The Internalisation Process and Pattern on Ideology Ethnonationalism from Five Leaders of the Free Aceh Movement to Their Children

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Ethnonationalism was an ideology of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and became a value and belief of its members to establish the free Aceh. After the MoU Helsinki Peace Agreement, the existence of the ideology was questionable. Therefore, the question of this research is whether ethnonationalism is still entrenched and transferred to the member's children or whether the ideology disappeared with the disbandment of GAM. This study discusses the internalisation pattern of parental socialisation on ethnonationalism applied by parents who were members of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) to their children. This research uses an exploratory qualitative method through in-depth interviews purposively with five leaders of GAM. The research question is answered by analysing an ideology internalisation process and pattern based on Baumrind (1971) in the Murray & Mulvaney (2012) model. This research finds that there are two dominant patterns applied by the parents in socialising the ideology: permissive and authoritative. The ideology internalisation process occurs in three steps: introduction, understanding, and internalisation. Although having different patterns, the parents use similar socialisation media such as the great history of Aceh, to arouse their children's ethnonationalism.

Key words: *Ethnonationalism, GAM, Internalisation Ideology.*

Introduction

The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) is a liberation organisation founded by Hasan Tiro on December 4th, 1976 in Halimoon Mountain, Pidie. The GAM establishment is closely linked to the prolonged conflict between Aceh and Indonesia. The conflict worsened when the centralised Indonesian government explored and exploited natural gas in North Aceh. This situation is aggravated by the absence of an equal distribution of surplus value, that led to continuous poverty experienced by the Acehnese. The purpose of GAM is to separate Aceh from Indonesian territory and to re-establish Free Aceh as the successor state of glory of the Aceh kingdom. Hasan Tiro formed ethnic sentiment, developed ethnonationalism ideology, and transferred ideology to GAM participants and sympathisers.

The movement's existence is influenced by the ideology of ethnonationalism that was entrenched in the souls of the leaders, participants, and followers of GAM. The ideology implicates high loyalty and is characterised by a volunteering state to support GAM at any cost. Participants of GAM may sacrifice their lives for the goals of the movement. Therefore, after signing the Mission of Understanding (MoU) between GAM and Indonesia on August 15, 2005, there is a big question about the existence of this ethnonationalism ideology. Whether this ideology is still entrenched and transferred to the children of GAM leaders or whether the ideology disappeared with the scattering of GAM. The Study of political behaviour explains that the main agent of political socialisation is family.

Several previous studies about political socialisation focused on this main agent. Family, especially parents, play an important role in shaping the child ideology. Parents' ideology will transfer to their children through a process of ideology internalisation directly or indirectly (Seiden, 2007; Murray & Mulvaney, 2012; Jermsittiparsert & Theansri, 2017). Based on the above explanation, the focus of this study is the internalisation of ethnonationalism ideology transferred by several prominent ex-combatants to their children.

Literature Review and Research Gap

This section will present a literature review that analyses the relationship between parenting styles and the internalisation pattern. Many researchers have examined the linkage between parent and child. A majority have focussed on the intergenerational transmission of political ideology related to political participation, party identification and political attitudes (eg.Healy & Malhotra, 2013; Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009; Seiden, 2007; Achen, 2002; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002; Green, Palmquist, & Schickler, 2002; Jermsittiparsert & Poothong, 2017). Generally, researchers found that parents are active agents on political socialisation. Parental behaviour and ideology can, in some ways, lead children toward the same values as their parents. Political discussion within the family mobilises children to engage in political

ideology (Flanagan, 2013). Furthermore, the children usually learn from observation and imitation. They observe whether their parents participate in politics or not. If parents are actively involved in politics, children are more likely to act similarly. In this way, parents can effectively became a role model (Mustilo, Wilson, & Lynch, 2004).

At the same time, further research concerned biopolitics issues regarding the apparent genetic basis for political and social orientations. Researchers suggested that the genetic aspect is associated with parent and child political attitudes. Political behaviour, such as voting, is influenced by genetic factors and contributes to variation in a general tendency toward strength of partisanship (Hatemi, et al., 2010; Hatemi, et al.,2009; Settle, Dawes, & Fowler, 2009; Alford & Hibbing, 2008).

Another publication explained the process and models of internalising ideology from parents to children. One such model is explained by Murray and Mulvaney (2012, pp. 1106-1130). They focus their research on characteristic differences in transferring party ideology by parents to children. According to them, there is strong evidence that political orientation and political ideology are inherited. There is compatibility of chosen parties between parents and children. This is an effective proof that the household is a socialisation vessel transferring political content to children. They explain that children have a tendency to adopt the values believed by their parents. This is driven by various factors such as children's personal desire to equate political ideology; ideology conveyed by parents has strong emotional ties; and having their own belief in embodied value of socialised ideology.

Parenting style signifies in the internalisation ideology to children. Differences in parenting style of the internalisation process explained some variations in internalisation pattern (Jermsittiparsert & Sawasdee, 2012). Furthermore, Murray and Mulvaney (2012) conclude that there are three characteristics of parental ideology education. Firstly, permissive education shows a rational context characterised by positive effectiveness. However, in this characteristic, parents only situate a little hope, and little control on children's behaviour when socialising. Parents who do this permissive socialisation, situate themselves as a friend to their children. Secondly, authoritarian education is characterised by great control over children, and applies harsh discipline. These kinds of parents position their children with high demand and will punish them if they do not follow the parent's requisite. Authoritarian education has a negative effectiveness in socialisation process. Thirdly, educational authority is a socialisation process reflecting a firm but flexible education in controlling children. This process will result in positive effectiveness for socialisation. They also found that the authoritative education model was more effective in transmitting political values and ideologies. In this model, children will feel free in choosing their political choices. This is supported by parents who motivate children to be willing to follow the same ideology as them.

The research related to the delivery of ideology from parents to children has been widely conducted. In general, more research has been conducted on the transmission of political participation, party identification, political attitudes, and biopolitics. Whereas the research on the intergenerational transmission of political ideology of liberation movements — like GAM — is quite limited. Therefore, this research suggests examining the pattern of internalisation of ideology of ethnonationalism from five GAM leaders to their children.

Research Objective

The aims of this study are to analyse the process of internalisation of ideology and to identify patterns of internalisation by five leaders of GAM to their children.

Research Methodology

This study is an exploratory qualitative study. To answer the overall purpose of research, this study analyses two data sources: primary and secondary. The primary data is obtained through in-depth interviews with five GAM leaders, selected purposively to provide information regarding required data. The leaders have important influence relating to their structural position in GAM. Information about the respondents is provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Respondents Information

Name of Respondent	Position in GAM	Number of Children
Tgk. Nasrudin Ahmad	Negotiator of GAM "Cessation Of Hostilities Agreement" (CoHA) Agreement in Geneva	Declined to provide information
Fauzan Azima Sulaiman	GAM commander in Linge area	4
Fakhrudin Norman	GAM fourth commander in Batee Iliek area	5
Yusra Habib Abdul Gani	Head of GAM information division in Kuala Lumpur (1991-1998), Executive of Suara Aceh Merdeka Magazine in Kuala Lumpur (1991-1998), Head of GAM information division in Denmark (1998-2004), General Executive of Aceh National Liberation Front (2002-2005)	Declined to provide information
Teuku Ismuhadi Jafar	GAM commander in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tanggerang, Bekasi (Jabodetabek) area	2

Data Collection

Primary data is collected through in-depth interview. Interviews are conducted using a list of open and unstructured questions that are prepared in advance. However, if further information is needed, additional questions (separate to the list) will be proposed to the respondents. Secondary data is obtained from books, magazines, documents, and scientific journals.

Data Analysis

Furthermore, primary data and secondary data are analysed qualitatively. Primary data from in-depth interviews will be documented through a recorder, then described through transcription. The responses of respondents will be arranged systematically in accordance with themes that have been determined to answer research questions. Similarly, secondary data will be arranged systematically following certain themes before processing of data analysis. The research question is answered by using Baumrind (1971) in the Murray & Mulvaney (2012) model to find the ideology internalisation process and pattern that the parents used on their children.

Research Results and Discussions
Ethnonationalism as GAM's Ideology

Ideology is a system of values and beliefs received as facts and truths for a group of people. Ideology can formulate the minds of its followers, causing contained ideology values as an important part of their life. In practice, ideology is identical to the birth of a social movement (Oliver & Jhonston, 2000). For example, the democratic movement was in the 17th century, and Marxism and anarchism were in the 19th century. Fascism, socialism, and feminism were developed in the 20th century. Ideology is also defined as overall attitudes and values that relate one another. It is about the purpose of the community and how it should be achieved. Ideology will help a person explain why a person does a particular action (Martin, 2015; Sargent, 2009; Jost, 2006; Shelby, 2003). It can be identified that ideology is able to motivate and explain broad political behaviour. In this research, GAM explained its own driven ethnonationalism ideology by understanding the love of a nation (Aceh). This ideology is used as a basis for struggling movements.

Ethnonationalism is often associated with the emergence of minority group conflicts in a nation that is marginalised by other nations. Ethnonationalism comes from "ethnicity" that arises in context of social interaction in a plural society. Smith states that ethnicity can be defined as a human community that has a name, is related to one motherland and has a

common ancestral myth, shared memories, one or several common cultural elements, and certain solidarity among its elites (Smith, 2001, pp. 15). The Existence of ethnonationalism not only aims to oppose colonisation of other nations, but it opposes other dominance of ethnicity which is too great within one state. As viewed from contemporary political developments, ethnonationalism arises from reactions and dissatisfaction of uneven physical, social, cultural and economic development carried out by a central government over a particular territory. This dissatisfaction embodies a high regional sentiment that causes them to form a liberation movement aiming to free dominance of central government.

In GAM's opinion, the Indonesian government is dominated by Javanese. Therefore, resulting policy is only oriented to Javanese (Java centrism). Central government also undertakes a massive exploitation of the regional natural resources of Aceh. The problem is the large profit-making exploitation is not distributed fairly to the region. This leads to imbalance between central government and region, in which the region experiences poverty, while the centre relishes the natural resources. Therefore the aim of GAM is to establish an autonomous state (Apipudin, 2016; Brown, 2005; Reid, 2005; Smith, 2002).

Initially, GAM was only a small organisation. In 1976, GAM consisted of only 70 intellectuals including doctors, engineers, academics, and businessmen. Since 1986, GAM members had begun to gain military training in Libya. In 1989, hundreds of GAM members returned to Aceh and trained hundreds of other members. This was a major threat to Indonesia and the government labelled GAM as a terrorist movement. Therefore, the Indonesian government under President Soeharto, applied Military Operation Area (DOM) in Aceh to destroy GAM. As a result, 2,000 people were killed and 3,439 people were victims of human rights violations (Schulze, 2004).

As an ethnonationalism movement, GAM has a well-organised structure and systematic fundamentals of movement. In consequence, GAM has survived and existed for a long time. Schulze (2004) stated that GAM succeeded in maintaining its existence for three reasons: First, GAM had a secure leadership, because of being in exile outside the country. Secondly, numbers of GAM members are large and scattered in several countries. Thirdly, the victims of the DOM became supporters of GAM in the era of 1998-onwards. GAM has a well-organised organisational structure and basis of movement including GAM's goals and ideology. GAM ideology is disseminated to its members through "Aceh Education". Aceh Education is a special education for GAM members given during their practice in training camps in Libya, as well as in Aceh. The members were taught about ethnonationalism that prioritises Aceh's interests. From 1975-1979, Aceh Education was conducted in forests of Aceh. The people who had been trained in Libya would join the Cabinet of Aceh Merdeka. They were awarded a certificate of Aceh University of Gunong Halimoon by Hasan Tiro. Furthermore, members who had returned from Libya would train other youths in Mount

Halimoon. Aceh Education included the study of history, politics, social, culture, customs, law, and diplomacy. All of the studies aim to evoke an ethnonationalism feeling in members. Ethnonationalism is a motivation and activator of GAM in fighting for Aceh. This ideology is believed by all GAM members and used as a basic action.

Parents Ideology of Ethnonationalism

Five respondents were GAM leaders who had structural positions and had an important role in the movement. Each of them has similar ideology of ethnonationalism. This ideology is obtained through different ways. Tgk Nashruddin Ahmad admits that ethnonationalism is formed naturally in him. This began with a sense of sympathy for the fate of Aceh under a centralised government. Despite not fighting physically, Tgk Nashruddin Ahmad helped the GAM to struggle and became a GAM negotiator in the Helsinki MoU peace agreement.

Another respondent, Fauzan Azima Sulaiman (Fauzan), testified that he became a GAM member in 1998, when the Soeharto regime fell. His first position was as a liaison that mediated and searched new GAM cadres to be sworn as members (*baiat*). Furthermore, he is trusted as a spokesman and deputy commander. His last position was commander of the Linge region, covering Central Aceh, Bener Meriah, Gayo Luwes, Aceh Tenggara, and Tanah Karo.

Fauzan claimed that he has never received military training. At first, he was interested in reading books related to the struggle of the Acehnese. Through the reading, ideology of ethnonationalism began to form. He believes that ethnonationalism is a concept of Aceh devotion. His ideology doctrine is directly derived from Teungku Ilyas Leubee, which is the first army generation of GAM.

Fakhrudin Norman (Norman) had a different experience. Norman knew about GAM from his father. Norman's father often assisted GAM and Norman paid attention to what his father did. Afterward, Norman was interested and learned about GAM. The sympathy towards GAM raised a state of ethnonationalism. Various information was collected by him and then Norman decided to become a GAM's member. During his membership, Norman attended several military trainings. He explained that training is usually followed by about 700 members for three months trained. The training was led by a coach called Mualem, and the Mualem were ex-coaches trained in Libya. Mualem provided training called command and leadership education. The members would be given motivation to struggle in which formation of ideology applied, including knowledge of Aceh's histories that evoke ethnonationalism of the members.

Based on the above ideology explanation, GAM members — including Norman — volunteered blood, life, property, and mind for GAM's struggle. This is done sincerely and voluntarily. To achieve the goal and to defend the ideology, GAM members fought through politics, propaganda, diplomacy, economy and weapons. In Aceh Education, there were a lot of materials regarding Aceh's history that were acquired by Norman. Aceh's historical education recalls Aceh's great kindness for Indonesia. Norman stated that Aceh was once the fifth largest country in the world. Based on the history, Aceh does not deserve to be colonised and must become an independent country.

The fourth respondent was Yusra Habib Abdul Gani (Yusra). His ideology of ethnonationalism began to rise when Yusra read the history of Aceh's greatness in the past. The history motivated him to join GAM. During his membership, Yusra received Aceh Education materials as compulsory education for members. Yusra figured out that Aceh had complete State documents. This proves that Aceh was once an independent State. These documents included: Aceh code, Iskandar Muda code, National Flag, emblem, stamp, diplomatic correspondence, military and institutional state, etc. This historical evidence then reinforces his ideology.

The last respondent was Teuku Ismuhadi Jafar (Ismuhadi). In an interview with Ismuhadi, he explained that as a child he lived in a state of conflict. Therefore, he has a great sense of sympathy for the Acehnese. This sympathy encouraged Ismuhadi to be a mediator between GAM members. Since 1989, Ismuhadi has lived in Jakarta and helped to send refugees from Aceh to Malaysia. Ismuhadi also helped to collect weapons, and to provide transportation from Jakarta to Aceh. A sense of sympathy and understanding of Aceh's history led Ismuhadi to have a strong ethnonationalism ideology.

Internalization Process of Ethnonationalism Ideology

Ideology can be transmitted from parents to children. In the internalisation process, parents have an important role. Baumrind in Murray and Mulvaney (2012) described that there are three primary parenting styles: permissive parenting, authoritarian education, and authority education. The five interviewed respondents applied different patterns of ideological internalisation to their children.

When interviewed, Tgk Nashrudin Ahmad testified that there is no formal process in disseminating ideology to his son. For him, his son is still too young. However, his son learned that Tgk Nashrudin was involved in GAM. His son also knows about the history of Aceh's glory. For him, ideology cannot be imposed. Every child is free to choose whatever he thinks is right. Nevertheless, Tgk Nashrudin argued that the ideology of ethnonationalism has changed its original meaning. Prior to the Helsinki MoU peace agreement, Ethnonationalism

was manifested by battle and arms. After the agreement, an understanding of ethnonationalism is interpreted in a broader sense. The love of the Acehnese should not be demonstrated by war. However, there are many other things that can be done to express love, such as encouraging economic, educational and social development. This is what Tgk Nashrudin explains to his children. It can be said that the pattern of internalisation of ethnonationalism is done permissively, in which parents place a little hope and a little control when undertaking socialisation.

Fauzan Azima Sulaiman admits that the ideology of Ethnonationalism is still attached to him. Fauzan hopes his children will fight for the prosperity of Aceh not by lifting arms, but by contributing to develop education and economics. Fauzan often explains Aceh's history to his children to arouse a sense of love for Aceh. The process of socialisation is done in a permissive manner and he puts little hope and little control over the child's behaviour.

Fakhrudin Norman explained that his family gave full support when he joined GAM. As explained above, Norman sympathises with GAM after seeing his father often helping GAM members. Norman currently has five children. After graduating from elementary school, Norman's eldest son lives with one of his family outside Aceh, due to conflict in Aceh. His other children now live with him. All of Norman's children recognise his activities involving GAM. They also know that his father often fought and was even arrested by the Indonesian Military Army. Regarding internalisation of ideology, Norman explained that he never directly indoctrinated his children to have the same ideology as him. Norman has never directed his son to become a GAM member like him. Norman's ideology transfer pattern is education of authority. This type of education demonstrates a firm process of ideology internalisation, but the pattern is flexible in controlling children's ideology. In everyday life, Norman formed his son's ideology by telling stories of GAM's struggle. Through these stories, the sympathy for the Acehnese will arise and will induce an interest to GAM.

Norman hopes that his children will follow his pathway. Otherwise, there is no coercion in the process because he has conviction that naturally his children will have the same ideology as him, when they see and hear what he did. The transfer of ideology does not occur formally, but naturally through what is seen and what is read by Norman's children from the stories of GAM's struggle.

Yusra Habib undertook the same ideological education as Norman's; education of authority. After GAM reconciled with Indonesia, Yusra still holds GAM ideology. Thus, he often transfers this ideology through telling stories of his struggles to his children. Yusra believes that an ideology will be embedded and emerged instinctively. In detail, Yusra has not explained the steps of the struggle in the future because his children are still in college. Differently, what he is doing now will go through stages of absorbing ideology for children.

Yusra explained that he had his own way of transferring ideology of ethnonationalism. That is, by informing his children through the story of his life and story of his struggle as a member of GAM.

Teuku Ismuhadi Jafar applies the pattern of internalisation with permissive education. Great curiosity about Aceh emerged from his sons. They mostly asked about the Aceh rebellion, its reason and its impact for society. Based on their curiosity, Teuku Ismuhadi tried to develop ideology from the history of Aceh. He has a little control on his children's behaviour. For Ismuhadi, his children are free to become what they want. The process of socialisation applied by Ismuhadi is permissive education. Fighting is no longer the best alternative for developing Aceh. Ismuhadi hopes his children will love Aceh and will strive for its welfare by learning the history of Aceh.

The Pattern of Internalisation Ideology

In accordance with Baumrind in Murray and Mulvaney (2012), the internalisation pattern of ethnonationalism from the leaders of GAM to their children is shown in Table 2 as follows:

Table 2: Analysis of Internationalisation Process and Pattern

Informants	Internalisation Process	Internalisation Pattern	The expected action
Tgk. Nasrudin Ahmad	• Informal Process • Telling the history of Aceh	Permissive	Etnonationalism is implemented by encouraging economic and educational development.
Fauzan Azima Sulaiman	• Informal Process • Telling the history of Aceh	Permissive	Etnonationalism is implemented by contributing to economic and educational development.
Fakhrudin Norman	• Informal process • Telling the history of Aceh • Providing reading materials about Aceh	Authority	Desiring children to participate voluntarily in struggling for Aceh.
Yusra Habib Abdul Gani	• Informal process • Telling his fighting story • Telling the history of Aceh	Authority	Desiring children to participate in struggling for Aceh.

Teuku Ismuhadi Jafar	• Telling the history of Aceh	Permissive	Etnonationalism is implemented by fighting for Aceh's prosperity.

Table 2 shows that each of the informants applied different ways in socialising their ideology. However, the new finding is on the similarity of socialisation media that informants used in the internalisation process. Each parent used the storytelling method by telling the history of Aceh's glory to awaken a sense of ethnonationalism in their children. Historical influence is very significant in forming ethnonationalism. In social sciences research, storytelling has been recognised as a human consciousness and communication (Sloman, 2005). By storytelling, the parents highlight Aceh's history as a prosperous and affluent nation. This constructs the imagination in children and formalises ideological development of ethnonationalism. The process is simple and divided into three stages: introduction, understanding, and internalisation — as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. The process of Ideology Internalisation
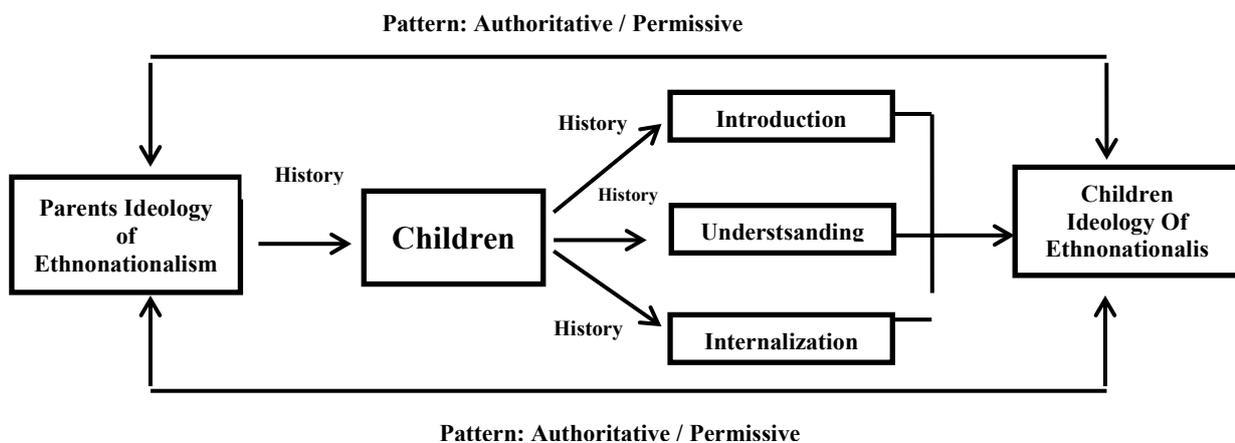
These three stages apply history as the most important socialisation media for forming an ideology. At the first stage, introduction, parents process introducing history to their children via storytelling the glory of Aceh in the past. This history is packed with interesting stories, for example depicting heroes of Aceh as formidable figures against Dutch colonialism. The second stage is understanding. When a child has begun to show interest, he will then try to understand every detail of history told by his parents. This creates high curiosity within a child, asking their parents questions and seeking information. After completing this stage, history will construct the ideology of the child indirectly. At this stage, storytelling is also a key element in what makes ideas memorable (Heath & Heath, 2007).

The last stage is internalisation of ideology in a child. With historical understanding, a child has their own ideology of ethnonationalism. The realisation of the ideology is expressed in different ways. Parents of GAM ex-combatants certainly have expectations of their children to fight for ethnonationalism, just like them. However, as shown in above table, the action forms in different way. Fighting for ethnonationalism does not only apply in armed struggle form, but also in a more civilised form. The examples are contributing to the advancement of welfare and education in Aceh.

Conclusion

To conclude, the main political socialisation agent is family, especially parents that have an important role in shaping the ideology of their children. In this case, former GAM leaders have their own ideology. The ideology is known as the ideology of ethnonationalism. Five interviewed leaders obtained this ideology through their membership in GAM. This deeply rooted ideology is eventually socialised to their children in different patterns. Theoretically, Baumrind (1971) in Murray and Mulvaney (2012) concludes that there are three patterns of ideological education undertaken by parents to their children. The three patterns of education are permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative. This study found that there are two dominant patterns used by parents in socialising their ideology to their children: permissive and authoritative. The process of ideology internalisation occurs in three stages: recognition, understanding, and internalisation. Despite having different patterns, the five leaders use the same socialisation media — telling the history of Aceh's past greatness to awaken their children's ethnonationalism.

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