Formation of Political Participation Conflicts in the Constituents of the City of Banda Aceh and West Aceh

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Abstract: A few decades ago, the final results received by the community became a distant memory and reminder of the attitudes of political actors in Indonesia, namely the availability of aspiration spaces and broken promises. Both results, in addition to the active and passive participation in Aceh, also affect the formation of political forms of participation. The formulation of the problem aims to uncover changes in political participation through the existence of conflicts of political participation in the constituents of the cities of Banda Aceh and West Aceh, as well as the emergence of changes in political participation in the cities of Banda Aceh and West Aceh be evoked. This study used a qualitative approach with data collection techniques, in-depth interviews and documentation. The political participation so far shows that Indonesian politics, despite their diversity, is still characterized by public concern and trust.

1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of political participation in democratic countries is based on the idea that mutual sovereignty is in the hands of the people. Democracy itself is the motto: by the people, for the people, and to the people. Democracy is realized through joint activities to set common goals and the future of the community itself. In addition, the existence of democracy through political participation is used to determine the persons who will take the lead. Political participation is thus an implementation of the exercise of a valid political power.

Public participation in a democratic country can take the form of a vote during a democratic party. In addition, the public took part in the campaign, which was closed or open. The political participation of the community not only contributes to the electoral vote but also expresses ideas and even criticism through demonstrations and takes to the streets. As in the case of student demonstrations to undermine the Suharto regime in 1998. The case has significant implications for the future of Indonesia. After the collapse of the Suharto regime, the era of reform was born. This illustrates how important the role of public political participation for the future of the nation.

In addition to political speech, public participation can also be achieved by writing contributions to the government through the media. The media can be a forum to channel people's aspirations. Nowadays, there are even many opinions in print media or on various websites, which also express the wishes of the people. Communities can engage in dialogue or debate on policy issues, etc.

As already explained, political participation can be pursued in different ways. At present, the process of sustained political participation in the community, especially voters (participants of democracy) in Aceh, has improved. Although radical militant political participation still appears in reality, voters are aware of politics. Radical militants even understand the importance of politics in a country, but for one reason or another they have little confidence in the government.

Besides, the topic of identity politics in campaigns and democratic parties continues to evolve. This happens because of the emerging competition in the struggle for power. One strategy commonly used by groups that are mutually opposed is the search for popular support. One is dissemination of topics that can undermine public trust in other candidates competing in political parties. In that case, they certainly considered it legitimate and fought for ideas.
of mass participation to bring about movements that demanded the fulfillment of their "rights".

The research is intended to answer questions about how the formation of political participation conflicts to constituents in Banda Aceh and West Aceh. This research is important because the political participation conflict is closely related to the general election and can be a reference for the next general election. This study used descriptive qualitative research methods by interviewing political actors, academics, and the public.

2 MANUSCRIPT PREPARATION

2.1 Political Participation

Political participation, which is a form of people's sovereignty, is a very fundamental thing in the democratic process. Political participation has a very important significance for the movement of the wheels and the democratic system. If the community has a high level of participation, the political development process and democratization practice in Indonesia will be fine. So it will be very important for the development of this nation and this country. The assumption underlying democracy (participation) is that the person who knows best, what is good for himself, is that person. As political decisions are taken and implemented by the government, political participation has a very important role in determining the content of decisions that affect the process of making and implementing political decisions. The activities of citizens are divided into two parts that influence the content of public policy and help to determine policy decisions (Yuliantina, 2016).

Political participation is an effort by the community to get involved and to influence government policy. In addition, community involvement can determine the future of the nation, as its political participation in the Democratic Party to determine the country's leaders represents a form of political awareness and responsibility as good citizens. Political participation is a very important aspect in a democratic state order, as it has a huge impact on the legitimacy of society over the course of government.

From the concept of political participation it can be deduced that political participation encompasses observable activities and not attitudes or orientations. Political participation thus refers only to things that are objective and not subjective. In addition, political participation includes the direct or indirect political activity of citizens or individuals (intermediaries). Political participation also aims to influence government decision-making in the form of persuasion or pressure, and even transformation, of the personalities of political actors and the government. These activities aim to influence the government, regardless of the implications of failing or succeeding. Political participation can take place through appropriate procedures and without violence (conventional) or in a way that is outside the appropriate process (non-conventional) and in the form of violence. Political participation is the activity of a person or group of people to actively participate in political life, such as the election of a head of state or the efforts to influence government policy (Rahman, 2007).

Surbakti (2007) distinguishes the types of public participation in four ways, namely: active participation, the activities of citizens that always show a responsive behaviour towards different phases of government policy; or in other words, when someone has a high level of political awareness and trust in the government, political participation is usually active. Radical militant participation, the activities of citizens that always show responsive behaviour to various government policies. It differs, however, from active participation, in which conventional methods, including violent means, take precedence. In other words, when political awareness is high, but trust in the government is very low, militants are born radically. Passive participation, the activities of citizens who simply accept / follow all government guidelines. Passive participation, as a rule, does not question government policy, or in other words, when political awareness is very low but trust in the government is very high, inactive participation (passive participation) arises. Apathetic participation, the activities of citizens who do not want to know about government action. In general, citizens behave in this way because they feel disappointed with the government and the existing political system. In other words, if someone has low political awareness and confidence in the government, political participation is more passive (apathetic).

2.2 Theory of Functional Structure of Political Culture

The views of Mandel and Verba from the theory of the functional structure of political culture, according to which the functional structure of society in general, if it evolves, social solidarity must be strengthened or if social solidarity is firmly established, system stability (homeostasis) is required and must be
maintained. Within the theory of Almond and Verba, the construction of political culture is seen in terms of the three ideal types of political culture that form the basis upon which to base themselves. namely parochial culture, subject culture and culture of participation (Halim dan Muhlin, 2016).

The parochial culture is a political culture confined to one particular area, even if the community has no political consciousness, even if local leaders such as the tribe emerge. In the political culture of the parish, the level of participation, awareness and political ability of the people in general is still very low. While the subject of culture, which is often called Kaula culture, has a high cognitive, affective and evaluative effect on political systems and political results, their orientation is limited, for example, to being involved in the management of political parties and to participate, although they are still minimal on the level. Under the culture of participation by Almond and Verba, this kind of society generally has a high degree of knowledge and understanding, is affective and is evaluated in the political system, are political objects, political outcomes and understand their role as People who actively participate. even involved in providing contributions to the government (Halim and Muhlin, 2016).

2.3 Formation of Political Participant Conflict in Aceh

Sociological conflict is a process of social interaction in which two or more people or two or more groups have different opinions or goals that cause conflict. There are conflicts around the world, as long as the community still exists, and they disappear when the community no longer exists. Conflicts arise from disrupting social relationships and the use of force by individuals or groups within the community. Conflicts can also be caused by individual interests, so conflicts often occur due to conflicts of interest (Hasbulla, 2014).

Detailed understanding of the conflict above has explained how the state of political conflict in society. Conflicts can only arise because of disagreements, so that certain conflicts occur. Especially in Aceh there was a conflict in political participation. After the peace in Helsinki, regional elections were marked by both individuals and certain groups of violence. The escalation of political conflicts is increasingly prevalent when sympathizers or faithful followers exercise the power doctrine without understanding how to do democracy properly. But the current state of Aceh's democracy is getting better. The people of Aceh are becoming smarter about joining the Democratic Party. Violence is no longer a doctrine used to support certain future leaders, but campaigns that address identity issues are an important weapon in the 2019 elections this time.

2.3.1 Islam and Identity Politics in Aceh

Aceh is one of the provinces in Indonesia that is characterized by features better known through the use of Islamic sharia law. This distinguishes Aceh from other regions in Indonesia. If you look at Aceh from Sharia's point of view, the community has always been waiting for a leader to change Aceh based on Sharia values (Kurdi, 2011).

In the Aceh war, Islam had played a crucial role in the fight against foreign rule. There are three main components that create resistance that the Dutch do not know: the Ulama, the Uleebalang, and the Sultan. Of the three components, the Ulamas were the strongest and the Sultan were the weakest. Such a fact can be easily understood, since the influence of the ulama was in fact the strongest in Acehnese society, compared with the influence of the Sultan (Amal, 2004).

During the initial political situation in Aceh, the actors were Ulama from the Middle East and South Asia. They immediately came to Aceh to build a kingdom as part of the expansion of the Islamic peninsula in the archipelago. After that emerged political actors from the Malay and the Buginese country. This condition indicates that political clashes in Tanah Melayu, in particular the extension of Aceh's political power in Tanah Melayu, have led to non-Acehnese became political leaders in Aceh. At that time, however, the Ulamas joined every royal government. The position as Qadhi Malik al-'adil reconciled Islam and politics in Aceh. The next step was the transfer of political power from the elite of the palace to the Ulama, when the Dutch attacked Aceh. Ulama's main actors played their political role from the time of the Dutch invasion until the reunification of Aceh with the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 (Ahmad, 2016).

In the political history of Aceh, Ulama has played an important role in decision-making since the days of the Kingdom of Aceh. This reflects how closely Islam and the politics of the people of Aceh are interconnected. Islam is a reference in the selection of leaders. The unwritten rule that political actors in Aceh must be Muslims is nothing new. This was also done to reconcile the goals of the people of Aceh to build a Muslim community culture in the midst of globalization. In broad terms, the Aceh people reject...
political actors who are not Muslims because they are considered the identity of the Aceh people to destroy Islamic culture.

One aspect of globalization is the negative impact of the process on the culture of Muslim societies. In this regard, Western values, institutions and practices have marginalized the values, institutions and practices of Muslim societies. For example, Western institutions such as liberal democracy, modern ideologies such as capitalism and socialism have invaded Muslim countries. Worse still, these political and ideological institutions can not solve the fundamental problems in Muslim countries and are seen as the cause of the deterioration of various aspects of the life of Muslim societies. In this context, Islam and Islamic law are presented as alternatives and solutions, as evidenced by the slogans of Islamic movements in the form of "return to Islam" or "Islam is the solution" (Najjar, 1992).

Experiments with capitalism and socialism, which have been conducted in several Muslim countries, have reinforced the call to return to Islamic law. Social changes that occur, trends in consumptive lifestyles, and changes in people's lifestyles, unemployment, social inequality, have caused people to turn to Islam as a way out (Amal, 2004).

This is often done by political actors to obtain political support, where Sharia is used as the main theme. Some Islamic political parties in Indonesia and other Muslim countries have used the issue of Sharia law to ask for political support. Similarly, the strengthening of Islamic revivalism, its political potential, and the desire for control has led Ja'far Numeiri to change his policy in 1983 to the application of Islamic law as the only law in Sudan. Similar cases as in Sudan occurred in Pakistan at the time of Bhutto and Zia-ul Haq. The two Pakistani rulers launched a series of Islamization moves to meet the diverse demands of traditionalist and fundamentalist groups. Even the ruling Parwez Musyarraf regime in Pakistan today maintains the policy of Islamizing its predecessors in order to maintain public support for it. In Nigeria, Olesugen Obasanjo made it possible to extend and incarnate the issue of the application of sharia in various states in northern Nigeria in order to maintain political support for it. Obasanjo's victory in the parliamentary elections of 1999 and later in the 2003 parliamentary elections was won thanks to the support of Muslim groups in northern Nigeria. In concession for this support, he allowed the development of the topic of Sharia law in the region (Amal, 2004).

Events that occurred in the aforementioned Muslim countries also occurred in Aceh. Islam is still used as a weapon for the political victory in Aceh. Aceh and Islam can not be separated. It is clear that identity politics in Aceh will be played in the parliamentary elections of 2019 in the name of religion. Many propaganda and campaigns in the name of Islam. The ethnicity, religion, ancestry, and group of people (SARA) question becomes the reference point in the political actors' campaigns. As if the identity of political actors were used as a weapon against other political actors. Although the parliamentary election is a democratic party that needs to be democratically celebrated. Democracy promotes human rights that must be neutral and that are not allowed to promote the ethnicity, religion, ancestry, and group of people (SARA). Moreover, it is used as a means to pave the way for victory.

In this context, we need to understand the Pemilukada in Aceh; "Pemilukada is not a means of controlling the Aceh community, let alone colonizing it." The post-conflict local elections are indeed a tool to uphold the sovereignty of the people of Aceh. For this reason, post-conflict local elections must be traced back to the above-mentioned spirit, namely, how the people of Aceh are the main support for the creation of Baidatur thayyibatun wa rabbun ghafur (a prosperous, just land blessed by Allah SWT) can be sovereign. Local parties in Aceh may have well understood the problems mentioned above, as this is one of the objectives of the establishment of local political parties, in fact, namely to ensure the autonomy and independence of the people of Aceh. What about the national party? (Kurdi, 2011).

Although Aceh is at peace now. Identity policy continues to mark every political struggle. In every Aceh region, the Aceh Local Party is almost always superior to the existing national parties. This is why national parties are seeking ways to win the hearts of people in Aceh by combining politics and Islam. When local parties have been dominated by the Helsinki MoU Agreement in Aceh due to Aceh's long history of peace. The national parties continue to walk as far as possible in Aceh, reconciling their vision and mission with the peace agreement, the Islamic Sharia. Islam is still a topic that needs to be whispered in the ear of the people of Aceh. Political actors who become future leaders are perceived by the people of Aceh when these actors are close to Islam.

In addition to being a Muslim leader, there are some important consequences for future leaders in Aceh: First, the physical conditions; healthy hearing, eyes and verbal, so they can deal directly with their responsibilities, healthy body, so they are not prevented from moving and moving quickly. That is, the leader must have a basic physical condition,
healthy and strong, to make it easy to perform his duties and responsibilities normally, smoothly, and not through physical disruption. Second, demands that are both knowledge and skills. This means that a leader must be knowledgeable, open-minded, intelligent, competent, professional and responsible. Al-Mawardi once said that the main conditions for a leader are: (1) fair in the broadest sense, (2) possessing the knowledge to deal with legal issues. Third, mental and spiritual requirements. A leader must have a proven personal mental quality, such as being honest, fair, trustworthy, faithful and surrendering to Allah SWT. The quality of the faith of a leader is something in which there is no doubt about the concept of Hablum Minallah and Hablum Minannas, and which is close to his God and fellow human beings. Fourth, ability that has the courage to uphold the law and face enemies, strategists who mobilize the community well, who are smart and sensitive to the situation, and who have a strong control over politics, mentally handicapped and madly outnumbered (Kurdi, 2011).

From the research results of the survey of informants can be concluded that the majority of informants mentioned the parliamentary elections of 2019, which took place while at the same time in Aceh, particularly in Banda Aceh and Meulaboh, but the politics of presidential elections attracted more attention than the parliamentary elections. In this democratic party, voters tend to choose their future leaders based on their religion and ethnicity. The presidential elections this time include presidential candidates Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. It turned out that the two aspiring Indonesian leaders were acquainted with Acehnese and known to the people of Aceh. In the life story of Joko Widodo or better known as Jokowi, Jokowi had lived in Aceh and even adoptive parents in Aceh. Jokowi always insisted that Aceh was his hometown.

From the point of view of Jokowi's thread with Aceh, it is likely that Jokowi's voice will dominate in this parliamentary election in 2019 and Jokowi should have a bigger voice than Prabowo. Instead, only 19 percent of the votes Jokowi received differed significantly from Prabowo, the commander of the special forces in Aceh, who received 81 percent of the vote. This has become a polemic in which various factors such as ethnicity and religion are at stake. Right now is at stake, like the actors who deal with issues such as ethnicity and religion (Nasrudin and Ahmad, 2018).

Identity politics has become an important part of the Democratic Party in Indonesia. This is as if identity politics had become the main method of the Democratic Party. Identity policy is being used as a propaganda tool to strengthen the position of those who benefit from it. Without realizing it, it will lead to ethnic conflict as each party chooses leaders in the name of their ethnicity and ethnicity consciousness. Although Indonesia is a composite country made up of various ethnic groups. The integration will be threatened. Ethnocentrism will shape the current Democratic Party. This is because each ethnic group will defend its own ethnic group and each ethnic group its ethnicity and its religion. Divisions and threats to national unity and integrity arise when identity policy is used as a means to an end, especially in the interests of power. This is because leaders come first, who come from the same ethnic group and the same religion (Ramadhan, 2017).

As mentioned above, Politics in Aceh has always been characterized by a politics of identity that is very dense. Islam is a major focus in politics in Aceh. During the Darul Islam / Indonesian Islamic Army (DI / TII), they demanded that the Aceh region become an Islamic
territory. In fact, not only in Aceh have some regions formed groups that express the dynamics of their religious identity to express their religious identity. The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) is one of the Aceh-derived separatist groups. This group aims to reshape the territory of Aceh in accordance with Islam. But the emergence of this group became a historic record for Aceh. The Islamic sharia in Aceh was usually ratified in Aceh. However, to achieve this, a significant number of victims have been killed as a result of the ongoing conflict. The conflict was caused by wanting to preserve one's identity. So that identity politics can not be separated from Aceh.

The topic of the ethnicity, religion, ancestry, and group of people (SARA) and communist ideology is a topic that is taken up in the current political debate. This should not have become a weapon for potential leaders camping throughout Indonesia. This will affect the people of Aceh as the political culture of Aceh is closely linked to identity politics. The communist ideology is considered "anti-Islam", of course the people in Aceh will reject this understanding. They will favor candidates who use Islam as a basis for thought and action. Aceh and Islam can not be separated. Obviously, this was exploited in the 2019 elections. Identity politics in Aceh is played in the name of religion. A democratic party, which should be marked neutrally and not of the ethnicity, religion, ancestry, and group of people (SARA) issues. Moreover, it is used as a means to pave the way for victory. Democracy does not emerge if it only gives priority to a particular race, ethnicity, class or religion.

2.3.2 Image of the Previous Government in the Eyes of the People of Aceh

The performance of the government of President Joko Widodo and Vice President Jusuf Kalla in law enforcement and business is considered by the public to be the worst. The Indonesian Discussion Group and Public Opinion Survey concluded that the community is not satisfied with the ministry's performance in these two areas. 63.1 percent of respondents said they were dissatisfied with the ministry's performance in these two areas, 56.7 percent were dissatisfied with the performance of the political, legal and security sectors. The survey was conducted in the form of interviews with 450 respondents from 45 selected villages in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, South Tangerang and Bekasi on April 24-30. The confidence level of the survey is 95 percent with an error rate of around 4.62 percent. The public's disappointment stems from their rejection of government policy in determining the price of fuel oil, rice imports and increasing base rates for electricity and gas. The public order observer, Agus Pambagyo, rates the low level of public satisfaction with government performance due to fluctuating fuel prices (Wijaya, 2015).

The Political Observer of the Exposit Startegic Political, Arif Susanto, told the RMOL Political News Agency that the Acehnese are voting for Prabowo-Sandi because they are disappointed with the performance of the Jokowi government. On the other hand, the political groups in Aceh themselves were fragmented. If you reject Jokowi, choosing Prabowo does not mean that Prabowo's strength in Aceh is solid, but rather that there are only two possible alternatives. If he is wrong during the elections for Jokowi, it is certain that Prabowo will be the choice or the public will not choose (Akmal, 2019).

2.3.3 The Radical Militant Participation is Evolving

Fahlevi (Fadhil, 2016) indicates that people's welfare indicators are rising in Aceh but still below the national average, with the poverty rate rising from 26.30% (2008) to 21.97% (2012), but still far from the national average of 11.66% (2012). Economic growth increased but was still below the national average, and even unemployment rose from 8.71% in 2008 to 10.03% in 2013. The existence of the national competition in Aceh is still below the national average. Then the welfare gap between the people who live in urban areas and the people who live in rural areas is still very large.

People's well-being is not created in Aceh when dictatorship, state repression, lack of democratic institutionalization, lack of social justice, the failure of development models that are not sensitive to local culture, and the dominance of the interests of large countries persist. This has contributed to the emergence of radical and militant demands in the area of implementation of sharia law. In other words, violence will produce violence. In such circumstances, there is no room for public participation. In many Muslim countries affected by the issue of the application of Islamic law, it is difficult or even impossible for the community to participate in the public order process, making Islamization an interesting path in various areas of Muslim community life will be to bring about change. The stamp of "political Islam" (al-Islam alSiyasi) is often given to Islamic movements in accordance with this trend (Amal, 2004).

In its historical reality, there were parts of the people of Aceh that could be manipulated by the Dutch colonialists; in Acehnese they are called "lohi". Now the term "lohi" is more commonly referred to as
"cuak" (espionage/intelligence). The task of "loh" or "cuak" is to bring about the dissolution of the Acehnese fighters in the past, to investigate hiding places, to persuade Acehnese troops to stop the resistance, and others. As a result, many Aceh guerrillas became victims. This has led to mistrust and alertness that lives on from generation to generation to shape the character of the people of Aceh, who are always "cautious and suspicious". Psychic symptoms as expressed by Hadih Majas "hu bu bit ... ie bit ... ma ma droe ... laen gob bandum" (water, well water ... rice, brown rice ... mother, mother alone ., otherwise all stranger). Mention other terms; "Meukon ie leuhob ... meukon droe gob" (if it's not water, it's certainly mud, if not you, of course someone else). This expression is meaningful, always watchful and suspicious of others, except the mother herself. Other people are always considered "rivals" in their lives. On the other hand, political culture in Aceh also has a culture of peace, such as suloh (consultation) and pesuisjak (reassurance) as an attempt to resolve the peace in adat between the two conflicting parties (Hasbullah, 2014).

The journey and dynamics of Aceh's story have shaped the positive and negative nature of society. Fear, deception, sabotage, grief, terror, disappointment, and other sufferings will continue to be experienced by them. While the political culture of "hurting" among human beings as a legacy since colonial times has already prevailed in the niches of their hearts, it is very difficult to "cleanse" their flesh and blood. The local expression "lay tauci duroe ngeon alee" (like the scrape of a thorn with a pestle) represents the situation. The historian Tauflik Abdullah recalled a few years ago also "that the history in Aceh is not past, but always up-to-date, always alive, so it may be better to try to understand Aceh more easily." (Abdullah, 1987).

The sense of fear of being deceived by the government and the disappointment of the government-led government now produced a radical militant involvement. At present, the population of Aceh is increasing year by year. In fact, political participation in Aceh increased significantly in 2019. Agusni (Agse, 2019) as Commissioner of the Independent Election Commission (KIP). Voter turnout has increased significantly. The number of Acehnese who cast a vote reaches 79 percent. Compared to the 2014 elections, which reached only 72 percent. Almost all people are involved to cast their votes in this Democratic Party.

The great interest of the population of Aceh in political participation could not eliminate the radical militant participation, which even opposed a vote. It is undeniable that radical militant participation is also one of the categories of political participation in Aceh, especially in Banda Aceh and West Aceh. Voters who consider themselves as radically militant are not even ordinary people. Many of them are from people with higher education. They are aware of the importance of political participation. Awareness of the importance of such participation did not persuade them to vote, as they had very little confidence in the government. The radical militant participation lacks confidence in the leadership of the legislative candidates and the president. For them, the campaign promises at this time only during the campaign. If the political actor is later elected, the promises made during the election campaign simply disappear.

In addition to the lack of confidence in the promises of the government, there are several factors that lead to trust radical militant government participation is zero. The law weakens so that negligence and slowness prevail among law enforcement agencies, and the economy continues to decline so that poverty cannot be otherwise avoided as unemployment continues to be maintained, while scientists continue to grow. Because of the imbalance in life that these radical militans felt, they decided not to interfere with the Democratic Party.

3 CONCLUSIONS

The development of political participation in Aceh, especially in Banda Aceh and West Aceh, continues to increase. This is reflected in the large number of voters casting their votes in general elections. However, this high level of interest is colored by conflicts of political participation in the constituents. They are facing an identity and leadership crisis. Moreover, this participation conflict occurs with radically militant participation. They chose not to vote for a number of reasons, including the bad law, a declining economy and rising poverty and unemployment. Although the conflict over participation no longer exerts violence, as happened after the peacetime in Aceh, the campaign of the ethnicity, religion, ancestry, and group of people (SARA) issues and identity politics is a key weapon for spreading people's thoughts. This is the conflict of political participation of voters in Banda Aceh and West Aceh.
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