A MAN'S WORLD?

Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism

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edited by

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ABOUT THE CENTERS

Hedayah is the International Center of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism, an international, independent think-and-do tank based in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. A product of the GCTF, Hedayah's mission is to be the global hub of experts and expertise and platform for good practice sharing for preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) policy, programs and practice.

The Global Center on Cooperative Security works with governments, international organizations, and civil society to develop and implement comprehensive and sustainable responses to complex international security challenges through collaborative policy research, context-sensitive programming, and capacity development. The Global Center's work focuses on enhancing community resilience to violent extremism and on supporting national and non-governmental institutions in responding to multidimensional security challenges. In collaboration with a global network of expert practitioners and partner organizations, the Global Center fosters stronger multilateral partnerships and convenes key stakeholders to support integrated and inclusive security policies across national, regional, and global levels. The Global Center has played a key role in raising awareness among the international community about the multiple roles of women in terrorism, violent extremism, and countering violent extremism and worked with international and local partners to inform and shape related policy and programs.

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Foreword

Over the past year, the international community commemorated the fifteenth anniversary of the passage of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security. This resolution recognized the disproportionate and unique impact of violent conflict on women and girls, and affirmed the participation and representation of women in building peace. UNSCR 1325 for the first time codified the role of women in building and sustaining peace in the international legal framework.

In preparation for the 2015 High-Level Review on UNSCR 1325 (2000), the Security Council invited the Secretary-General to commission a Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (Global Study), highlighting best practices, implementation gaps and challenges, emerging trends, and priorities for action.

Recognizing this unique opportunity, the Permanent Mission of the UAE to the United Nations and the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security worked in partnership to contribute to the Global Study. Leveraging our respective expertise, the Mission and the Institute initiated the "UAE Panel Series on Women, Peace and Security," which brought together key stakeholders from a variety of disciplines and sectors to focus on some of the most critical peace and security issues. Our goal was to shape public discourse, raise awareness, and mobilize United Nations Member States to implement solutions to prevent and resolve conflict, as well as to advance stability and prosperity by better understanding the role of women in peace and security. The Panel Series served to inform the Global Study in the lead up to the 2015 High-Level Review on Women, Peace and Security, which brought Member States of the United Nations together at the Security Council to assess fifteen years of progress at global, regional, and national levels.

At the High-Level Review, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 2242 (2015) on Women, Peace and Security to address implementation gaps through practical action in several areas: countering violent extremism and terrorism, improving the Security Council's own working methods, and implementing gender recommendations made by the High-Level Independ-

ent Panel on Peace Operations and the Global Study. This resolution was co-sponsored by 72 Member States, including the UAE, and an unprecedented 113 speakers addressed the Council, underscoring the broad support for this resolution.

Given the complex global security context today, Resolution 2242 (2015) highlights the role of women in countering terrorism and violent extremism, urging Member States and United Nations entities to integrate a gender analysis on the drivers of radicalization for women, to consider the impacts of counter-terrorism strategies on women's human rights and women's organizations, and to ensure greater consultations with women and women's organizations when developing strategies to counter terrorism and violent extremism.

To underscore the importance of this issue, the first discussion in the UAE Panel Series on Women, Peace and Security centered on the role of women in countering violent extremism. As extremist groups have increased in influence, their territorial advance has been coupled with targeted, strategic attacks on women's rights and freedoms, including the ability to move freely, engage in public life, access education and employment, enjoy health services, express themselves without the fear of repercussion, and live as equal citizens. Yet, it is also important to recognize that women play different roles when it comes to violent extremism: they can be enablers and actors, or they can play a key role in countering fundamentalism and extremism.

The role of women in promulgating and countering violent extremism (CVE) is an understudied but critical contemporary security issue. Hedayah and the Global Center on Cooperative Security have developed this publication to further explore women and CVE-related issues through a range of perspectives, reflecting on women's roles as propagators of terrorism, as well as agents in countering violent extremism.

In this publication, contributors from across the world reflect on the lessons learned from diverse fields of practice, including development, human rights, media, advocacy, academia, and conflict prevention and mitigation, and consider their application to CVE efforts. This volume seeks to secure a deeper insight into women's roles in this field, and offers a nuanced understanding of the grievances that move women toward violent extremism, as well as the enormous potential role that women can play as agents in preventing the spread of violent extremism.

We believe that efforts to counter violent extremism must engage women at all levels. Women are positioned to be effective partners in CVE efforts against intolerance and extremism, and as positive change agents in their families, communities, and public spaces in order to prevent radicalization that leads to violent extremism and acts of terrorism. Only when women are meaningful participants in shaping comprehensive CVE strategies – through the security sector, criminal justice system, in social programs, counter-ideology initiatives, and within civil society – will societies be able to address the conditions conducive to terrorism.

Recalling the real spirit of Resolution 1325 (2000), which reminded the global community that women's leadership is an untapped resource for peace, and that injustices and inequalities embedded in gender relations are a long-term threat to development and stability, strategies to counter violent extremism must promote women's participation, leadership, and empowerment.

This volume, compiled by Hedayah and the Global Center on Cooperative Security, offers the reader a unique vantage point into this emerging topic. We believe this is an important contribution to a nascent, but growing, area of study and hope it will mobilize both men and women to work for peace and equality, and continue to assist in the fight against extremism.

Ambassador Lana Zaki Nusseibeh
New York, March 2016

Ambassador Melanne Verveer
Washington D.C., March 2016

Introduction

Naureen Chowdhury Fink, Sara Zeiger and Rafia Bhulai

Responses to security issues, predominantly in the form of military or law enforcement measures, have long been considered a male-dominated endeavor, with women relatively absent from the peacemaking tables and policy development.[1] This trend has been no less apparent within responses to terrorism. However, terrorist groups are exacting a heavy price from women and girls, from inflicting sexual violence, challenging basic human rights and impeding socioeconomic development by, for example, attacking girls' schools and educators.[2] As the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict, Zainab Bangura, and Melanne Verveer, former US Ambassador at Large for Global Women's Issues, recently noted:

> Extremist groups such as [the Islamic State of Iraq and as-Sham] ISIS and Boko Haram use sexual violence because it disrupts and further destabilises families and communities, and stigmatises women… This form of violence has distinct and devastating consequences that remain with individuals, communities and countries across generations.[3]

Despite these grim dynamics, women can be powerful agents of change and can play a crucial role both in detecting early signs of radicalization, intervening before individuals become violent, and delegitimizing violent extremist narratives. The unique role of women in conflict prevention was recognized at the international level over fifteen years ago through Resolution 1325 (and subsequent resolutions). UNSCR 1325 (2000) emphasizes the "role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, and in peace-building… and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution."[4] Subsequently, UNSCR 2122 (2013) re-emphasized the need to better implement 1325, including regular consultations with civil society and women's organization to better develop conflict prevention and peacebuilding/keeping strategies.

In recent years, the role of women in preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) has also gained some momentum in the international counterterrorism (CT) policy discourse. The development of the field of policy and practice for P/CVE has meant that governments are emphasizing prevention efforts in CT strategies. This includes elements that address and counter the push and pull factors that lead to radicalization and recruitment as part of a more comprehensive approach, as opposed to military and intelligence strategies alone. The launch of the Global Counter-Terrorism Form (GCTF), and its CVE working group have helped to push this agenda forward internationally since 2011. Moreover, the White House hosted a CVE Summit in February 2015, and subsequent regional CVE Summits were hosted in Algiers, Astana, Istanbul, Nairobi, Nouakchott, Oslo, Sydney and Tirana to emphasize on a senior policymaker level the need for preventive approaches to countering terrorism. From these platforms and forums, a number of initiatives emerged, including joint work between the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the GCTF to develop a framework document *Good Practices on Women and Countering Violent Extremism*,[5] as well as a dedicated Action Agenda item resulting from the CVE Summits on the role of civil society, women and youth in CVE. Both the Global Center on Cooperative Security and Hedayah have actively participated in these forums, and have led initiatives and projects on the margins to enhance understanding of P/CVE as well as the role that women play in these efforts.

In October 2015, the Security Council focused more directly on the intersectionality between the women, peace and security agenda and counterterrorism and CVE, noting "changing global context of peace and security… relating to rising violent extremism" and reiterated the "intention to increase attention to women, peace and security" as it relates to terrorism.[6] The resultant resolution, UNSCR 2242, called for closer integration of efforts to implement Women, Peace and Security (WPS) and CT resolutions—specifically encouraging the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED) to collaborate with UN Women to gather data on the drivers of radicalization for women, and the impacts of CT strategies on women. However, it is also noteworthy that it did not presuppose the nature of the relationship between the WPS and CT/CVE agendas, instead it

> *Urges* Member States and requests relevant United Nations entities, including CTED within its existing mandate and in collaboration with UN-Women, to conduct and gather gender-sensitive research and data collection on the drivers of radicalization for women, and the impacts of counter-terrorism strategies on women's human rights and women's

organizations, in order to develop targeted and evidence-based policy and programming responses, and to ensure United Nations monitoring and assessment mechanisms and processes mandated to prevent and respond to violent extremism, which can be conducive to terrorism, have the necessary gender expertise to fulfil their mandates, including relevant sanctions experts groups and bodies established to conduct fact finding and criminal investigations…[7]

This resolution also comes at a time when a third role of women is increasingly garnering the attention of international policymakers: that of perpetrator or mobilizer. The controlled visibility accorded women by social media platforms has created a space for many women to play a role in soliciting and mobilizing recruits for ISIS. However, women as members and even leaders of terrorist groups is not a novelty. For example, right-wing organization in the United States and Canada such as Stormfront and the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) have dedicated web pages for women on the Internet to generate support and recruitment.[8] Experts such as Mia Bloom and Anne Speckhard have presented a number of case studies from Chechnya, Northern Ireland, Palestine, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Iraq of women actively participating in terrorist activities.[9]

For example, according to a number of studies in the Sri Lankan case, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) aggressively recruited women to its cadres of fighters starting in the mid-1980s, although their participation in the broader movement began in the 1970s.[10] In the LTTE, women's roles were at first limited to propaganda work, medical care, information collection, fundraising and recruitment—but a number of them began receiving military training. In the context of Northern Ireland, women were more active in republican paramilitaries than loyalist paramilitaries, and were even militarily active in IRA and Provisional IRA.[11] On the loyalist side, however, women participated in paramilitaries mainly through propaganda and logistical support.[12] These examples illustrate the varied roles that women can play in violent extremism and terrorism. However, in comparison to their public roles vis a vis groups like Al-Qaida or Al-Shabab, the public voices of women in support of ISIS represents a novel development. Indeed, in Afghanistan, the Taliban has pointedly not included women as either mobilizers, public supporters or advocates. A number of strategic and cultural factors play into this: a highly-mobile environment where the strategic value added of female suicide bombers is not needed, a conservative culture that restricts female freedom of movement, and an absence of a female culture of martyrdom.[13]

It is in this context that several questions emerge when discussing the particulars of why and how women partake in both violent extremism and efforts to counter and prevent violent extremism. For example, what are the different roles that women can undertake in terrorist organization? Are females recruited differently than their male counterparts? What roles do they play in inciting or persuading others to join violent extremist groups? Is there a particular role for women in countering terrorism and P/CVE? Are specific policies aimed at women a necessity moving forward? How can a gender analysis be effectively integrated into CVE policy and programming?

As governments, academics and practitioners seek to answer these questions, this edited volume provides an innovative set of national, regional, and international perspectives reflecting on the roles of women in terrorism and CVE. Contributors reflect on the lessons learned from diverse fields of practice, including development, human rights, media and advocacy, academia, and conflict prevention and mitigation, and consider their application to CVE efforts. The essays are analyzed in the conclusion, which also includes a set of recommendations for national, regional, and international actors to integrate a gender perspective into CVE policy and programming. The analysis also draws on a series of workshops and discussions convened by the Global Center on Cooperative Security and Hedayah, relevant UN resolutions, and framework documents of the GCTF, as well as in-depth interviews by the editors with policymakers, practitioners, and experts in the field of CVE and related areas of work.

PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN IN TERRORISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM

In much of the literature to date that discusses how women participate in violent extremism, women are viewed as passive or coerced actors or supporters rather than active participants or perpetrators of terrorism and violent extremism. As Fionnuala Ní Aoláin argues, "when women come into view they typically do so as the wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers of terrorist actors, or as the archetypal victims of senseless terrorist acts whose effects on the most vulnerable (women themselves) underscores the unacceptability of terrorist targeting."[14] While this characterization has some merit, painting all female supporters and perpetrators with a broad brush can be counterproductive, especially when developing CVE policies and programming, and perpetuate stereotypes inherent in broader discussions of the roles of women.

In some cases, the Western media's characterization of young, Western "jihadi brides" traveling to Iraq and Syria to join ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra illustrates this point. For example, a Guardian article describes a would-be "jihadi bride" named Karen as "naïve" and implies Karen was almost tricked into traveling to Syria by a fighter there.[15] Anne Speckhard's semi-fictional account of Shannon Conley, a 17-year-old American teenager, and her attempted journey to travel to join ISIS characterizes her as the "girl next door" who was "seduced" by ISIS.[16] An article from the Australian Broadcasting Company (ABC) news describes female Australians as "sexual slaves" and "suicide bombers"—thus implying these women are recruited for utilitarian purposes by groups in Syria and Iraq.[17] In these instances, the characterization of females traveling to Iraq and Syria emphasize the idea that these individuals have limited agency in their choice to travel, and they are coerced by men to join ISIS/Jabhat al-Nusra, or do so for reasons other than adolescent passions, though this may also play a role in individual motivations.[18]

This phenomenon is not limited to the context of terrorism; parallels can be drawn in the perceptions of female perpetrators to the Rwandan genocide. When discussing female agency in the Rwandan genocide, Sara Brown noted, "female perpetrators…especially high-profile perpetrators, are often depicted as deviant anomalies and stripped of their gender and humanity."[19] In the case of Rwanda, several female perpetrators participated in violence to reject and overcome the patriarchal context in which they were residing. Women in Rwanda often were not allowed to make decisions outside of their fathers or husbands, and committing acts of violence was one way they could seek to regain control of their behavior and actions.

The perception that women can only be victims of terrorism or violence is indeed problematic. For policies and programs targeted at preventing violent extremism and terrorism in particular, the contradiction between assumptions of agency when women partake in prevention roles versus a rejection of agency when women are perpetrators poses a number of conceptual and practical challenges. For example, ignoring women's active participation and agency in terrorism could result in unintended consequences in CT or CVE programs underestimating women's passion or level of activity in a terrorist organization. It could also result in missing key intervention opportunities (particularly those aimed at women) that could have ripple effects into the women's social circles. Ignoring women's agency in participating in terrorism could also result in poor research or data assessing the grievances and push/pull factors leading to radicalization and recruitment. There are also implications here for criminal justice strategies used to prosecute individuals participating in terrorism;

if women are not seen as having agency in perpetrating violence, their crimes may not be prosecuted in the same way as men.

While Aoláin's argument is still valid in terms of mainstreaming a more robust discussion of the roles of women in violent extremism and terrorism, the literature investigating the role and involvement of women in violent extremism and terrorism has grown in the past decade. In other words, there is a small but burgeoning body of literature that investigates a number of different roles that women play in violent extremism and terrorism.[20] These roles vary from active participation in violence to facilitating transactions in support of terrorist organizations to passive compliance with terrorist activities going on around them. As with men, the reasons for women's participation in violent extremism vary widely.

WOMEN PREVENTING VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM

The existing literature investigating the role of women in preventing and countering violent extremism is limited, and reflects the relatively recent emergence of P/CVE as a policy focus. Consequently, there is mixed evidence to suggest that women have a unique role to play in P/CVE efforts as different than men. However, a study by the Institute for Inclusive Security argues that based on interviews with women in 30 countries in the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia, women are often the first to stand up to terrorism "since they are among the first targets of fundamentalism, which restricts their rights and frequently leads to increases in domestic violence before it translates into open armed conflict."[21] In other words, women more than men may be affected by violent extremism—and may be more willing activists in preventing it.

Several anecdotal examples illustrate how women can contribute to CVE efforts. For example, PAIMAN Trust in Pakistan has strongly embraced reintegration efforts that include vocational and psychological training programs led by women and mothers.[22] A focus group study conducted in Yemen suggested that given the right legal, psychological and emotional support, women could have a significant role to play in creating dialogue about violent extremism and terrorism prior to their children joining a terrorist organization.[23] Dialogues with women's groups and experts from South Asia, for example, have highlighted the important roles they play in government, in civil society and in communities, in challenging extremism and advocating for improved governance, rights and development.[24] However, a 2012 report by OSCE also notes that women's participation in preventing violent extremism should not be limited to traditional or "private" roles—but that women's participation

in the community, politics, law enforcement and other state agencies are also crucial to P/CVE agendas.[25] For example, female law enforcement officers are often better at building trust with the community and community-oriented policing, which are crucial elements of P/CVE strategies.[26] Studies have also shown that female UN peacekeepers help to improve situational awareness of the mission by enhancing the understanding of, for example, female victims or young boys and girls.[27]

BUILDING THE EVIDENCE-BASE

The collection of essays contained in this edited volume seek to build the body of literature on women and CVE by drawing on examples from a number of countries and regions. The essays contain both policy-level recommendations as well as program-level recommendations and seek to answer some of the outstanding questions regarding the types of roles women might play in CVE efforts. These chapters represent the opinions and experiences of individual authors, and their voices are preserved despite undertaking a light consultative editing process.

A number of essays highlight the powerful role of women as preventers. Focusing on the recent adoption of UNSCR 2242 and the high-level attention on CVE, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat raises a number of overall concerns regarding the conflation of the WPS and CVE agendas in her essay "Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism: The Role of Women and Women's Organizations." First she warns that the current debates on women and CVE are not contextualized in the broader analysis of gender and security. Second, de Jonge Oudraat argues that women's voices on the ground are often ignored in policy debates and decisions. Third, she warns against subordinating the WPS agenda to CT and CVE agendas and asserts that equal participation of women in peace and security efforts should be a goal in its own right. Finally, de Jonge Oudraat recommends increased funding opportunities to the WPS agenda as compared to the vast amount of funding directed at CT and CVE efforts.

Sahana Dharmapuri goes further in arguing that that utilizing the framework of UNSCR 1325 can be an effective tool for CVE efforts in her chapter titled "UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and Countering Violent Extremism: Using a Gender Perspective to Enhance Operational Effectiveness." She recommends adopting a more robust gender perspective in CVE efforts to overcome some of the negative consequences of "gender blindness." Moreover, Dharmapuri argues that the overall effectiveness of CVE programs and policy implementation would be enhanced by increasing the participation of women in the security sector.

In "A New Security Architecture: Mothers Included!" Edit Schlaffer and Ulrich Kropiunigg present an innovative study examining the critical roles mothers can play in CVE efforts, informed by a unique field study and dataset. Drawing on their pioneering work with "Mothers' Schools" Schlaffer and Kroppiunig combine qualitative and quantitave data to highlight lessons from a myriad of contexts, including Northern Ireland, Israel, Palestine, Egypt and Pakistan, supplemented by anecdotal evidence from returning foreign terrorist fighters from Iraq and Syria. Schlaffer and Kropiunigg conclude that women as mothers can play an important role in P/CVE efforts, but they also could benefit from further capacity building and support to enhance their abilities to, for example, detect early warning signs of radicalization or have discussions with their children about the dangers of terrorism.

A number of national experiences are also highlighted in this volume. In her chapter "Women, Gender and the U.K. Government's Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Efforts: Looking Back and Forward," Jayne Huckerby reviews the U.K.'s *Prevent* strategy with a focus on three key components: gender dynamics within the strategy itself, the main issues at stake in women's roles in CVE programs, and the ways in which violent extremism and CVE impact women and girls differently than men and boys. In her analysis, Huckerby reviews these aspects through the pre-June 2011 counter-terrorism policy, post-June 2011 counter-terrorism policy (after modification and review), and post-April 2014 strategy to prevent women from traveling to join the fight in Iraq and Syria. Huckerby identifies a number of significant lessons learned from the U.K.'s *Prevent* strategy with regards to the effects on women and girls. For example, she argues that it is important to understand the barriers of women's engagement in CVE space, including safety, legal and resource barriers. Moreover, she also argues that labeling activities as "CVE" can be counter-productive to the aims of these programs and put women and women's organizations especially at risk. Finally she argues for more gender-sensitive approaches by the law enforcement community to facilitate better community trust.

The chapter on "The Role of Women in Preventing, Mitigating and Responding to Violence and Violent Extremism in Nigeria" by 'Kemi Okenyodo analyzes the Nigerian context, reflecting on the wider gender roles in Nigeria and how these roles might translate to better gendered approaches to violent extremism. She utilizes examples from women's participation in law enforcement and military agencies to support her argument that women are effective at CVE efforts in circumstances where men may not able to intervene due to gender differences and cultural expectations.

Mariam Safi's chapter, "Afghan Women Roles in Countering Violent Extremism," underscores the critical important of women's inclusion in efforts to build peace and resilient communities, and as part of that, to prevent and counter violent extremism. She makes several recommendations, especially in the context of the Afghan government developing their own CVE policy, of how CVE efforts could be effectively aimed at women, including counter-narrative campaigns and encouraging political activism.

The roles of women as perpetrators and supporters of violent extremism were also examined in this volume. Erin Saltman and Ross Frenett explore the roles women play as being radicalized to join ISIS, as well as implications of these roles in CVE efforts in their chapter "Female Radicalization to ISIS and the Role of Women in CVE." Drawing on a database of social media profiles of Western female ISIS members, Saltman and Frenett highlight several push and pull factors involved in the radicalization and recruitment process, and conclude with a number of recommendations of how to prevent Western females from joining ISIS.

In their chapter titled "The Roles of Women in Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism: Motivations, Experiences and Engagement," Guillaume Denoix de Saint Marc and Stephane Lacombe investigate the varied roles women play in both participating in and countering violent extremism. Drawing on their experiences with programs involving victims of terrorism, they argue that women should not be singled out for specific roles in CVE, but rather should be engaged equally with men in coordinated and combined initiatives.

These essays together offer insights into a range of experiences and reflections on the roles of women in preventing and perpetrating violence, and consider the application of these to the challenge of preventing and countering terrorism. As governments, international organizations and civil society actors consider the urgent need to develop contextually tailored responses and policies, these contributions highlight the need to understand pre-existing dynamics while forging innovative responses. They emphasize the importance of perspectives from the field as well as academia in informing critical policy decisions and program design and implementation efforts, while also underscoring the need for far greater investment in research and analysis that goes beyond traditional notions of women's roles. Most of all, they reiterate that responding to terrorism and security threats is not just a man's role, but that without integrating a gender perspective and including women in the conceptualization, implementation and evaluation stages, critical opportunities to to enhance the effectiveness, sustainability and relevance of P/CVE measures could be lost.

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Biographies

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Edit is a social scientist, writer, activist and holds a PhD from the University of Vienna. In 2002 she founded Women without Borders, an international research-based NGO, encouraging women to take the lead in their personal and public lives. Her research and activities focus on women as agents of change and as driving forces to stabilize an insecure world. In 2008 she launched SAVE - Sisters Against Violent Extremism, the world's first female counter-terrorism platform. Schlaffer has received numerous accolades for her work promoting women in the security arena: Hillary Clinton has twice highlighted SAVE's contributions to the field; in 2010 she was named as one of Women's eNews "21 Leaders of the 21st Century" and in 2011 one of Newsweek's "150 Movers and Shakers" and she has received many national prizes including the Käthe Leichter Austrian State Prize for Gender Equity and Research, the Theodor Körner Prize for Outstanding Research and the Donauland Book Prize for Excellency in Non-Fiction Writing. She is a regular speaker in diverse settings: from the TED talks, the Omega Institute, Hedayah, the Global Center on Cooperative Security, the Europe-wide Radicalisation Awareness Network to the OSCE and various United Nations branches.

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'KEMI OKENYODO

Okenyodo is a trained lawyer and has worked on issues relating to security sector and governance issues in Nigeria and West Africa; and NGO management over the past 13 years. She is presently working with the Justice For All Program of the UK Department for International Development as the Team Consultant on the Police Accountability Program. Before joining the Justice For All Program as an independent consultant, she worked as the Executive Director at the CLEEN Foundation a nongovernmental organisation aimed at promoting public safety and security in Nigeria. Her area of interests are strengthening civilian oversight and accountability of the police and activities of the non-state actors in promoting community safety and security. She has some published writings including 'The Challenges of Combating Trafficking in Women and Children in Nigeria' (paper presented at the 11th Annual Meeting of the International Police Executive Symposium that took place in Vancouver, Canada). She has a Diploma in Management and Development of NGOs from Galilee College, Israel and a Certificate in Defence and Security Management issued by the National Defence College in collaboration with the UK Ministry of Defence and the Cranfield University, UK. Kemi is also a member of the Nigeria Bar Association, Nigeria Institute of Char-

tered Administrator, Africa Security Sector Reform Network and the Advisory Board of the Africa Policing Civilian Oversight Forum. When she is not working, Kemi is part of a group of people that organize welfare related activities for less privileged people particularly children in and around Abuja.

MARIAM SAFI

Safi is a researcher and advocate who has contributed widely to the field of peace building, rule of law, human security, and countering violent extremism (CVE) within the context of Afghanistan, offering a grassroots and gender perspective. She is founding director of DROPS, which is committed to strengthening democratic ideas and values in Afghanistan by conducting research that provides policymakers with sound alternative solutions to national issues and by raising awareness on women's issues and creating a role for women in policy dialogue. DROPS publishes the Women and Public Policy Journal in Afghanistan, the first journal of its kind in the country offering a unique platform to increase and empower women's voices in policy research and discourse. Mariam's recent studies on issues such the Reconciliation and Reintegration of the Taliban, Women's Role in the Peace Process, Women's Role in CVE, Transitional Justice in Afghanistan, and Afghan perspectives on Human Security have been valued by organizations like the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, NATO, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, Global Center on Cooperative Security, and the Consortium of South Asian Think-Tanks. She has an MA in International Peace Studies from the United Nations Mandated University for Peace.

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ROSS FRENETT

Frenett is the Founding Director of Moonshot CVE, a specialist CVE focused organisation which aims to develop emerging methodologies to counter violent extremism. Ross previously served as Director of the Against Violent Extremism (AVE) network, a global network of former extremists and survivors of violent extremism seeded by Google Ideas and managed by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue. Throughout his career Ross has interviewed hundreds of former members of extremist groups and is a regular media commentator around extremism. He holds a Masters in Terrorism Security and Society from Kings College London and a BA from University College Cork.

GUILLAUME DENOIX DE SAINT MARC

De Saint Marc lost his father in the bomb attack against the UTA flight 772 on the 19th of September 1989 over the Sahara Desert. In 2002, he instigated and took part in the negotiations with the Gaddafi Foundation, headed by the son of Colonel Gaddafi, to obtain compensation for the families of the 170 victims. In 2004, an agreement was obtained. Libya denied any link to the bombing but agreed to pay $1m to the families of each of the victims. In 2007, Guillaume travelled to the remote crash site with relatives and 140 local people in order to build a memorial to the UTA flight 772 bombing. In 2009, he created the « Association française des Victimes du Terrorisme - AfVT.org », to meet support and assist the victims of terrorism and help prevent violent radicalisation.In 2011, he organised and headed the VIIth International Congress of Victims of Terrorism that took place in Paris. Guillaume is also the co-leader of one of the European Commission's Radicalisation Awareness Network - Centre of Excellence (RAN CoE) working Groups named "RAN - Communication & Narratives (RAN C&N)." Today, the AfVT.org is supporting more than 2 000 victims of terrorism, from different terrorist attacks in France or abroad. The association is also very active in countering violent extremism in France.

STÉPHANE LACOMBE

Lacombe is the Deputy Director of the "Association française des Victimes du Terrorisme - AfVT.org" after being its main Project & Communication manager between 2012 and 2015. He works with numerous victims on the field and coordinates various actions of prevention with local actors: NGO's, administration, penitentiaries. In 2014, he coordinated the production of 21 video portraits of victims of terrorism for the EC project "The Voice of the

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