

# Konstruksi Realitas Proses Transformasi Konflik dari Perjuangan Bersenjata Menuju Perjuangan Politik (Studi Kasus Proses Transformasi Mantan Gerakan Aceh Merdeka - GAM pasca MoU Helsinki Perspektif Komunikasi Antar Budaya) = The Construction of The Reality Conflict Transformation Process from Armed-Struggle to Political-Struggle (Case Study of Transformation of Process of Former Aceh Freedom Movements-GAM post MoU Helsinki, Perspective of Intercultural Communication

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## Abstrak

Penelitian ini berfokus pada kemampuan manusia secara individu maupun kelompok dalam mengkonstruksi realitas proses transformasi konflik Aceh pasca MoU Helsinki. Termasuk penelitian kualitatif dengan disain interpretatif yang menggunakan pendekatan paradigma konstruksionisme. Permasalahan utama adalah bagaimana realitas proses transformasi konflik dari perjuangan bersenjata menuju perjuangan politik kasus Gerakan Aceh Merdeka-GAM Pasca MoU di konstruksikan oleh informan, bagaimana komunikasi dibangun oleh para pihak dalam proses transformasi konflik Aceh serta bagaimana dan mengapa kendala-kendala mesti dapat di selesaikan.

Model operasional penelitian menggunakan perspektif komunikasi budaya terutama tentang konsep-konsep konstruksi realitas, interaksionis simbolik, proses dialektika, identitas, etnisitas dan resolusi-transformasi konflik. Informan terdiri dari mantan GAM, korban konflik, BRA, intelektual/akademisi, peace builder dan tokoh masyarakat Aceh. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara mendalam, partisipan observasi dan analisis dokumen sedangkan analisis dilakukan dengan merujuk pada standar dan pendapat para peneliti kualitatif dengan paradigma konstruksionisme- interpretive.

Analisis hasil wawancara, partisipan observasi dan analisis dokumen bahwa: Fase awal transformasi yang ditandai dengan pengalaman sejarah, dari kegagalan HDC, Gempa dan tsunami, hadimya IMC, lahir MoU Helsinki, proses *decommissioning* dan pembubaran sayap militer GAM dengan membentuk KPA serta penarikan TNI/Polisi non organik berhasil dilakukan. Lahirnya BRA sebagai wadah reintegrasi menimbulkan dan menyisakan berbagai permasalahan. UUPA suksesnya Pilkada dengan calon Independen, lahirnya partai lokal sebagai bagian dari *road map to peace proses* dan Pemilu legislatif secara demokratis dimenangkan partai lokal mantan GAM relatif mampu memberi ruang baru bagi sirkulasi kekuasaan sosial, budaya dan politik di Aceh.

Kendala proses transformasi; pemahaman sejarah keacehan masih kurang, *mutual trust* terus merosot di Aceh, implementasi MoU dan BRA-PKK setengah hati, kurangnya penerimaan mantan GAM oleh Militer, milisi dan sebaliknya, peran KPA yang berlebihan dalam masyarakat Aceh, keterbatasan pemerintah Irwandi-Nazar mengatasi budaya korupsi, kolusi dan nepotisme, perbedaan penafsiran *self government*, terhambatnya pembentukan KKR, isu ALA-ABAS serta peran *peace builders* relatif kurang, penerapan *trust building*. Dialektika realitas tersebut menjadi persoalan sosial, politik, budaya dan hukum.

.....This study is focused on the human ability, as individual or group, in constructing the reality of conflict

transformation process in Aceh post MoU in Helsinki. This is qualitative study with interpretative design using an approach of constructionism paradigm. The main problem is how the reality of conflict transformation from armed-struggle to political struggle in case of the Aceh Freedom Movements (GAM) post MoU constructed by informant, how the communication is established by the person in charge in the process of conflict transformation in Aceh also how and why the obstacles should be solved.

The operational model of this study was using the perspective of cultural communication, especially regarding the concepts of reality construction, symbolic interactionism, dialectic process, identity, ethnicity, and resolution-transformation of the conflict. Informants consist of former GAM members, the victims of the conflict, BRA, academician, peace builder, and prominent figures in Aceh's community. The data collection was done by interview, observation of the participants, and document analysis; while the data analysis was done by referring to the standard and the opinion of the qualitative researchers.

The analysis of interview result, stated that the initial phase marked by the history experiences, the failure of HDC, earthquake and tsunami, the present of IMC, MoU Helsinki, decommissioning process, the dissolution of GAM military wings by forming KPA, and the success of the pulling of non-organic TNI/Police. The establishment of BRA as an umbrella for the reintegration produces and leaves several problems. UUPA the success of Pilkada with independent candidates, emerging of local parties as a part of road map to peace process, and legislative general election which held democratically and won by local party that consist of former GAM member is relatively be able to create a new space for the hegemony circulation in social, cultural, and political aspects in Aceh.

Obstacles of transformation process; the lack of understanding regarding to history of Aceh, the decline of mutual trust in Aceh, the implementation of MoU and BRA that is still half-hearted, lack of acceptance of former GAM members by the Indonesian military, military and vice versa, the over role of KPA in Aceh's community, the limitedness of Irwandi Nazar's government in overcoming KKN, the different opinion in translating the meaning of seygovernment, the impeded of the KKR formation, issue about ALA-ABAS, and the lack of peace builders roles and the implementation of trust building as well. The dialectic of those realities has become a social, politics, cultural, and law problems.