

ACEH'S SURPRISING ELECTION RESULTS

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I. OVERVIEW

The 9 April 2014 legislative elections in Aceh produced three surprises. First, voters sent a strong message of displeasure to the ruling Partai Aceh (PA), the party controlled by leaders of the former rebel Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, GAM). PA still came out on top but with significantly reduced percentages in its east coast strongholds. Second, its major competition came not from a rival GAM-led local party but from national parties, particularly the newcomer NasDem. And third, despite its alliance with PA, Gerindra, the party of Prabowo Subianto, proved weaker than expected.

In the provincial legislature (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh, DPRA), Partai Aceh dropped from 33 out of 69 seats to 29 out of 81 seats, or a drop from 47.8 per cent to just under 36 per cent. The drop was particularly striking given the party's perceived control over the electoral machinery and widespread allegations of fraud in the counting process—factors that many Acehnese saw as more important than the violence that marred the campaign period.

Partai Aceh's most serious opponent proved not to be the local Partai Nasional Aceh, as expected, but national parties. NasDem made a particularly strong showing, benefiting from being fresh and untainted by previous involvement in government. It also had good candidates, lots of money, and an Acehnese at the top, media magnate Surya Paloh. NasDem and Golkar each secured nine DPRA seats, while the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN) received eight, up from five in 2009. PNA only received three after a poorly resourced and disorganised campaign, as well as intimidation of its supporters by PA sympathisers.

Gerindra, the party of presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto, which entered into an alliance with Partai Aceh in 2013, did worse than expected, securing only two seats from Aceh in the national parliament. It had targeted six. In 2009, President Yudhoyono's Partai Demokrat had a similar alliance with PA and won seven. There appears to be no enthusiasm in Aceh for Prabowo as president, but with Partai Aceh's backing, he will almost certainly do better than Jakarta governor Jokowi in the July 2014 presidential contest, if not with the extraordinary numbers that Yudhoyono received in 2009—93.2 per cent of the vote.

Jokowi's Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan, PDIP) is widely seen as hostile toward Aceh, since its leadership formally objected to several points of the 2005 Helsinki peace agreement. It does not help that the one PDIP leader elected to the national parliament in these elections, Tagore Abubakar, is known for his leadership of a movement that wants to carve a new province out of Aceh. That said, Jokowi himself seems to have a reasonably positive image and could attract both voters who want a new face and those in the anyone-but-Prabowo camp. It could also help that he lived in Takengon, Central Aceh from 1985 to 1989 as a businessman and knows the province well.

Women candidates did better this time at the provincial level, with three women elected from PA, as opposed to one in 2009, and the percentage of women in the DPRA rising from 7.25 per cent in 2009 to 14.8 per cent in 2014. The percentage of women elected to district councils was only 8.8 per cent.

With PA's reduced but still strong showing, its leaders could go one of two ways over the next five years. They could take this vote as a warning that voters want change and work more seriously to improve social services, protect forests, clean up corruption, end extortion and generally improve governance. Alternatively, they could see it as a reminder that this may be their last chance for serious rent-seeking and exploit it to the fullest. If they want re-election in 2019, they should choose the first.

II. THE RESULTS

Several aspects of the 2014 election need explanation: PA's decline but ultimate victory; the surprisingly strong showing of several national parties, not including Gerindra; and the poor performance of PNA. Despite a major campaign effort, PA does not seem to have made significant inroads in the non-Acehnese areas of the central highlands and southwestern parts of the province.

A. *Dissatisfaction with Partai Aceh*

Disappointment with PA's performance in office is the most potent explanation for its decline. It should have done better. It had a grassroots-based political structure that no party could rival.¹ It had far more resources than other parties, even according to official campaign finance reports.² Its cadres had no hesitation about using intimidation and violence to warn other parties off—PNA in particular—even though everyone interviewed for this report agreed that PA's machine would have ensured a victory even without such tactics. It was involved in the selection of poll workers at every level up to and including the Independent Election Commission (Komisi Independen Pemilu, KIP) in Banda Aceh, whose members had to be approved by PA-dominated Commission A in the provincial assembly.

Said PNA leader Irwansyah:

The bodies responsible for implementing the election—from KIP Aceh to the subdistrict election committees to the lowest-level counting committees—were formed by the ruling party and some are clearly members and supporters of that party.³

But five years in power have not brought much tangible improvement to the lives of ordinary Acehnese, poverty remains endemic, and corruption is rife, as is extortion by former GAM commanders of local businesses and public works projects. The PA-dominated provincial assembly has come in for particular criticism, producing only 47 local regulations or *qanun* in five years (as opposed to 107 in the first post-Soeharto assembly) while allocating huge sums for its own activities.⁴ Pork-barrel projects to build schools have produced a surfeit of buildings, but teacher competence remains low and of all provinces in the country, Aceh has the highest rate of failure on the national elementary and high school exams. It is the fourth largest spender on healthcare in the country, but maternal mortality actually rose from 2011 to 2012.⁵ Funding for building of roads and other infrastructure projects has been concentrated in the areas where PA control is strongest—and where PA-affiliated former GAM commanders routinely secure lucrative construction contracts.⁶ Governance remains poor, and in interview after interview, Acehnese spoke of PA's unfulfilled promises.

Even PA members themselves portrayed the government as dysfunctional. Governor Zaini Abdullah, now 76, is seen as decent but weak, a poor manager who has systematically replaced the top echelons of the civil service with PA loyalists rather than professionals. He reportedly has strained relations with deputy governor Muzakkir Manaf who as former GAM military

1 For background on how Partai Aceh came to power, see the series of reports produced on Aceh by the International Crisis Group between 2005 and 2013. All are available online at www.crisisgroup.org.

2 According to official 2014 finance reports posted at the KIP office in Banda Aceh, PA received Rp.9,311,960,300 (\$800,828) from its candidates. Its closest competitor was Golkar with Rp.7,937,587,694 (\$682,632) from its candidates. PNA, by contrast, reported receipts of only Rp.606 million (\$52,116). In addition to candidate contributions, PA reported corporate contributions totalling another \$800,000 from several companies: PT Putra Seinar Desa, PT Sinar Pusaka, PT Beuna Setiakawan Anda, PT Sinar Harapan Kuala, PT Keluarga Mangat Sabee, PT Rizki Rezi Umama, and Grand Transit Hotel.

3 "PNA tolak pemilu legislatif di Aceh," bbc.co.uk, 24 April 2014.

4 "Otsus Pendidikan Sedikit Untuk Peningkatan Mutu," belanjapublikaceh.org, 6 September 2013; "Aceh Peringkat Pertama Tidak Lulus Ujian Nasional," tvri.co.id, 24 May 2013.

5 "Bidan Cukup, Kematian Ibu Masih Tinggi," belanjapublikaceh.org, 27 August 2013.

6 "Dana Otsus dan Kondisi Jalan: Belum Sesuai Kebutuhan," belanjapublikaceh.org, 4 September 2013.

commander and current head of the party has more authority over the party rank and file. Muzakkir also serves as head of the Aceh Transition Committee (Komite Peralihan Aceh, KPA), the post-conflict incarnation of the old GAM military structure, which forms an important part of PA's political machine down to the village level. Muzakkir himself is said to struggle to keep KPA members and other former subordinates under control as resources available at the district level have enabled the creation of local power bases with a high degree of independence – and GAM was always a very decentralised organisation.

Nevertheless, PA can still draw on the residual loyalty of many Acehnese, who see its leaders as having ended the conflict that brought them such misery. One PA member rejected discontent as the reason for her party's decline. She said the amount of money and other goods being doled out by candidates was so great that it influenced votes. She said she had urged her aunt to vote for PA but her aunt had just accepted a sarong from the National Mandate Party (PAN) and said, "I couldn't not vote for them now, it wouldn't be right." She said in urban areas, people took the blandishments offered and voted the way they wanted to, but it was different in rural areas: if you took a gift, you were obliged to reciprocate.⁷

B. *NasDem's Strength*

Of the national parties, the newcomer NasDem made a surprisingly strong showing in its first electoral test in Aceh, securing nine seats, enough to have its own bloc and thus control over at least one legislative committee in the DPR. Its biggest selling point was that it was new. The Acehnese, like other Indonesians, like to give new faces a chance, hoping that they will turn out to be less venal and more professional than their predecessors. The party attracted good people as candidates, many of them young professionals but also many older community leaders who were already well-known locally. Some deserted other national parties to join but NasDem also attracted voters who wanted to register disaffection with PA and who saw Partai Nasional Aceh as more of the same, another party under GAM leadership, only with fewer resources and less clout.⁸

NasDem also had unassailable "Acehnese-ness". It was founded in Jakarta in 2011 by Acehnese media tycoon Surya Paloh, owner of Metro TV and the newspaper *Media Indonesia*. Its slogan in Aceh was "Time for Aceh to lead Indonesia", an idea that appealed to local pride while at the same time embracing the country as a whole. Not surprisingly, its media campaign was polished, and its posters were everywhere. It also had the advantage of being No.1 in the list of parties on the ballot.

NasDem flirted briefly with the idea of an alliance with PNA against PA, but in the end went its own way. In addition to the nine seats in the DPR, it secured 58 in local district councils (DPRK), including five in Pidie, a PA stronghold; five in Aceh Besar; and four each in Banda Aceh, Pidie Jaya, Aceh Utara and Aceh Tengah. It also is sending two representatives to the national parliament.

C. *PNA's Disarray*

The other surprise was how poorly PNA performed. Created after the 2012 gubernatorial elections by defeated candidate and former governor Irwandi Yusuf, many thought it would collect the anti-PA vote. The intra-GAM rivalry between Irwandi and the old leadership-in-exile, now represented by PA, goes back more than a decade and reached a climax in 2011-2012 when PA decided not only not to endorse Irwandi's bid for a second term as governor but tried to actively

⁷ IPAC interview, PA member, Banda Aceh, 23 April 2014.

⁸ IPAC interview, NasDem official, Banda Aceh, 24 April 2014.

prevent him from standing at all. Eventually he did stand as a non-party candidate and lost decisively to the PA slate of Zaini Abdullah and Muzakkir Manaf. The problems of that campaign foreshadowed PNA's difficulties two years later.

As one PNA official said about the party's poor showing, "It was 50 per cent cheating [by PA] and 50 per cent us." Despite welcoming many civil society activists into its ranks, it was never able to project a reformist image. Instead, many Acehnese saw it as "Irwandi's party", identifying it solely with the former governor, or as a party of disgruntled GAM commanders with the same ideology as PA. Irwandi himself did not put much time into it. In its messages, the party focused on the past rather than the future, reminding voters of the popular health insurance program known as JKA that Irwandi had initiated (its slogan was "Remember JKA, choose PNA"). But the program had not helped Irwandi win a second term and it was not enough now. Scarce resources were poorly deployed, with Rp.200 million (about \$17,250) reportedly being spent on military-like uniforms for the party's security unit at a time when candidates were scrambling to cover transportation expenses. The disorganisation and lack of planning that plagued Irwandi's 2012 campaign were in evidence again. The party failed to make strategic use of its most attractive candidates and was marred by constant internal squabbling. Combined with the lack of a grassroots structure to compete with PA's, these factors probably would have assured its defeat, even if there had been no violence and the election machinery had been completely neutral.

D. *Gerindra's Weakness*

Gerindra partnered with Partai Aceh in the hopes of securing at least six seats in the national parliament and ensuring Prabowo Subianto's victory in the July 2014 presidential election. As a local party, Partai Aceh cannot field its own candidates for parliament, and therefore an alliance with a national party is crucial, especially when much unfinished business remains in Jakarta implementing the 2005 Helsinki peace agreement. In 2009, when Partai Aceh allied with President Yudhoyono's Partai Demokrat, the latter won seven seats. In 2014, Gerindra only won two. What went wrong?

The most common explanation was that Gerindra remains totally identified with Prabowo, Prabowo remains identified with Kopassus (the army special forces) in Aceh, and Kopassus has a black reputation in Aceh for the abuses attributed to it during the conflict. In 2009, PA sources said, Yudhoyono was genuinely popular and the PA rank-and-file had no problem following their leaders' instructions to vote for his Partai Demokrat. But the alliance with Prabowo is not only problematic at the grassroots level, it has also reportedly caused consternation and tensions within the Partai Aceh leadership. In March 2014, when Prabowo visited Lhokseumawe and asked Acehnese to forgive Kopassus for any "mistakes" of his subordinates during the conflict, some Acehnese said it would have been better if he had kept quiet; the apology only served to remind people of his Kopassus past.⁹

The biggest champion of the alliance within PA from the beginning has been Muzakkir Manaf, who serves as chair of Gerindra's advisory board in Aceh. His major concern was ensuring that PA had enough financial support from Prabowo and his family to run the 2014 campaign. In February 2014, he told thousands of party cadres, "Prabowo Subianto as head of Gerindra has helped Partai Aceh in many ways, so now, for the national parliament, I'm asking you to help Gerindra."¹⁰

Prabowo's past was not the only reason that Gerindra failed to meet its goal. Muzakkir also seems to have unintentionally undercut support by reminding people that it was *haram* (forbidden) to vote for Gerindra at a local level, where PA was the only acceptable choice for district

9 IPAC interview, Acehnese legislative candidate, Banda Aceh, 23 April 2014. See also "Prabowo: Lupakan Masa Lalu, Maafkan Kopassus di Aceh," *acehterkini.com*, 12 March 2014.

10 "Yuswardi A. Suud, "Mengapa Harus Gerindra?" *Atjehpost.com*, 26 February 2014.

and provincial seats; Gerindra was the option only at the national level. Some voters may have just registered the *haram* message and avoided Gerindra altogether as a result. Finally, Gerindra was up against stronger competition from other national parties, particularly Nasdem, than Partai Demokrat was in 2009.

E. The ALA-ABAS Areas

Election results were particularly interesting in the central highlands and southwestern parts of Aceh dominated by non-Acehnese ethnic groups. These are the areas that periodically demand separate provinces. One, to be called Aceh Leuser Antara or ALA, has been championed by ethnic Gayo and would include the districts of Aceh Tengah, Bener Meriah, Aceh Singkil, Gayo Lues and Aceh Tenggara. A second, to be called Aceh Barat Selatan or ABAS, would consist of Aceh Jaya, Aceh Barat, Nagan Raya, Aceh Barat Daya (Abdya), Aceh Selatan and Simeulue.

In addition to indigenous non-Acehnese ethnic groups (that is, groups indigenous to the region but who do not speak Acehnese and have their own language and cultural traditions), the ALA districts include areas with large Javanese and other migrant populations. They were home to several anti-GAM militias armed and trained by the Indonesian military during the conflict. For these elections, several prominent former regional military commanders now working with Partai Aceh made a concerted effort to get out the militia vote for PA.

They made little headway in the ALA heartland of Aceh Tengah and Bener Meriah, where PA received only 11.7 per cent of the vote that was spread fairly evenly across the parties, even though it was second only to Golkar in terms of total votes received. PA seats in the district councils either stayed even (Bener Meriah) or declined by one seat (Aceh Tengah). Given PA's sharp decline elsewhere, the steady-state outcome might be seen as a win of sorts for the military lobbying. In the rest of the ALA area, PA picked up several seats, doing better than in 2009 in Aceh Tenggara, Gayo Lues, Singkil and Subussalam.

More interesting was the election of the biggest booster of a separate ALA province, Tagore Abubakar, who ran for the national parliament as a member of PDIP. Many Acehnese assume that PDIP is hostile to Aceh, as it was on former president and party leader Megawati Sukarnoputri's watch in 2003 that martial law was declared. Tagore's election is not going to dispel that assumption.

In the ABAS area, support for PA appears to have sharply declined, though results from Nagan Raya and Aceh Jaya were unavailable when this report went to press.

Golkar emerged as the dominant party in Aceh Tenggara, Nagan Raya, Aceh Singkil and Aceh Tengah and was accused of same kind of chicanery in counting that PA was accused of elsewhere.¹¹

III. THE ELECTION PROCESS

In a sentiment many across Indonesia would share, Acehnese interviewed were unanimous in saying that this was one of the dirtiest, most corrupt elections in years. Two issues in particular stood out: problematic counting and intra-party manipulation of votes. There were also allegations of pre-punched ballots and partisan poll workers.

In a case that received widespread media coverage, the head of the election commission for East Aceh was arrested at 5 a.m. on 8 April, the day before the elections, carrying a ballot box and unmarked ballots in his car in violation of election procedures. Reports that they were already

¹¹ "Golkar Kuasai Lima Daerah". *Serambi Indonesia*, 12 April 2014.

punched were not true. He was let go the same day but questions remain about why he was transporting the election materials without an escort as required. On 25 April, an organisation called Consortium for Clean Elections in Aceh (Konsorsium Pemilu Bersih Aceh, KPBA) held a press conference in Banda Aceh in which they released a tape that they said showed Muzakir Manaf in a meeting with East Aceh KIP officials before the elections, urging them to find a way to ensure Partai Aceh's victory. They turned over the tape to the Election Oversight Body, Bawaslu.¹²

In a separate incident, police on April 9 found 406 ballots already marked with the names of two Partai Aceh candidates in seven different neighbourhoods in Titue, Pidie.¹³

Outrage over counting erupted everywhere. The complicated ballots meant that counting at individual polling places (TPS), which was supposed to be over by 6 pm, went on far into the night. In one TPS in Bireuen, counting only finished at 5 am. In addition to allegations of deliberate changing of numbers by poll workers, some suggested that sheer exhaustion raised the possibility of human error. Also, smaller parties ran out of money to pay their witnesses, and some went simply home. Accusations of miscounting, deliberate or inadvertent, at the TPS and subdistrict levels caused anger across the province and led eight national to announce on 24 April that they were rejecting the election results because of "organised, massive and systematic fraud" and were demanding a recount based on the initial TPS calculations.¹⁴

As in other parts of Indonesia, allegations of intra-party manipulation of the results were also common. In one case, a reformist PA candidate running for a seat in the DPRA from Pidie got well over the number of votes in his electoral district that would ensure him a seat. When the final tally was published, however, his votes were significantly less than originally reported and he did not get in. One source said that he was out of favour with the party boss because he had not been a combatant, and there was still a sense among some in PA that combatants should be given first crack at the available slots. A PA boss in Bireuen reportedly dropped winning candidates if he felt they had not contributed enough to the party.

Elsewhere in Pidie, an angry PA mob from Bintang Hoe, Batee subdistrict, Pidie set fire to the local PA office on 24 April 2014 after they believed the votes of the man they supported had been deliberately switched to benefit a more favoured contender. They claimed their candidate, a man named Jailani, had received 1,700 votes whereas the local village head, who only received 750, was declared the winner of the seat in question.¹⁵

But other parties were equally manipulative. A Demokrat candidate found that a member of her own campaign team had brokered the transfer of her votes to another candidate in the same party. When she called up a member of the subdistrict counting team to check, he asked her, "How many votes do you need?" and was prepared to sell her the requisite number. She refused.¹⁶

IV. ISSUES IN THE DPRA

Now that the seats have been allocated in the provincial legislature, the manoeuvring has begun to select a chair and determine the number of legislative committees and party blocs. Much of this is taking place within Partai Aceh.

The current DPRA chair, Hasbi Abdullah, the governor's brother, decided not to stand for election this year and will be stepping down. A senior PA legislator who might have wanted the position, Adnan Beuransyah, lost his seat. The names most frequently mentioned for chair, Rid-

12 "Terungkap, Dugaan Muzakir Manag Minta KIP Menangkan PA," leuserantara.com, 27 April 2014.

13 "406 Surat Suara Telah Dicoblos," *Serambi Indonesia*, 28 April 2014.

14 "8 Parpol Tolak Hasil Pemilu," *Serambi Indonesia*, 25 April 2014.

15 "Massa Bakar Kantor Partai Aceh," *tribunnews.com*, 28 April 2014.

16 IPAC interview, Demokrat candidate, Banda Aceh, 24 April 2014.

wan Abubakar and Ermiadi, represent PA interests in East Aceh and North Aceh respectively, and the ultimate choice may be determined more by which area needs more attention from the PA hierarchy, rather than by the qualities of the individuals themselves. A long shot for chair would be Mariati, one of the few women in the upper ranks of the party.

In the current 69-member DPRA, parties needed five members to constitute an official bloc or *fraksi* that entitled them to chair a legislative committee. The committees were A, Governance; B, Economy; C, Finance; D, Development; E, People's Welfare; F, Aceh Special Autonomy; and G, Religious Affairs (led by PKS). By law, the number of committees has to equal the number of party blocs, so the smaller the number of committees, the larger the number of members required to constitute a bloc. The maximum number of committees, according to the 2006 Law on Governing Aceh, is eight. With the expansion of the Aceh provincial parliament to 81 seats, the number of seats necessary to constitute a bloc will also rise.¹⁷

PA, with its 33 seats, was actually able to control 60 per cent of the seats through alliances with PAN and four other one-member parties. This time PAN secured eight seats, almost certainly enough for its own bloc and has no interest in any alliance with PA, especially as it says it got nothing out of the 2009-2014 partnership—it was supposed to get a position as deputy DPRA chair that never materialised. If PAN, NasDem, Golkar and Demokrat all have their own blocs with one combined bloc consisting of PKS and smaller parties, they might be able to serve as an effective check on PA power.

At the moment, PA's major agenda is to secure the presidential decrees and ministerial regulations that will permit full implementation of the 2005 Helsinki agreement. It is hoping to use President Yudhoyono's coming departure – he finishes his second and final term in October 2014 – as a deadline to finalise agreements on shared revenues of oil and gas, extent of offshore area under provincial control and transfer of all authority on land issues to the provincial government through the creation of a separate land bureau, independent of the National Land Agency (Badan Pertanahan Nasional). Governor Zaini suggested that if these three issues were settled, PA would be willing to find a solution to the problem that most concerns Jakarta, the adoption by the DPRA of the old GAM flag as the provincial banner.¹⁸

There appears to be no concern in Aceh among any of the parties over two issues of most concern to the international community, the December 2013 *qanun* that makes Islamic law applicable to non-Muslims and a series of decisions, including a February 2014 governor's decree that opens the Leuser Ecosystem up to economic exploitation (the subject of a forthcoming IPAC report).

V. THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

What does all this mean for the presidential election? Neither Jokowi nor Prabowo is particularly attractive to Acehnese, but Prabowo has the edge because of the PA machine.

Prabowo and his family have been a source of funds for PA, but they have a stronger bond: a common dislike of Irwandi. According to one account that came up several times in interviews, Prabowo was very annoyed by the closure of his industrial tree concession (pines) that was cancelled when Irwandi issued his 2007 province-wide moratorium on logging. Prabowo's company, PT Tusam Hutani Lestari, controlled 97,300 ha in Bener Meriah and Aceh Tengah,

17 The rise in the number of seats was due to population growth and a determination that the population now exceeded 5 million.

18 "Menlu Ingkatkan Soal Perdamaian Aceh", *Serambi Indonesia*, 28 April 2014. For background on this issue see International Crisis Group, "Indonesia: Tensions Over Aceh's Flag", Asia Briefing No.139, 7 May 2013. The government sees adoption of the GAM flag as violating a 2007 decree banning the use of separatist symbols. PA has effectively used the flag issue as a bargaining chip to press for full implementation of the Helsinki accord.

according to the concession permit issued in 2004 by the Forestry Ministry. Anger over the cancelled concession reportedly led Prabowo to back Irwandi's opponent, Zaini Abdullah in the 2012 election.¹⁹ Once elected, Zaini gave a permit to Nations Petroleum to explore for oil and gas in Singkil.²⁰ Nations Petroleum is a Canadian company, registered in Calgary; the chair is Prabowo's brother, Hasyim Djojohadikusumo. Prabowo's interests in Aceh therefore go beyond the political.

Partai Aceh has been interested in Prabowo's money, but they also wanted to back a winner, as they had with Yudhoyono, to ensure that communications with Jakarta would be smooth and that their interests would be well represented, as they certainly have been over the last five years. At the time the alliance was announced in early 2013, Prabowo seemed destined for the top. Jokowi, newly elected governor of Jakarta—with Prabowo's help—did not enter anyone's head as a possible threat. Now that Jokowi not only is a threat but seems to be beating Prabowo in all the polls, even some Partai Aceh leaders are said to be quietly reaching out to his camp.

On the other hand, no one in Aceh has much good to say about PDIP, the party backing Jokowi. It is viewed with extreme suspicion in the Acehnese heartland along the east coast, where the bulk of voters are concentrated. It was under Megawati that negotiations broke down in 2003, GAM negotiators were arrested, and martial law declared. It was PDIP that was most opposed to the 2005 Helsinki agreement and raised the most objections to the 2006 law that enshrined its provisions. The only area of PDIP strength in Aceh is the central highlands that produced the fiercest anti-GAM militias and as noted above, has now sent an anti-GAM champion to the national parliament.

If Jokowi chooses Jusuf Kalla as his running mate, sentiment could shift, as there is huge affection for Kalla for the instrumental role he played in brokering peace. Also, Acehnese bear no animus toward Jokowi personally and his image nationally as a clean and caring politician could ultimately draw many to his side. On balance, however, Prabowo could still win the province. In electoral terms, it will not mean very much, as Aceh's population of about 5 million pales beside the population of Java. But in terms of how the PA government relates to Jakarta, the outcome of the presidential election is crucial.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Indonesian elections always throw up surprises, and the results in Aceh prove the point. Acehnese voters have shown their discontent with the ruling party. The question is how PA will respond. It could change its ways and work for the betterment of the people or it could step up extortion and rent-seeking in the belief that this was could be its last chance in power. More likely is a stepped-up effort of local PA leaders at the district level to entrench their own local power base, hedging against the possibility that the province falls to another party in 2019.

The assumption now is that Muzakkir Manaf will run for governor in 2017. Three GAM ex-commanders interested in being his running mate are all serving now as district heads: Hasballah Bin M. Thaib aka Rocky from Aceh Timur, Jufri from Aceh Barat, and Sarjani from Pidie. The question now is whether PA's reduced legislative clout will enhance the chances of a non-PA gubernatorial candidate to contest that race.

Aceh has produced a few surprises this time round; it may have more in the electoral contests ahead.

19 See Ahmady Mueraxa, "Kisah di Balik Kerjasama Gerindra dan Partai Aceh", www.ahmadymeuraxa.blogspot.com, 7 May 2013.

20 "Gubernur Izinkan Eklporasi Migas Singkil", *Serambi Indonesia*, 15 April 2013.

Appendix A: Election Results 2014

The tables that follow give results from the 2014 legislative elections at the district, provincial and national levels.

Table 1 fills in the chart appended to IPAC's pre-election report of 31 March 2014, "Aceh's Elections: A Do-It-Yourself Analysis", and compares results from 2009 and 2014. The first two columns compare the percentage of votes won by Partai Aceh in each election district in the race for provincial legislature (DPRK). The fourth column compares Partai Aceh's votes in each district council (DPRK), with the 2014 election results in bold type. Note that five districts have changed seat allotments for 2014, with Pidie and Aceh Barat shrinking and Aceh Tenggara, Bireuen and Aceh Timur expanding.

Results for the districts of Aceh Jaya, Nagan Raya and Simeulue were not available when this report went to press.

Table 1: ELECTION RESULTS

	Dapil 2014 and and PA% in DPRA	Dapil 2009 and PA% in DPRA	Kab/Kota	PA seats won in 2009 & 2014 in DPRK	Party of executive (year elected)	% Vote for governor in 2012 Pilkada for Zaini Abdullah (PA) compared to Irwandi (independent)
1	DP1 20.8%	DP1 31%	Banda Aceh	6/30 4/30	PD-PKS 2012	25.7% PA; 44.6% Irwandi
2			Sabang	6/20 7/20	PA 2012	36.5% PA; 43.0% Irwandi
3			Aceh Besar	10/35 9/35	PA 2012	40.1%PA; 31.8% Irwandi
4	DP 2 48.7%	DP2 74%	Pidie **	34/45 23 /40	PA 2012	74.6%PA;11.1% Irwandi
5			Pidie Jaya	16/25 9/25	PA 2013	68.7%PA; 10.1% Irwandi
6	DP3 34.5% DP4 11.7%	DP4 45%	Bireuen	25/35 13/40	PA 2012	57.6%PA; 33.5% Irwandi
7			Aceh Tengah	3/30 2/30	PD 2012	25.1%PA; 57.8% Irwandi
8			Bener Meriah	3/25 3/25	PD 2012	36.0%PA; 47.1% Irwandi
9	DP5 56.6%	DP5 69%	Aceh Utara	32/45 24/45	PA 2012	76.3%PA; 14.8% Irwandi
10			Lhokseumawe	13/25 10/25	PA 2012	61.9%PA; 25.2% Irwandi
11	DP6 50.6% DP7 20.8%	DP6 54%	Aceh Timur	25/35 23/40	PA 2012	73.4%PA; 14.0% Irwandi
12			Aceh Tamiang	7/30 6/30	PAN-PBR 2012	42.4%PA; 42.5% Irwandi
13			Langsa	6/25 6/25	PA- 2012	39.2%PA; 42.2% Irwandi
14	DP8 22.4%	DP7 8%	Aceh Tenggara	1/25 3/30	Golkar 2012	39.2%PA; 47.7% Irwandi
15			Gayo Lues	1/20 3/20	Golkar 2012	68.2%PA; 20.4% Irwandi
16	DP9 18.9%	DP7 8%	Aceh Singkil	0/25 2/25	PBR 2012	23.9%PA; 59.8% Irwandi
17			Subussalam	0/20 3/20	Golkar	23.7%PA; 63.4% Irwandi
18			Aceh Selatan	10/30 5/30	PD-PKB-PAN 2013	53.2%PA; 35.4% Irwandi
19	DP10 24.3%	DP8 40%	Aceh Barat Daya	9/25 5/25	PA 2012	72.2%PA; 15.8% Irwandi
20			Simeulue	2/20 5 /25	PD-PPP 2012	49.2%PA; 35.4% Irwandi
21			Aceh Barat	7/30 5 /25	Golkar 2012	56.7 %PA; 28.4% Irwandi
22	DP10 24.3%	DP3 36%	Aceh Jaya	14/20 5 /25	PA 2012	64.6%PA; 19.5% Irwandi
23			Nagan Raya	5/25	Golkar 2012	57.7%PA; 25.8% Irwandi

Table 2: Seats in the Provincial Legislature (DPRA) after the 2009 and 2014 elections

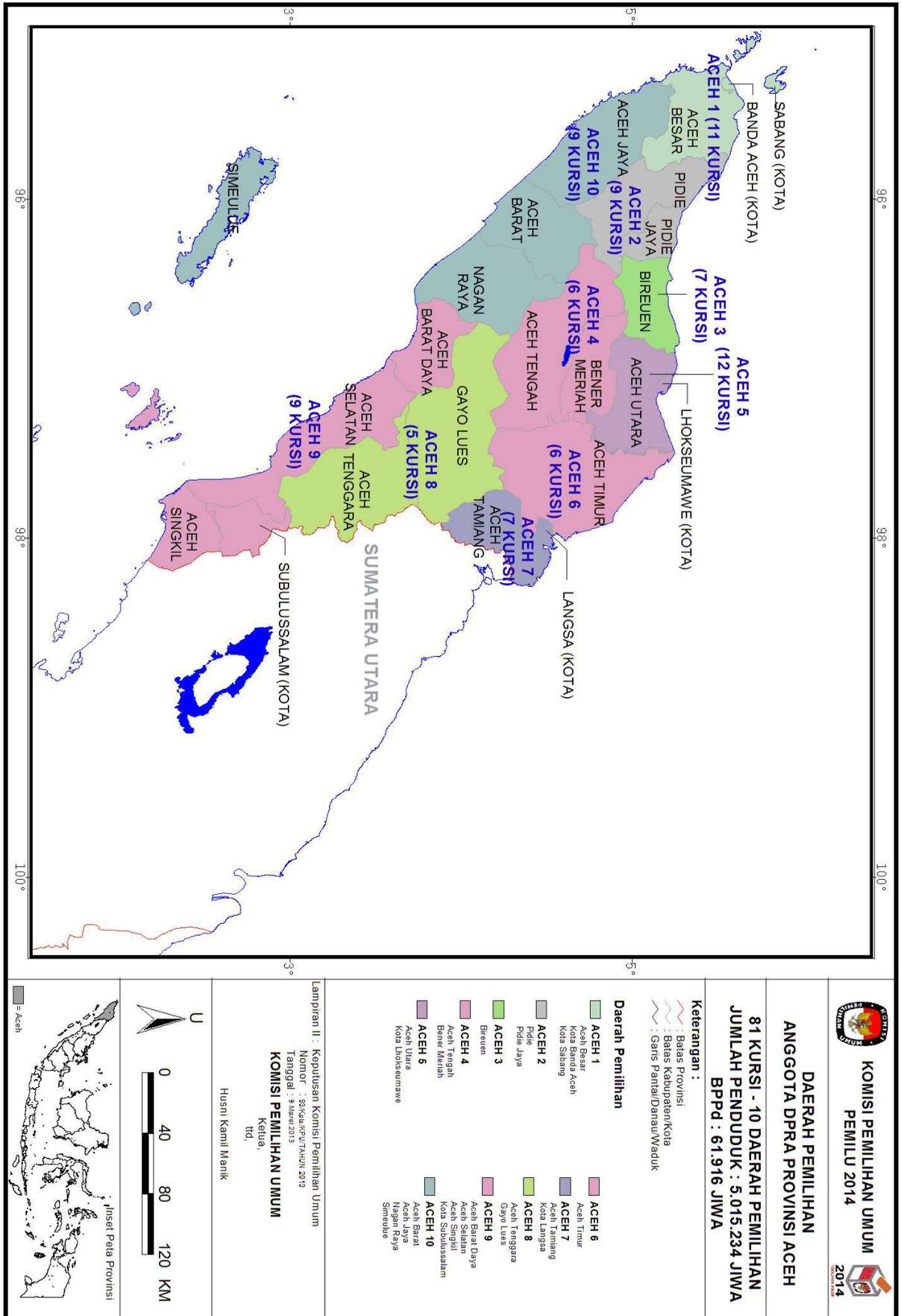
Parties	2009	2014
PA	33	29
PD	10	7
Golkar	8	9
PAN	5	8
PPP	4	6
PKS	4	4
Partai Patriot	1	
PKB	1	1
PKPI	1	1
Partai Daulat Aceh	1	1
PBB	1	1
Nasdem		9
PNA		3
Gerindra		2
TOTAL	69	81

Table 3: Seats in the National Parliament
(*Incumbent)

	2009 Elected MPs	2014 Elected MPs
1	Nasir Jamil (PKS)	Nasir Jamil (PKS)*
2	H. Raihan Iskandar (PKS)	T Riefky Harsya (Demokrat)*
3	T Riefky Harsya (Demokrat)	Muslim (Demokrat)*
4	Muslim (Demokrat)	Anwar Idris (PPP)
5	Ali Yacob (Demokrat)	Irmawan (PKB)
6	Mirwan Amir (Demokrat)	Tagore Abu Bakar (PDIP)
7	Ir Nova Iriansyah (Demokrat)	Firmandez (Golkar)
8	Ir. Muh Azhari (Demokrat)	M Salim Fachry (Golkar)
9	Teuku Irwan (Demokrat)	Muslim Aiyub (PAN)
10	Marzuki Daud (Golkar)	Khaidir (Gerindra)
11	Sayed Fuad Zakaria (Golkar)	Fadhullah (Gerindra)
12	Sayed Mustafa Usab (PAN)	Zulvan Linden (Nasdem)
13	Tgk. Mohd. Faisal Amin (PPP)	Bachtiar Aly (Nasdem)

Appendix B: National Election Commission Map of Voting Areas in Aceh

Source: KPU, www.kpu.go.id



INSTITUTE FOR POLICY ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT (IPAC)

The Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) was founded in 2013 on the principle that accurate analysis is a critical first step toward preventing violent conflict. Our mission is to explain the dynamics of conflict—why it started, how it changed, what drives it, who benefits—and get that information quickly to people who can use it to bring about positive change. In areas wracked by violence, accurate analysis of conflict is essential not only to peaceful settlement but also to formulating effective policies on everything from good governance to poverty alleviation.

We look at six kinds of conflict: communal, land and resource, electoral, vigilante, extremist and insurgent, understanding that one dispute can take several forms or progress from one form to another. We send experienced analysts with long-established contacts in the area to the site to meet with all parties, review primary written documentation where available, check secondary sources and produce in-depth reports, with policy recommendations or examples of best practices where appropriate.

We are registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs in Jakarta as the Foundation for Preventing International Crises (Yayasan Penanggulangan Krisis Internasional); our website is www.understandingconflict.org.