

Analyzing People's Silence Power and the Incumbent Local Party Regime in Aceh Province Regional Head Elections in 2017

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ABSTRACT

Simultaneous regional head elections aim to properly build democratization at the local level. It is related to the level of participation and the power relations that result from the principle implementation of people's sovereignty. Election results improve people's social, political, and economic circumstances. The purpose of this research is to determine why political dynamics of local and national parties occurred in the 2017 post-conflict local election in Aceh, as well as the influence of political dynamics of local and national parties on the Aceh post-conflict local election in 2017. This study was conducted in Aceh Province and used a descriptive qualitative research method. Primary data is obtained from the first source in the form of writing or written notes, whereas secondary data is obtained from existing sources. Basically, a political battle in general elections or regional head elections is a natural thing, the most important thing is how each candidate and his supporters are mature. This means giving political lessons that in a fight there must be a winner. Later when whoever wins will not influence the people not to stay away from the leader who becomes the winner. The journey of democracy teaches the winners in the sense that all people will honestly and fairly participate, even if they don't support it at first. What's more, we see that the battles that took place were dominated by former combatants of the Free Aceh Movement, who incidentally were comrades-in-arms. We can see the battle this time around in the democratic arena under the auspices of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia which has become a

commitment between the Free Aceh Movement and the Republic of Indonesia. The response is that whoever our winners are still brothers, in the future we can join hands hand in hand to create prosperity and peace in Aceh.

Keywords: Political Information, Positioning Strategy, Silence Power, Hegemony, and Regional Head Elections

INTRODUCTION

Simultaneous Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) are a new arena for the Indonesian people in election time, election system, procedure, and election mechanism. Simultaneous local elections aim to build democratization at the local level so that it becomes good that is not only related to the level of participation but also the power relations, which originate from the implementation of the principle of people's sovereignty. Also, the regional election results must lead the community to better social, political, and economic conditions (Akbar, 2016).

The existence of political parties is a necessity for the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. Few democratic countries allow local parties, as in the United States. Local parties first appeared in the early 1900s to 1912, marked by the establishment of the Home Rule Party of Hawaii as a forum for native Hawaiian aspirations in the legislature and congress. Then England recognized the existence of

Political parties, such as the Scottish National Party in 1934 and the Scottish Socialist Party in 1998 in Scotland, the Democratic Unionist Party in 1971 and Sinn Fein in 1905 in Northern Ireland, and Plaid Cymru in 1925 in Wales. In Spain, there were Local parties, such as Convergent and Union in 1978, ERC in 1931, and Basque Nationalist Party in 1895 as an intermediate party in the congress (Musrafiyan et al., 2021).

In Indonesia, issues related to the formation of Local Parties emerged after a Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Helsinki, Finland, on 15 August 2005 or known as the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) Helsinki. One of the points in the clauses of the MoU agreed to the existence of local parties as an agreement in initiating peace (Hamid, 2006). Denny (2008) stated that not only Aceh Province has special autonomy granted by the Indonesian Government, but also Papua. The special autonomy status granted by the Indonesian Government to Aceh and Papua, with many special affairs, primarily aims to resolve the endless conflicts in both provinces. However, the specificity of the local political parties only exists in the province of Aceh (Irawan, 2015). It appears in the enactment of Law Number 11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh, which explains that residents in Aceh can form local political parties as long as they do not conflict with the ideology of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Parties in local politics may have specific characteristics that represent the aspiration, religion, customs, and philosophy of the Aceh people (Djusfi et al., 2020).

Political parties accommodate the aspirations and interests of the Indonesian people. Initially, political parties only articulately function as facilitators between the people and policymakers. All political parties seek to gain the support of the people in winning general elections (Elections),

either obtaining a legislative seat allotment (DPR/DPRD) or electing an executive (president or regional head). Various ways are used by political parties to attract people's sympathy in elections, including how imagery is a political communication strategy carried out to attract public sympathy (Azhar, 2016). Some practice the money politics approach in the 2017 regional elections in Bireuen Regency massively and systematically. The massive money politics was due to the Bireuen Regent candidate distributing money through the success team to the community and supporters in various ways (Hasan et al., 2019).

Apart from that, there was an attractive phenomenon in post-conflict local elections, namely the presence of incumbents who mostly won in every competition to occupy the number one seat in the region. It happened because of the solid support of several networks and political machines. This incumbent candidate had an image position as a popular official for the public. Moreover, if supported by the positive figure performance, it will further strengthen the correlation between the elections and potential candidates in terms of obtaining victory (Sugiarto et al., 2014).

Following the political functions mentioned above, a political party can last long if those functions are better, and vice versa. It can appear from several political parties in Aceh, especially local political parties. Since the formation period, the development of local political parties in Aceh has been numerous. There were twenty potential candidates for local political parties after the Helsinki MoU peace with their respective logos and flag colors. Partai Damai Aceh (PDA), in the 2014 post-conflict local election, was only able to retain one seat or 1.23%.

Ironically, in its development, political dynamics in Aceh fluctuated due to the escalation of political parties in political lobbying. As we know, local parties have had a dominant influence in Aceh until now. However, this dominance has diminished

over time. In 2017, these changes did not only occur at the executive level but also the composition of legislative members changed, as seen from the results of the 2014 general election. Meanwhile, in the context of Aceh province, there are significant differences compared to others in Indonesia because Aceh received asymmetric decentralization rights from the central government in Jakarta. Law number 11 of 2006, concerning the government of Aceh, called UU PA, allows Aceh to have local parties or independent candidates from regional leaders and several other reasons related to the election process. Hence, the hegemony of local parties over national parties has been complete in the previous Regional Head Elections.

The political phenomena in Aceh during the 2017 regional head election previously predicted by political observers, starting from poor recruitment patterns, political marketing, and even from the stage of the socialization process by local parties. The hegemony of local political parties drastically changed, and this opportunity was exploited by national political parties and hidden groups to replace hegemony. Of course, the defeat of the hegemony of leaders from local parties (Partai Aceh/Aceh Party) in the 2017 regional head election was affected by certain factors. Amri (2018) found that the defeat factors of M. Amin and M. Shaleh in the Election of Kampar Regent and Deputy Regent for the 2017-2022 period were the poor movement of the support base, less solid support from the party, the lowest votes in many regencies, and less campaign budget.

Changes in the vote acquisition of political parties in general elections are certainly influenced by the attitude and behavior of voters (Adnan, 2002). In the political science literature by Adnan (2002), many approaches can be used to understand voting behavior; First, the sociological approach or Colombian school, where a person's preference for political parties is influenced by social backgrounds, such as socioeconomic status, religion, age, race,

and gender. Second, the psychological approach is known as the Michigan school. This approach argues that voter behavior is influenced by the psychological condition of voters towards particular voter objects. Supporters of this approach believe that voter behavior is influenced by one's attitude toward political parties, attitudes toward candidates nominated in general elections, or attitudes toward issues that develop before the election. Third, a rational approach known as the economic approach or rational choice argues that a person chooses a political party in elections based on profit and loss calculations.

However, there were significant changes in the quantity and quality of local and national political parties in Aceh during 2014. These changes could be due to the influence of the national party, whose influence is increasing at the legislative and executive levels. This study aims to determine why the political dynamics of local and national parties occurred in the 2017 post-conflict local election in Aceh and how the political dynamics of local and national parties influenced the 2017 regional head election in Aceh. This change was possibly caused by the Silence Power of the people feeling disappointed. Silence Power is a term popularized by Stuart Wilde in 1996, which is thought to be able to change citizens' political awareness. Silence power is capable of displacing the hegemonic power of the ruling party. Silence power creates many changes and can make people more knowledgeable in politics, which then reduces the domination of hegemonic forces in political parties. Silence Power will bring up things never expected before and can fight various possibilities and carry out activities of the country or region from a political perspective. Silence power can destroy a hegemony even if it has a strong presence. Based on the issues raised above, the authors want to conduct a study called "Analyzing People's Silence Power and the Incumbent Local Party Regime in Aceh Province Regional Head Elections in 2017."

Formulation of the Problems

1. How is political information about the 2017 Aceh Governor and Deputy Governor Candidates on Social Media?
2. What are the various strategies used by Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah against their opponents?
3. How to Interpret the People's Silence in the Face of Local Regime Hegemony?

Research objectives

1. To describe political information about the 2017 candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh on Social Media.
2. To describe the various strategies carried out by Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah against their opponents.
3. To describe the people's silence in the face of local regime hegemony.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political Information

Law Number 14 of 2008 in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia, (2010) concerning Public Information Disclosure states information as statements, statements, ideas, and signs that contain values, meanings, and messages, both data, facts and explanations that can be seen, heard, and read presented in the development of electronic and non-electronic information and communication technology. Thus the understanding of political information refers to this definition by emphasizing political content. The mass media is the most effective means used to disseminate and capture political information. In this case the media is not only a source of political information but is often a trigger factor for political change (Suwardi, 2004 in Hamad, 2004).

In addition, the media has the potential to transfer and expose political information for the formation of public opinion. Media participation in shaping public opinion is an effort to develop public attitudes and actions regarding a political issue and/or political actors. Within this framework the media delivers political talks to the public. The

form of political discussion in the media includes texts or political news in which there are choices of political symbols and political facts. Because of this ability, the mass media is often used as a propaganda tool in political communication (Hamad, 2004).

Apart from being a source of information, the mass media is also a channel of communication for political actors. The ways in which the media present political events can influence the perceptions of political actors and society regarding political developments. Through its social control function, together with other social institutions, the mass media can persuasively inspire public participation to participate in overhauling political structures (Hamad, 2004). The media used by voters is not limited to television and newspapers, but also the use of the internet to gather political information, such as social media, namely Facebook.

A phenomenon that has also surfaced from the way first-time voters gather political information is through participation in campaigns. When campaigning is actually carried out by political actors, nothing else constructs political reality. Campaigners try to sequence reality so that their political talk attracts the masses. The expertise of a campaigner lies precisely in his ability to package messages/information when he is dealing with the masses. Political party campaigns ahead of the elections, which present entertainment from the capital's artists, are in great demand. Some of the novice voters did pay attention to the delivery of vision and mission by political party cadres (Juniarti, 2011).

But some of them tend to just enjoy entertainment events. In several cases, the activeness of first-time voters in gathering political information was in a fairly good category. Some first-time voters are interested in participating in political debates, both held directly and through the media (Yeni, 2011).

Positioning Strategy for Political Parties

Political positioning strategies are what political organizations must do (Andrias & Nurohman, 2013). Firmanzah (2008) explains that there are 4 (four) political positioning strategies; First, this strategy will help voters determine their choices. Second, political positioning clearly helps members of the political parties form their identities. Third, assisting in the preparation of strategies for approaching the community. Fourth, it helps direct what kind of political resources society needs. According to Tinov & Handoko (2016), political parties can choose more than one strategy with different levels of risk. The 4 (four) strategic options are described as follows:

1. Reinforcement strategy

This strategy can be used by an elected contestant because of a specific image that is proven by his political performance while holding certain public positions. Communication is focused on the people who voted for this contestant with the message that “your choice was correct, and keep making the same choice for the current election”.

2. Rationalization strategy

This strategy is applied to groups of voters who have previously chosen particular contestants because they have succeeded in developing an image that voters like, while their performance does not match that image.

3. Inducement strategy

This strategy can be applied by candidates who are perceived to have a specific image but also have performance or attributes that match others.

4. Confrontation strategy

This strategy is applied to voters who have chosen a contestant with a specific image deemed unsuitable by the voter because the contestant did not produce a performance that satisfied the voter. It could be that in an election, some voters vote for a bad candidate, but it turns out that the candidate does not produce the expected performance.

Silence Power

Silence is both context-specific and culture-specific (Jaworski, 1993). In eastern culture, silence is highly appreciated and associated with some positive impressions in communication. Whereas, in western culture, silence is usually avoided because it is considered a kind of social weakness or a sign of a restrained and uncooperative personality (Tannen, 1985 as cited in Alagözlü & Şahin, 2011). Whereas Bonvillain (1993:47, as quoted in Agyekum, 2002) states that silence is "an act of non-verbal communication that transmits various kinds of meaning, depending on cultural interpretation norms." Meanwhile, Alagözlü & Şahin (2011) argue that silence is when words do not come out easily or when the speaker is intentionally silent. Silence may have many meanings for the listener ranging from acceptance to disapproval or ridicule.

Hegemony

Hegemony, as a concept throughout literature, has been heavily criticized. Susan Strange notes that hegemonic theories do not have one consistent idea, “They are a collection of concepts and explanations centered on the notion of the role of the hegemon or leader, the dominant system of states in the international world, and the relationship between the hegemon and the stability of that system” (Mowle & Sacko, 2007:7). According to Mowle and Sacko (2007), hegemony as a concept is highly debated and explaining that hegemony is power, while hegemony or other factors are essential to hegemony, varies through different authors and schools of thought.

Siswati (2017) stated that before Gramsci, Lenin had laid the foundations for the concept of hegemony. For Lenin, hegemony was a revolutionary strategy that had to be carried out by the working class and its members to gain the support of the majority. When the revolution to overthrow the rule of the Tsarist nation occurred in Russia, the working class as a minority group allied with the peasants who made up the majority

of the population, and the working class acted as the main force (hegemonic).

The practice of hegemony is inseparable from various lines of life, such as politics, economics, law, society, and education. These symptoms occur because the order of human life will always have someone who rules and is ruled (Syukur, 2019). Hegemony is domination by one group over another, with or without the threat of violence, to make the ideas applied by the dominant group to the dominant group accepted as common sense. Hence, hegemony is the domination of one group over another, with or without the threat of force to the extent that the dominant party can dictate the terms of trade to its advantage. More broadly, the cultural perspective tends to support the dominant group.

Regional Head Elections

General Elections are a means to produce representatives of the people and leaders who are capable, democratic, and stand up for the interests of the people. Simultaneous direct elections for regional heads and deputy regional heads or *Pemilukada* are crucial and strategic instruments for building democratic regional governance. Direct local elections simultaneously encourage the people/voters to elect regional heads and deputy regional heads (governors and deputy governors, as well as regents and deputy regents/mayors and deputy mayors) democratically (Seran, 2019).

Regional head elections aim to elect regional heads at the provincial and regency/city levels. The regional head position at the province level is the same as the regional head in a regency/city because of directly elected by the people. The constitution provides the basis for regional head elections to be held democratically (Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution states: "Governors, Regents, and Mayors respectively as Heads of Provincial, Regency and City Regional Governments are elected democratically"),

through an election mechanism directly by the people. The interpretation of the meaning of democracy in this provision is by choosing a direct election mechanism as stipulated in Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government in Article 24 paragraph (5), which claims that Regional heads and deputy regional heads are elected in one pair by directly by the people in the area concerned. This formulation has not changed in substance, and state administrators still want this in Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government which replaced Law Number 32 of 2004 (Kristiyanto, 2017:49). General Elections or Regional Head Elections (*Pilkada*) are political markets where political actors offer and sell their programs to the public by interacting in social contracts or agreements with the people. There are many political activities during elections, such as lobbying, campaigning, making posters and banners, and many more. These activities aim to convey political information and political programs of candidates to citizens or their constituents. Therefore, this general election is an instrument or tool to actualize people's sovereignty, which forms a legitimate government and a way to carry out people's interests.

There are various opinions about the importance of issues in general elections. First, Carmines and Stimson in Niemi & Weisberg (1984) distinguished into hard and easy issues. Hard issues are only necessary for voters with a high level of information, while easy issues will be necessary for voters with a low level of information. They also argued that issue voting generally occurs when easy issues are present in an election, and alignment tends to occur concerning easy issues. Second, Fiorina's opinion differentiates issue voting into prospective and retrospective voting. Prospective voting is citizens' voting for candidates or parties who promise to implement policies that benefit voters (policy-oriented), while retrospective voting is where voters vote based on party

performance or appearances in the past (result oriented). It is rational for voters not to vote for parties that do not have a good standing in government (Fiorina, 1981).

Theoretical Framework

Several studies have been found that criticize the idea of online application of Noelle-Neumann's silent theory, which is embedded in the concept of the 'online public sphere' and must be seen in the context of political participation on the web. A growing body of online research on the spiral of silence has highlighted how Neumann Noelle's work can be seen as a link between macro- and micro-level processes (McDevitt et al., 2003). However, the theory has been widely criticized for neglecting the intermediary domain of interpersonal communication (Glynn, Hayes, & Shanahan, 1997, cited in McDevitt et al., 2003).

The results of Maulia's research, (2017) show that candidates for Governor of Aceh often publish imagery of personal activities, both imagery of providing assistance to the community, as well as other campaign activities that are positive and do not cheat their political opponents. On the other hand, in the process of using Facebook it was also found that there were individuals who made the political process hot because of mutual slander on Facebook.

A review of the literature on political participation in the context of social media finds optimistic and pessimistic perspectives about online participation. Some authors see the Internet as empowering users and expanding their choices, while others criticize it for maintaining a hierarchical and

elitist structure. Based on Lash's (2007) definition of 'post-hegemonic power', this research will integrate the two perspectives and show how the spiral of silence model, when applied online, can become a mediated phenomenon. In this respect, Silverstone's conceptualization of mediation can serve as an analytical framework for observing the spiral of silence in a social media-based context. Silverstone recognizes the dialectical relationship between top-down context and mass media effects of the media and the effects of rituals. This mediation theory is also consistent with Jenkins' (2004) convergence model in Malaspina, (2014), which states that media concentration (McChesney, 2000) and collective intelligence are important components of a converged culture that is truly reflective about reality mediation today in the world of social media. As a result, this study uses dialectical models made possible by the evolving communication environment, as well as theories based on these models. Therefore, this research will investigate the phenomenon of the spiral of silence in the public space which reflects the disappointment felt by the Acehnese people in the Pilkada in Aceh Province.

MATERIAL & METHODS

Material

Data is information about something, it can be something that is known, or what is considered, or what is assumed. Or a fact that is described through numbers, symbols, codes, and so on (Hasan, 2004). The data on the names of the 2017 Aceh Governor and Deputy Governor Candidates are as follows:

Table 1: List of Candidate Pairs for Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh in 2017

Candidate	Party
Tarmizi A. Karim and Machsalmi Ali	Golkar, NasDem, PPP
Zakaria Saman and T. Alaidinsyah	Independent
Abdullah Puteh and Sayed Mustafa Usab	Independent
Zaini Abdullah and Nasaruddin	Independent
Muzakir Manaf and TA. Khalid	Aceh Party, Gerindra, PBB, PKS
Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah	PNA, Demokrat, PDA, PKB, PDIP

Aceh Province Independent Electoral Commission (KIP), 2017.

However, in this research, we only analyze more deeply the three strong candidates out of all the 2017 Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh, these candidates are:

- a. Zaini Abdullah
- b. Muzakir Manaf
- c. Irwandi Yusuf

Their selection was the main object in the Analysis of Political Information about the 2017 Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh on social media because they are strong competitors with each other and each is a former governor or deputy governor in Aceh Province and are both former Free Aceh Movement combatants.

Methods

In conducting this research, the authors used qualitative research methods. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach. Sukmadinata (2011), qualitative descriptive research is aimed at describing and describing existing phenomena, both natural and human-made, which pay more attention to characteristics, quality, interrelationships between activities. The reason is simple, without using a complicated numerical approach, the author wants to present simpler research results using mere words.

In this case, what the author means is Analyzing the People's Silence Power and the Incumbent Local Party Regime in Aceh Province Regional Head Elections in 2017. According to Moleong, (2010), the qualitative research method itself is a scientific research method based on efforts to build their views. what is examined in detail is formed by words, as well as a holistic and complex picture. This definition looks more at the emic perspective in research, namely looking at an effort to build the views of research subjects on these things.

Then do the data analysis. Data analysis is preceded by collecting and collecting data or information in the field, after that it is classified according to the type and group, then it is analyzed or interpreted qualitatively, in the sense that the analysis is

carried out using words without being measured mathematically and after that a conclusion is drawn, as a result of the answer to the research objectives. According to Rijali, (2018) the notion of data analysis, it can be understood that qualitative data analysis activities are integrated with data collection activities, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion of research results.

By using content analysis as a method for analyzing and obtaining mathematical results as well as a complete picture of the problem under study. The main weakness of content analysis itself is that it places too much emphasis on the visible message, pays little attention to context and ignores the symbolic meaning of the message so that the real message is not found in the text. It is on this basis that Kriptendoff defines content analysis as a research technique for making inferences (designs) that are replicable and valid by taking into account the context (Hamad, 2010).

Content analysis method is a scientific analysis of the contents of a communication message. In this case, content analysis includes: classification of signs used in communication, using criteria as a basis for classification, and using certain analytical techniques as predictors (Arafat, 2018).

The use of content analysis for qualitative research is not much different from other approaches. Initially there must be a communication phenomenon that can be observed, in the sense that the researcher must first be able to formulate exactly what he wants to study and all actions must be based on that goal. The next step is to select the unit of analysis to be studied. Selecting the object of research to be the target of analysis. If the research object is related to verbal data (this is generally found in content analysis), it is necessary to mention the place, date, and means of communication concerned. However, if the research object is related to messages in a media, it is necessary to identify the message and the media that delivers the message (Hamad, 2010).

Research data in qualitative research is divided into two, including primary data and secondary data. According to Hermawan & Amirullah, (2016) explains that the source of data in research is the subject from which data can be obtained. Primary data is data obtained from the first source, namely in the form of writing or written notes. While secondary data is data obtained or collected by people who conduct research from existing sources. This data is usually obtained from the library or from previous research reports. After all data and information has been collected, the next step is data processing. Where this stage is very important in a scientific work, because at this stage the researcher will formulate the results of his research to describe the research data. While data analysis is a process of comparing data collected to give meaning, give meaning and give value contained in the data (Kasiram, 2008). All data that has been obtained is then collected and analyzed as best as possible, both in the form of data obtained from documentation and from the library to be clarified by taking the following steps:

1. Collecting a number of data to investigate and analyze.
2. Selecting relevant data.
3. Analyze (discuss) and collect data from both data collection techniques.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

1. Analysis of Political Information about the 2017 Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh on social media

a. Zaini Abdullah-Nasaruddin

The Zaini Abdullah-Nasaruddin (Azan) pair declared themselves to run as a candidate for governor-deputy governor candidate from an independent path in the 2017 Aceh Pilkada (Regional Head Election). In a statement obtained in Jakarta, he and the purpose of the 'Aceh Dignified' Coalition, Nasaruddin deliberately chose the acronym 'Azan' as a jargon and an abbreviation of their names. "We hope our supporters can

become muezzins who always shout and invite everyone to maintain this peace. The rencong has been sheathed, the weapons have been destroyed, the anger has been appeased, so it's time for us to fill these peaceful days with helping each other and sharing happiness with each other," explained Zaini Abdullah.

"A perfect victory is a victory that is felt by all the people of Aceh, those who win are not arrogant and those who lose do not hold grudges either. The winning conditions are what we want. Azan is a movement to ensure that whoever wins as Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh, is a joint victory that will receive blessings. For Azan, power is not to be used as an excuse to fight one another. The price of peace and tranquility for the lives of many people is far more important."

Zaini Abdullah-Nasaruddin conveyed the information through his Facebook account which led to positive and negative responses to the information they conveyed. Positive response from the community who continue to support Zaini. However, a negative response not to drop will provide good direction if one is elected as Governor of Aceh in the future.

Behind that, he said, "there are three characters that they hope will also be attached to their journey. The first character is Azan as a call, in which there is hope that their partner will continue to call for truth and virtue throughout Aceh. Second, Azan is a reminder of time and a memory of human existence on earth. The recordings of the conflict period do not stop, second by second the negotiations in Helsinki, the faces of the Acehnese martyrs are also imagining. It is to them that we dedicate this peace, that their martyrdom was not in vain, because peace has been real in Aceh, their children and wives will no longer feel insecure and threatened. Their names will be passed down from generation to generation, their children and grandchildren are proud of the sacrifices of their parents," he explained. Third, the Azan is an invitation to victory, namely the election of

the best Governor and Deputy Governor. "It doesn't have to be me, whoever will be elected later. Victory is the fruit of effort, no victory falls from the sky, victory is an achievement, but not an end," he said (<https://www.facebook.com/barazaini>).

b. Muzakir Manaf-TA Khalid

Muzakir Manaf was born in Seunudon, North Aceh, Aceh, 3 April 1964; 52 years old is a Free Aceh Movement fighter figure. He has served as Commander of the Free Aceh Movement. He served as Deputy Governor of Aceh from 2012 to 2017 with Dr. Zaini Abdullah (<https://acehabad.blogspot.com/2016/12/jejak-hidup-muzakir-manaf-petahana.html>).

Muzakir Manaf has embraced national and local political parties to build a better Aceh together. Head of the Central Mualem Association Muzakir appreciated the steps taken by Mualem. "Mualem wants to build a better Aceh together. All political parties must convey good ideas for Aceh. Aceh's development is more equitable like other provinces. "This coalition is also expected to be a 'bridge' connecting Aceh to the center, and to show the outside world that Aceh can be united and compromise politically," said Muzakir Manaf.

He also said "Tonight is history for Aceh. I did not mention the flag or color, but it is hoped that our togetherness here will bring benefits to the people of Aceh. Sleep can be anywhere, the direction of the head can be anywhere, but our dreams must be the same," added Mualem. Muzakir Manaf-TA Khalid conveyed information via his Facebook account which led to negative and positive responses to the information they conveyed. The negative response was that the people did not believe and did not want to make Mualem the Leader of Aceh. However, there were still many Mualem supporters so he could run and run for Governor, their hope is that later Mualem can lead a better Aceh.

His name is Muzakir Manaf, but the Acehnese usually greet this man as Mualem. During the Aceh war, the title Mualem was

pinned on someone who had high knowledge of military science, who had the ability to train his troops. In the present peacetime, the Acehnese still call Muzakir Manaf as Mualem. Of course, the nuances are no longer associated with military matters, but as a greeting of honor, not only for former Free Aceh Movement (GAM) combatants but also by all other Acehnese people.

Chairman of the Aceh Leadership Council (DPA) Aceh Party (PA) Muzakir Manaf said, in fighting for the implementation of the points of the Aceh Government Law (UUPA) which have not been fully realized by the central government, currently it is not only being carried out by the Aceh Party, but has received support from 7 national political parties. The implementation of the Helsinki MoU and UUPA under the framework of the Republic of Indonesia is currently the task of DPR (Aceh People's Representative Council) members who are members of the Dignified Aceh Coalition. Don't let the PA fend for itself, because if it's together (local and national parties) then the central government will listen," said Muzakir Manaf who at that time was still serving as Deputy Governor of Aceh on the sidelines of the Declaration of the 'Aceh Dignified' Party Coalition, Sunday night in addition, Muzakir Manaf hopes that the struggle to implement the UUPA derivatives must also be supported by representatives of the Acehnese people in Senayan (members of the DPR-RI). This issue must be completed within 5 years. The implementation of the UUPA derivatives must be carried out. Langet (dreaming or wishing), Aceh could progress. "Currently there are many outsiders (investors) lining up to build Aceh, but due to uncertain regulations (rule of law) and bureaucrats, this is a problem that Aceh is not progressing." said Muzakir Manaf who is familiarly called Mualem. (<https://www.facebook.com/635367079825978/photos/a.635383313157688.1073741826.635367079825978/955180797844603/>).

Abu Razak added, "So those who followed the coalition later became the main coalition supporting party. But it's all just a matter of name, the most important thing now is that the political elite in Aceh have united and are jointly fighting for the welfare of the people of Aceh," explained Abu Razak. In addition, when asked by several other political parties that had previously formed coalitions and joined the Aceh Party Fraction (Aceh People's Representative Council) period 2009-2014), such as the Crescent Star Party (Partai Bulan Bintang), Aceh Sovereign Party (Partai Daulat Aceh) which is now called the Aceh Peace Party (Partai Damai Aceh), and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (Partai Keadilan Persatuan Indonesia), Abu Razak explained, DPA-PA had conducted political lobbying against all political parties, but there are several parties that are unwilling and refuse to form a coalition with the Aceh Party (<https://www.facebook.com/LaskarRincongAceh/posts/491962937546174>).

"For factions in the DPRA (Acehnese People's Representative Council), maybe they could join, but for this coalition (Aceh Dignity) there are several parties that I have directly lobbied (explored) to form a coalition with the Aceh Party but were rejected. But that's up to them, Aceh Party is open, who wants to join or not, that's their choice. Thank God, now 7 political parties have formed a coalition with Aceh Party with a total of 74 seats out of a total of 81," said Abu Razak. As previously reported, eight political parties in Aceh, the majority of which won the most seats in the Acehness People's Representative Council (DPRA), declared joining a coalition. which was named the 'Dignified Aceh Coalition'. These parties were the Aceh Party (PA), the Great Indonesia Movement (Gerindra), the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Democratic Party, the National Democrats (NasDem), the Working Group (Golkar), the United Development Party (PPP), and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS).

c. Irwandi Yusuf-Nova Iriansyah

Drh. Irwandi Yusuf M.Sc. born in Bireuen, Aceh, August 2 1960 is also a former Governor of Aceh Province, 2007-2012 period. Irwandi Yusuf completed his education equivalent to junior high school, he continued to the Agricultural Extension School in Saree and studied at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine at the Syiah Kuala University, Aceh and earned a bachelor's degree in 1987, then he became a lecturer in 1989 in the same department until he received a scholarship to continue his Masters at College of Veterinary Medicine State University (Oregon State University), United States of America (<http://bgedhiepilekada.blogspot.com/2016/12/irwandi-nova-Pilihan-cerdas-no-urut6.html>). "Creating change for the Province of Aceh requires a candidate for leadership who is full of courage and intelligence. If the wrong decisions and policies are made, the Province of Aceh can be destroyed. It is possible that until now the people of Aceh have not felt this form of destruction. If the people of Aceh want to rise from this feeling of devastation, let's jointly support who deserves to be a leader who brings Aceh to a better direction." (<https://web.facebook.com/irwandi.nova.3>). "In addition, Irwandi-Nova also expressed his hopes for the people of Aceh. Aceh is a nation that is respected in history, its people live in peace-loving, sharia, dignified, with Islamic customs. It is time for Aceh to have a leader who is smart, brave and firm, has programs that are pro-interests for all certain groups."

"PILKADA (Regional Head Election) 15 February 2017 is the best opportunity for us Acehness to choose the best leader, if we choose the wrong leader, we will always regret it for 5 years. Let's open our hearts and minds, see Aceh far ahead, we unite our hearts, one choice, Irwandi-Nova is the choice of all of us. "Take lessons from the past, leave the rest. Don't let the shackles of sadness cover Aceh's aspirations for the better. We are sure that now we have a candidate for a leader who loves his people

so much. 'Irwandi-Nova' has been proven and tested” (<http://bgedhiepillkada.blogspot.com/>).

Irwandi Yusuf-Nova Iriansyah received many positive responses to the information they conveyed, in which the community glorified and gave full support for them to win in the post-conflict local elections and become trustworthy Acehese leaders. However, the people hope that if they are later elected as Governor and Deputy Governor, this couple will not forget the promises they made to the community that will build Aceh even better in the future.

On the other hand, Irwandi Yusuf is a former member of the Free Aceh Movement and was entrusted with the position of Special Staff of the Free Aceh Movement Army Central Command from 1998-2001. Irwandi's involvement as Special Staff of the Free Aceh Movement Central Command led to his dealings with Indonesian security forces and his arrest in early 2003. He was sentenced to 9 years in the Makar case, the Aceh Tsunami disaster on December 26, 2004, made him escape from Keudah prison, Banda Aceh then fled to Finland, and he was given an assignment by Free Aceh Movement officials in Sweden as Free Aceh Movement Negotiation Coordinator. During the first meeting of the Aceh Monitoring Mission, he appeared as the coordinator of the Free Aceh Movement Negotiator in Aceh (2001–2002).

Political information and political slander have also appeared on social media (facebook) against him which aims to bring down the voices of the people against him. On his Facebook account, Irwandi Yusuf, a series of words and sentences conveyed that, however, behind the information submitted, there was slander that appeared on social media (Facebook) which was against him, which aimed to bring down the voice of the people to him, but Irwandi Yusuf denied this through his personal social media account (medsos), Facebook, Irwandi responded to the news, the series of words and sentences conveyed contained many question marks and increasingly

signaled internal friction. Likewise, whether the response was based on reasons for his assertiveness or because of a 'panic' reaction after Samsul Bahri alias Tiong, Head of the Irwandi-Nova Winning Team in the Regional Head Election, February 15 2017, resigned as PNA Daily Chair? (https://www.facebook.com/AWTCORP/photos/a.106995487363156/475300890532612/?paipv=0&eav=AfbRiPkuybLg7rEQN1cyYxeyCLk4y774hxH6kE_O_gv4EvtPZC1lnmdLAGVSlr7TsLE).

Just listen to the word; I recently reformed the government so that it is cleaner and more transparent, but I have to deal with my own friends who still carry economic passions. So, the question is who is Irwandi's own friend who carries the economic passion? Furthermore; when the desire is not channeled, they kick right and left and blame the "mysterious charmer". The problem is, whose lust is not channeled? really from people close to Irwandi? if true, who (they) are called kicking right and left? blame the “mysterious charmer”. Then there was the problem with the ULP officials. At first, I was not in a hurry to replace Reza. I gave him instructions so that in the tender, he follows the rules and not KKN. Irwandi still wrote; I stated that there was no directive to win right or left, I ordered the Procurement Service Unit (ULP) to win the winner. But Reza was against my policies because he seemed to be tied to the circles of the old regime. So, is it true that the old regime that Irwandi meant was Dr. Zaini Abdullah or better known as Abu Doto? (<https://modusaceh.co/news/observe-and-memahami-kata-irwandi/index.html>).

Not only that, Irwandi also wrote; From my group there has been an idea for a long time to replace the Procurement Service Unit official with the candidate he proposed so that it would be easier to coordinate, especially if it's not a project issue. This means that Irwandi is really surrounded by certain groups and who are they? Sentence; from my group, it can also be interpreted that Irwandi is really surrounded by

handlers? Meanwhile, in another sentence, he denied it. Irwandi said, I did not take the candidate they offered, apart from not meeting the requirements, because I did not want if after we succeeded in exorcising people's demons only to be replaced by our own demons. Interestingly, who was the devil that Irwandi was referring to, who had proposed this particular candidate? Isn't this sentence too harsh?

2. Differences in the strategy used by Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah against their rivals (Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf)

Partai Aceh/Aceh Party, with its hegemony, cannot keep the Acehnese people harmonious and consistent because its political marketing is full of excessive threats and intimidation delivered to the people of Aceh. As a result, many people swayed their voices. Besides, based on the research results of Nasir & Darmansyah (2018), one of the winning strategies for the Muzakir Manaf-TA Khalid pair applied, both in Pasie Raja and Tapaktuan subdistrict had similarities in general and was not specifically differentiated between one subdistrict and another. However, the difference in the acquisition of votes in a subdistrict is more due to differences in community orientation in determining choices.

The strategies applied in winning Muzakir Manaf-TA Khalid in Pasie Raja and Tapaktuan subdistricts consisted of internal strengthening of the party and building a political machine, building political communication with community leaders, building direct approach with the community, building political image, and delineating the vision and mission of the community. Head of DPS PA (Aceh Party Sago Leadership Council) in Pasie Raja, Muzakir Manaf, said that around 380 former GAM members joined the KPA in the Pasie Raja subdistrict. Hence, the community felt they had high hopes for the Aceh Party as one of the local political parties in Aceh initiated by former GAM fighters that

carried Muzakir Manaf-TA Khalid as governor and deputy governor candidate. Meanwhile, the factors causing the defeat of the Tapaktuan subdistrict vote acquisition were the lack of community support, public trust, competence in politics and government, and the public preferred Tarmizi A. Karim-T.Machsalmi Ali (Nasir & Darmansyah, 2018).

There were strategies and contextual factors used by Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah in winning regional head elections. They covered the areas of party consolidation, segmentation, targeting, positioning, and candidate image. The winning strategy consists of forming a self-image, selecting campaign issues based on the weaknesses of opponents and campaign goals, rooting the party by cooperating with various elements of society, and internal party consolidation starting from the candidacy process to campaigning by involving candidates for legislative members. The contextual factor is information about the lack of the most potential opponents and the next observation target (survey) and documentaries, namely the incumbent gubernatorial candidate who caused the disappointment of voters towards him. It means the incumbent governor candidate will win the regional head elections if they adopt the strategy of Zaini Abdullah and Muzakir Manaf.

In addition, the victory of Irwandi Yusuf and Nova Iriansyah in Partai Nasional Aceh (PNA) and supported by national parties such as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle and the Democratic Party, was predicted from the start by political observers and public figures. In addition, as a former governor (2006-2012), Irwandi Yusuf was able to show his best performance and service to impress the community, such as through the Aceh Community Health Insurance (JKA) program. So far, Aceh has been the capital and model region for the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, the people of Aceh can compare the reigns of Irwandi Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar (2006-2012) with

the reigns of Zaini Abdullah and Muzakkir Manaf (2012-2017) through factual evidence or empirical data in the form of track records while Irwandi served as governor. Aceh Health Insurance/JKA was monumental in Aceh, initiated by Irwandi Yusuf, and became a political instrument for himself and a model for the central government in Jakarta.

3. An Analysis of People's Silence Power Response to Local Regime Hegemony

Findings in the field stated that the regional elections in Aceh in 2017 had changed the mindset of the Acehnese people in choosing regional heads, especially governors/deputy governors. The loss of the people's trust in hegemonic political parties surprised many parties because the party currently in power is a local party known as the Aceh Party, which once dominated the majority of voters' votes. However, this hegemonic party's electability is declining due to the emergence of people's political awareness. Silence power is the primary cause of the political hegemony in the 2017 election in Aceh.

The political knowledge and awareness of the people in determining their best choice during elections is necessary. Voters cannot be influenced by unprofessional and classic issues such as money politics. The community can recognize the track record and performance of prospective leaders, especially from incumbent groups. It is a criticism from the people of Aceh towards the performance of the current leadership management. Silence Power derived from the people or society is a form of people power. It happens because the people are wiser and more advanced in respecting democracy and political attitudes. The presence of the state in the entire electoral process makes people more comfortable and feel safe in voting. Silence Power has shifted the dominance of the Aceh party, and party hegemony has become a barrier to development and even a parasite in every activity in Aceh in almost all development fields (legal, economic, social, and political). Silence Power is also the cause of swing voters in the 2017 local elections in Aceh. It is due to the loss of people's trust in the hegemonic party in the Government of Aceh more than 8 years after the MoU in Helsinki.

Table 2. Vote Recapitulation Results for the 2017 Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) in Aceh

No	Candidate Pairs	Parties	Number of Votes	Percentages
1	Tamizi A.,Karim/T. Machsalmina Ali	National Parties	406.865	16.7
2	Zakaria Saman/Alaidinsyah	Independent	132.981	5.5
3	Abdullah Puteh/Sayed Mustafa U A	Independent	41.908	1.7
4	Zaini Abdullah/Nasaruddin	Independent	167.910	6.9
5	Muzakkir Manaf/T. A. Khalid	National Parties dan Local Parties	766.427	31.7
6	Irwandi Yusuf/Nova Iriansyah	National Parties dan Local Parties	898.710	37.2
	Total		2.414.801	100

Source: Aceh Province Independent Electoral Commission (KIP), 2017.

Based on the data above, the voting for the governor/deputy governor election was exceeded by Irwandi Yusuf/Nova Iriansyah. Voting is so significant that the domination of hegemonic parties has ended in Aceh. Silence Power succeeded in changing the paradigm and phenomenon of leadership in Aceh in five years (2017-2022).

DISCUSSIONS

The 2017 Regional Head General Election (Pilkada) in Aceh is quite interesting. This

was motivated by six former Free Aceh Movement (GAM) combatants fighting over the Aceh-1 seat. Not to mention the stakes for the prestige of national politicians through their respective parties in Bumi Iskandar Muda. As is known, there were six pairs of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Aceh who took part in the 2017 Pilkada. Three of them were carried by the party and the rest advanced from the individual route. One of those supported by the party is Tarmizi A Karim with serial

number 1. He advanced to the Aceh 1 seat after getting seats from NasDem, Golkar, PPP, Hanura, and PKPI. Tarmizi advanced in the Aceh Pilkada with Machsalmina Ali who replaced Zaini Djalil as a candidate for Deputy Governor of Aceh.

That said, Tarmizi A Karim is fully backed up by Sofyan Dawood. This one figure is known as a former GAM combatant during the raging Aceh conflict. Sofyan Dawod, as his colleagues called him, had also served as GAM Central Spokesman during the war the other day. For the people of Aceh, the name and face of Sofyan Dawood was heard, read and seen on television almost every day during the last Free Aceh Movement war. During Aceh's peacetime period, Sofyan Dawod now chooses to "go to war" through political channels. If in the last regional election he "piggybacked" Irwandi, this time he is defending Tarmizi Karim. Unmitigated, Sofyan Dawod even served as Head of the Winning Team for the candidate who was touted as "entrusted by the central government".

The existence of Sofyan Dawod with Tarmizi Karim certainly cannot be underestimated. Moreover, Sofyan Dawod was one of the elite combatants in his time. Born in Panton Pumpkin, last October 10, 1966, this man really understands the strategy of "war" through the mass media. He is also known to be shrewd in herding public opinion which is one of the strategies to reach the masses. However, the question is whether Sofyan Dawood is genuinely aligned with the candidates endorsed by a number of national parties.

Thursday, 9 February 2017 Sofyan Dawod informed that he chose to withdraw from the Tarmizi support team because he had not been involved as a team, even though his position was the head of the winning team. "If the team is not solid, where should I take the ex-combatants who are bustling behind me? With me officially withdrawing today, for my followers, they already know where to support next," added the man who is familiarly called Bang Yan.

He also admitted that he had communicated with Tarmizi several times to convey his intention to resign, so that there would be no more problems between himself and Tarmizi. "I personally consider Tarmizi Karim as my own family. But politically, at this time I have a different opinion with him. Sofyan Dawood believes he will not be blamed if it turns out that Tarmizi loses to him, because I feel I am not involved in the team, even though my capacity is as the team leader to win," he explained. Now with his position that is no longer as team leader in Pilkada. On the other hand, if Tarmizi wins, it means that the team is working well and he is sure that his replacement will be better than himself.

Apart from Sofyan Dawod, the 2017 Regional Head Election this time was also enlivened by Zakaria Saman. This man is known as the Minister of Finance of Free Aceh Movement during the Aceh war. Born in Keumala, Pidie, Aceh, January 1, 1946, Zakaria Saman is known as a funny politician in Aceh. Why not? Every time he makes comments to the media, he says they tend to be populist. Just like "ask Telkomsel" some time ago. Many Acehnese people sometimes hunt for the hilarious sentence Apa Karya, nicknamed Zakaria Saman, in the mass media. It is as if without Apa Karya, Aceh's political journey seems more rigid.

Even though he crossed political paths with his comrades in the 2017 Regional Head Election, Apa Karya was even seen as close to his rivals, such as Zaini Abdullah, Irwandi Yusuf, and Muzakir Manaf. At least that can be seen from the several times they were in the same room as during the medical tests and drawing serial numbers some time ago. As a "dark horse" on the Aceh political stage this time, Apa Karya (Om Zakaria) chose the independent route to run for the 2017 Pilkada. He is partnered with T Alaidinsyah and received serial number 2, which he likens to two sentences of *syahadat*.

Another elite figure of the Free Aceh Movement who took part in the 2017

Regional Head Election this time was Sayed Mustafa Usab. Accompanying Abdullah Puteh as a candidate for Deputy Governor of Aceh, Sayed's name is not familiar to residents of the East coast of Aceh. However, it is different for the residents of the South West coast of Aceh, especially for loyalists of the Free Aceh Movement. Referring to various sources, this National Mandate Party (PAN) politician was once listed as the Coordinator of the Free Aceh Movement in West Aceh and South Aceh. He was also a member of the People's Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia replacing Azwar Abu Bakar during the reign of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Apart from coming from the Free Aceh Movement, Sayed Mustafa Usab is now also suspected of having several colleagues from the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) and the TNI. This is very possible because the man who was born in Kabu Tunong, Seunagan Timur District, Nagan Raya, Aceh, on July 4 1962 was also on Commission I of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, whose partners were the two state institutions. Sayed Mustafa Usab was the coordinator of Zaini Abdullah's winning team before the registration for the Aceh governor cagub began. However, he turned around to defend Abdullah Puteh, the former Governor of Aceh, who was later "wooed" to become his deputy. Another central figure of the Free Aceh Movement who took part in beating the "drums of war" in the 2017 Pilkada is Zaini Abdullah. The former medical student activist who joined the Free Aceh Movement with Hasan di Tiro is an incumbent.

Similar to Apa Karya and Abdullah Puteh, this man who was once a Swedish citizen also chose an independent path to advance in Aceh's democratic party. He embraced Nasaruddin as a deputy and is suspected of having the support of some ex-Tripoli in this election. Born in Pidie, April 24, 1940, this former Minister of Health of the Free Aceh Movement became the oldest candidate for Governor of Aceh in the 2017

Pilkada. Even though many doubted his ability to lead Aceh for a second time, Zaini still seems enthusiastic about politics. His health condition at an old age was even disrupted a few days ago, after the medical test for the 2017 Regional Head Election was carried out. He was treated at a hospital, in Jakarta, because he was suffering from a respiratory infection and knee pain. His voice was less audible when speaking on the podium. Even so, Nasaruddin as his representative, who is much younger, is thought to be able to close this. Zaini and Nasaruddin, who carry the AZAN jargon this time, received serial number 4 as Pilkada participants.

Another elite member of the Free Aceh Movement who is listed as a participant in the Regional Head Election this time is Muzakir Manaf. The man who is known as Mualem from the word Mualimin or trainer is the former Commander of the Free Aceh Movement who was most wanted by the security forces during the Aceh war. As Hasan Tiro's direct protege, Mualem believes the people of Aceh are still with him in the 2017 Regional Head Election. Paired with TA Khalid, the former Libyan is supported by the Aceh Party and the Greater Indonesia Movement in the political arena this year. They also received support from a number of other national parties such as the Djan Faridz faction of the United Development Party (PPP), the Aceh National Mandate Party (PAN), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the Indonesian United Justice Party and the Great Indonesia Movement Party.

On the other hand, Mualem also received political support from elements of the Free Aceh Movement under the command of the Aceh Transitional Committee (KPA) which spread down to the gampong level throughout Aceh. As a former commander in chief, Mualem is one of the potential figures who is predicted to be able to win the most votes in Aceh later. Moreover, the political capital it has is quite large, 29 seats in the Aceh People's Legislative Council and a majority in parliament at almost all

district and city levels. Another name that is synonymous with the Free Aceh Movement is Irwandi Yusuf. Going forward with Nova Iriansyah, this pair pocketed serial number 6 in the 2017 Pilkada. Irwandi is a former Governor of Aceh known through the Aceh Health Insurance program (JKA). He was also a former propagandist for the Free Aceh Movement during the last Aceh war, which he acted during the conflict. And that was also what he implemented when he advanced in three Aceh Regional Head Elections, including this period. Not a few former Free Aceh Movement who support Irwandi. For example, among others, Muchsalmina (a figure from the Free Aceh Movement in Greater Aceh), Munawarliza Zainal (a civilian from the Free Aceh Movement in Sabang), several figures from the Free Aceh Movement in Bireuen, Ridwan Abubakar alias Nek Tu in East Aceh and several other former combatants in Aceh. He also received support from Nur Djuli, a figure from the Free Aceh Movement who was involved in the Helsinki peace deal on 15 August 2005.

With the presence of 6 former combatants of the Free Aceh Movement who were listed as candidates for regional head and Ring 1 in the 2017 Pilkada, of course, the supporters' voices were divided. But this is politics and the real democratic party. Anyone can go, "*asai bek riyoh-riyoh dan peusak hop ateuh rakyat*". It means "as long as you don't make a fuss and give false hope to the people". At least, there are several names of candidates for Governor of Aceh who are predicted to run, including Zaini Abdullah, Muzakir Manaf, Irwandi Yusuf, Zakaria Saman, Tarmizi A Karim and Abdullah Puteh, and it is said that Zaini Abdullah failed to be nominated as the sole candidate for governor with the mount of the Aceh Party, finally the former Minister of Health of the Free Aceh Movement and the current Governor of Aceh resigned as Tuha Peut in the management of the Aceh Party.

Of the various names of the Candidates for Governor of Aceh, it is said that the

Candidates for Governor who have the most chances are Muzakir Manaf who was also Deputy Governor of Aceh from 2012 to 2017 and Irwandi Yusuf, former Governor of Aceh from 2007 to 2012. In fact, many issues or rumors have developed. an internal survey of the National Party and Local Party in Aceh stated that Irwandi Yusuf had the highest electability rate, but because of the "adventurist nature" of several political parties, many of them supported Muzakir Manaf.

What is certain, however, is that the Aceh regional head election still has a dim picture of who will win it. It is possible that Muzakir Manaf will win, but because during 2012 to 2016 many people in Aceh considered Zaini Abdullah-Muzakir Manaf unable to provide "added value" for Aceh's progress both physically and non-physically. The group supporting Muzakir who is also the General Chairperson of the Aceh Party may think that the current "lack of success" in Aceh's development is not correct if it is "blamed" on Mualem, because his position is only as Deputy Governor. However, the problem is, during his time as Deputy Governor, maybe most of the people of Aceh, especially people outside Aceh, do not know the results of Mualem's actions while serving as Deputy Governor, have Zaini Abdullah or Mualem ever made public policies as good as those issued, for example by Ahok in Jakarta, Ridwan Kamil in Bandung or Tri Rismaharini in Surabaya?. There is still little information that describes this problem.

The obstacle faced by many Candidates for the Governor of Aceh in participating in the 2017 Regional Head Election is "cash flow endurance" or the strength of financial flows. Therefore, the Corruption Eradication Commission of the Republic of Indonesia (KPK) and the Center for Financial Transaction Reports and Analysis (PPATK) should properly follow this issue, because they do not rule out the possibility of foreign funds flowing to one of the Governor's Candidates with certain rewards which are certain to be kept secret. Many

foreign parties are expected to monitor and be "involved" directly or indirectly in the 2017 Aceh Regional Head Election related to the history that Aceh has experienced so far.

Meanwhile, another candidate for governor who is considered a "dark horse" is Tarmizi A Karim. Many people think that the Inspectorate General of the Ministry of Home Affairs is a Candidate for Governor who is supported by the Central Government, although the author does not believe this allegation because so far there has been no statement openly or vaguely from the Center "supporting" Tarmizi, even the attitude of the National Party in Jakarta whether to support Tarmizi A Karim or not is also not clear until now. It is possible that the "allegation" of the Central Government supporting Tarmizi A Karim is because the person concerned, apart from being the Regent of North Aceh, is also a "son of the region" as well as a bureaucratic official in the Central Government, including maybe Tarmizi A Karim is considered easier to cooperate with the Central Government in all matters. thing to ensure that Aceh remains within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia not only after the 2017 Regional Head Elections, but forever. Ironically, the development of public opinion through the media will build a dual climate of opinion, namely a climate that is directly perceived by the population and a climate from media coverage. In these conditions the train test can be carried out to test the extent to which people will express their opinions, by proposing several conversation themes to other people, if there is interest and follows the flow of questions then it is considered that there has been an achievement in building public opinion. The people who persist don't want to express their opinions choose to be the hard core. The condition of the hard core is shown in silence, not choosing anything without showing aggression towards political opponents they have not chosen.

This research generally proves that Silence Power also occurs in the election of

regents/deputy regents and mayors/deputy mayors throughout Aceh province. The elected regent/deputy regent also does not represent the supporting party. In this case, the community found the hegemonic party's poor performance far from the expectations of the community then the performance of the previous government before the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) as a new blueprint for Aceh's development in all fields. The authority of regency/city governments is so low in providing public services to the community. It means that Silence Power in Aceh is not only in the governor/deputy governor election but also in almost all elections in regencies/cities.

The existence of Silence Power was proven in the 2017 Election. Silence Power is a form that was born from the disappointment of the Acehnese people as a result of the hegemonic power shown by members of the Aceh Party in providing services to the Acehnese people. Many representatives of the Acehnese party and their followers do not take the right approach to society when they interact with people, which then reduces the people's sympathy for the ruling party.

Silence Power in Aceh in simultaneous elections was due to political promises made during the marketing of politics by the hegemonic party political elites that cannot be achieved significantly, barbaric political concepts by hegemonic parties to influence and change the political mindset of society, and political recruitment process by hegemonic parties based on friendship or special relationship. Therefore, it is very influential in carrying out political activities. Finally, Silence Power displaces the political hegemony of the ruling party in Aceh.

The research results reinforce the previous research by Amri (2018) that the factors influencing the defeat of the Kampar Regent and Deputy Regent Elections for 2017-2022 were the poor movement of the support base of candidates pairs, lack of solid support from the party, the lowest vote in many sub-districts, and the minimal campaign budget.

CONCLUSION

Based on the description and analysis of research findings on the results of the 2017 regional head elections in Aceh, it can be summarized as follows:

1. Silence Power has been able to shift the hegemony of the ruling party in Aceh in the 2017 regional head elections. It emerged due to various factors, including the negative attitude of the ruling party towards the people of Aceh, which made the people of Aceh lose their trust and sympathy.
2. Silence Power arises because of people power that occurs silently throughout Aceh. In addition, the people of Aceh already have fair knowledge and intelligence in respecting their political rights.
3. The presence of the state in the 2017 simultaneous regional head elections in Aceh has provided comfort and security for the people to vote. The voting results for the governor/deputy governor elections were won by Irwandi Yusuf/Nova Iriansyah. Voting is so significant that the domination of hegemonic parties has ended in Aceh. People's Silence Power has changed the paradigm and phenomenon of leadership in Aceh in the next five years: 2017-2022.

Recommendations

Basically, a political battle in general elections or regional head elections is a natural thing, the most important thing is how each candidate and his supporters are mature. This means giving political lessons that in a fight there must be a winner. Later when whoever wins will not influence the people not to stay away from the leader who becomes the winner. The journey of democracy teaches the winners in the sense that all people will honestly and fairly participate, even if they don't support it at first.

What's more, we see that the battles that took place were dominated by former combatants of the Free Aceh Movement,

who incidentally were comrades-in-arms. We can see the battle this time around in the democratic arena under the auspices of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia which has become a commitment between the Free Aceh Movement and the Republic of Indonesia. The response is that whoever our winners are still brothers, in the future we can join hands hand in hand to create prosperity and peace in Aceh.

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