



The Post-Peace Political Dynamics in Aceh Province The Role and Existence of Local Parties on Banda Aceh's Regional Head Election in 2017, of Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The main problem of this study is First, how are the political dynamics of local parties on the regional head election in Banda Aceh 2017? Second, what is the role and existence of Partai Aceh as a local political strength in the regional head election in Banda Aceh 2017? The method in this study is a qualitative approach with the sample of Local and National Parties Administrators, Society Figures, Ex-Combatants of GAM, Commissioners of the Aceh Independent Commission (KIP), voters/society, academics, and political figures. The results of the study are First, there is a political transition occurring in Aceh post-peace, political struggle through Local Parties such as Ex-Combatants founded Aceh Party (PA). Since two elections, Partai Aceh was able to increase the highest number of votes by dominating the parliament and Aceh government. However, on the Aceh Governor election in 2017, the Aceh Party (PA) suffered defeat. It was caused by internal feud and split of Partai Aceh (PA) between Muzakir Manaf as General Chair and Zaini Abdullah together with Zakaria Saman as Tuha Peut (Advisory Board). It was resulting to the different perspectives on determining and appointing a candidate for Aceh's Governor. By management's decisions and meetings of the central leadership council, Partai Aceh (PA) recommended Muzakir Manaf as a candidate for Aceh's Governor, but Zaini and Zakaria Saman did not agree to this appointment because they also hoped to be elected as Governor. Based on this decision, they left Partai Aceh (PA), was followed by all of their sympathizers and supporters. Indeed, there had been different perspectives and political interests of Zaini, Zakaria and Muzakir Manaf since they became Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh in 2012-2017, the peak was after the appointment of candidate for Aceh Governor in 2017. Second, two periods of Ex-Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) as Aceh Governor Leadership, there were many policies and development programs for Aceh which have been initiated and implemented, including Islamic Sharia, Health Insurance (JKA) program, handling of conflict victims, Grand Mosque renovation, social assistance program for combatants, establishment of Institut Wali Nanggroe, Flag Qanun, Hymn and Aceh symbol, etc. Meanwhile, it was not implemented proportionally, the poverty and unemployment rate was still high, investment was not working, and economic society was still weak. So there was resistance from Ex-GAM to carry out armed resistance toward the case of Din Minimi, including the conflict victim's disappointment who were not obtaining the development programs. Third, the role of Partai Aceh (PA) and defeat in the 2017 regional election was an internal split which led to a decrease in votes, the votes were taken by Zaini Abdullah, Zakaria Saman and Irwandi Yusuf. Partai Aceh (PA) also did not carry out internal reforms, so the political recruitment process was only limited to ex-GAM and sympathizers. It was resulting in low quality of human resources. Many political policies and promises could not be implemented cause the voters and sympathizers chose other local and national parties.

Keywords: Aceh Governor Election, Aceh Party political competition, Political Dynamics, Role.

1. INTRODUCTION

Dynamics in a group are often determined by influential people within it. Dynamics can also be interpreted as a movement that changes over time. Political movements can occur in various regions in Indonesia, including in Aceh. Political dynamics do not only occur at the level of elections for governors, regents and mayors, but political dynamics go far beyond that, including in the development of political parties themselves. Political parties have an important role in moving the political machine, both in making elections successful at the legislative and executive levels. In legislative elections, for example, we will see the role and development of political parties in influencing and

maintaining their mass base. Political parties have an important role in realizing real changes in the life of the nation and state in accordance with their political ideals. One of the real changes that the party aspires to is meeting the level of welfare of members, groups and citizens. Of course, this prosperity can be realized if the party is able to carry out its functions better and more openly, among several political party functions. According to Ramlan Subakti, the functions of political parties are recruitment function, socialization function, participation function, communication function, conflict control function, interest guiding function and political control function. In accordance with the political functions mentioned above, a political party can survive for a long time if these functions can be carried out better, and vice versa, a political party can disband if these functions are not managed better and openly, p. This can be seen from several political parties in Aceh, especially local political parties.

The role of political parties as a means of political recruitment in order to increase community political participation is how political parties have a significant role in:

- 1) Preparing political leadership cadres;
- 2) Next, select the prepared cadres; as well as
- 3) Struggle to place qualified, dedicated cadres who have high credibility and receive support from the community in strategic political positions.

Ichlasul Amal (1988) explains that political parties are a necessity in modern democratic political life. A political party as an organization is ideally intended to activate and mobilize the people (political participation), represent certain interests, provide a way of compromise for competing opinions, and provide a legitimate and peaceful means of political leadership succession. Based on this explanation, it can be explained that a political party in the modern sense can be formulated as a group that nominates candidates for political office to be elected by the people so that they can monitor or influence government actions. This understanding tends to be in line with the formulation put forward by Mark N. Hagopian that a political party is an organization formed to influence the form and character of public policy within the framework of certain ideological principles and interests through the direct practice of power or people's participation in elections. From these formulations, it can be understood that the sociological basis of a party is ideology and interests directed at efforts to gain power.

Peter Markl politics is an effort to achieve a good and just social order. Meanwhile, Rod Haque defines politics as a way for social groups to reach collective decisions and improve through efforts to reconcile differences between their members. Andrew Heywood, defines politics as the activity of a nation to create, maintain and amend regulations to regulate its life. Miriam Budiardjo, according to him, politics is an effort to determine general rules that can be accepted by the majority of citizens and lead society towards a harmonious social life.

From the several definitions above, there is a common thread that politics is the art of managing a collectivity, which consists of a variety of different individuals through a series of mutually agreed laws. This definition is based on the fact that politics contains people who have different backgrounds. However, every individual has the same goals, such as wanting to live a prosperous and prosperous life. The rules created are a form of political bond that expresses various individuals in achieving common goals

According to Amin Ibrahim, the local political context is related to the conception of the local political system (SPL) and local political dynamics (DPL). The specifics of local heterogeneity and cases that occur today in political practice in the region will color the understanding of the political. Local politics must be examined systemically, meaning that as a complete order, the DPL will be largely determined by the level and quality of synergy between the Local Political Infrastructure Subsystem (ISPL) and the relevant Local Political Structure Supra Subsystem. In each of these subsystems, the level of role or performance is also determined by whether or not there is cooperation between the sub-subsystems of the Local Political Elite, the Local Political Middle Class and the Local Political Lower Class, and is also influenced by the existence of the Local Politically Indifferent Class. This means that the existence of these groups will color local politics and provide uniqueness to political practices.

Peter Merkl stated that 'Political Dynamics' is an effort to achieve a good and just social order. In line with this, Aristotle argued that a good state is if the policies taken by the state are based on the public interest, while a government whose policies are only based on the interests of the individual in power is a bad government.

According to Bonaventura Ngarawula (2016, 115), political dynamics, apart from being determined by influential people, also have relevance to the current development of the nation state. Bonaventura said, "In Indonesia, the dynamics of the relationship between the state and the citizens are increasingly almost all in interaction life of the state a part of political construction. Therefore, in understanding the sense of nation and state has always been associated with the power of the state (that the dynamics of relations in the life of a nation state are also greatly influenced by the power of the state itself, 2016)

Political movements can occur anywhere, including in Indonesia, Aceh in particular. There are many aspects that can speed up the process of political dynamics, namely social, cultural, political and economic aspects. Reviewing political dynamics through aspects of political science provides an understanding of the political situation and conditions that occur in a country, including Aceh. The political dynamics that occur in Aceh are more dominant in elite political competition both within political parties, rivalry between political party elites and society.

For this reason, let's look at how local parties have developed in Aceh, from the time of their formation, development and role in existence. Since its formation and development, local parties have continued to emerge, rising to the surface to color Aceh's post-peace politics with different colored flags and warda. Formations and developments continue to emerge and color politics in Aceh. The political parties that color Acehnese politics are as follows:

Table 1 Local Parties in Aceh

No	Name of Local Political Party	Information
1	Partai Aceh	
2	Partai Nasional Aceh	
3	Partai Generasi Aceh Beusaboh Thaat dan Taqwa (Gabthat)	
4	Partai Serambi Persada Nusantara Serikat (PS-PNS)	
5	Partai Aliansi Rakyat Aceh Peduli Perempuan (PARA)	
6	Partai Darussalam	
7	Partai Aceh Meudaulat (PAM)	
8	Partai Rakyat Aceh (PRA)	
9	Partai Lokal Aceh (PLA)	
10	Partai Daulat Aceh (PDA),	
11	Partai Pemersatu Muslimin Aceh (PPMA)	
12	Partai SIRA	
13	Partai Silaturahmi Rakyat Aceh (PSRA)	
14	Aneuk Nanggroe Democratic Party (PADAN)	

Source: 2020 Research Results.

There were 14 local parties which then succeeded in registering with the Aceh Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham), the rest did not meet the requirements because they did not have complete management and party founding documents, so these parties were declared disqualified. For the next process, the 14 parloks must go through the next stage of verification at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. From the results of the administrative inspection, 12 parloks were declared to have passed because they met the requirements and had complete management, 50% at the Regency City level, and 25% at the Subdistrict level, while two parloks others were declared disqualified. Then from now on, these parloks must register again at the KIP Aceh office for the next stage of factual verification, based on the results of the latest verification, on July 7 2008, the chairman of KIP Aceh, Salam Poroh, via Decree, 05/SK/KIP/2008 announced that only six political parties had passed factual verification to be able to

participate in the post-conflict regional elections in Aceh in 2009. The local parties declared through this verification are:

- 1) Partai Aceh Aman Sejahtera,
- 2) Partai Daulat Aceh,
- 3) Partai SIRA,
- 4) Partai Rakyat Aceh,
- 5) Partai Aceh,
- 6) Partai Bersatu Atjeh.

Then, as a result of the 2009 elections, the Aceh Party (PA) was declared the winning party in the election with the most votes in the Aceh DPR with 33 seats in the Aceh DPR with a total of 69 seats, while for other local parties only the Party Daulat Aceh (PDA) was able to get 1 seat, the remaining 35 seats were won by national parties, including

- 1) Partai Demokrat with 10 seats,
- 2) Partai Golkar 8 seats,
- 3) Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) 5 seats,
- 4) Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) with 4 seats,
- 5) Partai Persatuan Pembangunan with 3 seats,
- 6) One seat each for the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P), Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB), Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), and Partai Keadilan and Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI).

Furthermore, in the 2014 elections, local parties experienced another change, this change was because the election rules were regulated in law number 11 of 2006 concerning the Aceh Government and Aceh Qanun number 3 of 2008 concerning local political parties. Based on this rule, parties participating in the election must obtain at least 5 percent of the total seats in the Aceh DRR or obtain at least 5 percent of the total seats in the DRRK or at least 1/2 of the number of Regencies/Cities in Aceh. As a result of this regulation, the Aceh Daulat Party finally had to change its name to the Aceh Peace Party (PDA), this change was solely to be able to participate in the 2014 elections. The existence of the Aceh Peace Party in the 2014 elections was only able to retain 1 seat with 1 vote. , 23 %. Apart from the PDA, in the 2014 elections, another new local party emerged, namely the Aceh National Party (PNA). This party was founded by the former Governor of Aceh, namely Irwandi Yusuf. This people's colored party was only able to get 3 seats in the Aceh DPR with a vote share of 3.70%. The vote tally in the 2014 election is as follows:

1. Partai Nasdem 8 seats with 9.88% votes,
2. Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa 1 seat gained 1.23% of the vote,
3. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera won 4 seats with a vote of 4.94%,
4. Partai Golkar Party won 9 seats with a vote of 11.11%,
5. Gerindra 3 seats with a vote of 3.70%,
6. Democrats 8 seats with a vote acquisition of 9.88%,
7. PAN 7 seats with a vote of 8.64%,
8. PPP 6 seats received 7.41% votes,
9. Partai Aceh won 28 seats with a vote of 35.80%,
10. Partai Bulan Bintang 1 seat, vote acquisition 1.23%,
11. Partai Keadilan and Persatuan Indonesia 1 seat, vote acquisition 1.23%,
12. Partai PDI-P and Hanura 0%.

The frenetic dynamics of Aceh's politics are interesting to see the actions of political actors in controlling the management of political conflict in Aceh, especially the competition and disputes in the struggle for power for the Governor of Aceh in 2017. Where political competition and disputes between elites are so dynamic, there is also an internal split in the Aceh Party as Aceh's local force. The dispute in determining the candidate for Governor of Aceh, the Aceh Party as the party with the majority of support and seats in the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA), was appointed by the Chairman of the Aceh Party, Muzakir Manaf, as the candidate for Governor of Aceh, however, there were pros and cons within the Aceh Party. Because an old figure from the Aceh Party did not agree and instead declared himself a candidate for Governor of Aceh to compete with Muzakir Manaf. The Aceh Party's internal competition and disputes are Zaini Abdullah, Zakaria Saman and Irwandi Yusuf who are also candidates for Governor of Aceh. All three are respected former GAM figures and have the support of the people of Aceh. Aceh's political dynamics in the 2017 Aceh Governor election were harsh and full of competition and feuds, causing sharp political dynamics in Aceh.

Aceh's political dynamics actually occurred in the 2006 regional elections, between young groups and older groups, issues of support for candidates for governor, and differences in views regarding the establishment of local parties, debates became increasingly sharp, competition in the 2012 elections and 2017 regional elections, regional head candidacy both at the provincial and city levels. /regency. In addition, the Aceh government's relationship with the Acehnese people is not directly proportional to development programs that are not in favor of the people, such as poverty alleviation, employment, education, health, and various other political promises, causing the Acehnese people to begin to lose trust in regional heads, the majority of whom come from from the Aceh party. The author has described the hopes of the Acehnese people for the Aceh Party and its work since the implementation of the first direct regional elections in 2006 until the regional elections in 2017.

From the explanation above, the 2014 election saw very dynamic changes regarding the development of local and national political parties in Aceh, both in quantity and quality of parties. This change occurred as a result of the Aceh Party's role weakening, because the Acehnese people as the majority of Aceh Party voters were disappointed with policies and the realization of political promises that did not meet the expectations of the Acehnese people. This moment was exploited by the National Party to increase its influence in the Aceh Party's voting pockets, as was done by the national party in coalition with another local party, namely the Aceh National Party, competing in the 2017 regional elections. The decline in the role and existence of the Aceh Party as a local force resulted in very sharp internal feuds and divisions. , so that many left the Aceh Party and joined local and national parties. Another problem is the internal political transformation within the Aceh Party structure which is very exclusive and difficult to carry out reforms, such as political recruitment by producing reliable political cadres and qualified human resources.

Starting from the data presented above, the author tries to explore the political dynamics of Aceh, the role and existence of the Aceh Party in the 2017 Aceh Governor election.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Role of Political Parties

Miriam Budiarto said, a political party is an organized group, whose members have the same orientation, values and ideals, the aim of which is to gain political power and seize political position by constitutional means.

Sigmund Neuman, explains that political parties are articulated organizations consisting of political actors who are active in society, namely those who focus their attention on controlling government power and who compete for popular support, with several other groups who have different views. Thus, political parties are major intermediaries that connect social forces and ideologies with official government institutions and link them to political action in the wider political community. Political parties are not only rival bodies, with their own unique agreements, separations and participation, but it is also necessary to remember that each separate group is essentially part of the whole (Miriam Budiarto. 2007).

Carl J. Fredrik explained that political parties are organizations formed by a number of community members based on a number of ideals, desires and ideologies with the aim of influencing and winning public policy decisions. (Arbi Sanit. 2008). Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties defines Political Parties as organizations that

are national in nature and formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily based on the same will and ideals to fight for and defend the political interests of members, society, nation and state, and maintaining the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the understanding of the existing definitions of political parties, it is also implicitly known the basis that differentiates one political party from another political party. Differences in political parties in various countries are identified through the sociological basis of the political parties. There are at least five types of parties that can be recognized based on ideology, namely:

1) Porto Party

This party does not yet have an organization and is only a grouping of regional interests or ideologies that develop in a particular society. The initial type of political party before it reached the level it is today. This kind of party emerged in Western Europe around the Middle Ages to the end of the 19th century. The most prominent characteristic of the Porto party is the difference between member and non-member groups. The Porto Party has not yet demonstrated the characteristics of a political party in the modern sense.

2) Mass Party

This party does not yet have an organization and is only a grouping of regional interests or ideologies that develop in a particular society. The initial type of political party before it reached the level it is today. This kind of party emerged in Western Europe around the Middle Ages to the end of the 19th century. The most prominent characteristic of the Porto party is the difference between member and non-member groups. The Porto Party has not yet demonstrated the characteristics of a political party in the modern sense.

3) Cadre Party

The cadre party is a further development of the Porto party. This party emerged before the widespread implementation of the voting rights system for the people so that it depended on middle and upper class people who had the right to vote, limited membership, leadership, and funders. The level of organization and ideology of party cadres is actually still low because their activities are rarely based on strong programs and organizations. The birth of this party is usually from within parliament (intra-parliamentary). The orientation of party cadres is on political education and is less concerned with the masses.

4) Ditatorial Party

Ditatorial parties are a subtype of mass parties but have a more rigid and radical ideology. The highest party leaders exercise very strict control over administrators and members. To be accepted as a party member, a person must first be tested for loyalty and commitment to the party ideology. Radical parties demand total devotion from their members

5) Catch-all Party

Also called an umbrella party, it is a combination of a cadre party and a mass party. The term catch-all party was first introduced by Otto Kirchheimer. This term refers to an association that accommodates as many social groups as possible to become members. The main goal of this party is to win elections by offering programs and benefits to its members in exchange for a rigid ideology, (Ichlasul Charity. 1996).

Thomas Meyer mentionfThere are five very important functions of political parties, namely:

- 1) Aggregating the interests and values of various groups of society.
- 2) Exploring,make, and introduce the public to the general election platform of their political party.
- 3) Regulate the process of forming political will by offering more structured policy alternatives.
- 4) Recruiting,educate, and supervise competent staff for their public offices and to occupy seats in parliament.
- 5) Promote, educate and offer its members effective channels for their political participation during the period between elections

Political parties are an important element for the consolidation of a healthy and substantive democracy because the quality of political parties will have an influence in determining political representation and accountability. Political parties have a central role in channeling people's aspirations in order to achieve prosperity for the nation and state, or in other words political parties also play a role as a strategic liaison between the government and citizens. Another fundamental role played by political parties is that formally only political parties are legally recognized and regulated as institutions whose function is to create people's representatives in government (A.Malik Haramain and MF Nurhuda, 2000: 211)

In Indonesia, political parties have become significant since the 1998 reformation and since the promulgation of the Political Law package in 1999. Although the reformation includes significant changes in the system of representation and political parties, various studies show a gap between the ideal role of political parties required in the reformation and the conditions empirical political parties. The continuation of the characteristics of political parties in the pre-reform era where political parties did not have a clear ideological platform and only based themselves on the practice of sharing power for their own interests, so that political parties formed cartel relationships (Slater, 2004; Ambardi, 2008) or became power predators in democracy (Robison and Hadiz, 2004). More recent studies see the failure of political parties as more about internal problems of political parties, especially in terms of party funding (Mietzner, 2013).

The role of political parties as a form of political organization that bridges between government and society. Political parties ensure community involvement and accommodate the aspirations and interests of the wider community in policies that will later return to the community for the common good. The significant role of political parties cannot be separated from the history of modern democracy which emphasizes representation. Political parties have a constitutional mandate to nominate candidates for people's representatives in both the legislature and executive. Compared to interest groups and civil society groups, political parties have a central role that includes two dimensions (Meyer, 2012: 28), namely:

1. Political parties aggregate the interests and aspirations of the community and then transform them into an agenda that will form a platform in elections. This platform must be able to attract the interest and trust of many people so that the party gets lots of seats in parliament to influence policy making.
2. Political parties are the only parties that can translate the interests and values of society into binding legislation and public policies.

FaThe most important inhibiting factors for strengthening the role of political parties in increasing community political participation are:

- a. There is still a lack of compliance with regulations and laws regarding expressing opinions and gathering;
- b. Lack of implementation in attitudes and actions that prioritize national interests can result in a deviation from the direction of national goals;
- c. A democratic process with a large number of parties can allow for a slow political process;
- d. Sir There are separatist ideas that arise when the political and economic situation is weak.

In strengthening the role of political parties in order to increase community political participation, as a follow-up to the policies and strategies as described, it must be supported by reform action programs which include the implementation of restructuring, refunctionalization and revitalization of the political system and especially the role of political parties.

The role of political parties as a means of political recruitment in order to increase community political participation is how political parties have a significant role in:

- 1) Preparing political leadership cadres;
- 2) Next, select the prepared cadres; as well as
- 3) Struggle to place qualified, dedicated cadres who have high credibility and receive support from the community in strategic political positions. The greater the share of political parties in fighting for and

succeeding in utilizing their bargaining position to win the struggle in these three matters; is an indication that the role of political parties as a means of political recruitment is running effectively

2.2. Political Party Dynamics

The concept of political dynamics was heavily influenced by Machiavelli's political thought, many politicians became his political guide in many countries, and admitted to having used it as a guide secretly. In the implementation of politics in Indonesia, many politicians use it as their political handbook. This can be seen and analyzed after the fall of the New Order until now. At the time of claiming supersemar as a letter of handover of power, Suharto had implemented the political practice of seizing power without a normative approach. It was even worse when former President Soekarno was detained as a political prisoner who treated him unfairly towards the former president and founder of the nation. What happened was in line with Machiavelli's theory of maintaining power, namely eliminating all those related to the old rulers. In this case, all of Bung Karno's family was indirectly killed, but hastening Soekarno's death was the most central thing to avoid threats to Suharto's power as president. This, as Machiavelli said in his work, extermination aims to avoid threats to power by the old rulers.

The practice of Machiavelli's theory of power as outlined in his works *The Prince* and *The Discourses* appears in the political dynamics of the current era of reform. Where is Machiavelli's idea "whoever has a weapon will defeat whoever doesn't have a weapon". In the current dynamics of national politics, it is clear who has the weapons, namely capital and media. So they are the ones who will win the political arena over politicians who do not have capital and media. The ideal should be whoever has the political competence that deserves to be the winner, but in reality politicians who don't have capital and media don't get anything. This can be seen during the legislative and presidential/vice presidential general elections every five years. Currently political parties are controlled by financiers and they also as media owners aggressively and easily use the media to build the image of political parties. Through the media, political parties will carry out campaigns and defend themselves and their parties when there are various problems, even though sometimes they have to deviate from the truth. Usually, in various political cases and issues, political parties that have media are able to neutralize various problems and are able to provide political imagery to society.

The behavior of politicians by using Machiavelli's political thoughts as a hand book is the use of race, ethnicity, group and religion, and other differences as a tool to gain power. Just as Machiavelli's thoughts and ideas are virtues, religion and morality are tools for gaining power. Not power for religion, virtue, or morality because the essence of power is power itself. We can also analyze this kind of model before the election. Legislative candidates and executive candidates approach religious, ethnic and group leaders to gather support. Religion, sara and ethnicity are positioned as central to attracting the masses. Apart from that, approaching the community through blusukan or distributing basic necessities is in the name of virtue and morality. This is done in terms of raising votes. Scenes like this often occur in society and are something that has become a distinctive color in today's national political dynamics.

2.3. Local Politics

Peter Markl said politics is an effort to achieve a good and just social order. Meanwhile, Rod Haque defines politics as a way for social groups to reach collective decisions and improve through efforts to reconcile differences between their members. Andrew Heywood, defines politics as the activity of a nation to create, maintain and amend regulations to regulate its life. Miriam Budiardjo, according to him, politics is an effort to determine general rules that can be accepted by the majority of citizens and lead society towards a harmonious social life.

From the several definitions above, there is a common thread that politics is the art of managing a collectivity, which consists of a variety of different individuals through a series of mutually agreed laws. This definition is based on the fact that politics contains people who have different backgrounds. However, every individual has the same goals, such as wanting to live a prosperous and prosperous life. The rules created are a form of political bond that expresses various individuals in achieving common goals.

The definition of politics above has relevance to the concept of local politics. This relevance is none other than social interaction in a certain space. Politics originates from social interaction in space, which then gives birth to

political institutions. Like the country and its various institutions. The social interactions that give birth to political space actually start at the local level.

Local politics is literally part of a political system run by a country. The local context in this case implies the meaning of the heterogeneity of local (regional) communities which have different histories, inner and psychological situations. These conditions certainly contribute to political practice in the region as a way of manifesting or practicing the established paradigm.

Local politics is simply political practice at the local level. Political practice is factually related to the dynamics of government administration and the dynamics of the role of society as a whole in realizing the achievement of ideals. In general, local politics cannot be separated from the national political context or the political system adopted by a country. According to CSIS (2001), local politics is the dynamics of political institutions in the region in actualizing interactions in administering government and social life and functioning the roles carried out by each of these institutions. In this context, local political institutions can be categorized into political suprastructure and political infrastructure. The political superstructure in question is the regional government and the People's Representative Council (DPRD). Political infrastructure in this case includes political parties, interest groups and mass media. In the context of this understanding, potential is the work of regional governments, DPRD, political parties, interest groups and mass media in carrying out development through interaction and role dynamics. In the process of implementing development, all political institutions or political components will influence the quality of development. Political institutions in carrying out their roles are required to have various abilities and capabilities. The capabilities in question are extractive capability, regulative capability, distributive capability, symbolic capability and responsive capability.

According to Amin Ibrahim, the local political context is related to the conception of the local political system (SPL) and local political dynamics (DPL). In interpreting local politics like this, the concept of a political system becomes the framework for the analysis. However, the specifics of local heterogeneity and cases that occur today in political practice in the region will color the understanding of the political. Local politics must be examined systemically, meaning that as a complete order, the DPL will be largely determined by the level and quality of synergy between the Local Political Infrastructure Subsystem (ISPL) and the relevant Local Political Structure Supra Subsystem. In each of these subsystems, the level of role or performance is also determined by whether or not there is cooperation between the sub-subsystems of the Local Political Elite, the Local Political Middle Class and the Local Political Lower Class, and is also influenced by the existence of the Local Politically Indifferent Class. This means that the existence of these groups will color local politics and provide uniqueness to political practices.

In interpreting local politics, all of these components will dynamically interact in the context of roles, capacities and capabilities, as well as interactions between the components themselves. The dynamics of interactions, roles, and capacities or capabilities will contribute specifically to the government process. Regional government as a service organization to the community seeks to realize community welfare as a state goal or political goal of the state. Thus, local political interrelationships influence how regional governments carry out their functions.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

This research method uses a qualitative approach in accordance with the opinion of Creswell (1994: 247) and Strauss and Corbin (2007: 20), stating that the form of research is characterized as an activity of collecting, describing and interpreting data about situations experienced, certain relationships, activities, views, the attitudes shown or the tendencies that occur in the ongoing process, the conflicts that occur and the forms of participation carried out. Based on the research design, an overview of the process and explanation of the meaning of the phenomenon, nature and relationship regarding the decline in the role and existence of local parties in the regional head election in Banda Aceh City in 2017 can be obtained. The setting of this research is based on interviews and ongoing observations. This research was carried out in Banda Aceh City as the provincial capital.

3.1. Election Informant

In this research, informants are those who are considered to have direct information needed in the research area. Determining informants uses "purposive" or purposive sampling, namely the sampling technique used by researchers

if the researcher has certain considerations in taking the sample (Arikunto, 2014: 128). According to the author, the informants in this research were:

Table 2. Research Informant

NO	INFORMANT	AMOUNT	INFORMATION
1	Local/National Party Administrators	3 people	
2	Political Figures	2 persons	
3	Former GAM Combatant	3 people	
4	Community/Voters	4 People	
5	Implementation of Regional Elections (KIP)	1 person	
6	Academics	1 person	

3.2. Data analysis

Miles and Huberman (2010:20), stated that activities in qualitative data analysis are carried out repeatedly and continuously until completion. In this understanding, the problem of data reduction and data preparation, and drawing conclusions/verification becomes a picture of successive success as a series of analysis activities that follow each other. Activities in data analysis, namely data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.

As a data presentation model, the interactive model in data analysis is shown in Figure 3 below:

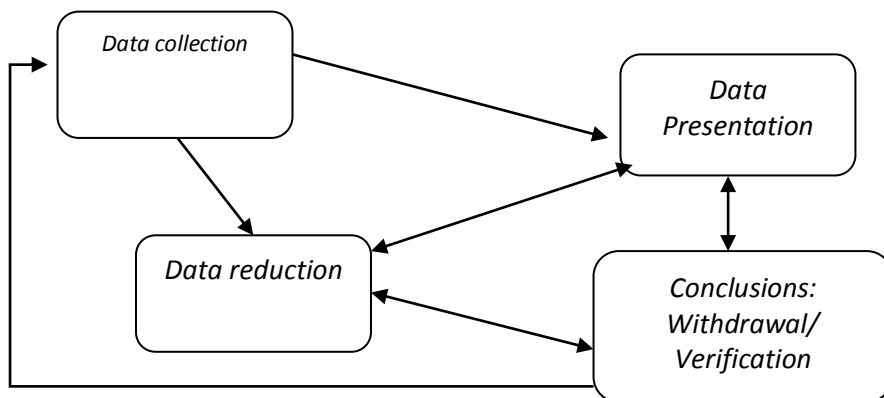


Figure 1. Components in Data Analysis

4. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Regional Head Election (Pilkada)

The hustle and bustle and all kinds of commotion that occur in the process of political democracy at least attract the public's attention and thus have a negative impact on the participation of community members in channeling their aspirations. Even political practices that have transactional political nuances are considered normal by some political elites. Even though this problem can essentially damage the true order of political democratic values. Because as a common enemy, whoever the perpetrators must be fought together in order to create healthy local politics (Sudirman 741; 2012). Therefore, in regional elections, democratic development is marked by 3 (three) prerequisites, namely first, competition in gaining and maintaining power; second, community participation; third, there is a guarantee of civil rights in politics (Marijan, 2010; 83). So that an electoral space where democratic values are present will give birth to a democratic atmosphere and be realized concretely in social life and felt by anyone who sees and is involved in it. In countries that adhere to democracy, the idea of popular participation has an ideological basis that the people have the right to participate in determining public policy.

In 2017, Aceh Province held simultaneous regional elections by electing the Governor, Deputy Governor, Regent, Deputy Regent, Mayor and Deputy Mayor in twenty City Districts in Aceh, namely East Aceh, Pidie, North Aceh, Aceh Sigkil, Nagan Raya, Southeast Aceh, Simeulue, Langsa, Central Aceh, Aceh Jaya, Aceh Barat Jaya, West Aceh, Nagan Raya, Aceh Besar, Bireuen, Sabang, Banda Aceh, Bener Meriah, Gayo Lues, Lhokseumawe, and Central Aceh. The 2017 regional elections at the Aceh Province level were attended by many pairs of candidates, namely Irwandi Yusuf, M. Sc paired with Ir. Nova Iriansyah, H. Muzakkir Manaf paired with T. A Khalid, MM, Dr. Ir. Tarmizi Karim, M. Sc paired with T. Machsalmina Ali, MM, Ir. Abdullah Puteh is paired with Sayed Mustafa Usab Al Idroes, M. Si, Dr. Zaini Abdullah is paired with Ir. Nasruddin, MM, and Tgk. Zakaria Saman is partnered with T. Alaidin Syah, M. Eng. The pair Zakaria Zaman and T. Alaidin Syah are the only new candidates who are running independently. The presence of Zakaria Saman and T. Alaidin Syah in the nomination market for Governor of Aceh for the 2017-2022 period made the public atmosphere in Aceh even more interesting because the pair often made jokes and controversies in the mass media.

4.2. Political Dynamics of Regional Elections in Aceh

Since the peace period began, political conditions in Aceh have experienced significant changes, where political struggle is no longer carried out through armed movements but is carried out through political activities by placing people in the executive and legislative institutions. Therefore, political elites who previously joined the Free Aceh Movement or the post-peace civil movement are competing to establish local political parties, such as the Aceh Party (PA), the Aceh Naggroe Party (PNA), the Aceh Daulat Party (PDA), and the Independent Voice Party. People of Aceh (SIRA) and others. With so many local parties, political dynamics in Aceh are becoming sharper, with each party gaining influence from the other.

As a former conflict area, every post-conflict regional election, acts of terror and intimidation often occur at that time, for example in the 2014 election, in North Aceh, the shooting of one of the PNA legislative candidates, and the burning of the Nasdem Party and PNA post in Alue Awe, Geuredong Pase, North Aceh, this morning (Serambi Indonesia, March 5 2014).

From the various political dynamics that occurred after peace at that time, it turns out that it was not possible to create a sense of security for the entire community in terms of political participation, whether voting or being elected. However, that sense of security exists within the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), which is represented as the Aceh party, so at that time, anyone who challenges or tries to compete with this party either before or after the election takes place will be a threat in itself for the party concerned.

Apart from that, the conflict situation with the dynamics that occurred in Aceh seemed to narrow or even hinder the proper growth of democracy. Not only that, as a result of the threats that occurred at that time it also had an impact on the national political space to explore Aceh politics, of course this became the basis that the national political parties at that time were not ready to compete significantly in the elections to compete for the leadership of Aceh at that time. That.

4.3. Political Dynamics of the 2017 Regional Election

The 2017 regional head elections in Aceh were held simultaneously in several regions in Aceh Province, the author only focused on the election of the Governor of Aceh. The Aceh gubernatorial election is full of political dynamics and competition between internal gubernatorial candidates of local parties, in this case the Aceh Party and other local and national parties. The competition between prospective gubernatorial candidates was triggered by internal divisions of the former Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM). This division is actually not a new problem within them, since the days of the armed movement struggle they have started to have differences in political views, so it is not surprising for the people of Aceh if within the former GAM there are divisions in seizing power through competition in the 2017 regional elections.

The author also needs to say that the focus of this research looks more at the political dynamics of the Acehnese parties as a local political force, the Acehnese Party almost completely controls part of the Aceh region, both legislatively and executively. In the struggle for power, many candidates come from the Aceh Party, so it is interesting

for the author to study. The following is some analysis from various sources that the author interviewed regarding the political dynamics of the competition to determine the 2017 Aceh governor candidate.

The results of interviews with several sources, explain the political dynamics of the 2017 regional elections, there was political competition within the former Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) causing internal divisions, this has been happening since the 2006 regional elections, at that time there were no local parties, ex-GAM parties could nominate themselves through independent way. When determining who could be nominated as Governor/Deputy Governor representing the former Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) group, there was internal competition and division, between the old group and the young group. The old group is Zainil Abdullah, Hasbi Abdullah, Malek Mahmud and so on, the young group is Irwandi Yusuf, Sofyan Dawood, Muksalmina, Muharam and so on. After this internal competition, until now it still continues to leave an impression and has caused the consolidation of the former GAM to break down, which has resulted in political struggles no longer having the same vision and concepts when carrying out political communications with the central government. Because what is said by the older generation is no longer listened to and is no longer obedient, causing the old and young groups to no longer harmonize.

This debate continues to occur today, the dispute between the former Free Aceh Movement is still very sharp, Zakaria Saman, Zaini Abdullah, they are the old group, the leading figures of the Free Aceh Movement are very close to Hasan Tiro, but they have different views with Muzakir Manaf, the younger group, and today they control the Aceh Party. In 2012 Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf were the winners of the regional elections, but since five years together, there have been differences in views and conflict between the two people, so that they broke up when they were in government. So there is a tug-of-war between the interests of both, resulting in a breakdown in development policies. And this was made even worse and sharper when both of them wanted to run for Governor of Aceh in 2017.

The role and existence of local parties during the regional elections was not very visible because the goals of local parties were not very clear, the issues being raised were still old issues, regarding symbols and flags, poverty, and the Helsinki MOU which was thought to be something that had not been realized by the central government. According to the people of Aceh, this issue is not very popular, because the people of Aceh can already judge that especially the people of Banda Aceh during the two periods of leadership held by the local party, the level of community welfare was not very good, this was due to the quality of human resources in Parlok being very low. Causing voters to leave local parties, especially the Aceh party, by choosing national political parties

Once this momentum is taken by the national parties, the local level plays the role and function of the national party by carrying out genuine collaborations and coalitions as a strategy to seek opportunities to gain power. One of the important roles played by the national party is the Gerindra party. The Gerindra Party is collaborating with the Aceh Party, and this opens up an opportunity for Gerindra to enter as a candidate for deputy governor candidate supported by the Aceh Party. With this coalition, the Gerindra party certainly opens up opportunities to gain the trust of the Acehnese people in gaining votes in the Aceh Party's pockets. Mochtar Pabottingi stated that political parties must truly be political parties with real constituents in the continuum of political aspirations that are alive or are still alive nationally, not just in the name of deceiving the people. Thus, political parties that appear to have no roots, do not have their own political lines and consistency, and are not independent, such as those formed and financed by the Cendana group, clearly cannot be categorized as political parties in democratic calculations. (Mochtar Pabottingi, 2007: XXXV). So, for this reason, the political maneuver of the national party, one of which is Gerindra, is very appropriate, and this benefits the Gerindra party in playing local interests, such as the issue of the Qanun Flag and the Aceh Symbol which has not been resolved to date.

In reality, national political parties at the local level also do not reflect the aspirations of the community, which shows that ongoing political representation is asymmetrical. Political representation is being hit by crises and an imbalance of interests. National political parties do not take into account all the needs of their constituents at the local level. National political parties are more biased towards the interests of the central elite than the needs of local communities.

Thus, the relationship between local and national parties in Aceh in the 2017 regional elections was very harmonious, the Aceh Party formed a coalition with Gerindra, the Aceh National Party (PNA) formed a coalition with the Democratic Party, previously in the 2012 regional elections where local parties competed fiercely with national

parties for leadership seats and In fact, it is so trusted among the people of Aceh that it has succeeded in eliminating the existence of Parnas in the realm of local politics, but now the opposite is true, where the relationship between Parlok and Parnas is becoming more harmonious in the name of the interests of each party, if local parties begin to open up to form coalitions with national parties in the 2017 regional elections.

Several sources the author obtained stated that the relationship between local parties and national parties was very fluid. Opening up opportunities for political parties and political parties to form coalitions, so that political dynamics run in line with the development of the interests of political parties and political parties.

4.4. Divisions and Internal Competition of the Aceh Party

The 2006 Aceh Regional Election, the election of Irwandi Yusuf-Muhammad Nazar representing GAM and Chair of the Aceh Referendum Information Center (SIRA), through the individual (independent) route was the beginning of the rift in the GAM elite. This continued after the formation of the local party (parlok) GAM, namely the Aceh Party (PA). Where in the 2009 elections the Aceh party came into conflict with its political wing, namely SIRA and Student Solidarity for the People (SMUR), because GAM's political wing formed its own local party, namely the SIRA Party and the Aceh People's Party (PRA). During the conflict, these two organizations supported each other against the central government regime.

Until now, the Aceh Party's internal divisions are increasingly open, such as the chaos occurring during the 2016 Aceh Bansigoem Aceh Party deliberation, at the Grand Aceh Hotel, namely differences in views and interests in determining the candidate for governor of Aceh, the recommendation at the meeting was that the Candidate for Governor of Aceh was Muzakir Manaf However, this is a difference of opinion from supporters of other prospective candidates, namely Zaini Abdullah and Zakaria Saman. The split of the Aceh Party has become a scourge. It can be seen ahead of the 2017 Aceh Regional Election, when the Aceh Party's Tuha Peut, namely Zaini Abdullah and Zakaria Saman (Apa Karya) ran for governor, although not through the Aceh Party's "vehicle". Meanwhile, Mualem was promoted through the Aceh Party. The same as Irwandi, who ran as an independent candidate, because of the internal polemic within the Aceh National Party. Based on Article 91 paragraph (2) of the UUPA, the Aceh National Party does not meet the requirements to nominate candidates because it did not obtain a minimum of 15% of the DPRA seats. So Irwandi Yusuf formed a coalition with the Democratic Party.

Therefore, the dynamics of Aceh's political development at that time were the increasing opportunities for national parties to collaborate with local parties. Or it could also be that parnas unites to nominate its own candidate, because the existence and accountability of local parties is increasingly declining, thus increasingly showing the rise of parnas in the political realm in Aceh. Apart from that, the reality is that the authorities in Aceh also tend to only use a pragmatic paradigm attitude. The interest is only in gaining and maintaining power, not in being accountable and realizing the welfare of the people. Meanwhile, those who are not yet in power will seize power, even by "splitting" Aceh, such as the issue of the expansion of ALA-ABAS. Meanwhile, people's welfare is only a stereotype of the elite.

Political dynamics related to competition between local political parties in Aceh. The strongest candidate contestation occurs within the Aceh Party (PA), which is the political manifestation of GAM after the Helsinki Agreement on August 15 2005. Competition between candidates also has an impact on the solidarity of grassroots supporters and the splitting of the PA's power. One party supports the Zaini Abdullah-Muzakir Manaf duo, which is supported by the PA, and the other party supports Irwandi Yusuf who chose the independent route because he did not receive PA support. Conflicts between former combatants often take violence as an expressive form, for example shooting and throwing grenades. This form of violence was not found in regional elections in other regions. An elite conflict occurred between the Governor of Defense, namely Irwandi Yusuf, and the Aceh Party (PA). The Aceh Party tried to prevent the Governor of Defense from running independently. In the case of Aceh, it can also be seen that violence did not occur because of the direct election system, but rather because of internal problems of former members of the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) who had transformed into political parties (The Habibie Center, 2013, 11:10).

Aceh's political dynamics in the 2017 Aceh Governor election, at the beginning of the internal political feud within the Aceh Party, there were differences in views at the party management level with the Tuha Peut (Party Advisory Board) in determining the candidate for Aceh Governor. The administrators are the General Chair of the Muzakir

Manaf Party and the Tuha Peut party, Zaini Abdullah together with Zakaria Saman. The difference in views between Muzakir Manaf and Zaini and Zakaria Saman, when it was decided in a board meeting with all regions to recommend Muzakir Manaf as a candidate for Governor of Aceh in 2017. This was the peak of the feud, competition and division within the Aceh Party. Previously, as explained above, the feud that led to the resignation of Zaini Abdullah and Zakaria Saman as Tuha Peut (Party Advisory Board) occurred when Zaini and Muzakir served as Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh 2012-2017. Their feud had an impact on the role and existence of the Acehese party, experiencing a decline in trust and the spotlight of the Acehese people. Even though at that time the Aceh Party was experiencing a crisis of public confidence in its development policies and programs which had not yet addressed issues including reducing poverty rates, completing assistance for victims of conflict and allegations of corruption (cases of social assistance to combatants (GAM)).

Mietzner, 2013 explains that one of the failures of political parties is more about internal problems of political parties related to funding and divisions, or being predators of power in democracy (Robison and Hadiz, 2004). The Aceh Party is still trapped by the interests of internal elites, so that the role and function of the party has not yet reached the aspirations of the people. Even though the party has a central role which includes two dimensions as mentioned by Meyer, namely:

- 1) Political parties aggregate the interests and aspirations of the community and then transform them into an agenda that will form a platform in elections. This platform must be able to attract the interest and trust of many people so that the party gets lots of seats in parliament to influence policy making.
- 2) Political parties are the only parties that can translate the interests and values of society into binding legislation and public policies.

What Mayer explained should be carried out and implemented by all political parties including the Aceh Party, but the aspirations and interests of the people have not been implemented in various interests, instead the Aceh Party is trapped in power which causes it to forget the interests and aspirations of the people. In fact, it was found that the Aceh party was still implementing the principles of feudalism, the democratic space was not very open, including in providing views, opinions and ideas. The power of the Party Chairman is more dominant, including in determining the management and Regional Representative Council, all determined by the appointment of the Central Leadership Council of the Aceh Party, not elected through the principles of democracy and deliberation. Even though politics is part of representing people's aspirations, according to the opinion of Ichlasul Amal (1988), political parties are a necessity in modern, democratic political life. Political parties as organizations are ideally intended to activate and mobilize the people (political participation), represent certain interests, provide a way of compromise for competing opinions, and provide a means of legitimate and peaceful political leadership succession. Based on this explanation, it can be explained that a political party in the modern sense can be formulated as a group that nominates candidates for political office to be elected by the people so that they can monitor or influence government actions.

This explanation reinforces that political parties are a way for the democratic process to occur, representing the interests of certain groups and leadership succession with a process of freedom in making choices by encouraging political participation. However, this is not the case with the Aceh Party, its commitment to realizing political promises is not directly proportional to the people's expectations, because the political recruitment process is not going well, resulting in problems with party cadres, for example human resources who are incompetent, and unable to realize their aspirations. according to political promises.

In strengthening the role of political parties to increase community political participation, as a follow-up policy and strategy must be supported by reform action programs which include the implementation of restructuring, refunctionalization and revitalization of the political system and especially the role of political parties. Restructuring was important and the Aceh Party ignored it, resulting in a decrease in votes in the 2017 legislative and gubernatorial elections.

Apart from being the same administrators who are appointed, they have minimal experience in government and financial management, so that political decisions are unable to contribute to thinking in line with the aspirations of the people. One of the important points in the political order, restructuring political parties is very important so that power does not exceed limits, make changes and/or adjustments to political structures that are closely related to the

role of political parties, including:

- a. PartPolitical AI is a very effective and legal means of realizing freedom of association, assembly and expression of thought in developing democratic life that upholds the sovereignty of the people.
- b. The implementation of elections/Pilkada is a means of implementing people's sovereignty. Elections must be conducted transparently, honestly and fairly with direct, public, free and secret voting.

5. CONCLUSION

Since the peace period began, political conditions in Aceh have experienced significant changes, where political struggle is no longer carried out through armed movements but is carried out through political activities by placing people in the executive and legislative institutions. As a result, political elites and former GAM founded local political parties. Quite a number of local parties were born after peace, resulting in sharp political competition and feuds both within local parties and other political elites. The political dynamics that occur are feuds and competition for influence for the purposes of nominating Aceh governor candidates within the Aceh Party. Differences in views and interests in determining the 2017 Aceh governor candidates have exacerbated horizontal conflicts between elites in each camp, this tends to be at the lower levels of party management.

The political dynamics of the Aceh party occurred before the regional elections until after the 2017 regional elections. Where the Aceh Party itself had already experienced feuds and competition among elites at the internal level of the Aceh Party over the leadership seat of the Governor of Aceh, at that time it was still very trusted by the people of Aceh so that it succeeded in eradicating the existence of the national party in in the realm of local politics, but unfortunately it is now inversely proportional, where the internal relations of the Acehnese parties are increasingly disharmonious, because there are differences in the interests of elites and prospective gubernatorial candidates. Therefore, the most realistic logic for the dynamics of Aceh's political development to date is that the Aceh party is still coloring local politics as a local force. Because the existence and accountability of the Aceh party is increasingly declining as a result of the split in the elite, which opens up opportunities for other local and national parties such as the Aceh National Party (PNA), Democrat, PAN and PKS, to shift the position of the Aceh Party, including the results of the 2017 regional elections which were won by the party coalition. Aceh National (PNA) with the Democratic Party (Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah). In 2012-2017, the Aceh Party, which controlled the executive and legislative branches, was unable to survive even though it had contributed to various policies, including the construction and renovation of the Grand Mosque, the Aceh Health Network (JKA) program, social assistance for conflict victims, development of the Ladong Aceh industrial area, Islamic Sharia, Qanun on the Flag and Coat of Arms of Aceh, and other infrastructure development, but the development of Aceh under the government of Zaini Abdullah - Muzakir Manaf has not touched on solving problems, namely the problem of reducing poverty rates, corruption, alleviating unemployment, people's purchasing power is still problematic, and what is more, the failure of economic development has occurred. resistance movement carried out by Din Minimi, as a result of disappointment with government policies under the leadership of the former Free Aceh Movement. The decline in the Aceh Party's role, apart from internal chaos, has also not yet achieved optimal realization of Aceh's development under their government, including the Aceh Flag and Coat of Arms qanun. Until now there is still ongoing debate with the central government. The results of the research show that the dynamics of internal political development of Acehnese parties has quite dynamic dynamics. This dynamic is also influenced by the internal interests of the Aceh Party and other party elites at the district, city, provincial and national levels who have different interests. On the other hand, the dynamics of Aceh party politics is based on the party ideology.

The decline in the existence and role of the Aceh Party was caused by internal divisions when the elite nominated themselves as candidates for governor of Aceh. From the 2006 regional elections to the 2017 regional elections, the former Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) still dominated and influenced elite political dynamics in winning voters in the base areas.

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