



ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menjelaskan tentang pergeseran karakter politik klientelisme di Aceh. Perpecahan diantara aktor sentral GAM memicu pergeseran model klientelisme. Aktor GAM dalam penelitian ini diistilahkan dengan *warlord* politik GAM. Pergeseran model klientelisme dan perselisihan *warlord* GAM tersebut terpotret dalam konstelasi politik elektoral dan pendistribusian sumberdaya Aceh. Dengan pendekatan studi kasus, penelitian kualitatif ini mengolah data primer yang diperoleh dari hasil wawancara bersama dengan sejumlah mantan Menteri Aceh Merdeka 1976, kader GAM, kontributor swasta, dan akademisi. Penelitian ini menggunakan konsep klientelisme baru oleh Hopkin (2006) sebagai pisau analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat pergeseran cara pandang model klientelisme yakni dari klientelisme lama menjadi klientelisme baru. Perselisihan *warlord* GAM berkonsekuensi pada terjadinya dominasi partai politik, hubungan asimetris dan minim hierarkis, serta hubungan resiprositas antara patron dan klien. Indikator ini menjadi karakter yang mencirikan klientelisme baru. Sehingga semakin merenggangnya hubungan internal antara *warlord* GAM, maka model jaringan klientelisme akan semakin berkembang. Secara garis besar, penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa lanjutan konflik *warlord* GAM pasca Helsinki berkonsekuensi pada perubahan cara pandang kerja politik Aceh, dari klientelisme lama ke klientelisme baru. Namun demikian, klientelisme baru juga membawa inklusifitas dalam tubuh partai lokal yang mengarahkan dinamika politik Aceh ke arah lebih demokratis.

Kata kunci: konflik, warlordisme GAM, klientelisme baru



ABSTRACT

This research explains how the shifting character of clientelism in Aceh. Divisions among GAM's central actors have triggered a shift in the clientelist model. GAM actors in this study are termed GAM political warlords. The change in the model of clientelism and the warlord GAM dispute is portrayed in the constellation of electoral politics and the distribution of Aceh's resources. By using a case study approach, this qualitative research processed primary data obtained from interviews with the former 1976 Minister of Aceh Merdeka, GAM cadres, contractors, and academics. This study uses the concept of new clientelism by Hopkin (2006) as a method of analysis. The results showed that there was a change in the perspective of the clientelism model, namely from old clientelism to new clientelism. GAM warlord disputes have consequences for the domination of political parties, asymmetrical and minimal hierarchical relationships, as well as reciprocal relationships between patrons and clients. This indicator becomes a new character that characterizes new clientelism. So that the more detached the internal relations between the GAM warlords, the more the clientelism network model will develop. Furthermore, this study concludes that the continuation of the GAM warlord conflict post-Helsinki has the consequence of a change in the way Aceh's political perspective works, from old clientelism to new clientelism. However, the new clientelism also brought inclusiveness in the local parties which directed Aceh's political dynamics towards a more democratic direction.

Keywords: conflict, warlordism of GAM, new clientelism