational forum), at the *da'wah* (Islamic religious preaching), and Islamic businesses owned by EOs.<sup>10</sup> Information is also disseminated in educational institutions through Islamic religious teachers,<sup>11</sup> in prisons through interactions with terrorist inmates,<sup>12</sup> and by parents within families.<sup>13</sup> The combination of relatively easily accessible information to all segments of society and a compelling narrative enables EOs to attract the attention of men and women to become sympathizers or members.

EO recruitment techniques are tailored to the targeted community profile. For example, young people and students are more often recruited through online channels because their everyday lives evolve around communications technology and social media. Information is distributed through Facebook and websites visited by young people and students. Offline recruitment is done on campus during the student orientation periods. Students who are recruited through offline techniques also receive mentoring until they are ready to join the larger Islamic study community network.<sup>14</sup> In recruiting young people, EOs use masculine values to portray *jihad* as a war to defend the injustices and oppression experienced by Muslims. Through this heroic narrative, young men and women enter EOs.<sup>15</sup>

EOs also offer the power of solidarity to marginalized groups that have been sidelined from the process of democratization or who are displaced because they have been evicted from their homes. These marginalized groups believe that the power of solidarity amplifies their voices in political negotiations and elevates their bargaining positions. The promise of group solidarity has attracted marginalized men and women into Indonesian EOs that promise collective support and hope for justice.<sup>16</sup> People also become attracted to join EOs because of the religious narrative, including the creation of an Islamic identity. The trend to follow a “western” lifestyle rife among the middle class is perceived as a threat to Islamic culture. EOs offer an Islamic lifestyle and untainted religious purpose for men and women. However, since women are regarded as symbols of religious purity, EOs display their purity symbols through women in applying rigid religious norms.<sup>17</sup>

The involvement of men and women in EOs demonstrates that the process of ‘ideologization’ and radicalization drives women and men towards militant behavior compelled by internal and external factors. However, in a patriarchal society where socio-cultural norms produce unjust values for women, and women are disadvantaged in terms of access to education and economy, as well as excluded

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<sup>10</sup> Interview on 11 September 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Interview on 22 September 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Interview on 15 September 2017.

<sup>13</sup> Interview on 17 September 2017.

<sup>14</sup> FGD on 19 September 2017.

<sup>15</sup> FGD on 19 September 2017.

<sup>16</sup> FGD on 19 September 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Interview on 3 November 2017.

from family decision making processes, women involved in EOs must not only be distinguished as subjects but also as objects or victims.<sup>18</sup>

Due to their relative lack of religious knowledge, women are vulnerable and therefore easily become victims. However, of all the different women's groups, migrant workers are the most vulnerable. According to a recruiter interviewed by the assesment team, online techniques such as social media are frequently used to recruit female migrant workers.<sup>19</sup> Female migrant workers, on average, have less formal education, lack basic religious knowledge, experience intense social and individual pressures, are placed far from their families, and have poor access to government services. They therefore experience multiple layers of vulnerability.

One factor that makes women migrant workers vulnerable to being recruited as members of EOs is their loss of a sense of belonging to a nation (nationhood) as a result of being abandoned by their country representatives abroad.<sup>20</sup> Despite migrant workers being the largest foreign exchange earners for Indonesia – ahead of Indonesian diplomatic families, scholars, students, and white-collar workers – they are treated as fourth-class citizens abroad.<sup>21</sup> To find out more about the relationship between migration, migrant labor, and CVE, further research is required, as this present analysis does not specifically address the recruitment patterns of migrant workers.

Another technique used by EOs to recruit female members is through marriage, as happened to members of women's organizations interviewed in West Java. Marriage cannot be separated from the social construction of womanhood, which until now is closely linked to the ability to give birth and raise children. Marriage is also considered one way for the family to remove the burden of providing for children, because married women become the responsibility of their husbands. The patriarchal culture also believes that 'old spinsters' (*perawan tua*) are a family disgrace. Therefore, matching and marrying off girls is a step to avoid shame. Some women get married as a result of societal pressure as opposed to individual choice.

In addition, the religious beliefs held by many community members lead them to claim that marrying a member of an EO emphasizes their adherence to Islamic faith. Women and their families also argue that in doing so they gain recognition as more faithful women.<sup>22</sup>

### 2.3. Gender Roles in Extremist Organization

EOs are masculine organizations that rely on male charismatic leadership. In carrying out these leadership roles, men determine the strategy of the movement in the way the ideology is spread, be it through *da'wah* and/or religious seminars. Men are positioned as leaders and elements of substance because men are considered to be more knowledgeable in religious matters. EOs position women in many different

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<sup>18</sup> Interview on 3 November 2017.

<sup>19</sup> Interview on 16 October 2017.

<sup>20</sup> Interview on 9 September 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Interview on 9 September 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Interview on 8 September 2017.

roles, except for leadership roles.<sup>23</sup> Women can act as educators, preachers, fundraisers, recruiters, logistics organizers, suicide bombers, secret liaisons, or as soldiers. In addition, women are also acknowledged as a husband's companion, giving birth and educating children for the *jihad*.<sup>24</sup>

Within EOs, women perform both traditional and non-traditional roles. The masculine tradition in EOs labels traditional roles such as bearing and raising children and accompanying husbands as “little *jihad*.”<sup>25</sup> Attaching this label of *jihad* to the traditional female role has a powerful effect on women. With this label, child bearing is no longer perceived as a female reproductive act, but is an act of struggle to reach greater ideals. Labeling this role as little *jihad* also adds a masculine perspective to the act of child bearing, which leads to unconditional subjection of women. Therefore, it is not surprising that women who live under the masculine tradition must constantly bear children without objection, because childbirth is a form of *jihad* for them.

Looking at the task division within EOs, women also have strategic roles in spreading radical ideologies and even attacking strategic objects. This shows that women and men have the potential to become radical. The process of radicalization and ideologization within EOs also allows men and women to become active agents of the extremist movement. Therefore, de-radicalization and disengagement programs that still retain female stereotypes will not achieve maximum results. The phenomenon of women's involvement in strategic roles within EOs has undermined gender stereotypes.

#### **2.4. The Role of Women and Men in the Prevention of Violent Extremism**

Violent extremism prevention in the context of this analysis comprises efforts undertaken so that people do not join EOs. Prevention of VE requires the participation of all citizens, thus ensuring that everyone has a sense of ownership in the process and substance of the prevention effort. However, as the spread of radical ideologies begins at the family level, the family as the smallest community unit becomes a strategic force for combat. As such, women whose daily tasks are parenting and educating children play a major role in developing young people's resilience against the influence of radicalism. Strengthening women's roles in preventing radicalism is also in line with women's view on security, harmony, and peace.

Through interviews and discussions, many women stated that violent acts of intolerance, even in the name of religion, are a threat to the peace of life, family safety, and social harmony. They also argued that children who are induced by intolerance and violence will be confronted with violence in their daily lives, until they replicate these actions. Meanwhile, men maintain that acts of intolerance and violence are justified if in the name of religion. For men, religious values must be upheld and defended, if necessary by force.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Interview on 20 September 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Interview on 3 November 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Interview on 19 September 2017.

<sup>26</sup> FGD on 18, 22, 27 September 2017.

The differences in the way women and men perceive and justify the phenomena of violence and intolerance in given local contexts shows that a culture of peace, non-violence, and openness is often inherent to a woman's life due to her experience as a care giver in her family and her community. In Indonesia, the caring roles integral to women's lives can be seen in the voluntary work at the integrated health service centers (*posyandu*), early childhood education centers (*pos PAUD*), or in the community support in the event of a birth or a death. Therefore, VE prevention programs should promote women's leadership, because VE prevention cannot be separated from the efforts of building peace, social harmony, and openness towards those who are different.

Men's participation in the prevention of VE is needed to support women's leadership. In areas where people still believe in male charismatic leadership, VE prevention programs can use male leadership to amplify women's voices and interests.

### 2.5. Impact and Strategy to Survive

Radicalism and extremism impact families in various ways. The primary, overwhelming impact that the family feels when its members become involved with EOs is a sense of loss. Families whose children joined EOs and who do not know the fate of their children, try to come to terms with the loss by finding out where their children are. Meanwhile, wives who have lost their husbands due to *jihad* abroad or by their being imprisoned for involvement in terrorism, have lost the head of their family and main breadwinner.<sup>27</sup>

In a crisis situation where the family head and main breadwinner is gone, women become the primary family providers. In several cases where husbands left their families for *jihad*, wives bore the full burden of family responsibilities, including providing for the children. These women are not only economically responsible for ensuring that children and other family members are provided for, but must also protect their children from stigma and bullying.<sup>28</sup>

Wives and children of terrorist prisoners do not receive any social or economic assistance or support. As one means of survival, *jihadist* wives build associations in solidarity and for collective economic power to establish businesses.<sup>29</sup> For those women who continue to partake in EO networks, survival and protection often means marrying another *jihadist* in order to avoid being expelled from the EO's support environment.<sup>30</sup>

The burden borne by women of terrorist families does not stop at economic affairs. In many cases of terrorism, wives who have lost their husbands must also face the law because of allegations of protecting and concealing terrorists. The length of the legal process that they go through entails that these women often have to leave their children without proper care.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Interview on 8 September and 9 October 2017.

<sup>28</sup> Interview on 9 September 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Interview on 11 September 2017.

<sup>30</sup> Interview on 19 September 2017.

<sup>31</sup> Interview on 17 October 2017.

Former terrorist inmates and their families also endure a difficult survival process. Former inmates who have already finished their sentences and have to return to society are socially and economically challenged because they are rejected from society and the world of work. On the one hand, they are demanded by society to be the main breadwinners for their families, while on the other hand society and the world of work reject them because of their past involvement with EOs.<sup>32</sup> These post-prison life challenges must be addressed in a comprehensive way. It is hoped that CVE programs identify this opportunity as a means to preventing extremism. A disengagement approach with the objective of economic and social empowerment for female and male former terrorist inmates can be one of the strategies for preventing VE.

### 3. Conclusions

Based on the analysis of the four studied areas, it can be concluded that:

1. In the context of law and policy related to CVE, the policy paradigm of violent extremism in Indonesia is focused on combatting terrorism, so that prevention work gets less attention. The policy of countering terrorism pursuant to Law No. 15 of 2003 is still gender-neutral, and as such has not yet accommodated the different needs and interests of men and women in the context of combatting and or preventing VE. Gender issues and gender-based violence related to VE are not contained in the substance of Law No. 15 of 2003, and therefore gender issues are still overlooked in prosecution and prevention policies. Prevention efforts are more widely initiated by local CSOs, demonstrating the weakness in leadership capacity of local government agencies in understanding and responding to the growing threats of radicalism and extremism.
2. Community members – men and women – join and participate in EOs driven by a combination of internal and external factors. Internal factors among others include anger towards injustice, despair and marginalization from the public decision-making process, and threats to religious and cultural norms. External factors include the presence of EOs that promise a collective faith-based unity, protection of religious norms, and a collective religious identity. These organizations also promise a sense of Muslim solidarity that is believed to amplify community voices demanding justice, and a promise for a government that is more just and prosperous for Muslims – that is, the system of *Khilafah* rule. These promises, which are narrated in the form of propaganda and preachings, are disseminated through social media (online) and various methods of direct human interactions. As a result, their gender does not prevent men or women from accessing information. On the contrary, access to information is specific – that is, differentiated according to the roles of women and men in EOs. Due to the social construction that differentiates positions of women and men in the family, women become

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<sup>32</sup> Interview on 19 October 2017.

involved in EOs either by free will (active agents), or by indoctrination or the insistence of family or husband.

3. Men and women are equally involved with EOs and their violence. EOs rely on the charismatic leadership of men, and these roles are given to men because they are believed to have a more profound religious knowledge and better leadership abilities than women. However, the roles of women are also no less strategic than those of men. Women in EOs can act as educators, preachers, fundraisers, recruiters, logistics organizers, and husband's companions. Women also play a role in child bearing and parenting children projected to become future *Mujahid*. EOs use masculine values to package traditional women's roles, such as bearing and parenting children, by branding them as "small *jihad*." As such, child bearing and parenting become part of the larger ideal. The strategic positioning and roles of women in EOs undermines inherent gender stereotypes of women.
4. Society can play an active role in preventing radicalism and extremism. The different ways in which women and men perceive the phenomenon of violence – and the differences in how they internalize a sense of security and peace, social harmony, and openness towards those who are different in daily life – enable women to take a lead in preventing radicalism and extremism. Therefore, women's leadership needs to be promoted in CVE, in line with women's life experiences as agents of building peace and social harmony.
5. In crisis situations caused by radicalism, religious fundamentalism, and VE, men and women in a family primarily experience loss and grief due to the loss of a family member. In the context of an absent head of family and breadwinner, women take on the leading role to provide for the family. Women build networks of solidarity amongst each other for social and economic independence.

#### **4. Gender and On going CVE Program Initiatives**

This section describes some of the gender strategies in CVE applied by UN Women, Australia Indonesia Partnership for Justice (AIPJ) II, and the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower.

UN Women implements a VE prevention project in Indonesia and Bangladesh, which started in 2017 and focuses on empowerment, advocacy, and research. As part of its empowerment focus, UN Women empower women's economy through cooperatives, initiating the *Kampung Damai* (peaceful settlements) models, and women's education focusing on women's leadership, economic rights, financial management, and gender equality. In its advocacy efforts, UN Women supports BNPT in integrating gender sensitivity into the CVE National Plan of Action. In research, UN Women is planning two major projects related to the dynamics of women's participation in radicalism and CVE, as well as surveys to explore the factors that led women to become involved in VE. UN Women selected several

cities in Java and Madura for its projects, including Solo, Bogor, Depok, Malang, and Sumenep.

AIPJ II, which in 2017 started its second phase of a joint project with the GOI in the field of law and justice, has a special focus on CVE. AIPJ II has two gender strategies in its CVE focus: (1) gender integration in de-radicalization of deportees and returnees by supporting collaboration between Social Services and CSOs; and (2) a stand-alone gender initiative establishing a family-based empowerment model. In this regard, AIPJ II supports radicalism prevention initiatives in communities with a family approach, especially in migrant worker communities in Jember and *pesantren* communities in Cirebon. AIPJ II also supports the strategic planning of the women's working group for CVE, formed in early 2017.

The Ministry of Manpower's Directorate of Placement and Protection of Overseas Workers that has the mandate to protect and guide Indonesian workers abroad. This Directorate (PPTKLN) has confirmed the widespread recruitment of overseas migrant workers as members of EOs. Since 2017, PPTKLN has strengthened the role and function of the Manpower Attaché assigned to Indonesian embassies, especially in destination countries where migrant workers potentially are being recruited by EOs: Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. Manpower Attachés reach out to migrant workers to create a nurturing sense of national belonging and closeness with the home country, and they inform Indonesian citizens about the dangers of radicalism and extremism. Back home, PPTKLN facilitates the establishment of *Desmigratif* ("productive migrant villages"). In a *Desmigratif*, the Ministry collaborates with the village government to strengthen the economy of former migrant laborers, to avoid them returning to work overseas. *Desmigratif* also functions as an information center for migrant workers about the dangers of radicalism and extremism. At present, there are 122 *Desmigratif* across Indonesia.

## 5. Recommendations

To address gender issues and gender inequalities in CVE, we recommend the following approaches:

1. CVE should ensure that a gender perspective and women's and children's rights are integrated into laws and policies on VE, because radicalism and extremism particularly threaten the lives of women and children. A gender analysis should be conducted in building national and local policies to integrate gender issues into the legal and policy substance on CVE. Women and women's organizations should participate in in CVE law and policy making processes at the national and local levels.
2. CVE needs to apply a family and community approach to support resilience against radicalism and VE, which threaten families and social harmony. Such family and community resilience should promote the leadership of women and young people in rural as well as urban areas.
3. Radicalism systematically targets rural villages as the base for expanding its support. CVE programs should support the realization of inclusive village

development by strengthening village governance and community capacities. Strong, organized village and community leadership can build early detection systems against radicalism by revitalizing citizen fora involving women and young people.

4. CVE programs need to strengthen local government capacity to respond to VE and gender issues related to CVE, including for budget planning, integration into development programs, and inter-sectoral coordination.
5. Radicalism and VE use religious narratives to broaden support, expand organizations, and influence state politics. Therefore, CVE programs must collaborate with progressive faith-based organizations to disseminate anti-radical narratives and promote gender equality and diversity through online and offline channels.
6. EOs promote polygamy, anti-family planning, and anti-immunization within their constituencies, and spread their propaganda to the wider community through social and mainstream media. More detailed research is needed on the impacts of propaganda related to polygamy, anti-family planning, and anti-immunization on women's and children's health.

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## Appendix I Analytical Framework

Data Required	Data Sources	Data Collection Methods	Data Analysis Methods
1. What are the existing laws, regulations, and policies related to CVE and how that laws impact women and men differently?			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Data on existing laws, regulation and policies related to CVE</li> <li>B. Different experience of men and women related to laws, regulation and policies impact</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. BNPT</li> <li>B. CSO, WRO/WLO,</li> <li>C. Women and men in selected communities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Key informant semi-structure interviews</li> <li>B. Focus group Consultation</li> <li>C. Desk study of secondary data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Analysis of qualitative data</li> <li>B. Data triangulation</li> </ul>
2. Where do women and men obtain the information to become extremist and how those nformation trigger them in joining extremist organization			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Data on the pattern of recruitment</li> <li>B. Various of factors that influence the pattern of recruitment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. BNPT</li> <li>B. Ministry of Manpower</li> <li>C. National Commission on Anti Violence Against Women</li> <li>D. WRO/WLO, CSO</li> <li>E. Scholar</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Key informant interviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Analysis of qualitative data</li> <li>B. Data Triangulation</li> </ul>
3. How gender roles contribute to the promotion and prevention CVE?			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. The different constructed roles of women and men to contribute in promoting VE</li> <li>B. Different constructed roles of women and men that contribute to each sex in participating and serving extremist organization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. BNPT</li> <li>B. National Commission On anti VAW</li> <li>C. CSO, WRO/WLO</li> <li>D. Scholar</li> <li>E. Women and men in selected community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Key informant interviews</li> <li>B. Focus Group consultation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Analysis of qualitative data</li> <li>B. Data triangulation</li> </ul>

<p>C. The role of women and men in preventing VE</p> <p>D. Set of Cultural norms and beliefs in different context on gender roles contribute to trigger men and women in joining extremist organization</p>			
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## **Appendix 2    Data Collection Instruments**

### **Guidance questions for Government Officials**

1. What are the government laws and policies dealing with CVE in prevention, response, rehabilitation and reintegration?
2. How this laws and policies impact in women and men differently? How the government response to those different impacts? Is there any specific measure to response women specific needs?
3. Where do men and women usually obtain information about extremist organizations?
4. How does information trigger women and men in joining extremist organizations?
5. What are the roles of women and men in promoting violent extremism?
6. What are the roles of women and men in participating and serving the interest of violence extremism?
7. How do cultural norms and beliefs on gender roles contribute to trigger men and women in joining extremist organizations?
8. How do cultural norms and beliefs on gender roles of men and women contribute in preventing violent extremism?
9. How are men and women in the family impacted by their member of family joining extremist groups?
10. How do men and women in the family cope when family member become radicalized or joint extremist group? How government support their struggle to cope with the impacts?

### **Guidance Questions for Government Officials Specific on Migrant Workers Issues**

1. How does the Ministry translate the government's law and policies on CVE into its mandate?
2. What are the Ministry initiatives/ program/policies in preventing migrant workers from joining extremist group?
3. How does the Ministry contribute to the rehabilitation and reintegration of the migrant workers who joint extremist organizations?

4. How does the Ministry support the migrant workers' family when member of their family joining extremist organizations?

### **Guidance Questions to CSO, WRO/WLO, and Scholar**

1. What are the government laws and policies dealing with CVE in prevention, response, rehabilitation and reintegration?
2. How this laws and policies impact in women and men differently? How the government response to those different impacts? Is there any specific measure to response women specific needs?
3. Where do men and women usually obtain information about extremist organizations?
4. How does the information trigger women and men in joining extremist organizations?
5. What are the roles of women and men in promoting violent extremism?
6. What are the roles of women and men in participating and serving the interest of extremist organizations?
7. How do cultural norms and beliefs on gender roles contribute to trigger men and women in joining extremist organizations?
8. How do cultural norms and beliefs on gender roles of men and women contribute in preventing violent extremism?
9. How are men and women in the family impacted by their member of family joining extremist groups?
10. How do men and women in the family cope when family member become radicalized or joint extremist group? How government support their struggle to cope with the impacts?
11. What are the role of CSO, WRO/WLO, and Scholar in countering violence extremism?

## Guidance Questions for International Organization

1. What are the government laws and policies dealing with CVE in prevention, response, rehabilitation and reintegration?
2. How this laws and policies impact in women and men differently? How the government response to those different impacts? Is there any specific measure to response women specific needs?
3. Where do men and women usually obtain information about extremist organizations?
4. How does information trigger women and men in joining extremist organizations?
5. What are the roles of women and men in promoting violent extremism?
6. What are the roles of women and men in participating and serving the interest of violent extremism?
7. How do cultural norms and beliefs on gender roles contribute to trigger men and women in joining extremist organizations?
8. How do cultural norms and beliefs on gender roles of men and women contribute in preventing violent extremism?
9. How are men and women in the family impacted by their member of family joining extremist groups?
10. How do men and women in the family cope when family member become radicalized or joint extremist group? How government support their struggle to cope with the impacts?
11. What are the role of IOM in preventing/ countering VE
12. How do the program/ project related to CVE have impact in men and women differently?
13. How do the program/project protect women and young women from violent extremism?
14. How do the program/project response to women and young women specific needs?
15. How do the program/project support family reintegration for community stabilization?

## **Guidance Questions for Focus Group Discussion with women and men in the community**

1. Do men and women in the community understand about violence extremism? What are the form of violence extremism?
2. Do men and women in the community have knowledge on government policy on CVE?
3. Do men and women have knowledge on extremist organization in the community? How men and women in the community obtain the information to become extremist? How does the information trigger women and men in joining extremist organizations?
4. How do men and women in the community response to any kind of radical and violent activities that threat to their peace and security and social harmony?
5. What are the roles of women and men in the community in promoting and preventing violent extremism and how?
6. What are the role of men and women in participating and serving the interest of extremist organizations?
7. How cultural norms and beliefs on gender roles contribute to trigger men and women in joining extremist organization?
8. How are men and women in the family impacted by men or women member of the family joining extremist group? And how they cope?
9. How men and women in the community support the process of reintegration?

## Appendix 3 Key Informants

### Interviews

Sector	Institution	Level
Ministries and Institutes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (<i>Kementerian Luar Negeri</i>)</li> <li>- BNPT</li> <li>- Ministry of Manpower – Directorate for Overseas Workers Placement</li> <li>- Ministry of Law and Human Rights (<i>Kementerian Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia</i>)</li> <li>- Ministry of Social Affairs (<i>Kementerian Sosial</i>)</li> </ul>	National
Government Agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- National Commission On Violence Against Women (<i>Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan</i>)</li> <li>- National Police</li> </ul>	National
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Local Police</li> </ul>	Local
Civil Society Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Asian Moslem Network</li> <li>- Partnership for Good Governance</li> <li>- The Habibi Center</li> <li>- CSave</li> <li>- SPEK-HAM</li> <li>- Women Ship (<i>Kappal Perempuan</i>)</li> <li>- National Indonesian Women’s Coalition (<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i>)</li> </ul>	National
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Woman Solidarity for Humanity and Human Rights (<i>Solidaritas Perempuan untuk Kemanusiaan dan HAM</i>) (SPEK-HAM)</li> <li>- GP Ansor</li> <li>- Local Indonesian Women’s Coalition (<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia</i>)</li> <li>-</li> </ul>	Local
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Researchers on religion</li> <li>- ICRP</li> <li>- IOM</li> <li>- Wahid Institute</li> <li>- PP Muslimah/NU</li> <li>- APIJ II</li> <li>- UN Women</li> </ul>	National
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Journalists</li> <li>- Migrant workers</li> <li>- Women activists</li> <li>- Researchers</li> </ul>	Local

## Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Participants	Level
Fatayat NU	Local
Community leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders	Local
NGO members	Local
Teachers	Local
Activists	Local
Community members	Local

\*FGD were conducted in four locations and groups were tailored to the sensitivities of the material to be discussed.

