

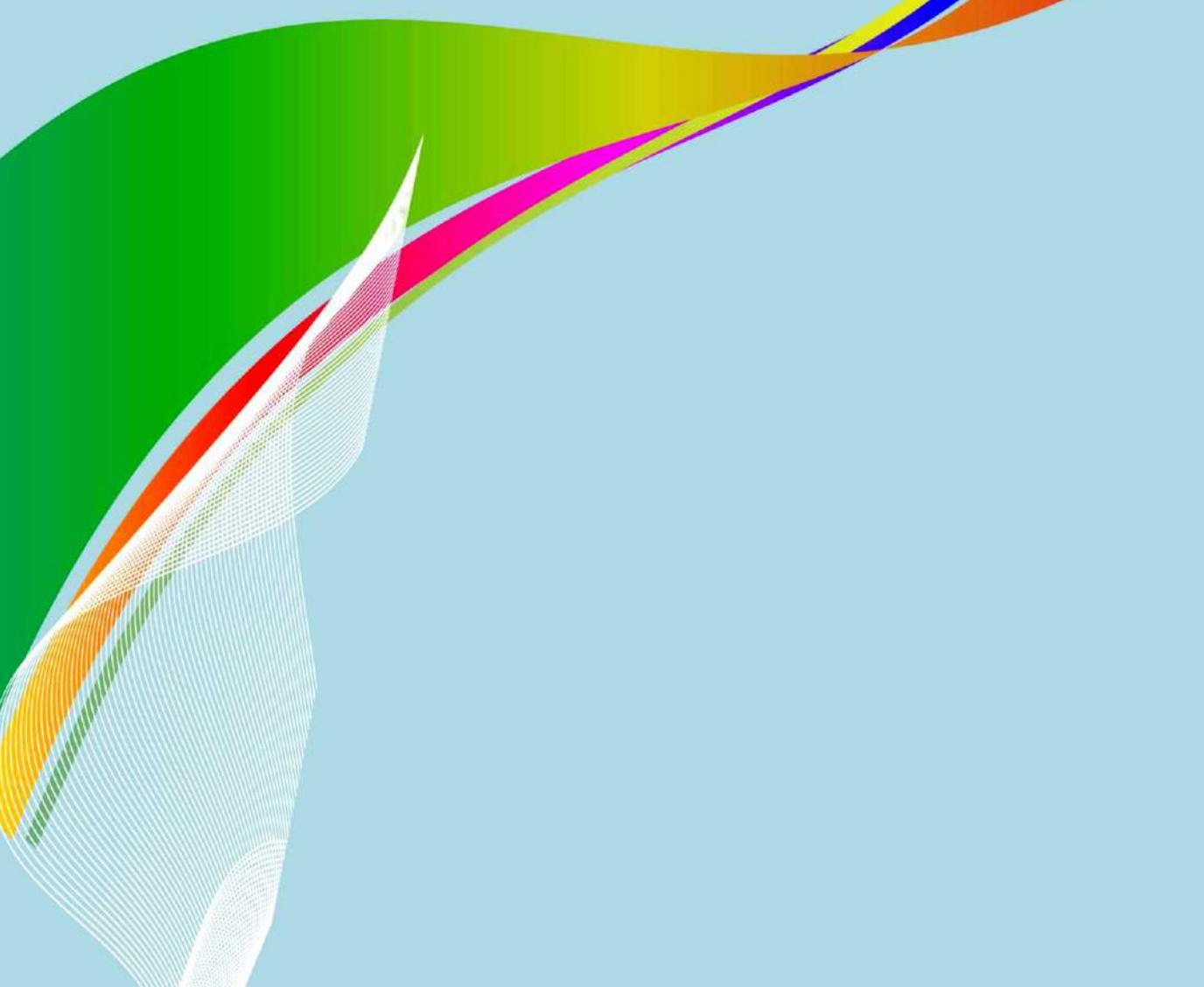
P-ISSN: 2338-8617

E-ISSN: 2443-2067

Jurnal Ilmiah

PEURADEUN

Vol. 13, No. 1, January 2025



JIP
The Indonesian Journal of the Social Sciences
www.journal.scadIndependent.org
DOI Prefix Number: 10.26811

INDEX COPERNICUS
INTERNATIONAL



Accredited "Sinta 1" by Decree No. 72/E/KPT/2024
Valid Until the May 2027 Edition



Scopus[®]

ELSEVIER

Clarivate
Analytics

WEB OF SCIENCE[™]

Power Structures and Religious Legitimacy: The Influence of Dayah Ulama in the Politics of Aceh Analyzed using Powercube Theory

**Muntasir¹; Iskandar Zulkarnaen²; Muhammad Aminullah³;
Muslem Hamdani⁴; Bimby Hidayat⁵**

^{1,2,5}*Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Malikussaleh, Aceh, Indonesia*

^{3,4}*Faculty of Da'wah and Communication Sciences, Universitas Islam Al-Aziziyah Indonesia, Aceh, Indonesia*

Article in Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun

Available at : <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/1625>

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i1.1625>

How to Cite this Article

APA : Muntasir, M., Zulkarnaen, I., Aminullah, M., Hamdani, M., & Hidayat, B. (2025). Power Structures and Religious Legitimacy: The Influence of Dayah Ulama in the Politics of Aceh Analyzed using Powercube Theory. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 13(1), 437-462. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i1.1625>

Others Visit : <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun>

Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun (JIP), *the Indonesian Journal of the Social Sciences*, is a leading peer-reviewed and open-access journal, which publishes scholarly works, and specializes in the Social Sciences that emphasize contemporary Asian issues with interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. JIP is published by SCAD Independent and published 3 times a year (January, May, and September) with p-ISSN: 2338-8617 and e-ISSN: 2443-2067. JIP has become a CrossRef member. Therefore, all articles published will have a unique DOI number. JIP has been accredited Rank 1 (Sinta 1) by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, the Republic of Indonesia, through the Decree of the Director-General of Higher Education, Research, and Technology No. 72/E/KPT/2024, dated April 1, 2024. This accreditation is valid until the May 2027 edition.

All articles published in this journal are protected by copyright, licensed under a Creative Commons 4.0 International License (CC-BY-SA) or an equivalent license as the optimal license for the publication, distribution, use, and reuse of scholarly works.

JIP indexed/included in Web of Science, Scopus, Sinta, MAS, Index Copernicus International, Erih Plus, Garuda, Moraref, Scilit, Sherpa/Romeo, Google Scholar, OAJI, PKP, Index, Crossref, BASE, ROAD, GIF, Advanced Science Index, JournalTOCs, ISI, SIS, ESJI, SSRN, ResearchGate, Mendeley and [others](#).





POWER STRUCTURES AND RELIGIOUS LEGITIMACY: THE INFLUENCE OF DAYAH ULAMA IN THE POLITICS OF ACEH ANALYZED USING POWERCUBE THEORY

Muntasir¹; Iskandar Zulkarnaen²; Muhammad Aminullah³;
Muslem Hamdani⁴; Bimby Hidayat⁵

^{1,2,5}Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Malikussaleh, Aceh, Indonesia

^{3,4}Faculty of Da'wah and Communication Sciences, Universitas

Islam Al-Aziziyah Indonesia, Aceh, Indonesia

¹Correspondence Email: muntasir@unimal.ac.id

Received: June 16, 2024	Accepted: January 15, 2025	Published: January 30, 2025
Article Url: https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/1625		

Abstract

The existence and traces of involvement of dayah ulama in the power dimension have placed them as religious leaders and political actors. Resulting in vertical mobility in policy making. The research subjects were dayah ulama and religious leaders in Aceh. This study aimed to understand the dimensions of the political power of Acehese ulama working at the level, space, and form. This research used qualitative methods based on interview data, questionnaires, and literature studies. The results showed that the ulama dayah had a lot of capital and power to build power. These dimensions could be classified as follows: 1) the level dimension in the power structure of ulama was very central and able to influence local and even national political constellations; 2) with personal qualities and public belief in the Keuramat (sacred) and temeureuka (damned) owned by the ulama, indicating the legitimacy of power in the form of "visible and invisible power" in the Aceh ulama; 3) through dayah institutions, networks of religious organizations and the Ulema Consultative Assembly had provided ample space for Aceh ulama to build their identity and power as holders of religious and social authority in the public sphere.

Keywords: *Power Structures; Religious Legitimacy; Ulama; Powercube Theory.*



A. Introduction

This study was motivated by nearly 600 ulama from 23 districts of Aceh Province holding a grand meeting at the Hj. Yusriah Lampeuneurut Building, Aceh Besar Regency on November 10-11-2021. The old to young ulama attended the meeting. Among the ulama who attended were charismatic figures who are highly respected by the people of Aceh, such as Teungku HM Amin Daud (Ayah Cot Trueng), Teungku HM Yusuf (Tu Sop Jeunieb), Teungku H. Faisal Ali. Also present were Teungku Haji Hasanoel Bashry, known as Abu Mudi, Teungku H Nuruzzahri Yahya (Waled Nu Samalanga), Teungku H Ishak Ahmad (Abu Langkawi), Teungku H Hasbi Albayuni, Teungku H. Tu Bulqaini Tanjongan and others. These ulama figures gathered and agreed to provide recommendations that focused on improving political democracy in the land of Rencong Aceh.

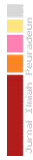
The implications of this incident give a signal that the existence and traces of involvement of ulama in political dynamics to date place ulama as political agents and actors (Rasyidin, 2020; Saby, 2005). In other words, in Giddens's (1984) structuration pattern, *ulama* is considered capable of taking action even as the main actor who has a relationship with the power structure. Moreover, since the era of reform and politics after the MoU Helsinki for Aceh, this has resulted in vertical mobility in policy formulation. As a result, the actors involved in the policy formulation process are also increasingly plural, including politicians, civil society bureaucrats, and even *ulama* (Lukman et al., 2017; Suksi, 2011). It could be said that the involvement of ulama actors provides new discourse and habitus and encourages renewal and alternative interpretations of policies in the public domain. This phenomenon shows that there is a contestation of political authority to be taken into consideration in formulating a policy and direction for Aceh's future development (Rokhman et al., 2023; Santoso et al., 2022).

As is known, the role of the ulama cannot be separated from political policy discourse in Aceh. For a long time, ulama have proven themselves to be important actors who are significant not only in matters of religion but also in politics, culture, and even in the socio-historical dynamics of Acehnese

society (Ahmad & Bustamam, 2012, 2013, 2014; R. M. Feener, 2013; R. Feener & Michael, 2011; Yusfriadi, 2020). In several studies also (Ahmad & Bustamam, 2012, 2013; Fahmi, 2021; Shadiqin & Srimulyani, 2021) it is stated that throughout Aceh's political history, *ulama* has always been positioned as important actors and have authority in the history of political upheaval in Aceh (Feener, 2013). Apart from having a large number of students and organizational background, strong personal qualities and charismatic factors can also create the dimensions of power in an *ulama* (Haboddin, 2020; Mohd Yusoff et al., 2022).

If we translate the dimensions of *ulama* power, using Gaventa's "Powercube" perspective, *ulama* as local elites are formed because they have a role, control, and relationship to the center of power (Gaventa, 2009, 2011). In line with previous thinkers who said that patterns of power relations are formed due to the behavior of actors as a source of power (Dahl, 1957, 1968; Lukes, 2005). Referring to the phenomenon mentioned, this study is interesting and important to explain for reasons. *First*, based on observations of the literature so far regarding Aceh's political dynamics, *ulama* has a large place in the discourse on Aceh. It is not uncommon for domestic and foreign scholars to study Aceh from various perspectives such as (Aspinall, 2007, 2009; Aspinall & Crouch, 2003; Barter, 2008; Birchok, 2013, 2018; Davies, 2012; R. M. Feener, 2013; R. Feener & Michael, 2011). Unfortunately, there are few comprehensive works dissecting the political dimensions of Acehese power, particularly regarding the narratives and political theology of the *ulama* themselves (David, 2018; Maghfiroh et al., 2024).

Second, studies of political dynamics in Aceh always require a specific framework, especially using a value and cultural approach. Because religious values: Islam and culture, are standards in politics in Aceh (Aspinall, 2007; Syarifuddin, 2021). Thus, studying the political dimensions of *ulama* always occupies an important position in the political structure in Aceh. Apart from that, because in Aceh there has never been an end to power fluctuations (even from the sultanate era to the current reform era), a power relations approach in political phenomena is a necessity for understanding the dynamics and political constellations in Aceh (Rusli et al., 2022). Because it will also reflect



Indonesia's current political development current and future. The study aimed to understand the dimensional patterns of the political power of *Dayah* (boarding school) ulama working in the areas of level, space, and form. Which ultimately will help understand the new configuration that is behind the development and socio-political changes that have emerged in Aceh.

Analysis using John Gaventa's Powercube theory can provide an interesting analytical perspective to understand the dynamics of the power of dayah ulama in Aceh. The Power Cube Theory will open a complex and multidimensional analytical window to the phenomenon of ulama power in Aceh, beyond conventional approaches that tend to be static and linear. Thus, the relevance of this theory to the research will explain how dayah ulama moves and negotiates in three different spaces; 1) Closed Spaces: In this space, ulama *dayah* forms an exclusive circle of decision-making. 2) Invited Spaces: In this sphere, dayah scholars are formally integrated into the government system. They are not only advisors but active actors in shaping public policies, especially those related to Islamic law. 3) Claimed Spaces: In this space, ulama dayah uses social movements, media, and community networks to shape public discourse.

Research Gap that needs to be answered: 1) The transformation of clerical power from the conflict era to the democratic system. 2) The reproduction mechanism of religious legitimacy in the realm of contemporary politics. 3) The adaptation strategy of the ulama to face structural and cultural shifts. The novelty of this research revealed the dynamic mechanism of the reproduction of clerical power in the changing political landscape in Aceh.

B. Method

This research used a qualitative-interpretative method with a case study approach (Bennett & Elman, 2006; Miles et al., 2014) that aimed to examine the power structure and political legitimacy of ulama in Aceh politics through a Power Cube theory approach (Lewis, 2015; Shaw, 2008). The data obtained are qualitative and possess naturalistic characteristics. Apart from that, researchers also use a phenomenological approach. This approach is very useful when dynamic social relationships, processes, and



contexts significantly affect the subject under study (Azungah, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2009; Leavy, 2017; Rich, 2018). This research was conducted in Aceh Province with distribution in three districts, namely Bireuen, Lhokseumawe, and North Aceh. The subject in this research is referred to as a social situation. The actors are ulama dayah with the category of dayah leader, and members of the Ulama Consultative Assembly (MPU). Supporting informants; lecturers. This research used purposive sampling techniques, which is a deliberate sampling technique based on certain criteria. This technique is also known as judgmental sampling.

Data collection was carried out using triangulation techniques. Researchers collect data while testing the credibility of the data, namely by checking with various data collection techniques and various data sources. The data triangulation used is source triangulation (Walidin et al., 2023). Researchers try to obtain from different sources using the same technique by exploring the truth of information through various methods and data sources, such as documents, archives, interviews, observations, or also by interviewing more than one subject who is considered to have a different point of view and conducting focus group discussions (Bradburn & Questions, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2009; Rich, 2018).

In presenting the research results, for the interview results, the researcher gave the initials of the name, and the presentation of the results was not differentiated based on the data sources. Meanwhile, the data were analyzed using qualitative inductive analysis techniques (Azungah, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2009; Leavy, 2017; Rich, 2018). The data that has been collected is analyzed using a qualitative interactive model approach as proposed by Miles and Huberman, namely data reduction, data presentation, conclusions, and data verification. This process takes place throughout the implementation of the research or simultaneously with data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009; Rich, 2018; Walidin et al., 2023).

The following image illustrates Powercube Theory, which analyzes power in three dimensions: Forms of Power, Spaces of Power, and Levels of Power. The forms of power include visible, hidden, and invisible power; the spaces of power are categorized as closed, invited, and created; while the



levels of power encompass local, national, and global. The diagram demonstrates how ulama can influence political power, which then interacts within various forms, spaces, and levels of power. This model helps to understand the dynamics of the relationship between religion and politics within a broader social structure.

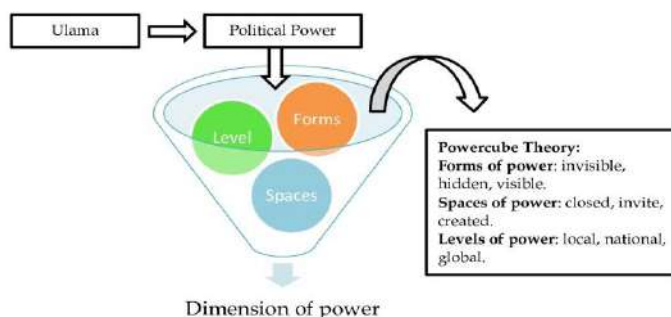


Figure 1. Study flow
Source: Author's Interpretation, 2022

C. Result and Discussion

This section outlines the research findings aimed at understanding the patterns of political power dimensions of *dayah* ulama in Aceh through the lens of Powercube theory. The discussion begins by presenting the main findings regarding the position of *dayah* ulama within the political structure of Acehnese society, followed by an explanation of the mechanisms of power legitimacy they construct and their adaptive strategies in navigating social and political dynamics. Subsequently, these research findings are integrated with the theoretical framework to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of *dayah* ulama in the context of political power in Aceh.

1. Result

a. Dayah ulama in the political structure of Acehnese society

The establishment of the nation-state in the current modern era, the theory of power is dominated by a positivistic approach that emphasizes natural existence and has a role as a source of absolute power and absolute obedience with the support of a sovereign political machine (state power) (Satjipto in Suswoto, 2018). It's different among Islamic intellectuals. Almost

all of their theories of political power are linked to religious theological approaches. Thus, the essence of power does not only come from humans, but also comes from God which is bestowed upon some chosen people. Within this small group are the *ulama*.

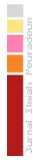
The argument above is believed and practiced in the culture of the Acehese people, where the relations of the Acehese people are always framed in the dimensions of an approach to the values of Islamic teachings. It means that there is a close connection between Islam and the Acehese people. Based on the interview results.

Islam in Aceh has a long and complex history. The development of Islam in Aceh was influenced by various factors, both internal and external. To this day, Islam remains an integral part of the Acehese identity. Islam in Aceh developed rapidly because the relationship with Arab and Persian traders had been well established. This situation became the starting point for the entry of Islamic influence into Aceh. In addition, the support of rulers or sultans such as the Sultanates of Pasai and Peureulak who ruled at that time was also an important factor in the development of Islam in Aceh. Thus, Islam in Aceh easily acculturated with local culture. (Abu Syekh H. Hasanaol Bashir, personal communication, Maret, 2023)

Apart from having a high position, their existence has also been present throughout the ages of Aceh. The position and influence of *ulama* at that time were institutionalized as members of society, as *Qadhi* (head of the religious court), as head of religion (*Sheikhul Islam*), and as leader of the jihadist army. Based on the interview results.

*The role of the ulama in Aceh since the sultanate period until today is still very central. The ulama are not only religious leaders but also advisors in various matters, ranging from family matters to political issues. Therefore, the ulama is often involved in making important decisions, especially those concerning Islamic law policies and for the benefit of the wider community. There was a time when the power of the ulama was institutionalized as *Qadhi Malik al-Adil*. (Teungku H. M. Yusuf A. Wahab, personal communication, April 2023)*

Now, the dimension of power in the structure of Acehese society no longer seems to provide sharp boundaries of difference. Every citizen has the same opportunity to gain position and power. However, this is different from the position of Acehese *ulama*. The adagio that “*al ulama*



warasat al anbiya" ulama are the "heirs of the prophet" makes the position and status of *ulama* those of chosen people. This title is a reflection of his intellectual capacity and piety. Not only is he a figure who knows, but also has moral, social, and political responsibilities. Even within the scope of administration of the Aceh government, the position of *ulama* remains and still has a significant role and position.

The dynamics of *ulama* power over the long period above are accompanied by the legitimacy of Aceh's religious postulates and traditional traditions. So, public appreciation for the figure of *ulama* is increasingly higher. Moreover, personal elements such as scientific integrity, capability, credibility, moral piety, and social responsibility are accompanied by his position as the leader of the *Dayah*. This legitimacy is becoming stronger, not only supported by the theological and sociological cultural validity which is deeply rooted in the life of the Acehnese people. In some cases, the attitudes and statements of *ulama* are the *peuneutoh haba* (the given of decisions and conclusions) regarding various issues and problems, and the results of their decisions are then followed by the community. Even in existing traditions, some communities believe that *dayah ulama* has a *keuramat* (sacredness).

With their sacredness, *dayah ulama* is believed by the Acehnese to be able to give *beureukat* (blessing) to people they pray for (Nirzalin, 2014). With these advantages, the charisma and authority of *ulama* in society will be greater. In the end, with science, the signs of sacredness and *temeureuka* (curse) signify the domination of power in the form of the invisible power of the *dayah ulama*, which is legitimized, and the community in practical *takzim* (obedience) to them as a form of action that they should and should not carry out. In its development, *dayah ulama* with high social status in society did not only focus on religious issues. *Dayah ulama* is also active in various social dynamics. Based on the interview results.

Their role is deeply embedded in the history and development of Aceh to this day. In the socio-cultural context, Acehnese clerics played an active role in harmonizing Islamic teachings with local Acehnese customs and culture. They succeeded in creating harmony between the two so that Islam was not seen as something foreign and contrary to ancestral values. (Teungku H. Faisal Ali, personal communication, April 2023)

Finally, it is undeniable that the role of *dayah ulama* has a very important position in local Acehese society. Apart from having a solid mass base (students) at the grassroots. Through integrity, scholarship, and charisma, his *dayah ulama* becomes an attribute of power that not everyone has (M. Jakfar et al., 2023). Ethico-social closeness with this community also means they are respected, honored, appreciated, and glorified. The community's respect for the *dayah ulama* is symbolized by their attitudes and behavior, which never say or call their real names but instead describe them with titles and add the name of the village where they were born or where the *dayah ulama* is taught. Sometimes, it is not surprising that people do not know the real name of the *ulama* (Mylostyvyi et al., 2024; Sofanudin et al., 2023; Tabrani ZA et al., 2021).

Looking at this phenomenon gives an idea that the actions of the Acehese *dayah ulama* are described as first, it is a patron-client interaction (patronage) for community groups. Second, as a symbol of power in the structure of Acehese society. Third, with their knowledge and charisma, *ulama* hold religious authority as well as traditional authority and can segment the thinking of local communities (Rosidi et al., 2024). At this point, if we refer to the cube theory of power in the level dimension, Acehese *ulama* has significant power at the lowest levels, regional and even national. Apart from that, the dimensions of the power space of *dayah ulama* are not only institutionalized in formal and non-formal institutions, not only matters of worship but also thinking about education, the economy, and the health of the people.

b. Political networks of *dayah ulama*

Apart from having the most *dayah* in Indonesia, Aceh is also one of the regions with the oldest *dayah* in Indonesia. It showed that their network can strengthen the strong personality of the *dayah ulama* and can even create a pattern of power. If we break down, there are two big locomotives in maintaining this teaching tradition. First, Teungku HM Hasan Krueng Kalee and his students dominated the northern and eastern coastal regions of Aceh. Second, Teungku Sheikh Muda Waly al Khalidy and his students were dominant in the southern region of Aceh. It is from these two great *ulama* that the spread of the ideology continues to take root and has the largest



network until now. As is known, in the results of interviews with ulama figures; we know.

The role of Dayah Darussalam, which was founded by Abuya Muda Waly (1917-1961) in Blang Poroh Labuhan Haji (1942), has been to educate many ulama cadres who eventually became teachers of Acehnese clerics today. It could be said that almost the majority of ulama and Dayah leaders in Aceh have studied and gained knowledge at Dayah Darussalam. (Abu Teungku Nuruzzahri bin Teungku H. Yahya, personal communication, April 2023)

Among the pupils or pupils of Tgk Abuya Muda Waly who are charismatic and influential *dayah ulama* in Aceh today, the *sanad* (genealogy) can be seen as follows.

Table 1. Students of Tgk Sheikh Abuya Muda Waly

No.	Abuya Muda Waly Students
1.	<p>Early Generation Students Teungku Sheikh Aidarus bin Sheikh Abdul Ghani Kampari; Teungku Abu Ahmad Isa Peudada; Teungku Abu Jailani Peudada; Teungku Abdullah Hanafi (Abu Tanoh Mirah); Teungku Syahbuddin Pantan Labu (Abu Keumala); Teungku Idrus Padang; Teungku Sheikh Zakaria Malalo (Abuya Labay Sati); Teungku Yusuf A'lam Bakongan (son-in-law of Abuya Muda Waly); Teungku Sheikh Marhaban (Son of Abu Krueng Kalee); Teungku Abu Adnan Bakongan; Teungku Abu Ja'far Siddiq; Teungku Abu Kamaruddin Teunom.</p>
2.	<p>Second Generation Students Teungku Aziz bin Teungku M Shaleh (Abon Aziz Samalanga)</p> <p>Third Generation Students Teungku Abu Hanafiah Matangkuli (Abu Matang Keh); Teungku M. Amien (Abu Tu Min Blang Blahdeh); Teungku H. Abdul Wahab (Abu Matang Pereulak)</p> <p>Fourth Generation Students Tengku M Cot Klat ; Tengku Daud Zamzami ; Teungku Muhammad; Tengku Jamaluddin Teupin Punti ; Teungku Abdullah</p>
3.	<p>Students of Abuya Muda Waly Students; (1) Abon Aziz Samalanga's students: Teungku H Ibrahim Bin Ishaq (Abu Budi Lamno); Teungku H Usman Bin Tengku Ali (Abu Kuta Krueng); Teungku H Hasanoel Bashry (Abu Mudi Samalanga); Teungku H Nuruzzahri Bin Teungku Yahya (Waled Nuruzahri); Teungku M Kasem TB (Abu in Bieruen); Teungku H. Muhammad Daud (Abu Lueng Angen); Teungku Ibrahim Bardan (Abu Panton); Teugku HM Amin Arby (Abon Tanjongan Samalanga); Teungku</p>

No.	Abuya Muda Waly Students
	H Tu Bulqaini Tanjongan (Tu Bulqaini); Teungku HM Yusuf Abdul Wahab (Tu Sop Jeunib)
(2)	Students of Teungku H M. Amien (Abu Tumien Blang Blahded); Teungku Ismail Yakob; Teungku Abu Mustafa Paloeh Gadeng; Teungku Muhammad Ilyas; Teungku Muhammad Diah Tanjong Mosque; Teungku Zainuddin Bayu; Teungku Nasrudin Bin Ahmad; Teungku Yunus Adamy

Source: Nirzalin (2014) and observation data (students' names are only part)

The power relationship between the *dayah ulama* and their students is built on respect, reverence, and loyalty. Students often respect *ulama*, both young and old clerics, remembering that the scientific services are full of sincerity so that the blessings of knowledge from *ulama* can be felt and enjoyed by the students. Thus, the norm of having to respect *ulama* is an indisputable habitus and must be carried out by every student throughout life. Thus, based on adab towards the *ulama*, it has become an instrument that supports their power and strengthens their authority in society. In fact, from several cases, it can be ascertained that what the *ulama* want and are fighting for will not be rejected or opposed by their students.

In conclusion, apart from the fact that Aceh has many fanatical followers of Islam. The strong influence of the *dayah ulama* as special figures compared to other actors, of course, cannot be separated from the network pattern (agency) that has been formed. There are at least several network patterns that *dayah ulama* have, including; first, the genealogical network, formed through blood relations or kinship between *dayah ulama*. Second, ideological networks, this condition are formed because of the interest in common understandings, and thoughts, both religious and political. Third, the theological network is formed through the similarity of theologies or schools of thought adhered to by the *dayah ulama*. Fourth, the intellectual network is formed through the educational process in *dayah*, namely between students and teachers (*teungku*) (Suwendi et al., 2024). Fifth, the spiritual network is formed due to the similarity of *tareqat* (congregation) beliefs. Finally, through this network agency, the process of internalizing the ideology of *dayah ulama* to the wider community will be maintained. In turn, this will facilitate the

theological and sociological legitimacy of the *dayah ulama* to strengthen their power, authority, and authority. This is one of the most important political capitalism of the *dayah ulama* and has experienced universalization in Aceh.

c. Organizational platform as a political instrument of *dayah ulama*

In history, the position of ulama in the institution has long existed since the mass of the Aceh kingdom. Likewise in the Dutch colonial period. *Dayah Ulama* formed the All Aceh Ulama Association (PUSA) as a locomotive to mobilize the people of Aceh, who had long been colonized. PUSA is considered the only very important nationalist movement in Aceh, its leader is Teungku Daud Beureueh. Furthermore, the Ulama Consultative Council emerged during the Soekarno era and changed its name during the Soeharto era to the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). However, immediately after the Aceh Special Law was passed, an official ulama institution was re-formed under the government called the MPU (Ulema Consultative Assembly).

The political movement of *dayah ulama* is also institutionalized in the organizations they form. During the New Order era, the *Inshafuddin* organization was also established the *Rabitah Taliban Aceh* (RTA) organization emerged. RTA is an organization of *dayah* students under the leadership of Teungku Tu Bulqaini which is oriented towards mobilizing *dayah* students to support the referendum in Aceh. Through a short process, a *Dayah Ulama* organization called the Aceh Dayah Ulama Association (HUDA) was finally formed. HUDA was then led by Teungku Ibrahim Bardan (Abu Pantan). HUDA's existence continues to actively involve itself in every change and new political constellation in Aceh, including supporting the referendum movement for Aceh. But its political role is no longer as big as in its early days. Now HUDA has shifted to a socio-religious function and as a forum for friendship and channeling the aspirations of *dayah ulama* throughout Aceh.

In further developments in 2009, ulama organizations also emerged. The organization was named the Nanggroe Aceh Ulama Assembly (MUNA). It is alleged that the MUNA organization is a clerical organization formed by former GAM (Free Aceh Movement) members whose spiritual leader is Abuya Muhibuddin Waly. However, based on the data, the *ulama* who joined MUNA

was not the *dayah ulama* who was widely known by the people of Aceh. This situation meant that MUNA did not gain a significant. They existed but were unable to develop their existence and influence widely in Aceh.

2. Discussion

a. Level of power: *Dayah ulama* has a lot of capital to build legitimacy of power

The *Dayah ulama* is involved in every change in the political constellation of Aceh, both directly and indirectly. It showed the existence of a large capital in the *dayah ulama*. In this way, *dayah ulama* has the resources to build power. On the other hand, it indicates how difficult it is for the position and role of *ulama* to be separated from the socio-political developments that occurred in Aceh or vice versa, which means that politics in Aceh cannot be separated from the role and position of an *ulama*. Scientific authority is just one source that can be capitalized on referring to Max Weber's theory (Breuilly, 2011; Humaira et al., 2022; Rigby, 2016), *dayah ulama* has other sources of power, namely charismatic, rational-legal, and traditional authority which is strengthened by theological and historical legitimacy that the *ulama* are the heirs of. The prophets. It can be explained that, firstly, scientific authority is both "theoretical and practical", namely his involvement in dialectics in the social arena of society. Borrowing Antonio Gramsci's term (Sundiata, 2013), *ulama* can be said to be an organic intellectual. They are not only focused on carrying out their traditional roles but also involved in praxis to provide enlightenment and empowerment to the community.

Second, based on rational-legal authority, the position of *dayah ulama* is also heavily involved in formal and non-formal institutions such as MPU, HUDA, and NU. It is not surprising that, with this status, *ulama* always have an important role and position from the grassroots to the strata (elite). Even though this position has been hit by changes since the royal era, even up to the current reform era, it has never disappeared. Third, the traditional authority referred to, apart from being scientific, was also formed due to genealogical factors with previous generations who had figured as *ulama*. In the social construction of Acehnese society, quite a few capitalize on this genealogical factor to gain power. The combination of this authority, both



culturally and structurally, is the modality for the *ulama* to strengthen their power in society (Ismail et al., 2022; Kawakib & Syuhud, 2021).

b. Forms of power: *Dayah ulama* as control mechanism

The strong religious and social authority they possess has placed the figure of the *ulama* in a central and irreplaceable position in the structure of Acehese society. For the urban community of Aceh, perhaps the scientific and moral authority of the *dayah ulama* has been represented by a group of campus intellectuals with a responsive and dynamic thought paradigm (Duhriah et al., 2024; Zulkifli et al., 2023). However, it is different when in rural areas (*gampongs*), which are the locations where most of the *dayahs* are established, as well as the places where *dayah ulama* live. With personal capacity in terms of science, leadership, and morals, this is a logical consequence of the existence of *dayah ulama* who have very strong authority in guiding students and the local community (Syarifuddin, 2021). So, these social roles and functions strengthen the hegemonic pattern of a *dayah ulama* who is respected and emulated (Shuhufi et al., 2022; Basori et al., 2023).

In another scenario, Islamic values and local wisdom become a tool of social control in Acehese society (control mechanism). It could even be said to be much deeper than the relationship patterns between other elites. It means that almost all dimensions of community life are always oriented toward Islamic values and Acehese customs (Duhriah et al., 2024; M. Hasan, 2023). Thus, as the majority of society is Islamic, socio-political strata and systems must be built based on foundations that follow Islamic law as well. Thus, traditional traditions and Islamic law are two things that are inseparably integrated (Harun, 2007; Hasan, 2019). Both are united in the movement of the Acehese philosophy of life, like the inseparability of substances and their properties. As understood by the people of Aceh; "*hukom ngen adat hanjeut mecre, lage zat ngen sifet, tawiet han meulipat, tatarek han meujeu'eut*" (law with custom is like substance with nature, neither broken nor bent). This description indicates that in Aceh, cultural values are mixed with Islamic values. However, the two do not intersect with each other, and there is no gap. What can be understood from the above

phenomenon is that all dimensions of Acehese life, Islam, and traditional customs have become determinant factors in the construction of everyday attitudes and behavior (Faisal et al., 2023; Zulkhairi et al., 2024).

c. Spaces of power: Political legitimacy of clerics highly variative

The dimensions of the power of the *dayah ulama* are quite varied and flow. However, compared to other social groups in the Acehese community, *dayah ulama* still has a significant position and function. With his preaching capacity and intelligence, at all times he always plays his role to be involved, actively or passively, in the processes of change and dynamics of society in Aceh (Ma`arif et al., 2023; Hannan et al., 2024). For this reason, whether requested or not, directly or indirectly, in the long history of Aceh, the *dayah ulama* has had a strategic role in the social and political affairs of Acehese society (Sumanti et al., 2024). These roles can be simplified into the following.

Table 2. Illustration of the legitimacy of dayah ulama power

No.	Period of Government	The Role and Position of <i>Dayah Ulama</i>
1.	Aceh Sultans	Government officials, as advisor to the king (<i>Qadhi</i>), King's bodyguard, warlords, Implementers of Islamic religion, and education teacher
2.	The Period of Dutch Colonialism	Actor-leader of the resistance movement Commander of the war against Dutch colonialism Unifying element of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia Implementer of Islamic religion and education teacher
3.	Beginning of Independence	Government political vote-getter, Local and national, Implementer of Islamic religion and education teacher
4.	New Order Era	Partner and as a political vote-getter for the government regime, local, Implementer in Islamic broadcasting, and Education teacher
5.	GAM-RI conflict	The implementer of Islamic religion and education teacher Peacemaker, A unifying symbol, Local and national elites
6.	Post MoU	Government officials through the MPU institution Government partner in Aceh's political development Implementer of Islamic religion and education teacher

Source: Researchers' interpretations from various research sources

The position of *ulama*, which started from the madrasah (education institution), where their role in guiding the people became their main



concern, then emerged as a political force in determining the direction of Acehese civilization. Also in the current situation, the existence of the ulama's power on the political stage, both substantive and practical, is no longer something that needs to be debated. The implications of these beliefs and power hegemony have placed the *dayah ulama* as agents or actors who have relationships with the power structure in Aceh (Husin, 2015; Basori et al., 2023). Not only understood as a sacred religious agency but also as a profane political agency. In this form of ulama power, institutionally the national government has given legitimacy to *ulama* with the authority to form an *ulama* institution known as the MPU. In substance, the MPU was formed to formulate *qanuns* (constitution) related to how regional government should be implemented according to Islamic law, formulating Islamic-based community life that must be obeyed and carried out by all Acehese people.

If we refer to political theory, the role of *dayah ulama* in their relations with the state in the current era is known as the "descending of power" where the political system is influenced by religious values (Kaptein, 2004; Turner, 2003; Burga & Damopolii, 2022). In this context, *dayah ulama* plays the role of giving *fatwas*(decisions) on government policies. Apart from that, *the ulama* has a role as an arbitration institution in reducing social and political conflicts in society (Basri et al., 2023; Rosyid & Lina Kushidayati, 2022). So, the relationship between the *ulama* and the political elite (government) will form a dialectical relationship structure between individuals, the government, and the people. The dialectic that occurs is always placed in the middle of the relationship between the interests of government and society (Ayumiati et al., 2024). Under these conditions, there will be a political symbiosis that requires each other between the *ulama* and the Aceh government. The *ulama* group will need the political elite (government) for their *dakwah* (proselytizing), but on the other hand, the Aceh government (political elite) will always need the *ulama* to support the legitimacy of its power (Zainal et al., 2022; Tabrani ZA et al., 2024). So, in the end, this relational relationship forms the main tri-partite configuration: (1) the ruling elite, (2) the *ulama*, and (3) the people. The

relationship between these three components will ultimately form an egalitarian and cosmopolitan structure of Acehese society.

d. Research implications: Expansion of powercube theory in the political-religious context

The theoretical expansion of Powercube in the context of the study of *dayah ulama* in Aceh opens a new dimension in understanding the dynamics of power involving religious and political elements. The theory originally developed by John Gaventa to analyze power in the context of development and social movements, now gains a new perspective when applied to the phenomenon of religious leadership.

In the context of comparative studies, provides a rich framework for understanding similar dynamics in other regions. When compared to the *Wilayat al-Faqih* system in Iran, for example, we can see how religious legitimacy operates in a different political context. While in Aceh, the influence of the ulama is more informal but still effective in influencing public policy. The research shows how traditional religious leaders adapted to political modernity, developed new strategies to maintain their influence, and navigated rapid socio-political change.

While in the context of the intersection of religion and democracy, the research revealed innovative models of integration between religious and democratic values. The *dayah ulama* demonstrated the ability to reinterpret traditional concepts such as *shura* (deliberation) into a modern democratic context. They successfully adapted traditional decision-making mechanisms into a democratic system, while retaining the essence of religious values. This creates a unique hybrid leadership model, where religious and democratic legitimacy can go hand in hand. This experience also shows that a “one size fits all” approach to development and governance is not always effective. International policymakers need to understand that local legitimacy, especially rooted in religious authority, can be a key factor in the successful implementation of development programs. Finally, the Aceh experience shows that religious leaders can be effective partners in promoting positive social change.



D. Conclusion

The study of the dimensions political of the Acehnesse *dayah ulama* in every aspect remains an ongoing topical discourse. This situation is caused by their existence being identical to the existence of society. Moreover, in Aceh, as part of social construction, the role and socio-political position of *dayah ulama* is a social reality whose maturity has been tested in shaping the order of the community. So, from the results of this study, it is understood that; The dimensions of the power of the *dayah ulama* are indeed quite varied and ebb and flow. However, compared to other social groups in the Acehnesse community, *dayah ulama* still and continues to have a strategic position and role. Not only did they carry out the Islamization process, but they have formed an entity in the life system of the Acehnesse people at large. Apart from that, *Dayah Ulama* has a lot of capital and power to build power. The personal qualities of the *ulama* indicate that power is legitimate in the form of “visible or invisible power” within the Acehnesse *ulama*. With the *Dayah* institution, the network of clerical organizations has provided sufficient space for Acehnesse *dayah ulama* to build their identity and power as holders of religious, educational, and socio-political authority in the public sphere.

Several research gaps need to be identified: 1) While there are many studies on the relationship between religion and politics in Indonesia, there is limited research specifically on the role of *ulama dayah* in Aceh as a political force; 2) Religious legitimacy in politics. Existing studies generally ignore how *ulama dayah* provides legitimacy to local political policies and how they function as moral guardians as well as political activists at the local level. This research offered several new contributions to the study of politics in Aceh: 1) Although power cube theory has been widely used in power studies, its application in the context of religious legitimacy in regional politics is a breakthrough in this literature; 2) Most research on Acehnesse politics and the role of religion often focuses on political parties or local government, with a little in-depth examination of the role of *ulama dayah* in the day-to-day political process. This research fills this gap by exploring how *ulama dayah* in Aceh functions not only as religious educators but also as key actors in the process of

political legitimization and power. This is a new contribution to the study of Aceh's local politics, where many previous studies have focused more on post-conflict reconciliation and less on the interaction between religious and political actors at the local level in a comprehensive manner.

Bibliography

- Ahmad, K. B. (2012). *Acehnologi*. Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing.
- Ahmad, K. B. (2013). *Sejarah Islam Politik Indonesia: Dari Pra-Kemerdekaan Hingga Era Reformasi*. Banda Aceh: Ar-Raniry Press.
- Ahmad, K. B. (2014). *Aceh Baru Post-Tsunami: Merengkuh Tradisi Menuju Masa Depan Mandiri*. Kaukaba.
- Aspinall, E. (2007). From Islamism to Nationalism in Aceh, Indonesia. *Nations and Nationalism*, 13(2), 245–263. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2007.00277.x>
- Aspinall, E. (2009). *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia*. National University of Singapore Press.
- Aspinall, E., & Crouch, H. A. (2003). The Aceh peace process: Why it failed. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/3503>
- Ayumiati, A., Fahlevi, H., Yasir Yusuf, M., & Abdullah, S. (2024). Budget Management of the Aceh Government: An Analysis of the Maqāṣid al-sharī'ah Approach. *Samarah*, 8(1), 538–555. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v8i1.19886>
- Azungah, T. (2018). Qualitative Research: Deductive and Inductive Approaches to Data Analysis. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 18(4), 383–400. <https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-D-18-00035>
- Barter, S. J. (2008). *Ulama, the State, & War: Islam-State Relations in the Aceh Conflict*. University of Washington.
- Basori, R., Raharjo, T. J., Prihatin, T., & Yulianto, A. (2023). Maintaining Salafi Values through Innovative Management Practices at Pesantren. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 9(2), 145–156. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v9i2.25376>
- Basri, B., Putra, A. J., Zulfikar, T., & Wahidah, W. (2023). Dayah on the Move: Social Engineering Through Islamic Education Reformation in Post-Conflict Aceh, Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 23(1), 60–87. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i1.15695>

- Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2006). Qualitative Research: Recent Developments In Case Study Methods. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3, 455-476. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.082103.104918>
- Birchok, D. A. (2013). *Sojourning on Mecca's Verandah: Place, Temporality, and Islam in an Indonesian Province*. University of Michigan.
- Birchok, D. A. (2018). Becoming Better Muslims: Religious Authority and Ethical Improvement in Aceh, Indonesia, by David Kloos, Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde. *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, 174(4), 502-504. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17404008>
- Bradburn, N. S. S., & Questions, W. B. A. (2004). *The Definitive Guide to Questionnaire Design, For Market Research, Political Polls, and Social and Health Questionnaires* (Revised). Jossey-Bass.
- Breuilly, J. (2011). Max Weber, Charisma, and Nationalist Leadership. *Nations and Nationalism*, 17(3), 477-499. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00487.x>
- Burga, M. A., & Damopolii, M. (2022). Reinforcing Religious Moderation Through Local Culture-Based Pesantren. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 8(2), 145-162. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v8i2.19879>
- Dahl, R. A. (1957). The Concept of Power. *Behavioral Science*, 2(3), 201-215. <https://doi.org/10.1002/bs.3830020303>
- Dahl, R. A. (1968). Power. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 12, 405-415.
- David, K. (2018). *The Ethics of Not-Praying: Religious Negligence, Life Phase, and Social Status in Aceh, Indonesia, in Straying from the Straight Path: How Senses of Failure Invigorate Lived Religion* (D. Beekers & D. Kloos (eds.)). Berghahn.
- Davies, M. N. (2012). *Indonesia's War over Aceh: Last stand on Mecca's porch*. Routledge.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2009). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Dariyatno (ed.)). Pustaka Pelajar.
- Duhriah, D., Yati, F., Asmadia, T., Rahmat, A., Muslim, M., & Baharuddin, A. S. (2024). Institutionalization of Islam and Adat: The Legal System of Hak Langgeih in Aceh. *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah*, 23(1), 41-43. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i1.7482>

- Fahmi, C. (2021). The Snouck Hurgronje's Doctrine in Conquering the Holy Revolts of Acehese Natives. *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage*, 10(2). <https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v10i2.628>
- Faisal, A., Saidah, S., Mukrimin, M., Zakirah, Z., & Darwis, R. (2023). Sociological and Political Constraints of Islamic Sharia Enforcement in South Sulawesi Indonesia. *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah*, 22(1), 159-169. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v22i1.8604>
- Feener, R. M. (2013). *Shari'a and Social Engineering. The Implementation of Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia*. Oxford University Press.
- Feener, R., & Michael, P. D. (2011). *Mapping the Acehese Past*. KITLV Press Leiden.
- Gaventa, J. (2009). Finding The Spaces for Changes; A Power Analysis. *IDS: Institute of Development Studies*, Feb 37(6), 23-33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2006.tb00320.x>
- Gaventa, J. (2011). *Understanding Power*. Powercube.Net.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. University of California Press.
- Haboddin, M. (2020). Sirkulasi Elite Lokal di Bantaeng. *Jurnal Transformative*, 6(1), 72-90. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.transformative.2020.006.01.4>
- Hannan, N., Huda, M. S., Firdaus, M. A., Afabih, A., & Musthofa, Y. (2024). Between Adherence to Madhhab and Adaptation to Context: Fatwās on Female Leadership in Nahdlatul Ulama-Affiliated Islamic Higher Education Institutions. *Journal of Islamic Law*, 5(2), 269-287. <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v5i2.2725>
- Harun, M. (2007). Representasi Nilai Estetis Orang Aceh Dalam Hadiah Maja. *Mon Mata: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Bidang Pendidikan*, 9(2), 99-118.
- Hasan, M. (2023). The Interaction of Fiqh and Science in the Dynamics of Determining the Beginning of the Hijri Month in Indonesia. *JIL: Journal of Islamic Law*, 4(2), 237-257. <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v4i2.1433>
- Hasan, R. M. (2019). Komunikasi Teologi Adat dan Syariat Islam Dalam Wilayahul Hisbah di Aceh. *Jurnal Al-Bayan: Media Kajian Dan Pengembangan Ilmu Dakwah*, 25(1), 74-91. <https://doi.org/10.22373/albayan.v25i1.6009>

- Humaira, A., Rahman, M. F., Yaqub, A., Baharuddin, A. Z., & Adhha, N. (2022). Betawi Ulama's Perception of The XXI Century Against Contraception Law Controversy in Population Control. *Samarah*, 6(2), 934-953. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i2.12936>
- Husin, A. (2015). Conflict and Nonviolence: Ulama in the Aceh Peace Process. *The Promise of Reconciliation?: Examining Violent and Nonviolent Effects on Asian Conflicts*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315134291>
- Ismail, F. H., Jasni Sulong, Zaitun Muzana, Sabirin, & Arwanyah Bin Kirin. (2022). Vigilantism among the Community in Aceh Against the Accused of Violating the Shariah Criminal Law. *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial*, 17(2), 531-553. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v17i2.6751>
- Kaptein, N. J. G. (2004). The Voice of the Ulama: Fatwas and Religious Authority in Indonesia. *Archives De Sciences Sociales Des Religions. JSTOR*, 49(125), 115-130. <https://doi.org/10.4000/assr.1038>
- Kawakib, K., & Syuhud, H. (2021). Interrelation of Reason and Revelation: Analysis of the Thought of Ulama Mutakallimin in the Formation of Islamic Law. *JIL: Journal of Islamic Law*, 2(1), 43-61. <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v2i1.127>
- Leavy, P. (2017). *Research Design: Quantitative, Qualitative, Mixed Methods, Arts-Based, and Community-Based Participatory Research Approaches*. The Guilford Press.
- Lewis, S. (2015). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches. In *book and Media Reviews* (pp. 1-3). Sage Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839915580941>
- Lukes, S. (2005). *Power: A Radical View* (Second Edi). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lukman, N. H. Z., Firdaus, W. M. K., & Khairuldin, W. (2017). The Role and Contribution of Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh (MPU) to Community of Aceh, Indonesia. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 7(4), 208-213. <https://doi.org/10.6007/IJARBS/v7-i4/2799>
- M. Jakfar, T., Bakry, N., Andy, S., & Habibi MZ, M. (2023). The Struggle Between Salafi Scholars and Islamic Boarding School Scholars: the Controversy Over the Practice of Fiqh Hadith in Aceh and North Sumatra, Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 23(1), 88-109. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i1.17733>

- Ma`arif, M. A., Mumtahana, L., Sunarno, S., Mansyuri, A., & Nasith, A. (2023). Developing Pesantren Educator Resources through Optimizing the Learning Organization. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 6(3), 475–489. <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v6i3.4415>
- Maghfiroh, M., Iryani, E., Haerudin, H., Yani, M. T., Zaini, N., & Mahfud, C. (2024). Promoting Green Pesantren: Change, Challenge and Contribution of Nahdlatul Ulama in Indonesia. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 7(2), 409–435. <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v7i2.4668>
- Miles, M., Huberman, A. M. ., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis, A Methods Sourcebook*. SAGE Publications.
- Mohd Yusoff, M. Z., Hamzah, A., Fajri, I., Za, T., & Yusuf, S. M. (2022). The Effect of Spiritual and Social Norms in Moral Judgement. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 27(1), 555–568. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2022.2156799>
- Mylostyvyi, R., Sejian, V., Souza-Junior, J. B. F., Wrzecińska, M., Za, T., Chernenko, O., Pryshedko, V., Suslova, N., Chabanenko, D., & Hoffmann, G. (2024). Digitalization opportunities for livestock welfare monitoring with a focus on heat stress. *Multidisciplinary Reviews*, 7(12), 2024300. <https://doi.org/10.31893/multirev.2024300>
- Nirzalin, N. (2014). Teungku Dayah Dan Kekuasaan Panoptik. *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 16(1), 13-34. <https://doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v16i1.4914>
- Rasyidin. (2020). The Social-Political Role Of Muslim Scholars (Ulamas) in the Acehnese Society. *Journal of Global Responsibility*, 12(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JGR-10-2018-0040>
- Rich, R. C. (2018). *Empirical Political Analysis Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods* (Ninth). Routledge.
- Rigby, T. H. (2016). Weber's Typology of Authority: A Difficulty and Some Suggestion. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 2(1), 2–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/144078336600200101>
- Rokhman, M., Usman, F., Usman, F., Kassim, A. B. H., & Muslihun, M. (2023). Consideration of Parents in Choosing Islamic Schools in the Digital Era. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 6(3), 403–419. <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v6i3.4026>

- Rosidi, I., Saputra, E., Khotimah, K., Ganiyev, A., Masduki, M., & Ghofur, A. (2024). Negotiating Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesian Islam: the Case of Madani Village. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 24(1), 51–66. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v24i1.17320>
- Rosyid, M., & Lina Kushidayati. (2022). Anticipating Disaster: The ‘Urf Perspective of Rebo Wekasan Ceremony in Kudus, Central Java. *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial*, 17(1), 91–112. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v17i1.5705>
- Rusli, H., Mukhlis, A. B., & Armia. (2022). The conceptualization of jihad in the Acehese saga of Hikayat Prang Sabi. *SIELE Studies in English Language and Education*, 9(3), 1329–1347. <https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v9i3.25447>
- Saby, Y. (2005). *Islam And Social Change : The Role Of The Ulama in Acehese Society*. Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Santoso, D., Jafar, W. A., Nasrudin, M., Asmara, M., & Fauzan, F. (2022). Harmony of religion and culture: fiqh munākahat perspective on the Gayo marriage custom. *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 22(2), 199–218. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i2.199-218>
- Shadiqin, S. I., & Srimulyani, E. (2021). The Contested Authorities: Institution and Agency in the Enforcement of Sharia Law in Aceh, Indonesia. *Journal Of Contemporary Islam And Muslim Societies*, 5(2), 198–223. <https://doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v5i2.10601>
- Shaw, I. (2008). Ethics and the Practice of Qualitative Research. *QSW Qualitative Social Work*, 7(4), 400–414. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325008097137>
- Shuhufi, M., Fatmawati, F., Qadaruddin, M., B, J., Muhammad Yunus, M., & M.Nur, N. (2022). Islamic Law and Social Media: Analyzing the Fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council Regarding Interaction on Digital Platforms. *Samarah*, 6(2), 823–843. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v6i2.15011>
- Sofanudin, A., Ibda, H., Syafi’, M., Fikri, M., Marzuki, M., & Tsauro, A. (2023). Islamism In Dayah: Shafi’iyah, Hanbaliyah, and Popular Islam. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 23(2), 283–302. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i2.17527>
- Suksi, M. (2011). *Sub-state Governance through Territorial Autonomy: A*

Comparative Study in Constitutional Law of Powers, Procedures and Institutions. Springer Science & Business Media.

- Sumanti, S. T., Nunzairina, N., & Salminawati, S. (2024). The Evolution of Islamic Educational Institutions in North Sumatra Indonesia. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 7(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v7i1.4419>
- Sundiata, K. O.-J. (2013). Organic Intellectual: Robert Chrisman and the Construction of a Black Radical Scholar's Activist Legacy. *The Black Scholar*, 43(3), 10–16. <https://doi.org/10.5816/blackscholar.43.3.0010>
- Suswoto, S. (2018). Kajian Kritis Terhadap Teori Positivisme Hukum Dalam Mencari Keadilan Substantif. *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Hukum QISTIE*, 11(1), 107–136. <http://doi.org/10.31942/jqi.v11i1.2225>
- Suwendi, S., Gama, C. B., Farabi, M. F. F., Fuady, F., & Arman, A. (2024). Roles and Challenges of Pesantren Intellectual Networks. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 24(2), 453–470. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v24i2.23134>
- Syarifuddin, S. (2021). Islamic Plurality in the Perspectives of Ulama Dayah in Aceh. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 9(3), 567–586. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v9i3.583>
- Tabrani ZA, Walidin, W., Idris, S., & Huda, M. (2024). Pancasila as the Core Value for Character Building in Islamic Higher Education Institutions. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 12(2), 565–592. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v12i2.1212>
- Tabrani, Z. A., Idris, S., Murziqin, R., Riza, S., & Khafidah, W. (2021). Parameter Transformasi Kurikulum Dayah Salafiyah di Aceh. *Tazkir: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Keislaman*, 7(1), 91–110. <https://doi.org/10.24952/tazkir.v7i1.4218>
- Turner, B. S. (2003). *Agama Dan Teori Sosial, Rangka-Pikir Sosiologi dalam Membaca Eksistensi Tuhan di antara Gelegar Ideologi-Ideologi Kontemporer* (I. R. Muzir (ed.)). IRCiSoD.
- Walidin, W., Idris, S., & Tabrani ZA. (2023). *Metodologi Penelitian Fenomenologis*. Darussalam Publishing.
- Yusfriadi. (2020). *Komunikasi Politik Ulama Dayah Tradisional Aceh (Studi Ulama Kabupaten Bireun dalam Menghadapi Pilkada 2019)*. Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara.

- Zainal, S., Prasetyo, M. A. M., & Yaacob, C. M. A. (2022). Adopting Pesantren-Based Junior High School Programs: The Pesantren Change Its Educational System Without Conflict. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 22(2), 260–276. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v22i2.13525>
- Zulkhairi, T., Hajar, I., Safriadi, S., Marzuki, M., & Saifullah, S. (2024). Bahtsul Masāil at a Traditional Islamic Educational Institution in Aceh: Teungku Dayah’s Contribution to the Development of Islamic Law. *Samarah*, 8(1), 579–601. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v8i1.17408>
- Zulkifli, Hasyim, S., Mubarak, M. Z., Khitam, H., & Helmi, M. I. (2023). Constructing Muslim Identity in a Secular State: The Strategic Role of Two Singapore Islamic Organizations. *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial*, 18(1), 27–53. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v18i1.6002>.