Discurso sobre seguridad y paz a través de los medios de comunicación y su contribución a la paz en Aceh después del Memorando de Entendimiento de Helsinki.

Security and Peace Discourse Through Peace Media and Its Contribution to Peace in Aceh After the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding.

SUGITO SUGITO
Department of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
sugito@umy.ac.id
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5094-5251

FILOSA GITA SUKMONO
Department of Communication Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
filosa@umy.ac.id
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5040-8942

Resumen: La actitud es un factor importante en la formación de un conflicto violento. Por lo tanto, los esfuerzos por cambiar actitudes hostiles por actitudes pacíficas son vitales para el éxito de la consolidación de la paz en los países que salen de un conflicto. Los medios de comunicación para la paz se han convertido en un arma importante

Abstract: Attitude is a significant factor in the formation of violent conflict. Therefore, efforts to change hostile attitudes into peaceful ones are vital to the success of peacebuilding in countries emerging from conflict. Peace media has become an important weapon for influencing people's opinions in order to remove the cultural violence that has gotten entrenched during the conflict and replace it with a culture of peace. Using securitization

para influir en las opiniones de la gente con el fin de eliminar la violencia cultural que se ha arraigado durante el conflicto y reemplazarla con una cultura de paz. Utilizando la teoría de la titulización, el propósito de este estudio es explicar cómo los medios de comunicación pacifistas utilizaron la desecuritización para convertir los sentimientos de guerra en actitudes de paz en Aceh después del Memorando de Entendimiento (MoU) de Helsinki de 2005 que promovía la paz. Este estudio revela que Tribune Aceh, Kompas y Republika se han convertido en participantes clave en la desecuritización del conflicto de Aceh, lo que les ha permitido promover una mentalidad pacífica entre el público. A pesar de las dificultades asociadas con la implementación del MoU de Helsinki, la finalización de esta desecuritización finalmente contribuyó al desarrollo de una paz permanente en Aceh.

Palabras clave: Aceh, conflicto, desecuritización, paz, medios de comunicación para la paz.

theory, the purpose of this study is to explain how peace media utilized desecuritization to turn warring sentiments into peace attitudes in Aceh following the 2005 Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) promoting peace. This study reveals that Tribune Aceh, Kompas, and Republika have emerged as key participants in the desecuritization of the Aceh conflict, allowing them to promote a peaceful mindset among the public. Despite the difficulties associated with the Helsinki MoU's implementation, the completion of this desecuritization eventually contributed to the development of permanent peace in Aceh.

Keywords: Aceh, Conflict, Desecuritization, Peace, Peace Media.

1. INTRODUCTION

The war was successfully terminated by the 2005 Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, GAM). Many people believe that the peace treaty between Indonesia and GAM is the most effective example of separatist conflict resolution. This peace deal can end the violence and serve as a blueprint for Aceh's post-conflict development Because the substance of the agreement to be achieved and the principles that will govern the transition from war to peace have been articulated (Jemadu, 2006).

The peace agreement continues the phases of conflict transformation. According to Galtung, transformation requires three components: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding (Miall, 2004). The purpose of peacekeeping is to eliminate direct violence caused by competing behavior. The process of peacemaking is the eradication of structural violence resulting from opposing views. In the

meantime, peacebuilding is an effort to reinforce the peace framework by eliminating structural violence produced by inequality or social, economic, political, and security discrimination. In other words, the basic goal of peacebuilding is to substitute the structure and culture of violence with those of peace.

According to Johan Galtung's theory of conflict transformation, the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding appears to be a tool for conflict resolution or peacekeeping, as well as a guide for the implementation of peacebuilding. As seen in the following table, however, as evidenced by the different areas of agreement in the MoU, it does not provide a peacemaking strategy.

Table 1. Conflict Transformation in the Helsinki MoU

No	Conflict Transformation	MoU Item	Problem Solved
1.	Peacebuilding	Governance in Aceh	Aceh to participate in politics and government, and economic inequality between Aceh and the central government
		Human rights	Human rights violations during the conflict and GAM's reconciliation mechanism with the central government
		Amnesty and reintegration into society	Legal and social status of former GAM combatants
2.	Peacekeeping	Security settings	Disarmament, reduction of Indonesian military strength in Aceh, and demobilization of GAM
		Establishment of Acehmonitoring mission	Mechanisms to ensure both parties can implement the MoU

Source: Processed from the Helsinki MoU between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement

The primary objective of peacemaking is to encourage individuals to adopt peaceful views. As a prediction of whether a disagreement will develop to violent conflict or peace, the position of the conflicting attitudes in the Galtung conflict triangle becomes essential (Khaswara & Hambali, 2021). When one individual is

able to portray the other as an adversary who threatens his safety, violent action results. When one perceives the other person as a friend or a neutral party, however, violent conflict behavior will not result. Therefore, converting the adversarial views of the warring parties into peaceful attitudes in the post-conflict society is essential to achieving a constructive and lasting peace.

The importance of print and electronic mass media in moulding public perception is crucial. Media influence perception, behavior, social formation, political action, and axiological hierarchy significantly (Santos, 2010). As a medium of peace, the media can provide a forum for the public to consider and value peaceful solutions to conflict and a more peaceful future (Tiripelli, 2016).

This study aims to comprehend the role and strategy of online mass media in de-securitizing and normalizing threats to Aceh's security, so changing them into everyday concerns. This strategy will influence how the people of Aceh respond to conflicts based on peace values. Theoretically, this work is an essential addition to the treasury of research on peace media. This research was initiated in the 1990s, concomitant with the UN peacekeeping operation's expansion into peacebuilding. Due to the UN's overemphasis on state-building efforts in the two missions, it has been unable to establish long-term stability and peace in post-conflict regions. Peace media enables non-state actors to participate in post-conflict peacebuilding, particularly in the peacemaking component, which the United Nations occasionally misses.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This article examines the constructivist view that security is a social construction (McDonald, 2018). A solitary definition of security does not exist due to social construction. Intersubjectivity exchanges between players, each of which are influenced by their values or standards, will decide how security is perceived. For constructivists, comprehending security means analyzing how security is endowed with meaning and the political ramifications of this meaning. In their investigation of how security obtains meaning, constructivists have underlined that security is a site of negotiation (especially between political leaders and domestic audiences) and contestation (among many actors developing competing ideas of 'us' values and how 'we' should act).

The Copenhagen School, under the direction of Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, has become a center for the advancement of constructivist-based security studies (Aydindag & Isiksal, 2018). The contributions of the two scholars have resulted in the development of securitization as an influential theoretical framework for analyzing security. The goal of the theory of securitization is to explain how normal, non-security issues become security issues, as well as how security issues degrade into non-security issues. In other

words, it provides a systematic framework for examining how and why particular problems become security problems, as well as who is responsible for such procedures and why (Andžāns & Sprūds, 2021).

In addition to the context issue, the literature on securitization and desecuritization has been criticized for not providing sufficient emphasis to the idea of "desecuritization" (Pusane, 2020). In actuality, the twin concepts of securitization and desecuritization arose throughout the genesis of the idea. Desecuritization is the process by which an authorized actor converts a threat back into something normal or insecure (Scheel, 2022). There are three main problems in desecuritization analysis: (1) what counts as desecuritization, (2) why desecuritization should be undertaken, and (3) how to accomplish it (Balzacq, 2005).

According to a philosophical interpretation, the three issues allow for the exploration of an ontological, axiological, and epistemological understanding of the desecuritization phenomenon under investigation. The first question relates to what one can and desires to know about the desecuritization phenomenon; the second question typically refers to the reasons that represent the value or benefits that can be obtained by performing desecuritization; and the third question addresses the formulation and implementation of the desecuritization process or procedure. Having the knowledge to answer these three questions typically serves as the basis for determining a desecuritization strategy.

To guarantee that the desecuritization process works smoothly and accomplishes the desired results, it is essential to develop a desecuritization plan to ensure that desecuritization actions are not conducted at random. Ole Waever advocated three ways for desecuritization, including avoiding dangerous issues, controlling securitization to limit its growth, and restoring securitized concerns to political norms (Fako, 2012). Desecuritization has been frequently explored in following studies regarding the third method, how to return securitized matters to the political norm. To accomplish this, it is essential to keep in mind the following: first, there is no universal method, so each effort depends on the specific characteristics of the securitized issue; and second, the desecuritization strategy aimed at restoring normal political conditions must take into account the fact that not all stakeholders share the same definition of normal political conditions. In other words, not all stakeholders will always concur with the Copenhagen School's stance that political norm is a matter of subjectivity; others may wish to contribute normative conceptions in order to better appreciate political standard.

Sugito, Sugito & Sukmono, Filosa.G.

In a protracted conflict, desecuritization becomes a crucial step in achieving conflict resolution for both parties (Adamides, 2017). Conflicted cultures can be characterized by two distinct, interconnected desecuritization processes. First, an educational strategy emphasizes a deconstructive-constructive process to persuade individuals that certain groups no longer pose a security danger. Second, a counter-securitization logic aims to counteract the persistent securitization resolve of certain leaders or conflict actors (Santos, 2010). This strategy is either cultural or structural. However, several restraints must be taken into account while analyzing the possibilities and limitations of media engagement for peace. These limits can take the form of the content, terminology, and references used in reporting--whether they aid the desecuritization process or not--as well as contextual elements such as the duration and severity of the conflict, which all influence the peace journalism process (S. T. Lee, 2010). Framing certain security concerns based on the intersubjectivity of the actors involved shows the significance of discourse, a vital aspect emerging from the subjectivity of each actor.

Both securitization and desecuritization seek to characterize the discourse process between the actors who develop and deconstruct threat situations. In order to justify its operations in resolving security issues through securitization, the state will invent threats against its population. A broader range of actors, including the state and civic society, can deconstruct the threat posed by a return to political normalcy through a series of desecuritization operations. Although not highlighted by the Copenhagen School, desecuritization can also be viewed as a discursive process mediated by mass media with wide discursive capacities and the social authority they represent (Santos, 2010). As an agency without comparable actual power to the state, the mass media can use discursive power to engage in the desecuritization process in order to promote a culture of peace in the post-conflict period.

The desecuritization program fits with the peacebuilding approach with regard to removing the culture of conflict and replacing it with a culture of peace. To achieve sustainable peace, it is required to transform conflict, i.e., to modify attitudes, behavior, and competing conditions, into something constructive (Jäger, 2014). Regarding attitudes and conduct, the major goal of conflict transformation is to replace post-conflict countries' culture of violence with a culture of peace. Peace media or peace journalism is an entity that can contribute to efforts to resolve the conflict in this circumstance.

Since the late 1980s, academics, policymakers, and international actors have presented the concept of peace media as a tool for establishing a post-conflict society. The information provided by the media can enhance public comprehension of the peace process (Imtihani, 2014). The media can promote public support for peace initiatives and spread information about their progress (Åkebo, 2015). Peace journalism aims to "change the representation of armed conflict to support conflict transformation by emphasizing potential solutions and peacebuilding efforts, seeking out the root causes of the conflict, and avoiding seeing the conflict in black and white as opposed to focusing on violence, military strategy, and losers and winners," according to Demarest and Langer (2021). (Ugondo et al., 2022). Peace journalism tackles concerns about journalistic standards regarding story selection, presentation, and sources in order to promote nonviolent conflict resolution (Rodny-Gumede, 2015). According to peace journalism, a greater emphasis on collaborative engagement to develop agreed-upon ideals and guiding principles helps facilitate reconciliation (Ersoy & Miller, 2020). Peace journalism can be viewed as an alternative to war reporting since it provides other ways to interpret violent conflicts in the media. These frames may assist in altering the audience's perception of conflict to the pursuit of common goals and decisions (Atanesyan, 2020).

3. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach using Nvivo, an application for qualitative data processing. During 2015-2020, reporting data on the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), the Aceh conflict and peace, and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) were obtained from https://www.kompas.com/ and https://www.republika.co.id/. The selection of the three mass media was based on the representation of local mass media, https://aceh.tribunnews.com/, the largest readership national mass media, https://www.kompas.com/, and Islamic-based mass media, as the majority of Aceh's population is represented by https://www.republika.co.id/. The subsequent step involved establishing codes for two distinct concepts, securitization and de-securitization, each of which was described by a number of keywords or indicators. The second phase consisted of building cases as observable units, which included actors, media, and years. In the third phase, news from three preset internet news sources was encoded. The last step was to process the data using several techniques, such as cross tab, word frequency, and matrix coding.

The search for the Helsinki MoU, Aceh conflict and peace, and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) resulted in 188 news stories from three online news sources, with https://aceh.tribunnews.com/ being the most frequently cited. Researchers correctly classified 761 citations from 188 news items. A data analysis was performed to determine trends in securitization and desecuritization through media coverage from 2015 to 2020; actors who performed securitization or desecuritization; and various patterns of relationships between the media, actors, years, and issues in securitization and desecuritization. The properly processed data were then presented in a descriptive-analytic manner, in which the data were first graphed, then described, and finally analyzed. This study examines the discourse on security and peace as a social practice with implications for the phenomena of securitization and desecuritization in Aceh after the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Media for Peace and Conflict Transformation in Aceh after the Mou Helsinki

The signing of the Helsinki Accord signifies the conclusion of the lengthy conflict between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). Many stakeholders are pleased about Aceh's peace, despite the fact that there are a number of questions surrounding the MoU's potential to achieve a lasting peace there. It will serve as a model for settling global disputes (Pérez, 2012). Peace in Aceh is the best example in Asia of how a slumbering violent war may be converted into a sustainable one (Hillman, 2012 in Strandh & Yusriza, 2021).

Some experts believe that the success of the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding is attributable to both parties' readiness to negotiate and their strong political will (Schiff, 2013) (Feith, 2007). It is impossible to separate the willingness of both sides to negotiate from the participation of the ulama, who used socioreligious approaches to convince both sides to settle the dispute amicably (Husin, 2015). In other words, this readiness can act as a springboard for stakeholders and parties to achieve the stated objectives of the Helsinki MoU. This readiness has been impacted by both internal and external dynamics (Pérez, 2012). Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jusuf Kalla took the roles of President and Vice President, respectively, of the Republic of Indonesia. These two politicians played crucial roles in the Helsinki peace talks. Similarly, the military's historically dominant status has eroded. During this time, international assistance was available, especially from the Crisis Management Initiative,

which acted as a mediator during negotiations. Consequently, the supporting conditions for the successful conclusion of the Helsinki MoU served as the example for the 2005 achievement of ending civil strife in Aceh.

A peace deal symbolizes more than the conclusion of a violent fight in a cycle of war. The peace agreement also signifies the beginning of the peacebuilding process, which will determine the peace's durability. Peacebuilding requires settling conflicts not just at the level of violence, but also by addressing their root causes in order to prevent their recurrence in the future. At least three variables must be addressed for peace to be achieved: contradiction, behavior, and opposing attitudes (Miall, 2004). Education plays a crucial role in peacebuilding in the context of conflict transformation through a series of peacebuilding efforts that focus on these three issues.

The government and assistance groups concentrate mostly on minimum security and political-economic growth among the three transformation concerns (Zainal & Askandar, 2013). In political life, the peace agenda is dominated by the renegotiation of patronage, rent-seeking advantages, and socioeconomic inequities that existed during the conflict, and concluded by the wartime elite's continued control over the political economy of the province (Lee, 2020). In the economic sector, complex problems can result in social strife. Despite receiving a special autonomy fund, Aceh has not been able to free its people from poverty, which stands at 16.89%, the highest rate in Sumatra. The average poverty rate in six districts of Aceh, including Gayo Lues, Aceh Singkil, Bener Meriah, Pidie, Pidie Jaya, and Aceh Barat, was 20%. (Sustikarini, 2019).

Although there are still several contradictions that could potentially lead to bloodshed in Aceh, it is safe to claim that the population is typically peaceful. This phenomena can be understood from Johan Galtung's perspective on the conflict triangle, where the attitude determinant becomes the determining factor in the re-emergence of conflict (Miall, 2004). Education and discourse can have an effect on attitudes formed through human cognition. By de-securitizing situations that pose a threat to public safety, it is possible to shift these contradictory views.

Several participants in peace education have undertaken initiatives to desensitize the Aceh conflict. Education is a crucial element of peacebuilding. Education facilitates the transformational process that post-conflict societies must endure, and these changes proceed from generation to generation. Education for peace is necessary to promote a culture of peace among the young of Aceh in order to create permanent and beneficial peace conditions (Shah &

Cardozo, 2014). In this context, the mass media, as part of the peace media, can help deconstruct violent disputes and promote peace in the minds of the parties involved in the Aceh conflict.

Several publications linked to the Helsinki MoU reveal in the next section of this article a number of obstacles pertaining to Tribune Aceh (formerly Serambi Aceh), Kompas, and Republika's involvement in securitization or desecuritization. The responsibilities of the three media are explained in terms of (1) the intensity of the news, (2) the frequency of securitization and desecuritization framing, (3) the framing of desecuritization, and (4) the players of desecuritization. It is expected that understanding the criteria would serve as the basis for modeling the media's role in Aceh's peacebuilding.
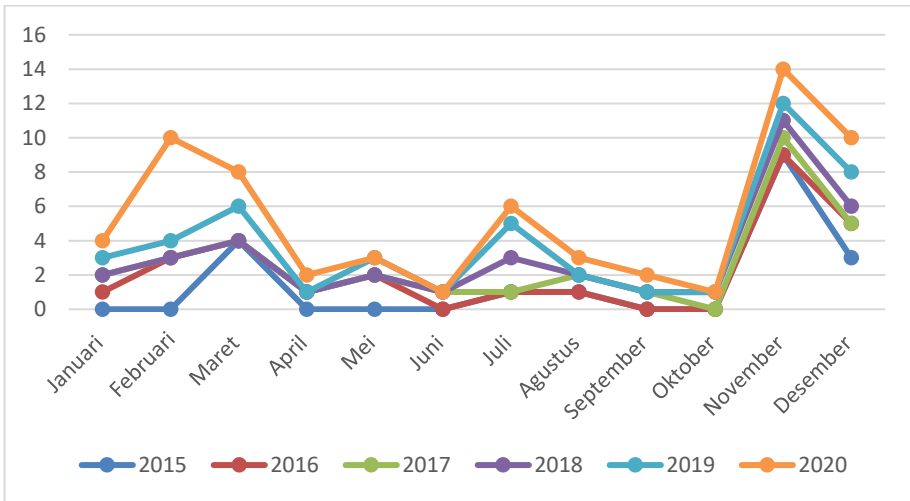
The Helsinki MoU Reporting Intensity

From 2015 to 2020, the monthly intensity of news about the Helsinki MoU fluctuated each year. In 2020, Kompas reported more extensively on the Helsinki MoU than in previous years. From 2015 until 2020, Kompas covered the Helsinki MoU 198 times.
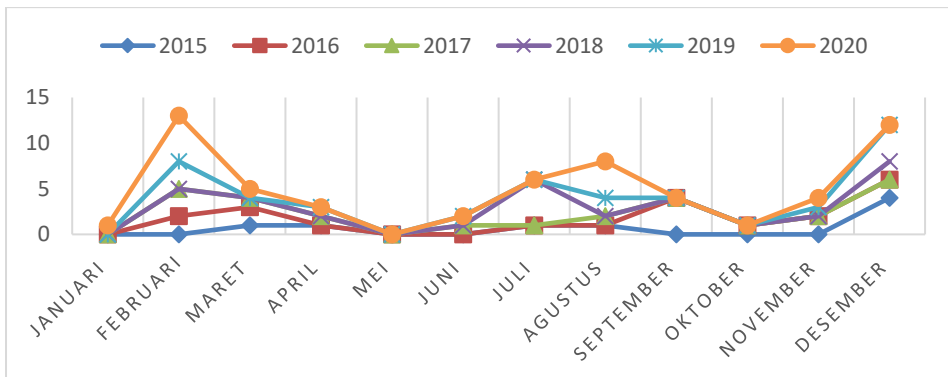
Graph 1. The Intensity of Reporting on the Helsinki MoU/Aceh Peace in Kompas in 2015-2020
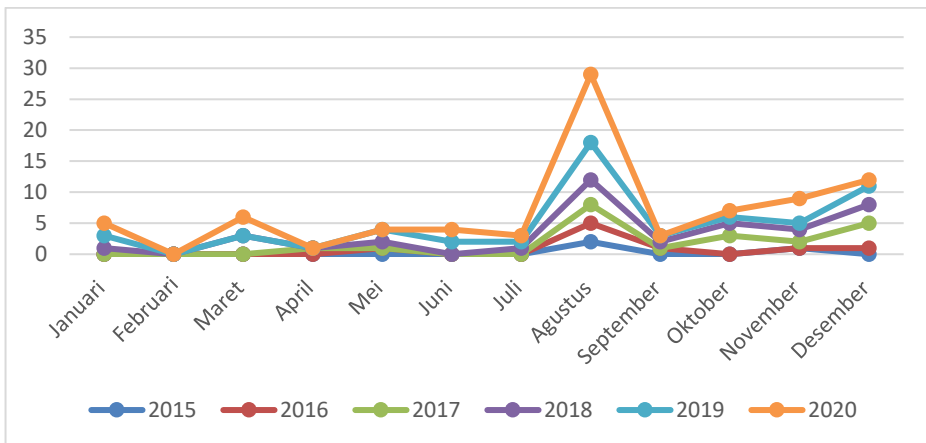Source: Processed using NVivo

From 2015 to 2020, Republika provided 214 updates on the MoU. There were 54 more intense Helsinki MoU reports in 2020 than there were in previous years.

Graph 2. The Intensity of Reporting on the Helsinki MoU/Aceh Peace in Republika in 2015-2020
Source: Processed using NVivo

Tribun Aceh, a local print and internet medium with a news intensity of 217 from 2015 to 2020. The most major news on the Helsinki Agreement occurred in 2020. This year's coverage of the Helsinki MoU was broader than in previous years.


Graph 3. The Intensity of Reporting On the Helsinki MoU in the Aceh Tribune in 2015-2020
Source: Processed using NVivo

The Aceh Tribune has more actively reported on the Aceh peace than the other two media outlets. During the conflict, the Aceh Tribune, formerly known as Serambi Aceh, has been an active source of conflict-related print media coverage. This media portal is the most sought-after source of information regarding Aceh, covering war and Helsinki peace process news. In the context of the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding and the Aceh peace, the Aceh Tribune informs the people and plays an essential role as a peace broker in Aceh.
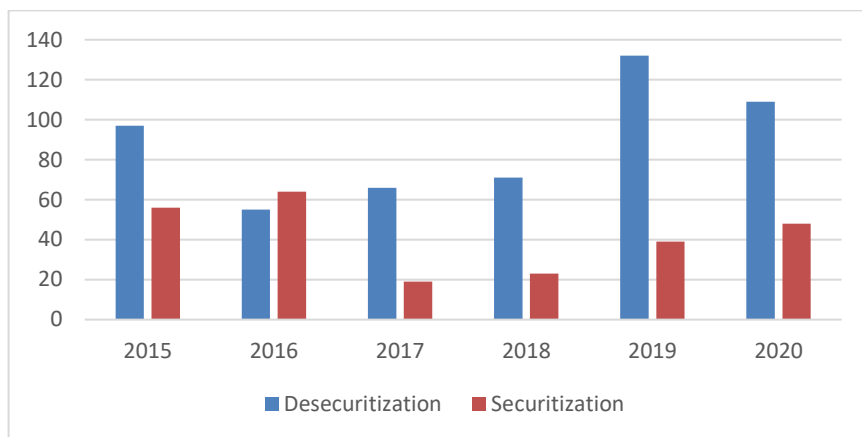
Frequency of Securitization And Desecuritization

The Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding was carried by the three media outlets in two frames: securitization and desecuritization, with varying degrees of emphasis. From 2015 to 2020, the coverage of these three media channels reveals that desecuritization dominated the discourse of the Acehnese. Tribun Aceh, the medium with the most extensive coverage of the Helsinki MoU, was far more likely to broadcast news items inside the desecuritization frame than within the securitization frame. Republika performed a comparison of desecuritization frames that were more widespread than securitization, but not as much as Tribun Aceh. The neutrality of Kompas' reporting on securitization and desecuritization is exemplified by its balanced coverage of these topics.
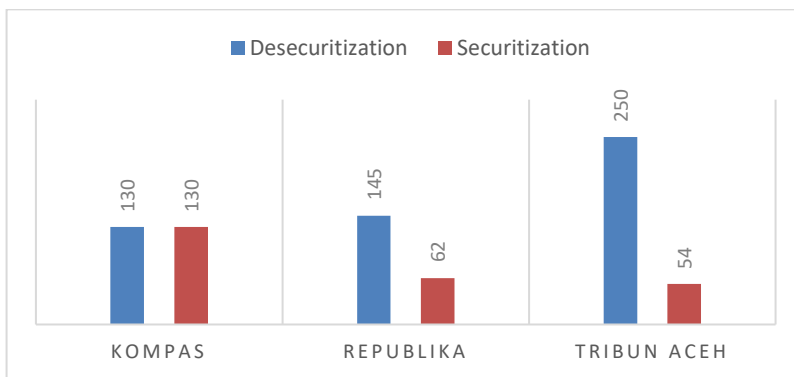
Graph 4. Securitization and Desecuritization Framing in Aceh Peace Reporting in Three Mass Media in 2015-2020
Source: Processed using NVivo

From 2015 to 2020, the following figure displays the consistency of the three media channels' framing of desecuritization in Aceh.

Graph 5. Securitization and Desecuritization Framing in Annual Reporting of Aceh Peace in 2015-2020
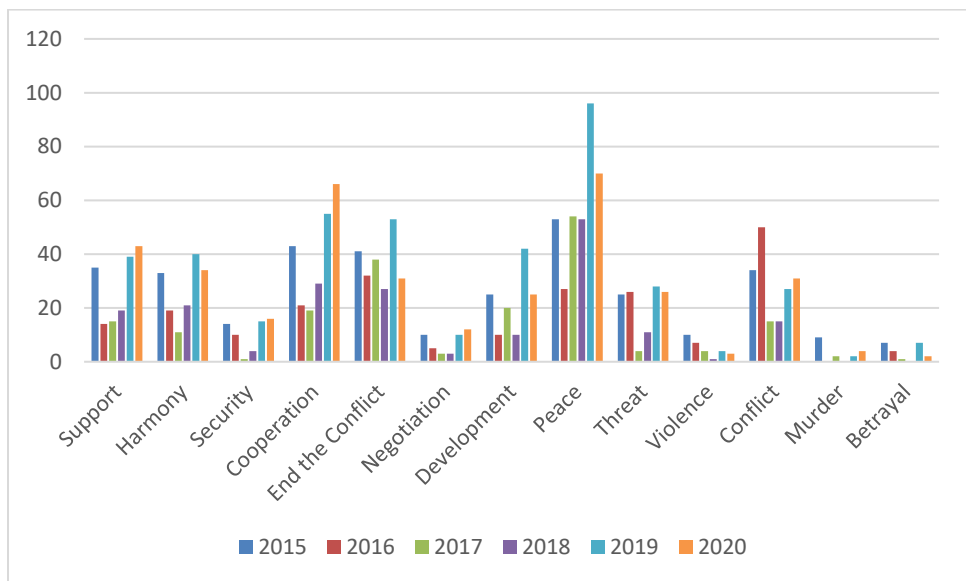Source: Processed using Nvivo

The desecuritization framework has dominated the past six years, excluding 2016. In 2016, securitization framing was more prevalent than desecuritization framing, making this topic an outlier. This anomaly arose as a result of several conflict-sensitive events in 2013: (1) First, the repeal of the clauses in Aceh Qanun No. 3 of 2013 pertaining to the Aceh Flag and Emblem by the central government via the Decree of the Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia No. 188.34-4758. (Matsyah & Abdul Aziz, 2021), (2) Second, the pre-Pilkada 2017 problem in which former GAM combatants were dissatisfied with the Constitutional Court's decision No.51/PUU-XIV/2016 on the annulment of article 67 paragraph 2 letter 'g', the prohibition against former inmates running for regional heads (Fahmi, 2017), and (3) Third, human rights violations for which the Indonesian government did not expedite the implementation of the Helsinki MoU provisions pertaining to the regional Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Akbar, 2017).

After 2016, desecuritization tended to dominate the Helsinki MoU through 2020. In 2017 desecuritization framing began to dominate securitization framing in Aceh peace reporting. In 2018, the frequency of desecuritization and securitization grew somewhat. Desecuritization framing increased greatly in 2019, whereas securitization framing increased little. Additionally, desecuritization framing decreased in 2020, but securitization framing

increased. Despite slight adjustments, the predominance of desecuritization framing over securitization maintained after 2016.

Framing DeSecuritization

As a key actor in moulding public opinion on an issue, the mass media typically emphasizes the power of spoken and written language as a framing mechanism. Essentially, the concept of language power refers to the linguistic elements utilised and the manner in which the language is delivered in order to boost the influence of particular discourses and so influence the cognition of individuals (McMorrow, 2017). In this instance, language can consist of words or phrases that explain certain circumstances. As a framing device for the theme of peace in Aceh, the three mass media sources used a variety of alternative terms or phrases commonly associated with peaceful situations. The graph below displays the framing included in the desecuritization framing of the Aceh peace news for the three major media outlets from 2015 to 2020.

Graph 6. Desecuritization Framing of the Three Mass Media on Aceh Peace Reporting in 2015-2020
Source: Processed using NVivo

In addition, framing of desecuritization can be determined based on the linguistic features utilized by the three mainstream media from 2015 to 2020.

Three media frequently utilize the terms 'peace,' 'cooperation,' 'stop conflict,' 'development,''support,' 'harmony,' and 'optimism' when announcing the Helsinki MoU. These diverse words and phrases establish a good context for the Helsinki MoU, which helps alleviate tension amongst parties previously involved in the conflict and instill confidence in individuals to live in peace. In other words, a succession of words or phrases that allude to desecuritization activities to help peacebuilding measures in Aceh after the Helsinki MoU are linguistic elements with a meaning orientation.

The preferences and frequency of the three mass media in employing words or phrases through desecuritization framing as reported by the Helsinki MoU should be investigated further to determine why they may have such a pattern. Tribun Aceh and Republika framed their coverage of the Helsinki MoU with the term 'peace' more frequently than Tribun Aceh did. It demonstrates that both Tribune Aceh and Republika have been more inviting audiences, particularly in Aceh, to "go to a better future" because the use of peace terminology, whether discursive, pragmatic, or socio-linguistic unit, in fact stimulates the development of the social dynamics of a peaceful life (Wahyuningsih, 2018). In contrast, Kompas frequently used the words "stop the conflict" when reporting on the Helsinki MoU. It demonstrates that Kompas was more likely to persuade the audience, particularly in Aceh, to "leave the dark past behind" since conflict resolution is fundamentally an effort to terminate wars that inflict great pain (Ramsay, 2008). The preferences and frequency of words or phrases employed by the three mass media outlets reveal their attitudes toward the dissemination of information surrounding the Helsinki MoU.

A comparison of the three will reveal variances in the frequency with which the three mass media use words and phrases linked to the formulation of the Helsinki MoU. The Aceh Tribune used'support', 'harmony', 'cooperation', 'end conflict', 'optimism', 'progress', and 'peace' more frequently than Republika and Kompas. This indicates that the Aceh Tribune places a greater focus than Republika and Kompas on the importance of the support of diverse parties, the harmony of each aspect of society, cooperation, conflict resolution, optimism, the development agenda, and the promotion of a culture of peace in Aceh. Nevertheless, Tribun Aceh occurs less frequently than Republika and Kompas in the remaining two words.

In terms of'security' and 'negotiating,' the Aceh Tribune frames the Helsinki MoU less frequently than Republika and Kompas. Tribun Aceh framed the Helsinki MoU with the word'security' less frequently than Republika, but

more frequently than Kompas. This makes Republika the most militant media outlet in calling for Aceh's security to be maintained. The frequency of the phrase 'negotiating' in Tribun Aceh's coverage of the Helsinki MoU was likewise lower than that of Kompas and Republika. It makes Kompas the media outlet that emphasizes the significance of peace discussions in Aceh. All three believe the Helsinki MoU to be a desecuritization instrument that helps peacebuilding in Aceh, albeit to differing degrees, based on the frequency with which each word or phrase is used in the document's framework.

Desecuritization Actors

Several parties are involved in desecuritization operations for Aceh's reconstruction. These people were identified in three media stories of the Aceh peace. Each participant is unique in comparison to the others. In addition, the number of these individuals included in the Aceh peace reports varies. The graph below displays the types of desecuritization players covered in the coverage of the Aceh peace by the three most influential news outlets from 2015 to 2020.
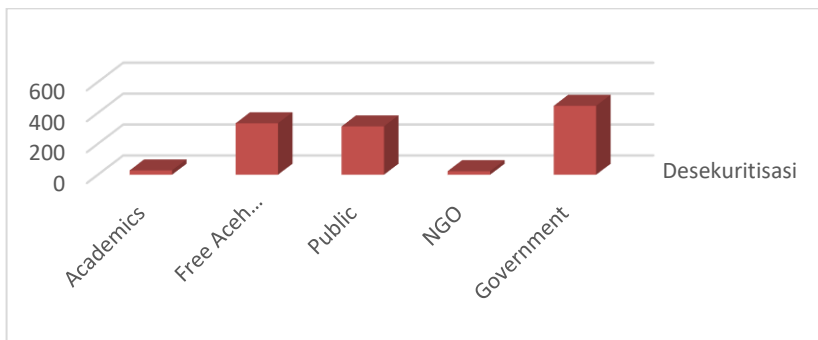

Graph 7. Desecuritization Actors Identified in Aceh Peace News
Source: Processed using NVivo

From 2015 to 2020, the three mass media's coverage of the Aceh peace accord included the participants in the desecuritization effort in Aceh. The recognized players included academia, GAM, the general public, non-governmental organizations or NGOs, and the government. The government desecuritized assets the most frequently, followed by GAM and the general people. The government was the actor most frequently identified as a desecuritization player by the three major news organizations, followed by GAM, the general public, academicss (n=28), and non-governmental

organizations (NGO). The government and GAM were ranked first and second, respectively, by the three mass media as the most identifiable participants in desecuritization in Aceh, as they were both significant stakeholders in Aceh's peace actively involved in the process of negotiating the Helsinki MoU. In the meantime, despite not actively participating in the Helsinki accord, the general public, academia, and NGOs were labeled desecuritization actors due to their contributions to Aceh's peacebuilding.

Five entities were recognized as employing the term or phrase "desecuritization" in the three mainstream media: the government, GAM, the general public, academics, and non-governmental organizations. The five parties' framing mirrored their perception of the Helsinki MoU as an instrument for promoting a culture of peace in Aceh. From 2015 to 2020, the following graph depicts the framing of each desecuritization actor in the coverage of the Aceh peace in the three major media.
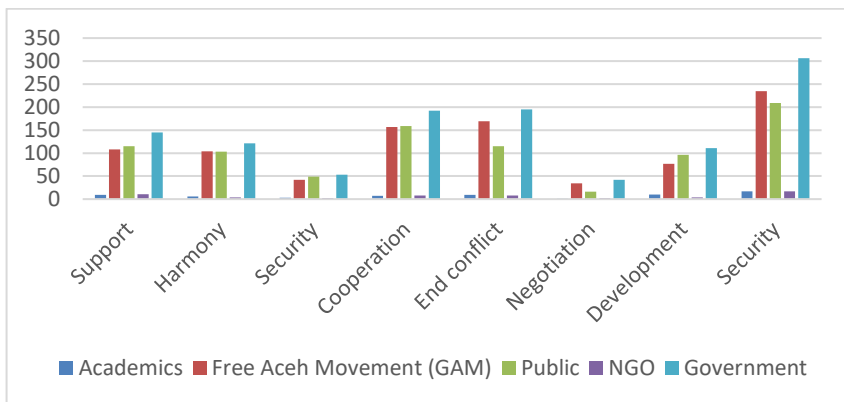
Graph 8. Framing Used by Every Desecuritization Actor Included in the Aceh Peace News Coverage by the Three Mass Media in 2015-2020
Source: Processed using NVivo

Each stakeholder in the desecuritization process recognized that the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding was a means to resolve the conflict, and they pledged to assist and collaborate in the development of Aceh. The desecuritization players associated the Helsinki MoU with the term "peace" more frequently than any other word or phrase. The government was the actor most likely to link the Helsinki MoU with the phrase 'peace,' followed by GAM, the general public, academia, and nongovernmental organizations.

The identification of the word 'peace' with the Helsinki MoU, both as a discursive, pragmatic, and socio-linguistic unit, also motivated the community to design the Helsinki MoU as a tool to generate peaceful living dynamics in society (Wahyuningsih, 2018). It demonstrates that the five parties expected peace to result from the implementation of the Helsinki MoU and that they would continue to promote peacebuilding after the MoU was signed.

Compared to the other four players, the government was the most aggressive in its use of the following terms:'support,' 'harmony,''security,' 'cooperation,' 'end conflict,' 'negotiation,' 'development,' and 'peace' Using these eight terms or phrases suggests that the government has become the most active actor in drafting the Helsinki MoU. In the other four actors, more dynamics were discovered. It occurred because there was a frequency discrepancy between GAM and the general public, and to a lesser extent, academics and NGOs, for every word or phrase associated with framing. Comparatively, it has ramifications for the intensity of the framing of the four desecuritization players in the Helsinki MoU utilizing words or phrases.

In drafting the Helsinki MoU, the frequency with which GAM and the public used particular words or phrases varied. It was revealed that GAM framed the words or phrases 'harmony', 'end conflict', 'negotiation', and 'peace' with greater intensity than the public 'harmony', 'end conflict', 'negotiation', and 'peace'. It indicates that GAM placed a greater emphasis on societal harmony, conflict resolution, negotiation, and the promotion of a culture of peace than the general population. In contrast, the general public framed'support','security', 'cooperation', and 'development' with greater intensity than GAM'support','security', 'cooperation', and 'development'. It suggests that the general people placed a greater emphasis on the need for assistance from many parties, the maintenance of security and cooperation, and the significance of the development goal than GAM. Although the frequency of use of each word or phrase in the framing of the Helsinki MoU differed, both parties regarded the Helsinki MoU to be a desecuritization instrument aiding peacebuilding in Aceh. Such frequency disparities were also identified between academics and non-governmental organizations.

Regarding the drafting of the Helsinki MoU, there were also disparities in the frequency with which academics and NGOs used particular words or phrases, but to a considerably lesser extent than the dichotomy between GAM and the general public. It was revealed that academics framed the terms 'harmony','security', 'end conflict', and 'development' with greater precision than NGOs 'harmony','security', 'end conflict', and 'development'. It suggests that

academics were slightly more concerned with the significance of harmony in every aspect of society, security maintenance, conflict resolution, and development objectives than non-governmental organizations. NGOs, on the other hand, framed the terms'support,' 'cooperation,' and 'negotiation' with greater intensity than academics did. It indicates that NGOs were slightly more worried than academics about the need for assistance from several groups, cooperation, and negotiation. However, both academia and non-governmental organizations have employed the term "peace" 17 times. In other words, both parties stressed the significance of establishing a culture of peace in Aceh. Although the frequency of use of each word or phrase in the Helsinki MoU's framing varied, both parties viewed it as a desecuritization device that supported peacebuilding in Aceh.

5. CONCLUSION

The Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding is one of the most effective agreements to end the conflict. This success is evidenced by two factors: the cessation of hostilities between the GAM and the Indonesian government and the implementation of all peace agreements between the two parties. The implementation of the agreement's objectives still presents significant obstacles, such as the relatively high level of economic imbalance in society and the fierce power struggle among local elites, which could result in a recurrence of violence. The failure to adhere to the principles of the agreement did not represent a significant threat to the peace in Aceh until the Helsinki accord turned 15 years old.

This research reveals that altering one's attitude is a vital aspect in deciding tranquility. From 2015 to 2020, the three mass media, Kompas, Republika, and Tribune Aceh, have become both instruments and platforms for controlling the discourse of the actors involved in desecrating the danger issues in Aceh. The three mass media served as a forum for the government and GAM to explore the significance of the Helsinki MoU to the peace and prosperity of Aceh. The players viewed the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding as a beacon of hope for building peace, reducing conflicts, furthering development, and living in harmony. This community mentality is a crucial component in the absence of recurrence, even if there are still disagreements regarding the inconsistencies or roots of the conflict. Economic and political challenges continue to be addressed in the quest of peace, accelerated development, and the emphasis of harmonious living.

The desecuritization frame redirects and focuses the attention of the Acehnese on the subject of peace. The three mass media channels have depicted the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding as focusing on the creation of Aceh, which is more indicative of a state of peace than one of conflict. The function of the peace media in the Aceh conflict can serve as an example for other post-war regions. Thus, Aceh is not only an example of the conclusion of a peace agreement between Indonesia and GAM, but also the best illustration of the existence of the mass media as peace media with discursive power to support the transformation of conflicting attitudes in support of peacebuilding in post-conflict areas.

The quantification of data gathered from mass media coverage is inadequate, resulting in an insufficient examination of how actors interact in desecuritizing the Aceh conflict. Indeed, it appears that the mass media have a role to play in peace journalism, although it is unclear how the public would respond to the messages. Future research will investigate how the people of Aceh may accept the message of peace and incorporate it into their conflicted attitudes in order to sustain a durable peace.

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