Parental Socialization on Political Ideology: The Internalization Pattern of Ethnonationalism from The Leader of Aceh Free Movement (GAM) to Their Children

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Abstract

This study discusses about internalization pattern of ethnonationalism ideology applied by parents whose backgrounds were members of Aceh Free Movement (GAM) to their children. After reconciling with Indonesian government, the existence of ideology is often questionable. Therefore, question of this research is whether ethnonationalism still entrenches and transferred to the member's children or the ideology disappear as disbandment of GAM. This research uses exploratory qualitative method by applying depth interview purposively to five leaders of GAM. Research question is answered by analyzing ideology internalization process and pattern based on Baumrind [1] in Murray and Mulvaney [2]. This research finds that there are two dominant patterns applied by the parents in socializing the ideology namely permissive and authoritative. Ideology internalization process happens in three steps: introduction, understanding, and internalization. Although having different patterns, the parents use similar socialization media which is the great history of Aceh to arouse their children's ethnonationalism.

Keywords: Ethnonationalism, GAM, Parental Socialization

1. Introduction

Aceh Free Movement (GAM) is a liberation organization founded by Hasan Tiro on December 4th, 1976 in Halimoon Mountain, Pidie. GAM establishment is closely linked to the prolonged conflict between Aceh and Indonesia. The conflict became worse when centralized Indonesian government explored and exploited natural gas in North Aceh extremely. This situation is aggravated by the absence of equal distribution of surplus value that led to continuous poverty experienced by Acehnese. Purpose of this movement is to separate Aceh from Indonesian territory and to establish Free Aceh as the successor state of glory of Aceh kingdom such in the past. Hasan Tiro formed ethnic sentiment, developed ethnonationalism ideology, and transferred ideology to GAM participants and sympathizers. The process of ideology internalization was implemented through political education to combatants in Libya from 1986 to about 1999.

GAM existence is influenced by the ideology of ethnonationalism that entrenched in the souls of the leaders, participants, and followers of GAM. Existence of the ideology implicates in high loyalty and characterized by volunteering state in supporting in any cost to GAM. Participants of GAM are able to sacrifice their lives for the goals of the movement. Therefore, after signing the Mission of Understanding (MoU) between GAM and Indonesia on August 15, 2005, there is a big question about the existence of this ethnonationalism ideology. Whether this ideology still entrenches and transfers to the children of GAM leaders or the ideology disappears as scattering of GAM.

Study of political behavior explains that the main agent of political socialization is family. Several previous studies about political socialization focused the studies on the main agent. Family especially parents play an important role in shaping the child ideology. Parents' ideology will transfer to their children through the process of ideology internalization directly or indirectly [3];[4];[5]; [2]

Based on above explanation, focus of this study is the internalization of ethnonationalism ideology transferred by several prominent ex-combatants to their children. Purpose of this study is to analyze process of internalization of ideology and to identify patterns of internalization by several leaders of GAM to their children.

2. Research Methodology

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

Table 1
Respondents Information

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

Depth interview is conducted based on list of open and unstructured questions that have been prepared in advance. However, if further information is needed, other questions besides questions in the list will be proposed to the respondents. On the other hand, secondary data is obtained from books, magazines, documents, and scientific journals.

Furthermore, primary data and secondary data are analyzed qualitatively. Primary data from the depth interview will be documented through a recorder then described through transcription. Answer of respondents will be arranged systematically in accordance with themes that have been determined to answer research questions. Similarly, secondary data will be arranged systematically following certain themes before process of data analysis

3. Literature Review and Research Gap

Parenting style signifies in the internationalization ideology to children. Differences in parenting style of internalization process explain some variations in internalization pattern. In this section, I will present literature review that analyzes the relationship between parenting styles and the internalization pattern. There are several previous types of research related to parenting styles and internalization pattern.

Seiden [5] In his thesis "Parental Influences on The Political Ideologies of Young People", he conducted research about influence of parent on children's ideology. Seiden focused his research on children aged between 18 and 24 years in the United States. In his research, Seiden found that ideology correlated to belief and behavior. In politics, the correlation called political socialization. Political socialization is process of political trust and political behavior transferring toward any specific ideology.

Research of Seiden aimed to answer question of significance of family as agent of political socialization toward any particular ideology. Seiden stated that there are four agents of political socialization namely family, school, friendship, and mass media. Family is the most significant agent shaping children's ideology among the other agents. Seiden discovered that conservative ideology embraced by children is affected by their parents' ideology.

Furthermore, on his research "Alternate Models of Family Influence on Students' Political Ideology", he sampled Yale University students and investigated impact of parents' political ideology on their children's ideology. The research concluded that the political ideology of parents determined their children's ideology. For instance, left ideology of parents leads to children's left ideology. Nonpolitical relationship between parents and children is result of psychoanalysis, social learning, and historical perspective. In this case, ideology is relationship prolongation between parents and children. Family transforms political value, behavior, and information to children directly that induces to sharing of political value and behavior from parents to children.

Study about political education from parents to children is also conducted by Jennings [3]. He analyzed the relationship between parents and children and sampled eight western countries during middle of 1970s. Jennings found out that parental socialization can be either direct or indirect socialization. Indirect socialization, learning is transferred through behavior. He assumed that ideology similarity between parents and children came from combination of their behaviors. Direct socialization appears in social learning especially through experiment. Children's

ideology occurs through noticing and hearing parents' ideology manifestation in which children can strengthen children's own ideology development. On the other hand, indirect socialization can come from family characteristics that have impact on children's political maturity. It can be concluded from this study that parents can influence children's ideology both directly and indirectly.

Process of internalizing ideology from parents to children has different models. The models are explained by Murray and Mulvaney [2]. They focus their research on characteristics differences in transferring party ideology by parents to children. According to them, there is strong evidence that political orientation and political ideology are inherited. There is compatibility of chosen parties between parents and children. This is an effective proof that household is socialization vessel and political content to children. They explain that children tend to adopt the values believed by their parents. This is driven by various factors such as; children's personal desire to equate political ideology; ideology conveyed by parents has strong emotional ties; and having their own belief in embodied value of socialized ideology.

Furthermore, Murray and Mulvaney [2] conclude that there are three characteristics of parental ideology education. First of all, permissive education shows a rational context characterized by positive effectiveness. But in this characteristic, parents only situate a little hope, and little control on children's behavior when socializing. Parents who do this permissive socialization situate themselves as a friend to their children.

Second, authoritarian education is characterized by great control over children, and applies harsh discipline. These kinds of parents position their children with high demand and will punish them if they do not follow parent's requisite. Authoritarian education has a negative effectiveness in socialization process. Third, educational authority is socialization process reflecting a firm but flexible education in controlling children. This process will result in positive effectiveness for socialization.

They also found that authoritative education model was more effective in transmitting political values and ideologies. In this model, children will feel freer in choosing their political choices. This is supported by parents who motivate children to be willing to follow same ideology as them.

From the researches above, it can be concluded that parents have an important role in shaping ideology of children. Political education transferred by parents either directly or indirectly will affect internalization of certain values for children. Researches related to delivery of ideology from parents to children has been widely conducted. In general, the above researches relate to internalization of party ideology to children. Little to no contemporary research has a political examination on political ideology of liberation front movement like GAM.

This suggests that limitation of prior researches focusing on internalization of political ideology of a movement. Therefore, to fill this void, this study will examine pattern of internalization of ideology of ethnonationalism from several GAM leaders to their children.

4. Discussion

4.1 Ethnonationalism as GAM's Ideology

Term of ideology was first used by Antoine Louis Claude Destutt and Comte de Tracy (1754-1836) at the end of the 18th century to describe formation of an idea. Ideology is a system of values and beliefs received as facts and truths for a group of people. Ideology can formulate minds of its followers that causes contained ideology values as an important part of their life. In practice, ideology is identical to birth of a social movement. For example, democratic movement was in the 17th century, and Marxism and anarchism was in the 19th century. Fascism, socialism, and feminism were developed in the 20th century [6].

Ideology is more than just doctrine. Ideology relates to certain actions and broader meaning of social behavior. ideology as a broad concept including belief and behavior. Ideology focuses on human issues and relates the issues to thoughts and actions. Furthermore ideology as an organization of belief, attitude, religion, politics, or philosophy that has been institutionalized and disseminated to others. Ideology is also defined as overall attitudes and values that relate each other. It is about purpose of the community and how it should be achieved. Ideology will help a person explain why a person does a particular action [6].

Different from above experts who explain general definition of ideology, then Shils [7] defines ideology more specifically. There are nine criteria to differentiate ideology from other concepts such as beliefs and intellectual movements. According to Shils, ideology includes: (a) Strong formulations; (b) systemizing integration of certain beliefs; (c) recognizing existence of past ties with contemporary patterns; (d) approaching new element; (e) manifesting behavior; (f) having a certain effect; (g) demanding people to accept them; (h) enacting authority; (i) linked to a legal entity to actualize a belief.

Based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that ideology is conceptualized as a system of individual belief adopted by a group. From the group, it can be identified that ideology is able to motivate and explain broad political behavior. In this research, GAM explained has its own driven ethnonationalism ideology by understanding of love of nation (Aceh). This ideology is used as basic for struggling movements.

Ethnonationalism is a concept that often juxtaposed with nationalism. This concept became an important issue that develops in a number of countries in the world. This is often associated with the emergence of minority group conflicts in a nation that is marginalized by other nations. Ethnonationalism comes from "ethnicity" that arises in context of social interaction in a plural society.

Barth, states that, ethnic refers to a particular group having similar racial, religious, national, or combination of categories binding in its cultural value system [8]. Continuing the definition, Smith states that ethnicity can be defined as a human community that has a name, is related to one motherland and has a common ancestral myth, shared memories, one or several common cultural elements, and certain solidarity among its elites [9].

Ethnonationalism is a concept of love and pride of its own people. Ethnonationalism is also known as local-level nationalism. Nationalism refers to a state, whereas ethnonationalism refers to a nation within a state. Existence of ethnonationalism does not aim to oppose colonization of other nations, but it opposes other dominance of ethnicity which is too great within in one state. The power is used to control or suppress other areas.

As viewed from contemporary political developments, ethnonationalism arises from reactions and dissatisfaction of uneven physical, social, cultural and economic development carried out by a central government over a particular territory. This dissatisfaction embodies a high regional sentiment that causes them to form a liberation movement aiming to free dominance of central government. For ethnic groups experiencing dissatisfaction, they establish a liberation movement that seeks to regain their rights. On the other hand, emergence of this movement is seen by central government as a separatist movement that disrupts sovereignty and stability of the nation [8].

Indonesian government is dominated by Javanese therefore resulted policy is only oriented to Javanese (Java centrism). Central government also undertakes a massive exploitation of regional natural resources. The problem is the large profit-making exploitation is not distributed fairly to the region. This leads to imbalance between center government and region in which the region experiences poverty, while the center relishes the natural resources.

Social resentment eventually evokes regional movement of ethnonationalism in Indonesia in the 1960s and 1980s. The movements, for instance the Free Papua Organization (OPM) was declared in 1965, the Republic of South Moluccas (RMS) Movement was declared on 25 April 1950, and the Free Aceh Movement was declared on 4 December 1976. These movements had the same goal, and became an autonomous state [10].

GAM was declared by Hasan Tiro on 4 December 1976 and originally was called ASNLF (Aceh Sumatera National Liberation Front). Initially, GAM was only a small organization. In 1976, GAM consisted of only 70 intellectuals including doctors, engineers, academics, and businessmen. Since 1986, GAM members had begun to gain military training in Libya. In 1989, hundreds of GAM members returned to Aceh and trained hundreds of other members. This was a major threat to Indonesia and government labeled GAM as a terrorist movement. Therefore, the Indonesian government under President Soeharto applied Military Operation Area (DOM) in Aceh to destroy GAM. As a result, 2,000 people were killed and 3,439 people were being victims of human rights violations [11].

As an ethnonationalism movement, GAM has a well-organized structure and systematic fundamentals of movement. In consequence, GAM has survived and existed for a long time. Schulze [11] stated that GAM succeeded in maintaining its existence for three reasons: First, GAM had a secure leadership, because of being in exile outside country. Secondly, numbers of GAM members are very huge and scattered in several countries. For example, GAM military commanders are in Malaysia but still support the uprising in Aceh. Thirdly, the victims of the DOM became supporters of GAM in the era of 1998-onwards.

GAM has a well-organized organizational structure and basic of movement including GAM's goals and ideology. GAM ideology is disseminated to its members through "Aceh Education". Aceh education is special education for GAM members given during their practice in training camps in Libya as well as in Aceh. The members were taught about ethnonationalism that prioritizes Aceh's interests. From 1975-1979, education was conducted in forests of Aceh. The people who had been trained in Libya would join Cabinet of Aceh Merdeka. The first generation of them is Tgk. Ilyas Leubee, Muchtar Hasbi, Zaini Abdullah, Zubir Mahmud, Hasnawi Hasan, and Geuchik Uma. They were awarded certificate of Aceh University of Gunong Halimoon by Hasan Tiro. Furthermore, members who had returned from Libya would train other youths in Mount Halimoon. Aceh Education included study of history, politics, social, culture, customs, law, and diplomacy. All of the studies aim to evoke ethnonationalism feeling to members.

In the training camp at Mount Halimoon, military training was held from the morning to the afternoon while Aceh Education was given by Hasan Tiro at night. If Tiro was out of the country, Aceh Education materials would still be submitted by Tiro through Video, and his voice would be recorded thus the Members could continue to learn from Hasan Tiro.

Ethnonationalism is a motivation and activator of GAM in fighting for Aceh. This ideology is believed by all GAM members and used as a basic action. Hess and Torney [12] states that an ideology can be transferred from parents to their children. Personal relationships between children and parents lead to accumulation of political information and cognitive development that will complement political socialization component. The relationship then can induce to a transfer of political ideology or known as interpersonal transfer model.

4.2 Parents Ideology of Ethnonationalism

Five respondents were GAM leaders who had structural positions and had an important role in the movement. Each of them has similar ideology of etnationalism. This ideology is got in different ways. Tgk Nashruddin Ahmad admits that ethnonationalism is formed naturally in him. This began with a sense of sympathy for fate of Aceh under centralized government. Despite not fighting physically,

Tgk Nashruddin Ahmad helped the GAM to struggle and become a GAM negotiator in the Helsinki MoU peace agreement.

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

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

Fakhrudin Norman is called Norman having different experience. Norman knew about GAM from his father. Although not a member of GAM, his father has a close relationship with Ilyas Leubee. Norman's father often assisted GAM and Norman paid attention to what his father did. Afterward, Norman interested and learned about GAM. The sympathy towards GAM raised the state of ethnonationalism. Various information was collected by him and then Norman decided to become a GAM's member.

Norman officiated as commander of Peer II (the equivalent of a leader in a village) who served in logistics and communications. Furthermore, Norman added that each pangpeut oversaw several gampongs led by Panglima Cut (PangCut). PangCut is the smallest commander consisting of seven GAM combatants and required to recruit three civilians as members. This smallest unit is called Siploh member.

During his membership, Norman attended several military pieces of training. He explained that training is usually followed by about 700 members for three months trained. The training was led by a coach called Mualem and the Mualem were ex-coaches trained in Libya. Mualem provided training called command and leadership education. The members will be given motivation to struggle in which formation of ideology applied including knowledge of Aceh's histories that evoke ethnonationalism of the members.

Based on the above ideology explanation, GAM members including Norman volunteered blood, life, property, and mind for GAM's struggle. This is done sincerely and voluntarily. To achieve the goal and to defend the ideology, GAM members fought through politics, propaganda, diplomacy, economy and weapons.

In Aceh Education, there are a lot of materials regarding Aceh's history acquired by Norman. Aceh's historical education recalls Aceh's great kindness for Indonesia. Norman stated that Aceh once was the fifth largest country in the world. Based on the history, Aceh does not deserve to be colonized and must become an independent country.

The fourth respondent was Yusra Habib Abdul Gani. In GAM, Yusra held several important positions such as the Chairman of the GAM Information Bureau in Kuala Lumpur (1991-1998), Suara Aceh Merdeka Magazine Editor in Chief in Kuala Lumpur (1991-1998), Chairman of the GAM Information Bureau in Denmark (1998-2004), and General Leader of ASNLF (2002-2005).

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

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

4.3 Internalization Process of Ethnonationalism Ideology

Ideology can be transmitted from parents to children. In the internalization process, parents have an important role. Baumrind in Murray and Mulvaney (2012) (2) described the individual differences in parenting style on socializing political value. There are three primary parenting styles that characterize parents-children relationship contexts namely permissive parenting, authoritarian education, and authority education. The five interviewed respondents applied different patterns of ideological internalization for their children.

When interviewed, Tgk Nashrudin Ahmad testified that there is no formal process in disseminating ideology to his son. For him, his son is still too young. However, his son learned that Tgk Nashrudin was involved in GAM. His son also knows about the history of Aceh's glory. For him, ideology can't be imposed. Every child is free to choose whatever he thinks is right.

Nevertheless, Tgk Nashrudin argued that ideology of etnationalism has changed its original meaning. Prior to the Helsinki MoU peace agreement, Ethnonationalism was manifested by battle and arms. But after the agreement, understanding of ethnonationalism is interpreted in broader sense. Love of the Acehnese should not be demonstrated by war. However, there are many other things can be done to express the love such as encouraging economic, education and society development. This is what Tgk Nashrudin

explains to his children. It can be said that pattern of internalization of ethnonationalism done permissively in which the parents just put a little hope and a little control when doing socialization.

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

Fakhrudin Norman explained that his family gave full support when he joined GAM. As explained above, Norman sympathizes with GAM after seeing his father who often helped GAM members. Norman currently has five children. After graduating from elementary school, Norman's eldest son lives with one of his family outside Aceh due to the conflict in Aceh. His other children now live with his.

All of Norman's children recognize his activities involving in GAM. They also know that his father often fought and even been arrested by Indonesian Military army. Regarding internalization of ideology, Norman explained that he never directly indoctrinated his children to have same ideology as him. Norman has never directed his son to become a GAM member like him.

Norman's ideology transfer pattern is the education of authority. This type of education demonstrates a firm process of ideology internalization, but the pattern is flexible in controlling children's ideology. In everyday life, Norman formed his son's ideology by telling stories of GAM's struggle. Through these stories, the sympathy of Acehnese will arise and will induce to interest to GAM.

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

Yusra Habib undertook the same ideological education as Norman's, education of authority. After GAM reconciled with Indonesia, Yusra still holds GAM ideology. Thus, he often makes transfer of ideology through telling stories of his struggles to his children. Yusra believes that an ideology will be embedded and emerged instinctively. In detail, Yusra has not explained the steps of the struggle in the future because his children are still in college. Differently, what he is doing now will go through stages of absorbing ideology for children. Yusra explained that he had his own way of transferring ideology of etnationalism. That is by forming his children through story of his life and story of his struggle during being member of GAM.

Teuku Ismuhadi Jafar applies pattern of internalization with permissive education. Great curiosity about Aceh emerged from his sons. They mostly asked about Aceh rebellion, what its reason and what its impact for society.

Based on the curiosity, Teuku Ismuhadi tried to develop ideology from history of Aceh. He just controls on children behavior a little. For Ismuhadi, his children are free to become what they want. Process of socialization applied by Ismuhadi is permissive education. Fighting is no longer being best alternative for developing Aceh. Ismuhadi hopes his children will love Aceh and will strive to Aceh welfare by learning history of Aceh.

4.4 The Pattern of Internalization Ideology

According to Baumrind in Murray and Mulvaney [2] the internalization pattern of ethnonationalism from the leader of GAM to their children as the below table:

Table 2
Analysis of Ethnonationalism Internalization Ideology

Informants	Internalization Process	Internalization Pattern	The expected action
Tgk. Nasrudin Ahmad	Informal Process Telling the history of Aceh	Permissive	Ethnonationalism is implemented by encouraging economics and education development
Fauzan Azima Sulaiman	Informal Process Telling the history of Aceh	Permissive	Ethnonationalism is implemented by contributing in economics and education development
Fakhrudin Norman	Informal process Telling the history of Aceh Providing reading materials about Aceh	Authority	Desiring children to participate voluntarily in struggling for Aceh
Yusra Habib Abdul Gani	Informal process Telling his fighting story Telling the history of Aceh	Authority	Desiring children to participate in struggling for Aceh
Teuku Ismuhadi Jafar	Telling the history of Aceh	Permissive	Ethnonationalism is implemented by fighting for Aceh's prosperity.

Table 2 shows that each of respondent applied different ways of socializing their ideology. However, there is similarity between socialization media that is Aceh history. Each parent uses history of Aceh's glory to awaken sense of their children ethnonationalism.

Historical influence is very significant in forming ethnonationalism. Aceh's history as a prosperous and affluent nation constructs imagination in children and formalizes ideological formation of ethnonationalism. The

process is simple. I divide the process into three stages: introduction, understanding, and internalization (Shown as picture below).
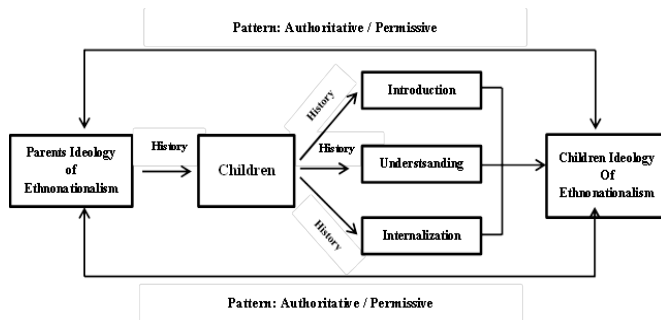

Fig.1. The process of Ideology Internalization

These three stages apply history as the most important socialization media for formatting an ideology. At first stage, introduction, parents do the process of introducing history to their children by telling history of glory of Aceh in the past. This history is packed with exciting stories, for example depicting heroes of Aceh as a formidable figure against the Dutch colonialism.

The second stage is understanding stage. When a child has begun to show interest, then he will try to understand every detail of history told by his parents. This continues to high curiosity of a child by asking his parents and seeking information. After completing this stage, history will construct an ideology of the child indirectly.

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

5. Conclusion

Main political socialization agent is family, especially parents that have an important role in shaping ideology of children. In this case, former GAM leaders basically have

their own ideology. The ideology is known as the ideology of ethnonationalism. Five interviewed leaders obtained this ideology through their membership in GAM. This deeply rooted ideology is eventually socialized to their children in different patterns. Theoretically, Baumrind [1] in Murray and Mulvaney [2] concludes that there are three patterns of ideological education undertaken by parents to their children. The three patterns of education are permissive, authoritarian, and authoritative.

This study found that there are two dominant patterns used by parents in socializing their ideology to their children namely permissive and authoritative. The process of ideology internalization happened in three stages: recognition, understanding, and internalization. Despite having different patterns, the five leaders use the same socialization media that is telling history of Aceh's past greatness to awaken their children ethnonationalism.

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