# Bringing Local Wisdom-Based Local Government into Practice: A Quadrant Strategy Analysis

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**Abstract**

Managing local government in a multicultural state is a big challenge. Governing style whether using Continental or Anglo-Saxon style cannot be fully implemented in a multicultural state such as Indonesia. Conflict reconciliation in Aceh Province of Indonesia had left some conceptual anomalies including the practice of local government. Local wisdom-based local government implemented in Aceh made the public curiosity aroused on how it was brought into practice. This research was carried out qualitatively with phenomenological approach focusing on strategy of bringing local wisdom-based local government into practice. The result showed some lessons learned from the phenomenon in Aceh such as the success story of conflict reconciliation although not following the standard conflict reconciliation done in many countries, 'small gifts' from Aceh, and conceptual anomalies. We proposed some re-conceptualizations on (1) theory of conflict reconciliation, (2) theory of exit and voice, (3) concept of six dimensions of local government, and (4) concept of separatist movement transformation. The proposed strategy on local wisdom-based local government was based on quadrant strategy analysis which combined the directed system of government and identity. Of the four quadrant strategies, local wisdom-based local government can be realized in scenario Quadrant I which combined the self-directed government (decentralized government) system and cosmopolitan identity. The recommended framework also suggested that both local and national wisdom should be concerned at all stage of governing along with quadrant strategy analysis in order to bring local wisdom-based local government into practice.

**Keywords**: local government, local wisdom, quadrant strategy, conceptual anomaly

## 1. Introduction

The history of administration is as old as of human civilization itself. Respectively, the art of managing, organizing and administrating a variety of resources to run the government is highly dependent on science and technology development of each era. Modern government paradigms are currently the case as well. If we trace it back, it will be sourced from: (1) continental style originating from continental of Europe with its approach to political science that puts the central attention upon politics and bureaucracy with Max Webber as its leading character has given birth to the concept of governance, and (2) Anglo-Saxon style derived from American continent with its management science approach that puts administration and organization at the central with Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson as the leading figures has led to the birth of the concept of new public management.

The curiosity arises. Are both government styles suitable to be applied in all countries around the world whether in developed, developing or third world countries that have a high multicultural base? As a nation state, Indonesia is enriched with tons of diversity. It has any kind of diversity that other countries may have. This wide range of diversity had encouraged Indonesian founding fathers to choose a national slogan 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' which means unity in diversity. This slogan strongly shows that Indonesia is a multicultural state. Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country which has no less than 13,000 large and small islands. Manan (2010: 128) said that Indonesia is inhabited by at least 300 ethnic groups with no less than 200 different types of spoken language. Multiculturalism in Indonesia is not only limited to ethnic and language. Indonesia, with population of about 236.7 million people (BPS, 2010), is still enriched with religious diversity and wide range of geographic landscape (e.g. coastal, swamp, plains, hills, forests, mountains, seas, rivers etc). This complexity reflects the truly social richness of Indonesian multiculturalism.

Thus, governing national-based local government will be very difficult. The thirty two year government regime of Soeharto New Order had given us solid proof to this. Started from 1998 on, Indonesia has chosen to switch its governmental basis from centralization to decentralization. This policy has fertilized the local values to blossom once more. The impact is that each local government in Indonesia has authority to use any kind of their local value(s) to meet the local public needs. As the case in Aceh Province of Indonesia, its local government has re-

acknowledged and re-used local wisdom values into local government practices. But somehow, the local government practice in Aceh has left some conceptual anomalies. Starting from 2006 on, the local government practice in Aceh has been able to maintain stable although not fully following the existing theory. It rang the alarm of academic curiosity loudly. The existing theory of local government was unable to fully explain the practice of local government in Aceh.

Having granted two regulatory laws, which are Law No. 32/2004 on Local Government and Law No. 11/2006 on Government of Aceh, Aceh has privilege authority to re-acknowledge and re-use local wisdom values into local government practices. This was the starting point where the local government practices in Aceh begin to be a local wisdom-based local government which then cannot be fully explained by the existing theory. Stems from the curiosity, this research on local wisdom-based local government was done. Many conceptual anomalies left wide open in the local government practices in Aceh, is something interesting. To determine the background of recognition and re-use of local values in the regional administration is as main reason of carrying out this research.

## 2. Materials and Methods

The materials of this research were gathered qualitatively. By using qualitative research method and phenomenological approach, all data and facts were collected from in-depth interview, observation and documentation. The locus of the research was in East Aceh Regency of Aceh Province of Indonesia. The research was carried out from April to September 2012. All materials used in this paper were related materials of the phenomenon ones occurred in Aceh. Therefore, in order to formulate the proposed quadrant strategy and recommended framework on local government practice in a multicultural state, theoretical analysis related to anomalous concepts along with empirical facts were combined respectively. In accordance with the background that has been expressed earlier, the research questions that will be examined are as the following: (1) what lessons learned can be derived from the phenomenon in Aceh? (2) what are the unique characteristic of Aceh Local Government? (3) what strategy should be used to bring local wisdom-based local government into practice?

## 3. Results: Lessons from Aceh

### 3.1. *Conflict Reconciliation*

Managing multi dimensional conflict in Aceh was a very complicated process that drained energy and took a long time. Conflict in Aceh had occurred since Indonesian independence and not came to its end until 2005. There was no single term of any president who had led Indonesia that Aceh was not in conflict. The first President of Indonesia, Soekarno, 'created' conflict in Aceh by his policy to merge Aceh into North Sumatra Province. This policy triggered the fight from Acehnese led by Tgk. Daud Beureueh in the form of *Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia* (DI/TII) conflict. The second President of Indonesia, Soeharto, 'created' conflict in Aceh by his dictatorship and 'economic colonialism' policy towards producing region including Aceh that had emerged the armed resistance from Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*, GAM) since 1976. The conflict was then passed on to all subsequent Presidents of the sixth President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Various solutions and conflict resolution mechanism had been adopted by the all Indonesian Presidents. In the era of the Old Order, the regulatory approach was chosen by President Soekarno by sending a special envoy to Aceh, which was then known as 'Mission Hardi'. Regulatory solution of the re-establishment Aceh as an autonomous province by granting privileged status can only grant the peaceful condition for not more than ten years. In the era of the Old Order, President Soeharto chose repressive militaristic and security approach under the pretext of preserving the integrity of the nation. This approach was maintained for about 20 years until Soeharto stepped down from the office in 1998 with the failure to create peace in Aceh.

Different approach was chosen by the third President of Indonesia, BJ Habibie. He changed the approach from repressive militaristic and security approach to politics, social, cultural, economic and legal approach. However, because of Habibie's too short administration term and continued by the President afterwards, that peace had not been achieved in Aceh. Another different approach to the conflict in Aceh was taken by the next President, Abdurrahman Wahid (well known as Gus Dur). Gus Dur began diplomacy approach by starting peace talk between GAM and Government of Indonesian (GoI). Although successfully reached agreement of Humanitarian Pause between the two sides but due to the low levels of trustworthy and high distrust from each party, peace cannot be achieved in Aceh yet again. Megawati who replaced Gus Dur as the fifth President took relatively the same approach. Megawati still performed diplomacy approach which realized consensus between GAM - GoI in the form of Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA). However, some other approach taken by Megawati at the same time by determining the status of martial law in Aceh had only escalated suspicion against the absence

of good will from the GoI to resolve the conflict at the negotiating table. Peace was re-floated and the conflict had not been well resolved.

Breakthrough to conflict in Aceh began in the reign of the sixth President of Indonesia, SBY. Vice President Jusuf Kalla (JK), worked hard to resolve conflict in Aceh by completely started again with the non-formal, non-institutional and personal approach (Hadiwinata, et al., 2009: 87-89). The pattern of the approach was visible from at least two things: (1) the existence of a special envoy who did rally talk in secret and closed meetings before the formal negotiations talk took place, (2) personal approach to the individuals who are deemed competent to the peace through secret meetings, and (3) a request to involve a third party as a facilitator of the peace talks. This was revealed by Hadiwinata, et al. (2009) as follows:

> Non-formal approach and confidential talk was also addressed to Damien Kingsbury, an Australian who became political adviser to GAM. Damien, who was forbidden to enter Indonesia, secretly flew to Jakarta and met with Jusuf Kalla (JK) at the Hilton Hotel. Damien was asked by JK to urge GAM willing to sit at the negotiating table. If Damien were not willing to do so, he will be declared as responsible for the killing of the people of Aceh (Hadiwinata, et al., 2009: 89).

> Unlike the HDC who came to President Wahid and offer services to facilitate talks between GAM and GoI, the involvement of CMI led by Martti Ahtisaari was because of the demand of both sides. In this case, Farid Husein asked Juha Christensen from Interpeace Organization to personally propose for help from Martti Ahtisaari and CMI to facilitate peace talks. Furthermore, Juha Christensen attempted to convince Ahtisaari and GAM in Sweden, while Farid Husein, by the assurance from JK and SBY, served to convince the Indonesian side (Hadiwinata, et al., 2009: 88)

Based on Assefa (1993) spectrum of conflict handling mechanisms as well as empirical data revealed by Kingsbury (2005), Stange and Patock (2010) and Hernawan and Indarti (2009), the mechanism for conflict resolution in Aceh, can be drawn as follows:

1. Force; the enactment of the Military Operations Area (*Daerah Operasi Militer*, DOM) in 1989-1998 and the martial law in 2003-2004 have failed to resolve the conflict and even escalated violence and human rights abuses;

2. Negotiation; the negotiations between GAM-GoI in the era of President Habibie in 1998-1999 had failed to bring peace despite President Habibie had sworn on "Ten Government Promises" to Aceh. Since Habibie had to step down the office too early and the lack of his successor's commitment in realizing the promises, Acehnese people were let down once again. Other negotiation step was the implementation of the 2004 Civil Emergency Status in Aceh to lower the Martial Law Status because GAM was willing to reduce the number of military action. But this measure also failed to be a solution to the conflict;

3. Mediation; this kind of conflict handling mechanism was taken in the form of Humanitarian Pause Agreement in 2000 and the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA) in 2002 which were mediated by Henry Dunant Center (HDC). Both measures had also failed to be the solution to the conflict because of the weakness of HDC as mediator and the lack of balanced participation involvement of both parties; and

4. Reconciliation; Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) Helsinki in 2005 facilitated by Finnish Former Prime Minister Maartii Ahtisaari from Crisis Management Initiatives (CMI) has succeeded to resolve conflict in Aceh and be the landmark to the conflict resolution. It was then legalized by Act No. 11 of year 2006 on the Government of Aceh which managed to bring the conflict in Aceh into its end.

These kinds of conflict handling mechanism are just as explained by Assefa (1993: 1-52). The difference between each mechanism is on the level of mutual participation in search for solution to the conflict. Off the four conflict handling mechanisms used, reconciliation is the most suitable mechanism to end conflict in Aceh by balancing the mutual participation of both conflicting parties. The success of the Aceh conflict handling mechanism through reconciliation is caused by differences from approaches used to handle the conflict before, either through the mechanism of Military Operations (force), Humanitarian Pause (negotiation) and CoHA (mediation). According to Hadiwinata, et al. (2009: 120-126) the failure of previously mechanisms caused at least by:

1. The lack of flexibility of both GoI and GAM to conduct negotiation(s) where each party stands on its offer. GAM was asking for independence or self-government granted but GoI stayed on the concept of special autonomy offer. In the process of reconciliation, the two parties were more flexible with the advent of the Aceh Local Government Systems offer and local democracy through local political parties;

2. Failure to provide the proper incentives in order to make sure GAM was really willing to re-negotiate. The previous mechanisms were unsuccessful for not offering incentives as a form of compensation to the demand

of GAM disarmament. In the process of reconciliation, compensation incentives, agricultural and plantation land to former combatants, Aceh reintegration fund and the establishment of Aceh Transitional Committee (*Komite Peralihan Aceh*, KPA) to bring the ex-combatants back home were as of the form of incentives offered by the GoI to compensate the demand of GAM disarmament;

3. Lack of credibility and capacity of mediators to implement the agreement that has been agreed upon. Henry Dunant Center (HDC) as the mediator in the Humanitarian Pause and CoHA was considered less credible because of their lack of access to international institutions to oversee the peace process in Aceh. Moreover, HDC was a party who came and offered their services as mediator. In the process of reconciliation, CMI was not a party who came and offered their services but rather than as party which was proposed to become peace talk facilitator. CMI was also considered more credible because of Martti Ahtisaari - a former Finnish Prime Minister - has pretty good access to some international authorities such as his close friendship with the UN Secretary General at that time, Kofi Annan and the European High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana. Thus, after a peace agreement was signed in the form of MoU Helsinki, Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) can immediately be formed; and

4. Failure to identify the core substances of conflict. The previous conflict handling mechanisms namely Humanitarian Pause was only intended for cease fire process while CoHA was aimed for the GAM disarmament and non-organic military and police security forces demobilization from Aceh without discussing any afterward actions. The process of reconciliation did not only discuss what has to be done by each party but also touched the substance of the conflict by defining the reintegration process of each conflicting party as well as the process of afterward comprehensive development mechanism actions in Aceh.

The success of this conflict reconciliation mechanism in Aceh has created the world's immediate focused eyes toward the area. It had never before Aceh gained so much attention both nationally and internationally. It was not only just because of the going process of recovery from tsunami through rehabilitation and reconstruction but the attention was also focused on the success of the Aceh conflict reconciliation process which elegantly had brought home the peace to Aceh without preceded by the formation of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and Human Rights and Justice Court (HRJC) as being reconciliation mechanism standard witnessed in many countries. In addition, the Aceh Local Government practices after peace comes also float some conceptual anomalies on local government which is considered mature. Many important things can be learned from the phenomenon of reconciliation in Aceh. Indonesia, which has a very high cultural disparity, is a highly vulnerable country to vertical conflict between centers and local government and horizontal conflict in the forms of social conflict between communities. The success of the reconciliation process in Aceh can be used as theoretical basis for formulating reliable concepts of conflict management in multicultural countries.

### 3.2. *Small Gifts from Aceh*

Aceh, throughout Indonesia's independence history, has always been known as an area of conflict. The Acehnese are often labeled as being stubborn and rebellious. People's resistance against the state in Indonesia's westernmost province is easier to remember than what was already given by the Acehnese to the Homeland. It is human nature to be easier to remember something that is negative rather than the positive connotation. People may not know many positive things that have been done by Acehnese. Aceh was the only province of Indonesia which declared allegiance to the Republic of Indonesia in writing through Lamjabat Pledge on October 15, 1945. Even the Acehnese scholars have referred the archipelago as the 'Kingdom of Al-Jumhuriyyah Al-Indonesiah' on July 14, 1866, long before Indonesia's independence (Effendi, 2010: 187). 'Small gift' in the form of loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia from Acehnese people is often overlooked rather labeled as a conflict area where the cap attached to Aceh. The next 'small gift' from Aceh given to the Republic of Indonesia is its role as a capital regional of the republic. When the newly independent Indonesia was still gathering strengths of the nation, Aceh has played its role. 'Small gift' from Aceh was in the form of 20 kg of gold to the government of Indonesia to buy two Dakota aircrafts and a large amount of cash into start-up capital for new-born Indonesian Government. Hadiwinata, et al. (2009: 207), wrote that:

> On June 16, 1948, held in Banda Aceh Kutaraja it was successfully collected 20 kg of gold for the Republic. The gold was then used by the government of Indonesia to buy a Dakota aircraft which was the first transport aircraft belonging to Indonesia. Soekarno named it Seulawah that in the Acehnese language means Gold Mountain. The following year, at the initiative of Tengku Daud Beureueh, the Acehnese collected cash donations for the government of the Republic of Indonesia. The U.S. $ 250,000 was donated to the Indonesian National Army, U.S. $ 50,000 to build government offices of the Republic of Indonesia, U.S. $ 100,000 to the purpose of moving the seat of government of the Republic of Indonesia from Yogyakarta to Jakarta and U.S.

$ 100,000 to operational costs of government officials of the Republic of Indonesia.

Aceh then also continue to 'capitalize' GoI with its richness of natural resources. Since 1974 when the Arun natural gas field was discovered in North Aceh, it has become the country's largest foreign exchange earner. Until then, even now when the natural gas in Aceh is already up and its processing plant PT Arun NGL, Co. has become scrap iron, Aceh never really enjoys the fruits of their own natural resources because everything was taken by the central government.

The next 'small gift' given by the Aceh to Indonesia was the successful of reconciliation process of the conflict that lasted for the last 30 years. The success of conflict reconciliation in Aceh has left a number of theoretical gaps that should be lesson learned on how to manage conflict in multicultural countries such as Indonesia. Valuable lessons of reconciliation may be as of theoretical basis for resolving and preventing conflicts that can potentially arise such as Poso conflict in Maluku and Free Papua Movement (*Operasi Papua Merdeka*, OPM) in Papua. Reconciliation can also be used to handle social conflicts such as agrarian conflict in Mesuji, Lampung Province of Indonesia and some other areas.

Another 'small gift' given by Aceh to Indonesia is in the form of local democratic process. At least, there are two lesson learned related to local democracy which are pretty well implemented in Aceh. The first is the process of local direct elections held in 2006 and soon became a pilot practice applied nationally since 2008 on. The allowing of independent (non-party) candidate(s) in Acehnese local direct elections in 2006 is also soon be momentum to permit independent candidate(s) to contest the elections in throughout Indonesia since 2008 on. The second lesson learned from Acehnese local democracy is valuable political lesson by the presence of local political parties in Aceh since 2006 granted in Law No. 11/2006 on the Government of Aceh. Initially, many people opposed it and were worry about the permissibility of local political parties in Aceh as one of the incentives offered by the SBY-JK in the process of peace talks in Helsinki in 2005. They were worry that local political parties in Aceh will threaten national political parties and could have been led to regional political secession from unitary state of republic of Indonesia. But, the time has proofed them wrong. Although it is yet not allowed in other provinces of Indonesia, the local political parties in Aceh can be the best local political experience and be very valuable to the process of national democratization in Indonesia. Some 'small gifts' from Aceh can at least make Aceh as a Regional Model. Acehnese people can be a role model of loyalty to their country. Aceh could be a model of conflict reconciliation process. Aceh could be a model of the local democratic process. Yet, Aceh could also be a model to govern local wisdom-based local government. Let us learn from some 'small gifts' from Aceh to the Republic of Indonesia.

### 3.3. *Conceptual Anomaly and Re-conceptualization*

Another valuable lesson that can be derived from the phenomena occurred in Aceh is the emergence of anomalous concept that opens the gap between the existing theories toward the implementation (empirical facts). It leaves some theoretical gaps wide open. The existing theories related to phenomena occurred in Aceh have not been fully able to explain why it deviates from the concept. Some of the anomalies that occur in the concept of conflict reconciliation in Aceh and its local government as a re-affirmation that re-conceptualization are needed to bring the local wisdom-based local governments in Indonesia into practice. Some anomalous concepts, namely:

1. Theory of Conflict Reconciliation

The theory of conflict reconciliation proposed by Bar-Simon-Tov (2004), Whittaker (1999), Kim, et al. (2008), Josephs (2004), Braithwaite, et al. (2010), Verdoolaege (2008), Feldman, et al. (2011), Hofmann (2010), Sarkin (2008), Dopplick (2006), Megwalu and Loizides (2010), and Hernawan and Indarti (2009) said that the conflict reconciliation process should be preceded by the establishment of two institutions, namely: Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and Human Rights and Justice Court (HRJC). Conflict handling mechanism in Aceh used the conflict reconciliation mechanism stated by Assefa (1993), as mentioned before, but without preceded by the establishment of both institutions required by many theorists. Although it was later accommodated in Article 259 and Article 260 of Law No. 11/2006 on the Government of Aceh, but both institutions are also never formed.

It is important to remember that, in Aceh, Islamic law is something recognized and acknowledged as well as being valued adhesively by Acehnese. Islamic law has become the 'spirit' of Acehnese local wisdom. Because the conflict reconciliation process undertaken in Aceh was able to identify the importance of that 'spirit', then the process is successfully implemented by accommodating Acehnese local wisdom as the form of bargaining chips and compensation from the have not been formed institutions as required by the concept of conflict reconciliation. In Aceh case, TRC and HRJC need not to be established but conflict reconciliation process can be successfully performed. This anomaly is caused by infusing local wisdom into the process. Thus, the conflict

reconciliation can be successfully executed without being preceded by the establishment of TRC and HRJC required by the theory by accommodating the value of local wisdom that is recognized and acknowledged by society and as of the community glue. This is the re-conceptualization of the conflict reconciliation theory.

## 2. Theory of Exit and Voice

The Hirschman (1970) theory of 'exit' and 'voice' described the shape of response when a decline occurred in the organization including the organization of local government. Gehlbach (2006: 395) explained that both forms of response (exit or voice) of this theory, in principle, can motivate leaders to be more responsive. But what happened in Aceh was when people showed their choice (local exit/local choice) to get separated from the Republic of Indonesia insurgency led by GAM, the reaction of the five presidents of Indonesia during that conflict tended to be repressive militaristic.

The Acehnese local voices shouted loudly before the conflict of GAM-GoI erupted were also never responded. In the early days of Indonesian independence, Aceh voiced to stand as one of the autonomous province of Indonesia but instead then merged into the province of North Sumatra. The Acehnese voice to balance the sharing of natural resource revenue between the central and local governments was also not addressed, at least not until the Law No. 11/2006 on the Government of Aceh was legalized. The Acehnese, as well as West Java and Makassar, wanted to apply Islamic law in local government practice but instead was labeled as one of the rebellious areas which created the conflict of Indonesian Islamic Troops (*Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia*, DI/TII) during 1959-1966. Although later in 1999, Aceh was authorized the rights to implement Islamic law but the voice of the Acehnese were already overdo neglected. So what can be used to explain the irregularity and anomaly to the theory of exit and voice?

From the previous descriptions, it can be assumed that the phenomena occurred in Aceh is pivoted on the recovery of local wisdom into Acehnese livelihood including local government. Therefore - whenever an organization such as the local government experiences the organizational decline - the capacity of management options to handle it, is not just 'local exit' and or 'local voice' as the concept proposed by Hirschman (1970). From the lesson learned of the phenomena in Aceh, we can add another option which is the third option in the respond of organizational decline namely 'local wisdom'. Thus, the Hirschman (1970) theory of 'exit' and 'voice' can be re-conceptualized by adding the option of 'local wisdom'.

## 3. The Concept of the Six Dimensions of Local Government

Various concepts of local government as suggested by some theorists, especially those proposed by Muttalib and Ali Khan (1982), need to be re-conceptualized if local wisdom-based local government practices in Indonesia are to serve as a concept. The concept of six dimensions of local government proposed by Muttalib and Ali Khan (1982) can all be found in local government in Aceh. This theory is true because what is conceived can be seen empirically. But then it turns out there is another dimension that cannot be explained by the six-dimensional concept of the Muttalib and Ali Khan's (1982) local government dimensions that can be found empirically in local government practices in Aceh. This concept does not include an explanation of the dimensions of local values embraced by society that have been adopted and internalized into local government in Aceh. When talking about the local wisdom-based local government, such as in Aceh nowadays, this concept cannot explain the local dimension values. We need an additional dimension of local government to explain this.

Muttalib and Ali Khan (1982: 2-19) said that the concept of local government is built on the basis of six important dimensions, namely: the social, economic, geographic, legal, political and administrative dimensions. Muttalib and Ali Khan (1982: 2-3) said that the characteristics of the social dimension of a society reflects the characteristics of its local government. Socially, an area can be divided based on its character such as rural, semi-urban, urban, metropolitan, industrial, tribal and other so on. All of those six local government dimensions do not explain and acknowledge any existences of values embraced by people who reside a particular area whereabouts a local government is practiced.

The concept of local government practiced in Aceh is not just a concept as an autonomous region that has a local government which is governed by the local authority alone. The concept of local government in Aceh is now a local wisdom-based local government. All six local dimensions mentioned by Muttalib and Ali Khan (1982) can be found in Aceh. But beside those six dimensions, there are some indigenous values which are internalized into the Aceh local government system. Those values are the Acehnese local wisdom which can easily be empirically witnessed by: (1) the practice of Islamic law, (2) re-bureaucratization of local government systems by having traditional government systems (*Mukim* and *Gampong*/Village Governments), (3) the role revitalization of clergy and Islamic scholars in local government, and (4) local political parties that have been internalized into local government systems in Aceh. This four-internalized local wisdom in the Aceh local government systems is not yet accommodated in the six dimensions of the concept of local government proposed by Muttalib and Ali Khan (1982). Indeed, we need a new dimension of local government to complete the concept of local government

dimension of Muttalib and Ali Khan (1992). By having a new local government dimension added, we can explain the phenomenon of local wisdom-based local government. The concept of local government dimension is then can be re-conceptualized by adding the seventh dimension which is here called local wisdom dimension. We are free to name the seventh dimension as we like. We can call it 'local wisdom dimension', 'local value dimension', or 'core value dimension' as long as it can explain the existences of values embraced by local people.

4. The Concept of Separatist Movement Transformation

The next conceptual anomaly is concept of armed separatist movement transformation into a electoral politics movement proposed by Jeong (2005). Jeong (2005: 107) said that an armed separatist movement will not succeed in its transformation process into electoral politics movement. Jeong (2005: 106) even added that the ex-combatants would have difficulty in doing the transformation from the armed separatist movement into a political party in the democratic process because of their power possessed during the war/conflict will not change automatically become a political power.

Is this concept proof to be true in Aceh in the context of GAM transformation into electoral politics movement? The answer is of course not. The success of the transformation process of GAM from armed separatist movement into electoral politics movement was successful. GAM ex-combatants have been successful in the political fight for the last three elections in Aceh, namely: Local Election in 2006, General Election in 2009 and Local Election in 2012. They even now dominate the political scene in Aceh. Recorded in all Regencies/Cities in Aceh, the local party, Aceh Party, as a form of electoral politics transformation of GAM, managed to earn 235 seats with the advantage in 15 Regencies/Cities (Hadiwinata, et al., 2009: 214). The last two period of Aceh Governor after conflict -- first period of 2006-2011 and the second period of 2012-2017 – have been being ruled by the former GAM functionaries. In the first period of 2006-2011, Aceh was led by Governor Irwandi Yusuf, the former GAM Speaker and now for second period of 2012-2017 Aceh is ruled by Zaini Abdullah, the former GAM Prime Minister. Likewise in the province, most of Regencies/Cities in Aceh now are ruled by the former GAM both who serve as Regent/Mayor and local council members.

The key to the success of this GAM transformation lies in the ability to change both their power during the conflict and their military wing into a supportive organization that became a kind of 'political training ground' for ex-GAM. Although some transformation process constraints -- financial constraints and the capacity of individuals -- have also been experienced by GAM like similar movements in other countries, it can be overcome by GAM through the use of a strategy of supportive organizational structure similar to their former military wing structure and organization and political recruitments (Prisma, 2009: 99-114). This supportive organization used as a tool of movement transformation can be called as Buffer Organization which is Aceh Transitional Committee (*Komite Peralihan Aceh*, KPA). By using KPA as a buffer organization, the former combatants reintegrate themselves into an organizational structure that became the forerunner of the movement before being transformed into electoral politics movement through local political party. The Aceh Party (Partai Aceh, PA) as ex-GAM local political party which is a transformational movement from separatist into electoral politics is currently so dominant in the practice of local democracy in Aceh.

Jeong's (2005) theory on the transformation of the separatist movement into electoral politics movement is reinforced by some empirical evidences as the case of the failure of rebel Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the Philippine to gain political power through democratic channels, the failure of the LTTE rebels in Sri Lanka when transformed to political party (Prisma, 2009: 99), or the unsuccessful of rebel Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit (URNG) in Guatemala and the Democratic Unification Party (PUD) in Honduras. Especially for the phenomenon that occurred in Aceh, a key success of the process of transformation that is not found in the theory of Jeong (2005) is the establishment of a buffer organization. The former GAM immersed themselves into a buffer organization, KPA as a forum for their reintegration into the Republic of Indonesia which later became the main advocate for their electoral politics movement through the Aceh Party. In other words, the process of transformation of an armed separatist movement into electoral politics movement will be successful if it is done through a buffer organization.

Some conceptual anomalies and re-conceptualization derived from the phenomenon of conflict and reconciliation in Aceh mentioned above should alarm our curiosity. The theorists are expected to be voluntary pioneers to develop an additional theory that can explain the phenomenon that occurred in Aceh.

### 3.4. *Local Government*

Local wisdom-based local government in Aceh is something unique, special and needs additional theoretical explanations. Empirically with strong ante regulation, it has been going pretty well for seven years. Local knowledge internalization in the local government daily practices make it has a strong aroma of locality.

Empirical evidence of this local wisdom-based local government in Aceh showed a fairly stable condition and dynamic. Do we still need a theoretical explanation on it? Frederickson and Smith (2003: 7) expressly said that theory in public administration is normative – theories of what ought to be. These theories form the bridges between public administration, political science, and philosophy. In other words, we also have to have the proper backrest theory to explain the phenomenon of local wisdom-based local government in Aceh which have left several anomalous concepts wide open.

Proposing or re-conceptualizing a backrest theory on a particular phenomenon is not an easy thing. Some people may argue that Aceh is a region with a historical, geographical, demographic, economic, political, and social culture differs from other regions in Indonesia. But on such diversity basis our founding fathers established and defined the basic concepts of Indonesian national identity. The national unity is also realized from that principle of diversity and difference. Indonesia diversity varies from historical, geographic, demographic, economic, political, and social culture of each region. Therefore, the pure centralized approach is not suitable to be applied in the nation state in the form of a unitary state, such as Indonesia.

Some other people may also argue that what happened in Aceh was possible for its specificity and privileges. But these facts do not necessarily be used as a reason to not looking at the phenomenon occurred in Aceh as a lesson learned and as a new theoretical basis toward the concept of local wisdom-based local government. In one hand, we may need a lot of theoretical references to re-conceptualize the existing theory. But in the other hand, re-conceptualization may also need empirical facts. These empirical facts have been provided much enough by the occurring phenomenon in Aceh while at the same time it also shows some conceptual anomalies. Besides that, the success story of local democracy in Aceh can also be used as a reference for the practice of democracy at the national level in Indonesia. Thus, what have been found as the results of this research, namely: (1) conflict reconciliation process, (2) 'small gifts' from Aceh, (3) conceptual anomaly and re-conceptualization, and (4) local government, can be used as both theoretical and empirical basis to define a concept on local wisdom-based local government.

## 4. Discussion
### 4.1. *Quadrant Strategy Analysis*
Considering the phenomenon that is going on in Aceh, with its dynamic range of conceptual anomalies and the lessons that can be drawn from it, we propose a package of local wisdom-based local government strategy. With the help of local government theory, local wisdom concept, and adaptation to the continuum of identities model of Friedman (1999), a quadrant strategy analysis[3] can be proposed. The quadrant strategy to achieve local wisdom-based local government is as one of contribution of this research as well as conceptual anomalies and re-conceptualization mentioned earlier.

Continuum of identities model held by a society that occupies a particular area proposed by Friedman (1999) is shown in Figure 1. According to Friedman (1999: 401), this continuum was a simplified form of the continuum position in the global system as well as the logical continuum of variation. This model is not a static model or a general typology but it refers to the identification of an organization that can change over time. Globalization of identity which is happening nowadays is a form of pressure on multiculturalism. At one end of the continuum spectrum, for those who claim to be a multicultural nation (cosmopolitan), external influences cannot be avoided due to the high interaction between cultures. Meanwhile at the other end of the spectrum, there is an ambivalent relationship between national elites and local nationalists that is egalitarian in ideology but hierarchical in practice. Friedman (1999: 403) furthermore suggested that the main operator of the continuum is a dynamic class group in the today's world global system. The results of the adaptation from continuum of identities Friedman (1999: 402) into Quadrant Scenario of local wisdom-based local government can be seen in Figure 2. By placing each spectrum on different axis (spectrum of directed system is placed on the Y axis and spectrum of identity on the X axis), then we will have four quadrants with different variations of the crossing axis.

Using the continuum of identities model of Friedman (1999: 402) figure 1, it can be obtained four different combined quadrant scenarios of local wisdom-based local government as shown in figure 2. Each quadrant scenario can be explained as follows:

[1]. **Quadrant Scenario I**, is the quadrant where local sovereignty levels is gradually reduced and only be found in particular cases only. The highly society openness and the lack of filters to various external influences can create the possibility of a very high and dynamic identity acculturation. The nature of permissive society toward the non-local value(s) causes influx of outside influences intensely in this quadrant. The highly society openness can also open access to external knowledge systems, ideology and non-local value(s) to get blended into the local knowledge system, ideology, and local value(s) that will affect on identity assimilation between external and local identity. To a certain extent, local identity is still

very strong in playing societal role but in the contrary, to some extent, acculturated identity influenced by external identity also have access to play many societal roles previously played by the local identity. Notable example of this Quadrant Scenario is the local wisdom-based local government in Aceh. The traditional governmental structure such as *Mukim* and *Gampong* Government is re-introduced in Aceh local government system. The value of local wisdom such as Islamic law and the role of Islamic scholars also re-empowered into local government practice. However, the local government itself cannot be separated from external influences (national wisdom). For the impact is that the hierarchical structure of local government in Aceh is the 'marriage' between the traditional and national governmental structures. The cross-pollination of community identity can be seen from the value orientation of society that is also beginning to shift due to the practice of local political parties in local democratic system. The evident is the emergence of non-local wisdom values, e.g. *pajak nanggroe* (illegal fee) and procurement of goods and services;

[2]. **Quadrant Scenario II**, is the quadrant in which the local government is still strongly relying on the traditional institutional structures where local rules and norms are still in their autonomous nature. Every external influence cannot penetrate the insulation of quadrant II so that the structure of local government authority seems to be as local sovereignty as it is. Wisdom values and strong local knowledge without any external influences make its local government system as a very distinctive government. Quadrant II scenario can usually be found in the social system of the indigenous peoples who still strongly held values and traditions of the original system. The existences of those who occupy the remote and rural areas make them still 'isolated' from the outside world. Various external penetrations such as globalization and advanced information and communications technology are not even strong enough to penetrate the shield of local identity. In quadrant II scenario we still can find the real local sovereignty. Local government in the context of autonomous provinces and regencies/cities are still too broad to be applied in this quadrant. Examples of Scenario of quadrant II are *Suku Anak Dalam* Community in Jambi, *Baduy* Community in Banten, *Subak* irrigation system in Bali. But, for how much longer will this identity of local sovereignty be able to survive from external penetration which is getting stronger and stronger every single day?

[3]. **Quadrant Scenario III**, is the quadrant where the institutional structure of local government formed by Central Government have been able to change the landscape of the institutional structure of indigenous local government in the region. But even then, in Quadrant III Scenario, the region still has the authority and ability to retain its local identity. According to the scenario in this quadrant, the system of local government has been using the system introduced by the Central Government, but the local identity still have a chance to defend its traditional governmental system. This is possible because the dependency degree of Local Government on Central Government is still very high, especially in financial affairs. The pattern of administrative decentralization, functional decentralization, and legal decentralization puts autonomous province as a representative of the Central Government so that the influence of Central Government in the region is still high. Example of Scenario Quadrant III is the currently applied system of local government in Indonesia. The Central Government set the local government system in general but still recognized the traditional governmental system in the area. The emphasis of political decentralization (devolution) situated in the autonomous regions make local government system is still able to maintain its local identity. For example, each region is free to use indigenous nomenclature for the sub-government system (District in Papua, to replace the nomenclature of *Kecamatan*);

[4]. **Quadrant Scenario IV**, is the quadrant where the modernization of local government system happen due to the inability to retain its local identity and local characteristics toward the external influences. Modernization of the local government system has been able to change the order of local institutions in governing. Native authority is no longer capable and powerful as paralyzed by external influences which totally replaced by a non-local government system. The cosmopolitan nature of the society also accelerates the process of colonization of local identity. It is the result of an ongoing process which can occur naturally or forcibly. Example of scenario Quadrant IV is the implementation of local government system in the New Order in which all local government identity colonized by Village administration system imposed by the Central Government. So the traditional local government system such as *Mukim* and *Gampong* in Aceh, *Nagari* in West Sumatra, *Huta* in North Sumatra, *Kampung* in Papua and so are not able to maintain its local identity.

By using quadrant strategy scenario in Figure 2, it can be predicted the direction of the development of local government policy in Indonesia. There are 4 (four) possible scenarios for organizing the local government out of the quadrant. Other variations of scenario still may be derived from each of those four quadrants depending on your degree of view point from both axes, government (self-directed/other-directed) and identity (communitarian/cosmopolitan). However, of the four possible scenarios, the local wisdom-based local

government leads to the Quadrant Scenario I. In this scenario, the sovereignty of local governments continues to acknowledge local identity by not denying the possibility of cross-pollination identity of its people for their nature of openness. Scenario in Quadrant I is the most likely scenario to be used to bring local wisdom-based local government into practice throughout Indonesia. The question that arises then is whether Indonesia is ready or not to run scenarios Quadrant I in order to realize local wisdom-based local government? Are all regions in Indonesia, with their different degree of diversity and local identity, ready enough headed to the scenario Quadrant I? If not, how do we prepare the not-ready area(s) to be able to run scenarios Quadrant I? The answer to those questions requires a further study on the possibility of the different type combination of local identity with the degree of directed government.

### 4.2. *Recommended Framework*
Quadrant strategy analysis provides several strategic options of regional local government. A number of findings (empirical facts), data, conceptual anomalies and re-conceptualization of theory also provide inputs on how local wisdom-based local government should be performed. All of these are the influencing factors of local wisdom-based local government practice that will be recommended as a practical framework in this section. Figure 3 illustrates the framework on local wisdom-based local government. This recommended framework is the combination between the theoretical frameworks and empirical facts from the practice of local wisdom-based local government in Aceh. The recommended framework retains the existing local government theory along with proposed theoretical re-conceptualization and then combines it with some empirical facts that fit the analysis of research.

The implication of the recommended framework which was recorded on the successful of the local government phenomenon in Aceh is a substantial implication. Nevertheless, it is expected that this recommended framework will be the recommendations for the Central Government to formulate a concept of substantive regional autonomy implementation that are tailored to regional local values. The substantive autonomy implementation in Aceh acknowledges the Acehnese local wisdom along with national local government regulation with at least two regulatory laws. Law No. 32/2004 on Local Government granted the regional autonomy at the Regency/City level while Law No. 11/2006 on Government of Aceh granted the special autonomy at the provincial level. Local wisdom-based local government can be brought into practice for the existence of these two regulatory laws. It is crucial that a local wisdom-based local government practice be granted by the regulation at the level of law. Central Government is expected to formulate a new law on local government as the revision of Law 32/2004 which will suit the national implementation by having acknowledged local wisdom values without putting aside the generally accepted national wisdom on local government. So, local wisdom-based local government can be implemented nationally without the need to enforce additional law for each region as the case in Aceh.

To do so, it is recommended that the Central Government follows the recommended framework, as shown in Figure 3, in order to bring local wisdom-based local government into practices. The explanation of Figure 3 can be drawn as follows:

1. As the existing concept, devolution will lead to the formation of autonomous region accompanied by division of power and governmental affairs from Central to Local Government. This will create a local self-government (Smith, 1985; Hoessein, 2009; Muluk, 2009).

2. In addition to the dimensions of local government (Muttalib and Ali Khan, 1982), the characteristics of local self-government can be seen from its local democracy and people's participation in 'day-to-day' local government practice (Smith, 1985; Muluk, 2007). To that end, it is recommended to strengthen the nature of local self-government since the early stage of governing began by acknowledging and utilizing local wisdom values along with the existing national wisdom accounts;

3. If, in turn, occurs governmental disharmony or conflict in any form, the conflict handling mechanism should be performed accordingly (Assefa, 1993), whether in the form of negotiation, mediation, reconciliation, etc. It is recommended to utilize local wisdom values in the conflict handling process in emerging areas in order to realize local wisdom-based local government;

4. Learning from the phenomenon in Aceh, the use of local wisdom value in the process of conflict reconciliation can be done directly through a process of internalization in the local government practice and or through recognizing the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats toward local wisdom; and

5. It is recommended that local wisdom-based local government be implemented by the analysis of quadrant strategy that combines the spectrum of governing method (self-directed/decentralized government or other-directed/centralized government) and the spectrum of regional identity (communitarian or cosmopolitan).

Thus, from the results and discussion above and quadrant strategy analysis which has been drawn in the recommended framework, it can be said that the practice of local wisdom-based local government should always

pay attention to the local wisdom values from the early stage of governing without denying any national wisdom. Local wisdom-based local government framework shown in Figure 3 is expected to be the practical basis of thinking for local government practices in the rest regional areas of Indonesia.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

How can a local wisdom-based local government be formed? The question is exactly behind why this research was done. At the time when many developed and developing countries including third world countries copy Western-style models of public administration, is it then appropriate that local government discourse discussed on the basis of its local wisdom? Seeing Indonesia as a unitary state formed by wide range of diversity which varies from one region to another, it is then less suitable if the model of Western-style administration is fully implemented without any adjustment to the multicultural condition in Indonesia.

Essentially, a theory or concept can be formulated with the help of one or a combination of two things: (1) theories or concepts that are already exist, and (2) empirical data or facts of a phenomenon or event. If the theories or concepts that are already exist can explain the occurring phenomenon then the phenomenon becomes the justification towards the existing theories or concepts. If the phenomenon cannot successfully be explained by the existing theory, then the empirical facts of the phenomenon can be used as a basis to re-conceptualize the existing theory or even to formulate a new theory. In the case of Aceh Local Government, the existing theories were only able to explain the researched phenomenon partly. Thus, it is necessary to re-conceptualize the existing theories and concepts. The phenomenon of local wisdom-based local government in Aceh has provided a number of empirical facts. These empirical facts, with the help of existing theories and concepts, can be used as a new theoretical backrest to define a new format of local government model in other regions of Indonesia or even in other multicultural countries eventually.

Using the empirical facts of phenomena that occurred in Aceh, a local wisdom-based local government strategy can be made. By combining the spectrum of governing method (self-directed/decentralized government or other-directed/centralized government) and the spectrum of regional identity (communitarian or cosmopolitan), four different quadrant strategies of local government can be derived. Of the characteristics of each strategy, the local wisdom-based local government is most likely realized by using a strategy of Quadrant I wherein the decentralized government is organized by the inter-local community in the cosmopolitan area. In the communitarian areas with strong local identity as in Quadrant II, it would be difficult to run such local wisdom-based local government because as the case in Indonesia national wisdoms are also densely implemented. It is because of regional areas in Indonesia are still heavily supported by central government, e.g. financial dependence. Those communitarian areas will be hard to adjust themselves to the national wisdoms. Some variety of strategies still may be derived from the four quadrant strategy as shown in Figure 2.

From the explanation of the quadrant strategy analysis on local wisdom-based local government, it can be simplified as follows: Regional administration can use one of the strategies that combine the governing method with the identity of local government arrangements. The local wisdom-based local government can most likely be realized by combining method of decentralized government arrangements with cosmopolitan and open to change regional identity. Having learned from the phenomenon in Aceh, in order to bring local wisdom-based local government into practice, it should always be preceded by the legality of the law where the values of local wisdom being internalized must be the local values that are recognized and acknowledged along with integrating the system of decentralized local government and cosmopolitan and open to change regional identity.

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**Note**

The idea of quadrant analysis was brainstormed after doing some literature research and reading on: Dharmawan, Arya Hadi. (2007). "Otoritas Lokal dalam Pengelolaan Sumberdaya Alam: Menatap Otonomi Desa dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Pembangunan dan Ekologi Politik". Presented at 'Seminar dan Lokakarya Menuju Desa 2030' held by: PKSPL, PSP3IPB and P4W LPPM IPB at Business Management of IPB, Gunung Gede on Mei 9-10th 2007.
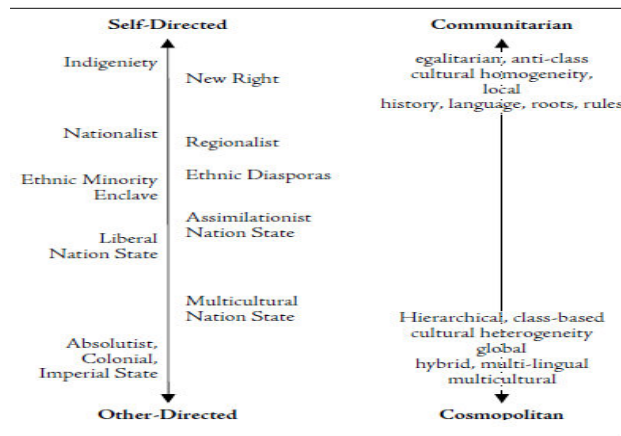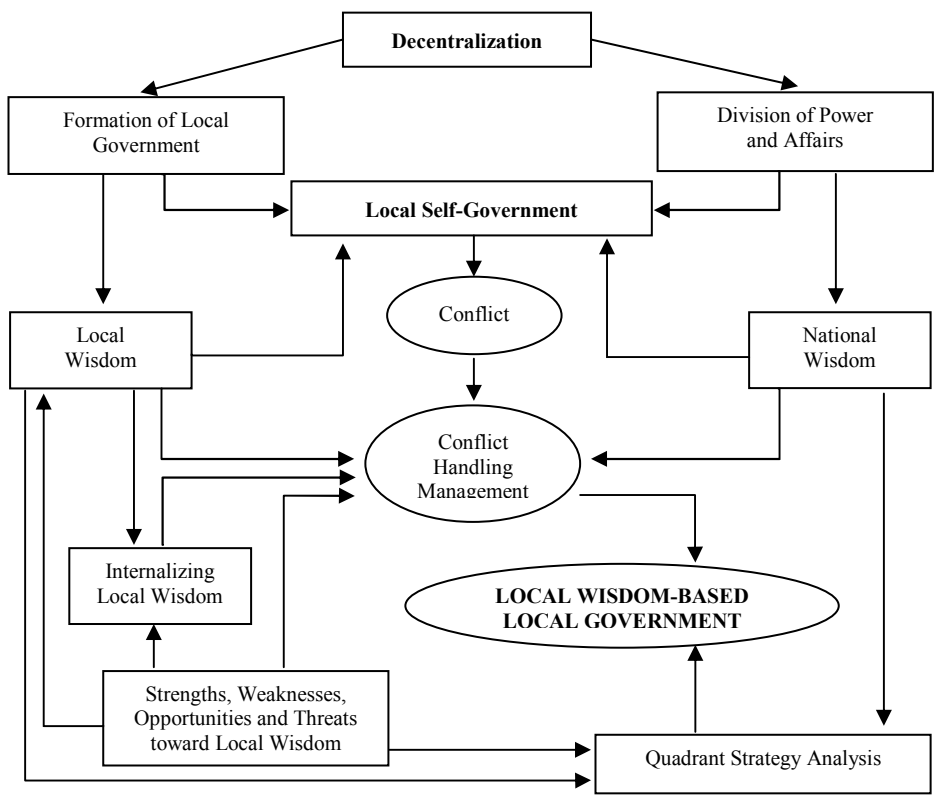
*Figure 1. Continuum of Identities (Friedman, 1999: 402)*
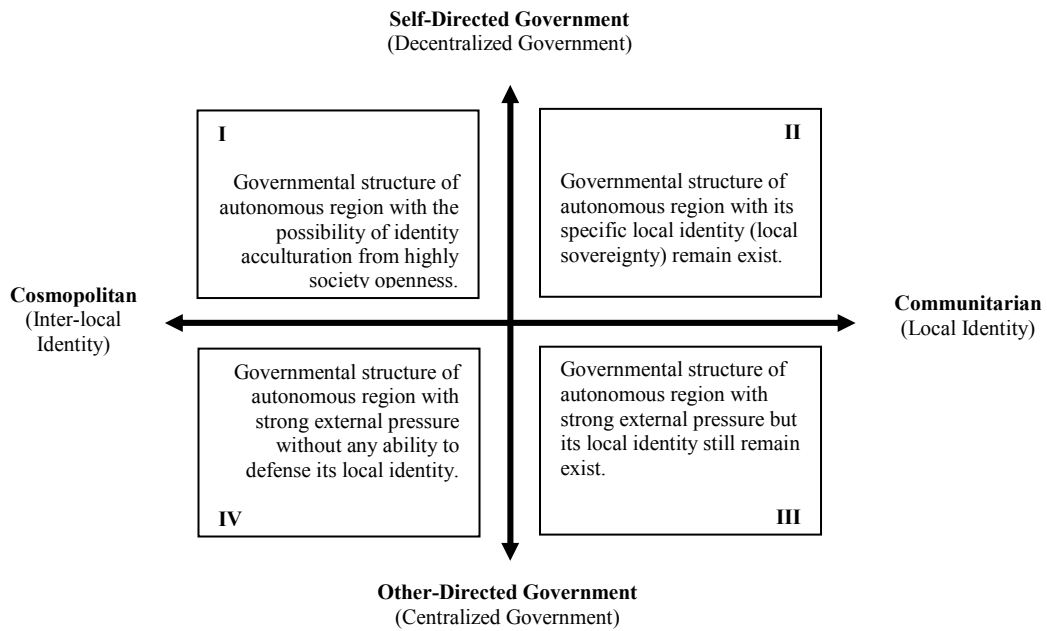


*Figure 2. Quadrant Scenario of Local Wisdom-Based Local Government*

*Figure 3. Recommended Framework for Local Wisdom-Based Local Government*

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