



Gendered social–ecological resilience: Reinterpreting Inong Balee’s role in Aceh’s post-conflict recovery

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ABSTRACT

Background: This study examines gendered social–ecological resilience by reinterpreting the role of Inong Balee in post-conflict Aceh. While the recovery of Aceh following the 2005 Helsinki Peace Agreement involved both political and socio-economic reconstruction, the gendered and ecological dimensions of post-conflict recovery have received comparatively limited scholarly attention. **Methods:** This study employed a qualitative descriptive approach based on literature analysis. Data were drawn from academic publications, institutional reports, policy documents, and reports from humanitarian and local organizations. The materials were analysed thematically using an integrated framework of social–ecological resilience, feminist political ecology, and the ethics of care. **Findings:** The findings indicate that Inong Balee have redefined their post-conflict roles through community-based initiatives centred on care, cooperation, and local resource management. Their collective practices strengthen social cohesion and ecological sustainability, demonstrating that resilience is a relational and gendered process rooted in everyday community life, with formal institutional arrangements serving only a complementary role. **Conclusion:** This study argues that post-conflict resilience in Aceh is sustained through women’s everyday practices of care, solidarity, and environmental stewardship. By integrating social–ecological resilience, feminist political ecology, and the ethics of care, it offers an alternative perspective for understanding women’s contributions to post-conflict recovery and sustainable peace. **Novelty/Originality of this article:** This study develops an integrated analytical framework that reinterprets Inong Balee’s post-conflict roles through the intersection of social–ecological resilience, feminist political ecology, and the ethics of care, highlighting women’s everyday practices as a foundation of sustainable peace.

KEYWORDS: Aceh; ethics of care; feminist political ecology; Inong Balee; social–ecological resilience.

1. Introduction

Following the signing of the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in August 2005, Aceh transitioned from armed conflict to a phase of political, social, and economic reconstruction. The peace agreement between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement ended nearly three decades of violence and opened pathways for reintegration, governance reform, and development. This transition coincided with the massive post-tsunami reconstruction effort following the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, which profoundly reshaped Aceh’s social and economic structures. Although the convergence of peacebuilding and reconstruction fostered optimism for recovery, it also reproduced long-standing patterns of inequality and exclusion (Aspinall, 2009). Recent

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scholarship has further argued that post-conflict recovery in Aceh should be understood not only through political stabilization but also through the transformation of interconnected social and ecological relationships that continue to sustain everyday peace after armed conflict (Yanuardi et al., 2022).

Former combatants assumed significant roles in post-conflict governance. Many transitioned into formal politics through the Aceh Transitional Committee and the Aceh Party, consolidating their influence within local political institutions. While this development contributed to political stability, it also reinforced patronage networks and dependency on state resources (Aspinall, 2009).

At the same time, reconstruction funds managed by the Aceh–Nias Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency, exceeding five billion US dollars, accelerated infrastructure development but produced uneven outcomes at the community level. Reintegration assistance was frequently criticized for privileging male ex-combatants, thereby generating tensions among ex-combatants, civilian victims, and local communities (Tajima, 2010). As Jemadu (2006) observes, physical reconstruction advanced more rapidly than social and institutional recovery, leaving persistent gaps in justice, participation, and sustainable livelihoods.

Despite these institutional gains, the benefits of post-conflict recovery were not experienced equally across different social groups. Women, in particular, faced compounded burdens shaped by patriarchal norms and post-conflict economic pressures (Jemadu, 2006). Nevertheless, many sustained local economies through farming, trading, savings groups, cooperatives, and microcredit initiatives (Clarke et al., 2010). Despite these contributions, post-conflict recovery remained dominated by male elites and patronage networks, rendering women's roles largely invisible within formal reintegration and development narratives (Aspinall, 2009). This marginalization reflects a broader tendency to frame peacebuilding primarily in terms of institutional stabilization and economic reintegration, with insufficient attention given to the everyday practices of social reproduction and community care.

The experience of Inong Balee illustrates these dynamics. Historically associated with Admiral Keumalahayati's sixteenth-century naval force, the term Inong Balee in contemporary Aceh refers to women who participated in the Free Aceh Movement between 1976 and 2005. During the conflict, they undertook diverse responsibilities, including logistics, healthcare, intelligence, and community mobilization (Akob & Nuryanti, 2019). Following the Helsinki MoU, many encountered administrative ambiguity that limited their access to official reintegration programs (Ulfah et al., 2022). Although symbolically recognized, they were frequently excluded from material assistance schemes. In response, they established collective initiatives such as cooperatives and small enterprises, including the formation of Liga Inong Aceh (LINA) in 2006, to strengthen mutual support and economic resilience (Ulfah et al., 2022). Through these initiatives, they redefined their identities from former combatants into community-based actors contributing to post-conflict recovery.

Existing studies on Aceh's post-conflict transition have primarily examined political settlements, reintegration policies, and economic reconstruction (Aspinall, 2009; Tajima, 2010). More recently, attention has expanded to the social–ecological dimensions of peacebuilding, highlighting the importance of transforming interconnected social and environmental relationships in sustaining post-conflict peace (Yanuardi et al., 2022). Despite this important contribution, comparatively little attention has been paid to the gendered everyday practices through which former female combatants participate in these processes of recovery. Even when women's participation is acknowledged, it is frequently framed in symbolic terms, overlooking their active role in shaping community resilience. As a result, the relational and care-based practices through which women sustain social relationships, livelihoods, and ecological well-being remain insufficiently explored.

Addressing this conceptual gap requires an analytical framework capable of connecting gender, ecology, and post-conflict recovery. Accordingly, this study draws on social–ecological resilience, which emphasizes communities' capacities to adapt and transform in

response to social and environmental change (Adger, 2000; Folke et al., 2010); feminist political ecology, which highlights how gendered power relations shape access to resources, environmental knowledge, and decision-making (Rocheleau et al., 1996); and the ethics of care, which conceptualizes care as a political and relational practice central to sustaining social and ecological life (Tronto, 1993). This perspective is further enriched by Harcourt & Nelson (2015), who extend discussions of care within feminist political ecology by emphasizing relationality, embodiment, and socio-ecological interdependence. Together, these complementary perspectives provide an integrated analytical framework for understanding how women's everyday post-conflict practices constitute interconnected social, ecological, and political processes that sustain community resilience beyond formal reintegration programs.

Accordingly, this article aims to reinterpret the post-conflict roles of Inong Balee through the lens of gendered social-ecological resilience by integrating perspectives from feminist political ecology and the ethics of care into the social-ecological resilience framework. Rather than treating women's participation as supplementary to peacebuilding, this study conceptualizes their everyday economic, social, and relational practices as fundamental to sustainable post-conflict recovery. To guide this analysis, the article addresses three interrelated research questions: How have Inong Balee's post-conflict roles been framed within existing reintegration and development narratives in Aceh? In what ways do their collective economic and community-based practices reflect gendered forms of social-ecological resilience? How can feminist political ecology and the ethics of care deepen our understanding of their contributions to sustainable peace beyond formal political reintegration?

2. Methods

2.1 Research design and data sources

This study employed a qualitative descriptive approach with an interpretative analytical design to explore how former female combatants, known as Inong Balee, reinterpret their roles in Aceh's post-conflict recovery. A qualitative design was selected because it is well suited to examining identity, gender relations, and community resilience, which cannot be reduced to measurable variables (Creswell, 2014). The study focuses on interpreting how women's post-conflict roles, everyday practices, and social transformations are represented across the selected literature.

This research is literature-based and relies on secondary data. The materials include peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, institutional and NGO reports, and official policy documents discussing women's reintegration, post-conflict governance, and community-based recovery in Aceh. Sources were purposively selected based on their relevance to the research objectives and their analytical contribution to discussions of gender, resilience, and social-ecological recovery in post-conflict Aceh. The study adopted a purposive selection strategy to identify works that meaningfully engage with the role of women, particularly Inong Balee, within post-conflict dynamics, without following a strict systematic review protocol.

2.2 Data analysis and analytical framework

Data were analyzed using thematic analysis as outlined by Clarke & Braun (2019). The analysis followed several iterative stages. First, the selected materials were examined to identify recurring concepts and arguments related to women's reintegration, economic adaptation, ecological engagement, and community solidarity. Second, these recurring ideas were coded and organized into broader thematic categories, including the transformation of social roles, gendered economic resilience, and collective care practices. Third, the resulting themes were interpreted through the study's theoretical framework to examine how they reflect gendered social-ecological resilience (Clarke & Braun, 2019). Throughout

the analytical process, themes were continuously compared across sources to ensure consistency of interpretation and strengthen the credibility of the analysis.

The identified themes were subsequently interpreted through an integrative analytical framework combining social–ecological resilience (Adger, 2000; Folke et al., 2010), feminist political ecology (Rocheleau et al., 1996), and the ethics of care (Tronto, 1993), while drawing on the broader contributions of Harcourt and Nelson (2015). This framework guided the interpretation of how Inong Balee's social, economic, and ecological practices reflect gendered social–ecological resilience in Aceh's post-conflict recovery.

Accordingly, this study understands post-conflict recovery not merely as political stabilization or economic reconstruction but as a process of rebuilding interdependent social and ecological relationships. Within this perspective, Inong Balee are viewed not simply as historical subjects but as active agents whose everyday practices contribute to gender-just and sustainable community resilience.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 *An integrated analytical framework for understanding gendered social–ecological resilience*

Social–ecological resilience theory conceptualizes communities as adaptive systems capable of responding to shocks while maintaining their essential functions (Adger, 2000). Building on this perspective, resilience extends beyond the capacity to absorb disturbances to include adaptability and transformability, enabling social–ecological systems to reorganize under changing conditions (Folke et al., 2010). Within post-conflict contexts, this framework has contributed significantly to understanding how societies recover from violence by emphasizing adaptive capacity, institutional stability, and livelihood restoration. However, resilience has also been criticized for adopting technocratic and depoliticized approaches that prioritize system recovery while paying limited attention to unequal power relations, knowledge politics, and the social processes through which resilience is produced (Cote & Nightingale, 2012). These critiques are particularly relevant in post-conflict settings, where recovery is often assessed through macro-level indicators, such as institutional consolidation, economic reconstruction, and political stability, while overlooking the everyday experiences and contributions of marginalized groups, particularly women.

These limitations are particularly evident in post-conflict reintegration frameworks, where recovery is largely measured through the implementation of formal Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programs. Although such initiatives play an important role in restoring security and governance, they provide only a partial understanding of post-conflict recovery because they pay insufficient attention to how gender shapes access to resources, recognition, and participation. As a result, women's contributions frequently remain overlooked despite their substantial roles in sustaining livelihoods, rebuilding social cohesion, and strengthening local adaptive capacities.

Feminist political ecology offers an important analytical lens for addressing these limitations by demonstrating that resilience cannot be separated from gendered power relations that shape access to natural resources, environmental knowledge, and decision-making processes (Rocheleau et al., 1996). From this perspective, adaptation is understood as a process shaped by broader structures of power rather than as a neutral or purely technical response to change. Consequently, women's experiences of conflict and recovery are embedded within power relations that determine whose knowledge is recognized, whose labor is valued, and whose voices are included in post-conflict governance.

This understanding has subsequently been developed through feminist political ecology scholarship that emphasizes relationality, embodiment, and socio-ecological interdependence, highlighting that environmental governance is inseparable from the everyday practices through which people sustain relationships with one another and with their surrounding environments (Harcourt & Nelson, 2015). Recent discussions of

environmental peacebuilding further emphasize that sustainable peace depends on nurturing these interconnected social and ecological relationships, highlighting relationality as a foundation of both environmental governance and post-conflict peacebuilding (Hudson, 2025). Viewed from this perspective, resilience is inseparable from questions of gender justice, social relations, and ecological sustainability.

The ethics of care provides a complementary perspective by conceptualizing care not simply as a private or domestic responsibility but as a political and collective practice that maintains, repairs, and sustains both human relationships and the conditions necessary for life (Tronto, 1993). Post-conflict recovery, therefore, extends beyond institutional reconstruction to include the continuous work of rebuilding trust, strengthening social relationships, and caring for the environments upon which communities depend. This relational understanding of care is further expanded through feminist scholarship that situates care within broader social-ecological relationships, demonstrating the interdependence of human well-being and environmental sustainability (Harcourt & Nelson, 2015). When read alongside feminist political ecology, the ethics of care shifts attention from institutional outcomes toward the everyday practices through which long-term peace is continuously produced and sustained.

Table 1. Summary of the themes identified through thematic analysis

Theme	Main findings from the reviewed literature	Analytical interpretation
Transformation of social identity	Former Inong Balee reconstructed their identities by transitioning from armed actors to community leaders, entrepreneurs, cooperative members, and local organizers.	Identity reconstruction reflects adaptive and transformative resilience, illustrating women's capacity to redefine their social roles after conflict.
Everyday social-ecological practices	Women supported community recovery through farming, cooperatives, environmental stewardship, mutual assistance, and livelihood diversification.	Everyday practices demonstrate how ecological knowledge, care, and livelihood strategies reinforce gendered social-ecological resilience.
Collective solidarity and community networks	Women's organizations, community networks, cooperatives, and collective initiatives fostered trust, reciprocity, cooperation, and mutual support, enabling former female combatants to rebuild social relationships and strengthen community participation.	Community networks function as adaptive capacity by strengthening trust, reciprocity, collective responsibility, and cooperation, enabling long-term community recovery and sustainable peace.
Gendered social-ecological resilience for sustainable peace	The interaction of identity transformation, everyday practices, and collective solidarity highlights women's central role in sustaining post-conflict recovery.	Sustainable peace emerges through the integration of adaptive capacity, gendered agency, ecological stewardship, and practices of care.

Drawing on these complementary perspectives, this study interprets the post-conflict experiences of Inong Balee through an integrated analytical framework that combines social-ecological resilience, feminist political ecology, and the ethics of care. Each perspective illuminates a distinct yet interconnected dimension of women's post-conflict experiences. Social-ecological resilience explains how communities adapt, reorganize, and transform following periods of disruption. Feminist political ecology reveals how gendered power relations shape opportunities, constraints, and access to resources throughout these adaptive processes. The ethics of care further demonstrates how everyday practices of solidarity, caregiving, and ecological stewardship sustain social relationships and support long-term resilience. Taken together, these perspectives provide an integrated analytical lens for understanding how women's everyday practices generate adaptive capacity, reshape gendered social relations, and contribute to sustainable peace in post-conflict Aceh.

Applying this integrated analytical framework, the thematic analysis identified four interrelated themes that organize the findings presented in the following sections. As summarized in Table 1, these themes synthesize the principal findings of the reviewed literature. Collectively, these themes illustrate how identity transformation, everyday social-ecological practices, and collective solidarity interact to produce gendered social-ecological resilience, which in turn contributes to sustainable peace in post-conflict Aceh. The following sections elaborate on each of these themes, demonstrating how their interconnections deepen understanding of the role of Inong Balee in fostering gendered social-ecological resilience in post-conflict Aceh.

3.2 Transformation of the social identity of Inong Balee

Following the signing of the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2005, former Inong Balee combatants experienced a profound transformation of their social identities. During the armed conflict, they occupied strategic positions within the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), serving as logistics coordinators, information gatherers, couriers, healthcare providers, and community mobilizers (Akob & Nuryanti, 2019). These responsibilities positioned them as active participants in the resistance movement, where identity was closely associated with sacrifice, discipline, and collective struggle. The transition from armed conflict to peace, however, fundamentally reshaped the social and political context in which these identities had been constructed. The thematic analysis undertaken in this study identifies identity transformation as one of the dominant patterns in the post-conflict experiences of Inong Balee, reflecting a gradual shift from militarized roles toward new forms of civic engagement, economic participation, and community leadership.

Viewed through the perspective of social-ecological resilience, this transformation reflects communities' capacity to reorganize while maintaining essential social functions following periods of disruption (Adger, 2000). More than a simple adjustment to post-conflict conditions, the experiences of Inong Balee demonstrate how wartime knowledge, organizational experience, and social networks became valuable resources for rebuilding everyday life. Folke et al. (2010) further argue that resilience encompasses both adaptation and transformability, enabling social-ecological systems to generate new pathways under changing conditions instead of merely returning to previous states. From this perspective, the post-conflict trajectories of Inong Balee illustrate not only adaptation but also the reconstruction of social identities through new forms of participation, leadership, and collective organization.

Despite these adaptive capacities, identity transformation unfolded within a context of persistent structural inequality. Although the Helsinki Peace Agreement formally ended armed conflict, post-conflict reintegration largely prioritized male combatants, while women were frequently categorized as supporters or combatants' wives instead of being recognized as combatants in their own right (Jemadu, 2006). Similar patterns have been documented across broader Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) processes, where eligibility criteria and institutional definitions of combatancy have frequently marginalized female ex-combatants despite their substantial wartime contributions (Steenbergen, 2021). This institutional framing significantly limited women's access to economic assistance, vocational training, and social protection. Consequently, many female ex-combatants experienced a form of double marginalization arising from both gender discrimination and their ambiguous status within post-conflict reintegration processes (Rahmanova, 2022). Similar challenges also persisted at the administrative level, where many Inong Balee continued to encounter barriers that constrained their access to official recovery programs (Ulfah et al., 2022).

Rather than leading to passivity or social withdrawal, these structural constraints encouraged many former Inong Balee to create alternative pathways for recovery through collective action. The establishment of LINA in 2006, for example, enabled former female combatants to organize entrepreneurship programs, community cooperatives, and

livelihood initiatives that strengthened both economic independence and social participation (Nurzahra et al., 2021). Women's collective enterprises also expanded local economic opportunities while reinforcing solidarity among former combatants (Suwardi, 2015). Beyond economic activities, these initiatives facilitated broader processes of reconciliation and community development, gradually transforming former combatants into community leaders and facilitators of local recovery (Pauls et al., 2020).

Collectively, these experiences suggest that identity reconstruction was driven primarily by grassroots initiatives, while formal reintegration programs played a more limited role. This pattern is not unique to Aceh. Similar dynamics have been observed in other post-conflict contexts, where women's organizations provide not only economic opportunities but also social recognition, collective identity, and long-term support that are frequently absent from formal reintegration programs (Mazurana et al., 2017).

This pattern is also reflected in broader discussions of post-conflict reintegration. Reintegration is increasingly understood as a long-term social process that extends beyond the distribution of post-conflict assistance (Tajima, 2010). Research further shows that female ex-combatants frequently rebuilt their livelihoods and social roles through collective community networks, while state-led programs often played a more limited role in supporting long-term recovery (Hauge, 2023). These findings reinforce the view that reintegration extends beyond formal institutional interventions and depends on locally embedded forms of cooperation, mutual support, and everyday social relationships.

These broader insights are also reflected in the experiences of former Inong Balee in Aceh. In several districts, including Pidie and Aceh Besar, women organized farming groups, small-scale enterprises, and community organizations that combined agricultural production with cooperative management and traditional gotong royong practices. These locally organized initiatives strengthened household livelihoods while fostering economic cooperation among former female combatants (Nurzahra et al., 2021). Likewise, the report *Women and Natural Resources: Unlocking the Peacebuilding Potential* highlights that community-based natural resource management can simultaneously restore livelihoods, strengthen social cohesion, and build trust in post-conflict societies (UNEP et al., 2013). Together, these experiences demonstrate that post-conflict recovery evolved through collaborative efforts that reconnected livelihoods, strengthened social solidarity, and rebuilt relationships between communities and their local environments.

Feminist political ecology offers a deeper explanation of why this transformation unfolded in these particular ways. Gendered identities are continuously shaped through unequal access to resources, environmental knowledge, and decision-making processes (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Beyond formal reintegration, women's identities continued to evolve through everyday participation in community life, livelihood activities, and local institutions, illustrating that post-conflict subjectivities are continuously negotiated rather than fixed by wartime experiences (Steenbergen, 2021). Building on this understanding, Elmhirst (2015) argues that gendered subjectivities are continually negotiated through livelihood practices, spatial relations, and local institutions, rather than being determined solely by women's wartime identities.

This perspective helps explain why Inong Balee reconstructed authority and social legitimacy not primarily through formal political institutions but through sustained participation in agriculture, cooperative enterprises, and other community-based initiatives that reshaped their relationships with both society and local environments. Rather than deriving legitimacy solely from their wartime identities, former Inong Balee established new forms of social legitimacy through everyday practices that connected livelihoods, community participation, and ecological engagement.

The ethics of care further enriches this interpretation by conceptualizing care as a political and collective practice rather than a purely domestic responsibility. Caring, in this sense, constitutes the moral foundation through which societies maintain, repair, and sustain shared life (Tronto, 1993). Applied to the Acehnese context, the transformation of Inong Balee from armed actors into organizers of cooperatives, local enterprises, and support networks illustrates how practices of care became integral to post-conflict

recovery. This perspective is further developed through feminist political ecology, which situates care within broader social-ecological relationships and emphasizes the interdependence of human well-being and environmental sustainability (Harcourt & Nelson, 2015). This understanding is reinforced by recent research demonstrating that women's collective initiatives frequently combine ecological knowledge with social solidarity to create more inclusive and sustainable pathways of recovery (Harcourt et al., 2023). Viewed through this lens, the post-conflict roles of Inong Balee represent not only changing identities but also the emergence of care as a foundation for rebuilding both social and ecological relationships.

Overall, the findings indicate that the transformation of Inong Balee extends beyond a simple transition from conflict to peace. Rather, it represents a broader process of identity reconstruction through which former female combatants renegotiated their social roles within post-conflict communities. Across the reviewed literature, identity reconstruction emerged through the interaction of adaptive capacity, collective action, ecological engagement, and practices of care, enabling former female combatants to assume new roles as community leaders, livelihood actors, and agents of post-conflict recovery. Interpreted through the integrated perspectives of social-ecological resilience, feminist political ecology, and the ethics of care, these experiences demonstrate that women's agency became a fundamental component of rebuilding social relationships and sustaining long-term post-conflict recovery in Aceh.

3.3 Everyday social-ecological practices in community recovery

The literature reviewed in this study indicates that the contributions of Inong Balee and other women in post-conflict Aceh extended well beyond economic survival to encompass a wide range of everyday social and ecological practices that supported community recovery. While formal reintegration programs largely emphasized infrastructure development, economic assistance, and political stabilization, these approaches paid comparatively less attention to the relational work undertaken by women in rebuilding livelihoods, restoring social cohesion, and caring for local environments (Jemadu, 2006). Sustainable recovery, however, depends not only on institutional reconstruction but also on recognizing the close interdependence between environmental governance and community well-being (UNEP et al., 2013). This broader perspective is reflected in the experiences of Inong Balee, whose everyday contributions to community life remained substantial despite receiving limited recognition within formal reintegration programs (Pauls et al., 2020).

This emphasis on everyday community practices also reflects broader developments within contemporary peacebuilding scholarship. Rather than viewing recovery solely as the outcome of formal institutions or externally designed interventions, the "local turn" in peacebuilding highlights the capacity of local actors to shape sustainable peace through everyday social interactions and community initiatives (Paffenholz, 2015). Recovery is therefore understood as emerging from locally embedded relationships, collective knowledge, and community agency. Consistent with this view, the experiences of former Inong Balee illustrate how women's everyday participation in livelihood activities, community organizations, and local cooperation contributed to peacebuilding beyond the scope of formal reintegration programs.

These everyday practices were manifested through women's participation in agricultural cooperatives, communal farming, small-scale enterprises, environmental restoration, savings groups, and mutual assistance networks. Collective farming and cooperative economic activities strengthened household livelihoods while reinforcing solidarity among former female combatants (Nurzahra et al., 2021). At the same time, livelihood diversification and community-based resource management contributed not only to economic security but also to stronger cooperation and reciprocal relationships within local communities (Meliza et al., 2024). Women's cooperatives likewise created opportunities for former Inong Balee to expand economic activities while maintaining long-term support networks that connected former combatants with civilian women (Suwardi,

2015). Together, these initiatives demonstrate that everyday practices functioned not merely as livelihood strategies but also as mechanisms for rebuilding trust and strengthening community relationships.

These findings also resonate with broader discussions on everyday peacebuilding, which emphasize that sustainable peace is produced through routine social practices rather than extraordinary political events alone. Everyday cooperation, mutual assistance, and shared livelihood activities create opportunities to rebuild trust and reduce social divisions within communities. Such ordinary interactions gradually strengthen social cohesion by fostering repeated encounters and reciprocal relationships among community members, making everyday practices an important foundation for long-term peace (Mac Ginty, 2014). The experiences of former Inong Balee similarly suggest that routine livelihood activities and mutual support became everyday spaces through which trust and cooperation were gradually rebuilt after conflict.

From the perspective of social-ecological resilience, these practices illustrate the capacity of communities to reorganize while maintaining essential social functions following periods of disruption (Adger, 2000). Resilience, however, extends beyond adaptation alone. It also encompasses adaptability and transformability, enabling social-ecological systems to develop new forms of organization under changing conditions (Folke et al., 2010). The findings suggest that post-conflict recovery in Aceh was grounded in locally embedded knowledge, collective cooperation, and the everyday management of natural and social resources, while formal institutions constituted only one component of the broader recovery process. Women's engagement in agriculture, environmental stewardship, and cooperative livelihoods therefore demonstrates that resilience emerged through continuous interaction between social relationships and ecological practices.

This understanding is further supported by studies of post-conflict reintegration, where long-term recovery depends not only on economic assistance but also on locally organized support systems that enable former combatants to reconnect with civilian life. Community-based networks frequently provide more sustained opportunities for livelihood development, social participation, and mutual support than short-term institutional programs, demonstrating that recovery is fundamentally embedded within everyday community relationships (Hauge, 2023). This helps explain why community-based initiatives undertaken by former Inong Balee became important complements to formal reintegration efforts in sustaining long-term recovery.

This interpretation is further strengthened through the perspective of feminist political ecology. Rather than treating environmental management as a gender-neutral process, this perspective emphasizes that access to natural resources, ecological knowledge, and decision-making is shaped by unequal gender relations (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Women's everyday engagement with farming, water management, food production, and collective resource management therefore reflects situated forms of knowledge that frequently remain invisible within state-centered recovery programs. Such experiences also illustrate how gendered identities are continuously negotiated through livelihood practices, local institutions, and interactions with surrounding environments, allowing women to exercise agency beyond formal political structures (Elmhirst, 2015). In the context of Aceh, ecological practices therefore functioned not only as livelihood strategies but also as expressions of women's agency through which post-conflict social relationships were reconstructed.

The ethics of care provides an additional perspective for understanding why these practices became central to community recovery. Recovery was sustained not only through economic activities but also through everyday relationships of care that enabled communities to maintain and repair social life after prolonged violence (Tronto, 1993). Caring, in this sense, extended beyond interpersonal responsibilities to include collective commitments toward livelihoods, local environments, and shared well-being. This relational understanding of care also encompasses the reciprocal relationship between people and nature, positioning ecological stewardship as an integral component of sustaining community life (Harcourt & Nelson, 2015). Within the experiences of Inong

Balee, collective farming, resource sharing, environmental restoration, and mutual support therefore represent interconnected practices through which social and ecological recovery unfolded simultaneously. These initiatives further demonstrate how women integrate ecological knowledge with social solidarity, creating more inclusive pathways toward long-term recovery (Harcourt et al., 2023).

Overall, the reviewed literature suggests that the everyday practices of Inong Balee represent far more than individual coping strategies. Instead, these practices constitute gendered forms of social–ecological resilience in which economic cooperation, ecological stewardship, and collective care reinforce one another as interconnected dimensions of post-conflict recovery. Viewed through the integrated perspectives of social–ecological resilience, feminist political ecology, and the ethics of care, these everyday practices demonstrate that sustainable post-conflict recovery is cultivated through relationships that reconnect people, livelihoods, and the environments upon which community well-being depends.

3.4 Collective solidarity and community networks as adaptive capacity

The findings indicate that the post-conflict recovery of Inong Balee was sustained not only through individual livelihood strategies but also through collective solidarity and community-based networks. Women's organizations, cooperatives, religious gatherings (pengajian), farming groups, and informal support networks emerged as important spaces where former female combatants rebuilt trust, exchanged resources, and strengthened social relationships after years of armed conflict. These community-based initiatives became particularly significant because formal reintegration programs frequently failed to recognize the specific experiences and needs of female ex-combatants (Tajima, 2010). Similar patterns have also been documented by the Pauls et al., (2020) and Hauge (2023), both of which show that women often relied on locally organized support systems to compensate for the limitations of state-led reintegration programs.

The establishment of organizations such as LINA, women's cooperatives, farming groups, and community savings associations illustrates how wartime social ties were gradually transformed into civilian networks of mutual support. Instead of relying solely on state assistance, former Inong Balee mobilized existing social ties to create opportunities for income generation, collective learning, and community participation (Nurzahra et al., 2021). Women's collective enterprises also strengthened local economic opportunities while reinforcing solidarity among former combatants (Suwardi, 2015). Beyond improving livelihoods, these networks enabled women to mediate local disputes, support vulnerable households, and strengthen cooperation between former combatants and civilians, demonstrating that reintegration involved rebuilding social trust as much as restoring economic security (Pauls et al., 2020).

From the perspective of social–ecological resilience, these forms of collective organization represent adaptive capacity, namely the ability of communities to reorganize social relationships while maintaining essential social functions in the face of change (Adger, 2000). This understanding extends beyond the capacity to absorb disruption by emphasizing adaptability and transformability as the basis for long-term resilience (Folke et al., 2010). In the context of post-conflict Aceh, adaptive capacity was therefore embedded not simply in individuals but in networks of reciprocity, cooperation, and shared responsibility that enabled communities to respond collectively to new social and economic challenges. Women's organizations functioned not only as economic institutions but also as social infrastructures through which trust, cooperation, and collective well-being were gradually restored.

This interpretation is further strengthened by feminist political ecology, which argues that collective action cannot be understood separately from gendered relations of power, recognition, and access to resources (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Women's participation in cooperatives, farming groups, and community organizations demonstrates that these networks were also spaces where social identities, authority, and access to local resources

were continuously negotiated. Women actively reshaped social relations through expanded participation in community decision-making and local economic activities, illustrating that post-conflict recovery involved transformation as well as adaptation. As Elmhirst (2015) argues, gendered subjectivities are continually produced through everyday livelihood practices and interactions with local environments. Harcourt et al. (2023) further emphasize that women's collective environmental and economic initiatives frequently challenge dominant development approaches by foregrounding relational knowledge, cooperation, and shared responsibility.

The ethics of care offers a complementary perspective by conceptualizing solidarity itself as a form of political and relational care rather than merely an expression of social cohesion. Care, in this sense, involves the ongoing practices through which communities maintain, repair, and sustain shared life (Tronto, 1993). The collective initiatives developed by Inong Balee demonstrate this understanding through everyday practices of mutual assistance, emotional support, resource sharing, and collective responsibility. Extending this perspective, Harcourt and Nelson (2015) argue that care also encompasses relationships with the social and ecological environments upon which communities depend. Consequently, solidarity became more than a mechanism for economic recovery; it functioned as a relational practice that strengthened both community resilience and the social foundations of sustainable peace.

Overall, the findings suggest that collective solidarity constituted one of the principal mechanisms through which gendered social-ecological resilience emerged in post-conflict Aceh. The adaptive capacity demonstrated by Inong Balee was rooted not only in individual resilience but also in their ability to cultivate relationships of trust, reciprocity, and collective responsibility. These networks transformed experiences of conflict into enduring relationships of trust, reciprocity, and mutual support, thereby strengthening community recovery while creating more inclusive pathways toward sustainable peace.

3.5 Gendered social-ecological resilience for sustainable peace

The preceding sections demonstrate that the transformation of social identity, everyday social-ecological practices, and collective solidarity did not emerge as separate dimensions of post-conflict recovery. Rather, they interacted dynamically to produce what this study conceptualizes as gendered social-ecological resilience. From this perspective, resilience is not simply the capacity to recover from armed conflict but the ability to reorganize social relationships, livelihoods, and ecological practices in ways that sustain collective well-being over time. Sustainable peace therefore emerges not only through formal political agreements but also through the everyday labor through which women rebuild communities and restore relationships between people and their environments.

This understanding resonates with broader developments in contemporary peacebuilding scholarship, which increasingly recognize that sustainable peace is shaped through locally embedded processes rather than institutional interventions alone. Everyday peacebuilding emphasizes the role of routine social interactions and everyday practices in reproducing peaceful coexistence (Ginty, 2014), while the "local turn" highlights the agency of local actors in shaping recovery and peacebuilding outcomes (Paffenholz, 2015). Similarly, adaptive peacebuilding argues that peace should be understood as an evolving process emerging from the adaptive capacities of local communities rather than as a predetermined institutional outcome (Coning, 2018). The experiences of Inong Balee reflect these ideas by demonstrating how women's collective initiatives continuously adapted to changing social and ecological conditions while contributing to long-term community recovery.

Viewed through the lens of social-ecological resilience, the experiences of Inong Balee illustrate that recovery involves both adaptation and transformation. Adaptive capacity is reflected in how former female combatants mobilized existing social networks, local knowledge, and collective experience to rebuild livelihoods despite limited access to formal reintegration programs (Adger, 2000). At the same time, their transition from wartime

actors to community organizers, cooperative leaders, and environmental stewards demonstrates what Folke et al. (2010) describe as transformability, namely the capacity to create new pathways of development under changing social and ecological conditions. Rather than returning to pre-conflict social arrangements, Inong Balee actively reshaped community life by transforming wartime solidarity into long-term mechanisms of cooperation, livelihood recovery, and environmental stewardship.

These adaptive and transformative processes also demonstrate that resilience is inherently gendered. From the perspective of feminist political ecology, resilience cannot be understood separately from the gendered power relations that shape access to resources, environmental knowledge, and opportunities for participation (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Rather than viewing ecological recovery as a purely technical or environmental process, this perspective highlights how social and ecological transformations are co-produced through everyday interactions between people, livelihoods, and local environments. Building on this understanding, Harcourt and Nelson (2015) argue that sustainability is fundamentally relational, grounded in interdependence among human communities and the ecosystems upon which they depend. Accordingly, the findings suggest that gendered social-ecological resilience emerges through the intersection of ecological stewardship, livelihood practices, and the continuous renegotiation of gendered power relations, rather than through any single domain of post-conflict recovery.

The ethics of care further deepens this interpretation by positioning care as the moral and political foundation through which societies maintain and repair the conditions necessary for collective life (Tronto, 1993). In the context of post-conflict Aceh, practices such as mutual assistance, cooperative labor, knowledge sharing, and environmental restoration should therefore be understood not simply as informal coping mechanisms but as everyday peacebuilding practices that sustained both social cohesion and ecological well-being. Care became a relational practice that connected households, communities, and local environments, allowing recovery to extend beyond institutional reconstruction toward the continuous maintenance of shared life. This perspective shifts the understanding of peace from a condition secured through political agreements to an ongoing social process reproduced through everyday relationships of reciprocity and responsibility.

The findings also challenge technocratic approaches to post-conflict recovery that primarily evaluate success through political stability, infrastructure development, or economic growth. Previous reintegration programs in Aceh largely prioritized formal political and economic indicators while overlooking the relational work undertaken by women within communities (Jemadu, 2006). Such limitations demonstrate that institutional recovery alone provides an incomplete understanding of sustainable peace. This interpretation is consistent with the report *Women and Natural Resources: Unlocking the Peacebuilding Potential*, which argues that long-term peace depends upon recognizing the interdependence between environmental governance and community well-being (UNEP et al., 2013). The experiences of Inong Balee reinforce this argument by illustrating that ecological restoration, collective solidarity, and everyday practices of care are mutually reinforcing dimensions of post-conflict recovery rather than separate policy objectives. These findings therefore suggest that evaluating post-conflict recovery requires greater attention to relational dimensions such as trust, cooperation, ecological stewardship, and collective care alongside conventional political and economic indicators.

Overall, this study contributes to broader debates on gender, resilience, and peacebuilding by proposing gendered social-ecological resilience as an integrated analytical framework that brings together social-ecological resilience, feminist political ecology, and the ethics of care. By positioning Inong Balee as active agents of post-conflict recovery, this framework demonstrates how adaptive capacity, the transformation of gendered social relations, and ecological well-being are co-produced through everyday practices of care. In doing so, it challenges conventional portrayals of women as beneficiaries of reintegration or symbolic participants in peace processes. Consequently, the study argues that sustainable peace should be understood not simply as the outcome of

institutional arrangements, but as an ongoing process sustained through the continuous reconstruction of social and ecological relationships upon which collective life depends.

To summarize these findings, Figure 1 presents the integrated dimensions of gendered social-ecological resilience identified in this study. Rather than representing discrete dimensions of recovery, the transformation of social identity, everyday social-ecological practices, and collective solidarity are conceptualized as mutually reinforcing dimensions of gendered social-ecological resilience that collectively support sustainable post-conflict peace.

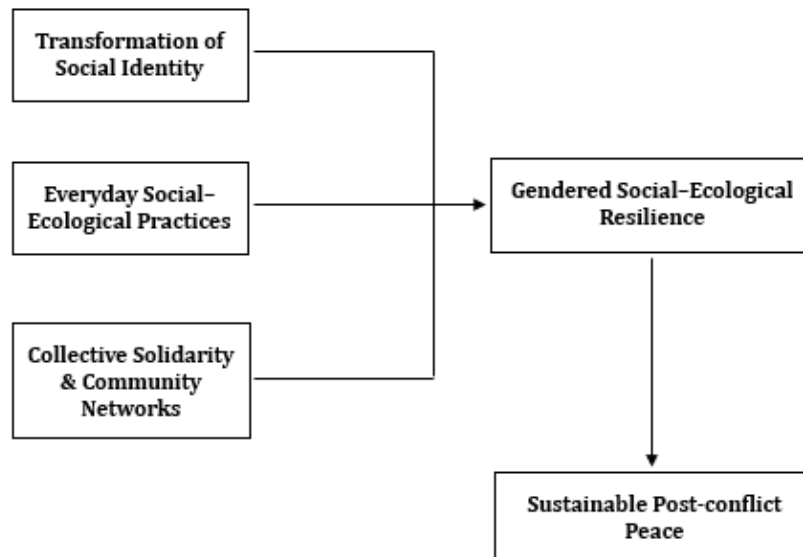


Fig. 1. Conceptual framework of gendered social-ecological resilience for sustainable post-conflict peace.

4. Conclusions

This study demonstrates that the post-conflict experiences of Inong Balee extend beyond conventional narratives of reintegration that primarily emphasize political participation and economic recovery. Although many former female combatants continued to experience marginalization following the Helsinki Peace Agreement, they actively redefined their post-conflict roles through collective initiatives centered on community engagement, livelihood reconstruction, and environmental stewardship. Their experiences demonstrate that post-conflict recovery extends beyond formal institutions and depends upon everyday processes through which communities rebuild relationships, livelihoods, and connections with their local environments. The findings further indicate that these practices constitute gendered social-ecological resilience, understood as a relational and transformative process through which women simultaneously restore social cohesion, ecological sustainability, and everyday peace. Through cooperative farming, community-based enterprises, environmental restoration, and mutual support networks, Inong Balee contributed not only to rebuilding local livelihoods but also to reconnecting social relationships and ecological systems disrupted by conflict. Collectively, these findings suggest that resilience should be understood not simply as the capacity to adapt to post-conflict conditions, but as the capacity to reorganize and transform social and ecological relationships in ways that sustain long-term community well-being.

Theoretically, this study contributes to post-conflict and peacebuilding scholarship by proposing gendered social-ecological resilience as an integrated analytical framework for understanding women's post-conflict experiences. By integrating the perspectives of social-ecological resilience, feminist political ecology, and the ethics of care, the study demonstrates that women's contributions to peacebuilding extend beyond economic recovery and political participation to encompass the relational, ecological, and care-based

practices that sustain long-term peace. This integrated framework advances existing understandings of post-conflict recovery by highlighting the interconnected social, ecological, and gendered processes through which sustainable peace is continuously produced. Practically, the findings underscore the importance of designing post-conflict policies that recognize women not merely as beneficiaries of reintegration programmes but as active agents of recovery. Incorporating gender-responsive and ecologically informed approaches into peacebuilding and reintegration policies would strengthen community resilience by supporting the everyday practices of care, collective action, and environmental stewardship that sustain local communities. Ultimately, the experience of Inong Balee demonstrates that sustainable peace is not secured solely through political settlements or institutional reforms, but is continuously cultivated through the ongoing reconstruction of relationships among people, communities, and the environments upon which collective life depends.

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The author declares no conflict of interest.

Declaration of Generative AI Use

During the preparation of this work, the author used ChatGPT (OpenAI) to assist in improving the clarity, structure, and academic tone of the manuscript. After using this tool, the author reviewed and edited the content as needed and takes full responsibility for the final version of the publication.

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