Bulletin of Social Science and Community Development

ISSN: 3025-6798 | Journal's DOI: 10.61436/bsscd

Homepage: https://imrecsjournal.com/journals/index.php/bsscd

Layered Interventions and the Making of Peace Agencies Among Former Extremists: Evidence from Penatoi Urban Village, Bima Town, Indonesia

Rahmad Hidayat[1,*], Firmansyah[1], & Muhammad Sauki[2]

[1]Department of Administrative Science, Universitas Mbojo Bima, Indonesia

[2]Department of Communication, Universitas Mbojo Bima, Indonesia

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received: 20 August 2026

Accepted: 15 October 2026

Published: 18 November 2026

Keywords:

Disengagement;

\Layered interventions;

Peace agency;

Penatoi;

Violent extremism.

Corresponding Author:

rahidsmart@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Bima Town has long been a significant hub in Indonesia's networks of violent extremism and the origin and refuge for some notable national terrorist figures. Despite this reputation, the urban village of Penatoi has recently been acknowledged for its success in addressing radicalism at the grassroots level. From 2018 to 2026, a series of peace interventions were implemented to foster peace among former extremists and their families in Penatoi, including the Triple Nexus program by LP2DER and Islamic Relief in 2018–2021, a partnership between the National Counter-Terrorism Agency and the Bima Town Religious Harmony Forum, and the Wahid Foundation's women empowerment program set for 2024–2025. In an in-depth, interview-based case study of ten informants: five former extremists with varying trajectories, one woman connected through marriage, and four institutional actors, the authors found that peace agency develops over time through an accumulative process. This process transitions from personal openness and gradual social involvement to serving as an outreach agent for fellow former perpetrators and other vulnerable groups. Attributing impact can also be challenging, as claims of success for the latest deradicalization program often overlook the longstanding history of prior interventions that helped build trust in Penatoi. The study proposes a framework of "layered peace interventions" as an alternative analytical approach to inquiries of disengagement and countering violent extremism, emphasizing accumulated cross-program relationships over the efficacy of any individual program.

To cite this article:

Hidayat, R., Firmansyah., & Sauki, M. (2026). Layered Interventions and the Making of Peace Agencies Among Former Extremists: Evidence from Penatoi Urban Village, Bima Town, Indonesia, *5*(4), 652-669. doi: https://doi.org/10.61436/bsscd/v5i4.pp652-669

This is an open access article under the CC BY SA licence (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0).

■ INTRODUCTION

Bima, a town at the eastern tip of Sumbawa Island, West Nusa Tenggara Province, holds a special place on Indonesia's violent-extremism map. Along with Poso and Solo, it became one of the study locations when the Anti-Terrorism Bill was drafted in 2016. Bima remains a priority area for national anti-terror agencies because its residents have a long history of involvement in ideologically motivated violence over the past three decades, ranging from attacks on police officers to the contributions of cadres in the Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) and Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT) networks in Poso. This history also includes Basri and Santoso, two of MIT's most wanted figures, who used Bima as a hiding place and married local women there before being caught (Ali-Fauzi & Kartika, 2026).

Amid such a reputation, Penatoi, one of the old urban villages in Mpunda District, Bima Town, presents an important anomaly: it is not another symbol of the failure to address radicalism; rather, Penatoi was later awarded the title of the best urban village by the Bima Town Government for its efforts in addressing radical ideology and terrorism. Several former extremists and their families there now play an active role in social and economic activity, while also reaching out to colleagues who remain closed off from the outside world. This transformation is often framed in a linear program narrative, where a single intervention, usually the final and most visible, is treated as the sole cause of change. Such claims warrant more critical reading. In fact, Penatoi has been the target of deradicalization interventions since 2018.

Most previous studies in the global disengagement and countering violent extremism (CVE) domain have tended to focus on the effectiveness of a single program or one type of intervention, whether it is a state-based deradicalization program, an economic

reintegration program, or a cross-faith dialogue program, as a stand-alone unit of analysis (Cherney, 2024; Meinema, 2021; Qureshi & Akbar, 2026; Schumicky-Logan, 2017). Such an approach risks overlooking that individuals and communities, such as those in Penatoi, have generally experienced a series of overlapping, continuous interventions over many years, from government actors and local and international non-governmental organizations to religious leaders and urban village officials. This layered reality suggests examining how multiple interventions shape changes in attitudes and behaviors, rather than attributing those changes to any single stand-alone program.

The authors address that gap by treating layered interventions as the unit of analysis. Accordingly, this study posed two research questions. First, how are the layers of peace intervention in Penatoi formed and accumulated over time, and how do the actors involved in them interrelate? Second, how does the process of establishing a peace agency for former extremists and their families unfold as a series of interventions, and to what extent does that agency move from personal change to a broader social role?

The authors develop the concept of "layered peace interventions" as an analytical framework for understanding how peace interventions that occur sequentially, overlap, and involve multiple actors can cumulatively build peace agency. This concept is developed through dialogue among the radical milieu perspective (Malthaner & Waldmann, 2014), the relational agency formulation (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998) and a layered peacebuilding framework (Lederach, 1997). The radical milieu perspective helps explain changes in the social environment that previously sustained or enabled violence. Relational agency helps explain how individuals interpret experiences over time, imagine possible futures, and choose actions. At the same time, the Lederach framework helps map the positions and interconnectedness of various actors in the peacebuilding ecosystem. Taken together, these perspectives help analyze how the series of interventions at Penatoi created opportunities for social encounters, learning, transformation of orientation, recognition, and relational involvement that could eventually develop into peace agency.

The novelty of this research lies in three things. First, the authors present an empirical micro-analysis of Penatoi, which is more often framed within the narrative of Bima extremism. Second, conceptually, the authors propose layered peace interventions as an alternative unit of analysis that shifts the focus from evaluating a single program to mapping the accumulation of programs over time. Third, methodologically, the study employs qualitative field research to examine the process of establishing peace agencies, treating informants' experiences and interpretations as primary data. Previous program information is used to reconstruct the historical context of interventions.

■ LITARATURE REVIEW

Early generations of radicalization studies generally started from the assumption that the process toward violence was linear and could be mapped in predictable stages, in which radicalization was imagined as a psychological ladder that one climbed gradually until they reached the point when violence appeared to be the only rational option (Horgan, 2008; Orsini, 2023; Trip et al., 2019). This approach was later enriched by the quest-for-significance framework, which places the experience of personal injustice as a trigger for cognitive processes toward radicalism (Jasko et al., 2017; Kruglanski & Bertelsen, 2020). Both approaches contribute greatly to explaining an individual's psychological drive. However, they leave one fundamental weakness noted by Hafez and Mullins (2015) many people experience radicalization on a cognitive level without ever actually engaging in violence. Belief radicalism and action radicalism, in other words, do not always go hand in hand.

These limitations have driven the rise of a relational perspective in the study of social movements, as developed by Alimi et al. (2012). The perspective shifts the focus from individual psychology to dynamic interactions between militant groups and the surrounding socio-political environment. That tradition then generated the "radical milieu" concept from Malthaner and Waldmann (2014). The terrorist group is not a clandestine, self-contained entity, but a group that grows from, and continues to interact with, the immediate social environment that shares similar ideals and is morally and logistically sympathetic to its struggle, even if it does not always approve of the violent methods pursued. The concept matters not only because it explains how violence can be born and endure in a place, but also because it opens space to understand that the same environment can also be an arena for the opposite process: silence, restraint, and ultimately, peace.

Among the various extremism nodes in central Indonesia, Bima occupies a distinctive position: it does not have a history of prolonged communal conflict like Poso, nor is it known as a center for the spread of radical ideology like

Solo, but it still accounts for a disproportionate number of perpetrators and sympathizers of terrorism relative to its size. This research uses four previous studies as its main references to show how violence grows, endures, and, at some point, recedes in this small town.

Ali-Fauzi and Kartika (2026) conducted 35 in-depth interviews with former extremists, government officials, and NGO activists, applying Malthaner and Waldmann's radical milieu framework directly to Bima. Extremist groups in Bima were born from a social environment that shared the ideals of establishing the caliphate. However, they had different views on the legality of violence as a way to achieve it. They trace how the Umar bin Khattab Islamic Boarding School, founded by Abrory M. Ali, became the initial center of radicalization based on the JI network, before competing and eventually uniting with the Iskandar group in Penatoi under the umbrella of JAT, and splitting again following a declaration of support for ISIS in 2014. The research also shows the other side of the radical milieu: it is not only an escalation machine, but also a de-escalation space, where activists who want to leave terrorist groups can still channel their religious aspirations without having to completely give up their beliefs, commitments, or bonds of friendship and kinship that have been formed.

Sila and Fealy (2022) move to the personal level through a single in-depth case study: the journey of UG, a former military commander of JAT Bima, toward rejecting violent extremism in 2019–2020. The most significant contribution of their article is the affirmation that disengagement is not a single event that occurs overnight, but rather a gradual and winding process supported by three pillars at once: personal relationships with civil society leaders (in this case Eka Iskandar Zulkarnain from Muhammadiyah, who opened the door of trust through a simple humanitarian act in the form of assistance in waiving the cost of childbirth for UG's wife in the hospital), family pressure and encouragement (the active role of his wife, UT, who reminded and supervised her husband not to return to the old circle), as well as material incentives from the state in the form of business capital. Sila and Fealy explain how UG has finally managed to imagine himself as part of a much broader and more diverse network of relationships than before, a shift in consciousness that has allowed him to move from viewing the state apparatus and non-Muslims as threats to being willing to sit with them in interfaith dialogue forums.

Azca and Putri (2026) bring a dimension that has often escaped the attention of terrorism studies in Indonesia: the role and agency of women in extremist networks, especially MIT, which absorbs many members from Bima. Borrowing the framework of the four modes of women's agency from Burke (2012), their research convincingly challenges the assumption that women in extremist households are merely "passive extensions" of their husbands. Through the biographical narratives of four women, including two from Bima, the two researchers show that women's involvement, whether in the form of logistical support, participation in military exercises, or post-prison decision-making to stay or leave extremist networks, is always the result of active negotiation over their gender relations, not just blind obedience.

Malik (2017) shifts the spotlight from individuals and families to educational institutions as structural nodes where radical values and peaceful values can be transmitted alike. Through a phenomenological approach to two Islamic boarding schools in Bima that experienced severe stigmatization after the 2011 bombing, he shows that an exclusive, indoctrinative, and rigid educational pattern can be one of the driving factors for takfiri attitudes and justifications for the use of violence, without immediately claiming that all Islamic boarding schools with such characteristics inevitably lead to extremism. Some of the accusations linking Islamic boarding schools to terrorism are more political propaganda than verified empirical facts.

Taken together, these four studies reveal a crucial common thread. The processes of moving towards violent extremism and moving away from it are both relational and layered, involving many actors at once, namely families, religious leaders, state officials, networks of friends, and educational institutions. Even so, most of the existing literature, including the four studies above, still tends to focus on disengagement or deradicalization as the cessation of violence, and has not examined specifically the next stage: how individuals who have stopped active violence build new forms of agency as proactive peacemakers, rather than simply passive parties "neutralized" by the state or religious figures.

By placing Penatoi as a single locus that has a much higher density of extremism history and peace interventions than other areas in Bima (Akhyar et al., 2019), the authors seek to bridge the gap between the study of structural radicalization (Ali-Fauzi & Kartika, 2026),

personal disengagement (Sila & Fealy, 2022), gender agency (Azca & Putri, 2026), and educational institutions (Malik, 2017) into one more complete framework of understanding of how peace is built in layers, as well as how former extremists, instead of simply being objects of deradicalization programs, actively negotiate, form, and ultimately have their own agency as peacemakers in the midst of the communities that once raised them as part of a vicious circle.

To explain how individual-level change occurs amid these interventions, this study draws on the concept of relational agency from Emirbayer and Mische (1998). Agency is not an individual capacity that stands outside the social context but rather the temporal involvement of actors in different relational contexts. It is formed through actors' ability to draw on past experiences, imagine possible futures, and make practical assessments of the situation they face in the present. The framework distinguishes three interlocking dimensions of agency: the iterative dimension (the ability to reactivate thought patterns and actions formed from past experiences); the projective dimension (the ability to imagine different trajectories of actions and futures); and the practical-evaluative dimension (the ability to assess and choose actions based on the demands of concrete situations).

The concept of relational agency then needs to be situated within a broader peacebuilding architecture. The authors use Lederach's (1997) peacebuilding pyramid, which distinguishes three layers of leadership: top leadership, middle-range leadership, and grassroots leadership. The framework helps identify the diversity of actors contributing to the peace process in Penatoi, from state actors and interfaith leaders to civil society organizations and village-level community structures and groups. However, that pyramid primarily maps actors and intervention levels; it has not, by itself, explained how individuals experience, interpret, and respond to the series of interventions they encounter in daily life.

This limitation becomes even more crucial when the context of Penatoi is read with the perspective of the radical milieu of Malthaner & Waldmann (2014), where political violence does not take place in an isolated social space, but is rooted in a relational environment that can provide support, legitimacy, networks, and social boundaries for the actors involved. A change in orientation toward violence, thus, also needs to be understood as a change in social and environmental relations that allows individuals to build alternative engagements. In the context of Penatoi, the question is not only whether a person has left an extremist network, but how they then acquire new social spaces to interact, learn, gain recognition, and perform different roles.

From the synthesis of the three perspectives above, the authors develop the concept of "layered peace interventions." The term does not refer to a particular program model but rather to an empirical configuration in which individuals and communities experience various peace interventions from different actors, sectors, and periods. Each intervention can have different direct goals, whether it is economic empowerment, interfaith dialogue, institutional strengthening, or youth and women's empowerment, but cumulatively expand the space for social encounters that allow for relational change. Therefore, the unit of analysis is not the effectiveness of a single program in isolation, but the relationships among the intervention layers and how those relationships create the conditions for agency formation.

■ METHOD

Research Design and Approach

This research was conducted over three months in 2026 (February–April), using a case study design with Penatoi as the sole case (Gerring, 2016; Hidayat, 2019; Snyder, 2012). The location was chosen purposively because it has served as a crossing point for various peacebuilding and CVE programs since 2018. The study focuses on how cross-intervention experiences shape changes in orientation, engagement, and action that can be read as peace agencies. Earlier programs provide historical context that shaped the informants' environment of opportunity, while their experiences and narratives provide the primary basis for explaining the agency-building process. This position avoids attributing causality to a particular program while still explaining how a series of interventions over time contributes to the formation of conditions that enable peace agency to flourish.

Informants/Research Subjects

Primary data were collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with ten purposively selected informants. The informants were divided into two groups. The first comprised six individuals with direct experience of disengaging from an extremist environment or a close connection to it: five former members of violent extremist networks from Penatoi: UG, MA, ISK, AB, and LH. NN, a woman whose connection to this environment came through her marriage to a former

terrorism convict (i.e., LH). The second comprised four institutional informants: II, BY, HS, and MH.

Data Collection

Ethical clearance for this study was granted by the Institutional Review Board of a public university in Bandung, No. 795/UZ6.KEP/EC/2025 on December 31, 2025. Before the interviews, all informants received an explanation of the research purpose, procedures, potential risks, and their right to withdraw at any time without consequence. Written or verbal informed consent, as appropriate to each informant's literacy and comfort, was obtained from all participants before data collection. Given the sensitivity of participants' backgrounds as former members of extremist networks or as family members, additional safeguards were implemented, including using initials instead of real names, securely storing interview recordings and transcripts, and, where feasible, reviewing sensitive quotations with informants to avoid disclosing identifying details.

Data Analysis and Data Validity

Interview data were analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis through an iterative process (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Byrne, 2022; Sun et al., 2025). First, the entire transcript was read repeatedly to gain a thorough understanding of each informant's experiences. Second, open coding of narratives related to changes in orientation, experiences of involvement, social relations, decision-making, prosocial actions, and the meanings of the past and future was conducted. Third, the codes were grouped into themes corresponding to the three dimensions of agency in Emirbayer and Mische (1998): iterative, projective, and practical-evaluative.

The outputs of this coding are summarized in Supplementary Table S2, which maps interview excerpts to open codes, intermediate themes, categories, and dimensions of agency, thereby allowing the analytical process to be traced from the raw transcripts to the final themes. Fourth, interthematic relationships were analyzed to identify mechanisms linking intervention experiences and capacity to act as agents of peace. Finally, the interview narratives were compared with a historical reconstruction of the series of peacebuilding interventions in Penatoi, based on relevant literature and documentation. The main unit of analysis was informants' narratives of self-change, changes in social relations, and the actions they took after experiencing various forms of intervention.

To make the validation process clear and trustworthy, the authors used multiple triangulation strategies. First, source triangulation was conducted by comparing narratives across the ten informants who occupy different structural positions (former extremist, affected woman, urban village official, civil society actor, and government official), allowing the authors to cross-check consistency and divergence in accounts of the same events. Second, where feasible, preliminary interpretations were returned to informants in a brief follow-up conversation (member checking) to confirm that the authors' understanding of their experiences was accurate and had not misrepresented sensitive details. Third, the authors maintained a coding audit trail, documenting how open codes were grouped into themes aligned with the iterative, projective, and practical-evaluative dimensions of Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) agency framework, so that the analytical process could be traced from raw transcript to final theme. Fourth, the interview-based narratives were triangulated against secondary sources and documentation on the historical sequence of interventions, enabling the authors to distinguish informants' subjective narratives from the documented chronology of interventions.

■ RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Anatomy of Layered Interventions and Peace Agency Formation Spaces in Penatoi, 2018–2026

Several peace intervention programs and the number of beneficiaries based on documents from implementing agencies and local government bodies are presented in Supplementary Table S1. The table shows the scope of interventions and links each informant's account to the relevant program experience. The names of donor agencies and the timeframes for some programs reflect the records found in source documents. This table situates these programs within the broader historical context underpinning certain institutions' presence and relational networks, rather than presenting interventions whose direct effects on the transformation of former extremists are being empirically tested.

The former extremists in Penatoi did not face a single, stand-alone intervention. Instead, they entered a social space shaped by involvement from civil society organizations, the government, interfaith leaders, women's groups, youth groups, and urban village structures. Layered peace interventions should therefore be understood as a configuration of

Table 1. Demographic profile of study participants (n = 180)

social opportunity that links these interventions to peace agency, rather than as a series of programs that each produce specific changes. The layers provide different spaces to meet, talk, learn, gain recognition, and slowly take on a role in community life.

Figure 1 maps these layers across 2018–2026 to show how they relate to the informants' experiences and to the overall intervention pattern.

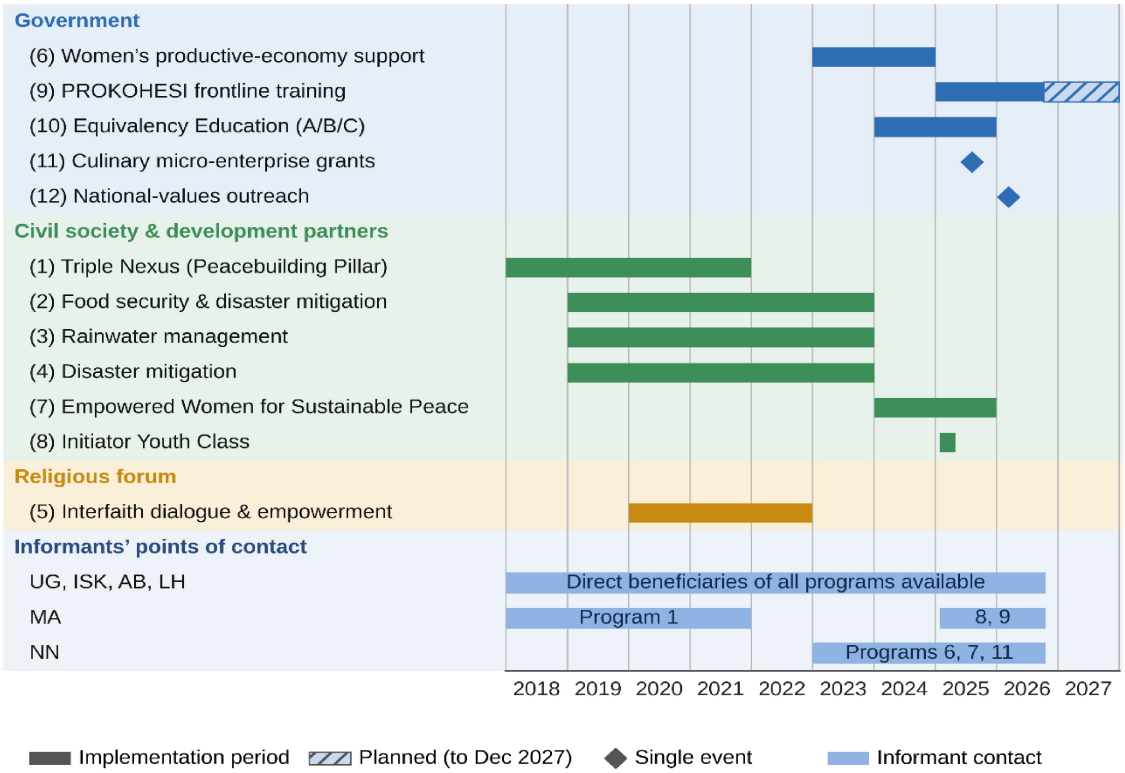


Figure 1. Layered Interventions in Penatoi, 2018–2026. Note: Numbers refer to the programs in Supplementary Table S1.

From Secrecy to Openness: Repeated Social Encounters and Social Learning

MA, a young man from Penatoi who reported having been a member of JAD and has since left the network, described his involvement as a gradual shift from secrecy to openness. He used to be "indeed a person who was closed off from deradicalization activities from various parties." Later, however, MA's great curiosity led him to join programs run by Bima Town FKUB and LP2DER. Through his participation in the initiator youth class in April 2025, he developed intensively.

Change does not begin with a single decision to become an agent of peace, but through repeated social encounters. Through this involvement, MA gained access to a social space that had previously been somewhat outside his circle of relationships. There, he did not just receive information; instead, he experienced a different form of interaction, namely, discussing and relating to other people who had been exposed to extreme beliefs. This shows that peace agency emerges through repeated encounters that reshape social learning.

However, MA did not overstate his abilities. His statement that "not everyone we can touch" reflects an assessment of the concrete situation and the limits of his social reach. In other words, the agency that emerges is not an abstract capacity to change others, but the ability to assess who can be reached, through what relationships, and under what conditions. This practical-evaluative dimension is important because it shows that peace agency develops through actions negotiated with concrete social conditions and applied within those limits.

From Reinterpretation to Outreach: Variation Among Former Network Members

MA's trajectory is not the only pattern among former extremist network members in

Penatoi. ISK, AB, LH, and UG also show comparable yet uneven trajectories, indicating that iterative reassessment of past beliefs does not produce projective imagination or relational action at the same pace. Their accounts instead occupy different positions along a continuum from reinterpretation to outward-oriented action.

ISK's account centers on reassessing his former view of the state. He recalled previously holding a narrow view that state officials should be treated as enemies because their existence was considered illegitimate. Through subsequent reflection, he came to regard this position as mistaken. He also reassessed his relationship with Muslims from different groups, whom he no longer regarded as outside an authentic community of belief. These interconnected changes broadened his definition of the religious community. ISK therefore illustrates iterative reorientation, but not outward-directed action: his account provides no comparable evidence that this reassessment led him to reach out to family, former associates, or the wider community.

AB's narrative is narrower. He described his commitment to Islamic values as unchanged, while recognizing that pursuing those values did not require violence. His reassessment, therefore, concerns the means by which religious commitments are pursued rather than the commitments themselves. AB's account indicates an iterative revision of the relationship between ends and means, particularly the rejection of violence as a necessary instrument. However, it does not by itself demonstrate a projective orientation or sustained relational action.

UG's account moves further along that trajectory. His iterative reassessment concerned the legitimacy of violence against civilians, which he reconsidered through repeated meetings with two individuals who influenced his reintegration process. As he explained, "Frequent conversations and meetings with two mentors made me rethink the understanding of jihad and violence I had previously held. Eventually, I came to realize and accept that killing civilians is absolutely not a teaching of Islam" (UG). From there, this reassessment acquired a projective dimension. UG expressed a desire to devote himself to promoting tolerance and peace and to reaching people who still held radical views. His agency also became relational and practical: drawing on his experience within the jihadist network, he approached jihadists and individuals newly drawn to the movement, engaged them in conversation, and offered an alternative interpretation of jihad that did not endorse violence. He also helped connect some individuals with economic assistance available through reintegration programs. UG's case therefore shows how reinterpretation can become deliberate outreach and peace-oriented action.

LH presents another, more explicitly relational trajectory. His account begins with relatively passive participation: "At first I only came because I was invited and sat at the back. Gradually, I began to speak as well." The statement shows how repeated participation in social encounters can gradually shift an individual's position within a social setting, from peripheral presence to active engagement. From this experience, he developed a forward-looking orientation toward younger people. As he explained, "I want the young people here not to experience what I experienced. If possible, I want my experience to become a lesson for them." Here, experience is not simply reinterpreted; it is projected into a desired future in which others are prevented from repeating the same trajectory, and the intention is specifically directed at youth.

LH's account also demonstrates a practical-evaluative form of relational agency. Rather than approaching others through formal preaching, he described a gradual strategy of building interpersonal trust: "I approach them one by one, not to preach. We talk first, have coffee first. Once there is trust, then we can talk about deeper things." This approach suggests that peace-oriented outreach is not merely the transmission of a counter-narrative but a relational process in which trust is a prerequisite for more substantive communication. His agency becomes still more concrete when he describes accompanying individuals who have recently been released: "Now, when someone has just been released, I accompany them. Sometimes we sit together; sometimes I introduce them to people at the urban-village office." The statement provides direct evidence of enacted relational agency through companionship, social bridging, and connection with local institutional actors. LH's trajectory thus extends beyond disengagement toward peace agency grounded in interpersonal trust and social reintegration.

Former extremists in Penatoi do not follow a single or uniform pathway from disengagement to peace-oriented action. ISK and AB primarily illustrate iterative reassessment of previously held orientations; UG extends that reassessment into deliberate outreach and counter-radicalization activity; and LH combines repeated social engagement, future-oriented prevention, trust-building, and concrete reintegration support. MA similarly

shows how personal experience can translate into a desire to share lessons with family, peers, and younger community members. The variation is therefore not simply whether transformation occurred, but how far and through what relational mechanisms experience was converted into future-oriented and practical action. Rather than treating the cases as a uniform narrative of transformation, the findings identify differentiated positions across the iterative, projective, and practical-evaluative dimensions of agency.

From Stigma to Recognition and Belonging: Domestic Resilience Agency for an Affected Woman

In NN's case, a non-formal religious education teacher in Penatoi who joined a series of social reintegration programs after her husband, a former terrorism prisoner, was released from prison at the end of 2023, shows that agency does not always begin with an individual ideological transformation. Here, change is linked to the family's social position and its capacity to re-establish relationships with the community.

NN describes being between two social spaces at once. She felt shunned by her old group because she was considered to have left the group, but at the same time she was not fully accepted by the wider community due to the stigma attached to her family background. Even her meeting with BNPT officers in the previous period had to be held in secret, in a quiet place, due to concerns about her old group's reaction. This narrative suggests that disengagement does not necessarily erase prior social attachments, nor does it automatically lead to new acceptance. Leaving one relational environment does not automatically produce belonging in another.

Burke (2012) cautions that criteria for agency must be circumscribed to avoid losing analytical power. This section differentiates between actions that sustain family resilience (domestic resilience agency) and those that actively re-knit cross-group relations (transformative peace agency). Accordingly, NN's recognition and sense of belonging fall into the first category as part of domestic resilience agency.

Recognition and belonging become crucial to restoring NN's social standing. NN emphasized concrete changes in daily social life: she began to be invited to neighbors' celebrations, was entrusted with making snacks for community activities, and gained greater opportunities to participate in social life. These changes may seem simple compared to ideological or institutional changes, but they show the restoration of her position as a recognized and trusted member of the community.

This process cannot be separated from NN's domestic relations. Her husband's change in attitude (he said that 'the previous understanding was wrong') was one factor that encouraged her openness to future programs. In this way, changes in family orientation could enable other family members to enter social spaces that were previously difficult to access. Even so, the authors did not treat the husband's change as the sole cause of NN's transformation; rather, domestic relations are one arena in which the process of negotiating identity, acceptance, and social engagement takes place.

NN's narrative also demonstrates that activities not explicitly labeled as "peace-oriented" can still be interpreted as agency, provided certain boundaries are maintained. Access to children's education, participation in social activities, acceptance within the neighborhood, and the ability to engage in productive activities all contribute to restoring the family's social standing. Because these actions occur within the domestic sphere and focus on restoring family functionality, they fall under "domestic resilience agency" rather than "transformative peace agency." These two forms of agency differ conceptually: transformative peace agency entails proactive efforts to mend severed cross-group relations, whereas NN's experience involves restoring her position within her own group. Only if NN were to use this restored standing to reach out actively to parties outside her group could such actions be considered an exercise of peace agency; the data available thus far do not indicate that such a step has been taken.

From Recognition to Relational Agency: Local Institutions as Connecting Spaces

If MA shows that agency develops through openness and social learning, and NN confirms the importance of recognition and belonging in social recovery, then the testimony of II (Chairman of the PPA Task Force of Penatoi Urban Village) and MH (former Head of the Bima Town Bakesbangpol) further sharpens the argument by showing that agency also takes shape through institutional space. Local institutions should therefore be understood not as the layer that directly "produces" peace agency, but as an arena that connects individuals to broader social resources, actors, and opportunities.

II explained that the PPA Task Force he leads functions as an intermediary between residents' aspirations, including those of

vulnerable groups such as former extremists, and the village government, before forwarding those aspirations to the relevant local government agencies. It serves as a mechanism for connecting citizens' experiences and needs to the government structure. In this way, the PPA Task Force shows how institutional space links local aspirations to formal authority. In terms of relational agency, this position enables actors to draw on social relations and local knowledge to act between society and formal institutions.

MH stated that the town government's budget support for women's groups of former terrorism convicts was developed through the relationship between Bakesbangpol and LP2DER. This shows that institutional resources become accessible through close ties between civil society organizations close to citizens and the government with formal authority and budget-allocation capacity.

Similar observations were conveyed by HS, the current Penatoi Urban Village Head, from the village government's perspective. He noted that conflicts among residents are now rare, occurring only once a year, unlike the previous period, when liquor-triggered youth brawls often required intervention from the three pillars of security (Babinsa, Bhabinkamtibmas, and village officials). HS also mentioned growing enthusiasm among residents after participating in various capacity-building and understanding activities facilitated by deradicalization programs so far. This testimony reinforces the pattern already seen in ISK, AB, LH, UG, MA, and NN. Individual-level change is associated with improvements in the broader social climate in the urban environment. However, HS warns that such changes "exist, but few," an acknowledgment that avoids claims of total success.

When the Last Moment Becomes a "Turning Point": Subjective Meanings and the Accumulation of Interventions

One important finding is the gap between intervention history and how informants construct stories about their own changes. This gap matters because it shows that the most recent intervention can become the most salient in memory. Some informants who experienced the most recent intervention tended to remember the program as the most significant experience. For them, the last activity they participated in could be a moment when they felt heard, involved, or gained new trust.

These findings should not be read primarily as program attribution. The subjective interpretation of an experience as a "turning point" is itself part of the process of forming agency. That is the key point: individuals use the experiences they consider most meaningful to reconstruct the relationship between the past, present, and future. Accordingly, a program can be seen as a turning point, even if, historically, it occurred after a series of other interventions that first shaped the individual's social context.

The distance between historical chronology and subjective narrative reveals the non-linear, cumulative nature of peace agency formation. Newer programs matter because they can activate earlier layers of experience, even when those layers are not explicit in memory. However, the social experiences formed along the way can still contribute to the capacity used during the informant's next intervention. In other words, newer programs do not always need to be seen as a starting point; they can be spaces where previously developed experiences and capacities acquire new meanings and translate them into action.

Layered peace interventions thus do not operate through a simple mechanism whereby each program produces a particular type of change. The central finding is a more cumulative and recursive process: various interventions create opportunities for social encounters; repeated encounters allow for learning; learning encourages changes in the way individuals understand themselves and their relationships with others; experience is received and trusted to strengthen recognition and belonging; and a new social position can be used to build relational agency when that ability translates into actions oriented toward peaceful relations and the prevention of violence, peace agency forms.

Not all participation in the program results in peace agency. Peace agency emerges when actors begin to use the experience, position, and relationships they have acquired to take actions beyond themselves. The formation of a peace agency is a process of transformation from participant to relational actor, and from relational actor to peace actor.

Analytical Model

The analytical model in Figure 2 presents seven interconnected stages: (1) layered peacebuilding interventions; (2) repeated social encounters; (3) social learning; (4) identity and cognitive transformation; (5) recognition and belonging; (6) relational agency; and (7) peace agency. Rather than a one-way vertical sequence, the model is depicted as a concept map in which each pair of adjacent stages is connected by a bidirectional arrow: an intervention creates opportunities for encounter, and the resulting encounter,

learning, or transformation can also reshape how subsequent interventions are received and interpreted. A dashed feedback path also links peace agency back to repeated social encounters. Peace-oriented actions, in turn, can create new social encounters.

The process starts with layered peacebuilding interventions. The layered approaches include interventions involving BNPT, Bima Town Government, Bima Town FKUB, local civil society organizations such as LP2DER and the Wahid Foundation, and various community activities. Each layer does not have to have an identical purpose. Cumulatively, these interventions expand space for encounters between individuals previously in or adjacent to the environment of extremism and social actors outside it. Therefore, the significance of an intervention lies not solely in its program output, but also in the relational opportunities it creates (Puigvert et al., 2020).

The next stage involves repeated social encounters, which are most likely to lead to social learning. Repeated social gatherings allow participants to test old assumptions, witness different interaction practices, learn dialogue skills, and experience the social consequences of openness and cooperation. Social learning is not just the transfer of knowledge through training, but the experiential learning process that occurs when individuals repeatedly enter social spaces that were previously unfamiliar or considered distant (Cheung, 2023). Accordingly, the openness of former extremists' social interactions does not emerge as a momentary change but develops through repeated involvement and increased social activity.

Social learning is then intertwined with identity and cognition transformation. Individuals begin to shift their perception of themselves and other social groups: from a relatively closed position to an identity that allows for greater involvement in more pluralistic community life (Mashuri et al., 2025; Sharp, 2024; Syafiq, 2019). This transformation does not mean that all past identities, beliefs, or relationships disappear. Rather, the process of reinterpretation of past experiences takes place so that individuals can maintain part of their personal identity while building a new social orientation that is compatible with peace (Abu-Nimer, 2001; Katayanagi & Kawano, 2024; Mac Ginty, 2014; Ware et al., 2026; Ware & Ware, 2022). This is where the iterative, projective, and practical-evaluative dimensions of Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) agency come into play.

Identity change becomes more sustainable when it is accompanied by recognition and belonging. Social recognition means individuals are no longer seen solely as former extremists, former terrorism convicts, or program recipients, but as community members with the capacity to contribute (Noor, 2024). The sense of belonging that grows from these experiences provides a social basis for the courage to perform, speak up, take responsibility, and build relationships with previously distanced groups. In Penatoi, the indicators include increased involvement in social activities, growing public trust, and the opening of previously closed participation spaces.

Recognition and belonging, in turn, develop relational agency. At this stage, the individual no longer experiences change only for himself but begins to use his social relations as a resource to influence the environment (Akers et al., 1979; Pratt et al., 2010; Rosenstock et al., 1988). The agency is relational because the capacity to act does not stand outside the social structure but is formed through relationships with family, peers, village officials, civil society organizations, and community members (Burkitt, 2016; Dowding, 2008; Kallio, 2019). Former members of extremist groups, for example, can use their personal experiences to talk to old colleagues who are still involved. Likewise, women who are transforming family life can use their social position to strengthen domestic relationships and community participation.

The final stage is peace agency, in which agentive ability is manifested through actions consciously oriented toward maintaining, strengthening, or expanding peace (Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015; Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013; Richmond, 2013). Peace agency therefore extends beyond formal peace activism. It includes daily actions that reduce social distancing, build trust, reach out to others, initiate or maintain dialogue, and take part in social activities that strengthen community cohesion. UG's narrative of using his past network experience to reach out to current and prospective jihadists, offering a non-violent reinterpretation of jihad, shows how personal change can build the capacity to act toward more peaceful, cross-group social relations. By contrast, MA and NN illustrate the preceding stages in the model—relational agency and domestic resilience/family social recovery agency, respectively—underscoring that not every informant's trajectory reaches the model's final stage.

Thus, the main proposition is that layered interventions form peace agencies not through direct causal relationships, but through sequential and recursive social mechanisms:

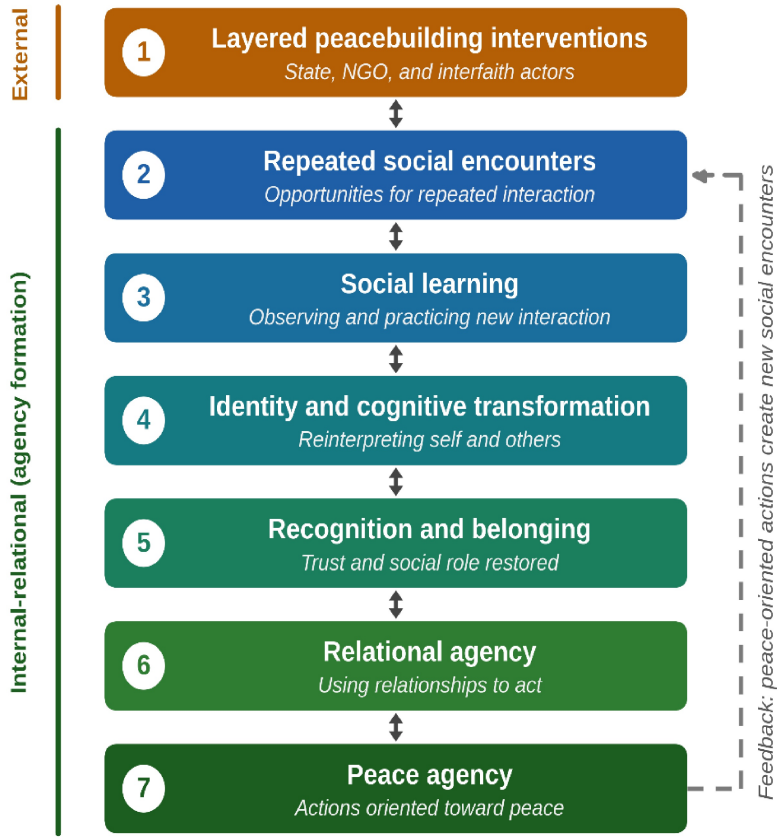


Figure 2. Analytical model of peace agency formation through layered peacebuilding interventionsT

interventions expand social encounters; encounters generate social learning; learning enables identity and cognition transformation; transformation becomes more stable through recognition and belonging; recognition expands relational agency; and under certain conditions, relational agency becomes peace agency.

Agency formation in Penatoi is neither uniform nor an inevitable progression from disengagement to active peacebuilding. Instead, it is a differentiated, context-dependent transformation shaped by the gradual reconfiguration of social relationships, institutional connections, and opportunities for participation. Across the experiences of individuals formerly involved in violent extremist networks and affected family members, agency appears in distinct yet potentially interconnected forms, ranging from domestic resilience and restored social belonging to relational capacities and outward-oriented actions that strengthen peaceful relationships beyond one's immediate social environment. These differences reflect variations in personal experiences and disengagement trajectories, as well as the unequal ways individuals encounter, interpret, and mobilize opportunities created by successive peacebuilding interventions.

The accumulation of interventions should not be understood as a linear mechanism producing the same outcome for every participant. Rather, it creates changing relational and institutional conditions within which individuals may renegotiate their social positions, reassess previous orientations, and exercise varying degrees of agency. This distinction matters analytically because recovery of family stability, social recognition, and community participation, while significant in its own right, counts as transformative peace agency only when it translates into deliberate actions to rebuild relationships across social boundaries, facilitate reintegration, or prevent the recurrence of violence.

NN's experience offers a revealing illustration of how agency may develop through restored domestic resilience and social belonging, yet not extend to transformative peacebuilding action. Her efforts to rebuild family stability, regain access to educational opportunities for her children, and re-establish participation in community life show how individuals affected by violent extremist networks can gradually recover their capacity to act within social environments previously

marked by exclusion and stigma. This finding intersects with Malik's (2017) study on the stigmatization of Islamic boarding schools in Bima. NN's reference to the "Abu Bakar Asshidique Islamic Boarding School," where her children attended without obtaining an official diploma because the institution lacked a government permit, shows how the educational arena can be associated with stigma, exclusion, and restored social position. Religious educational institutions in the Bima radical milieu cannot be understood deterministically as sources of radicalism; rather, they are arenas for value contestation that can take different directions depending on the surrounding social and institutional contexts. In NN's experience, transferring her children to equivalency programs (A, B, and C Packages) to obtain an official diploma can be read as part of restoring access to formal social institutions. However, this process does not necessarily prove that certain educational interventions directly produce peace agency. Its relevance lies in how restored access and institutional recognition help re-establish social positions that allow individuals and their families to participate more openly in community life.

The relational dimension also appears strong in NN's experiences. The disengagement she experienced was not an individual decision that stood apart from family life. Her husband's change in attitude became one of the experiences that preceded NN's openness to social space and subsequent programs. These findings resonate with Sila and Fealy (2022), who emphasize the importance of personal relationships and family dynamics in the disengagement process. At the same time, NN's experience strengthens Azca and Putri's (2026) argument regarding women's agency in the household in relation to extremism: women do not simply follow changes in their partners, but can also renegotiate their own positions and spaces. In NN's case, the negotiation is evident in her involvement in household economic life, children's education, social activities, and religious spaces.

Even so, the authors add one dimension not fully covered in either literature. NN's change in position does not stop at disengagement or the restoration of social functions alone. Rather, the experience of regaining trust and acceptance from the environment opens up possibilities for the development of relational agency. When NN began to be trusted to attend and make snacks for community activities, as well as conduct other social activities, she not only benefited from reintegration but also regained a relational position from which she could participate and act. Recognition and belonging, therefore, can be understood as mechanisms supporting domestic resilience and the restoration of relational capacity, without necessarily constituting transformative peace agency.

The findings also broaden the application of the radical milieu perspective of Malthaner and Waldmann (2014) in the context of Bima. The orientation toward violence and the process of abandoning it are inseparable from the relational networks and social environment to which the individual belongs. Rather than viewing de-escalation simply as the result of individuals moving from one environment to another, this study shows that change occurs through the formation and expansion of alternative relationships. In Penatoi, these relationships develop through various opportunities for interaction arising from the involvement of civil society organizations, the government, interfaith groups, women's groups, youth, and village structures at different times.

This interpretation expands on the notes of Ali-Fauzi and Kartika (2026) regarding the significance of providing an alternative channel for activism for individuals who want to leave extremist groups without severing all personal relationships. Such channels are not always available as a single ready-made space; they can develop gradually through repeated social encounters. In the process, individuals gain the opportunity to learn how to interact in different contexts, retest previous orientations, imagine new social positions, and use their relationships to perform certain actions. Therefore, the mechanism connecting layered interventions with peace agencies is not just the existence of programs, but the transformation of social opportunities into agentic capacity.

The findings on MA clarify this mechanism. His initial experience as someone who was "closed" to such activities changed through involvement in various interaction spaces. This change did not stop at the acceptance of knowledge alone; MA then expressed a desire to convey his knowledge to family and friends, while at the same time realizing that "we cannot reach everyone." From the perspective of Emirbayer and Mische (1998), the pattern illustrates the relationship among past experiences, orientation towards the future, and the practical assessment of the situation at hand. The findings also allow the concept to be drawn further into the context of peace agency: agentic capacity becomes relevant for peace when reinterpreted experiences are used to build or strengthen relationships that can reduce social distance and open up the possibility of alternative

engagement.

The findings on ISK, AB, LH, and UG extend this picture by showing how the mechanism identified in MA operates differently across informants. ISK's and AB's narratives remain primarily in the iterative dimension: both revised a prior orientation—toward the state, in ISK's case, and toward the means of pursuing religious commitment, in AB's—without extending into projective imagination or relational action. That is not treated here as an incomplete case of agency, but as evidence that the accumulation of social opportunity described earlier in this discussion does not affect individuals in the same way or at the same pace. LH's trajectory demonstrates a different extension of the same process. His initial participation developed from a relatively passive presence into active engagement. At the same time, his reflection on personal experience generated a future-oriented concern to prevent younger people from following a similar path. This projective orientation subsequently became practical and relational through his strategy of building trust through informal interaction and accompanying individuals who had recently been released, including introducing them to actors within the urban-village administration. UG's narrative, by contrast, moves through all three dimensions: reassessing past violence, imagining a future role as a peace speaker, and drawing on his prior network position to reach out to current and prospective jihadists while also facilitating their access to economic assistance.

This last element warrants specific caution. On UG's own account, his outreach is bound up with the material support that reintegration programs made available to those he approached. This complicates a straightforward reading of his outreach as an instance of peace agency because the relational process is embedded in an institutional setting where material assistance also helps sustain engagement: it may be simultaneously a relational act oriented toward reconciliation and an instrumental exchange in which material assistance sustains the relationship. Burke's (2012) instrumental approach to agency is directly relevant here, and this study does not resolve the tension by assigning UG's outreach fully to one category or the other. Instead, it illustrates a broader point: peace agency, where it appears, does not emerge separately from the material and institutional conditions that made the encounter possible, but is specified through the ways actors use those conditions to establish, maintain, or extend peace-oriented relationships.

The iterative, projective, and practical-evaluative dimensions of Emirbayer and Mische (1998) help explain how experiences turn into actions. The iterative dimension is seen when the actor brings back the experience of the previous interaction into the next action. The projective dimension emerges when the actor begins to imagine relationships and social roles that differ from previous experiences. The practical-evaluative dimension arises when actors assess the possibilities and limitations of action based on concrete contexts. These three dimensions do not work in isolation; they interact as individuals transform social experiences into new orientations and actions.

Peace agencies need to be clearly distinguished from disengagement, reintegration, or program participation alone. One can quit an extremist network without becoming an agent of peace; one can acquire economic skills without using them to build more inclusive social relationships; and one can participate in peace activities without developing the capacity to act independently. Peace agency emerged as actors used their positions, experiences, and relationships to conduct peace-oriented actions, whether through communication with others, involvement in community life, or efforts to reach individuals still in closed social positions.

The relationship between layered interventions and peace agencies is both cumulative and recursive. Social encounters can lead to learning; learning can change how individuals understand themselves and others; that change can open up space for recognition and belonging; the experience of gaining recognition can strengthen the ability to act through relationships; and these actions, in turn, can create new social encounters. The process, in other words, is not a linear chain that, once set in motion, always leads to the same result, but rather a series that can be strengthened, halted, or reversed, depending on the actor's social experience.

The question of the impacts of the latest intervention has a different theoretical meaning from the problem of program evaluation. When an informant views the most recent activity as a "turning point," it should not be read as evidence that the program produced all the changes they experienced. Historically, their experience occurred amid various interventions that came first. Subjectively, however, a certain experience can be a moment when past experiences take on new meaning, and the future becomes more imaginable. Such meanings are part of the agentic process itself, as actors actively construct the relationship between the past, present, and future.

The literature on the coordination and interconnectedness of peacebuilding interventions shows that the sustainability of the peace process often depends on the relationships between various actors, sectors, and forms of intervention (Gelot, 2020; Mac Ginty, 2010; Nufus et al., 2026). The literature on the combination of economic empowerment and violence prevention also underscores the importance of integrating material and social dimensions in interventions addressing vulnerabilities related to extremism (Akintayo, 2024; Saraiva & Erfe, 2023; Schwoebel, 2017). Penatoi's findings, however, shift the question further: it is no longer whether these interventions synergistically "produce" change, but rather how experiences derived from diverse intervention spaces can be part of the agency-building process itself.

In Penatoi, interfaith dialogue involving FKUB, economic empowerment support involving LP2DER and the town government, and activities conducted through the Wahid Foundation program took place at different times and under different institutional configurations. None of these interventions was designed as a formally coordinated series. Therefore, it is more appropriate to talk about coherence that develops informally at the actor's level of experience, rather than about deliberate programmatic coordination. Individuals can bring their experiences, knowledge, and relationships from one social space to another. Under these conditions, each intervention need not have a direct causal relationship with the next to still contribute to the formation of a broader field of social opportunity.

That condition helps explain why the peace agency appears to be an emergent phenomenon rather than something designed from scratch. Various interventions provide opportunities for social encounters; repeated encounters allow actors to gain social experience and learning; the experience can then be used to reassess previous orientations and imagine different relational possibilities. As actors gain recognition and a sense of belonging in the community, the experience can develop into the prowess to use their social relationships more actively. Peace agency, thus, does not emerge as a linear product of a single intervention but rather as a cumulative interaction between the opportunities available in the social environment and the actors' ability to interpret and use them.

This mechanism also helps explain why change does not always take the form of explicit ideological transformation. In MA's case, change is evident in a shift from secrecy to openness, followed by a desire to share knowledge with family and friends. In NN's experience, change is more evident in the restoration of social relations, community acceptance, and an increased ability to participate in daily life. Both experiences link to the same developmental logic through different forms of agency: MA exemplifying relational agency and NN exemplifying domestic resilience and family social recovery agency, rather than two equivalent instances of peace agency itself. Where peace agency is found in this study, as in LH's and UG's cases, it should be understood as a further extension of this same contextual and relational capacity, one that not every actor's trajectory reaches.

This conceptual clarity leads to one important distinction: among a change in orientation, relational agency, and peace agency. Exposure to new ideas does not, in itself, indicate a change in identity; identity change does not automatically confer the competence to act; and participation in social activities is not necessarily an act of peace agency. What is more crucial is the process by which the actors begin to use the experiences and relationships they have gained to conduct actions oriented toward others, namely reaching out to others, building relationships across groups, or taking a role in community life.

However, that process has its limits. Greater social involvement does not automatically turn into a political or institutional agency. Penatoi's data have not shown that former members of extremist groups have systematically occupied positions in formal decision-making structures, influenced local policies, or used institutional positions to advance public agendas. There is a visible boundary here between the development of relational/peace agency at the community level and the possibility of its conversion into a political or institutional agency. This limit is crucial to note, as it shows that social reintegration and the ability to build peaceful relations are substantive achievements. Still, they are not yet synonymous with the redistribution of decision-making capacity.

The theoretical implications of this discussion are, therefore, twofold. First, this study broadens understanding of peace agencies by underscoring that they are emerging, relational, and cumulative, and that they develop through interactions among the social opportunities created by layered peace interventions. Second, this study shows that the development of peace agencies need not end with formal political integration. More specifically, there is a gap between

disengagement from violence and formal political participation that has been relatively underappreciated: the space of social life where individuals learn to reconnect, gain recognition, build trust, and use their personal experiences to influence their immediate environment.

These findings and theoretical implications should be read alongside several limitations of this study. First, it relies on ten informants and a single location, so the patterns found cannot be immediately generalized to other communities with histories of extremism that differ in character and depth. Second, two related limitations concern data and time. The fieldwork period was relatively short, three months, limiting the authors' ability to observe change directly over time. At the same time, some informants' experiences unfold over a much longer span than that period, so the reconstruction of change relies heavily on memory and on how informants reinterpret their past experiences: something that can, of course, be filtered, smoothed over, or even unconsciously reconstructed. Third, the topic of this research touches on areas that are very personal and sensitive for informants, so some experiences may be deliberately not fully disclosed, or conveyed in a form that has been carefully considered before being shared with the authors.

■ CONCLUSION

This research asks a simple question: why is Penatoi's success in emerging from the shadow of extremism so easily attributed to a single program, a single moment, or a single "success" claimed by one party? The informants' accounts show the opposite. There is no single cause. Instead, years of accumulated social opportunity, produced by different actors and sometimes not directly related to each other, slowly create the conditions for the growth of the capacity for reconciliation.

In response to the first research question, the layers of intervention at Penatoi were never designed as a single, coherent set from the start. They formed organically, from program to program and from actor to actor, and only appear layered when traced backwards through the experiences of the citizens who live them. In response to the second research question, peace agencies are not a gift from a particular program but grow from accumulated experience of being related to, learned from, recognized, and trusted again by the surrounding environment. The journeys of MA, ISK, AB, LH, UG, and NN demonstrate this process, though they follow markedly different and unevenly developed paths: from the gradual openness of a young man, to reassessments not yet extended beyond personal reorientation, to the restoration of a wife and mother's position within her own family.

The next research agenda can be formulated. Longitudinal studies that follow the same informants over a longer period will help ascertain whether the changes captured in the study persist or reverse over time. Comparative research across villages or cities with different histories of extremism is also important for testing whether the pattern of layered peace interventions found in Penatoi applies more broadly or is specific to the local context. In addition, research that traces the path from relational agency to formal political and institutional involvement, such as representation in village government structures, policy forums, or advocacy organizations, will fill the gaps this research deliberately left open. Mixed-method studies, combining in-depth interviews with large-scale surveys, also have the potential to test mechanisms more systematically.

For policymakers and institutions working in the field of preventing violent extremism, these findings carry a basic message: peacebuilding programs should no longer be designed and evaluated as stand-alone units. When an institution claims sole credit for a change that is actually the result of years of multi-party work, that claim is not only less empirically accurate but also risks obscuring crucial lessons about how such change happens. Coordination across agencies, governments, civil society organizations, interfaith leaders, and village structures may not need to be formal and planned from the outset. Still, awareness of other layers around a particular program will help each actor design interventions that complement one another.

■ TRANSPARENCY ON THE USE OF GENERATIVE AI TOOLS

A generative AI tool (Grammarly, version 1.2.109.1500) was used to enhance the article's quality and readability.

■ REFERENCES

Abu-Nimer, M. (2001). Conflict resolution, culture, and religion: Toward a training model of interreligious peacebuilding. Journal of Peace Research, 38(6), 685–704. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343301038006003

Akers, R. L., Krohn, M. D., Lanza-Kaduce, L., & Radosevich, M. (1979). Social learning and deviant behavior: A specific test of a general theory. American Sociological

Review, 44(4), 636–655. https://doi.org/10.2307/2094592

Akhyar, A., Hidayat, R., & Lubis, A. (2019). Disrupsi non-kinetik organisasi masyarakat sipil dalam penanggulangan ekstrimisme kekerasan di Kota Bima [Non-kinetic disruption of civil society organizations in overcoming violent extremism in Bima Town]. Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara, 16(2), 62–71. https://doi.org/10.59050/jian.v16i2.44

Akintayo, J. (2024). Whole-of-society approach or manufacturing intelligence? Making sense of state-CSO relation in preventing and countering violent extremism in Nigeria. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 17(3), 659–683. https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2024.2360272

Ali-Fauzi, I., & Kartika, D. A. (2026). Violent extremism in Bima, Indonesia: Radical milieu and peacebuilding efforts. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 49(7), 1167–1183. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2023.2296240

Alimi, E., Bosi, L., & Demetriou, C. (2012). Relational dynamics and processes of radicalization: A comparative framework. Mobilization: An International Quarterly, 17(1), 7–26. https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.17.1.u7rw348t8200174h

Azca, M. N., & Putri, R. D. (2026). The women 'behind' the Mujahidin Eastern Indonesia: Negotiating agency and gender dynamics. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 49(7), 1184–1198. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2023.2296241

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 11(4), 589–597. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806

Burke, K. C. (2012). Women's agency in gender-traditional religions: A review of four approaches. Sociology Compass, 6(2), 122–133. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2011.00439.x

Burkitt, I. (2016). Relational agency: Relational sociology, agency and interaction. European Journal of Social Theory, 19(3), 322–339. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431015591426

Byrne, D. (2022). A worked example of Braun and Clarke's approach to reflexive thematic analysis. Quality & Quantity, 56, 1391–1412. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-021-01182-y

Cherney, A. (2024). Working with radicalised individuals: Insights from a secondary and tertiary prevention program. Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 16(1), 44–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2021.2013291

Cheung, C. (2023). Deradicalization in response to social experiences in youth in Hong Kong. International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 43(7/8), 643–660. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-05-2022-0121

Dowding, K. (2008). Agency and structure: Interpreting power relationships. Journal of Power, 1(1), 21–36. https://doi.org/10.1080/17540290801943380

Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. (1998). What is agency? American Journal of Sociology, 103(4), 962–1023. https://doi.org/10.1086/231294

Gelot, L. (2020). Deradicalization as soft counter-insurgency: Distorted interactions between Somali traditional authorities and intervening organizations. Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, 14(2), 253–270. https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2020.1734390

Gerring, J. (2016). Case study research: Principles and practices. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316848593

Hafez, M., & Mullins, C. (2015). The radicalization puzzle: A theoretical synthesis of empirical approaches to homegrown extremism. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 38(11), 958–975. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1051375

Hidayat, R. (2019). Public distrust and environmental citizenship: Primary impetuses of radical protest in Bima District, 2011-2012. Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, 22(3), 187–200. https://doi.org/10.22146/JSP.35981

Horgan, J. (2008). From profiles to pathways and roots to routes: Perspectives from psychology on radicalization into terrorism. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 618(1), 80–94. https://doi.org/10.1177 / 0002716208317539

Jasko, K., LaFree, G., & Kruglanski, A. (2017). Quest for significance and violent extremism: The case of domestic radicalization. Political Psychology, 38(5), 815–831. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12376

Kallio, K. P. (2019). Leading refugee lives together: Familial agency as a political capacity. Emotion, Space and Society, 32, 100541. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2018.08.002

Katayanagi, M., & Kawano, N. (2024).

Reconstructing Hiroshima as a peace memorial city: Local agency and identity-making in peacebuilding. War & Society, 43(1), 7–25. https://doi.org/10.1080 / 07292473.2023.2273032

Kruglanski, A. W., & Bertelsen, P. (2020). Life psychology and significance quest: A complementary approach to violent extremism and counter-radicalisation. Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism, 15(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2020.1725098

Lederach, J. P. (1997). Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies. United States Institute of Peace Press.

Leonardsson, H., & Rudd, G. (2015). The 'local turn' in peacebuilding: A literature review of effective and emancipatory local peacebuilding. Third World Quarterly, 36(5), 825–839. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1029905

Mac Ginty, R. (2010). Hybrid peace: The interaction between top-down and bottom-up peace. Security Dialogue, 41(4), 391–412. https://doi.org/10.1177 / 0967010610374312

Mac Ginty, R. (2014). Everyday peace: Bottom-up and local agency in conflict-affected societies. Security Dialogue, 45(6), 548–564. https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010614550899

Mac Ginty, R., & Richmond, O. P. (2013). The local turn in peace building: A critical agenda for peace. Third World Quarterly, 34(5), 763–783. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.800750

Malik, A. (2017). Stigmatization of Islamic school: Pesantren, radicalism and terrorism in Bima. Ulumuna, 21(1), 173–210. https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v21i1.1159

Malthaner, S., & Waldmann, P. (2014). The radical milieu: Conceptualizing the supportive social environment of terrorist groups. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 37(12), 979–998. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.962441

Mashuri, A., Ilhamuddin, Zaduqisti, E., & Bella, N. O. C. D. (2025). The impact of perceived perspective-taking on stigma reduction against an ex-terrorist. Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 35(4), e70116. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.70116

Meinema, E. (2021). Countering 'Islamic' violent extremism? The implementation of programs to prevent radicalization by Muslim-led civil society organizations in Malindi, Kenya. Religion, 51(2), 259–279. https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2021.1865603

Noor, H. (2024). From villain to hero: The role of disengaged terrorists in social reintegration initiatives. Politics and Governance, 12(Article 7838). https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.7838

Nufus, B. H., Nulhaqim, S. A., Rusyidi, B., Napsiyah, S., Santoso, B., & Trihartono, A. (2026). Defining roles, rebuilding lives: Social workers in collaborative child deradicalization. Journal of Social Work Practice, 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/02650533.2025.2609660

Orsini, A. (2023). What everybody should know about radicalization and the DRIA model. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 46(1), 68–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2020.1738669

Pratt, T. C., Cullen, F. T., Sellers, C. S., Winfree, L. T., Madensen, T. D., Daigle, L. E., Fearn, N. E., & Gau, J. M. (2010). The empirical status of social learning theory: A meta-analysis. Justice Quarterly, 27(6), 765–802. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820903379610

Puigvert, L., Aiello, E., Oliver, E., & Ramis-Salas, M. (2020). Grassroots community actors leading the way in the prevention of youth violent radicalization. PLOS ONE, 15(10), e0239897. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0239897

Qureshi, T., & Akbar, R. A. (2026). A qualitative content analysis of community-led and socio-religio-academic narratives in countering violent extremism in the UK and Pakistan. Islamic Studies, 65(1), 97–118. https://doi.org/10.52541/isiri.v65i1.7419

Richmond, O. P. (2013). Peace formation and local infrastructures for peace. Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, 38(4), 271–287. https://doi.org/10.1177/0304375413512100

Rosenstock, I. M., Strecher, V. J., & Becker, M. H. (1988). Social learning theory and the health belief model. Health Education Quarterly, 15(2), 175–183. https://doi.org/10.1177/109019818801500203

Saraiva, R., & Erfe, A. (2023). Preventing violent extremism with resilience, adaptive peacebuilding, and community-embedded approaches. Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability, 61, 101271. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cosust.2023.101271

Schumicky-Logan, L. (2017). Addressing violent extremism with a different approach: The empirical case of at-risk and vulnerable youth in Somalia. Journal

of Peacebuilding & Development, 12(2), 66–79. https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2017.1336467

Schwoebel, M. H. (2017). Peacebuilding approaches to preventing and transforming violent extremism. Journal of Peacebuilding & Development, 12(2), 3–8. https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2017.1338860

Sharp, D. N. (2024). A larger "we"; Identity, spirituality and social change in pluralistic societies. Journal of Human Rights Practice, 16(1), 462–476. https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/huad041

Sila, M. A., & Fealy, G. (2022). Counterterrorism, civil society organisations and peacebuilding: The role of non-state actors in deradicalisation in Bima, Indonesia. Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 23(1), 97–117. https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2022.2041076

Snyder, C. (2012). A case study of a case study: Analysis of a robust qualitative research methodology. The Qualitative Report, 17(13), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2012.1791

Sun, Y., Hsieh, J., & Gao, X. (Andy). (2025). Integrating qualitative comparative analysis with reflexive thematic analysis in theme development. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 24, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069251318749

Syafiq, M. (2019). Deradicalisation and disengagement from terrorism and threat to identity: An analysis of former jihadist prisoners' accounts. Psychology and Developing Societies, 31(2), 227–251. https://doi.org/10.1177/0971333619863169

Trip, S., Bora, C. H., Marian, M., Halmajan, A., & Drugas, M. I. (2019). Psychological mechanisms involved in radicalization and extremism. A rational emotive behavioral conceptualization. Frontiers in Psychology, 10(Article 437). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00437

Ware, A., & Ware, V.-A. (2022). Everyday peace: Rethinking typologies of social practice and local agency. Peacebuilding, 10(3), 222–241. https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2021.1997387

Ware, A., Ware, V.-A., & Kelly, L. M. (2026). Everyday peace: A strength-based community development approach to peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts. Community Development, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2026.2661181