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Localizing UNSCR 1325 in Indonesia: Study of Local Women Religious Groups in Peacebuilding and Counter Radicalization

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ABSTRACT

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000) in Indonesia has a significant stage in recognizing women's role in the peace process at the national and local level. This research is interested in learning how local communities especially religious groups perform their agency in peacebuilding, specifically counter-radicalization. In the context of peace and counter-radicalization, we are looking into how women are actively engaged in peace and security issues, not as an object of policy, but as knowledge carrier and other roles like educator, negotiator, and mediator. This research recognizes the contested notion of radicalization. Instead of using one definition, how the groups perceive radicalization was observed, then what agency's roles they took in countering radicalization. This research's central question is how the perception and strategies of women Quran study groups in Cilacap regency in counter radicalization efforts. Cilacap was chosen for its categorization as the 'red zone' of radicalism. Simultaneously, researchers studied women's Islamic study groups given their main activities in education and social activities, which are vital to peacebuilding efforts. This article provides an overview of peacebuilding and counter-radicalization activities by women religious groups in Cilacap. Their perceptions on radicalization also influence their understanding as an agency in various counter radicalization activities. They also contribute to building the foundation of peace in the community by strengthening society's resilience through social and religious activities.

***Keywords**: counter-radicalization, peace activism, women's agency, women Quran study groups*

ABSTRAK

Adopsi UNSCR 1325 (2000) di Indonesia menjadi satu tahapan yang signifikan untuk mengakui peran perempuan dalam proses perdamaian baik di level nasional hingga lokal. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mempelajari cara komunitas lokal khususnya kelompok-kelompok pengajian perempuan menunjukkan agensinya dalam upaya bina damai, khususnya di ranah kontra-radikalisasi. Dalam konteks perdamaian dan kontra-radikalisasi, artikel ini ingin mempelajari bagaimana kelompok perempuan terlibat secara aktif dalam isu perdamaian dan keamanan, bukan sebagai objek kebijakan atau pendengar dalam diskusi. Perempuan dilihat sebagai aktor pembawa pengetahuan dan pemain peran lainnya seperti pendidik, negosiator dan mediator. Artikel ini menyadari bahwa radikalisasi tidak bisa dimaknai dalam satu definisi tunggal. Ketimbang menggunakan satu definisi tertentu, artikel ini mengobservasi bagaimana anggota kelompok pengajian memahami radikalisasi, dan bagaimana peran-peran agensi yang mereka ambil dalam upaya kontra-radikalisasi. Pertanyaan utama yang dijawab dalam artikel ini adalah persepsi dan strategi kelompok pengajian perempuan sebagai representasi kelompok perempuan dan kelompok agamis di Kabupaten Cilacap dalam upaya-upaya kontra-radikalisasi dan bina damai. Cilacap diambil sebagai lokasi penelitian karena dikategorisasikan sebagai 'zona merah' radikalisme. Kelompok pengajian perempuan menjadi fokus penelitian karena aktivitas mereka dalam pendidikan dan kegiatan sosial memiliki posisi vital dalam ranah bina damai. Dalam artikel ini, penulis hendak memberikan gambaran mengenai aktivitas-aktivitas bina damai dan kontraradikalisasi oleh kelompok pengajian perempuan di Cilacap. Persepsi mereka tentang radikalisasi mempengaruhi pemahaman sebagai agensi dalam rangkaian

aktivitas kontraradikalisasi. Kelompok ini juga membangun fondasi bagi perdamaian positif di komunitas dengan penguatan ketahanan sosial melalui aktivitas-aktivitas sosial keagamaan.

Kata-kata kunci: *kontra-radikalisasi, bina damai, agensi perempuan, kelompok pengajian perempuan.*

Various literature shows that cases of terrorist attacks are not unique to modern times; however, after 9/11, the issue of terrorism became one of the leading security issues. The United States declared a Global War on Terrorism (the global war on terrorism) to anticipate another massive terror attack, such as the Al Qaeda group attack on the World Trade Center, New York City, on September 11, 2001. In Indonesia, there are several terrorist groups based on religion, specifically using the religion of Islam, which have carried out a series of acts of terrorism since Indonesia's independence year in 1945. At the beginning of independence, a group named the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) or also known as Darul Islam (DI), led by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo in the 1950s fought against the government of the Republic of Indonesia in West Java (Solahudin, 2013). When the Indonesian government pressured NII, and many of the NII sympathizers were arrested, NII's initial idea of establishing a state based on Islamic law continued to receive support from several society elements. In the 1970s, two teachers of the Al Mukmin Islamic boarding school in Ngruki, Sukoharjo-Central Java, Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, formed an organization called Jamaah Islamiyyah (JI). JI later linked to the Bali bombing I in 2002 and the Bali bombing II in 2005.

Under the National Agency of Counter-terrorism (BNPT), the Indonesian government has formulated two programs to counter radicalism and terrorism, namely Deradicalization and Counter-radicalization. According to BNPT, Deradicalization is an effort to assist radicalized people or groups in leaving terror and violent methods. Whereas counter-radicalization refers to "the inculcation of Indonesian values and nonviolent values [...] this strategy is carried out through formal and non-formal education (BNPT, 2019)." This counter-radicalization can be in the form of formal teachings included in the school curriculum from elementary school to college level, or non-formally through religious activities (pengajian), youth (Karang Taruna), and social activities at the village and neighborhood level.

Cilacap Regency is said to have entered the red zone of terrorism (Tempo 2013). Even though the news was printed in 2013, during in-depth discussions and focus group discussions held with various government agencies in Cilacap in August 2019, it was emphasized that Cilacap's statement as the red zone of terrorism was still relevant. Geographically, in the Cilacap district, there is the island of Nusakambangan, which is the location of the Nusakambangan prison. This is where convicts of significant terrorism cases in Indonesia are being held. It was the place for the execution of Bali Bombers I, namely Amrozi, Muklas, and Imam Samudra, on November 9, 2008 (Tempo, 2013).

Based on data from the official website of Cilacap Regency, available from Kabupaten Cilacap dalam Angka (2018), Cilacap Regency is the largest district in Central Java province, which has an "area of 225,360,840 hectares, divided into 24 sub-districts, 269 villages and 15 sub-districts (Kabupaten Cilacap Dalam Angka, 2018)". This regency also has great industrial potential, there is an integrated Cilacap industrial area, a Holcim cement factory, Pertamina, PT. Julia International Foods, which processes seafood products, the PLTU (steam power plant) area, and the Tanjung Intan seaport, currently provides access to several export-import

products. This dynamic area is one of the attractions for migrants to enter the Cilacap area and live in for some time or even live permanently.

Given Cilacap's dynamic social and economic state as well as its status of red zone of terrorism, it is imperative to discover counter-radicalization strategies in the region. This research is particularly interested in studying women's experiences in Cilacap in facing radicalism and conducting counter-radicalization efforts as part of the broad framework of women's role in peace studies. In peace studies and activism, the key is peace with peace, not violence. Furthermore, peace activism itself is to seek negative peace and positive peace where violence is avoided and efforts to build the roots of peace structurally and culturally through dialogue and upholding justice and the realization of equity (Galtung, 1969). The importance of women's roles has also been increasingly recognized, with the making of Woman Peace and Security Agenda and UN Resolution 1325 on women and peace. This UN Resolution 1325 demonstrates the international commitment to pay more attention to women's unique positions and needs, especially in times of conflict and post-conflict (Security council report, 2000).

The development of radicalism in Indonesia has generated suspicions towards certain religious groups, especially those from Islam. One can find fear and securitization of Muslim communities in Western countries where the Muslim community is a minority. The picture will be different from Indonesia, where Muslims (Sunnis) are the majority and enjoy freedom and civil and political rights. It will be interesting to study how Muslim groups identify the radicalism around them and develop strategies to prevent radical thought from developing into violence.

The main question in this article is about the role and approach of women's religious groups in Cilacap in counter-radicalization efforts. In international security studies, this research contributes to the ability of local actors, especially women, to build a discourse for peace through their social activities, whether they are profession-based or religious-based. Given that radicalism is a transnational issue where the movement of ideas and people is easily crossed national borders, the discussion of non-state actors at the local level is as significant as the discussion of international organizational actors. Counter-radicalization efforts in one place will significantly prevent violence in other areas.

The key concept used to address this problem formulation is women's agency in peace and security. Besides, this research further uses the idea of peace without violence in the peace study initiated by Galtung (1969) to critically appraise the counter-radicalization effort and their contribution to building positive peace. For this reason, researchers have examined the extent to which women's role in the Cilacap Regency, especially the role of women or mothers who are members of seven women Quran religious groups located in Central Cilacap, South Cilacap, and Kesugihan Districts.

Methodology

This research uses qualitative methods and an interpretive approach. We took the sample of this religious group based on the membership of the majority of whom were women and the scope of their religious material that included counter-radicalization material. These seven religious/religious groups focus more on socio-religious activities and stay away from discussions or study material that is political. The seven groups are; the Asmaul Husna Kauman Cilacap Tengah religious group, the Al-Hikmah religious group at Jalan Bromo Cilacap Selatan, the Slarang Kesugihan Muslim religious group, the Tegalreja Selatan Cilacap prayer group, the Central Cilacap Kalimas religious group, the Central Cilacap Thamrin street religious group, and the Central Cilacap Miftahul Huda religious group. The data collection

technique employed in this study consisted of three activities. The first was in-depth interviews, in the form of questions and answers with selected sources from the seven groups of women who were the research samples—furthermore, a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) involving selected informants and also the research team members. Third, collecting secondary data in the form of news, reports, and policy documents related to the research topic. Interviews were conducted to identify the following three things. First, what are the women Quran study groups' activities following their primary objectives? Second, what are the perceptions of the study group members about radicalism? How do they recognize individuals or groups who develop radicalism? Third, how do they respond when they find individuals and groups with these radical views, and what specific strategies do they use? The FGD was then conducted by re-inviting the interviewees and asking similar questions to see their perceptions and strategy consistency.

Theoretical Framework

United Nations on Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security is the first UN resolution that called for gender mainstreaming on the peace and security agenda. The resolution was issued because violent conflicts and humanitarian tragedies worldwide have different impacts on women and men. Women and girls experience multiple layers of oppression due to conflict, war, and patriarchal culture. On the other hand, women also play an essential role in efforts to resolve disputes and in peacebuilding. In this context, UNSCR 1325 was launched by the United Nations as the first resolution to recognize the need to integrate a gender perspective in conflict resolution and peacemaking. The UNSC issued six additional resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security in support of gender perspectives in the peace process, conflict transformation, and security. The main points or pillars of UNSCR 1325 are the calls for participation of women, protection of women, prevention of violence against women, and gender mainstreaming perspective in peace operations (Security council report, 2000).

The pillars of the Women, Peace and Security agenda include the pillars of prevention, protection, participation, as well as assistance, and recovery. Through Resolution 1325, many countries are encouraged to produce National Action Plans (NAPs), which list the strategies implemented by governments in their efforts to promote gender equality at home and abroad (Kirby & Shepherd, 2016). Participation of women at all levels includes mechanisms for prevention, conflict management, and conflict resolution. Prevention of violence against women here includes supporting local women's peace initiatives and, at the same time, mainstreaming gender perspectives including policies to incorporate perspective, participation, and experience of women's organizations in program development and policies, as stated by Miller (2014:2). Protection focuses on efforts to increase security and protect women's rights in conflict situations, including from gender-based violence.

In the Indonesian context, the formulation of the NAP involves state actors such as the Ministry of Women's Empowerment, National Commission on Women (*Komnas Perempuan*), National Commission on Human Rights (*Komnas HAM*), as well as non-state actors, namely civil society groups such as AMAN (Asian Muslim Action Network) Indonesia, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), and representatives of women's organizations in five conflict areas in Indonesia such as Aceh, Central Sulawesi, Ambon, Papua, and Atambua. Representatives from civil society organizations such as AMAN Indonesia are engaged in religious harmony, peace, and females who often work with women religious groups such as

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Fatayat NU to promote peacebuilding efforts in Indonesia. These state and non-state actors work together from planning, discussing terms of reference, developing substances for discussion, involving participants from various organizations, and forming a national steering committee (Gayatri, 2017).

Women Agency, Peace, and Counter-Radicalization

The role of women in peace has been studied in the context of situations of peace, conflict, and in the context of counter-radicalization. These studies focus on women's agency beyond stereotypes about their roles limited to the domestic sphere. In a report compiled by the Al-Hayat Center for Civil Society Development and Search for Common Ground (2016), the view on the possibility of women as counter-radicalization agents focuses on women's perception as mothers who teach specific values to children and other family members. Not many realize that women in society performed this role as leaders or mobilization agents (2016: 28). To build peace in conflict situations or counter-radicalization efforts in areas prone to the spread of radicalism, women can take an active role in society.

Religious groups have a particular approach to both peace building and counter-radicalization. One thing that needs attention is the assumption that religious groups tend to be close to radicalization. For example, in the same study by Search for Common Ground and Al-Hayat Center for Civil Society Development (2016), it is found that stereotypes about women as religious and conservative figures encourage women to join religious groups or religious groups. On the one hand, it can make them more vulnerable to exposure to radicalization (2016: 22). Those researchers also refuse to take for granted the general view that often links Muslim women's movements as fundamentalism or the subjugation of women that became stronger after 9/11. Studies on women's religious groups need to explore how they can develop peaceful and counter-radical discourses in their activities.

One in-depth study of women's religious movements is by Saba Mahmood (2005). Saba Mahmood is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley. In her research, Mahmood studied Muslim women's religious movements in Egypt. From her in-depth interviews, she analyzed the concept of self, agency, and politics contained therein. Although it is a study that rejects the position that simplifies religious groups as fundamentalists, Mahmood also does not intend to use her analysis to illustrate the value of liberation in this movement or fit into the picture of liberal feminists (2005: 5). Mahmood left the view that agency must always emerge in the form of resistance to the dominant patriarchal system. She does not deny the existence of a patriarchal system, but she insists on seeing agency modalities in the various forms of activities and attitudes carried out by women. For example, wearing a veil/niqab, head covering, or al-Hayat's perspective in the form of humility, modesty, and not being aggressive is often considered a form of objectification or subordination. Mahmood studied working women who were active in the religious group. She found that they studied religion and maintained their attitudes according to religious teachings not because they submitted to patriarchy in general but because of their desire to have a good and quality life as human beings. So, this religious movement is not only a representation of identity politics with the aim of recognition and equality, but also an action to form ethical awareness to create a desired social and moral order (2005).

To analyze the role of women in counter-radicalization in Indonesia, the concept of Mahmood's agency modality helps assess the meaning of women's religious activities. By freeing the analysis from general judgments, this movement is a form of subordination to women using religion, fundamental movement, or the conservative movement. By realizing the

specific context of Islam and Muslims in state-building and modernization in Indonesia, we can understand the Quran religious group to consciously develop themselves to become people with good values that they believe.

Peacebuilding and Positive Peace

The analysis carried out in this study was carried out further by using a positive peace thinking framework by Galtung to assess the counter-radicalization effort itself. The extent to which women's perspectives and approaches in this study group build the structure and culture needed to build peace (2007). Galtung's transcend approach assumes that consensus will be formed through a peace-not-security-approach. The way of thinking of peacebuilding actors must go beyond the win-lose, "us versus them" polarization and mainstream dialogue to understand the root of the problem and seek solutions. Repetition of violent cases can be understood as the absence of a peaceful approach to peace efforts. There are still parties who hold feelings of resentment or frustration over conditions that are considered peaceful. In this case, positive peace is built by developing a peaceful culture, peaceful structures, peacebuilding, mediation, the use of non-violent means, conciliation, and the formation of a virtuous circle (2007). An example of the Muslim women's peacebuilding movement is explained by Marddent (2017). This movement has a long history where women were involved in political reform in Thailand after the resistance to the military dictator in 1973 and the student movement's massacre in 1976. In the article, Marddent analyzes Muslim women's groups in conflict areas, showing the various forms of influence their beliefs have on peace building in Southern Thailand (2017). Marddent underlined the mindset of members of the women's movement, who believe that inner peace will help society's peace process. Then there are various civil organization movements mobilized by female Muslim groups that aim to develop *da'wah* and create peacemaking networks based on religious views (2017: 241-242).

Another example is explained by Al Qurtuby (2014), who describes the peace movement's experience by women's religious groups to end the conflict in Maluku. In Maluku, we learn about a group whose members are women from across religious groups, namely the Caring Women Movement (*Gerakan Perempuan Peduli*/GPP). From their findings, one can see that women who promote peace are driven by difficult conditions, especially economically due to conflict, and their belief in their respective religious teachings. These conditions and ideas encourage them to hold meetings, organize non-violent protests, and mobilize people into their peace movement (2014: 50-51). Al Qurtuby also noted that women's religious groups' role is also seen in Indonesia's other places, namely Aceh, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Java (2014: 51). The concept of agency and positive peace is used in this study to explain two things. First, the extent to which women, namely members of the religious groups, play a role as political agents outside of their traditional roles as mothers or household educators. In addition, the agency concept also helps understand how women actively build knowledge relevant to the formation of the desired social structure, in this case through religious learning. Second, the idea of positive peace will be used to further criticize the meaning of counter-radicalization in building positive peace in Indonesia.

Analysis
a. Localizing Implementation of UNSCR 1325 In Indonesia through Peacebuilding and Counter Radicalization

United Nations on Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security is the first UN resolution that called for gender mainstreaming on peace and security agenda. As follows, the UNSC issued six additional resolutions on women, peace, and security

in support of gender perspectives in the peace process, conflict transformation, and security. Main points of UNSCR 1325 are the calls for participation of women, protection of women, prevention of violence against women, and gender mainstreaming perspective in peace operations (Security council report 2000). Participation of women at all levels, including in mechanism for prevention, conflict management, and conflict resolution. Prevention of violence against women here includes supporting local women's peace initiatives, meanwhile mainstreaming gender perspectives include policies to incorporate perspective, participations, and experience of women's organizations in program development and policies as stated by Miller (2014:2).

Numerous research states that the concept of radicalization has various interpretations. Some researchers consider that radicalization is a cognitive phenomenon; others consider it coercive actions as a result of different ideas about state and society (Miller, 2014). Another documentation published by OSCE state that radicalization can leads to terrorism when the individuals accept the possibility of terrorist violence, even as a legitimate action (OSCE 2018). Therefore, through the broader agenda of conflict prevention, peacebuilding activities address radicalization that can lead to terrorism.

Indonesia is one of 86 countries with UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans (NAP), which in 2006 called RAN P4DK (*Rencana Aksi Perlindungan, Pencegahan, dan Pemberdayaan Perempuan di Daerah*/ National Action Plan on Protection, Prevention, and Empowerment of Women in Conflict Region). Later called RAN P3AKS (*Rencana Aksi Nasional Perlindungan dan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak dalam Konflik Sosial*/National Action Plan for Protection and Empowerment of Women and Children in Social Conflict) through Perpres No. 18/2014. In local level, several provinces already establish governor regulation on P3AKS Working Group for the implementation of Regional Action Plan (RAD/Rencana Aksi Daerah) such as Maluku, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Lampung, and Sulawesi Tengah (Kemenppa 2020). Despite the fact that not every region have Regional Action Plan yet, especially in Central Java, all regions can implement RAN P3AKS refer to circular letter of Ministry of Home Affairs No.460/5131/PUM about Acceleration of the Implementation of P3AKS in the regions (WPS Indonesia 2020).

In the implementation, WPS in the peace process has three tracks; track one is the official negotiations by the leaders of conflicting parties. Track two is the participation of CSO (civil society organizations) in the peace process. Track three involves individual actors' involvement in overcoming conflicted people in conflict zones (Viartasiwi and Scaramella, 2018). Track two in WPS needs women's inclusion, furthermore, women participation at all levels, including local women's peace activities, organizations, and women's contributions to society are important to peacebuilding efforts. In the case of the Cilacap region, women's civil society such as women Quran study groups, can be considered as a representation of the inclusion of women in peacebuilding activities at the local level.

b. Women Religious Groups as a Women's Agency Representation in Efforts of Peacebuilding: A Case Study of Cilacap

The women's Quran study groups in Cilacap, which are the focus of the research, demonstrate the pattern of religious-based women's activism that is carried out outside the understanding of women's traditional roles. These groups' main activity is studying religion and carrying out social activities with the broader community. Although individuals in this group played a counter-radicalism role through education in the family, they did not limit their role in this area. From our research, it was found that within the neighboring sphere, they remind each other and protect their surrounding against any indications of radicalism. They

also take notes on suspicious persons and activities and further convey them to the authorities. The religious lessons described further in the next section show how religion and religious-based activism can be a part of peacebuilding efforts.

In terms of counter-radicalization, this finding shows how understanding faith built into the religious group helps group members and the people around them detect forms of radical religious knowledge. Furthermore, this section underscores the structure of the approach taken by this study group when it detects the presence of radicalism around them, which is an indication of positive peace-building efforts in their counter-radicalization activism.

Group Members' Perception of Radicalism

The moderate religious ideology promoted by several women Quran study groups studied is based on the doctrine of *ahlussunnah wal jamaah*, an ideology adhered to by one of the largest mass organizations in Indonesia, namely Nahdhatul Ulama (NU). Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah, one of the major Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia, applies the concept of returning to the purity of the Quran and Sunnah's teachings and emphasizes the modernity of Islamic teachings. In Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah are two mass organizations with a moderate Islamic ideology based on the agenda of tolerance, pluralism, and democracy. The two mass organizations are also consistent in carrying out counter-radicalization efforts in Indonesia through their networks from the center to the regions (Amal, 2016).

Based on the previous section's analysis, the religious group participants tend to detect radicalism around them. The indicators they utilize include justification for using violence in enforcing ideas and anti-tolerance for people outside the group. Based on in-depth interviews and FGD, the religious group members have labeled a group as 'radical' when the Islamic teachings of the so-called radical groups attack other groups who have different perspectives on Islam, Xenophobic behavior, and attitude tend to be anti-government and not patriotic. 22 interviewees participated in this research representing seven women Quran study groups in Cilacap, in which the researchers chose two to five members from each group as the interviewee. Fifteen respondents stated that they could see hints of radicalism in certain groups' dress styles in society. For example, men wear pants cut above their heels and growing beards, women wear a niqab (full-body and face covering), and they are very exclusive so that people outside their group cannot interact with them. Meanwhile, the other seven respondents argue that a person's appearance does not always correlate with their radicalism level because someone who does not wear the attributes mentioned above can also become radical. Because radicalism is on individuals' thoughts, it is not easily identified.

Several women Quran study group members explained that an individual (woman) in their neighborhood was a new resident, and they felt a bad influence coming from her. This individual is active in recruiting and influencing residents, especially women around her, to gather at her house and then participate in Islamic studies with the ustadz (religious teacher) chosen by this recruiting agent. They consider the study group a radical group because they teach a different way of worshipping, and use a perspective that is against democracy and the state. It turns out that the suspected study group carries the identity of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), which is one of the community organizations banned by the Indonesian government.

Some other respondents identify radicalism through daily activities or habits of people around them, for example, people who call for prohibitions in everyday life such as a ban on singing and sports and their attitude of rejecting nationalist activities. Another respondent highlighted individuals who said it is blasphemous to take *tahlil* (chanting of phrases to praise Allah repeatedly), *yasinan* (a gathering to read Surah Yaseen for the dead),

grave pilgrimages, and other religious practices commonly practiced by the Nahdliyin / NU group. Differences in spiritual practices within one religion, such as Islam, are quite common in Indonesia, but when an individual or a group of people perceive religious practices conducted by other groups are wrong, sinful, and prohibitive, it often leads to violent clashes between different groups. Members of the Women Quran study groups think that those abrasive attitudes from intolerant groups potentially harm the peace and harmony in their neighborhoods. At the larger scale, it may affect the whole nation, such as happened in Afghanistan under the Taliban administration during the 1990s and early 2001. Most of the members agree that they need to be careful in judging attitudes that can be categorized as radical or potentially harmful to society. The respondents' enthusiasm in in-depth interviews and during the Focus Group Discussion towards the concept of counter-radicalization was relatively high, demonstrated by their questions about where they should report if they found anything suspicious and threatened tolerance around their neighborhoods.

Based on the findings above, the study group under study detected a particular form of radicalism, namely religious radicalism. According to most respondents, religious radicalism is indicated by intolerant behavior toward different worship practices, such as condemning other groups as blasphemous, non-conformist, and the nature of closed group activities. One other indicator is the views of groups suspected to be radicalized because of their opinions on state and nationalism, which respondents consider a form of radicalism because they reject nationalism and are eager to build an Islamic state in Indonesia. The next section of this discussion focuses on how this religious group is counter-radicalized based on their knowledge.

Women Quran Study Group's Activism

This research finds that the women involved in the Women's religion study group perform agency because they can act as agents who bring about change, both in their mindset and in certain levels of action. By being active in the religion and giving voice to their families and the surrounding community to avoid being involved in beliefs that tend to be intolerant, these women leave the reproductive realm. They are actively engaged in activities with the community. It would be different if these women were tied at home to take care of the household only and had very minimal time to socialize with the surrounding community.

The seven Women Quran study groups involved in this research shared similar activities and perceptions of the concepts of religious teachings. The main activities of the religious group are worshipping and studies that the members of the groups join, including Asmaul Husna recitation, Quran studies, Salawat of the Prophet, praying together, doing religious tours together such as pilgrimages to the graves of the Wali Songo and so on. Aside from the routine group activities, these groups also hold events joined by the broader community, e.g., competitions and Quran study or lectures with some Ulama. There is also an idea of maintaining *silaturahim* (good interpersonal relationship) with other religious groups. Central to their counter-radicalization are the concepts of Islam as' *rahmatan lil alamin* (grace for all nature) 'and the concept of' *hubbul wathani minal iman* (love for the motherland is part of faith). Some of them explain that their Asmaul Husna recitation and Quran study are the place to introduce the notion that Islam is a peaceful religion and that citizens must love the motherland. They argue that these ideas are what makes the Women's religion study group useful to counter-radicalization strategies, for example;

"(The Woman religion study group in countering radicalization) gives the correct understanding about Islam as *rahmatan lil alamin* and act humanely" (Interview with Sainah Ahmad 2019).

"(The Woman religion study group in countering radicalization) held *Mujahadah Asmaul Husna*, prayer, Quran study. In the Quran study, the value of love for Motherland is usually instilled and we pray for the safety of the nation and the state of Indonesia, especially during the heated political situation," (Interview with Yuliarti 2019).

The idea of Islam as grace for all that they uphold produces their view of radical teaching as problematic, agitative and need to be fought against- in peaceful ways, through humanist act, as posited by Sainah Ahmad above. She also believes that the community can have a role in countering radicalization by growing honesty and opened minded characters. The religion study group mainly works to prepare the members, for instance, Kurniawati said, "[...] A common way to fight radicalization is the recitation of *Asmaul Husna* (Allah 99 names), this is usually done by Cilacap residences to get together and to defend themselves from negative traits like radicalization (Interview with Irma Kurniawati 2019)." However, other activities like competition, huge event of Quran Lecture with Ulama, are meant for the broader community.

In terms of their cooperation with the government, most of these women's Quran study groups did not show meaningful collaboration with the government for counter-radicalization. There had been some forms of cooperation with other stakeholders, including the participation of members of the religious group in the national Santri day. They attend ceremonies that they believe instill the values of nationalism and love for the country. The other form of cooperation was the social service activities carried out by several groups, including fundraising, counseling, and free medical treatment. Some members were invited to socialization events about the dangers of radicalism and terrorism by the Regional Government. Yet, there was no follow-up after the socialization event, so it felt less effective. Another respondent recognized efforts to socialize the dangers of radicalism from the government but felt that the practical follow-up was still not optimal. Some respondents wanted a firmer policy from the local government related to the counter-radicalization strategy in the Cilacap district. Dissemination of the dangers of radicalism and terrorism is indeed vital. Strategic practical approaches such as regional regulations related to counter-radicalization are also highly expected.

Counter-Radicalization by Women Religion Study Groups from the Peace Perspective

When viewed through the lens of peace thinking, the Women Religion Study Group in Cilacap can be critically understood in their attempts at non-violent activism, building cultural and structural peace. From Galtung's seven components of peace approach discussed in the previous section, four of them are relevant to the study. As there was no open conflict between the Women Religion Study Group and the radical groups within this research scope, we did not identify the groups' activities in conciliation, mediation, peace building, and virtuous cycle creation.

In line with the peace approach, the activities carried out by the women's Quran study group have implemented nonviolent methods. As explained by some members of the group,

"We hold collective praying (*mujahadah*), Morning prayer (*shalat Dhuha*) and praise to Allah, praise to the Muhammad Prophet (*Sholawat*), because we always hope for his

grace (*Safaat*). We also love our Motherland, we always pray together so that Cilacap stays safe (Interview with Ning Palupi, 2019)."

A considerable part of the respondents similarly considers their routines as their strategies in countering radicalization. The routines are non-violent approaches to radicalism in the way that they do not attack the people they deem as radicals, instead, grounded by their sense of piety, they attempt to achieve peace through prayers. Aside from their own group's activity, some of them encourage the society to join their activities, for example, to study with Ulama,

> "We invite people to join the Quran studies held by the Ulama in our region. The activities include *Mujahadah*, collective pray (*Istighosah*), praising Allah (*Tahlil*) *and Quran studies* (Interview with Sukarni 2019)".

In this sense, they believe that the broader community needs to grow their piety as well in order to be able to tackle radical thinking.

These Quran study groups have not necessarily approached peace in their region through structural views, as they focus on nurturing their society to be pious, in non-violent ways, and to be nationalist, as opposed to anti-nation state ideas of Islamic radicals. However, some of them demonstrates a concern about their society that may jeopardize counter-radicalization efforts.

> "(One of the obstacles that we face is) not all parts of the society have joined our Quran Study Group yet. Furthermore, there needs to be more social funds for the poor communities who are prone to radicalization or to be objects of extreme Quran Study groups. The use of the social fund may include money aid, food aid, books or cloths (Interview with Sartinah Wijaya 2019)".

> "The funding obstacle (that we face), for example one needed when our Quran Study group wants to hold a social charity event by giving books of Asmaul Husna, religion books, food or clothings for the poor community that are prone to radicalization, is difficult to get. There are also many other social program plans that have not been realized due to funding problems. This is because the contribution is voluntary (Interview with Yuliarti 2019)"

As seen from Wijaya's and Yuliarti's opinion above, there is an awareness that poverty problem may link to radicalization, in which the poor are more prone to radical ideas due to their sufferings. However, this awareness is not mainstream in the way that not many of the respondents point out these issues.

The cultural aspect of the peace approach by these Quran Study Groups are strongly represented by their routines of collective prayers and Quran studies as well as constant efforts to maintain *silaturahim*.

They create a culture of peace in Cilacap since they try to diminish violent ideas of the radical teachings by making it a character of the Muslim community to worship together without hate or inclination to violence against others.

> "(We counter radicalism by) blending in with all groups in the society surrounding us so that we have good *silaturahim*. In Cilacap, especially in our neighborhood, the residents are generally cautious of the newcomer who follow different (Islam) teachings [...] (Interview with Ning Palupi 2019)".

While being peaceful in a way that they urge building a good relationship with everybody, their cautiousness toward outsiders is rather counterproductive to their ideals of having good relationship. However, this cautiousness does not lead to nor condone violent approach, indicating that these groups remain non-violent in their activism and are more concerned about different teachings that may be radical and may influence the broader society.

"In our Quran study group, we have been regularly holding Islamic studies that are calming the minds. We do not badmouth the government; we do not incline to negative activities and we build the love for our Motherland and nation. I believe that this love for Motherland is the real implementation of Islamic values (Interview with Suprapti Wahyudin 2019)".

Aside from being non-violent this culture is also critical to the ideas that are against nationalism and believe that being a true Muslim means being a nationalist. They regard that upholding this believe counts as an attempt to counter radicalism in the region.

Conclusion

The women Quran study groups that were studied in this research are moderate Islamic religious study groups located in the Cilacap regency. Moderate religious groups are usually characterized by their allegiance toward the Constitutional State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), loyalty to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, tolerance, and understanding of pluralism or respect for differences. This is implied in the concept they held *'hubbul wathani minal iman'* (the love of the motherland is part of faith). This women's study group demonstrates women's agency in peace through their religious knowledge. Their religious-based activism makes them an essential part of counter-radicalization because they can detect if there are actors or actors in society suspected of spreading radical or intolerant ideology. As an active actor in counter-radicalization, this religious group conducts direct interaction with the community at the horizontal level.

At the vertical level, the women Quran study groups collaborate and always coordinate with community leaders from NU, Muhammadiyah, and figures from related local governments. Although the local government and its staff's response in following up on the threat of radicalism in Cilacap are still not optimal, at least there is an opportunity to held a dialogue between different elements of society to discuss and form effective strategies in dealing with radicalism or counter-radicalization. Judging from the peace approach, the counter-radicalization efforts that the Cilacap women Quran study groups being researched have carried out, is the application of the principle of non-violence, attention for structural peace through their social activities, and creating a culture of peace through religious beliefs. On the other hand, efforts to build a dialogue with groups indicated to be radical are still not found and need special attention from the local authorities.

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