

Praktik eksklusif sosial terhadap akses tanah di kalangan GAM (studi kasus di Kota Langsa, Kabupaten Aceh Besar dan Aceh Utara) = Practices of social exclusion of land access among GAM (case study in Langsa City, Kabupaten Aceh Besar and Aceh Utara)

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Abstrak

**ABSTRAK**

Tesis ini membahas eksklusif sosial terhadap akses tanah yang melibatkan mantan GAM sebagai aktor pelaku serta korban. Studi kualitatif ini mengangkat studi kasus di Kota Langsa, Aceh Besar dan Aceh Utara. Lokasi penelitian ditetapkan berdasarkan peta kekuatan politik GAM. Hasil observasi, studi ini membagi kelompok GAM berdasarkan tiga golongan yaitu; elit, menengah dan marginal. Argumentasi tesis ini adalah eksklusif terhadap kalangan marginal mendorong terjadinya eksklusif lain. Eksklusif adalah bentuk adaptasi dengan cara mengeklusif pihak lain. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan power of exclusion yang melihat dieklusifnya seseorang disebabkan oleh empat power yaitu regulasi, legitimasi, market dan force yang terjadi melalui proses licensed exclusion dan intimates exclusion. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan penggunaan kekuasaan elit GAM pasca konflik berdampak terhambatnya kalangan marginal GAM dari pada program land settlement sehingga mendorong munculnya ragam eksklusif yang lebih kompleks pada beberapa daerah. Realisasi program land settlement menunjukkan potensi eksklusif terhadap marginal GAM. Relasi legitimasi dan market dalam intimate exclusion di Langsa menunjukkan cara marginal GAM mengakses tanah melalui legitimasi solidaritas sesama GAM. Kasus Aceh Besar, relasi force dan legitimasi dalam land reform menunjukkan cara marginal GAM mengokupasi tanah korporasi. Praktik inklusi yaitu upaya marginal GAM mengikutsertakan masyarakat dalam land reform adalah manifestasi dari berkerjanya modal social bonding. Kekuatan lingkungan juga berkontribusi terhadap terekklusifnya kalangan GAM dari akses tanah. Sedangkan licensed exclusion di kasus Aceh Utara menunjukkan cara jaringan patronese GAM yaitu elit GAM lokal dengan relasi elit GAM di tingkat Pusat yang mengakses tanah melalui regulasi dalam bentuk konsesi.

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**ABSTRACT**

This thesis discusses social exclusion of land access involving former GAM as actors and victims. This qualitative study raises case studies in Langsa City, Aceh Besar and North Aceh. The location of the study was determined based on a map of GAM's political power. Based on observations, this study divides GAM groups into three groups namely; elite, middle and marginal. The argument of this thesis is the exclusion of marginal groups encourages other exclusions. Exclusion is a form of adaptation by excluding others. This study uses a power of exclusion approach that sees a person's exclusion caused by four powers, namely regulation, legitimacy, market and force that occur through a process of licensed exclusion and intimates exclusion. The results of the study showed that the use of GAM's elite power after the conflict had hampered the marginalization of GAM rather than the land settlement program, which led to the emergence of more complex types of executions in several regions. The realization of the land settlement program shows the

potential for exclusion of marginalized GAM. The relation of legitimacy and market in intimate exclusion in Langsa shows how GAM's marginal access to land through legitimacy of solidarity among fellow GAM. The case of Aceh Besar, force relations and legitimacy in land reform shows the marginal ways GAM has occupied corporate land. The practice of inclusion, namely GAM's marginal effort to involve the community in land reform, is a manifestation of the working of social bonding capital. Environmental forces also contribute to the exclusion of GAM from land access. Whereas licensed exclusion in the North Aceh case shows the way GAM's patronese network is the local GAM elite with GAM elite relations at the central level accessing land through regulations in the form of concessions.