

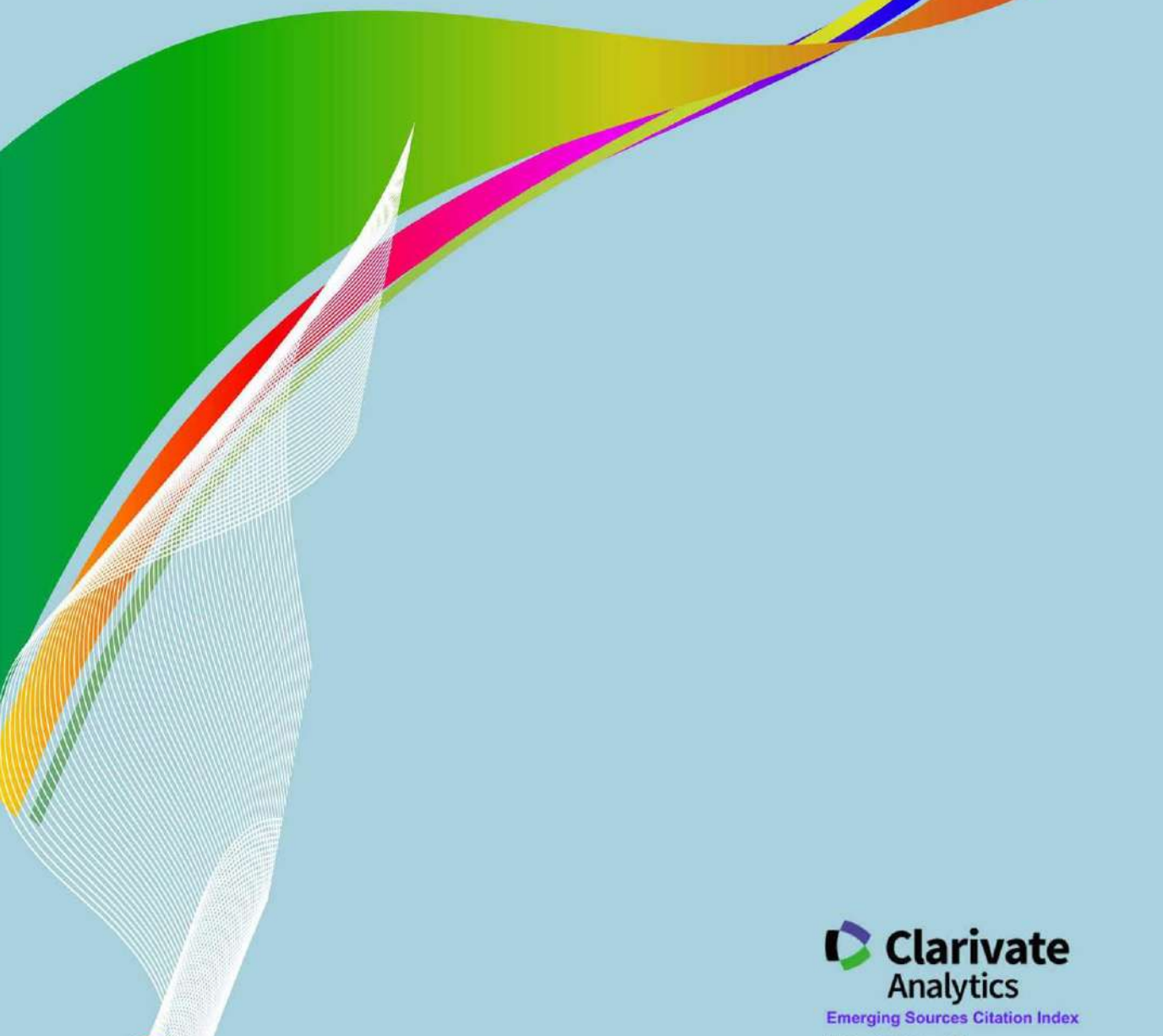
P-ISSN: 2338-8617

E-ISSN: 2443-2067

Jurnal Ilmiah

PEURADEUN

Vol. 10, No. 1, January 2022



 **Clarivate**
Analytics
Emerging Sources Citation Index
Web of Science™



INDEX  COPERNICUS
INTERNATIONAL



SCAD Independent
Accreditation by IAO since 2014
 Copernicus Publications
The Separation Open Access Publisher

JIP
The Indonesian Journal of the Social Sciences
www.journal.scadindependent.org
DOI Prefix Number: 10.26811



ACCREDITED "Sinta 2" by Decree No. 164/E/KPT/2021
Valid Until the January 2026 Edition

Post-Conflict Aceh; Partai Aceh Versus Partai Nanggroe Aceh at the 2017 Election

Akmal Saputra¹; Heru Nugroho²; Arie Sujito³

¹*Ph.d Student of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia*

^{2,3}*Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia*

Article in Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun

Available at : <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/683>

DOI : <https://dx.doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v10i1.683>

How to Cite this Article

APA : Saputra, A., Nugroho, H.,, & Sujito, A. (2022). Post-Conflict Aceh; Partai Aceh Versus Partai Nanggroe Aceh at the 2017 Election. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 10(1), 87-104.
<https://dx.doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v10i1.683>

Others Visit : <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun>

Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun (JIP), *the Indonesian Journal of the Social Sciences*, is a leading peer-reviewed and open-access journal, which publishes scholarly works, and specializes in the Social Sciences that emphasize contemporary Asian issues with interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. JIP is published by SCAD Independent and published 3 times of year (January, May, and September) with p-ISSN: 2338-8617 and e-ISSN: 2443-2067. Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun has become a CrossRef Member. Therefore, all articles published will have a unique DOI number. JIP has been accredited by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, the Republic of Indonesia through the Decree of the Director-General of Higher Education, Research and Technology No. 164/E/KPT/2021, date December 27, 2021. This accreditation is valid until the January 2026 edition.

JIP published by SCAD Independent. All articles published in this journal are protected by copyright, licensed under a CC-BY-SA or an equivalent license as the optimal license for the publication, distribution, use, and reuse of scholarly works. Any views expressed in this publication are the views of the authors and not of the Editorial Board of JIP or SCAD Independent. JIP or SCAD Independent cannot be held responsible for views, opinions and written statements of authors or researchers published in this journal. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of the research material. Authors alone are responsible for the contents of their articles.

JIP indexed/included in Web of Science, MAS, Index Copernicus International, Sinta, Garuda, Moraref, Scilit, Sherpa/Romeo, Google Scholar, OAJI, PKP, Index, Crossref, BASE, ROAD, GIF, Advanced Science Index, JournalTOCs, ISI, SIS, ESJL, SSRN, ResearchGate, Mendeley and **others**.





POST-CONFLICT ACEH; PARTAI ACEH VERSUS PARTAI NANGGROE ACEH AT THE 2017 ELECTION

Akmal Saputra¹; Heru Nugroho²; Arie Sujito³

¹Ph.d Student of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

^{2,3}Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

¹Contributor Email: akmalsaputra@utu.ac.id

Received: Jun 28, 2021	Accepted: Aug 18, 2021	Published: Jan 30, 2022
Article Url: https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/683		

Abstract

Post-conflict Aceh, GAM has transformed from a defense movement to a political movement. This transformation caused contestation in internal GAM. GAM versus GAM contestation in regional election contest has started since 2006, 2012, and 2017, but regional election contest in 2017 period is the peak of political fragmentation in Aceh. GAM has split into two local parties namely Partai Aceh (PA) and Partai Nanggroe Aceh (PNA). This article examined the strategy and basis of the two local parties in the 2017 regional election contest (Pilkada). This article also revealed how these local parties establish an affiliation with the National Party in the 2017 regional election contest. This study used qualitative research methods and data collection techniques using in-depth interview techniques. The results showed that the Partai Aceh has a mass base at the grassroots as well as a militant mass (ex-combatants), while the Partai Nanggroe Aceh had a mass base of civilian GAM besides having a mass base at the grassroots (former combatants). The strategy carried out by each local party was to take religious leaders as symbolic capital to gain votes in the elections. Furthermore, the uniqueness of these two local parties is they did not release ethnic ethnonationalism as symbols of its identity.

Keywords: *Partai Aceh; Partai Nanggroe Aceh; Election; Post-Conflict.*



A. Introduction

This article examines and discusses how *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (GAM)-based local parties developed strategies for winning the 2017 governor elections, then what basis each local party has. The two local parties, the *Partai Aceh* and the *Partai Nanggroe Aceh*, were not only established by former *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (GAM) combatants but also issues concerning local parties are hot issues to be discussed today. *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (GAM), for future author mentions GAM, departed from resistance groups that had no "political" experience and then became involved in political contestation in the aftermath of a peaceful Aceh. GAM departed from the same group fighting for Aceh's independence and then split into post-peace factions in political contestation in Aceh.

The local political contestation after the peace in Aceh showed that the contestation of GAM versus GAM has continued for three periods of the current election, starting from 2006, 2012 to 2017. The election GAM vs GAM can also be observed in the 2009 legislative election, 2014 legislative election, and 2019 legislative election. GAM versus GAM appears to continue, each local party group has a different strategy even though it has the same general basis, namely GAM, the ideology carried by each party also seems to be very different.

Studies on Aceh post-conflict are not the new studies. It has been widely discussed and concern by academics and practitioners (Baihaqi, 2014); (Sanusi et al., 2018); (Safwadi, 2020). Several articles discuss the transformation of GAM into politics (Schulze, 2004); (Aspinall, 2005); (Nurhasim, 2009); (Aspinall, 2009); (Stange et al., 2010); (Schulze, 2010); (Sindre, 2011); (Budi, 2012); (Missbach, 2013); (Murziqin & ZA, 2016); (Ikramatoun et al., 2018). Besides, they also discuss GAM genealogy, how the GAM transformations process from a resistance movement to a practical political movement. Some of them also discussed the process of the birth of a local party.

After GAM's transformation into politics, finally rise a new phenomenon in Aceh. GAM was involved in political contestation under the agreement

in Helsinki, both executive election and legislative election. The most interesting contestation namely GAM versus GAM, departing from the same group and then trapped in political contestation (International Crisis Group, 2011); (Nurhasim, 2005); (Hasan, 2008); (Missbach, 2012) which tells how GAM contested fellow GAM in the 2006 elections or the beginning of the birth of peace. Other studies also investigated how GAM versus GAM designed various strategies to achieve a victory in the battle, whatever the strategy (International Crisis Group, 2007); (Aklima, 2013).

For this reason, the writer is interested in reviewing and discussing what are the strategies of each of these local parties to achieve victory in the 2017 regional election. Consider that the base of GAM is the same which is the struggle for these two local parties will naturally experience divisions, the pattern of maneuvering is very complicated and continues to change according to the interests of each group. GAM itself has a grassroots base that is former GAM Combatant and also an elite base, namely civil GAM.

What is interesting about the 2017 elections? Looking at the development of GAM versus GAM continues and takes place in every local election in Aceh. GAM-based local parties have been formed to *Pantai Aceh (PA)* and *Partai Nanggroe Aceh (PNA)*. Previously, the author observed that in the 2006 elections there was no local party formed. Contestation happened between GAM versus GAM through independent way versus national parties (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*). Then in 2012, local elections only one GAM-based local party was formed, namely *Partai Aceh*, the fight of GAM versus GAM in the 2012 election through local party versus independent way. Meanwhile, in the 2017 elections, two GAM-based local parties were formed (*Partai Aceh* versus *Partai Nanggroe Aceh*). *Partai Nanggroe Aceh* was born from the failure of the *Partai Aceh* in institutionalizing it so that some of GAM came out to form a new party, *Partai Nanggroe Aceh (PNA)*.

Furthermore, the 2017 election marked the culmination of the fragmentation of the contestation among GAM elites, particularly between *Partai Aceh (PA)* and *Partai Nanggroe Aceh (PNA)*, which had begun with the regional elections in 2006. The dynamics and contestation between GAM



elites that continues to this day is a continuation of the contestation that began with the regional elections in 2006 and 2012. Democratically, this contestation has had a positive impact on the journey of democracy at the local level, particularly because it has provided political awareness to create local parties that are under the Helsinki agreement in 2005.

B. Method

This study was conducted as a field research study. The data was collected by observation, interview, and study documents. The author conducted observations by: first, observing how the process of preparation for the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) for both local parties and KIP (Independent Election Commission); second, observing during the implementation of the election (Pilkada), how each local party carried out a strategy to mobilize the masses and their bases.

Furthermore, the author also interviewed various components, such as the Aceh Party elite and the Acehnese Party elite, the GAM negotiator, *Wali Nanggroe*, the GAM Commander, the Aceh Transitional Committee (*Komite Peralihan Aceh*), and academics. The researcher created a list of research questions to ask the informants. This list of research questions serves as an interview guide for researchers, but it is open-ended, allowing researchers to add additional questions while conducting interviews with informants.

The researcher's questions to the informants were open and not prescriptive; the goal was for the informants to become more relaxed and calm in providing answers. The researcher conducted interview with the first informant then asked for recommendations for the next informant, and so on. This is known as the snowball technique in qualitative research (Creswell, 2019; K.Denzin & S.Lincoln, 2009).

This field research is terminated when the data or information is exhausted. The researchers then create a matrix based on the indicators that the author previously created based on the results of the field findings that were noted and recorded during field research. The appropriate data will be included in the matrix, and data that is invalid will be separated first. If

the data or information is relevant to the needs of this research, the researcher learns and comprehends; if there is data or information that is unclear or incomplete, the researcher contacts the informant again to confirm the data or information.

The results of reading the matrix, which the researchers have studied and comprehended, are then written in the form of a draft as a research report, and the researcher analyzes using the theories employed. Besides field research, data in this research was also gathered from supporting documents, such as journals and news, both in the print version and online version.

C. Result and Discussion

In this part, the author explained the result of the research first, and then continued by discussion as below.

1. Result

a. Genealogy dan Transformation of GAM

GAM was established on December 4, 1976, which was proclaimed by Muhammad Hasan in Tiro or better known as Hasan Tiro. The proclamation of GAM was carried out on Halimun Mountain or Cokan Hill which was located in the interior of Tiro District, Pidie, Aceh Province (Nurhasim, 2008b). Hasan Tiro himself is a descendant of a national hero, Tgk Chik di Tiro. The ideology of wicked nationalism is one of the reasons that influenced the birth of GAM, that restoring Aceh to the era of Sultan Iskandar Muda or becoming a sovereign nation (Nurhasim, 2008a). GAM was founded not to be separated from the issue of community welfare, the occurrence of injustice and economic inequality in Aceh, the exploration of natural gas in Lhokseumawe that did not provide welfare for the people of Aceh, and the treatment of armed violence against civilians, which continued to trigger movements to separate themselves from the spirit of Acehnese nationalism (Triyono, 2007).

The conflict between GAM and the Central Government which began at the end of 1976 seemed to be endless, but the devastating tsunami



at the end of 2004 brought Aceh to peace through negotiations in Helsinki. The signing of the Peace or better known as the Helsinki MoU on August 15, 2005, was a new phase for Aceh to design a "New Aceh" in the local political and democratic space. "Helsinki" negotiations are a gift to be thankful for and must be filled with development programs that favor the community. "Helsinki" negotiations are not easy to achieve. Various dynamics and debates about how the design for "New Aceh" within the framework of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia appeared at the negotiating table. (Nurhasim, 2009).

b. Political Dynamic and Beginning of GAM Fission

The Helsinki peace agreement requires GAM to form a local party to run in Aceh elections. Because GAM did not yet have a local party in the 2006 elections or the first post-conflict Aceh elections, GAM was allowed to advance through independent channels or to be affiliated with national parties. The 2006 elections marked the beginning of GAM's division; GAM was divided into two groups: conservative GAM and reformist GAM (Missbach, 2012) or old GAM and young GAM (Aliabbas, 2008). Map of GAM division can be categorized into two groups at that time.

The conservative GAM, also known as the old GAM, is a diaspora group that has long lived in exile or abroad. The conservative GAM group wants GAM to be affiliated with a national party, specifically the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), and the nominee was Humam Hamid, an academic from one of Aceh's prominent campuses, paired with Hasbi Abdullah, Zaini Abdullah's younger brother. Zaini Abdullah was a GAM elite figure who was close to Hasan Tiro, the Free Aceh Movement's declared in 1976.

The nomination of Humam Hamid-Hasbi Abdullah as Governor and Vice Governor of Aceh at the time was opposed by reformist GAM or young GAM-the GAM who survive in the country when the conflict is raging. Humam Hamid was not a GAM figure, according to the young GAM, whereas Hasbi Abdullah was a GAM figure but never held the

highest position in GAM during the Aceh conflict. Another rejection was the reformist GAM's refusal to agree to GAM's affiliation with the National Party. This difference of opinion exacerbated the issue of conservative vs. reformed GAM. GAM reformers believe that the selection of candidates for governor in the 2006 elections should be deliberated rather than decided unilaterally by conservative GAM.

This is the fundamental issue: why, after the conflict, GAM was divided into dissenting factions, was there a dynamic in the nomination of the governor candidate in 2006? In response to the conservative GAM's or old GAM's decision, the reformist GAM or young GAM maneuvered to exit and become opposition. Malik Mahmud, a GAM official, holds a congress known as the "Duek Pakat Bansa Aceh Ban Sigom Donya," which translates as "the Worldwide Aceh People's Congress," to overcome internal dynamics. GAM diasporas and GAM members attended this congress, which was held in May 2006 at Syiah Kuala University in Banda Aceh (Missbach, 2012).

The meeting was intended to reduce internal dynamics and intended to determine candidates for the governor and deputy governor of Aceh. Malik Mahmud did not run as one of the candidates, but he played an important role in promoting the presidency of Humam Hamid and Hasbi Abdullah. During the meeting, Teungku Nashiruddin got the most votes, but he refused to be nominated, so the young GAM group asked for re-election, but the assembly refused. It made the tension between old GAM and young GAM reoccurred. Seeing the situation getting more complicated, Malik Mahmud as a GAM official then announced that GAM as an organization did not support any pair, but GAM members had the right to nominate themselves to become candidates for governor and vice governor (Missbach, 2012).

Irwandi Yusuf did not get the most votes when determining the candidates for governor and vice governor, but seeing the situation Irwandi Yusuf and his colleagues nominated themselves to become candidates for governor and vice governor in the 2006 elections. The public was confused by circulating letters from Malik Mahmud in favor of the Humam Hamid and Hasbi Abdullah pair announced by the chief of GAM Commander



Muzakkir Manaf. A few days later, a letter from Malik Mahmud returned to support the couple Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar (Missbach, 2012).

c. 2017 Regional Election and Vision of GAM

2017 Regional Election in Aceh was different from the election before. The researcher presents field data from 2006, 2012, and 2017 on who was a candidate from the GAM group, what political vehicle was used, what strategy was used, who was the base of support, and with whom they were affiliated. It is shown in the table below, which researchers compiled from field findings.

Table. 1 Election in Aceh: 2006, 2012 and 2017

Arena	2006 Election	2012 Election	2017 Election
Candidates	Irwandi Yusuf/Muhammad Nazar - Humam Hamid/Hasbi Abdullah	Irwandi Yusuf/Muhyan Yunan - Zaini Abdullah/Muzakkir Manaf	Irwandi Yusuf/ Nova Iriansyah-Muzakkir Manaf/T.A Khalid-Zaini Abdullah/Nasaruddin-Zakaria Saman/Teuku Alaidinsyah
Basis of Support	Irwandi Yusuf: KPA/GAM (grassroots), SIRA (pro-referendum activist) Humam Hamid: an old group of GAM	Irwandi Yusuf: KPA/GAM (fraction), SIRA (fraction), GAM sipil Zaini Abdullah: KPA/GAM (grassroots)	Irwandi Yusuf (PNA):KPA/GAM (fraction), SIRA (fraction), GAM sipil Muzakkir Manaf (PA): KPA/GAM (grassroots)
Strategy	Featuring religious figures, Aceh symbols, and ethnonationalism ideology	Featuring religious figures, Aceh symbols, and ethnonationalism ideology	Displaying religious figures and Acehnese symbols, reconstructing ethnonationalism ideology, and forming alliances with national parties in power
Political vehicle	Irwandi Yusuf: Independent Humam Hamid: PPP	Irwandi Yusuf: Independent Zaini Abdullah: Partai Aceh	Irwandi Yusuf: Partai Nanggroe Aceh Muzakkir Manaf: Partai Aceh Zaini Abdullah dan Zakaria Saman: Independent
Affiliate	Humam Hamid: PPP	-	Irwandi Yusuf (PNA): Demokrat, PKB, PDI-P Muzakkir Manaf (PA): Gerindra, PPP, PAN, PKS, PBB



From the data above, the fission of GAM from the 2006 local elections to the 2017 local elections keeps going. The 2017 elections were Aceh's third post-peace vote. GAM versus GAM competition is becoming more and more interesting to study. As previously stated, there were only two GAM groups fighting in the 2006 elections, namely Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar from the independent versus Humam Hamid and Hasbi Abdullah from the National Party, the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), resulting in a landslide victory for Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar to become the Governor and Vice Governor of Aceh at the time.

The two figures' backgrounds, Irwandi Yusuf as a GAM propaganda expert and Muhammad Nazar as a pro-referendum activist, provided them with enough social capital to win the elections in 2006. KPA had a close relationship with Irwandi Yusuf (Aceh Transitional Committee). As a result, Irwandi Yusuf found it easy to use the KPA group as a voting machine in the 2006 election. Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar's group received votes from Aceh's grassroots community groups.

In the 2006 elections, the KPA with a GAM combatant background was very effective in gaining votes. GAM combatants on the KPA are extremely militant. Because militaristic patterns are still built into the KPA frame, the results are quite surprising. In the 2006 elections, Irwandi Yusuf paired with Muhammad Nazar able received 38.20 percent of the votes, while Humam Hamid and Hasbi Abdullah received only 16.62 percent, and the rest were obtained by non-GAM couples.

The pair of Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar, also displaying photographs in a campaign billboard (campaign props) in Acehese clothes, the couple wore *kupiah meukeutop* (Acehese headgear) and wore Acehese traditional clothes (Missbach, 2012). This strategy was also very effective for influencing grassroots circles. The photos in this campaign billboard, as if to explain the current province of Aceh, will be held by Acehese themselves; Aceh will be cared for by Acehese and those who understand Aceh. It appears that the ideology intended to be built from photographs in the campaign billboard would like to explain "Acehese nationalism" or demonstrate its Acehese identity.



In the 2012 elections, two GAM groups fought, namely, Irwandi Yusuf and Muhyan Yunan through the independent way versus Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf through the local party line, the Partai Aceh, with the Partai Aceh bearing the pair Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf.

Every political campaign appears to be constructing "nasionalisme keacehan" ideologies. Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf both use role identity or "nasionalisme keacehan" as a strategy. It will be mentioned at least once in any campaign speech that includes Acehese or GAM symbols. Campaign billboards (campaign props) will still feature images of Hasan Tiro, the Free Aceh Movement's founder, and Abdullah Syafi'i, a former GAM commander who died during the still-raging Aceh conflict. Abdullah Syafi'i is a powerful figure in Acehese politics and society. To influence voters during the upcoming elections, campaign billboards frequently feature GAM symbols, including GAM symbols and the flag.

Other strategies used by *Partai Aceh*, they teamed up with the national party, *Gerindra* (*Gerakan Indonesia Raya*), a party born after the reformation led by Prabowo Subianto, who was a senior *Kopassus* (*Komando Pasukan Khusus*), TNI (Indonesian National Army). Uniquely, *Kopassus* was GAM's main enemy during the Aceh conflict in addition to the TNI and also the involvement of *Kopassus* in the operation of *Jaring Merah* or operation of the *DOM* (*Daerah Operasi Militer/ Military Operations Area*) in Aceh during the *Orde Baru* era 1989-1998. This military operation was revoked after the *reformasi* era or collapse of the *Orde Baru*.

The affiliation between GAM leaders (Muzakir Manaf) and *Kopassus* officials (Prabowo Subianto), as if to explain that Aceh was truly democratic and peaceful. People in Aceh seemed unconcerned with what had happened in the past as if to justify what would be done in the future for a better Aceh. Apart from their shared interests, *Gerindra* also has a large voter base with a high level of militancy. Furthermore, *Gerindra* is not a part of the *Orde Baru* legacy, so it will be easily accepted by the people of Aceh, even though the figure has a tumultuous history in Aceh.

Irwandi Yusuf had to face defeat in the 2012 election. As an incumbent, nobody expected Irwandi Yusuf to be defeated, though so

many other development projects, under the reign of Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar, had to be explored further. Development programs are very pro-community, the health insurance program namely *Jaminan Kesehatan Aceh* (JKA) for the people of Aceh, *Badan Dayah* (an institution that manages dayah/ pesantren issues), scholarship assistance to be able to study abroad, and other various programs.

Muhammad Nazar, the previous Irwandi Yusuf partner, run to governor candidate through the local party channel he founded, the *Partai SIRA* (*Suara Independent Rakyat Aceh*). *SIRA* (*Sentral Informasi Referendum Aceh*) became *Partai SIRA* (*Suara Independent Rakyat Aceh*), an association or organization that influences and supports Aceh's referendum. He chose to work with Nova Iriansyah, a cadre of the national party, the Democrats; the pair advanced through the local party, the *Partai SIRA*, and became affiliated with the national parties, the *Partai Demokrat* and the *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP), but unexpectedly, Muhammad Nazar had to accept defeat and share the same fate as Irwandi Yusuf.

In the 2017 elections, there were four candidates for governor from GAM: first, Irwandi Yusuf who was partnered with Nova Iriansyah; second, Muzakkir Manaf who partnered with TA Khalid; third, Zaini Abdullah and Nasaruddin; the last, Zakaria Saman who partnered with Teuku Alaidinsyah.

Irwandi Yusuf ran through the *Partai Nanggroe Aceh*, a local party he founded (*PNA*). In this candidacy, Irwandi Yusuf teamed up with *Partai Demokrat* cadre Nova Iriansyah. At the time, Irwandi Yusuf used the national party (*Partai Demokrat*) as a winning strategy. When GAM and the central government reached an agreement, the *Partai Demokrat* played an important role in Aceh. The *Partai Demokrat* was the ruling party during the peaceful Aceh period, and it was also not a legacy party from the *Orde Baru*, so it could not influence vote acquisition in the election. Another strategy employed by Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah is collaboration with *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan* (PDIP). Although the PDIP is not a powerful party in Aceh, it was the ruling party in Indonesia during the 2017 Aceh Region Election (*Pilkada*).



A further strategy employed by the Irwandi Yusuf team was to bring up issues of success during his previous leadership. Various development programs were displayed in each campaign, as well as campaign banners that were overseen (campaign props). The Irwandi Yusuf team partnered with Nova Iriansyah vs. Muzakkir Manaf team partnered with TA. Khalid received nearly an equal number of votes (898,710 votes vs 766,427 votes). Zaini Abdullah and Nasaruddin, who advanced through the independent way, received 167,910 votes, while the other pair, Zakaria Saman and Teuku Alaidinsyah, received 132,981 votes.

Muzakkir Manaf team advanced through the local party (*Partai Aceh*) and were supported by National Party, *Partai Gerindra*, namely T.A. Khalid as his deputy gubernatorial candidate, but were defeated in the 2017 elections. The incumbent also collapsed this time. The same thing happened when Irwandi Yusuf ran for governor in 2012. As the incumbent, he had to accept defeat in the elections. It appears that in the 2017 elections, the people of Aceh began to be influenced by Irwandi Yusuf's development programs, as well as Irwandi Yusuf's success in 2006.

The most interesting thing in every campaign of Irwandi Yusuf is using religious symbols such as Acehese charismatic scholar, Abu Tumin. Abu Tumin as a charismatic religious figure in Aceh and also the oldest ulama in Aceh who is very loved and respected by Acehese people began to appear in several campaigns in the open field in various regions in Aceh. Even Abu Tumin was invited to talk directly with supporters during the campaign. The charismatic capital of Abu Tumin is very influential to gain the voice and victory of Irwandi Yusuf in the 2017 elections. For the Acehese people, scholar (*Teungku*) have a strong influence in Aceh, and their speech can be heard and obeyed because Acehese people are very fanatical to the scholar. For the Acehese community, the scholar is the heir of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.

In some areas, the *Partai Aceh* also did the same thing, for example, the campaign in North Aceh, the *Partai Aceh* also garnered the support of Abu Mustafa Puteh who is one of the charismatic scholars in Aceh. This

support was also very influential in getting votes from voters, but Abu Mustafa Puteh was not as popular as Abu Tumin, because Abu Mustafa Puteh was a student of Abu Tumin in Bireuen Regency.

Some interesting things were done by each pair of candidates to win the election, starting from working with charismatic scholars, campaigning for superior development programs, using symbolic identities of irrationality and symbols of the Free Aceh Movement. In addition, a black campaign carried out by *Partai Aceh*, which regarded Irwandi Yusuf as a traitor to GAM because he had left the *Partai Aceh*, to influence policies, for example rejecting the independent candidate. It was done by the *Partai Aceh* during the 2012 elections to trip down the Irwandi Yusuf couple and his case up to the Constitutional Court, but the Constitutional Court ruled that it was allowed to go forward through independent channels. All of these are strategies carried out by candidates to win the elections.

Both of these local parties, both the *Partai Aceh* and the *Partai Nanggroe Aceh* have a mass base, namely GAM and the general public. At present, it is difficult to map whose basis, given the maneuvering of each of these bases will always change according to their interests. However, in general, former GAM combatants will be closer to the *Partai Aceh* than the *Partai Nanggroe Aceh*. The basis of the *Partai Nanggroe Aceh*, in general, comes from civilian GAM and also the general public.

2. Discussion

GAM was able to survive in 2006, 2012, and 2017 elections despite having little experience in politics and election contestation. The previously considered resistance group, as well as destabilizing the Indonesian government, GAM, as a resistance group, can adjust to politics at the post-peace local level. Adjust to post-peace politics at the local level. The formation of a local party is one of the necessary steps toward resolving the conflict in Aceh. The party is more than just a tool for gaining power; the presence of a local party is an effort to provide political education, particularly for GAM and the people of Aceh, under the party's function.



Each GAM group's election strategy is to use grassroots resources or bases, to use religious symbols, Acehese symbols, Acehese nationalism ideology, and to build affiliation with political parties. The ruling national party has taken an important step toward establishing democracy at the local level. The election contest between GAM elites with various strategies appears to be relevant with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of power strategy with a genetic structuralism approach, particularly the concept of habitus, which is an internalized domination mechanism and strategy to the community through the ideology of Acehese nationalism, religious symbols (*ulama*), and Acehese symbols (Bourdieu, 2017).

Habitus can be interpreted as a habit or it can be interpreted as a "mental or cognitive structure" used by actors in social life (Ritzer, 2014). Actors are given a set of internalized schemas and patterns that are used to perceive, comprehend, realize, and assess the social world. It is through these patterns that actors produce their actions and judge them. Dialectically, habitus is a product of the internalization of the structure of the social world (Ritzer, 2014).

Capital is extremely valuable in certain social spaces. Capital is the accumulation of labor, whether, in the form of material or symbolic goods, that is allocated privately by agents or groups of agents for them to gain social power. Capital is classified into four types: economic capital (money, wealth, and property), social capital (various types of relationships and networks), cultural capital (knowledge, educational qualifications, academic degrees, and languages), and symbolic capital (prestige, honor, charisma) (Haryanto, 2014). While the arena is a network of social relations, a structured system of social positions in which people compete for resources, territory, and access, some will seek to maintain the status quo while others will seek to change it (Haryanto, 2014).

Furthermore, it employs the concept of capital (resources and capital). KPA is a grassroots resource or machine that works to support one of the local parties, particularly the Aceh party. There is also economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. It is possible

to explain how GAM employs religious symbols, Acehese symbols, and rebuilds the ideology of Acehese nationalism. Finally, the concept of the arena can be seen in how the local election becomes a contestation arena for the GAM group, where there is a battle between the owners of capital and the dominance strategy. The concept of habitus, the concept of capital, and the concept of the arena cannot be separated but must complement each other.

The path of democracy at the local level is not without flaws; this is true not only at the local level but also at the national level. GAM is currently constructing the first step in providing political education to the GAM group as well as the Acehese people for healthy politics in a democratic space. Politics is understood not only as contestation in the election (*Pilkada*) arena, but it can also provide political education to GAM groups and the Acehese people on how to build Aceh through post-contestation development programs in the election (*Pilkada*) arena, as well as the community being the controller of the executive leadership journey.

Political observers and academics are concerned that local and national parties are only now getting involved in election campaigns and have not yet reached the point of providing political education to both party members and the general public. This has become a national issue and is no longer a problem. Only at the regional level, parties are sometimes founded solely for practical political purposes, parties only exist during election season, parties have failed to fulfill their proper role, and parties focus on pragmatic issues while ignoring ideological issues.

D. Conclusion

Aceh's democratic journey after the long conflict from 1976 to 2005, nearly thirty years of conflict, did not appear to have reached a bright point of resolution. Aceh's peace, achieved through autonomy, has a positive impact on the local level in democratic space. Aceh resolves its conflict with the central government by establishing a Local Party in Aceh. GAM has the opportunity to participate in local politics in Aceh, but current dynamics,



particularly in GAM, are local democratic political dynamics, and contests at local elections are not bad if done on the line. One of the first steps toward GAM learning to be a democracy was the competition between GAM elites.

Local parties contesting elections in Aceh at the moment have not yet reached the point of providing political education, both to party members and the general public. Essentially, this problem exists not only at the local level but also at the national level. Parties are sometimes established and only present for practical political reasons; parties are only present during election momentum. The party has not been able to play the role that it should. The party is involved in pragmatic issues in the struggle for power while ignoring ideology, or some parties do not have an ideology at all. Ideology is sometimes only used as a tool to gain power.

Acknowledgment

This article is a part of a dissertation that is submitted to achieve a Doctoral Degree in the Sociology Department. For that, I would like to thank team promoters Prof. Dr. Heru Nugroho and Dr. Arie Sudjito: Sociology Department of Universitas Gadjah Mada; Sociology Department of Social and Political Science Faculty, Universitas Teuku Umar, and LPDP scholarships (BUDI DN 2016) that have to support the study.

Bibliography

- Aklima. (2013). *Kontestasi Aktor Politik Lokal dalam Pilkada Aceh 2012*. UGM.
- Aliabbas, A. (2008). Transformasi Gerakan Aceh Merdeka. In I. N. Bhakti (Ed.), *Beranda Perdamaian Aceh Tiga Tahun Pasca MoU Helsinki*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Aspinall, E. (2005). *The Helsinki Agreement : A More Promising Basis for Peace in Aceh ?* East-West Center.
- Aspinall, E. (2009). *Combatants to Contractors : The Political Economy of Peace in Aceh*. 87(April), 1-34.
- Baihaqi. (2014). Kedudukan Wali Nanggroe di Aceh. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 2(1), 1-13. <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/issue/view/1>



- Bourdieu, P. (2017). *Habitus*. In E. Rooksby & J. Hillier (Eds.), *Habitus: A Sense of Place* (2nd ed., p. 8). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315253701>
- Budi, A. (2012). *Partai Aceh: Transformasi GAM? PolGoV*.
- Creswell, J. W. (2019). *Research Design, Pendekatan Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif dan Campuran* (4th ed.). Pustaka Pelajar.
- Haryanto. (2014). *Klanisasi Demokrasi: Politik Klan Qahhar Mudzakkar di Sulawesi Selatan*. PolGoV.
- Hasan, K. (2008). *Pilkada, Partai Lokal dan Masa Depan Aceh Harapan Berakhirnya Transisi*. In Ikrar Nusa Bhakti (Ed.), *Beranda Perdamaian Aceh Tiga Tahun Pasca MoU Helsinki*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Ikramatoun, S., Nusuary, F. M., & Amin, K. (2018). *GAM and Social Transformation; from A Rebellion into A Political Movement*. In M. S. A. Majid, H. Fahlevi, F. Nurrahmi, & T. Masykar (Eds.), *Advances In Social Science Education and Humanities Research* (Vol. 292, Issue 1st Aceh Global Conference 2018, pp. 219–224). Atlantis Press.
- International Crisis Group. (2007). *Indonesia : How GAM Won in Aceh* (Issue December 2005). www.crisisgroup.org
- International Crisis Group. (2011). *Indonesia: GAM vs GAM in the Aceh Elections* (Issue June).
- K.Denzin, N., & S.Lincoln, Y. (2009). *Handbook of Qualitatif Research* (1st ed.). Pustaka Pelajar.
- Missbach, A. (2012). *Politik Jarak Jauh Diaspora Aceh; Suatu Gambaran Tentang Konflik Separatis di Indonesia*. Ombak.
- Missbach, A. (2013). *The Waxing and Waning of the Acehnese Diaspora's Long-distance Politics*. *Modern Asian Studies*, 47(3), 1055–1082. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X12000571>
- Murziqin, R., & ZA, T. (2016). *The Importance of Local Parties and Incumbency to the Electoral in Aceh*. *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture*, 10(2), 123–144.
- Nurhasim, M. (2005). *Dominasi Partai Aceh Pasca-MoU Helsinki Pendahuluan Tarik Ulur Partai Lokal di Meja*. 35–49.
- Nurhasim, M. (2008a). *Konflik dan Integrasi Politik Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, Kajian Tentang Konsensus Normatif antara RI-GAM dalam Perundingan Helsinki* (1st ed.). Pustaka Pelajar.



- Nurhasim, M. (2008b). Perundingan Helsinki; Jalan Menuju Damai Aceh. In Ikrar Nusa Bhakti (Ed.), *Beranda Perdamaian Aceh Tiga Tahun Pasca MoU Helsinki*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Nurhasim, M. (2009). Transformasi Politik Gerakan Aceh Merdeka. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik-LIPI*, 6, 85–98.
- Patimah, S., & Tabrani ZA. (2018). Counting Methodology on Educational Return Investment. *Advanced Science Letters*, 24(10), 7087–7089. <https://doi.org/10.1166/asl.2018.12414>
- Ritzer, G. (2014). *Teori Sosiologi; Dari Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Terakhir Postmodern* (W. A. Djohar (ed.); 8th ed.). Pustaka Pelajar.
- Safwadi, I. (2020). The Impact of the Special Autonomy Fund on the Convergence of the Human Development Index in Aceh. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 8(1), 179–200. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v8i1.367>
- Sanusi, Azwardi, Yusuf, R., & Iqbal, M. (2018). The Attitude of the Language of Ex-Combatants and the Victims of Armed Conflict of Aceh Post-MoU Helsinki. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 6(3), 493–506. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v6i3.258>
- Schulze, K. E. (2004). *The Free Aceh Movement (GAM): Anatomy of a Separatist Organization* (Policy Studies (ed.)). East-West Center.
- Schulze, K. E. (2010). The Struggle for an Independent Aceh: The Ideology, Capacity, and Strategy of GAM. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Routledge, 26(4), 241–271. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100390209304>
- Sindre, G. M. (2011). Dari Perlawanan Bersenjata Menuju Partisipasi Politik: Transformasi Politik GAM. In O. Tornquist (Ed.), *Aceh: Peran Demokrasi Bagi Perdamaian dan Rekonstruksi*. PCD Press.
- Stange, Gunnar, & Patock, R. (2010). From Rebels to Rulers and Legislators : The Political Transformation of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Indonesia. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 29, 95–120. www.CurrentSoutheastAsianAffairs.org
- Trijono, L. (2007). *Pembangunan Sebagai Perdamaian: Rekonstruksi Indonesia Pasca Konflik* (1st ed.). Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Walidin, W., Idris, S., & Tabrani ZA. (2015). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif & Grounded Theory*. Banda Aceh: FTK Ar-Raniry Press.