

ABSTRAK

Studi ini berhasrat ingin melihat lebih jauh tentang derajat *Political Settlement* di Aceh pasca MoU Helsinki dalam tata kelola pembangunan politik di daerah pasca konflik. Ide dasar penelitian ini berawal dari fenomena kekerasan yang selalu muncul hampir disetiap momen politik elektoral di Aceh pasca damai (MoU Helsinki). Kekerasan selalu muncul terutama pada momen pilkada, terhitung sejak dilaksanakannya “pesta rakyat” pada awal masa damai (Pilkada tahun 2006) hingga sekarang. Gesekan antar elit dan kelompok yang muncul dianggap karena belum adanya kesepakatan bersama antar elit politik (pakta elit) lokal di Aceh dalam merajut dan menata pembangunan politik pasca konflik. Terlebih kekerasan yang hadir dalam setiap momen politik elektoral ini ditengarai melibatkan oknum mantan kombatan GAM yang dianggap gaya berpolitik masih terbawa gaya ala militeristik pada masa konflik. Kegelisahan terhadap fenomena kekerasan politik ini kemudian menunjukkan bahwa ini merupakan ekspresi dari tata kelola pasca konflik yang gagal, pada titik inilah penelitian ini dilakukan. Oleh sebab itu, penelitian ini akan fokus untuk melihat pembangunan politik dalam konteks elektoral di Aceh pasca MoU Helsinki dengan logika *Political Settlement*.

Sebagai kerangka pemikiran yang menjadi landasan dalam menganalisis penyebab hadirnya kekerasan dalam politik elektoral yang menciderai proses pembangunan dan stabilitas politik di Aceh pasca damai, maka penelitian ini dikawal oleh logika teoritik *Political Settlement* dari Tim Kelsall. Terdapat tiga variabel utama teoritik sebagai pijakan dasar dari teori ini yaitu inklusif/eksklusif, motivasi elit, dan norma birokrasi. Dengan demikian, melalui metode studi kasus, penelitian ini akan mencoba melacak derajat *Political Settlement* di Aceh pasca MoU Helsinki sebagai daerah pasca konflik.

Berdasarkan proses pengolahan data di lapangan, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa derajat *Political Settlement* di Aceh tergolong dalam tipologi *Hybrid Settlement*. Hal ini terlihat dari dinamika politik Aceh pasca MoU cenderung bersifat eksklusif, norma birokrasi yang masih sarat dengan praktik KKN dan klientelisme, serta motivasi elit yang tidak sejalan dalam menatap pembangunan damai di Aceh. Temuan lain juga menunjukkan pola relasi elit politik yang dinamis sehingga membuka peluang bagi elit untuk bisa mengontrol kapan harus saling berkoordinasi maupun tidak. Dengan demikian, kondisi politik yang begitu eksklusif menjadi faktor dasar lahirnya berbagai gesekan antar elit yang berujung dengan tindakan kekerasan di Aceh pasca MoU Helsinki.

Refleksi teoritis menunjukkan bahwa, logika *Political Settlement* secara tegas mampu menjelaskan dinamika konflik dan kekerasan di daerah pasca konflik seperti Aceh. Secara umum, logika teoritik ini bertujuan untuk melihat dan melacak sejauh mana derajat stabilitas pembangunan di suatu daerah (baik politik, sosial dan ekonomi), terutama di daerah-daerah pasca konflik. Namun, terdapat pula limitasi teoritik dalam hal penerapan di lapangan. Hal ini lumrah mengingat teori ini masih dalam tahap pengembangan, sehingga para ilmuan sosial-politik di belahan dunia (terutama di Eropa) masih saling berdebat dan berdiskusi panjang dalam mengupayakan pengembangan teoritik.

Kata Kunci: *Political Settlement*, *Hybrid Settlement*, Eksklusif, Kekerasan, Pasca konflik.

ABSTRACT

This study eagerly seeks to know more about the degree of Political Settlement in Aceh following the Helsinki MoU pertaining governance of political development in post-conflict areas. The basic idea of this research begins with the phenomenon of violence that always appears in almost every political electoral moment in post-peace Aceh (Helsinki MoU). Violence always arises, particularly in the moments of an election of regional officials, since the implementation of "*pesta rakyat*" (people's party) at the beginning of peacetime (Regional Election 2006) until now. The friction between the elite and the emerging groups is thought to be due to the lack of understanding among the local political elite (elite pact) in Aceh in weaving and organizing post-conflict political development. Moreover, the violence that is present in every moment of regional electoral politics is suspected to involve former *GAM* combatants, whose political style is considered to still carry a militaristic style as was during the conflict. Anxiety about this phenomenon of political violence is indicative as an expression of post-conflict governance that has failed, and it was at this point that this study was conducted. Therefore, this research will focus on looking at political development in the regional electoral context in Aceh after the Helsinki MoU with the logic of Political Settlement.

As a framework on which to base the analysis of causes of violence in regional electoral politics that has harmed the process of development and political stability in post-peace Aceh, this research was guided by the theoretical logic of Political Settlement by Tim Kelsall. There are three main theoretical variables as the foundation of this theory that is inclusive / exclusive, motivation of the elite, and bureaucratic norms. Thus, through case study methods, this research will try to track the degree of Political Settlement in Aceh after the Helsinki MoU as a post-conflict area.

Based on the data processed in the field, this study shows that the degree of Political Settlement in Aceh belongs in the Hybrid Settlement typology. This can be seen from Aceh's political dynamics after the MoU, which tends to be exclusive, with bureaucratic norms that are still loaded with the practice of corruption, collusion, nepotism and clientelism, as well as elite motivation that is not aligned in seeking peace building in Aceh. Other findings also show the pattern of dynamic political elite relationships that allow the elite to be able to control when to coordinate with each other. Thus, very exclusive political conditions have become the basic factor for the emergence of various inter-elite friction that led to violence in Aceh after the Helsinki MoU.

Theoretical reflection shows that the logic of Political Settlement is explicitly able to explain the dynamics of conflict and violence in post-conflict areas such as Aceh. In general, this theoretical logic aims to see and track the extent to which the degree of stability of development in a region (both political, social and economic), especially in post-conflict areas. However, there is also theoretical limitation in the field application. This is commonplace considering this theory is still in development stage, so that the socio-political scientists in the world (especially in Europe) are still debating and discussing lengths in pursuit of theoretical development.

Keywords: Political Settlement, Hybrid Settlement, Exclusive, Violence, Post conflict