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Distributive Justice in Post-GAM (A Critical Review for Aceh's Development)

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Abstract: Aceh's development after the 2005 Helsinki Peace Agreement presented major challenges in terms of equal distribution of resources and development benefits. This article aims to identify problems of injustice that are still ongoing in the development context of Aceh, which was previously hit by a prolonged conflict between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian government. Using a qualitative approach, this research analyzes the main aspects of distributive justice, including resource allocation, access to education and health, community participation, and natural resource management. The findings show that despite efforts to advance development, inequality in distribution and access still occurs, especially in remote areas. Therefore, this article emphasizes the need for an inclusive and transparent approach to the development process to ensure that all levels of society in Aceh can benefit fairly and equally. Thus, distributive justice is the goal and prerequisite for achieving social stability and sustainable peace in Aceh.

Keywords: Distribution, Justice, Post-GAM, Development

Abstrak: Pembangunan Aceh setelah Perjanjian Damai Helsinki tahun 2005 menghadirkan tantangan besar dalam hal pemerataan sumber daya dan manfaat pembangunan. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi permasalahan ketidakadilan yang masih berlangsung dalam konteks pembangunan Aceh, yang sebelumnya dilanda konflik berkepanjangan antara Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) dan pemerintah Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, penelitian ini menganalisis aspek-aspek utama keadilan distributif, termasuk alokasi sumber daya, akses terhadap pendidikan dan kesehatan, partisipasi masyarakat, dan pengelolaan sumber daya alam. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa meskipun ada upaya untuk memajukan pembangunan, ketimpangan distribusi dan akses masih terjadi, terutama di daerah terpencil. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini menekankan perlunya pendekatan yang inklusif dan transparan dalam proses pembangunan untuk memastikan bahwa seluruh lapisan masyarakat di Aceh dapat memperoleh manfaat secara adil dan setara. Dengan demikian, keadilan distributif merupakan tujuan dan prasyarat untuk mencapai stabilitas sosial dan perdamaian berkelanjutan di Aceh.

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Kata Kunci: Distribusi, Keadilan, Pasca GAM, Pembangunan

Introduction

Distributive justice is a fundamental concept in justice theory that emphasizes the need for fair allocation of resources and benefits among individuals and groups in society. (Ross, 2005); (Selamat, 2022); (Reid, 2006). The importance of distributive justice is increasingly urgent in the current global context, where economic, social, and political inequalities are increasingly striking. Climate change, global health crises, and large-scale conflict often exacerbate inequities, making research on distributive justice increasingly relevant and urgent. (Ahmad, 2006).

In many societies, inequities in the distribution of resources can contribute to social tensions and conflict (Perdana & Ibrahim, 2017); (Rasyid, 2013). When certain groups feel marginalized or do not have fair access to resources, opportunities, and development benefits, the potential for conflict increases. This is particularly relevant in post-conflict countries, such as Aceh, where a long history of tension requires a sensitive and inclusive approach to rebuilding public trust. Apart from that, distributive justice is also closely related to sustainable development. According to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, one of the main goals is to reduce inequality within and between countries (Larasati & Dahwal, 2021). Therefore, research on distributive justice is important to understand how development policies and programs can be designed and implemented to ensure that the benefits of development are felt by all levels of society, especially those who are most vulnerable (Hamid, 2008); (Fadri, 2021b); (Yusuf & Wibisono, 2017).

This research is also relevant in the context of public policy, where decisions regarding budgeting, resource allocation, and social programs must consider the principles of distributive justice. (Rawls, 2006). By analyzing and understanding the dynamics of distributive justice, researchers can provide evidence-based recommendations to policymakers to create more equitable and responsive systems to society's needs. (Kingsbury, 2006); (Ibrahimy, 2001); (Kurniawan & Putra, 2014). Research on the importance of distributive justice provides theoretical insights to achieve a more just and sustainable society. It offers practical implications for creating social, economic, and political justice in various contexts. Thus, the importance of this research cannot be underestimated, as the results can contribute to creating a more inclusive and prosperous future for all of society. (McGibbon, 2004); (Miller, 2009); (Sari, 2022); (Zainuddin, 2016).

Aceh, a province located at the western tip of Indonesia, has a long history covered by ongoing conflict between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian government. The conflict, which has lasted for more than three decades, has had significant social, economic, and political impacts, damaged the structure of society, and hampered regional development. (Zainuddin, 2016); (Djalal, 2009); (Aspinall, 2009); (Drexler, 2008). The peace agreement signed in 2005 in Helsinki was a turning point for Aceh, paving the way for a post-conflict reconstruction and

development process. However, the challenge of rebuilding Aceh just and sustainably still looms large over this development process (Fatahillah, Arnita, & Nurarafah, 2024).

In this context, distributional justice is a central issue that needs attention. Distributive justice refers to the principle that resources, benefits, and results of development should be distributed fairly among all groups in society, regardless of social, economic, or ethnic background. In Aceh, injustice in the distribution of resources can exacerbate existing social tensions and hinder reconciliation efforts. Aceh's diverse society, with various interests and hopes, requires special attention to ensure that development benefits not only a few parties but also reaches all levels of society.

Post-GAM, several development initiatives have been launched by the government, non-governmental organizations, and international institutions (Kahin, 1990); (Fadri, 2021b). However, the reality on the ground often shows inequality in access to resources, public services, and economic opportunities. Remote areas still lag in infrastructure, education, and health, creating significant gaps between urban centers and rural areas. Apart from that, the management of natural resources, which is often not transparent and favors certain groups, further exacerbates the problem of injustice (Rawls, 2006).

Through a critical review of distributive justice in Aceh's post-GAM development, this article aims to identify the challenges faced and offer relevant recommendations for achieving just and inclusive development. (Schiff, 2013). By understanding the dynamics of distributive justice in the context of Aceh, it is hoped that solutions can be found supporting social development. Research on distributive justice in the development of post-GAM Aceh is urgent and has a significant amount of urgency, both from an academic and practical perspective. (Aini, Mashdurohatun, & Al-Amruzi, 2019).

Aceh has gone through a prolonged period of conflict, and a peace agreement in 2005 opened the opportunity for reconciliation. (Schulze, 2007); (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015). However, injustice in the distribution of resources and development benefits can hinder the reconciliation process. This research is important for identifying existing problems of injustice and providing solutions that can accelerate the process of social healing. Aceh has diverse ethnic groups and communities with different needs and expectations. Distributive justice in development aims to ensure that all levels of society, especially the most vulnerable, have equal access to resources, education, and health services. This research will help understand the challenges faced in achieving equitable prosperity in Aceh.

In the context of sustainable development, distributive justice is the key to creating an inclusive and just society. This research will provide insight into how development policies and programs can be designed to meet the principles of social justice, supporting sustainable development goals in Aceh. (Fadri, 2021a). This research also highlights the need for community participation in decision-making processes. (Rawls, 2006). Understanding how communities can be involved in

planning and implementing development programs will provide direction for developing more responsive and inclusive policies.

The findings from this research can provide evidence-based recommendations to policymakers so they can develop more equitable and effective programs. This is crucial in budget allocation, natural resource management, and public service provision in Aceh (Reid, 2006); (Rasyid, 2013). By identifying and addressing issues of inequality in distribution, this research contributes to the prevention of social tensions and conflict in the future. Communities that feel cared for and have fair access to resources are more likely to support peace and stability (Aini et al., 2019); (Schulze, 2007).

Considering the points above, research on distributive justice in developing post-GAM Aceh is relevant and crucial for creating a just, prosperous, and harmonious society. This research will significantly contribute to the understanding and practice of sustainable development in Aceh and ensure that the entire community can feel the results of development equally.

Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method to analyze how distributional justice was implemented in the development of Aceh post-conflict with the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). This method was chosen to capture in-depth and holistically the social, economic, and political realities that influenced the distribution of development benefits in Aceh after the 2005 Helsinki peace agreement. (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015). This research uses a qualitative approach because distributive justice is complex and requires a deep understanding of the experiences and perceptions of the actors involved, both from local communities and policymakers. This approach allows researchers to explore social aspects that cannot be measured quantitatively, such as injustice, perceptions, and political dynamics.

The case study method was chosen to focus on development in Aceh as a unique case, namely a post-conflict area facing resource distribution problems and development results. This research highlights how resource distribution occurs in the Aceh region and its impact on local communities, especially regarding access to public services, infrastructure, education, health, and natural resources. (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015). This research uses primary and secondary data collected through several techniques: In-depth interviews were conducted with various key informants involved in Aceh's development. Moleong (Moleong, 2006) Researchers also collected secondary data from various sources, and participatory observations were carried out to directly observe the social, economic, and infrastructure conditions in several areas of Aceh, especially remote areas, which are vulnerable to inequality in the distribution of development.

This research explores the challenges and opportunities for achieving distributive justice in Aceh and the implications for social stability and sustainable development. This analysis process involves several steps. Data from interviews, documentation, and observations were broken down into codes or categories based on key themes, such as

resource allocation, access to public services, and community participation. After coding, researchers identified recurring themes, such as inequity of access, resource allocation bias, and unequal distribution's social and economic impact (Moleong, 2006). These themes are then analyzed in the context of distributive justice theory by connecting them to socio-political dynamics in Aceh. Researchers evaluate how the distribution of resources and services impacts local communities and how they perceive this fairness.

Results and Discussion

Concentration of Development in Urban Areas

Aceh, known by another name, Veranda of Mecca, is an ethnically plural area. The area of Aceh is around 55,390 km2. The majority of the population is approximately 98.80 percent Muslim, Protestant Christian 0.84 percent, Catholic 0.16 percent, Buddhist 0.18 percent, and Hindu about 0.02 percent. From its social and cultural structure, Aceh is not a homogeneous region but heterogeneous. Ethnic differences in Aceh can be seen in origin, language, and culture.

One of Aceh's identities is the strong relationship between the king, vogue, and ulama and a structured division of power between the three. Anthony Reid distinguishes the Aceh people from those of Java, Minangkabau, and Batak through their special cultural characteristics. According to him, Javanese society was composed of a particular set of kinship obligations, while Batak and Minangkabau society was composed of a particular set of kinship obligations, while Acehnese society was formed jointly by the state (held together by a state) (Reid, 2006);(Andika, Fadri, & Maulana, 2022). This can be seen from the expression, "custom is in the hands of the Sultan, the law is in the hands of the clergy, and law and custom are like substances with properties," which means that substances and properties cannot be separated.

Aceh's history also had a strong spirit of resistance, especially against those who wanted to 'colonize' Aceh. Kahin's notes on the social revolution in Aceh illustrate that since long ago, the social revolution in Aceh has always been integrated with Islamic views, especially regarding the Sabil War as an obligation for every Acehnese man to join the war to expel the colonialists (Schulze, 2007); (Bertrand, 2004). Kahin expressed the role of the Aceh sultanate, Uleebalang, and the clergy in the social revolution in Aceh against the Dutch colonialists. The Dutch killed the position of the Aceh sultanate and the clergy. Still, it played a significant role in the Uleebalangs, strengthening the Uleebalang rulers by providing tenure guarantees and restoring the economic conditions of the Uleebalangs. This period caused the Uleebalang to become the ruler of Aceh and transfer various land ownership and the economy in Aceh (Kahin, 1990).

From the description of customs and the distribution of the structure of Acehnese society above, what can be learned as a lesson is that the orientation of the Acehnese people is very sensitive towards outsiders who wish to dominate Aceh. If this orientation appears, resistance will occur. (Nurhasim, 2009). This Acehnese orientation is related to Acehnese identity, a strong commitment to Islam, language, and customs, and Acehnese self-esteem, which are the elements

underlying Acehnese identity. (Reid, 2006). Not surprisingly, Anthony Reid made a special note by emphasizing that the current Aceh conflict is not a-historical. Because of that, the previous history of Aceh had an orientation with previous groups either directly or indirectly.

Acehnese identity for the people of Aceh in general and especially in the context of the birth of the Free Aceh Movement has two visions. First, as a vision of the past, during the kingdom era (sultanate), and second as an instrument to mobilize the Acehnese identity movement vis-a-vis Indonesia. The basis is historical conflict, customs, language, and territorial issues because Indonesia is experiencing an identity crisis. For Hasan Tiro, Acehnese identity refers to primordialism, instincts, survival, and the nation and state of Aceh (Aspinall, 2003), illustrating that Acehnese identity is still upheld and is a source of enthusiasm for its people.

The Free Aceh Movement was proclaimed on December 4, 1976, at a second camp on Cokan Hill in the interior of the Tiro sub-district, Pidie. Nazaruddin said that on that date, an underground movement emerged which proclaimed Free Aceh and several Acehnese intellectuals were members of the Free Aceh Movement. The establishment of this state was the second experience in Aceh; after September 21, 1953, the Acehnese cleric Daud Beureu-eh merged Aceh into the Darul Islam Movement. (Ibrahimy, 2001).

GAM often thinks that Aceh is not the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Historically, several GAM members, such as Tgk. Abdullah Syafe'i, the commander of GAM, saw that the relationship between the Acehnese and the Javanese Indonesians did not exist. Historically, Aceh is a nation that has its structure. Even if Aceh is now under Indonesian leadership, it is because of the Dutch's fault because, since 1873, the British gave the Acehnese independence. GAM understood that Aceh was a territory separated from Indonesia and had its own identity and government.

GAM's ideas intensified after the New Order government explored natural gas and oil found in North Aceh in the early 1970s. At that time, Aceh recorded a new history in the region's development when a natural gas source classified as the largest in the world was discovered. This discovery coincided with the energy crisis that hit the world so the exploration effort was accelerated with billions of rupiah poured into this project. Within 4 years, the largest oil liquefaction factory in the world was established in Balang Lancang, and then this industrial area expanded to the Lhokseumawe area. (Patji, 1998).

Oil in Aceh has been explored for a long time, especially in the Kuala Simpang and Lhokseumawe areas. However, the problem is that oil has been relatively privatized (dissatisfaction) by the people of Aceh. This problem was also a problem initially until the advent of GAM. One of the issues developed by Hasan Tiro, in particular, is the idea of injustice in addition to the colonization of the Javanese people over Aceh's wealth, one of which stems from dissatisfaction with the exploration of oil resources in North Aceh, which sacrificed the common people and benefited Indonesia more than Aceh. (Zainuddin, 2016). At that time, politics at the national level were controlled by the Javanese, and workers from Java and Gayo who were used as militia by the military also contributed to the mention of Java as a colonialist by Hasan Tiro. (Zainuddin, 2016).

This, for example, can be seen from the strategy used by Hasan Tiro in educating his military, such as the Acehnese army being superior to the Javanese army.

From the description above, the growth of the separatist group (GAM) in Aceh was not born in an empty arena but related to Aceh's political, economic, social, and development dynamics, which became the background. Apart from that, the growth of GAM in Aceh was also not spared from the many interests of other actors behind the conflict that occurred if traced from the origins of its development.

Regarding the division of this period of GAM development, Isa Sulaiman divided it into three periods, namely (1) the first generation of GAM (1976-1982), which was a period of birth and consolidation of power marked by forms of propaganda, (2) the second generation of GAM (1982-1989)) was a period of reconsolidation of power marked by acts of violence and chaos (the targets were the police and ABRI), and (3) the third period (1989-2003), namely the period of developing military wings, armed conflicts, and foreign diplomatic struggles especially in 2003 (Miller, 2009).

The emergence of the first generation of GAM is often understood as the result of political disappointment. Many factors led to the emergence of GAM, including first, due to the incomplete resolution of the Darul Islam problem; secondly, disappointment with the unitary political system and the dominance of Javanese politics; third, political disappointment over the marginalization of the Acehnese people in the development process in the oil and gas industrial areas where they are not included or marginalized. Alternatively, related to economic sentiment because some workers are people from outside Aceh.

Meanwhile, the birth of GAM in the second stage (1982-1989) was still related to the development of industrialization growth around ZILS. During this period, disturbances arose that targeted companies and members of ABRI through attacks and seizures of weapons. Throughout 1989-1991 (until the implementation of the Red Nets Operation), several events prompted the central government's policy to impose a state of emergency in Aceh. However, there was something odd because most of the perpetrators were driven by ABRI. If we trace the documents of the emergence of this second period of GAM, it has personal motives and interests. The interests are quite clear, namely economic benefits.

The 1998-2003 Aceh conflict was marked by strengthening of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) as the main actor. The GAM of this period was a continuation of the first and second generations of GAM but had a main structure. In addition, it appears that support for GAM has become so widespread. There was an impression of neglect in the early 1998s after the DOM was revoked, so GAM's growth expanded and took root. From this point of view, it can be seen that the development of separatism in Aceh in the 1998-2003 period was a military modernization process. Several factors cause this. First, the GAM structure is no longer in a situation of reconsolidation as it was in 1982-1989, but its strength is enormous. Second, there is support in the political and social context, where most Acehnese people are disappointed that DOM has 'supported' this movement, although to varying degrees and degrees.

One of the reasons for the increase in GAM's strength was how it was handled during the 1976 period, which was never completed. This mishandling during the DOM era has created a grudge that is difficult to measure and has no end. The failure of DOM, especially Operation Red Net, as a solution to problems in Aceh, has caused deep wounds to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in general, especially to the TNI. In 1998, the TNI was referred to by the Acehnese as hoops (invaders).

The growth of GAM in the third period in Aceh is closely related to the escalation of the conflict that has occurred since 1998. Three things influenced this increase in escalation in Aceh (Aspinall, 2009). First, the downfall of Suharto, which led to the transition to democracy; second, the political and economic crises that resulted in weak state control; and third, reducing the capacity of the state and central citizenship to anticipate domestic conflicts (Kingsbury, 2006). These three factors contributed to the escalation of the conflict in Aceh during the democratic transition. One of the impacts of this escalation is the growth of GAM in terms of organization and movement.

Limitations of Community Participation in Development

After the Helsinki Peace Agreement in 2005, which ended the conflict between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian government, Aceh entered a phase of reconstruction and development. However, even though many development programs have been launched, limited community participation is a central issue that hinders more inclusive and sustainable development efforts. (Bertrand, 2004). In this discussion, we will analyze why limited community participation occurs, its impact on development success, and efforts that can be made to increase community involvement in post-GAM Aceh.

One of the main aspects of limited community participation is their minimal involvement in the development planning process. Many development programs in post-GAM Aceh were designed by the central government or international donor agencies, with limited involvement of local communities. Although there are various efforts to involve the community in planning forums such as *Musrenbang* (Development Planning Conference), in practice, community participation is often symbolic or insubstantial.

Many communities in rural and remote areas do not have adequate access to information related to development programs or opportunities to participate in decision-making processes. Low literacy levels and limited access to information technology exacerbate this situation, making it difficult for rural communities to keep up with development dynamics. The lack of public understanding of their rights in development and public governance is also a major obstacle. Many communities do not realize they have the right to be involved in development planning, so they tend to be passive or uninvolved in decision-making. In some cases, the development planning process in post-GAM Aceh is dominated by local elites or political leaders who have great influence. This often limits the wider community's participation scope because this elite group often makes key decisions without consulting the wider community. (Drexler, 2008).

Limited community participation in the development of post-GAM Aceh has significantly impacted the results and sustainability of the programs launched. Incompatibility of Programs with Local Needs: Because local communities are not fully involved in the planning process, many development programs do not match the needs or priorities of local communities. For example, the community did not optimally utilize several infrastructure projects built after the conflict because they felt the projects were irrelevant to their needs. This creates a gap between the planned program and the reality on the ground. Lack of Community Ownership: When communities are not involved in the planning process, they tend to feel that development programs do not belong to them. This impacts the low level of sustainability of development projects because the community does not have a sense of responsibility to maintain or manage development results. Some infrastructure built post-GAM is damaged or poorly maintained due to a lack of community participation in planning.

Distrust of the Government and Development Institutions: Community non-involvement in decision-making also has the potential to deepen distrust of the government and development institutions. People who feel ignored or not listened to will tend to be skeptical of development programs and see them as a form of domination by outsiders. This can worsen relations between the government and local communities, hindering post-conflict reconciliation efforts. (Sari, 2022); (Zainal, 2022). Limited community participation in the development of post-GAM Aceh has hampered efforts to achieve inclusive and sustainable development. The main causes of these limitations include lack of access to information, domination of local elites, and limited local government capacity. The impact is felt in the form of a mismatch between development programs and the needs of local communities, a low sense of ownership of development results, and increased distrust of the government (Kingsbury, 2006). Therefore, efforts to increase community participation must focus on empowering community capacity, increasing access to information, decentralization, and strengthening participatory mechanisms that are more inclusive and transparent.

Unequal Management of Natural Resources

One of the main impacts of the Helsinki peace agreement was granting special autonomy to Aceh, which includes managing natural resources. Aceh gained greater authority in managing its resources, including oil and gas, forests, and mines. After prolonged conflict, the Aceh regional government faces challenges regarding managerial and technical capacity to manage natural resources effectively. Many local officials do not have experience handling policies and regulations related to natural resource management, so policies are not always effective in their implementation. (Miller, 2009).

Even though Aceh has autonomous authority in managing natural resources, there are often overlapping regulations between the central and regional governments. Some national forest, mining, or environmental management regulations still influence local policies, sometimes leading to confusion and conflicts of interest. The distribution of economic benefits from natural resources

is often uneven. Regions rich in natural resources, such as East Aceh and North Aceh, gain the most benefits, while regions less rich in natural resources lag in development.

The oil and gas sector in Aceh, especially from the North Aceh and Lhokseumawe regions, has become this province's main source of income. However, this reliance on non-renewable resources poses long-term risks, especially if investments in economic diversification do not balance exploration and production. Dependence on oil and gas can also make Aceh's economy vulnerable to fluctuations in global commodity prices. In some areas, the mining sector is an important source of income. However, mining activities often cause significant environmental degradation, including deforestation, water pollution, and loss of agricultural land. In addition, the economic benefits of mining are not always enjoyed by local communities. Many mining companies in Aceh do not employ significant local workers, so mining revenues flow outside the region.

Aceh has extensive forest areas and is rich in biodiversity. However, post-GAM forest exploitation, both for oil palm plantations and illegal logging, poses a serious challenge to environmental sustainability. Aceh's forests also have an important role in maintaining the ecosystem and reducing the risk of natural disasters, such as floods and landslides. If forest management is not carried out sustainably, the long-term potential to use forests as an economic and ecological resource could be threatened (Reid, 2006).

Environmental impact is one of the most crucial issues in managing Aceh's natural resources post-GAM. Excessive exploitation of natural resources, especially in the mining and forestry sectors, seriously threatens environmental sustainability. (1) Deforestation and Land Degradation, Illegal logging, and forest conversion for oil palm plantations have caused significant deforestation in Aceh. This threatens biodiversity and disrupts ecosystems that are important for supporting the lives of local communities, such as providing clean water and controlling floods. (2) Water and Air Pollution: Mining activities, especially gold and coal mines, cause serious environmental pollution. Waste from mining often pollutes rivers and clean water sources used by communities, while air pollution from industrial activities harms the health of communities around mining areas. (3) Climate Change and Disaster Risk: Unsustainable exploitation of natural resources also exacerbates the risk of natural disasters in Aceh, such as floods, landslides, and drought. Deforestation and ecosystem degradation reduce nature's capacity to absorb rainwater, increasing the frequency and intensity of natural disasters.

The Government's Position in Upholding Justice

After the GAM conflict, Aceh experienced a major transformation through various development programs and international assistance. The government's main focus is to restore damaged infrastructure, improve the economy, and improve the community's social welfare. However, greater attention to development is concentrated in urban areas, creating inequality between urban and rural areas. Rural communities, which have been involved in many years of conflict, tend to be marginalized in this recovery process. (Schulze, 2007).

In the context of development in Aceh, it is important to understand how the concentration of development in large cities affects regional balance, socio-economic inequality, and access to resources and public services. The theory of distributive justice and regional development theory are the theoretical basis for this research. According to the theory of distributive justice, equitable development is the key to creating social and economic balance in a region. Meanwhile, regional development theory highlights the importance of a balanced distribution of resources between central and peripheral regions to prevent regional imbalances that can trigger social instability.

Several previous studies show that urban areas are often the center of attention for post-conflict development due to ease of access, better infrastructure, and concentration of economic activity. However, development centered on cities risks creating greater disparities between urban and rural communities. In the context of Aceh, it is important to understand how this pattern occurred and its implications for sustainable development. These findings show that although the Helsinki peace agreement has succeeded in ending armed conflict, inequality in development is still a source of public dissatisfaction. (Zainuddin, 2016); (Zainal, 2022). This inequality reflects the limitations in inclusive development planning, where policies tend to ignore the needs of rural areas. Fairer and more evenly distributed development is needed to prevent socio-economic inequality which could potentially disrupt stability in Aceh. Apart from that, the limited participation of rural communities in making development decisions is also an obstacle. Local communities are often not fully involved in planning, so development policies do not always reflect their needs.

The concentration of development in urban areas of post-GAM Aceh has created significant inequality between urban and rural areas regarding infrastructure access and economic prosperity. More inclusive and equitable development policies are needed to reduce this gap, with a special focus on improving infrastructure and services in rural areas. The government needs to strengthen community participation in the development process and ensure that the results of development can be felt by all levels of society, not only in urban areas but also in rural areas. This way, post-conflict development in Aceh can be more sustainable and fair.

The main issue related to distributive justice is the choice of a social system. The principles of equity apply to the basic structure that governs how the main institutions are combined into one scheme. The social system is designed so that the resulting distribution is fair so that fairness can be achieved. To achieve this goal, it is important to place social and economic processes around appropriate political and legal institutions. (Rawls, 2006). John Rawls said that what is fair is an equal opportunity given to each individual. This means that in part from maintaining the usual social capital costs, governments try to ensure equal educational and cultural opportunities for equally gifted and motivated people by subsidizing private schools or creating public school systems. (Rawls, 2006). Rawls's view here is that the state must provide the same facilities, at least with the same method, to each of its citizens, even though there are still class differences in practice.

The teaching of equality is also seen in subsidized education, as explained above. Providing subsidies to students who want to study is an effort to equalize learning opportunities for all citizens. The existence of a general teaching system also accommodates this opportunity. The general teaching system is more inclined to equality of rights and obligations. For example, all students must comply with the rules regardless of their origins and economic conditions. In this case, the government guarantees a social minimum, both in the family unit and in the scope of education.

For distributive justice, the emphasis must be placed on institutions that are entitled and responsible for all distribution of property. The task of these institutions is to maintain fairness in distribution by employing taxation and the necessary adjustments in property rights. In collecting tax data, it is divided into two branches. First, he determines the amount of taxes and gifts and prescribes restrictions on inheritance rights. These taxes and regulations aim not to increase government revenues but to gradually and steadily correct the distribution of wealth and prevent concentrations of power that undermine the fair value of political freedom and fairness in equal opportunity. Second, a tax plan to increase the income that justice desires. Social resources must be released to the government so that they can be provided for the welfare of society, and transfer payments necessary to fulfill the different principle (Rawls, 2006).

The two parts of this distributive branch stem from the two principles of justice. Inheritance and income taxation at progressive rates, the provision of property rights laws ensures institutions of equal liberty and democratic property ownership and value of the rights upheld. Hence, the professional expenditure or income is to provide the income of public values, the transfer branch, and the determination of justice.

In essence, John Rawls argues that taxation is carried out to create a fair and equitable distribution of property. Fair or equality here can be carried out with differences as equity. For example, tax collection has criteria and classes for charging fees. The tax will be higher if the income is high, but the tax will be minimal if the income is low. Moreover, if this is done, the hope for fairness is also achieved. The cause of the incident GAM (Free Aceh Movement) is not easy to overcome. The cause of this rebellion is no longer one point of view but more complex. As already explained, the events of GAM recorded by history consist of three periods, all of which have their background, although they are related. Here, the author focuses more on the issue of justice, especially distributional justice. Distributive justice in the Free Aceh Movement is evident when rebellions always begin with the Acehnese people's dissatisfaction with the decision for Aceh itself. With this state of disappointment, coupled with the strong Acehnese values, which incidentally are very sensitive to migrants from outside Aceh, it is only natural that GAM is an Acehnese people's activity in expressing their aspirations (Sagita, Umar, & AW, 2016).

In the case of property justice, one must first look at how this pattern of justice is implemented in Indonesia. According to the writer, the current pattern in Indonesia is equal tax distribution regardless of class. This is based on Indonesia as a multi-cultural country so the similarities here

make it possible to create an even distribution. However, it differs from what the people of Aceh felt before the outbreak of GAM. The people of Aceh feel more disadvantaged by the taxation system coupled with property management centered on a place, for example, Jakarta, or the island of Java in general. The people have never felt the abundance of resources in Aceh because the state is equalizing; this may be very ambiguous if Indonesia is prosperous with exploring resources from Aceh while the people of Aceh themselves are suffering. (Tisnawati & Purwaningsih, 2021).

According to the theory of justice offered by John Rawls, distributional justice can indeed be carried out using a different model. The difference here aims to achieve equity. This pattern is already underway, with a tax collection system and centralized resource management. The problem is that when resource management is centralized, it causes social inequality between resource producers and resource managers. It is created in mutual sensitivity and no adequate cooperation. As an example of GAM, the people of Aceh feel that the Javanese (immigrants) as resource managers feel as if the colonialists only harm Aceh. However, this is not the case; according to the author, the exploration in Aceh was precisely for national equity because Aceh has abundant wealth. It is with centralized management that property equality should be realized. Until now, the problem in Indonesia is that a centralized system has more of an impact on property inequality, not vice versa. Having an even distribution does not guarantee that conflicts such as the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) will not flare up again. Still, at least one of the factors causing rebellion or separatism has been resolved.

Conclusion

Research on distributive justice in Aceh's post-GAM development reveals that although there have been various efforts to improve economic and social conditions in Aceh after the 2005 peace agreement, inequality in the distribution of development benefits remains a significant problem. Unequal distribution, especially in remote areas and the most vulnerable groups, indicates unequal access to resources, infrastructure, and public services such as education and health.

Post-GAM development tends to be concentrated in urban centers, while rural and remote areas receive less attention. This creates inequality regarding access to basic infrastructure and adequate public services. Community involvement in the development planning and decision-making process is still limited. Local communities often do not have adequate space to express their aspirations and needs, so development is not always by their interests. Aceh has rich natural resources, but their management has not been fully transparent and inclusive. Many local communities feel they do not receive fair benefits from exploiting these resources, which often only benefit certain groups. Government policy in Aceh's development still requires reform to be more responsive to the principles of distributive justice. This includes improvements in budget allocation, empowerment of local communities, and transparency in developing development programs.

This research emphasizes that distributive justice is essential for ensuring sustainable peace and social stability in Aceh. Without serious attention to inequality and exclusion, social tensions that have subsided post-conflict may re-emerge. Therefore, more inclusive, participatory and transparent development policies are needed, ensuring that all community groups in Aceh, including the most remote and marginalized, receive fair benefits from development. The results of this research also provide recommendations to policymakers to increase community participation in development planning, overcome regional disparities, and improve natural resource management. In this way, it is hoped that the development of post-GAM Aceh can be more just, equitable, and sustainable for all levels of society.

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