

## Civil Society and Gender Mainstreaming: Case Study of the Working Group on Women and Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (WGWC) Program

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### **Abstract:**

*The transformation of women's role in terrorism networks from victims to supporters, perpetrators and even recruiters as well as ideologues is now a social phenomenon in Indonesia. Civil society organizations (CSOs) responded to this phenomenon by forming the Working Group on Women and Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (WGWC). There are several reasons behind this movement, such as; the strong patriarchal culture and regime in society and policy makers, the lack of women's involvement in efforts to eradicate violent extremism and terrorism, and the sporadic work of CSOs. This research uses a qualitative methodology with a case study approach. Data and information were obtained from interviews and documentation. The research found several points. First, WGWC be a forum for activists, academics, and civil society organizations in Indonesia on gender mainstreaming and countering violent extremism in Indonesia issues. WGWC applies a collegial collective system by sharing the framework of civil society partners. WGWC works voluntarily, independently and autonomously. Second, WGWC acts as a critical and strategic partner of the government in gender mainstreaming by intervening in policies and programs of the National Action Plan for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism that Leads to Violence (RAN PE) and Regional Action Plans (RAD PE).*

**Keywords:** *Mainstreaming Gender, Counter-Violent Extremism, WGWC*

## INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of women's role in terrorism networks in Indonesia first emerged at the end of 2016 when female migrant workers became perpetrators of terror acts. Subsequently, in 2018, a mother, her husband and four children executed a suicide bombing in Surabaya, drawing significant public and academic attention. So far, there has been a lot of research that shows the shifting role of women in the circle of violent extremism and terrorism. Initially, women only played the role of victims of their husbands who were involved in networks of violent extremism and terrorism. Following the Surabaya bomb case, the role of women evolved beyond mere perpetration to encompass responsibilities as recruiters and ideologues for their children (Hartana, 2017; Qori'ah et.al, 2019; Senatehalia, et.al, 2021; Destina Mujahid, 2022). Numerous research findings indicate key factors contributing to women's involvement in acts of violent extremism and terrorism. Firstly, religious doctrine plays a role, as it mandates wives to obey their husbands, particularly in matters related to the husband's interpretation of religious teachings. Secondly, psychological reasons, especially among the wives of terrorism convicts who feel that their husbands have been slandered and treated unfairly by the state. In the wife's view, her husband is a devout Muslim who believes that what he does is right, so efforts to defend and continue his husband's efforts are a must. Thirdly, some women adopt a binary perspective on social reality, believing that under certain conditions, engaging in jihad is a responsibility that extends to women as well.

However, there is a scarcity of research focused on women's contributions to preventing and countering violent extremism. In a study conducted by Najahan Musyafak, et.al (2020), it is highlighted that women play a crucial role in countering the ideologies of violent extremism and terrorism. Specifically, as wives or mothers, women have influence in both domestic and public spheres. With adequate knowledge, they possess the capacity to counteract the propaganda and ideologies of violent extremism within their homes, thereby shielding their children from exposure to such influences. Additionally, as wives, they act as mediators in shaping their husbands' perspectives, fostering an environment conducive to open discussions within the family. Another research by Adang Darmawan Achmad, et.al (2021) suggests that women can effectively prevent and repel violent extremism within the household by cultivating a harmonious family atmosphere and emphasizing positive, and at the very least, moderate religious norms among family members.

Thus, the significance of this article is to specifically examine the role of civil society organizations which seek to make the role of women in gender mainstreaming a main issue in overcoming violent extremism and terrorism in Indonesia. The role and involvement of women is coordinated in the gender mainstreaming movement led by the Working Group on Women and Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (WGWC). Thus, the analysis of the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming efforts undertaken by the WGWC through its programs relies heavily on the civil society perspective, particularly in examining the relationship between the state and civil society. Cohen and Arato (Culla,

2006: 18-21), Chandhoke (1995: 8-13) and Gellner (1995: 6), state that civil society is a collection of 'private organisms' consisting of groups and community associations which represent the church, educational institutions, working class, religious organizations, media, arts, local communities, professions, trade, kinship associations or families where they are connected to the state. The characteristics of civil society are volunteerism, self-generation, self-supporting and autonomy when dealing with the state and away from economic interests. The research method used in this research is qualitative research with a case study approach. The data collection technique in this research is observation, document review and interviews with the founders represented by AMAN Indonesia, C-SAVE and the Prasasti Peace Foundation, PP Aisyah and Daya Makara UI (University of Indonesia).

## **DISCUSSION**

### **Gender Mainstreaming, Violent Extremism and WGWC**

In Indonesia, the government's commitment to gender mainstreaming dates back to the issuance of Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2000. This directive emphasizes the importance of ensuring women's rights in national development, outlining freedoms that safeguard these rights. This policy requires the central government and regional level governments to provide opportunities for women's involvement in planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating government policies and programs. Gender mainstreaming also aims to provide equal opportunities for men and women to hold leadership positions within the government. However, until now, the implementation of the Presidential Instruction on gender mainstreaming is still experiencing many obstacles both at the central and regional levels. These obstacles affect the level of global confidence in the gender equality index in Indonesia. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF) in its Global Gender Gap Report 2022, Indonesia is ranked 92nd out of 146 countries in terms of gender equality. This figure decreased from the previous report in 2020 which ranked 85th out of 163 countries ([www.weforum.org](http://www.weforum.org))

The challenge encountered in gender mainstreaming stems from the enduring influence of a strong patriarchal regime within both bureaucratic elites and society. Ruhaini Dzuhayatin (2015) elucidates that the prevailing systemic gender regime in Indonesia makes the pursuit of gender equality a complex endeavor. The entrenched patriarchal culture, manifesting in various aspects of society, ranging from traditional institutions to communities and organizations, persists even after the issuance of the Presidential Instruction (Inpres PUG). Within this patriarchal framework, men are positioned as the exclusive rulers, dominant figures, central authorities, and arbiters of all decisions, perpetuating a decision-making process consistently shaped by a male perspective. There are four key characteristics of the gender regime entrenched in Indonesia's patriarchal culture: 1) women as property owners, 2) male dominance in headship roles, 3) the establishment of a hierarchical senior-junior complement relationship between men and women, and 4) the absence of an equal partnership (Dzuhayatin, 2015). Beyond cultural factors, religious interpretations also contribute to this challenge. Certain religious groups,

particularly Islamic leaders, interpret social relations between men and women as inherently unequal, further complicating the implementation of gender mainstreaming. This strengthens the reason why the gender mainstreaming movement is difficult to implement and requires hard work to build collective awareness on this issue.

In dealing with violent extremism and terrorism, policies and programs from state institutions and related government agencies must also be taken into account. According to former terrorist Ali Fauzi, the government's implementation and deradicalization policies still marginalize the fate of women. The deradicalization program that currently exists should not only neutralize at the level of ideology and thought through discussions, indoctrination, and counter-narratives. Efforts to ease the burden on the wives of terrorist prisoners and former terrorist prisoners, such as helping to meet the financial needs of their families, health and education for their children, are part of how to deal with violent extremism and terrorism (Ali Fauzi, 2021).

In addition to that, the role of society in paying attention to the material and non-material needs of the wives of terrorism convicts and assisting the social integration of former terrorism convicts is also very important in efforts to deradicalize violent extremism and terrorism (Kusumarini, 2022). However, a notable challenge lies in the sporadic and poorly integrated efforts of peace, national, and anti-violent extremism activists. Many civil society organizations dedicated to women's and children's issues are active in various initiatives but often avoid engaging with the topic of violent extremism due to hesitancy. There are also civil society organizations that have national issues starting to make their work programs oriented towards the issue of violent extremism and civil society organizations were deliberately formed to address the issue of violent extremism, but their programs are not coordinated so that there are overlapping choices of locus and program focus.

In response to these challenges, academic activists and civil society organizations came together to establish the Working Group on Women and Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (WGWC). This consortium was created as a multi-stakeholder initiative with the primary goal of placing a strong emphasis on gender considerations in addressing violent extremism. The formation of WGWC is rooted in the recognition of the crucial need for collaborative efforts to actively engage women in countering and preventing violent extremism and terrorism. This collaboration spans across political policy levels and community empowerment initiatives, reflecting a collective commitment to addressing these issues comprehensively (Kusumarini, 2022).

### **Partnerships, Work Programs and Role of WGWC**

The Working Group on Women and Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (WGWC) was established in Bogor in July 2017, with sponsorship from the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Justice (AIPJ) program. This initiative successfully brought together a diverse group of participants, including academics, women's and children's activists, anti-violent extremism advocates, and representatives from government entities.

Currently, WGWC serves as a collective platform for individuals and organizations actively involved in gender mainstreaming efforts aimed at preventing violent extremism and terrorism. Through collaborative initiatives, WGWC has not only become a central hub for those engaged in this work but has also extended invitations to new partners, contributing to the expansion and strengthening of the women's movement dedicated to preventing and countering violent extremism in Indonesia.

In managing the organization, WGWC employs a collaborative partnership model with a collective leadership approach. During its initial establishment, a steering committee consisting of five individuals was appointed by the partners. These individuals included Ruby Kholifah (AMAN Indonesia), Mira Kusumarini (C-Save), Any Rufaedah (DASPR-Data Makara Universitas Indonesia), Riri Kharirah (KOMNAS Perempuan), and Taufik Andri (Peace Inscription Foundation). Currently, WGWC is in the process of undergoing structural changes, wherein the new steering committee members will be Ruby Kholifah (AMAN Indonesia), Taufik Andri (Prasasti Peace Foundation), Debby Affianty (LGIS-FISIP Muhammadiyah University Jakarta), Imam Nahe'I (KOMNAS Perempuan), and Nur Laeliyatul Masruroh (C-Save) ([www.womenandcve.id](http://www.womenandcve.id)).

The roadmap of the work program outlined by WGWC encompasses two key elements. Firstly, the program focuses on policy intervention and the establishment of grassroots networks. Secondly, it involves the formulation of program targets and achievement indicators within the WGWC partnership framework, serving as a guide for partners' work programs. WGWC adopts a collaborative approach that does not amalgamate partners but rather brings them together to engage in joint initiatives through cooperative programs. This approach acknowledges that prior to the formation of WGWC, partners had their own distinct program concepts, targets, and achievements. The WGWC partnership framework acts as a convergence point for partners' work programs, resembling lifeboats on an aircraft carrier, particularly in the context of gender mainstreaming in addressing violent extremism and terrorism. The framework includes a table delineating the division of work, orientation towards change, and indicators for assessing the achievements of WGWC partners.

Table 1. Partnership Framework WGWC

|                    | <b>More People</b>   | <b>Key People</b>  |
|--------------------|--|--|
| Individual Changes | <p><b>Changes:</b><br/>Positive attitude towards more people to prevent the development of hate speech and radicalism</p> <p><b>Indicator:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baseline data of gender-based violence in the context of extremism.</li> <li>• Modeling attitude change for</li> </ul> | <p><b>Change:</b><br/>Positive attitude of key people to collaborate on enforcing legal implementation related to P/CVE</p> <p><b>Indicators:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baseline data actors of CT/CVE and service for</li> </ul> |

|                          |   |   |
|--------------------------|---|---|
|                          | anti-radicalism education with a gender perspective <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modeling dialog with women for radicalism circle</li> </ul>  | victims <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modeling a gender perspective in CT/CVE policy</li> <li>• Modeling the development capacity of key people towards deradicalization</li> <li>• Modeling the development capacity of mosques with a gender perspective</li> </ul>  |
| Social-Political Changes | <p><b>Changes:</b><br/>         Collective positive attitudes in civil society that promotes tolerance, fight against radicalism and strengthens society</p> <p><b>Indicators:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baseline data capacity that reintegrates and rehabilitates</li> <li>• Infrastructures of WGWC movement ready on national level and 6 priority areas</li> <li>• Modeling the reintegration and rehabilitation of gender perspective among the community of women writers for a counter narrative</li> <li>• Modeling of counter-narrative issues of women and P/CVE</li> <li>• Community care modeling that prevents radicalism</li> </ul> | <p><b>Changes:</b><br/>         Transparency, accountability and anti-corruption reform that start with the judicial government agencies, penitentiary system embedded in the CVE strategy</p> <p><b>Indicators:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baseline data on effectiveness implementation in P/CVE Policy</li> <li>• Modeling the cooperation between women NGO's and governments</li> <li>• Modeling the handling deradicalizations with a gender perspective</li> </ul> |

*Source: Roadmap WGWC 2017*

The division in the table is not to limit the work of partners, but to ensure gender mainstreaming programs are included in all lines. WGWC Steering Committee, Rubi, explained that WGWC work does not have to hinder the work of individuals (partners). They continue to carry out individual and collective work so that all groups, especially the central and regional governments, realize the importance of gender mainstreaming. Then civil society must realize that the government is an important actor and realize that civil society cannot work alone without government involvement. Therefore, Rubi emphasized the operational approach of WGWC, highlighting its aspiration to function as a movement.

The objective is to encourage all civil society organizations, whether directly related or not, to recognize the significance of implementing gender mainstreaming, even by the government. The formation of WGWC was a collaborative effort, uniting various entities into a working group with collective influence. This collaboration is seen as a crucial endeavor to enhance partnerships with the government, aiming for effective implementation (Rubi, 2021).

In the implementation of its programs, WGWC relies on four foundational pillars. The first pillar is prevention, where WGWC aims to enhance the leadership capabilities of women, enabling their active involvement in preventing the radicalization of community resilience. The organization is actively constructing an Early Warning System against violent extremism and terrorism, which is intended to be developed within communities, women's groups, and local institutions. This system operates effectively to foster ongoing collaboration among these three entities. Furthermore, WGWC endeavors to promote gender mainstreaming and peace concurrently within educational institutions. This is achieved by establishing Peace Leaders and Women Peace Ambassadors. Lastly, WGWC is dedicated to bolstering women's leadership capabilities in preventing the radicalization of community resilience through initiatives such as workshops and training sessions aimed at cultivating peace agents from within the women's community.

The second pillar is protection, where WGWC is committed to crafting alternative narratives to gender constructions grounded in culture and the voices of female victims. These narratives aim to deconstruct the gender narrative propagated by extremist groups. As part of this effort, WGWC has extended invitations to individuals, such as the wife of a convicted terrorist, to share their stories and experiences. Additionally, WGWC advocates for enhancing the capacity of law enforcement officials, including police, judges, and prosecutors, to comprehend the link between gender-based violence and extremism, particularly concerning women and children, with the goal of achieving justice. The organization has also engaged female security officers from Densus 88 in these initiatives. Finally, WGWC is actively pushing for the imposition of penalties on those who engage in the dissemination of intimidation, bullying, and hate speech.

The third pillar is participation, and WGWC actively promotes women's engagement in policymaking to prevent violent extremism. This involvement encompasses advocating and supporting the increased participation of women in the security sector, endorsing community initiatives for preventing radicalization, and highlighting the role of religious leaders, particularly female clerics, in promoting the prevention of extremism. WGWC is actively involved in various policy-making agendas with its partners. These include the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (referred to as the PKS Bill), the Draft Law on Terrorism (referred to as the Terrorism Bill), the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Control of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism (referred to as RAN PE), and the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Management of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism (referred to as RAD PE).

The fourth pillar is humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation, where WGWC endeavors to promote gender-sensitive policies in the treatment of refugees, deportees, returnees, or individuals coming back from Syria-Iraq, as well as detainees linked to extremist activities, based on their specific needs. WGWC also advocates for the integration of gender considerations into the processes of work and reintegration for individuals who have been exposed to radicalism. Furthermore, WGWC emphasizes the importance of collaboration between government and non-governmental entities to enhance community acceptance levels in the reintegration process. This collaborative approach aims to facilitate the successful reintegration of individuals affected by extremism back into society.

Based on partnerships, work programs and roles, WGWC represents as an independent and autonomous civil society entity. Communities, groups, associations, and academics voluntarily engage with WGWC in matters related to state policies, showcasing their commitment to contributing to societal concerns. Notably, WGWC maintains a stance of independence from political affiliations, underscoring its non-participation in political society. Through its programs, WGWC strategically positions itself as a critical element within society, actively participating in the realms of political life and national development. The organization originated from a heightened public awareness, acknowledging empirical evidence of terrorism incidents in Indonesia. This awareness has fueled WGWC's commitment to addressing and mitigating the impacts of such incidents on society.

Hence, the WGWC framework, incorporating key figures and the general public while being oriented towards medium and large-scale change, exemplifies the robustness of civil society within a consolidated democracy. This strength is evident in several dimensions, starting with the enabling environment aspect. Here, the environmental conditions support the development of civil society and the attainment of organizational objectives. In the context of Indonesia, the practice of democratization has reached a consolidated stage. As a result, civil society organizations benefit from legal guarantees, outlined in regulations, that safeguard their rights to freedom and association. This legal framework provides them with the necessary space to actively participate in policy matters and ensures access to essential information. This supportive environment enhances the effectiveness of civil society's role in contributing to societal change within the democratic landscape.

The second aspect pertains to organizational capacity, which encompasses technical, managerial, and institutional dimensions. In terms of technical capacity, including human resources, infrastructure, technology, and financing, WGWC demonstrates strength. The organization is staffed by experienced individuals, often having previously worked in partner institutions. Financially, WGWC has been consistently funded by Australia-Indonesia for Peace and Justice (AIPJ) since its inception. Regarding managerial capacity, the partnership structure and collegial collective leadership within WGWC emphasize equality. The managerial responsibilities and work programs are comprehensively divided



according to a framework agreed upon by the partners. From an institutional standpoint, the composition of partners brings together elements of civil society collaborating with government entities within a single movement. This reflects a symbiotic relationship between civil society and the state—where they complement, substitute, and balance each other. This dynamic illustrates civil society's capability to be independent, self-organize, build networks, mobilize action, encourage volunteer participation, and secure independent funding.

The weakness of WGWC lies in the aspect of the role of society, particularly in the implementation of gender mainstreaming programs related to handling violent extremism and terrorism. Several challenges impede the effectiveness of these programs. Firstly, gender mainstreaming is not as popular as issues directly linked to community needs, such as the economy, education, or health. Consequently, community involvement remains limited and is only championed by specific groups within society. Additionally, the prevailing patriarchal culture and perspectives within the general populace hinder the active participation of women, especially in regional areas where traditional gender roles are deeply ingrained.

Moreover, many women are hesitant to engage in these initiatives, perceiving that their roles should not extend as far, especially in communities outside urban centers. Finally, the capacity of local civil society organizations faces significant limitations compared to their national counterparts. Factors such as inadequate financial resources, limited access to information, challenges in adopting technology, and a shortage of skilled human resources hinder the development of institutions at the regional level. Despite these challenges, WGWC persists in extending invitations to local communities through partnerships with local civil society organizations. The organization aims to enhance the impact of its movement by involving more organizations, communities, and local figures, fostering change at the grassroots level.

### **WGWC Relations with States in Policy Intervention**

The relationship between civil society and the state can be understood through two paradigms. First is the conflictual dialectical relationship, characterized by a strong (superior) state and a weak (inferior) civil society or an unbalanced state-civil society dynamic. In Karl Marx's perspective, in such a relationship, the state tends to dominate or hegemonize society. This can occur by the state forming civil society and utilizing it as a tool of the ruling class. The objective is to perpetuate the power of the dominant class by controlling both the state apparatus and societal structures. Second, when an authoritarian regime falls, civil society has a dialectical relationship in developing democracy and becomes a balance to the state. According to Larry Diamond, civil society can be a major player in the democratic transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic regime. When a democratic climate is formed, the role of civil society means it has reached the stage of democratic consolidation (Diamond, 1997:34).

Alexis Tocqueville formulated these two paradigms through an examination of the relations between civil society and the state in the United States. He delineated three functions characterizing this relationship: complementarity, substitution, and balancing. Complementarity involves civil society undertaking diverse activity programs to enhance and complement the state's role, with a specific focus on community empowerment. In contrast, substitution occurs when civil society groups execute programs not undertaken by the state, particularly in relation to institutions serving the broader community's interests. Partnerships can be established between the state and civil society. Lastly, civil society serves as a balancing force for the state, engaging in advocacy, accompaniment, legitimization, and even opposition to practices that mitigate the state's hegemonic power, or at the very least, provide an alternative discourse outside the state bureaucratic framework (Hikam, 2000:64-57).

In the context of Indonesia, Philip Eldridge (1989:33-35; see Culla 2006:74-75) introduced a conceptual framework reminiscent of Tocqueville's ideas on the relationship between civil society and the state. Eldridge identified three models characterizing this relationship in Indonesia. Firstly, the empowerment model at the grassroots level, where civil society primarily concentrates on increasing public awareness and empowering communities, particularly at the grassroots. This model closely aligns with the function of civil society as a complement. The second model is the high-level partnership grassroots development model, reflecting patterns of partnership relationships in development. This model is akin to the function of civil society as a substitute. Lastly, the high-level politics grassroots mobilization model involves civil society actively engaging in political activities to exert pressure on the state's political policies. This model closely resembles the function of civil society as a balancer for the state.

The relationship between civil society and the state in the WGWC study is viewed from its involvement in the public policy process starting from formulation, implementation, monitoring to evaluation. Since its formation until now, WGWC has been involved in several government policies and programs such as the National Action Plan for the Protection and Empowerment of Women and Children in Social Conflict (RAN P3-KS), the Terrorism Bill, the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Control of Violent-Based Extremism which Leading to Violence (RAN PE) and continued until the Regional Action Plan (RAD) PE.

Mira Kusumarini (2022) outlined the policy advocacy process undertaken by WGWC, which involves several stages. The initial stage is preparation, where WGWC builds a grassroots network by establishing communication and coordination with relevant partners. Collaboratively with partners, WGWC compiles necessary data and information through various activities, including field research, crafting policy papers, organizing limited discussion forums (Discussion Group Forums), creating problem inventory lists (DIM), and developing academic policy texts. In the second stage, the outcomes of these activities are presented on the agenda for hearings with the government, state institutions, and other relevant entities.

This activity is also extended to policy advocacy at the regional level, where WGWC partners with local civil society in the derivative program of RAN PE, known as RAD PE. WGWC is actively involved in building the capacity of local civil society in policy advocacy at both the provincial and regional levels. They replicate the concepts, programs, and advocacy strategies for gender mainstreaming and P/CVE (Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism), aiming to enhance the capacity of civil society organizations in the regions. This initiative empowers local organizations to take a leading role in organizing activities, developing programs, and advocating for policies at the provincial and regional government levels.

These activities are then published via WGWC's K-Hub (Knowledge-hub). K-Hub is one of the efforts to develop collaborative work that displays the activities of WGWC partners regarding women and P/CVE issues. K-hub will help connect actors and institutions working on similar issues, making it easier to access the latest news on activities, training, lessons, best practices on women's issues and P/CVE issues. K-hub will be a knowledge center for everything related to women and P/CVE in Indonesia. This platform can also be a source of information for local civil society regarding gender mainstreaming programs.

After that, in the implementation process, WGWC was involved in socializing policies and programs that had been established by the government. For example, WGWC programs create thematic work plans for gender mainstreaming together with the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), the Ministry of Home Affairs and the European Union. Apart from that, they also socialized Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 7 of 2021 concerning RAN PE for regional governments together with the Counter-Terrorism Communication Forum (FKPT) in 34 provinces throughout Indonesia.

In addition to policy intervention activities, WGWC advocates for institutions involved in handling violent extremism and terrorism. WGWC demands women's quotas and equality in occupying certain positions for men and women based on performance. State institutions advocated by WGWC include BNPT, FKPT, Densus 88, and prisons which house terrorism convicts.

Based on policy advocacy activities, it shows that through its programs, WGWC acts as a civil society with a High-Level Partnership: Grassroots Development model (Culla, 2006:74). WGWC emphasizes cooperation in government development programs while trying to influence the design or implementation of government programs so that they move in a more participatory direction and touch and involve the grass roots. Usually in these relationships, civil society is very aware of the importance of establishing networks and maintaining grassroots support. In addition, although involved in influencing policy, the WGWC has shown no interest in changing or penetrating too deeply into the political process itself.

Currently, WGWC is a critical and strategic partner for the government in implementing policies and programs related to gender mainstreaming in the issue of violent extremism and terrorism. In Presidential Decree Number 7 of 2021, WGWC is a forum for

the involvement of various civil society organizations and is also a consultation and consolidation partner for the government. The presence of WGWC together with its partners has added gender indicators to the RAN PE and 5 RAD PE in Aceh, Central Sulawesi, West Java, Central Java and East Java (RAN PE Thematic Working Group, 2023).

Nevertheless, there are certain challenges in the gender mainstreaming policy advocacy program addressing violent extremism and terrorism. Firstly, in terms of financial sustainability, WGWC still relies on funding from abroad, particularly from programs like AIPJ funded by the Australian government. This dependency on foreign funding could be perceived negatively, as there is a risk that WGWC may become less independent if foreign funding ceases. Furthermore, this reliance on external funding has implications for the program's sustainability, restricting WGWC to conducting pilot projects rather than achieving long-term impact. Currently, the clarity of government support for funding civil society organization agendas through the national and regional budgets (APBN and APBD) as a form of domestic support remains uncertain.

Secondly, WGWC's engagement with the government in advocating policies for addressing violent extremism and terrorism is established in a bottom-up fashion. The inception of gender mainstreaming in handling violent extremism originated from a collective of civil society organizations. This group formed a comprehensive forum by inviting pertinent government entities, with the government playing a more prominent role in the activities alongside civil society initiatives. In terms of community involvement, WGWC aspires to achieve partnership participation, as per the participation ladder. To ensure the sustainability of the gender mainstreaming program in Indonesia, particularly in the context of handling violent extremism, it is crucial for the government to provide support to civil society organizations both morally and materially.

## CONCLUSION

This research has several findings which are summarized in the following points. Firstly, following the issuance of Presidential Instruction (Inpres) no. 9 of 2000 addressing Gender Mainstreaming in national development, WGWC emerged as the inaugural civil society organization supporting the integration of gender perspectives into policies and programs related to combating violent extremism and terrorism. Secondly, WGWC's guiding principles prioritize equality, inclusion, independence, and volunteerism, characterized by collaborative leadership and cooperation among stakeholders. Despite these principles, WGWC's initiatives rely on foreign funding and lack government support, rendering them vulnerable as pilot projects with potential sustainability challenges. Thirdly, WGWC's role and functions, as reflected in its programs, establish high-level partnerships focusing on grassroots development. The organization actively participates in policy formulation, engagement, and implementation, particularly in the execution of Presidential Decree Number 7 of 2021 regarding RAN PE and 5 RAD PE. In conclusion, this research primarily concentrates on the policy formulation and implementation processes, urging

further exploration into WGWC's role in policy monitoring and evaluation. Additionally, considering diverse perspectives can enhance the research's robustness, given the dynamic nature of civil society movements.

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