

NATIONAL OR LOCAL POLITICAL PARTIES: THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL OPTIONS IN 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN ACEH PROVINCE

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Abstract

Purpose of the study: The objective of the study was to describe the distribution of votes for local and national political parties in each electoral district in Aceh Province, Indonesia, especially for local parliamentary elections (Aceh DPRD or DPRA).

Methodology: This is a descriptive study with a qualitative approach. Data collection in this study uses the method of library research and documents (secondary data). Data analysis uses descriptive analysis based on the political behaviour approach.

Main Findings: The main findings of this study indicate that the distribution of votes for political parties in the 2019 elections has spread to both local and national parties. If quantified totally, the national party dominates the votes in each electoral district. But if the votes are described based on each political party, it will look different. There are no political parties that strongly dominate the vote. The existence of political parties that have local character or type has the same effect on voters compared to national parties.

Applications of this study: The theoretical implication of this study was to strengthen Kaare Strom's theory about political party behavior. The behavior of political parties in elections is to obtain votes.

Novelty/Originality of this study: When national and local political parties compete in general elections, voters do not feel significant differences between the two political parties.

Keywords: General Election, Political Party, Local Political Parties, National Parties, Political Behavior, Democracy.

INTRODUCTION

The general elections of 2019 were held simultaneously in Indonesia on April 17, 2019. In this context, simultaneously refers to elections held at the same time that elect legislative and executive members (president/vice president). Previous elections (2014) and general elections for legislative and executive members (president/vice president) were held separately. Presidential and vice-presidential elections are held several months after the legislative elections. Therefore, this simultaneous general election is the main component of the 2019 elections, which was not found in previous elections in Indonesia.

The similarity between the 2019 elections and previous ones was the participation of local Aceh political parties. However, these local political parties only competed at the provincial and district/city levels in the Aceh Region. The existence of this party began in the 2009 legislative elections. In 2009 there were six local political parties in Aceh (Nurdiansyah, 2018, p. 61)(Beruh, 2019, p. 5). In 2014 the number was reduced to only three political parties, whereas in 2019, there were four political parties.

A study conducted by Sahrudin Lubis (Lubis, 2014), Muhammad Nur (Nur et al., 2018), Siti Ikramatoun (Ikramatoun & Amin, 2018) explained that in the 2009 elections, the local Aceh political party was a political party which was the foundation of the hopes of the Acehnese people towards a new and better Aceh. This was not only reflected in the results of the 2009 legislative elections but was also reflected in the general elections of regional heads in the Aceh Region. This condition is a favorable condition for local political parties, which at that time was the first-time participation in the general elections occurred. As a result, in the 2009 elections, the local Aceh Party had gained the most seats in the provincial parliament (DPRD Aceh or Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh/DPRA).

The phenomenon of the success of local parties gained the most votes in legislative elections (especially the Aceh Party), supporting an initial hypothesis that voters in parliamentary elections crave political parties that have local characteristics. But of course, this hypothesis is weak, as it refers to the phenomenon that not all local parties in Aceh have succeeded in gaining local parliamentary seats.

In the 2014 election, the votes of local parties in Aceh had decreased. This raises new assumptions, that the phenomenon of the 2009 election—where the Aceh Party was the winning party—is only a surprise effect or political sensation. This means that the “victory” of the Aceh Party at that time was influenced by the psychological factors of the people who wanted to “try on” the new party, but one side of the new party was not really ready to meet the expectations of the people of Aceh. If this assumption is true, it will result in the emergence of another hypothesis that there is no essential difference between local parties and national parties in terms of electoral political practice in Aceh. Thus, the local party

failed to become an alternative party for the people of Aceh. What about the 2019 elections? This study will describe the distribution of votes for local and national political parties based on the results of the 2019 local parliamentary elections (Aceh DPRD or Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh/DPR A).

There are three reasons why this study is important. First, elections in the Aceh Region are the only elections that involve local parties. Elections in Aceh can be a good model for democratic electoral politics through the local party and national party competition in general elections in Indonesia. Second, the 2019 election was the third election in which local parties participated.

The study of elections in Aceh will illustrate the character of voter behavior after three elections with the participation of local parties. Third, the 2019 elections were held simultaneously, so it was interesting to see the political dynamics in Aceh at the time of the simultaneous elections.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political parties are an important element for every democratic country in the world (Stockton, 2001)(Ufen, 2008). However, political parties are not necessarily elected in general elections. Democratic countries also experience problems with political parties, especially if there is cynicism about them. According to Webb(Webb, 2005), the emergence of cynicism against political parties occurs in the United States. This also happens to the electoral system (Levy, 2020). As a result, society's satisfaction with democracy changes from time to time (Daoust & Nadeau, 2020).

According to Aleyomi (Aleyomi, 2014), in Nigeria, the issue of political parties is associated with those of ideological commitment, and because of this, elections in Nigeria have nuances of both money and identity politics. Moreover, there are also institutional problems regarding ideological commitment (Ufen, 2008). In the case of Colombia (1930–1934), the role of political parties in elections could not avoid the problem of violence to win the general election (Vázquez Piñeros, 2017).

Political parties have different origins or history. One of them, according to Mefsin (Mesfin, 2008, p. 7), is that political parties originate from the anti-colonial nationalist movement. This phenomenon occurs in Africa, such as in Ghana (Nkrumah), Ivory Coast (Houphouet-Boigny), Tunisia (Bourguiba), Kenya (Kenyatta), and others (Malawi, Zambia, Cameroon, Guinea, Tanzania, Senegal). In other cases, the law is a factor that can either encourage or inhibit the emergence of new political parties. Mobasher M. Bashir (Mobasher, 2019), states that Afghanistan has become an example of a case where political party laws can create conditions in which political parties develop as political institutions with a broad political base (voters).

In Brazil, there is a paradox where the party that is often successful in the presidential election (Workers Party / PT and the Brazilian Social Democratic Party / PSDB) does not succeed in increasing its seats in parliament (Melo, 2015, p. 107). However, the failure in Brazil is not as bad as the failure of the Liberal Party in Scotland, which was caused by several things, specifically the problem of leadership (not being able to unite), ideology (multiple personalities), and internal contradictions (Finding, 2011).

Jon Green's study (Green, 2019) explains that voter political attitudes towards political parties can change immediately because their political policies are not in line with important issues that are central to voters. Based on the literature that has described political parties in elections and democracy, there are several things to consider. First, political parties are key to the success of a democratic political system. Second, elections are a way for political parties to gain power. Third, the relationship between political parties and voters in general elections is very dependent upon the ability of political parties to garner sympathy from the public. Fourth, the inability of political parties to deal with changes and challenges in democracy have resulted in them failing to achieve their objectives, namely, to win general elections.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach with descriptive methods. The main approach used in this study is political behavior. This approach emerged as a reaction to the traditional approach in political science (Wogu & Power, 2013, p. 3). According to Kaare Strom (Strom, 1990, p. 570), the behavioral approach in the context of political parties discusses the objectives of political parties, which include three main objectives: vote, position, and policy. This study focuses on the results of the 2019 Aceh Regional Legislative Council (Aceh DPRD or Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh/DPR A) elections. The election was held on April 17, 2019. The election organizer in Aceh is the Provincial Independent Election Commission (KIP Aceh Province). The data is processed from the recapitulation document of the election results from the EMB (KIP Aceh Province). In addition, data were collected from online media and previous studies on general elections and local political parties in Aceh. Data analysis uses descriptive analysis based on the political behavior approach.

THE IDENTITY CHALLENGE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The history of the participation of local Aceh parties in elections in Indonesia after political reform (1998) stemmed from the 2009 elections. Recognition of this party is the implication of the Aceh conflict resolution through the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2005, which was mutually agreed upon by the Government of Indonesia and

the Movement Aceh Merdeka ([Without Author, 2005a](#))([Jafar AW, 2009](#))([Suksi, 2011](#))([Bahrum, 2016, p. 137](#))([Zainal, 2016](#)). In the MOU, it was stated that the Indonesian government approved the formation of political parties based in Aceh that must meet national requirements ([Without Author, 2005b](#))([Drexler, 2008, p. 204](#))([Abuza, 2016, p. 45](#)). The study conducted by Asda Rasida ([Rasida et al., 2016](#)) highlights the existence of local political parties in Aceh that do not contradict the constitution.

In 2009, there were six local parties that met the requirements as local parties in Aceh ([Artis, 2012](#))([Masyrofah, 2013, p. 165](#)). These parties are the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh), the Aceh Aman Sejahtera Party (Partai Aceh Aman Sejahtera), the Aceh United Party (Partai Bersatu Aceh), the Aceh Sovereignty Party (Partai Daulat Aceh), the Aceh People's Party (Partai Rakyat Aceh), and the Aceh People's Independent Voice Party (Partai Suara Independen Rakyat Aceh) (see Table 1). Among the six parties, only the Aceh Party regularly participated in the 2014 and 2019 elections. This means that among the existing Aceh local parties, only the Aceh Party succeeded in gaining a significant number of seats in the local parliament ([Morel, 2009](#))([Aspinal & Sukmajati, 2016, p. 40](#)). In fact, the number of seats gained by this party is greater than the seats of national parties, especially at the level of the local parliament (DPRD Aceh).

In the 2014 election, there were only three local political parties that participated in the Aceh DPRD election: the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh), the Aceh Regional Party (Partai Daerah Aceh), and the Aceh National Party (Partai Nasional Aceh) ([Suksi, M. 2011](#)). Whereas in the 2019 election, there were four local parties participating in the Aceh DPRD elections: the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh), the SIRA Party (Partai SIRA), the Aceh Regional Party (Partai Daerah Aceh), and the Aceh Nanggroe Party (Partai Nanggroe Aceh) (see Table 1).

The existence of the Aceh Party is inseparable from the background of this party as a party created by the Free Aceh Movement. Initially, this party was declared on July 7, 2007, as GAM without the abbreviation, but the party was rejected by the government ([Nurhasim, 2012, p. 43](#)). Consequently, the new name was created and called the Aceh Independent Movement Party (Partai Gerakan Aceh Mandiri), which was then still unacceptable, until it was finally changed to the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh) ([Bahrum, 2016, p. 138](#)).

Table 1: Local Political Parties in Aceh (2009-2019 Election)

2009 Election	2014 Election	2019 Election
Partai Aceh	Partai Aceh	Partai Aceh
Partai Aceh Aman Sejahtera	Partai Damai Aceh	Partai SIRA
Partai Bersatu Aceh	Partai Nasional Aceh	Partai Daerah Aceh
Partai Daulat Aceh		Partai Nanggroe Aceh
Partai Rakyat Aceh		
Partai Suara Independen Rakyat Aceh		

Sources: ([ING, 2008](#))([Warsidi & Imran MA, 2014](#)), ([Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu 2019 SK Kepengurusan Tingkat Pusat Partai Nasional Partai Lokal, 2019](#))

According to Abdi Karya ([Karya, 2018](#)), one of the factors that caused the Aceh Party to win the election was due to the party having a solid political machine. Other local parties (besides the Aceh Party) were unable to compete for seats in the Aceh DPRD. Meanwhile, in the 2009 elections, the Aceh Party even won nearly half of the seats in parliament at the local level (33 seats, or 47.82 percent). Therefore, at that time, there was a phenomenon in which local parties succeeded in defeating the national party votes in Aceh, even though this party was a new party. The difference between the votes gained by the Aceh Party and the national party—namely, the Democratic Party—is around 30 percent for the election of the local Parliament (Aceh Regional Legislative Council/Aceh DPRD). At the time, the vote of the Democrat Party was 14.49 percent or ten seats in Aceh's DPRD (see Table 2). One local party, the Aceh Sovereignty Party, won one seat during the election period. According to Feisal Akbar ([Akbar & Mujibussalim, 2017](#)), the Aceh Daulat Party (Partai Daulat Aceh) failed to get many seats because it did not have political issues that attracted voters in Aceh.

Table 2: The seat of National Political Parties and Local Political Parties in Aceh in the 2009 General Election of the Aceh DPRD or DPRA for All Electoral Districts

Name of Political Party	Number of Seats	Percentage
Partai Aceh (PA)	33	47,82
Partai Demokrat (PD)	10	14,49
Partai Golongan Karya (GOLKAR)	8	11,59
Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	5	7,24
Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	4	5,79
Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	3	3,34
Partai Daulat Aceh	1	1,44
Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI)	1	1,44
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)	1	1,44
Partai Patriot	1	1,44

PartaiKebangkitanBangsa (PKB)	1	1,44
PartaiBulan Bintang (PBB)	1	1,44

Sources: (Amir, 2009)(Warsidi & Imran MA, 2014)

The political parties that participated in the 2009 elections consisted of 38 national parties and six local Aceh parties. If we look at the election results data in Table 2, it appears that the Aceh Party is dominating the seats in the local Parliamentary Institution in Aceh (Aceh DPRD)(Darwin, 2016, p. 90)(Widhiarto, 2014). Several national political parties also won seats in Aceh's local parliament. The data shows that there are national parties that have succeeded in getting a lot of seats, and there are few. The Golkar Party (PartaiGolkar) won eight seats (11.59 percent). The National Mandate Party (PartaiAmanat Nasional/PAN), the Prosperous Justice Party (PartaiKeadilan Sejahtera/PKS), and the United Development Party (PartaiPersatuan Pembangunan/PPP) (Nehru, 2013), each won five seats (7.24 percent), four seats (5.79 percent), and three seats (3.34 percent). The Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PartaiKeadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia), the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PartaiDemokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan/PDIP), the Patriot Party (Partai Patriot), the National Awakening Party (PartaiKebangkitanBangsa/PKB), and the Crescent Star Party (PartaiBulan Bintang/PBB), each won one seat (1.44 percent). Meanwhile, only two local parties succeeded in gaining seats (Aceh People's Representative Council), specifically the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh) and the Aceh Daulat Party (Partai Daulat Aceh) (see Table 2).

In the 2014 elections, there were twelve national parties and three local Aceh parties. Only ten parties succeeded in gaining seats in the local parliament (Aceh Regional House of Representatives): the Golkar Party (PartaiGolkar), the Democratic Party (PartaiDemokrat), the Nasdem Party (PartaiNasdem), the National Mandate Party (PartaiAmanat Nasional/PAN), the United Development Party (PartaiPersatuan Pembangunan), the Prosperous Justice Party (PartaiKeadilan Sejahtera/PKS), the Gerindra Party (PartaiGerindra), the National Awakening Party (PartaiKebangkitanBangsa), the Crescent Star Party (PartaiBulan Bintang/PBB), and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PartaiKeadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia/PKPI) (see Table 3).

Table 3: The seat of National Political Parties and Local Political Parties in Aceh in the 2014 General Election of the Aceh DPRD or DPRA for All Electoral Districts

Name of Political Party	Number of Seats	Percentage
Nasional Demokrat (NASDEM)	8	9,87
PartaiKebangkitanBangsa (PKB)	1	1,23
PartaiKeadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	4	4,93
PartaiDemokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)	-	-
PartaiGolonganKarya (GOLKAR)	9	11,11
Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (GERINDRA)	3	3,70
PartaiDemokrat (PD)	8	9,87
PartaiAmanat Nasional (PAN)	7	8,64
PartaiPersatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	6	7,40
PartaiHati Nurani Rakyat (HANURA)	-	-
PartaiDamai Aceh (PDA)	1	1,23
Partai Nasional Aceh (PNA)	3	3,70
Partai Aceh (PA)	29	35,80
PartaiBulan Bintang (PBB)	1	1,23
PartaiKeadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI)	1	1,23

Sources: (Warsidi & Imran MA, 2014)(MHD, 2014a)

Table 3 data shows that the pattern of political choice of voters in Aceh in the 2014 elections was aimed at local political parties, namely the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh), which won 29 seats (35.80 percent), and that some political choices were spread over several national political parties. The Golkar Party (PartaiGolkar) won nine seats (11.11 percent), the Democratic Party (PartaiDemokrat), and the Nasdem Party (PartaiNasdem) attained eight seats (9.87 percent), and the National Mandate Party (PartaiAmanat Nasional) received seven seats (8.64 percent). Voters' political choices also spread to the United Development Party (PartaiPersatuan Pembangunan [7.40 percent]), the Prosperous Justice Party (PartaiKeadilan Sejahtera [4.93 percent]), the Gerindra Party (PartaiGerindra [3.70 percent]) and a local Aceh Party, the Aceh National Party (Partai Nasional Aceh [3.70 percent]).

Some voters in Aceh, whose numbers are not too large, choose national political parties and local political parties, namely: the National Awakening Party (PartaiKebangkitanBangsa/PKB), the Crescent Star Party (PartaiBulan Bintang/PBB), the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PartaiKeadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia/PKPI), and the Aceh Peace Party (PartaiDamai Aceh [local party]) where each political party gained one seat (1.23 percent). In the 2014 elections, all local parties in Aceh won seats in the Aceh DPRD. Meanwhile, national political parties, such as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PartaiDemokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) and the Hanura Party (PartaiHanura), did not get a seat (see Table 3).

Table 4: Seats of Local Political Parties in Aceh in the 2014 General Election of the Aceh DPRD or DPRA for All Electoral Districts

Registration Number	Name of Local Political Party	Number of Seats
11	Partai Aceh	29
12	Partai Damai Aceh	1
13	Partai Nasional Aceh	3

Sources: (Setyadi, 2019)(Warsidi & Imran MA, 2014)

Table 4 (Mikail, 2015, p. 127)(Piroza & Triwahyuningsih, 2015, p. 118) makes clear that in the 2014 elections, the Aceh Party was the party with the strongest support from voters compared to existing local parties. However, the success of the Aceh National Party in getting three seats is quite interesting to observe, given that the party was founded by former GAM leaders. It seems that local parties in Aceh that are able to compete in elections are parties founded by former GAM leaders. However, this allegation is still untested because the existence of this local political party still gets a test in the next election. If this assumption is true, then it can be said that the identity of the party strengthened by the identity of the political elite can increase the attractiveness of political parties in elections, especially in the case of local political parties. However, this argument actually applies to every political party that competes in the election.

REFERRING PARTIES OR APPOINTING CANDIDATES?

In the 2019 elections, local political parties in Aceh re-registered as election participants. There are four local parties that pass verification as election participants from those who register as eligible participants. These political parties include the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh), the SIRA Party (Partai SIRA), the Aceh Regional Party (Partai Daerah Aceh), and the Aceh Nanggroe Party (Partai Nanggroe Aceh). Each of the local parties is numbered 15, 16, 17, and 18 (see Table 5). The Nanggroe Aceh Party was a continuation of the Aceh National Party (Partai Nasional Aceh), which was a political party that participated in the election in 2014. At that time, the Aceh National Party (Partai Nasional Aceh) only gained three seats in the Aceh DPRD/DPRA.

Table 5: Registration Number, Name, and Type of Political Party in the 2019 General Election of the Aceh DPRD or DPRA

Registration Number	Name of Local Political Party	Type of Political Party
1	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	National Party
2	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya	National Party
3	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	National Party
4	Partai Golongan Karya	National Party
5	Partai Nasdem	National Party
6	Partai Gerakan Perubahan Indonesia	National Party
7	Partai Berkarya	National Party
8	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	National Party
9	Partai Persatuan Indonesia	National Party
10	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan	National Party
11	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia	National Party
12	Partai Amanat Nasional	National Party
13	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat	National Party
14	Partai Demokrat	National Party
15	Partai Aceh	Local Party
16	Partai SIRA	Local Party
17	Partai Daerah Aceh	Local Party
18	Partai Nanggroe Aceh	Local Party
19	Partai Bulan Bintang	National Party
20	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia	National Party

Source: (Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu 2019 SK Kepengurusan Tingkat Pusat Partai Nasional Partai Lokal, 2019)

National political parties that participated in the 2019 election are the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa), the Gerindra Party (Partai Gerindra), the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan), the Golkar Party (Partai Golkar), the Nasdem Party (Partai Nasdem), the Indonesian Change Movement Party (Partai Gerakan Perubahan Indonesia), the Work Party (Partai Berkarya), the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera), the Indonesian Unity Party (Partai Persatuan Indonesia), the Indonesian Unity Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan), the Indonesian Solidarity Party (Partai Solidaritas Indonesia), the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional), the Hanura Party (Partai Hanura), and the Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat). Each party is ranked number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14. In addition, both the

Crescent Star Party (PartaiBulan Bintang) and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PartaiKeadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia) is in sequence number 19 and 20 (see Table 5).

In the 2019 elections, the Aceh Region was divided into ten electoral districts, ranging from Aceh 1 to Aceh 10. The number of seats contested in each electoral district differed. The highest number of seats is in the electoral district of Aceh 5 (North Aceh or Aceh Utara Lhokseumawe), which is twelve seats, and the electoral district of Aceh 1 (Banda Aceh, Aceh Besar, Sabang), which is eleven seats. The lowest number of seats is in the electoral district of Aceh 8 (Aceh Tenggara-GayoLues), which is five seats (see Table 6). The total number of seats contested in the DPRD Aceh election is 81 seats.

Table 6: Electoral District, Area Coverage and Number of Seats (A Total of 81 Seats) Contested in the 2019 General Election of the Aceh DPRD or DPRA

Electoral District Number Aceh	Area Coverage	Number of Seats Contested
1	Sabang, Banda Aceh,Aceh Besar	11
2	Pidie, Pidie Jaya	9
3	Bireuen	7
4	Aceh Tengah, BenerMeriah	6
5	Aceh Utara Lhokseumawe	12
6	Aceh Timur	6
7	Aceh Tamiang, Langsa	7
8	GayoLues, Aceh Tenggara	5
9	Abdya, Aceh Selatan, Subulussalam dan Aceh Singkil	9
10	Aceh Jaya, Aceh Barat, Simeulue, Nagan Raya	9

Sources: (Tim detikcom, 2019)(Rekapitulasi Dan Penetapan Hasil Pemilu 2019, 2019)

In the 2019 election, the votes of each local political party were: the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh) was eighteen seats, the SIRA Party (Partai SIRA) was one seat, the Aceh Regional Party (Partai Daerah Aceh) was three seats, and the Naggro Aceh Party (PartaiNaggroe Aceh) was seven seats (Redaksi, 2019) (see Table 7). In total, the local Aceh Party gained 28 seats. The total number of seats obtained by Aceh's local parties in the 2019 elections is smaller than the acquisition of seats in the 2009 and 2014 elections. In the 2014 elections, local parties in Aceh gained 33 seats out of 81 seats contested. In the 2009 elections, the local Aceh Party won 34 seats out of 69 contested.

Table 7: Seats of Each Local Political Party in the 2019 General Election of the Aceh DPRD or DPRA for All Electoral Districts

Registration Number	Name of Local Political Party	Number of Seats
15	Partai Aceh	18
16	Partai SIRA	1
17	Partai Daerah Aceh	3
18	PartaiNaggroe Aceh	6

Sources: (Aminah, 2019)(Setyadi, 2019)(Tim detikcom, 2019)

If the votes of political parties are seen in each electoral district, it appears that there is a predominance of votes by national political parties in several constituencies. In the electoral district of Aceh 4 (Aceh Tengah-BenerMeriah), the dominance of national political parties has even reached 88.56 percent, while the local party only received a vote of 11.44 percent. The electoral district of Aceh 8 (Aceh Tenggara-GayoLues) also showed the same character, where the national political parties had dominated the votes up to 87.56 percent. Meanwhile, local parties only received 12.44 votes (see Table 8).

Table 8: Percentage of Votes National & Local Political Parties in the 2019 General Election Aceh DPRD or DPRA for Each Electoral District

Electoral District Number Aceh	Percentage of Votes National Political Parties	Percentage of Votes Local Political Parties in Aceh
1	66,87	33,13
2	58,52	41,75
3	59,39	40,61
4	88,56	11,44
5	53,40	46,60
6	44,07	55,93
7	78,09	21,91
8	87,56	12,44

9	74,63	25,37
10	72,95	27,05

Source: (*Rekapitulasi Dan Penetapan Hasil Pemilu 2019, 2019*)

National political parties also excel in voting in the Aceh 7 constituency (Langsa-Aceh Tamiang), Aceh 9 (Abdya, South Aceh, Subulussalam, and Aceh Singkil), and Aceh 10 (Aceh Jaya, West Aceh, Nagan Raya, Simeulue). In this area, national political parties get 70 percent more votes. In the Langsa-Aceh Tamiang area, national political parties won 78.09 percent of the votes. In Abdya, South Aceh, Subulussalam, and Aceh Singkil regions, national political parties received 74.63 percent of the votes. In the areas of Aceh Jaya, Aceh Barat, Nagan Raya, and Simeulue, the national political party also won 72.95 percent of the vote (see Table 8).

National political parties succeeded in gaining more than 50 percent of voters in the electoral districts of Aceh 1 (Banda Aceh, Aceh Besar, Sabang), Aceh 3 (Bireuen), Aceh 2 (Pidie-Pidie Jaya), and Aceh 5 (Aceh Utara Lhokseumawe). In the areas of Banda Aceh, Aceh Besar, and Sabang, national political parties won 66.87 percent of the vote. The Bireuen area also received 59.39 votes. In the Pidie and Pidie Jaya regions, the national political parties succeeded in obtaining 58.52 percent of the votes. Likewise, in the North Aceh area of Lhokseumawe, national political parties won 53.40 percent of the votes (see Table 8).

Almost all constituencies are dominated by national political parties. The only electoral district that was successfully dominated by local parties was the Aceh 6 constituency (East Aceh or Aceh Timur). Table 7 shows that in this region, local parties won 55.93 percent of the votes. Meanwhile, national political parties gained 44.07 percent of the votes. Indeed, the number of votes obtained by local Aceh parties is above 50 percent in this area, but the difference is not too large compared to the votes gained by national parties (see Table 8).

Table 9: Aceh Party Votes and Number of Seats in the 2009-2019 General Election Aceh DPRD or DPRA

Election Year	Votes	Percentage/Number of Seats
2009	1.007.173	47,82%/33
2014	847.956	35,80%/29
2019	568.110	22,22%/18

Sources: (*Keumala, 2018*)(*MHD, 2014b*)(*Rekapitulasi Dan Penetapan Hasil Pemilu 2019, 2019*)(*Setyadi, 2019*)

If we analyze the election results data for the votes of local political parties, the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh) is actually the only local political party capable of dealing with national political parties. However, from year to year, the votes of the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh) declined. In the 2009 elections, the party gained 1 million votes, with 47.82 percent of seats. In the next election (2014), the party vote changed to only 800,000, with 35.80 percent of seats. In the 2019 election, the party lost nearly half of the votes compared to 2009. In the 2019 election, the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh) was only able to get 500,000 votes with 22.22 percent of seats (see Table 9).

Table 10: Seats of Local Political Parties in the 2009-2019 General Election Aceh DPRD or DPRA

Election Year	Total of Local Parties in Aceh	Percentage/Number of Seats
2009	6	49,27%/34
2014	3	40,74%/33
2019	4	34,56%/28

Sources: (*ING, 2008*)(*Keumala, 2018*)(*MHD, 2014b*)(*Warsidi & Imran MA, 2014*)(*Setyadi, 2019*)(*Tim detikcom, 2019*)(*Rekapitulasi Dan Penetapan Hasil Pemilu 2019, 2019*)

In total, 34 seats were obtained by local parties in Aceh in the 2009 elections (see table 9), and 33 seats were obtained by the Aceh Party (Partai Aceh) (see Table 10). It's just that the trend in the acquisition of Aceh Party seats has decreased. There are many reasons why this has happened, and one of the main reasons being that some Aceh Party politicians nominate themselves to become members of the Indonesian Parliament (DPRRI) (*Puspita, 2018*). The only way that a politician can become a candidate for the DPRRI is to join a national political party. This is a weakness of local parties because this party cannot compete in elections at the Indonesian parliamentary level. The implication is that the local party elite will move the party to the national party so that the influence of the national party strengthens and the influence of the local party weakens. If analyzed using an approach of political behavior, this phenomenon shows that party behavior and candidate behavior during elections are both aimed at gaining votes. Thus, this analysis reinforces the Kaare Strom theory about party political behavior while adding the existence of individual behavioral factors within the political party.

Table 11: Comparison of Votes for National Level Political Parties vs. Local Political Parties in the 2019 General Election Aceh DPRD or DPRA

Types of Political Parties	Votes	Percentage
National Level Political Parties	1.785.379	67,10

Sources: (*Rekapitulasi Dan Penetapan Hasil Pemilu 2019, 2019*)

In general, 2019 election data shows that 67.10 percent of the votes were obtained by national parties, while the local Aceh Party received 32.90 percent of the votes (see Table 11). This phenomenon describes that voter choice in Aceh is influenced by factors other than political parties. The most likely influence is from leaders or political elites in the Aceh Region who compete in elections through national political parties to get seats in parliament. Accordingly, even though the competition seems to be between a local party and a national party, in reality, the election competition is also a competition between local elites with different parties (without limitation of local or national parties).

CONCLUSION

When local political parties were recognized for their existence in the elections for the Aceh Region, there was a strong suspicion that the local Aceh Party would become a rooted political channel for the people of Aceh. Therefore, this party has the potential to become the party that wins every general election in the Aceh Region. This assumption was nearly correct initially but weakened due to the reduced political support of the Acehnese people towards local parties. This can be interpreted that in the selection of members of the local parliament (DPRD Aceh), national parties still get the trust of the people of Aceh to put their cadres in the local parliament (DPRD Aceh) through elections. Competition between national political parties (totaling sixteen parties) against local political parties (totaling four parties) in elections in the Aceh Region has produced a dynamic distribution of votes. Initially (2009 and 2014), the pattern of voter political support was centered on one of the local political parties (Aceh Party), and most of the rest spread to several national political parties. Now (2019), support for political parties is still centered on one local party (Aceh Party), but the number is getting smaller; meanwhile, most of the votes choose not only national political parties but also other local parties. The dominance of local political parties could initially be quantified in the Aceh Party only, but now it must be combined with other local parties (especially the Nanggroe Aceh Party and the Aceh Regional Party), which means that voter political choices increasingly have no strong ties to certain political parties (local political parties or national political parties). The term dominance of national political parties in the Aceh Region only applies if the data is quantified totally. Conversely, if the vote acquisition is quantified and described based on the vote acquisition of each political party, the dominance of the vote is completely lost. The pattern of voting distribution also shows that political parties depend on the ability of the candidate to convince voters in an effort to acquire a seat in the local parliament. Thus, the ability of each party (national and local parties) ultimately has limitations in attracting voter political support. The results of this study strengthen Kaare Strom's explanation that in the perspective of political behavior, one of the goals of political parties when behaving is to get votes in elections. Another finding of this study establishes that candidates also do the same thing.

LIMITATION AND STUDY FORWARD

The study was limited in several ways. First, it does not analyze votes at lower levels (regency/city). Second, this study does not describe the influence of presidential candidates on local and national party votes in Aceh during simultaneous elections. Finally, in future studies, it is necessary to analyze whether or not there is a simultaneous election effect on the results of elections in Aceh.

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