

No. Reg: 201080000040296

LAPORAN PENELITIAN



DAYAH AND POLITICS (A Case Study Toward the Political Attitudes of the Ulama and Dayah Students in Aceh During the 2019 General Election)

Ketua Peneliti

Rasyad, S.Ag., M.Ag
NIDN: 2003047301
NIPN: 200304730106001

Anggota:

1. Ikwan, M.A.
2. Rahmad Syah Putra, M.Pd., M.Ag.

Klaster	Penelitian Pengembangan Pendidikan Tinggi
Bidang Ilmu Kajian	Adab dan Humaniora
Sumber Dana	DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Tahun 2020

PUSAT PENELITIAN DAN PENERBITAN
LEMBAGA PENELITIAN DAN PENGABDIAN KEPADA MASYARAKAT
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH
OKTOBER 2020

**LEMBARAN IDENTITAS DAN PENGESAHAN LAPORAN PENELITIAN
PUSAT PENELITIAN DAN PENERBITAN LP2M UIN AR-RANIRY
TAHUN 2020**

1. a. Judul : Dayah and Politics (A Case Study Toward the Political Attitudes of The Ulama and Dayah Students in Aceh During the 2019 General Election
- b. Klaster : Penelitian Pengembangan Pendidikan Tinggi
- c. No. Registrasi : 201080000040296
- d. Bidang Ilmu yang diteliti : Adab dan Humaniora
2. Peneliti/Ketua Pelaksana
 - a. Nama Lengkap : Rasyad, S.Ag., M.Ag.
 - b. Jenis Kelamin : Laki-Laki
 - c. NIP(Kosongkan bagi Non PNS) : 19730403 199803 1 005
 - d. NIDN : 2003047301
 - e. NIPN (ID Peneliti) : 200304730106001
 - f. Pangkat/Gol. : IV/a
 - g. Jabatan Fungsional : Lektor Kepala
 - h. Fakultas/Prodi : Adab dan Humaniora/ Bahasa dan Sastra Arab
 - i. Anggota Peneliti 1
 - Nama Lengkap : Ikhwani, M.A.
 - Jenis Kelamin : Laki-Laki
 - Fakultas/Prodi : Adab dan Humaniora/ Sejarah Kebudayaan Islam
 - j. Anggota Peneliti 2
 - Nama Lengkap : Rahmad Syah Putra, M.Pd., M.Ag
 - Jenis Kelamin : Laki-Laki
 - Fakultas/Prodi : Pascasarjana/Doktor Pendidikan Agama Islam
3. Lokasi Kegiatan : Bireuen, Banda Aceh dan Aceh Selatan
4. Jangka Waktu Pelaksanaan : 7 (Tujuh) Bulan
5. Tahun Pelaksanaan : 2020
6. Jumlah Anggaran Biaya : Rp. 50.000.000
7. Sumber Dana : DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry B. Aceh Tahun 2020
8. Output dan Outcome : a. Laporan Penelitian; b. Publikasi Ilmiah; c. HKI

Mengetahui,
Kepala Pusat Penelitian dan Penerbitan
LP2M UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh,

Dr. Anton Widyanto, M. Ag.
NIP. 197610092002121002

Banda Aceh, 5 Oktober 2020
Pelaksana,

Rasyad, S.Ag., M.Ag
NIDN. 2003047301

Menyetujui:
Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh,

Prof. Dr. H. Warul Walidin AK., MA.
NIP. 195811121985031007

PERNYATAAN

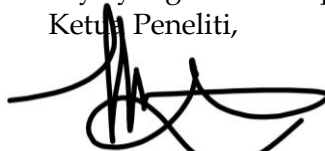
Saya yang bertanda tangan di bawah Ini:

Nama : **Rasyad, S.Ag., M.Ag.**
NIDN : 2003047301
Jenis Kelamin : Laki-Laki
Tempat/ Tgl. Lahir : Segamit, 03 April 1973
Alamat : Dusun Tungkop Barat, Komplek Damai
Sejahtera No.18, Gampong Tungkop,
Kecamatan Darussalam, Kabupaten
Aceh Besar, Aceh, Indonesia
Fakultas/Prodi : Adab dan Humaniora/Bahasa dan
Sastra Arab

Dengan ini menyatakan dengan sesungguhnya bahwa penelitian yang berjudul: **"Dayah and Politics (A Case Study Toward the Political Attitudes of The Ulama and Dayah Students in Aceh During the 2019 General Election"** adalah benar-benar Karya asli saya yang dihasilkan melalui kegiatan yang memenuhi kaidah dan metode ilmiah secara sistematis sesuai otonomi keilmuan dan budaya akademik serta diperoleh dari pelaksanaan penelitian pada klaster Penelitian Pengembangan Pendidikan Tinggi (P3T) yang dibiayai sepenuhnya dari DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Tahun Anggaran 2020. Apabila terdapat kesalahan dan kekeliruan di dalamnya, sepenuhnya menjadi tanggung jawab saya.

Demikian surat pernyataan ini saya buat dengan sesungguhnya.

Banda Aceh, 22 September 2020
Saya yang membuat pernyataan,
Ketua Peneliti,



Rasyad, S.Ag., M.Ag.
NIDN. 2003047301

DAYAH AND POLITICS
**(A Case Study Toward the Political Attitudes of the *Ulama* and
Dayah Students in Aceh During the 2019 General Election)**

Ketua Peneliti:

Rasyad, S.Ag., M.Ag.

Anggota Peneliti:

Ikhwan, M.A & Rahmad Syah Putra, M.Pd., M.Ag.

ABSTRACT

The existence of *ulama* and *dayah* in political dynamics in Aceh has been occurring for a long time, simultaneously with the development of Islam in Aceh. *Ulama* has been playing as the main actor behind the successful political indicator in Aceh in many phases, namely; empire phase, independence phase, new order (*orde baru*) phase until the phase of reformation. The doctrines played by *ulama* through religious languages has received great support from people in Aceh. This study employs the qualitative research approach with three main techniques of data collection, namely interview, observation and documentation. There has been the participation from *ulama* and *santri* at *dayah* in Aceh during the 2019 General Election (*Pemilu*). Such participation was reflected from the full support of *ulama* by calling up the political machine from *santri dayah* during 2019 general election, and deciding a political attitude by taking side on one of the candidates by holding a fundamental believe that Islam does not forbid to participate in the politics.

Keyword: *Dayah, Ulama, Santri, Politik, General Election, and Aceh.*

KATA PENGANTAR



Syukur Alhamdulillah kepada Allah SWT dan salawat beriring salam penulis persembahkan kepangkuan alam Nabi Muhammad SAW, karena dengan rahmat dan hidayah-Nya penulis telah dapat menyelesaikan laporan penelitian dengan judul **“Dayah and Politics (A Case Study Toward the Political Attitudes of The Ulama and Dayah Students in Aceh During the 2019 General Election)”**.

Dalam proses penelitian dan penulisan laporan ini tentu banyak pihak yang ikut memberikan motivasi, bimbingan dan arahan. Oleh karena itu penulis tidak lupa menyampaikan ucapan terima kasih kepada yang terhormat:

1. Bapak Rektor Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
2. Ibu Ketua LP2M UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
3. Bapak Sekretaris LP2M UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
4. Bapak Kepala Pusat Penelitian dan Penerbitan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
5. Bapak Kasubbag LP2M UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
6. Pimpinan *Dayah* Mudi Mesra Samalanga;
7. Pimpinan *Dayah* Aceh Selatan;
8. Para Anggota Peneliti yaitu Bapak Ikhwan, M.A dan Rahmad Syah Putra, M.Pd., M.Ag. yang telah berkontribusi banyak dalam mengumpulkan dan mengolah data penelitian ini;

9. Para Pimpinan dan Civitas Akademika Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh; dan
10. Para Unsur Akademis lainnya yang telah berkontribusi dalam memberikan data dalam penelitian ini.

Akhirnya hanya Allah SWT yang dapat membalas amalan mereka, semoga menjadikannya sebagai amal yang baik.

Harapan penulis, semoga hasil penelitian ini bermanfaat dan menjadi salah satu amalan penulis yang diperhitungkan sebagai ilmu yang bermanfaat di dunia dan akhirat. *Amin ya Rabbal 'Alamin.*

Banda Aceh, 2 Oktober 2020

Ketua Peneliti,

Rasyad, S.Ag., M.Ag.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COVER PAGE	
ENDORSEMENT PAGE	
STATEMENT PAGE	
ABSTRACT	iv
FOWEWORD	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
A. Background of Study	1
B. Problem Formulation.....	4
C. Research Purposes.....	4
D. Research Questions	5
E. Significances of the Study.....	5
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND	
THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK.....	6
A. Review of Literature	6
B. Theoritical Framework	8
1. <i>Dayah</i>	8
2. Politics	10
3. The <i>Ulama</i> in the Achenese Society.....	12
4. Political Participation	14
5. Culture and Political Behavior	15
CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	17
A. Research Methodology and Research Design.....	17
B. The Location and The Period of The Study.....	17
C. Subject of The Study.....	17
D. Research Instruments.....	18
E. Credibility Assessment.....	19
F. Data Collection Techniques	20
G. Data Analyzing Techniques.....	22
CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH FINDING	24
A. The Role and Existence of <i>Dayah</i> in the Demand	
on Politics in Aceh From Time in Time	24

B. The Participation of <i>Ulama</i> & Santri <i>Dayah</i> in the 2019 Election in Aceh.....	48
C. The attitude of Ulama and Santri <i>Dayah</i> in the 2019 Election in Aceh.....	62
D. Factor that Motivated the <i>Ulama</i> and Santri <i>Dayah</i> to Participate in Politics.....	73
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION.....	79
A. Conclusion.....	79
B. Suggestion.....	80
REFERENCES	82
APPENDIX	
RESEARCHER'S BIODATA	

APPENDIX LIST

1. Surat Tugas Penelitian
2. Surat Perjalan Dinas Melakukan Penelitian
3. Fatwa Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama (MPU) Aceh tentang Pemilihan Umum Menurut Perspektif Islam
4. Taushiyah Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama (MPU) Aceh tentang Pemilihan Kepala Daerah.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of Study

One important element in democracy is the presence of lively, independent, honest and fair elections. The aim of this election is of course the find a leader in a more democratic ways.¹ In the development of democracy in Indonesia, it definitely has something to do with the political behavior and the political attitude that play. Politics, which often prescribed as a merciless jungle, is still an interesting room to step into, both for “new players” and those so called old politicians.²

According to Putra Fadillah, generally, a political attitude is one of the elements or aspects of behavior which in fact, consists of the other aspects of behavior for example organizational behavior, cultural, economical/consumerism behavior, religious behavior and etc. Political behavior involves internal responses such as perceptions, attitudes, orientations and beliefs and concrete actions like voting, protesting, lobbying and so on. Political perception has something to do with the image of a particular object, both about the information of the object, and also the image of political objects or situations in certain ways. Therefore, political attitudes present amid the society and this has something to do with the sociopolitical dynamics and political nook and crannies.³

In the Indonesian context, the political classification based on the religious reason has emerged since the Indonesia struggles for freedom.

¹ See Hendro Fadli Sari, *Perilaku Politik Elit & Hubungannya dengan Kyai-Santri: Dukungan Politik Pondok Pesantren Mabaal Ma'arif Denayar Jombang Terhadap Pilgub Jawa Timur 2013*, in <http://journal.unair.ac.id/download-fullpapers-jpmfaa672299efull.pdf>, p 1.2

² See Ikhwan Arifin, *Kiai dan Politik: Studi Kasus Perilaku Politik Kiai dalam Konflik Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) Pasca Mukhtar II Semarang, Laporan Tesis Magister Ilmu Politik*, Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro, 2008, p. 39.

³ See Syamsul Rijal, *Peran Politik Kiai dalam Pendidikan Pesantren, dalam Tadris (Jurnal Pendidikan Islam)* e-ISSN. 2442-5494 ISSN. 1907-672X Vol. 9, No. 2, 2014, p. 208

Sarekat Dagang Islam has born as a representative of Islamic community since the beginning of Indonesian struggle for freedom. On the other hand, there were Boedi Oetomo and also Indische Party which hold a more secular view. In the 1955 Election, the competing political parties had a fairly clear ideology; there were Islamic, Christian and secular parties. In the upcoming elections, moreover, the existing Islamic parties continue to hold an Islamic ideology, there is also Pancasilaic political party, but still, they do have connection with the particular Islamic mass enclave.⁴

The leader of *pondok pesantren* (native Indonesia boarding school) – (or *Dayah* in the Achenese) has played a very important role in the society. Apart from their role as a leader of their educational institutions, a *dayah* leader also acts as a spiritual leader for the community through various spiritual activities and rituals in the community.⁵ However, the political involvement of their educational institutions in politics is generated various factors. According to Ahmad Patoni, several factors underlying the *pesantren kiais* (*pesantren* leaders) were involved in politics. Firstly, the theological reason stating that there is no separation between religion (*din*) and politics (*siyâsah*). Secondly, the *dakwah* (the spirit and effort to bring the Islamic teachings to the society). Thirdly, the unavoidable political circumstance or network which lead *pesantren kiais* to step into politics.⁶

⁴ See Nurlatipah Nasir, *Kyai dan Islam dalam Mempengaruhi Perilaku Memilih Masyarakat Kota Tasik Malaya*, in *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, Volume 6, Nomor 2 Tahun 2015, p. 34.

⁵ See Budiman Arif, *Partisipasi Ulama Dayah dalam Partai Politik Lokal pada DPC PNA< PA, dan PNA Kabupaten Aceh Selatan*, e-Theses, Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Universitas Syiah Kuala Banda Aceh, 2017, hlm. 1-2. See also Riva Rusda, *Keterlibatan Ulama dalam Politik (Suatu Penelitian Terhadap Partai Aceh dan Partai Daulat Aceh di Kabupaten Aceh Barat Daya)*, e-Theses, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Syiah Kuala Banda Aceh, 2014, hlm. vii-viii, and see also Jenius Khadafi, *Pandangan Siyasah Terhadap Transformasi Peran Tengku Dayah dalam Perpolitikan di Aceh*, e-Theses, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2011, p. ii.

⁶ See Ahmad Patoni, *Peran Kiai Pesantren dalam Partai Politik*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007, p. 153-156

Since Indonesia's declaration of the independence, many of *kiais* have sat as ministers, parliamentarians, ambassadors and high-ranking government officials. The growth and the development of a *pesantren* depend on the personal abilities of the *kiai*.⁷ The amount of social capital owned by a *pesantren* (Acehnese = *dayah*), the society thrust the *pesantren* leader and his ability in politics. Clifford Geertz (in Suprayogo, 2007: 20) in his study in Mojokerto concluded that the influence of *Kiai* lies in the implementing of the function of a cultural broker. He assumed that the *Kiais* are politically lack of experience and lack of expertise, lack of the capability to lead the modern society. *Kiais'* involvement in politics, by far there has poses some pros and cons. The pros group assumes that the *Kiais* are entities that possess the political rights and aspirations as a citizen. Whereas the cons, assumed that *Kiais'* involvement in politics could bring less benefit to the society.

That matter correlates with political realities which perceived by many that politics is "dirty". Thus, they assume *Kiais* and *pesantren* will be dragged into a "dirty political world" as they join into politics. This pros and cons have sparked unending debates among the public with each has his own argument with their stance. With the intensity of such debates keep continuing, the involvement of *kiais* and *pesantrens* in politics is unavoidable. Their intensity and role in politic may vary, both direct and indirect. This can be examined through the involvement of the *Kiai* in important political moments such as the General Election (Election), the Presidential Election (Presidential Election), or the general election of the head of the regions (*Pemilukada*).

In Aceh, the Relations between *Dayah* and the dynamics of local politics has become an interesting object that can be studies in Indonesia's Islamic political landscape. Ulama are not only involved in the religious

⁷ See Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: Potret Sebuah Perjalanan*, Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997, p. 33. See also Mohammad Takdir Ilahi, *Kiai: Figur Elite Pesantren*, in *Ibda: Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* ISSN. 1693-6736, Vol.12, No.2, Juli-Desember 2014, p. 147 see also Wasisto Raharjo Jati, *Ulama dan Pesantren dalam Dinamika Politik dan Kultur Nahdlatul Ulama*, in *Ulul Albab* Volume 13, No.1 Year 2012.

affairs but also as hold a power to form the political power in the society. This often projected during the general election of Regional Heads in Aceh, where all of the candidate flock into the *Dayah* to seek a political approval from the *ulama* before they run into the *pemilukada*. Aside from it, the *Ulama* in Aceh are often asked for their opinions by the Regional Head before they take various important administrative decisions. The regional heads believed that approval and opinion of the *kiai* is a valid reference in running his governance.

Therefore, this research is aimed at uncovering the role of the *dayah* and the role of Ulama in politics while at the same time try to unveil the interesting political situation in Aceh during the general election 2019. definitely, the support between the *Dayah* leaders (Ulama *dayah*) in general election 2019. Thus creates the phenomenon that the support from *dayah* leaders contributes to high voters. There is also an indication that the involvement of Ulama and *dayah* in politics will help cleanse the dirty politics. Based on the above explanation, the researcher is interested in conducting a research entitled "***Dayah and Politics (Case Study toward the Political Attitudes of Ulama and Dayah students in Aceh During the 2019 General Elections.***"

B. Problem Formulation

Based on the background of the problem explained above, therefore, the problem formulation of this study is what is the correlation between *dayah* and politics (A Case Study of the Political attitudes of Ulama and *Dayah* students during the 2019 general election in Aceh).

C. Research Purposes

1. General Purposes

Generally, the purpose of this study is to find out the pattern of *dayah* and politics: A Case Study of the Political Behavior of Ulama and *Dayah* student during the 2019 general election in Aceh.

2. Special purposes

The special purposes of this study are aimed at describing and analyzing the:

- a. The role and existence of the *dayah* in the political dynamics in Aceh from time to time.
- b. The Participation of the *ulama* and *dayahs'* students in the 019 general election in Aceh.
- c. The attitude of *ulama* and *dayahs'* students during the 2019 general election in Aceh.
- d. Factors that contributes to the involvement of the *ulama* and *dayahs'* students in politics.

D. Research Questions

1. How is the role and the existence of the *dayah* in the political dynamics in Aceh from time to time?
2. How is he Participation of the *ulama* and *dayah* students in the 2019 general election in Aceh?
3. How is the attitude of *ulama* and *dayah* students during the 2019 general election in Aceh?
4. What are some factors that contribute to the involvement of the Ulama and *dayah* students in politics?

E. Significances of the Study

The significances of this study are:

1. Theoretical significances

Theoretically, the results of this study are expected to enriching and developing the sociopolitical knowledge especially in realm of the political participation of the *dayah*. Furthermore, this study is also expected to be able to contribute to other sciences such as the social anthropology.

2. Practical significances

- a. As a reference for the Dinas Pendidikan Dayah Aceh Aceh (DPPA) (The Board of *Dayah* Educational Affairs) concerning to the development of the *dayah* in Aceh the contemporarily and the participation of the contemporary *ulama* in politics; dan
- b. As a reference for Scientists and Researchers in the development of social and political science, especially related to the political participation in the general elections.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Review of literature

Based on the author's examination from various literature, there were several similar studies related to *pesantren* (Acehnese = *dayah*). Even though those studies possessed some similarities with this study, there are, however, some aspects of variables; object of the study, method used, place and time of the study which make this study is distinctive. Furthermore, most of the researches were conducted in the island of Java. Specifically speaking, there were no such studies ever conducted in Aceh before.

The first ever study was conducted by Ahmad Ramdhani in 2009 entitled: *The Relation between the Political Parties with Islamic Boarding Schools (PPP Case Study with Daruttafsir Islamic Boarding Schools in Bogor Regency)*. The result of the study showed that the relation between political parties with the Islamic boarding schools is attributed to the emotional connectivity and ideological similarities, either PPP or Islamic Boarding School hold the Islamic ideologies. Furthermore, such connectivity is also attributed to the individual closeness between the Kiai and the Party Chairperson.⁸

The second research was performed by Mahfud Ihsanuddin in 2015 entitled *Pesantren and the Local Dynamics of local politics (Case Study at Assalam Islamic Boarding School, Sri Gunung Village, Sungai Lilin District, Musi Banyuasin Regency, South Sumatra 1998-2010)*. The results of the study showed that: the Assalam Islamic Boarding School community recognized and involved in practical politics by joining political parties since Orde Baru (New Order). This happened because every citizen has right vote in order to vent their aspiration. During Orde Baru, 70% of *pesantren* community voted for parties who represented Islam, the PPP -

⁸ Ahmad Ramdhani, Relasi Partai Politik dengan Pondok Pesantren (Studi Kasus PPP dengan Pondok Pesantren Daruttafsir Kabupaten Bogor), *E-Theses*, Program Studi Pemikiran Politik Islam, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2009.

United Development Party- (PPP – Partai Persatuan Pembangunan), while the other 30% went for Partai Golongan karya (Golkar) (the functional group). In 1998, the 1998 reformation in Indonesia invoked the *Assalam* Islamic Boarding School to be actively involved in political parties. this was proved by the fact that 95% of *Assalam* Islamic Boarding School community joined the political parties, and the difference is that, these days, the community interested in Partai Kedilan; Justice Party (now the name is Prosperous Justice Party).⁹

The third study was conducted by Wasisto Raharjo Jati in 2016 with the title: *Ulama and Pesantren in the Political Dynamics and Culture of Nahdatul Ulama*. The results of the study showed that there were some power relationship between the *ulama* and *pesantren* in the political dynamics of *Nahdlatul Ulama*. Both of *Ulama* and *pesantren* are not only important elements in both politics and culture of *Nahdhatul Ulama*. The same also can be Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB); National Awakening Party as PKB is a political party which belongs to *Nahdliyyin*. The organizational friction that occurred in PKB affected the dynamics of NU which later caused the fragmentation between the *ulama* and *pesantren*, thus later implicated to the political and cultural divergence between *ulama* and *pesantren* in two NU regions, Central Java and East Java.¹⁰

From the studies above, it can be concluded that the thing that makes this study is distinctive is that this study tries to describe the political condition in Aceh which predominantly dominated by *dayah*. This study is conducted in the Acehenese context with different research focus, research place and time, which in fact, there were no previous comprehensive studies, which discussed the involvement of the *dayah* in politics in Aceh.

⁹ Mahfud Ihsanuddin, *Pesantren dan Dinamika Politik Lokal (Studi Kasus pada Pondok Pesantren Assalam, Desa Sri Gunung, Kecamatan Sungai Lilin, Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin, Sumatera Selatan 1998-2010, E-Theses*, Pascasarjana Program Studi Agama dan Filsafat, Konsentrasi Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, 2015.

¹⁰ Wasisto Raharjo Jati, *Ulama dan Pesantren dalam Dinamika Politik dan Kultur Nahdatul Ulama*, Jurusan Politik dan Pemerintahan Fisipol Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, 2016.

B. Theoretical Framework

1. *Dayah*

a. The definition of *Dayah*

Dayah (In Aceh) is a name of an educational institution, or in the other words, is called *pesantren* in Java, in Padang it is known as *Surau*, and in Thailand it is known as *Pondok*. The real definition of *dayah* is that the word *dayah* comes from the Arabic "*zawiyah*". The word *zawiyah*, literally means a corner, it is believed by the Achenese to be the first corner in Madinah Mosque utilized by The Prophet Muhammad PBUH as The Prophet taught the prophet's colleagues.¹¹

In the mid centuries, the word *zawiyah* was recognized as a religious centre. The *zawiyah* is the place where the Sufi spent their time during their purposeful wander. Sometimes this institution is built as a religious school and often utilized as a home for this with the spiritual journey. The above illustration gave us an understanding on how word eventually arrived in Aceh. In Aceh the word *zawiyah* changed into the word *dayah*. This caused mainly by the Achenese alphabet with no "Z" alphabet and the fact that the Achenese tend to shorten the original word.¹²

b. The development of *dayah* in Aceh

The growth and development of *dayah* in Aceh cannot be separated from history of how Islam arrived Aceh. The first Islamic education in Indonesia began when people who converted to Islam wanted to know more about the teachings of Islam, both about the ways of worship, reading the Qur'an and knowing Islam more broadly and deeply. Initially, the place of Islamic learning took place in the people homes,

¹¹ Lihat C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atjehnese*, A.W.S.O' Sullivan (terj), Vol. 1, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1906, p. 63.

¹² See Marzuki, *Sejarah dan Perubahan Pesantren di Aceh*, in *Millah* Vol. XI, No 1, August 2011, hlm. 222, and see also Tgk. Mohd Basyah Haspy, *Apresiasi terhadap Tradisi Dayah: Suatu Tinjauan Terhadap Tata Krama dan Kehidupan Dayah*, Banda Aceh: Panitia Seminar Apresiasi Pesantren di Aceh, Persatuan Dayah Inshafuddin, 1987, p. 7.

surau, *langgar*, or mosque. There are the places where people learn Al-Qur'an and Islamic teaching individually and directly.¹³

The existence of *dayah* as an educational institution, both for the traditional and modern education system, strongly affected the live of Achenese and Indonesian. From time to time, *dayah* poses a promising growth both from quantity and quality. The number of people who choose *dayah* as the alternative education is significant. Many people who still pay great attention to *dayah* as an alternative education. The education is *dayah* continues to grow, since the model of the education is in line with the soul, spirit, and the character of Indonesia which predominantly Muslim. In general, the education in *dayah* is aimed at building the real Muslim character in every citizen. To grow the religious spirit in the every walks of lives, benefit to others and the nation, and to devote themselves to Allah SWT as this is relevant to the purpose of why men created on earth.¹⁴

The presence of traditional or modern *dayah* greatly affected the live of Indonesian. From time to time, *dayah* poses a promising growth both from quantity and quality. The number of people who choose *dayah* as the alternative education is significant. The education is *dayah* continues to grow, since the model of the education is in line with the soul, spirit, and the character of Indonesia Dayah which predominantly Muslim.¹⁵ *Dayah* poses a rapid growth in Aceh with various models. The *dayah salafiyah* (traditional) continues to grow with the educational system that is passed down from generation to generation.

¹³ Marhamah, *Pendidikan Dayah Periode Awal di Aceh*, in *At-Ta'dim: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, Volume 10, No. 1, June 2018, p. 72

¹⁴ Marhamah, *Pendidikan Dayah dan Perkembangannya di Aceh*, in *At-Ta'dim: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, Volume 10, No. 1, June 2018, p. 71.

¹⁵ Hamdiah Latif, *Tradisi dan Vitalitas Dayah (Kesempatan dan Tantangan)*, in *Didaktika*, Fakultas Tarbiyah, Keguruan, dan Ilmu Pendidikan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, 2007, p. 13

2. Politics

a. The definition of politics

Etymologically, the word politics comes from Greek, a polis, which means a city with a city state status.¹⁶ During the Greek kingdom, People interact with each other in order to achieve prosperity (goodness, according to Aristotle) in the city state. The politics that thrived in Greece those days can be interpreted as an inter-individual interaction in order to achieve the communal prosperity.¹⁷ In the western, the idea of politics is greatly influenced by the ancient Greek philosophers. Philosophers like Plato and Aristotle considered politics as an attempt to achieve the best political society (polity). However, such definition from those philosophers failed to give enough pressure in attempt to reach the good polity although, on the other hand, it admitted that any political ideas nowadays mostly influenced by these philosophers.

In the development of politics, political experts defined politics differently, thus created the broader understanding about politics. Gabriel A. Almond defines politics as an activity which is related to the control of the decision making of the public in the certain societies and certain regions. This controlled activity is supported by authoritative and coercive instruments.¹⁸ Thus, politics are closely related to the public decision-making. The Emphasis in the authoritative and coercive instruments in the decision-making related to those who are in power, and how they use the power, what is the goal from the acclimated decisions. The red thread is, Almond's definition of politics is inseparable from the interactions among the polity (politics community) in order to reach an agreement on who is in power to make a public decision making.

¹⁶ Basri Seta, *Pengantar Ilmu Politik*, Jogjakarta: Indie Book Corner, 2011, p. 2.

¹⁷ Budiardjo Miriam, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007, p. 14.

¹⁸ Gabriel A. Almond in Basri Seta, *Pengantar Ilmu Politik*, Jogjakarta: Indie Book Corner, 2007, p. 3

Another political expert, Andrew Heywood, Imposed the definition of politics According to Andrew Heywood, politics is the national activities nation that aimed at creating, maintaining, and amending general laws that govern the people life, which means this cannot be separated from the symptoms of conflict and cooperation.¹⁹ With such definition, Andrew Heywood implies that inter-individual conflicts, individual and group conflicts and intergroup conflicts is unavoidable in the public decision making revealed that political society (polity) in the process of interacting with public decision making. In the other words, the group is trying to persuade each other in making the desired public policy. The political system according to David Easton consists of a number of institutions and political activities that aimed at transforming the demands, supports, and resources into the authoritative policies that ties all the member of the community.²⁰ Decisions or policies are authoritative (legal and binding) for all members of the community. From the above definition, political system is reflected as a political activity that aimed at making public policies.

The Political Process Theory put more focuses more towards the factors that enabling the citizens to form their own social movements in order to confront the predominantly society.²¹ Therefore, the political process is closely related the attempt to change the social condition. The Political process refers to a situation where group people are trying to gain access to political power and use it for their own interests.²² The political process is also interpreted as a struggle to gain the political access or political channels in order to reach the certain objectives. In addition, the political process is packed with various interests so that

¹⁹ Andrew Heywood dalam Budiardjo Miriam, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007, p 16.

²⁰ Surbakti Ramlan, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: PT Grasindo, 1992, p 18

²¹ Maksudi Iriawan Beddy, *Sistem Politik Indonesia: Pemahaman Secara Teoritik dan Empirik*, Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2016, p 300-305.

²² Sukmana Oman, *Konsep dan Teori Gerakan Sosial*. Malang: Intrans Publishing, 2016, p 179

affected the structure of the society that already involved in the opposition.

The political process is also interpreted as a struggle to gain the political access or political channels in order to reach the certain objectives. In addition, the political process is packed with various interests so that affected the structure of the society that already involved in the opposition. We should bear in mind that the social control is never perfect. The conflicts between individuals and groups, and the inter-group conflict is day to day tragedy.²³ Political process is a political pattern that created by men in governing the relationships between one another.²⁴ In its interactions, the political process is facilitated by a political system. The process in each system can be explained as input and output. Input is a demand and aspirations of the society which supported by the community itself. These inputs are processed into outputs, policies and public decisions, which also will be influenced by the social environment.

3. The Ulama in the Achenese Society

a. The definition of Ulama

Etymologically, the word "Ulama" is the plural form of "alim" in Arabic, the meaning is someone who is knowledgeable, scientist, scholar, expert, or expert in the field of Islamic teaching.²⁵ This predicate is awarded to the person who truly masters a particular field in Islamic teaching. This achievement is hard to get, this achievement is awarded to someone who showed a great understanding in certain aspect of Islamic teaching. Because of his great mastery, a person finally can be trusted to

²³ Irianto Maladi Agus, *Interaksionisme Simbolik: Pendekatan Antropologis Merespon Fenomena Keseharian*, Semarang: Gigih Pustaka Mandiri, 2015, p 7.

²⁴ Budiardjo, Miriam. *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2007, p 15.

²⁵ see Taufik Abdullah, *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam Asia Tenggara*, Jakarta: Ichtiar baru Van Hoeve, tt, hlm. 91 dan see also Muhammadar, *Kedudukan Ulama dan Uleebalang sebagai Elit Sosial Politik Aceh (1900-1946)*, in Tesis Pemikiran dalam Islam Program Pascasarjana Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, Medan, 2014, p. 12.

hold an expertise or the authority in his expertise because of his mastery.²⁶

In Aceh, "Ulama" plays an important role both in the social, religious, and even, the ulama also play an important role in politic.²⁷ People often refer to Ulama when then want to ask, consult, seek advises and solutions. In Indonesia, especially for Muslims, the position of the Ulama is highly respected and sacred, and even the symbols of holiness are often imposed on them.²⁸ The doctrines, laws, and ulama themselves are crucial in the ongoing spiritual life and creating intellectual history in Islamic society. In the encyclopedia of the orient, the word "Ulama" in Islam means a community of educated or knowledgeable people. In general, Ulama can be interpreted as people who proceed or produce the knowledge.²⁹

In Aceh, Ulama is called "*Teungku*", a person is awarded as *teungku* after a prolonged study in *dayah* or *rangrang* (*pesantren*) out of his hometown.³⁰ A person does not become a *teungku* only by studying Islamic his hometown, but he must undergo an Islamic learning from various *dayah*. A person even travel to Mecca to learn Islam.³¹ The credibility of the Ulama is very closely associated with their independency in giving a fatwa. The people will create a space between them and ulama if the ulama have a very close connection with the officials. If this happens, the people tend to find another an Islamic

²⁶ Faisal Ismail, *Dilema Nahdlatul Ulama di Tengah Badai Pragmatisme Politik*, Jakarta: Mitra Cendikia, 2004, p. 3

²⁷ Harry J. Benda, *Japanese Military administration in Indonesia, Selected document, Translation series No. 6*, New Heaven: Yale University, 1965, p. 73.

²⁸ Hasan Shadaly, "A Preliminary Study on the Impact on a Community and its Culture in Indonesia", Unpublished M.A. thesis, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1955, p. 155.

²⁹ Tore Kjeilen, *Ensiklopedia of the Orient*, Lexic Orient Copy Right, 1996-2005, p. 445.

³⁰ James T. siegel, *The Rope of God*, Berkeley and Los angeles: University of California Press, 1996, p. 48

³¹ James L. Peacock. *Indonesia: An Antropological Perspective*, Pacific Palisades, California: Good Year Publishing Company, 1973, p. 24.

teacher as their reference. On the contrary, the people follow the fatwa of Ulama who have fewer connections with the officials; the people even take the fatwa as an Islamic knowledge. The modern development of the structure of the Islamic state has contributed to the weakening the position of the Ulama. Ulama will affect the stability of the country under the weak officials. In judicial field, for example, there are some boundaries and spaces with the ulama in some modern countries, therefore, *ulama* in these modern days have more connections to power or authorities than merely a spiritual leader as usually happen is the old days.³²

4. Political Participation

Political participation is the activity of a person or group of people to actively participate in political life by electing leaders either directly or indirectly. Political participation includes activities by voting in general elections. What is important from political participation is an action that aims to influence government decisions.³³ According to Surbakti, it has several typologies, namely active, passive and apathetic participation. Active participation is "an attitude that shows activeness in activities such as submitting suggestions in general policy and submitting criticism". Someone who actively participates tends to be among the people who have a high level of education, attention, and interest in political activities.³⁴ Meanwhile, passive participation is "an attitude of society that accepts government policies and decisions". Someone on passive participation has a low level of awareness but attention and trust in the

³² See Muhammadar, *Kedudukan Ulama dan Uleebalang sebagai Elit Sosial Politik Aceh (1900-1946)*, dalam *Thesis Pemikiran dalam Islam Program Pascasarjana Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara*, Medan, 2014, p. 12-13.

³³ Miriam Budiardjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Cet IV, Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2014, p. 369-370.

³⁴ Ramlan Surbakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, Cet VII, Jakarta: Grasindo Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 2010, p. 180-182.

government is still high in political activities. In addition, there are some communities that are not included in the active and passive participation categories. This society has a low level of political awareness and concern and trust in the government in political activities. This group can be called apathy (golput). Related to research. The participation of Ulama and Santri and Politics in Islamic boarding schools or Islamic boarding schools is interesting for research. Because in participating, most of the first voters have an apathetic nature and are low in political knowledge.³⁵ Thus, participation is often influenced by the surrounding environment, especially influenced by *dayah* leaders, namely *Teungku Dayah* or Ulama. Ulama in the Islamic boarding school are used as role models by students who are carrying out knowledge at the Islamic boarding school.

5. Culture and Political Behavior

Political culture is a culture based on norms that govern attitudes and patterns of psychological thinking towards society in life. Participation culture is focused on political orientation. Political orientation discusses a person's knowledge, beliefs, and understanding of the political system. In simple terms, political culture can be understood as people's attitudes towards political events that are happening. The political culture theory in this study is to see the extent to which parochial political culture can influence voter participation.³⁶ Meanwhile, political behavior is a political activity or activity that is directly related to the political process. Both in making political decisions to carrying out political activities.³⁷ Based on Mujani's theory, there are two types that can explain the relationship

³⁵ Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*, Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011, p. 4.

³⁶ Gabriel Almond dan Sidney Verba, *Budaya Politik: Tingkah Laku Politik dan Demokrasi di Lima Negara*, p.10 & 14.

³⁷ Ramlan Surbakti, *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: PT. Raja Grasindo Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 1990, p. 130.

between political behavior and political participation in elections. First, voters who exercise their voting rights in general election activities, by fulfilling invitations given by the general election organizer. Voters who do not exercise their voting rights, but are registered as voters and have a letter of invitation to vote from the general election organizer. This voter provides information on why to participate and not participate in general elections (voter turnout). Second, voters who use their political choices against candidates from one party. This voter concludes that the party deserves to be elected so that there is no reason to choose a candidate from another party.³⁸ However, the second theory regarding political choice in certain parties is not the focus of this research.

³⁸ Saiful Mujani, *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*, Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011, p. 3-5.

CHAPTER III RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A. Research Methodology and Research Design

This research uses descriptive analysis method with a qualitative approach. This method is intended to examine various existing problems in the field and to gain the best understanding that correlated with the environmental condition where the research is conducted. The use of this method is based on the purpose of the research that has been formulated previously, there are, to describe and to analyze the correlation between *dayah* and politics (a case studies toward the political attitude of ulama and *dayah* students in Aceh during the 2019 general election). Noor defines that "a Qualitative research is a descriptive research and tends to use an inductive approach, or a study approach or an understanding approach that based on methodology used to examine the social phenomenon or human problem.³⁹ The Descriptive method is intended to identify the real condition during the research is conducted, to describe the variables or the field conditions or situation in the field. Descriptive method is basically describing, classifying, and interpreting the conditions or events and process that occur in the context of the problem.

B. The Location and The Period of The Study

This study is conducted in Bireun Regency and South Aceh Regency. This study is carried out for 7 (seven) months.

C. Subject of The Study

Data collection is common in the research. During the data collection process, the appropriate subject of the study is compulsory in order to obtain the intended information and data that answer the research problem. Arikunto stated that: "the subject of the study would be a thing, a matter, or a person that already set by the researcher to be

³⁹ Juliansyah Noor, *Metodologi Penelitian: Skripsi, Tesis, Disertasi, & Karya Ilmiah*, Jakarta: Penerbit Prenada Media Group, 2011, p. 34.

researched, thing, a matter, or a person is the center and the target of the researcher”.⁴⁰ Based on the research problem of this study, therefore, the subject of this study are the *dayah* leaders, *dayah* students and the academics. For a more detail explanation, the number of the subjects of this study is as follow

Table 1. Subjects of the Study

No	Subjects of the study	Total	Code
1	<i>Dayah</i> leaders	3 people	X ₁ , X ₂ X ₃
2	Male <i>Dayah</i> Students	5 people	Y ₁ , Y ₂ , Y ₃ , Y ₄ , Y ₅
3	Female <i>Dayah</i> Students	15 people	G ₁ , G ₂ , G ₃ , G ₄ , G ₅ G ₁ , G ₂ , G ₃ , G ₄ , G ₅ G ₁ , G ₂ , G ₃ , G ₄ , G ₅
4	Academics	5 people	S ₁ , S ₂ , S ₃ S ₄ S ₅
	Total	27 people	

D. Research Instruments

Research instruments are tools used to collect and collect the data and the information in research. Arikunto defines that: "the Research instrument is tools that is selected and used by researchers in their activities in collecting the data so that his activity in collecting the data becomes systematics and easy."⁴¹ The research instrument used in this study is a guided interview to research subjects, with the following instruments:

⁴⁰ Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian; Suatu Pendekatan Praktis*, Edisi Revisi, Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2010, p. 151.

⁴¹ Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian*,...p. 101.

Table 2. Research Instruments

INTRUMEN PENELITIAN KUALITATIF	
OBSERVASI	CHECK-LIST
INTERVIEW	INTERVIEW GUIDELINES
DOKUMENTATION	CHECK-LIST
	RESEARCHERS AS INSTRUMENTS

E. Credibility Assessment

The valid data can be obtained through the credibility assessment on the result of the study based on qualitative research procedures. : "Data credibility assessment or data credibility can be carried out by conducting the extension of the period of the study, the perseverance of the study, the triangulation and applying the reference material." On the other hand, in order to improve the data credibility, the researcher may undergo the following:

1. The extension of the period of the study
During this period, the researcher will visit the location of the study frequently in order to conduct a deeper observation and interview toward the subject of the study. With this extension of the period of the observation, the researcher will likely to form a close relationship between the researcher and the subject of the study. As a result, the subject of the study will likely to provide the broadest information for the research problem. The extension of the period of the study will be terminated if the researcher considers that there is no longer new information to obtain or has nothing to do with the previous information.
2. The perseverance of the study
In order to increase the credential of the data, the researcher will perform his observation more diligently, carefully, systematically

and continuously. By doing this, the researcher will provide an accurate description on the researched problem.

3. The Triangulation.

Wiersma as quoted by Sugiyono defines that: "Triangulation is the process of examining the data from various resources in various methods and at various period of times⁴²" In this research, the triangulation procedure the researcher implements is by involving the village officers and the librarians as a subject of the study in order to obtain the data from the other side aside from the *dayah* leaders. Triangulation is also carried out through observation and collecting the documentation in order to prove the results of the interview.

4. Using Supported Materials

During the research, the researchers will record the results of interviews, take some photographs, and collect the authentic documents related to the research problems. The purpose of this procedure is in order to support the credibility of the collected data from the field.

F. Data Collection Techniques

This research employs some data collection techniques there are interviews, observations and documentations. Those three methods are expected to support each other in order to obtain the intended information.

1. Interviews

Interviews is the data collecting techniques that used when the researcher wants to know the detailed information from the informant and at the same time the number of the informants are

⁴² Sugiyono. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, Bandung: Alfabeta, 2012, p. 372.

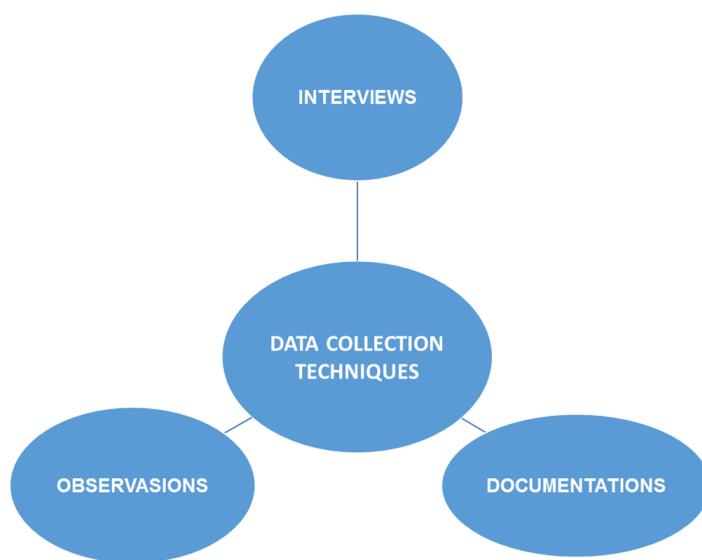
limited.⁴³ In this study the writer interviewed the *dayah* leaders, male *dayah* students, female *dayah* students and the academics.

2. Observations

Observation is defined as the act of monitoring and recording toward the symptoms that appear to the object of the study.⁴⁴ In this research, the researcher observes the political pattern of the *dayahs* in Aceh based on the available instruments.

3. Documentations.

Noor stated that: "Documentation originated from the word document, which means written items.⁴⁵ "In carrying out this method, the researcher will investigate written objects such as books, magazines, documents, regulations, minutes of the meeting, daily notes and so on that can provide the data or information related to research conducted.



⁴³ Sugiyono. *Memahami Penelitian*,...p. 157.

⁴⁴ Margono, *Metodologi Penelitian Pendidikan*, Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2010, p. 158.

⁴⁵ Juliansyah Noor, *Metodologi Penelitian*,... 201

G. Data Analyzing Techniques

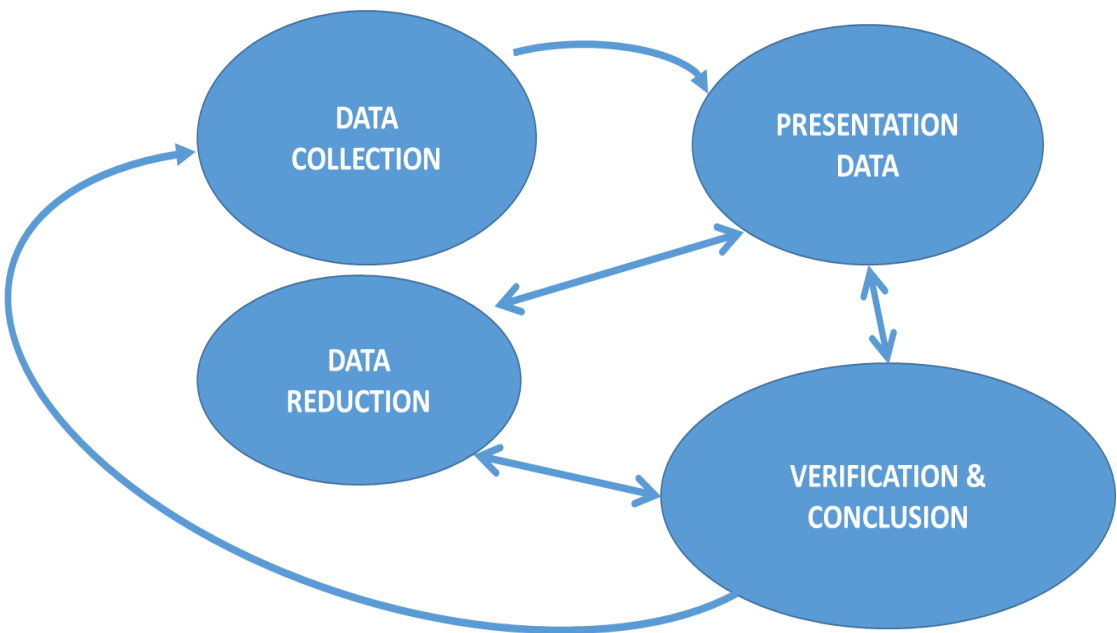
Processing or analyzing the data is an important step in completing a research activity. The procedure of the research can be held accountable by implementing a correct and appropriate data analysis. Sugiyono explained that data analysis is the process of systematically searching and compiling the data obtained from interviews, field notes, and documentation by organizing data into categories, describing it into units, doing synthesis, arranging into patterns, choosing what is important and what will be studied, and making conclusions so that the result are easily understood by the researchers themselves and other readers.⁴⁶ This data analysis aimed at summarizing the data in a more understandable and describable form. Miles and Huberman as quoted in Sugiyono explained that the activities in the data analysis are:

- a. Data reduction, there are, summarizing, choosing the core points, giving a focus on the crucial points and discarding the unnecessary points. As a result, the data reduction will provide a clearer image of the study.
- b. Data presentation, which means, the process of presenting sets of information that make the process of drawing conclusions and taking the actions possible.
- c. Drawing conclusions. Drawing conclusions are carried out in order to extract meanings from the data that have previously been analyzed and interpreted. The next step is compiling them into the understandable descriptive sentences that inform the result of the study.

Based on the data analysis above, there are several stages the researcher put in the data analysis process. There are, first, the researcher records and produces an abstract from the whole data obtained in the field. And then the researcher organizes data by sorting or selecting data

⁴⁶ Sugiyono. *Memahami Penelitian...*, p. 88.

that is relevant to the purpose of the study. Furthermore, the authors interpret the data by analyzing and presenting the data in descriptive sentences and finally the researcher verifies the data by drawing conclusions and compiling them into research reports.



CHAPTER IV RESEARCH FINDING

A. Research Finding

1. The Role and Existence of *Dayah* in the Demand on Politics in Aceh From Time in Time

Talking about the role and the existence of *dayah* in the political dynamics in Aceh, it was found that *ulama* and *dayah* in political sector has been involved for a long time ago, especially and simultaneously with the development of Islam in Aceh. At that time, through the institutions called *zawiyah*. *Ulama* has played a significant role in society through the Islamic concept of *sufistik* amongst Moslem people at that time, and the paradigm of *sufistik* like *wahdah al-wujud* and *al-hulul* gained satisfying position in the Moslem community at that time. Such color or features of tenet was considered to be relevant with the people's way of thinking. Therefore, the influence of *sufistik* Islam had been disseminated to almost every part of archipelago until it affected the establishment of Moslem Kingdoms. In the earlier condition of politics in Aceh, the main actors were the *ulama* coming from Eastern, Center and Southern of Asia. They came to Aceh to directly establish a kingdom, as a part to the expansion of Islamic influences in the archipelago.⁴⁷

Then, those empires received the justifications from the political doctrine of classic *sunni*. In this case, the *ulama* attempted to formulate and proceed the political doctrine of classic *sunni* to support the governmental practice around the empire, including Aceh back to that era. At that time, the *ulama* stucked themselves on every routine of royal government, hence the *ulama* received a high position as the *Qadhi Malikul Adil* or the thinker (experts) of *sunni* in order to strengthen the existence of ruler and the empire in Aceh at that time, and the role as

⁴⁷ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, Relasi Islam dan Politik Aceh Abad 16-17, in *Jurnal Al-Tahrir*, Vol. 16, No. 2 November 2016.p. 276

Qadhi Malikul Adil had maintained the harmony between Islam and politics in Aceh.⁴⁸

Furthermore, *ulama* as the experts in the politics also tended to defend and preserve the control of the King or Sultan. It was not rarely, the *ulama* also directly gave the command, for instance through the dissemination of doctrine of several *sunni* scholars, namely: the concept of *khalifah* (head of state) as the *khadim alummah* (servant of people), turned into *Zill Allah* (the shadows of Allah) who had a great and broad control. This way of thinking certainly was not regarded from the political interest of the rulers to preserve their supremacy toward people. According to Kamaruzzaman, through the doctrine of king as imagined as “shadows of Allah” on earth. Because of that, it became absolute for them to run every order of Allah as the sultan, and this tradition has been long implemented in the system of governmental empire of Islam in Aceh.⁴⁹

Consequently, it was reasonable that the rulers of Aceh at that time were given the title that is closely related to the political and religious values. Sultan Iskandar Muda, for instance, was given the title of *Sayyidinâ wa Mawlanâ Paduka Seri Sultan Iskandar Muda Johan Berdaulat Zhill Allah fi al-'Alâm*. Similar to the his successor, Iskandar Thani. Even for Ratu Shafiyyat al-Dîn was given the title by *Sulthanah Taj al-'Alâm Shafiyyat al-Dîn Berdaulat Zhill Allah fial-'Alâm*.⁵⁰ Interestingly, in this case was one *ulama* (*syaiikh al-Islam/Qadhi Malikul Adil*) did not have a religious duties, but also played the roles in politics greatly, as the deputy of sultan, the advisor of sultan, even the teachers from the reulers.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, *Relasi Islam dan Politik Aceh...*, p. 277.

⁴⁹ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad, *Relasi Islam dan Politik Aceh...*, p. 283.

⁵⁰ Amirul Hadi, *Menguak Beberapa Dimensi Budaya Kerajaan Aceh: Sebuah Kajian Historis*, in *Miqot* Vol. XXXII No. 1 Januari-Juni 2008, hlm. 110.

⁵¹ Amirul Hadi, *Menguak Beberapa Dimensi Budaya Kerajaan Aceh...*, p. 111.

This relationship surely had two benefits at the same time reciprocally for the King (sultan) and *ulama*. The king could receive the justification of his power through the religious language in order to obtain the people support. Oppositely, the *ulama* obtained the rights and special authorities from the palace, hence it was easy for them to deliver the moral messages to the king (sultan) and society. Considering his position that was closely with the power, *ulama* developed the political doctrine of *sunni* by authoring the guidance book (*kitab*) for the authority. Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, for instance, wrote the book about Islam and the political power entitled *Bustan al-Salatin* (The Garden of the Kings) and Raja al-Haji (1809-1870) wrote the book of *Thamarah al-Muhimmah* (prominent fruit). Simultaneously with the ide of classic *sunni* politics, the *ulama* did not complain the absolute authority of the king even tended to support and preserve it. Nuruddin Ar-Raniry, for instance, in one statement stating that the moslem people were obliged to follow the king (sultan), although he was a despotic king. Nurrudin Ar-Raniry even quoted the *hadits* stating that *whoever dies without knowing his king, then he dies in a state of disobedience*. This proved that the role of *ulama* in giving the statement had importantly played as a part in strengthening the power of the rulers.

During the era of Sri Ratu Tajul Alam Safiatuffin became Sulthanah, even in the *Qanun Meukuta Alam* was refined through the statement in the constitutional (*undang-undang*), one them was written as *king and ulama cannot be separated, because if there is a distance between them, the state will be in chaotic*. It meant that king and *ulama* side by side should lead. In other words, this could be depicted that for the rulers themselves, they should own the elemet of power and knowledge.

Additionally, to the disputes amongst *ulama* in Aceh from the historical context, found that the first indicator was the politics used to claim the position as the ruler. For instance: the discourse debating the great *ulama* Nuruddin Ar-Raniry with numerous followers of Hamzah Fansury and Samasuddin As-Sumatrany was one main factor due to unsynchronized ideas, which later resulted to the power influence. Continuously, the discourse about the theological debate happened in the

era of Safiatuddin (1641-1675) between Nuruddin Ar-Raniry against Saiful Rijâl, student of Syamsuddin As-Sumatrany. The debate eventually was won by Saiful Rijal, which meant that the reinforcement from the palace toward Nuruddin Ar-Raniry was coming to an end.⁵²

From the phases of historical condition and the political upheaval in Aceh, there are few things that need to be concerned, especially in the actor and issue that were fought by Acehnese people. One of the most important things that needs to be studied was the *ulama*, as the figures that were significant with the doctrines disseminated through religious languages in order to gain a full support from the people in Aceh.

The next period, the existence of *ulama* and *santri* of *dayah* in political sector happened during the Dutch colonialism in Aceh. The involvement of *ulama* in the politics has been influenced by the main factor in order to reach the independence for entire generation in the nation and to preserve the Islamic religion from the colonialization. Therefore, *ulama* will lead the movement directly. The history has written down that many battles in claiming and defending the freedom done by *ulama*. They took the foremost role in every battle. They played the role of movement through the study and recitation activity in the society, either through wordly knowledge and religious teachings (*ukhrawi*).

It was also recorded that the fights against colonialism taken place in several dimensions by involving various main figures like several *ulama* in Aceh. They fought based on the values in the *Fiqh al-Siyasah* (fiqh of politics or theory of Islamic politics), in which the Islamic politics was defined as the action to manage the country based on the Islamic teachings, that was oriented to the benefits of people, although there was no source (*dalil*) that explicitly stated in *al-qur'an* and *as-Sunnah* toward this action. In the language of Ibn 'Aqil, *siyassah* was mentioned as: *ma kana fi'lan yakunu ma'ahu al-nas aqrabu ila alshalah wa ab'ad 'an al-fasad wa in lam yada'hu al-rasul wa la nazal bihi wahy*. Certainly, this could be realized

⁵² Amirul Hadi, *Menguak Beberapa Dimensi Budaya Kerajaan Aceh...*, p. 114; and See Takeshi Ito, "Why Did Nuruddin ar-Raniry Leave Aceh in 1054 A.H.?", *BKI* 134, 1978, p. 489-491.

if the power was controlled by the individual of group of people that were committed to Islam, and the governmental system was based on Islam.⁵³

There were some *ulama* of Aceh at that time who directly jumped right into the politics, namely: Teungku Chik Di Tiro, Teungku Chik Dirundeng, Teungku Chik Kuta Karang, Teungku Chik Pante Kulu, Teungku Chik Tanoh Abee, Teungku Chik di Killa, Teungku Chik di Tunong, Teungku Chik di Lamnyong, Teungku Chik Pante Geulima, Teungku Chik Paya Bakoeng, and many more. They fought against the colonialism through the political style of Islamic mobilization by using the main base, that was *dayah* (*pesantren*) as the place to learn about religion, and also to mobilized people with the main strategy to motivate the *santri* of *dayah* to fight colonialists, and to disseminate the doctrine of "compulsory" to reclaim the power from the despotic group of people in order to save the generations, religion, and country from the infidel power.

That instigation was announced by all *ulama* in Aceh to the archipelago. They provided the understanding that politics was the order from Allah that was assertively stated in Al-Qur'an. Beside *syahadat*, *shalat*, fasting, alms and *haji*, people were suggested to commit to the politics in Islam.⁵⁴ Therefore, committing to the politics to take the power from certain group of people which was considered to fight against Islam and impair the humanity in form of colonialism, oppression, ruthlessness, and other things, became "compulsory" for every moslems in one country. There will be no religion of Allah without existed nation. Here, *ulama* successfully indoctrinate the seed of *jiḥad* in the soul and heart of people and their followers as the core of struggle of moslem in *Nusantara*, including in Aceh through one institution called *dayah*, and the system of *tarekat*. So, it was inevitably when many *ulama* and *tarekat* in Aceh and *Nusantara* had been involved directly in the political practice of the rulement of one country.

⁵³ Masykuri Abdillah, *Islam...*, p. 102.

⁵⁴ Mualimbunsu Syam Muhammad, *Motivasi Perang Sabil di Nusantara: Kajian Kitab Ramalan Joyoboyo, Dalailul-Khairat, dan Hikayat Perang Sabil*, , Tangerang: Media Madania, 2013, p. III.

As being mentioned by Abdul Manan, et al. (2017:30) in the Research Report of *Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya (BNPB) Aceh* about *Tarekat Sufi* that was happened in the Islamic countries at that time, was inseparable from the politics played by *ulama* through *tarekat*. Even in many historical manuscripts mentioned that *tarekat* began to influence the Islamic world from the 13th century. The position of *tarekat* at that time was similarly considered as the Political Party (*PARPOL*). Even many armies also took role as the member of *tarekat*. Therefore, it was found that the expansion of Islam to Africa, Small Asia, East Asia, Center Asia, to the countries located on the coastal of Hindia ocean, all of them were influenced by the Islamic politics led by *ulama*, and the propaganda of Islam from *Tasawuf* family (*tarekat*). They were actually the true Islamic propagandists. Their followers were the volunteers that were whole-hearted. There were thousands of the, even tens of thousands that had sacrificed everything, including their wealths, even their souls to defend the religion that was carried by the *sufi* people (the leader of *tarekat*). Because their movement was closely imitated to the movement of the Prophets or *wali*, so that people they faced, the *khalifah*, kings and prominent persons and common people were afraid and showing their respect to the *sufi* family.

Also, during the colonialism of Dutsh ruling Indonesia, the movement that was feared by the colonialist the most was the family of *sufi* or *tarekat* family. They assumed that the family was led by an *ulama* that had loyal followers. Consequently, the government of Hindia Belanda at that time attempted to prohibit even to diminish that *tarekat*. They were worried if the *tarekat* was organized by the loyal followers could overthrow the power of Dutch East Indies (*Hindia Belanda*), as what happened in Africa, Tunis, Algeria, Libya, Morroco, Persia (*safawi tarekat*), and some other coutreis that were established due to the Islamic politics played by the *ulama*.

According to Snouck Hurgronje, the advisor of Dutch government, delivered his suggestion to the Dutch Islamic Policy with the purpose to break the resistance of moslem people. Snouck Hurgronje also suggested that: "what should be feared by the Dutshc is not Islam as the religion,

but Islam as the political doctrine". Usually, it was led by small fanatic minority, which was *ulama* who devoted their lives to the future manifestation of Islamism. This faction was far more dangerous if its influence could be widened to the farmers in the villages. Therefore, the government was advised to be neutral toward Islam as the political doctrine. The Dutch government must narrow the moves and the effect of Islam. This could be implemented through the convention and cooperation in term of Indonesian-Dutch culture. Later, it could be started by manipulating the *priyayi* group that was always close to the government. They started to educate the *priyayi* people with the western education. In facing the battle in Aceh, Snouck Hurgronje advised to implement the military operation to the remote and rural areas and to execute the *ulama* in those villages and did not give any chance to prepare their power by organizing their *santri* as the voluntary troops.⁵⁵

Next, when Indonesia was indepenced, the role and existence of *ulama* and *dayah* in the political dynamics in Aceh was also continuously developed. *Ulama* along side with *dayah* had developed the *taraket* as well and the institution of the *tarekat family* pioneered by *ulama* through *dayah* had functioned *tarekat* as the main political machine in supporting the ruler. The involvement of religious elite, those were *ulama* through *dayah* was often mentioned as the partner of government if they contributed to the legitimated roles toward the governmental authority. The role of *reference person* was if the religious elite was considered as the reference in behaving and acting by the society. Meanwhile, the role as the mediator whenever the religious elite acted to become the connector amongst many interests' groups.

Even though the involvement of *ulama* in the political practice became the controversy in society, but the *ulama* through their *dayah* stood for their own argument toward their political interest, especially was based on the *al-Qur'an* and *as-Sunnah*, like Syeikh Haji Muda Waly Al-Khalidi, Tgk Syekh Muhammad Hasan Krueng Kalee, and Abu Habib

⁵⁵ See Tri Sundari, Peran Politik Kyai di Pedesaan (Studi Kasus di Kecamatan Wangon, di Kecamatan Banyumas), *Theses Report*, Semarang: UNNES, 2005, p. 3

Seunagan, they had the similar “nasionalists”, especially related to the “Republic”, which was togetherly support the “the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia”. They also became the foremost guard in defending the government and even considered that the government of Indonesian republic and the president of Soekarno was “legitimate” to be called as *ulil amri*, according to Islam, although as “Dharuwri bisysyaukah” (The government during the transition period until to the formation of Islamic government that is trully legitimate), certainly was mainly affected by the “Islam and Country”.

Even though, along with its progress, there were few people joined with the PUSA (*Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh*) such as Teungku Daud Beureueh and some other *ulama* to make the refinement in Islam, and participated to the struggle to separate from the Republic of Indonesia and wanted to establish the Country of Islam through the movement called DI/TII (*Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia*). Abuya Haji Muda Waly exactly instructed: “It is invalid to fight against the legitimate government”. According to him, fighting against the legitimated government was considered as *Bughah*.⁵⁶ From his instruction, he was loved very much by the president of Soekarno and was considered as a national *ulama*. Until Soekarno gave him a present one unit of high-power electricity. That machine was loaded in Medan through Mr. S.M. Amin (the Governor of North Sumatera) to a ship. Abuya, Kamarusyid (Head of District of South Aceh) and Tgk. Keumala, together got passed through the sea to South Aceh. This became the only electricity unit in *dayah* in Aceh at that time.

Similarly, Abu Habib Seunagan as one of the decisive *ulama* announced his loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia. Even he mobilized his followers to fight several groups that might cause the disturbance toward the existence of Indonesia that was relatively newly established country, and later he was also appreciated by the president of Soekarno and rewarded one unit of fancy car. However, interestingly, there was a

⁵⁶ See Dicky Wirianto, Abuya Muda Waly Al-Khalidi, in *Kalam: Jurnal Sosial dan Humaniora* Vo. 5 No. 1. p. 146.

dissent among *ulama* in Aceh that was absolutely affected by their own political interest, or as “Islam and Country”.

Talking about politics (*siyasa*), was not a new thing for *ulama* and *dayah* in Aceh. Even more after Indonesia was freed. *Ulama* in Aceh was clever in making some political decisions. This was based on the factors used to face the issues and phenomena occurred at that time. Therefore, the nuanced political attitudes amongst *ulama* was not newly occurred in Aceh. This certainly was influenced by the objectives that was wanted to be achieved by *ulama* in gaining the support from the ruler, that was the government.

Similarly, during the era of New Ordo, *ulama* once again were involved directly in the politics in Aceh by using *tarekat* as one of the intensive efforts of political machine in the New Ordo era. In fact, the social reality at that time, the people of *tarekat* through *dayah* were very dominant. As a result, the political parties like *Golongan Karya* (GOLKAR) and *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP) owned a great portion of vote resulted by the blessing given by the *ulama* of *tarekat*. It then turned into the relation between teacher and student, the followers of *tarekat* (students) obeyed the steps done by the teacher (*master*) in political attitudes.

Through the attitude of *ulama* who was directly involved becoming the important actor in the politics. In the era of General Election in New Ordo (1966-1998), Aceh became the strong base for Islamic parties. The party of *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP) which was symbolized as *ka'bah* kept winning the election in Aceh even though there was a manipulated and false result of the election by the New Ordo era. In West-South area of Aceh, Abuya Syeikh Muday Waly Al-Khalidi through his *dayah* and his *tarekat*, played the central role in the socio-politics life in Aceh. As well as in West Aceh, Abu Habib Muda Seunagan during New Ordo also became the first figure as the leader of moslem supporting the presence and development of *Partai Golongan Karya* (Golkar) in West Aceh. Golkar was the leading party in the *Orde Baru* which owned the authority to determine the direction of the development of Indonesia at that time.

Then, it had been recorded that the government of *Orde Baru*, Abu Habib Muda Seunagan also actively showed his support to win the *Golkar* in Aceh province. According to the report, in relatively short time, 25,000 students of Abu Habib Muda in Aceh Barat and Selatan were registered as the member of *Golkar*. Inevitably that since the establishment of Nagan Raya district in 2002 to 2007, became the province that had a strong influence with *Golkar* party. As a result, in the election of head of area (pemilukada) in 2006 and 2012, *Golkar* party in Nagan Raya district gained an absolute win. This certainly was the strong and great influence of *ulama*.

Even though in some groups considered that the *ulama* and *tarekat* was categorized a group that was *zuhud* and tended to stay away from the worldly life. But, in Padang Pariaman, for instance, *tarekat sattariyah* tended to deny that statement. They always seemed to be close with the rulers and the actors of political practice. In daily activities, often seen that Minister, the Commander of TNI, Political Figures, Leaders of Parties, came to visit the *ulama*, the leader of *tarekat* in their *pesantren*. Referring to what has been mentioned above, in many *dayah* in Aceh was similarly happened in Padang Pariaman. *Tarekat* in Aceh also seemed to get along with the leaders and actors in political parties. In daily activity, governor, head of districts/mayor, political figures, head of parties came to visit the leader of *tarekat*. Specifically, *mursyid tarekat* was also seen actively to participate in the local political practice and became the political advisor, such as Alm. Abu Abdul Azi di Mudi in Samalanga, Alm. Abu Nasir Waly in Aceh Barat, Alm. Abu Habib Seunagan in Nagan Raya, and some other *ulama* often to be visited by the leaders at their *dayah* in order to gain the political blessing.

As well as some other *ulama* in Aceh Selatan, like Abuya Haji Djamaluddin Wali Al-Khalidi and his brother Prof. Dr. Muhibbuddin Waly. They both, during their lives, beside as the leader of *dayah*, the legacy from their parents and officiate as the *Ketua Majelis Zikir Al-Waliyah Aceh*, and as *Mursyidul Am* (General Supervisor) of *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah* in Aceh. They together were also considered as clever politicians from the *ulama*. Abuya Djamaluddin Waly, in his era, had been

involved as the politician under the party of *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP), and included as the *ulama* who had a long story in the parliament. He had also been ever appointed as the member of People's Representative Council (DPRD) in special region of Aceh (1968-1987) and the member of DPR-RI in 1999-2004 period from the faction of *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama* (PKNNU) which was joined to the Faction of *Perserikatan Daulatul Ummah*. Then, Abuya Syeikh Amran Waly Al-Khalidi who was their brother as the leader of *Dayah Labuhan Haji* for 10 years (1972-1982) and *dayah Darul Ihsan Desa Pawoh*, Labuhan Haji from 1982 until now. He was also actively involved in the political party and became the member of People's Representative Council (DPR) for the district of Aceh Selatan for 1982-1987. In 2004 he founded the M.P.T.T (*Majelis Pengkajian Tauhid Tasawuf*).⁵⁷

In short, since the election in 1987, *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP) was beaten in Aceh, with a slight percentage when Aceh was led by the governor Ibrahim Hasan. After that, in the 2004 election, when one of reformist figures, Amien Rais participated in the president election directly, he obtained the victory in Aceh for 55.06 persen, beat SBY-JK. This reflected the closeness of emotional relationship amongst the voters in Aceh and the figures of Islamic reformation in the political area stronger compared to the nationalist figures, although they disagreed with the practice of the religious trust carried by the reformists.

Finally, the local party included in the object for this study was the *Partai Daulat Atjeh* (PDA), established on February 1st, 2008. This party was founded and existed due to be mobilized by the *ulama* of *dayah*, with the vision to actualize the life of people in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) that was democratic, just and dignified, calm in worship, prosperous in life and safe from fear, with leadership characters that are trustworthy, *istiqamah* (firm stance), *'iffah* (clean), *musyarakah* (togetherness) and *syaja'ah* (courageous).⁵⁸ The embryo of PDA around

⁵⁷ See serambinews.com Amran Wali Jadi Pembicara Tasawuf di Galus, <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2016/04/01/amran-wali-jadi-pembicara-tasawuf-di-galus>.

⁵⁸ See The Vision of the Party PDA in PDA Book, p 13.

ulama and scholars announced in the meeting on March 4th, 2007 in Banda Aceh. Later it was declared on February 1st, 2008 in Banda Aceh, attended by 125 *ulama* of Aceh, namely Teungku Haji Hasanul Basri or popularly known in *ulama* as Abu Mudi Masjid Raya and Teungku Haji Muhammad Nasir who served as the chairman and vice chairman of *Mutasyar PDA*.

Reported from the jsi.we.id that the orientation of *Partai Daulat Atjeh* (PDA) enforced the *Syari'at Islam* in Aceh. The investors were allowed to come on, but the *syari'at* should remain enforced. This did not belong to the party of *santri* or the member of recitation. At glance, the name of this party reminded the voters on the *Partai Daulat Atjeh* founded by Adi Sasono, the worker of *Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat* (LSM) who was close to the president BJ Habibie. Take a look on the member of the party who wrote the word "Atjeh" with the old spelling as written by the declarator of GAM, Hasan Tiro in the early declaration of GAM in 1976 who wrote the word "Aceh" with "Atjeh" or "Acheh".

Furthermore, *Himpunan Ulama Daya Aceh* (HUDA) and the organization of *Rabithat Thaliban Aceh* (*Ikatan Santri Dayah Aceh*) showed the support to this party. The relationship between HUDA and PDA was similar to the relationship between *Nahdhatul Ulama* (NU) and *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB) located in Java island. From the sector of area, the followers of this party were distributed in 23 districts/municipal because the emotional binding among *santri* and *alumni dayah*. This power controlled the basis of loyal voters around 693 *dayah*, 108,468 students and around 700 *balai pengajian* across Aceh.

Commonly, among the owners of *dayah*, the relationship between one master with another *dayah* which later developed or established their own *dayah* in their original area or somewhere else. The *takzim* (respect) of students upon their teachers was still very dominant as well as the soldiers who obeyed their commander. The existence of Harmen, the former politician of *Partai Bintang Reformasi* (PBR) had supported the PDA to get stronger. In the 2004 election, PBR was listed in top five of voting and reached eight chairs (position) in DPR Aceh. Their votings were coming from the support of *ulama dayah* and *santri* whom were very

respected by the people. One of the strengths of this party was they had an equal influence across Aceh.

Harmen was the candidate for the vice governor in 2006 election whose partner was Letnan Jenderal (Purn) Tamlicha Ali. Previously, Harmen was the member of DPRA from the PBR faction. However, on January 30th, 2009 ahead of 2009 election, PBR replaced the position of Harmen in DPRA to move to PDA. Having exceeded the limitation to participate in the 2004 legislative election, PDA was renamed as *Partai Damai Aceh* abbreviated by PDA. Compared to the other local parties, except *Partai Aceh*, PDA could place one member of party that was Teungku-Teungku Muhibussabri AW in the board of DPRA Aceh.

In 2009 election, *Partai Daulat Aceh* (PDA) received 11 chairs (positions) in the provincial level and districts/municipal, with the details, 1 province, 3 chairs in Banda Aceh, 4 chairs in Aceh Besar, 1 chair in Pidie, 1 chair in Bener Meriah, 1 chair in Aceh Timur, 1 chair in Aceh Barat and 1 chair in Aceh Jaya. During ahead 2014, *Partai Daulat Aceh*⁵⁹ was renamed as *Partai Damai Aceh*, was caused by the unqualified administration requirement for the contentant of 2004 election.

The result from the focused group discussion⁶⁰ concluded that the success of *Partai Daulat Aceh* sending their cadres to the parliament, had shown that PDA was a strong party. When compared to other local parties like *Partai Rakyat Aceh* (PRA), *Partai Sentral Informasi Rakyat Aceh* (SIRA), *Partai Aceh Aman Sejahtera* (PAAS) and *Partai Bersatu Aceh* (PBA). These local parties even did not get one single chair in the legislation, either in province or in the district/municipal.

It was just the political marketing of PDA was not well organized based on the management system. This became the weakness of PDA as political party before the 2009 election was held. It was confirmed that the politicians from *Partai Daulat Aceh* were not capable in term of knowledge

⁵⁹ Schroder, Peter. 2003. *Strategi Politik*, Friedrich-Naumann- Stiftung, Jakarta, hal 4-9. Kotler, P. 1994, *Marketing Management: Analysis Planing, Implementation, and Control*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice- Hall, Inc.

⁶⁰ Niffenegger, P. B. 1989, *Strategi for Succes From The Political Marketers*, The Journal of Consumer Marketing, p. 45-51

about making the political marketing. It was said that PDA did not make a guerilla to gather all the society elements to vote for PDA. They only focused on the real mass, those was *santri* and the local people. However, the number of votes for PDA in DPRA was not great enough. They only received one chair. It was, in fact, considerably amazing from the district/municipal level.⁶¹

PDA helplessly received only one chair claimed by Muhibussabri as the member of DPRA Aceh. He was elected from the *Daerah Pemilihan I* (Aceh Besar, Banda Aceh and Sabang). At that time, about 13 thousand of voting were successfully gathered. Getting that much votes, because at that time, especially for *Dapil I*, there was invocation done by the *Pimpinan Dayah Seulimum*, Aceh Besar. As well as with the success in the level of district/municipal, it was reassured because one or two *dayah* there, were supporting all out the candidate proposed by PDA. Even though not all *dayah* in that area fully supported. This issue faced by PDA was few figures of *ulama*, the founder of PD at that time were not brave enough to stand front as the part of PDA. In fact, they were involved in the process of party establishment. Presumably, these figures were afraid that their reputation would be faded. Besides, at that time, the *ulama* also established other local parties, namely *Partai Gabthat* which later was not qualified. This resulted to the discordance amongst the *ulama* themselves. Some supporters of PDA and some from the *Partai Gabthat*, were spread to other parties. Moreover, how the power condition and the weakness of PDA in 2009 election could be seen in the four following factors:

- a. **The Voters.** The strength of one party could not be separated from the mass or the number of voters. Similar to PDA which had their own basis of people. PDA used the *santri* up as their main voters, called the real voters. Since this party was originally established by the role of *santri* and figures of *ulama*. From the vote side, in 2009 election, over than 90 percent of legislative candidates proposed by

⁶¹ Ormrod, Robert P. 2011, *Political Market Orientation: An Introduction*, Associate Professor Institute for Economics and Management Aarhus University, Denmark, p. 7-12.

PDA was coming from *santri*. However, there was weaknesses in doing the political marketing, in which other voters like people coming from the outside of *dayah* and *sentry* were not accommodated as the real voters. It could be assumed that PDA did not net the voters cognitively and affectively. So that, the result achieved was not maximum.⁶² In more detail, the researcher found out the main reason why they did not work for the voters, except the *santri* and the local people. They excused that they did not want to spend much energy to unclear voters. PDA struggled to secure the real people and *santri* to not switch to another party. In other side, they also did not maintain the campaign as one part of political marketing massively, like gathering the media and so on.

- b. Competiting Party.** According to the source from the informants during the 2009 election, PDA never made conflict with other competing parties, either local parties or national parties. It could be assumed that PDA would never receive any kind of challenge or obstacles from other competing parties. It was proven that PDA had never receive the intimidation from cadres or the supporter from other parties. It was because the political campaign maintained by PDA was not massive, they just focused on securing and convincing the voters coming from *dayah* or *santri*. It was reasonable if there was no fight or conflict in the field.⁶³ Reviewed from the mission and program were also different from other parties. PDA had the mission to build Aceh in the frame of *syari'at Islam*. To be more specific, PDA wanted to mend and fix the life of *santri* and *dayah*. So far, *santri* and *dayah* were considered to not get much attention from the government.
- c. Party Members.** Similar to the members. PDA actually had a wing party in form of people organization. At least, there were three wings of PDA, namely *Gerakan Pemuda Daulat*, *Gerakan Mahasiswa Daulat*,

⁶² Ormrod, Robert P. 2011, *Political Market Orientation : An Introduction*, Associate Professor Institute for Economics and Management Aarhus University, Denmark, p. 7-12.

⁶³ See <http://www.golkar.or.id/tentang/sejarah>

and *Gerakan Muslimah Daulat*. However, the works of those wing parties did not provide a significant result, due to impowerful management and human resources. It was greatly predicted that in 2014 election, all the wing parties would support the success of party to get significant voting. Another group was *ormas* (people organization). PDA also formed the *satgas* (task forces) membered of 20 people and basically located in several *dayah*. Through this *satgas*, the social activities were maintained. While the preparation for the 2014 election, PDA had reformed this movement. They wanted to be more opened toward other groups. If the last year election, the candidate for legislation was 100 percent coming from *santri*, now they had given the opportunity for outsiders. They embraced the best cadres from many other *ormas*, especially for Islamic *ormas* to be proposed as the legislative candidate from PDA.

- d. **External Groups.** This also becomes one of the weaknesses of PDA, designing the political marketing in 2009 election. They did not have a strong network with external institutions, like media and other organisations. Even PDA had never visited the media just for maintaining the relation (*silatirrahmi*). This was very different with other parties, in which they routinely visited the media. Uniquely, PDA did not deny that the involvement of media in raising the party was very needed. However, once again, back to the real people (mass), in the 2009 election, PDA only focused on the observation toward *santri* and *dayah*. Social activities done by PDA was not overly observed by media, although there were many social activities, for instance mass circumcicion event, free medical check-up, *safar* and *dakwah* during Ramadhan.⁶⁴

In the 2009 election, when there was no candidate of president that had special relationship with Islamic organization, so SBY-Boediono won the election in Aceh. In fact, the 2004 election, SBY-JK lost in Aceh, even though in the context of closeness, politics in Aceh was close to the SBY-

⁶⁴ See, <http://jsi.web.id/2013/12/pemetaan-political-marketing-partai-nasional-dan-partai-lokal-pada-pemilu-2009-di-provinsi-aceh/#edn55>

JK due to their efforts for the reconciliation in Aceh. However, that meant nothing, SBY-Boediono won the election in Aceh through the factors of contributing to the reconciliation in Aceh and the moment of closeness with the Islamic community, that was *ulama* compared to other candidates. Thus, the local parties in Aceh, namely *Partai Aceh* (PA) got the highest pole because they had maintained a close relation with *ulama* as the political machine.

Ulama was the most appreciated and respected figures by the society in Aceh. In the Acehnese culture itself, *ulama* was positioned in the highest cluster in one society, hence in this case, *Partai Aceh* made an approach to the *ulama* not to become the cadre for the party, but to become the supporter of the party. In the 2009 general election, the victory of *Partai Aceh* was because the strategy played in every campaign accompanied by the *ulama*. Its purpose was to gain a positive response from people. Including the absolute winning of SBY-Boediono with the 93 percent of voting. It was inseparable for what *Partai Aceh* had done by involving *ulama* joined into an organization called MUNA in Aceh. Additionally, the campaign team of SBY-Boediono in Aceh was dominated by *ulama* and the former elite GAM like Sofyan Dawood and Irwandi Yusuf. Even in several basis area of GAM, SBY-Boediono also gained the victory. Meanwhile, Jusuf Kalla (JK) as the father of peace in Aceh reconciliation lost badly in the election. It was presumed that JK chose Wiranto as the candidate for the vice president which Acehnese people disapproved due to some cases of Military Operation in Aceh which involved the name of Wiranto as the TNI commander at that time.

The existence was not admitted, because since the beginning, in the organization was the *ulama dayah* that had joined and involved for a long time in the struggle of GAM in the conflict. However, in line with the direction of the development of politics in Aceh, the *ulama dayah* who had the direction of the thinking of Aceh nasionalism, also joined in the group of MUNA. The existence and development of MUNA during *Partai Aceh* faced the legislative election, was considered by many people as a good move. The contribution of MUNA could improve the popularity of *Partai Aceh* to get the significant voting in the legislative election in 2009

massively. Among the political roles, MUNA as one of the political tools to consolidate the campaigner (*Jurkam*) of *Partai Aceh*. Another political role of MUNA as one of the political tools was their participation in many discussion with the executive and legislative members in process of taking the police as the process of making the Qanun of the province, just like what MUNA proposed in the formation of Qanun Wali Nanggroe which was done in the *Rapat Dengar Pendapat Umum* (RPDU) in the main meeting room of DPR Aceh held on Monday, June 18th, 2012 and so on.

As well as in the 2014 past election, the political dynamics which involved *ulama dayah* was also happening one more time and that was very various based on the individuals' commitment from their own *ulama dayah*. One of them was as the advisor in the political activities, as the political practitioner or politician who directly jumped into and study the part of the political party, which kept supervising the political dynamics that had been developed, including the party which was symbolized with the *kupiah meukutob*, typical Aceh that was between two towers in an oval blue egg which meant PDA also want to fight. However, the vote acquisition was disappointing. The party only received total 29 thousand votings. In the provincial parliament, only one chair which could be obtained. In the 2014 election, *Partai Daulat Aceh* returned to fight, but since there was insufficient of representative in the parliament in Aceh, five percent of total chairs, they had to change the management and replaced it as *Partai Damai Aceh*. Different, name, but same abbreviation: PDA.⁶⁵

In the 2014 election, *Partai Damai Aceh* was noted as one of three local parties that passed to participate in the legislative election. At that time, the party was led by Muhibussabri and Khaidir (General Secretary). The result of voting, the party collected 79 thousand votings from over three million registered voters in Aceh. However, that result still could not elevate the party from the "cliff" of limited those five percent. Consequently, that party now should rename its party one more time because they wanted to take part in the 2019 election. Now, both

⁶⁵ See <https://www.kba.one/news/melihat-reinkarnasi-partai-daerah-aceh-dari-pemilu-ke-pemilu/index.html>

abbreviation and name had been changed into PD Aceh which was **Partai Daerah Aceh**.⁶⁶ The main indicator of the lose of PDA in this election was caused by the *ulama* and *santri* were not united and separated due to different personal interest.

Moreover, the in 2019 election, the religious issues had happened frequently in Aceh and in National. The rapid distribution of information made the voter to accept the vast information, both factual and hoax news. Interestingly, let say hoax, became one of the main factors of the lose of Jokowi-Ma'ruf in Aceh, but the vast distribution of hoax equally in across Indonesia. The characteristic of Islamic politics in Aceh had a strong relationship with the group of Islamic reformists in national. For the people of Aceh, when talking about "*perjuangan politik Islam*", so it would become black and white. This had encouraged the support toward DI/TII in Aceh, the support toward Islamic parties, the winning of Amien Rais in the 2004 presidential election in Aceh. The loses of secular national parties, and also the victory of Prabowo-Sandi in Aceh caused by the supports of numerous charismatic *ulama* in many *dayah*.⁶⁷

The involvement of *ulama* in political practice in the context of 2019 election, even though it still became the controvercy in the society, but *ulama* in Aceh did not care about it. They had their own interpretation and principle toward the "politics". Even during the context was proceeding, it was not only one political party visiting *dayah*, but they came representing many political parties. In majority, they came to ask for the arguments and suggestions about the direction of the political activities in the future, indicating that *dayah* had a big political sympathy from the society, so that they hope could win the political contest. Beside that, the cadres from *dayah* become dominant and had a significant role in the political activities. Furthermore, there were also many *ulama dayah* who involved in the political practice to fulfil the strategic position in the structure of political party. Beside electing themselves as the candidate

⁶⁶ See in <https://www.kba.one/news/melihat-reinkarnasi-partai-daerah-aceh-dari-pemilu-ke-pemilu/index.html>

⁶⁷ See in <https://modusaceh.co/news/arus-reformisme-islam-dalam-politik-aceh/index.html>

for the legislative member and fought over the legislative position in the level of district, province and national. Just like Tu SOP in Bireuen, Tgk. Husaini A. Wahab and so on.

The direct involvement of *ulama dayah* in Aceh in politics could be seen from the management that also came from the alumni of *dayah* in Aceh, like *Partai Aceh* (PA), *Partai Nasional Aceh* (PNA), *Partai Bulan Bintang* (PBB), *Partai Sentral Maklumat Rakyat Aceh* (SIRA) and other parties. Through the glory of *ulama dauah* that was very strategic in the society of Aceh, it undoubtedly if the elite figures of political parties in Aceh attempted so hard to get the support from *ulama dayah* in order to win the election. This was also oriented by the main factor, according to them that if good people did not involve in politics, so the bad people would fill it. Meanwhile, when it was seen from the aspect of interests, the goal of being politicized in Aceh was to offer the welfare for the people.

B. The Participation of Ulama & Santri Dayah in The 2019 Election in Aceh.

Having conducted the study, the result of the study indicated that there was the participation of *ulama* and *santri* of *dayah* in Aceh toward the 2019 election. The participation seemed to be seen toward the full support given from them to one of the candidates in the 2019 election. According to Adjidar (2018), Islamic and politics placed a very significant position, it seemed like twin brothers that needed one another. In doing politics, Islam also became the main foundation. It was like two sides of coin, both of them could not possibly separated. The importance of political position even it was established only one line under the prophecy. "The obedience toward the holder of political position or the leader of people (*ulil amri*) must be given right after the the obedience toward Allah and his messenger."⁶⁸ Furthermore, Adjidar (2018) mentioned that the people of Islam currently, nationally and Aceh especially, very needed the possession on the political position that could

⁶⁸ Information Adjidar Matsyah (Direktur Dayah Tinggi Islam Samudera Pase, Baktiya, Aceh Utara) on rutin activities Pengajian Kaukus Wartawan Peduli Syariat Islam (KWPSI) 7 Januari 2018.

support to strengthen the implementation of *syariat Islam* in the middle of society through several policies and regulation that could stand beside the interest of Islam.

"Politics really matters, and today, to be able to run the *syariat* like worshipness, law, *muamalah*, economics *syari'ah*, it required a political leader that stood aside to the goals of Islam. Therefore, let us change the mindset, because the politics was not something dirty, let us to be religious in the politics to strengthen Islam, not the opposite, to be politicized in the religion."

"Why people nowadays considered politics as something that was dirty, even they prohibited it (*haram*). The prophet SAW once became the leader of Madinah and the leader of the country as the highest political position. The chronic disease that attacked muslim people today was not a blindness toward the politics. In fact, long time ago in Aceh, when *ulama* was called as leader, and the leader was the *ulama*."

Similar statement was also mentioned by Tu Bulqaini (2019) in the interview with the researcher related to the participation of *ulama* and *santri* in the politics. According to him, the *ulama* and *santri dayah* were very recommended to do the politics practically. This was for creating the development of the nation.

"To initiate such change, so the *ulama* must be involved directly in political practice. Whenever *ulama* and *teungku* did not participate in politics, people with good deeds, have true faith, but they did not participate in politics, so the bad people or mafia would do. When the mafia participated in the politics, so the constitution (*undang-undang*) would be designed and amended that fit with their personal needs. Why our republic was currently not kind? Because they were affected that *ulama* did not participate in politics."

Tu Bulqaini (2019) also mentioned that *ulama* and *teungku dayah* were *fardhu kifayah* to be together in the political practice, because it seemed impossible to expect much change if we did not take part in it.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Interview with Tu Bulqaini (General Secretary of Himpunan Ulama Dayah Aceh)

This statement is accordant with *firman* of Allah SWT, “Hold fast together to the cable of Allah and be not divided. Remember the blessing that Allah bestowed upon you”. (Surah Ali Imran, verse 103).

Therefore, Islam carried an important concept to the *ummat*, that was doing an affair or working together in *jama’ah* to ease finding the solutions, especially in religious affair and life. As mentioned in *hadits* Rasulullah SAW: “Must you stand together alongside *jama’ah* and be cautious of disunity” (H.R. At-Tirmizi). Similarly, another *sabda* of Rasulullah SAW: “Indeed, *satan* is a wolf to human, as well as wolf to a goat, it will eat the goat separated from the packs, so be careful and be together with *jama’ah*.” (H.R. Ahmad).

Therefore, politics is highly needed in Islam and the involvement of *ulama* in it, with the purpose to fix the benefit for *ummat* from various life aspects. In order to create a successful Islamic politics, it needs a full support from entire people and *santri dayah*. This is accordant with what Umar Al-Khattab said: “Indeed there is no Islam without *jama’ah*, there is no *jama’ah* without the leadership, and there is no leadership without the obedience.” (H.R. Ahmad).

Hence, there is no doubt that nowadays, there are *santri dayah*, *teungku-teungku*, *dayah alumni*, and *ulama dayah* begin to involve in political practice. They openly show their political affiliation, supporting a candidate of people’s representative and the candidate of president and vice president in political competition in 2019. This was for winning Muslims’ prominence, and poor people/*mustadh’afirt*, and purposively to keep the religion from destructive matters, so it took a political power. After that, political power would not endure to keep the religion if it was not attended by the people who understood about religion. That is why, it is necessary to appreciate the presence of *ulama* in political sector as someone who is expert in religion.

That statement was similarly uttered by Al-Ghazali’s argument saying that religion and politics, world and hereafter is closely related. According to him, the purpose of human to be socialised in society is to fulfil the needs and seek merely for the joy of materials, rather than prepare themselves for more prosperous and immortal in hereafter. The

world is for religion and religion is to order the world. Moreover, Al-Ghazali formulated that religion is fundamental (*ashlu*) and political power is the guard. To keep religion from ruination, it needs a political power. Political power will not be able to keep the religion if there is no one who could understand the religion itself.

M. Yusuf A. Wahab (2019) also argued that between politics and *ulama*, they could not be separated in the life as nation and state. All this time in Aceh, there are many digressions caused by the absence of uneducated or pious person. Hence, *ulama* and *santri dayah* in politics are expected for the political party and the politicians should follow the guidance and directions of *ulama* which was admitted widely in society, the moral integrity and knowledge, and was recognised to be released from the political interests. Then, having recruited *ulama* and *santri dayah* in the political events, it would be expected that it could hack and resolve any forms of political digressions, and embed the values of *ulama* in souls of politicians. So, *ulama* is not a symbol, but a religious concept implementation by embedding the *ulama* values, so that they can be the fortress for defending from any political digression, and is not oriented on the personal interests, but all of it is for people's benefits, and not to be disunited.⁷⁰

Islam does not forbid *ulama* to be involved in politics. The presence of *ulama* in the political scene is to maintain *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar*, we want to uphold the justice and destroy the tyranny. The values of equity should be fought, politics itself becomes the power to fix the people's benefit. Hence, the point of the *dakwah* is Islamic politics by referring to *Fiqh Siyasa*.⁷¹

It can be concluded that *ulama* and *santri dayah* in Aceh has directly participated in *Pemilu* 2019, and as the main foundation is to take over the throne or authority which so far has been diverged from the Islamic teachings. Therefore, the presence of *ulama* in the political scene in Aceh

⁷⁰ Tgk HM Yusuf A Wahab (Tu Sop) adalah Pimpinan Dayah Babussalam Al-Aziziyah Jeunieb, Bireuen,

⁷¹ Tgk HM Yusuf A Wahab (Tu Sop) adalah Pimpinan Dayah Babussalam Al-Aziziyah Jeunieb, Bireuen,

expectedly can improve people's condition and to wipe out the tyranny from the ruler. This is in line of what is explained in *Fiqh Siyasa*, in which the prophet Muhammad SAW used the term of politics (*siyasa*) to organise *ummat*, pay attention to the condition of Muslims by disappearing the irresponsible decisions from the ruler and destroy the evil of infidels upon them. Politics in Islam also functions to organise the society by forbidding and ordering people to follow the law/*syari'at* of Islam.⁷²

In addition, Aceh is a province in Indonesia which has been a special authority to implement the *Syari'at Islam*, so that every activities and policies should be based on the regulations of Islam, as it was issued in *Undang-Undang Nomor 44 Tahun 1999* about "The Implementation of Aceh's Privilege", *Pasal 4 Ayat 1 UU No. 44 Tahun 1999* mentioned that the implementation of religious activities in the area/province is manifested in the form of *Syari'at Islam* for its adherents in the society.⁷³ Next, in *Peraturan Daerah (Perda) Nomor 5 Tahun 2000* about the Implementation of *Syari'at Islam* has been regulated in detail (*kaffah*) encompassing the aspects of *aqidah, ibadah, muamalat, akhlak, education and Islamic dakwah/amar makruf nahi mungkar, Baitul mal, social, syiar Islam, advocacy in Islam, qhada, jinayat, munakahat, and mawaris*.⁷⁴

What has been mentioned above was similarly in line with the argument of B.J. Bolland in his book entitled "*The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*" saying that the interests from Muslims toward political parties was not only caused by the ability of political parties in keeping and defending the interests of Islam, but it was more because of the typology of Muslims in viewing the relationship between politics and Islam.

⁷² See Ridwan Hasan, Peranan dan Sikap Transformasi Politik Ulama dalam Menghadapi Pemilu 2014 di Aceh, in *Millah* Vol. XII, No. 2, Februari 2013, hlm. 511.

⁷³ See Undang Nomor 44 Tahun 1999 about "Penyelenggaraan Keistimewaan Aceh

⁷⁴ See Peraturan Daerah (Perda) Nomor 5 Tahun 2000 tentang Pelaksanaan Syari'at Islam di Aceh.

General election is a way done by the government to decide and elect the leader who will run a governmental system. *Pemilu* aims for deciding the leader of the Republic of 2019-2024 period. From this study, it was found that the involvement of *ulama* and *santri dayah* in Aceh during 2019 *Pemilu*, for instance the supremacy of the number of seat of members of People's Representative Council (DPR): Waled Nu, Abu Mudi, Abu Tu Min, Abuya Amran Waly, and other names who "jumped in" actively in political practice.⁷⁵

preserve the prosperous life of the society, so that *dayah* and *santri* could take a direct role in winning the political candidate. Those main factors are the vision and missions which were considered in line with the religious interests that have been fought by *ulama* and *santri*. So, it was reasonable that *ulama* has taken the opportunity in political scene, for instance one of Aceh charismatic *ulama*, Waled Nuruzzahri Yahya or also known as Waled Nu who clearly showed his support on the president and vice president candidate Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin in 2019 *Pemilu*.

He, as *ulama*, persuaded all *santri* and people of Aceh to vote for Joko Widodo and K.H. Ma'ruf Amin as the new President and Vice President of Republic of Indonesia for 2019-2024. Waled Nu also said that if we see in the religious context, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has been qualified as the fair leader, not committing the adultery, being drunk and killing people. That was an important key. According to Abdul Hamid in his book "*Umat Bertanya Waled Menjawab* (People ask, Waled answers)" (Idea from Tgk. H. Nuruzzahri) mentioned that the choice made by Waled Nu in political practice was not consciously happened. He participated in the 2019 *Pemilu* caused by several reasons, namely rules, recommendation and religious values. In Islam, a leader is a final result and fundamental. In *hadits shahih* Rasulullah SAW, "If you are making a journey in group, you need to decide one of them as the *imam* (the leader of group)." (H.R. Abu Hurairah & Abu Daud).⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Mereka sama-sama terlibat dalam politik praktis mendukung kandidat calon DPR, hingga Presiden di Pemilu 2019.

⁷⁶ See Abdul hamid M. Jamil, *Umat Bertanya Waled Menjawab: Pemikiran Teungku H. Nuruzzahri*, Edisi Kedua, Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2019, p. xi.

Furthermore, referring to *hadits* above, a leader is positioned in the highest position in the society of Islam. In a structure of organisation or human body, leader is like the head. He has a strategical role in organising the pattern (*manhaj*) and movement (*harakah*). Leadership in Islam means *al-imamah*, *al-raisah*, or *imarah*. *Al-imarah* is rooted from the word *imam*, *arraisah* is derived from the word *rais*, and *imarah* is derived from *amir*, which all mean leader. One that differs all postulates above is the scope of the authority or control. *Ar-raisah* is used in any leadership, such as leader in institutions, Islamic schools, formal and non-formal institutions. *Al-imamah* is only used for the leadership for country and kingdom. So, there are countries called as *emirates* led by the *amir(s)*. The name for the highest authority maker in a country is rarely found. Therefore, electing a leader in *Pemilu* becomes something compulsory.⁷⁷

The leadership in Islam is a leadership that is based on the law of Allah SWT. So, a leader must be an individual who knows much about *syari'at Islam*. After Rasulullah SAW and *imam* or *khalifah*, the leader of Muslim must be held by a *fakih* who is qualified upon the requirements of *syari'at* and is able to deliver a decision (*fatwa*). After that, he is required to establish a council of *Fiqh* expert to respond for all the needs of Muslims. It was mentioned by Imam Al-Mawardi in his great work "*Ahkam Sulthaniyah*."⁷⁸

From the candidates of president and vice president elected in yesterday's election, Waled NU's voting for Jokowi-Ma'ruf certainly was from the track that which one has a deeper understanding toward religion and has an undoubtable track record as the religionist. According to Waled NU, Prof. DR (HC) KH. Ma'ruf Amin is an *ulama* that no one can doubt his role. He is the grandson from Syeh Nawawi Bantani and received the trust to lead the highest *ulama* institution in Indonesia, that is MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*). He (Ma'ruf Amin) also becomes one of the important figures in the greatest Islamic organisation in the world, that is Rais Syuriah PBNU. Meanwhile, Jokowi is the sample of good and polite

⁷⁷ See Abdul hamid M. Jamil, *Umat Bertanya Waled Menjawab...*, p. xii.

⁷⁸ See Abdul hamid M. Jamil, *Umat Bertanya Waled Menjawab...*, p. xiii.

citizen, hard worker and used to work at Aceh Tengah, and embarked his furniture business. Becoming a president could not be achieved in simple and instant way. Jokowi is the president who has a close friendship with *ulama* figures, so that the partner candidate Jokowi-Ma'ruf later expectedly would be synchronised in work, especially in terms of the harmony amongst people with varied religion in Indonesia. Besides, K.H Ma'ruf Amin (KMA) once became the Presidential Consideration Board or *Dewan Pertimbangan Presiden* in communion of religion sector.⁷⁹

Therefore, during the presidential campaign 2019, one of the issues emerged by the Waled NU was related to the Islamic values adhered by Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin which no need to be questioned any more. He often conveyed it through religious lecture, and Waled NU persuaded people to use their sanity and change their way of thinking. One of the examples was about being a *Geuchik* (Head of Village),⁸⁰ as follow:

"Pileh soe yang seunang and ikoet soe yang meunang."

(elect those who are happy and follow those who win)

In my political context, I have got useful advices in my life. I embarked my small business in Dayah Mudi Mesra, Samalanga with Abon, the political power in Indonesia was dominantly ruled by Golkar (one of political parties in Indonesia). People were helpless due to 31-year regime of president of Soeharto. Until one day before the local election (*Pemilukada*), there was one legislative candidate supported by Abon from Golkar party. Abon asked the teacher council to follow his instruction. Yet, there was someone who was opposite with Abon. He saw that Abon did not show a firm standpoint because Abon supported the opposed and considerably bad party. Then, he maintained the campaign to confuse the voters to support the candidate coming from PPP party, one of the Islamic parties at that time. Abon was not happy toward the attitude of that teacher, Abon trusted him as an educated figure.

⁷⁹ Interview with Waled Nu di Samalanga; and See the same comment was written by Abdul hamid M. Jamil, *Umat Bertanya Waled Menjawab...*, p. xiii.

⁸⁰ See Abdul hamid M. Jamil, *Umat Bertanya Waled Menjawab...*, p. xv.

Eventually, the glamour of his knowledge was faded away and gone until today.⁸¹

Honouring the figure of teacher is the most important factor in guaranteeing students' success in teaching and learning process. Teacher is like a doctor for the sick people, if the suggestions are ignored, so he will take the consequences, the pain and sorrow. In the traditionally educational culture, showing respect to the teacher is permanent rule. There is a belief for *ureung meudagang*, if there is no approval or bless from the teacher, they will be unlucky and faithless (Acehnese: *ceulaka* and *temeureuka*

Moreover, Waled Nu mentioned that the reason he fully supported the partner of Jokowi-Ma'ruf in 2019 *Pemilu* was because Waled NU had a close relationship with KH. Ma'ruf Amin as his senior when they were at Jombang, East Java. Academically and intelligently, K.H Ma'ruf Amin was the teacher of Waled NU. Therefore, long time before he was trusted by many people to be the candidate of vice president, Waled NU had frequently met, maintained *silaturrahmi*, discussed and learned with him. As the student, Waled NU had to help his teacher in any circumstances related to the policies determined by him, including his willingness to be the vice president of the republic.

So, it was reasonable for Waled NU to be directly involved as the supporter and stood as the campaigner in Aceh, even he was willing to attend every activity and provide the place for Jokowi-Ma'ruf to do the campaign, started from outdoor for people of Aceh, to the several recitation places. Even Waled NU came with his own personal vehicle, filled gas with his own money, and did not receive a single penny for campaign from anyone. Not because the temptation and the lure of getting a certain position, authority, and money. Yet, all he had done was by hoping the bless of Allah for the good sake of people in Indonesia, Aceh, importantly.⁸²

⁸¹ See Abdul hamid M. Jamil, *Umat Bertanya Waled Menjawab...*, p. xxviii.

⁸² Interview with the son of Waled Nu in Samalanga

The role of *ulama* is not simply understanding and digging the messages in *al-Qur'an* and *Hadits*, but also thinking laws that could be applied in the society; implementing the law which seemed to be difficult accepted by people who just knew about religion or people who just converted to Islam. That kind of situation is what *ulama* want to achieve, for improving the quality of people's lives. Both *fakih (ulama)* and *rais* (leader) had been closely related that must not be separated. *Ulama* must always stand by alongside the leader; reminding for committed mistakes, motivating when stuck, and giving solutions of problems faced. So that, it can be said that the role of *ulama* or other religious figures is to be the leader's advisor by making the concepts for the sake of community.

The purposes that were wanted to be achieved by religious figures through political practice in order to fix people's lives should be appreciated. In fact, the alterations would be prodigious when *ulama* become the advisor of the leader rather than becoming the leader themselves. The reason is because, in realising the good alterations in community (agent of change), it requires not only the knowledge of religion, but also the skill and ability to design an Islamic governmental system. If *ulama* or other leader showed inability in change the system, then all the inputs and bright ideas would be less absorbed and received by one or two people standing by us. Finally, those ideas would be used for nothing. Meanwhile, all the systems are tightly depending on the central government (president). If the central government does not approve, then the expected ideas cannot be implemented. Besides, if we see the current political context, there are few people who understand about religion. If someday there will be many Islamic scholars sitting in important roles in the government, then it is somehow a good chance for *ulama* to be the leader of *ummat*.

Besides Waled Nu, from this study, it was also found other *ulama* who actively participated in politics in Aceh during 2019 *Pemilu*, namely Abu Tumin. He confessed his caring and love to President Joko Widodo.... *I love Jokowi. I send my prayer for a future great leader for Indonesia. Only Allah knows who will be the good one,*" Abuya Tu Min said when welcoming Hasto and the company in district of Bireuen. The

participation of *ulama dayah* in 2019 *Pemilu* absolutely had attracted many people. Consequently, many people coming from various background joined actively in *Pemilu* and visited *ulama* for their approval and bless to support them in the political journey.

Another example, similar case experienced by Abuya Syaikh H. Nasanoel Bashry H.G or popularly known as Abu Mudi. He also participated actively in political practice when the researcher personally met him at a recitation moment of conceiving the *kitab Tuhfatul Muhtaj* before thousands of teachers, alumni and people located in *Mesjid Po Teumeureuhom*, Komplek Dayah MUDI Mesra Samalanga, Distrcit of Bireuen.⁸³ On that occasion, Abu Mudi stated that:

“The people and community of *dayah* should take part in every sector, including in the government and political sector, as the member of Executive, Legislative, or another role. This is for actualising the spirit of *tafaqquh fiddin in beut* and *seumeubét, meunan neuamanah* almarhum Abon Aziz Al-Mantiqi,”⁸⁴

From the statement above, it could be concluded that, Abu Mudi had ordered all the alumni of *dayah* to take part in every sector of life, including in the political scene. Hence, it became the sign for all *ulama* or other religious figures must actively participate in political practice. After that, Abu Mudi also directly instructed through his religious lecture for the alumni of *dayah* to support and assist all the sectors in *dayah* who take part in political sectors, and all alumni of *dayah* for not being anti-politics

⁸³ Pengajian tersebut dilakukan pada Hari Rabu (14/03/2018) yang juga tersebar dari berbagai media sosial WhatApp, You Tobe, dan Media Sosial lainnya.

⁸⁴ Amanah Abu Syaikh H. Hasanoel Bashry H.G atau yang akrab disapa Abu Mudi dalam cuplikan video pengajian, dimana dalam video itu terlihat Abu Mudi mengikrarkan dukungannya dihadapan ribuan alumni dan para Jamaah yang hadir bertepatan dengan acara Haul Abon Aziz 14 Februari 2019 lalu. Abu mengajak serta para alumni Mudi Mesra Samalanga untuk mendukung H. Ruslan M.Daud dan mengajak seluruh jamaah pengajian yang dipimpin oleh para Alumni Mudi Mesra di daerahnya masing – masing.

and not being too fanatic toward it, so that many kind and educated people would be in many sectors and they would not be slaved by their own lust and greed. The audience in that occasion were also persuaded by Abu Mudi to fully support one candidate during Pemilu 2019.

“The-next-year *Pemilu* in 2019, we will vote both for national as the candidate of member of people’s representative (DPR-RI Dapil 2) from Gerindra (political party) is H. Ruslan M Daud and Tgk. Fakhurrrazi Hamzah as the candidate for DPD RI that *tadukung* (we support) and *tabantu* (help) for *tapeumeunang* (winning) them.”⁸⁵

Moreover, Abu Mudi also mentioned several names of other *alumni dayah* who participated as the candidate of the member of legislative for DPR in district and province level, DPRK and DPRA to be helped to win them, while saying one advice in Acehese language. “*cap bak binteh, labang bak papeun, kiban yang Abu kheun bek sagai tatuka.*” (brand stamped on the wall, the nail is stick on the board, what Abu has said will never be changed), Abu said while smiling. That saying also became the sign for the doctrine for turning back from *ulama*.⁸⁶

Meanwhile in coastal areas in west-south of Aceh, Abuya Syeikh Haji Amran Waly Al-Khalidi as the leader of *Dayah Darul Ihsan*, Labuhan Haji, Aceh Selatan and also as the leader of *Majelis Pengkajian Tauhid Tasawuf* (MPTT) in South East Asia, also took an action in the politics by supporting one of the candidates in 2019 *Pemilu*. Even, in every *dhikr* occasion (*Rateb Siribee*) and *Tauhid Tasawuf*, Abuya Syeikh Haji Amran Waly Al-Khalidi also persuaded thousands of the followers for the votes to succeed the 2019 General Election by recommending one name. For example, when the visit from Abdullah Puteh (former governor of Aceh) to *Dayah Darul Ihsan* to ask for the support as the candidate of senator/member of Regional Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, DPD*) of Republic of Indonesia from Aceh, Abuya Syeikh Haji

⁸⁵ Amanah Abu Syaikh H. Hasanoel Bashry H.G atau yang akrab disapa Abu Mudi dalam Pengajian

⁸⁶ Interview with Abu Mudi Samalanga in Dayah Mudi Mesra Samalanga, Bireuen, Aceh, Indonesia.

Amran Waly Al-Khalidi welcome him positively, in fact there were many names that previously came to him. Yet, Abuya acted normally.

Even, Abuya welcomed Abdullah Puteh by preparing thousands of followers of *Dayah Darul Ihsan*. Abdullah Puteh tried to get along with all the *jamaah* by doing *zikir siribe* (*zikir seribu*). After *zikir*, Abuya allowed Abdullah Puteh to deliver a speech for saying his intention to move forward to Senayan as the senator candidate from Aceh. Having received the permission to deliver his intention, Abdullah Puteh directly asked for the support from *jamaah* from there, even as a charismatic *ulama* in Aceh and in South East Asia, Abu Amran Waly convinced his *jamaah* to vote for Abdullah Puteh on the following April 17th.

When the researcher interviewed Abuya Syeikh Haji Amran Wali Al-Khalidi about his reason to support Abdullah Puteh to become one of the senators from Aceh at Senayan, Abuya Syeikh Haji Amran Waly Al-Khalidi argued that Abdullah Puteh always became one of the figures that always defended and fought for Muslims in Aceh. So that, Abuya felt convinced to fully support Abdullah Puteh openly. This was not the first time Abuya supported Abdullah Puteh. During the election of governor of Aceh in 2000-2004 period, Abuya also supported him. It seemed that they both have maintained a strong emotional relationship.⁸⁷

From several examples above, the conclusion that could be drawn was the advices from *ulama* served as the guide in social life essence and also in politics. This because the *ulama* were considerably accurate and proper in analysing something. It certainly was agreed that *penutoh* from *ulama* becomes the foundation of people in Aceh to take action even during the political party of 2019 *Pemilu*. The recruitment for *ulama* toward the general election became the strong prove that the role of *ulama* in politics was very significant, not only in the spiritually religious affair but also in the socio-politics.

When they were asked by the researcher about their reasons to participate in politics, they (*ulama* and *santri* dayah) believed that it was important for adding the role of *ulama* in politics, and Islam would never

⁸⁷ Interview with Abuya Amran Waly Al-Khalidi in Dayah Pawoh Aceh Selatan, Aceh, Indonesia.

ban it. *Ulama* becomes the teachers and role models for *ummat* in improving the quality of their attitudes. Waled Nu (2019) confirmed that Islam did not just encourage people to do praying, fasting, performing hajj and alms, or maintaining the relationship between human and God. Islam came in every sector of human's lives. In political sector, Islam advised to do it properly, without intimidating and bribing. *Ulama's* presence here is to erase the intimidation, fraud and bribe in politics by offering the solutions. This is what we call as *politics of ulama*.⁸⁸

Moreover, Waled Nu (2019) explained the decadence of morals occurred in Aceh society, especially in adolescence. The negative spread of immoral anywhere has forced the religious figures to nominate themselves as the policy makers. The aim was to nobly fix people's morals, teenagers and overthrow the immoral foundations standing on the land of Porch of Mecca. Therefore, it is important to fix it through a political participation of *ulama* and *santri dayah*. Their participations were needed as the political machine in order to uphold the truth of Islam.⁸⁹

Similarly, Abu Mudi (2019) mentioned that *ulama* and *santri dayah* in politics, contextually in 2019 *Pemilu* was necessarily done as a manifestation to re-actualise the truth of Islam in Aceh. We could not let the control of this country would be held by immoral person. Besides, politics in Islam is closely related with the nation. The first Islamic country, *Madinah al-Munawarah* as a momentous history of Islam. War and the contribution in politics became the earliest lesson to create a country, received by the people in Madinah during the first government in first year of *Hijriah*. Hence, the role of *ulama* was to save Islam as the religion of Allah to be enforced in the universe.⁹⁰

Additionally, Abu Mudi (2019) told that the existence of a country (government) became the first principle to necessitate *ulama* to be involved in politics. Without a country, Islam would be out of the line, so that it required to defend country in the context of politics or "*Siyasah*" for

⁸⁸ Interview with Waled Nu in Dayah Samalanga, Aceh, Indonesia

⁸⁹ Interview with Waled Nu in Dayah Samalanga, Aceh, Indonesia

⁹⁰ Interview with Waled Nu in Dayah Samalanga, Aceh, Indonesia

every single Muslim. This context was also analogised (to be *qiyas*) with Imam during prayer congregation. There is a unity of *shaf* (line), the movement of *raka'at*, *takbir* and *salam* which were done systematically and well-organised, led by *Imam*. The prayer could not be proceeded without the presence of *Imam*, vice versa. Therefore, Politics in Islam is considered as *jihad* on the path of Allah done together by defending the religion of Allah and Islam to provide a true fair leader.⁹¹

Therefore, from the arguments above, it can be concluded that if we carefully analyse deeply about the concept of participation of *ulama* and *santri dayah* in 2019 *Pemilu*, *ulama* in Aceh who participated to be involved in the political practice were motivated to elevate *Kalimatullah*: defending and preserving the truth of Islam as the manifestation of the kingdom of Allah in this universe, honouring and standing up Muslims from the oppression and betrayal from despotic people.

This was also called for allowing politics in Islam and for *ulama* by outlining the motivations and intentions aimed for the politics itself, that is, fighting against the ruthlessness, and to respect the place of worship, to guarantee the freedom, to erase the defamation and hoax and to guarantee the freedom of everyone to adhere and perform their beliefs and religion, based on the *firman* of Allah SWT in Surah At-Taubah 9: 13: "*Will ye not fight a folk who broke their solemn pledges, and purposed to drive out the messenger and did attack you first? What! Fear ye them? Now Allah hath more right that ye should fear Him, if ye are believers*"

Abuya Amran Waly (2019) added that the involvement of *dayah* in politics is very important. This was for presenting the leaders in Aceh who were obedient and righteous based on the Islamic teaching. Without any support from *santri dayah* and society, all the noble purposes would be hard to achieve. The political fundamentals done by *ulama* was also based on the *Syari'ah* and Islamic teachings, in which the tenets and values of Islam could not be applied perfectly and completely (*kaffah*) without the presence of proper leader. So, politics run by *ulama* served to

⁹¹ Interview with Abu Mudi Samalanga in Dayah Mudi Mesra Samalanga, Bireuen, Aceh, Indonesia.

carry the trust (*amanah*) from Allah SWT to perform the religion, and to preserve Islam.⁹²

Santri at *dayah* were very obliged to participate actively in succeeding 2019 *Pemilu* in various ways, based on the background and roles played by *ulama*. There were several models from the involvement of *dayah* occurred recently, among others were: First, involved actively as practitioner and political actors as the member of organisation and activist in particular political party. That kind of model directly involved the elite of *dayah*, those were, *ulama*, *Teungku dayah*, their families and seniors who maintained a harmony relation with *ulama*. The direct involvement gave greater political opportunities for elite *dayah* to reach a better political position. That position expectedly could provide political space to fight for the people's interests and *dayah*, because those political positions would determine the policies and programs for development.

For instance, Teuku Raja Keumangan (TRK) in Nagan Raya nominated himself as the candidate for legislative member in people's representative (DPR) Aceh won the 2019 *Pemilu* for Dapil 10 (Aceh Jaya, Aceh Barat, Nagan Raya and Simeulue). If it was analysed well, there was indication and powerful influence from religion factor, especially *ulama Dayah*, that was because he is the grandson from Abu Habib Seunangan (*Ulama Tarekat Syattariyah*) reputable in Peuleukang, Kecamatan Seunangan Timur, District of Nagan Raya.⁹³

Another example, it could be seen from the victory reached by H. Ruslam M. Daud (HRD) as the member of DPR RI Dapil Aceh 2 from PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa) in 2019 *Pemilu*. His success in *Pemilu* was also because the main factor that he had a closely emotional relationship with charismatic *ulama* from Aceh, Abu Mudi, Waled Nu and other *ulama*. This statement was also confirmed by Waled Nu (2019) in the research interview, in which the win of H. Ruslan M. Daud (HRD) was one of the proves of successful political attitudes played by *ulama*

⁹² Interview with Abuya Amran Waly Al-Khalidi in Dayah Pawoh Aceh Selatan, Aceh, Indonesia.

⁹³ Interview with Abu Qudrat in Nagan Raya, Aceh; and Interview with Teuku Raja Keumangan (TRK) in Banda Aceh, Indonesia

and *dayah* in Aceh, and by fully supporting and recommendation to vote for himself as one of the members in DPR RI. This success expectedly could cooperate with *ulama* and other stakeholders in Aceh and in central government in Jakarta to gain the aspiration from *ulama* and for the national development.⁹⁴

Another statement was supported by H. Ruslan M. Daud (HRD) himself in the interview with the researcher, in which he nominated as the candidate of legislative member of DPR RI for the support from *ulama* and *santri dayah* in Aceh. He really thanked to the *ulama* in Aceh, especially Abu Mudi, Waled Nu and other groups of *ulama* and *dayah*. Absolutely, his first assignment is to accommodate and struggle for the aspiration from *ulama* and *dayah* in Aceh.⁹⁵

Second, as the additional reinforcement for particular political party by giving the support behind the scene. Under the command of *ulama*, initiating various religious activities that were benefit by political party to socialise his political visions. In many cases, *dayah* held many religious events supported by the certain political power involving Muslims massively. This was reflected from the management of *ulama* meeting held by *dayah*. The activity under the theme of *sillaturrahmi* was supported by a politician of a party and also the son-in-law of *ulama* and the leader of *dayah*. One of the examples was: *Maulid Nabi Besar Muhammad SAW* (The Birthday of Prophet Muhammad), *Haul* (The Death of Charismatic *Ulama* in Aceh) Great Dhikr, and so forth.

Third, as the political legitimacy often manifested in the form of political approval in a party or certain political figure that did not come from the *dayah* scope. This could be seen from the presence of numerous candidates of DPR member to *dayah*, started from district/municipal or from provincial level, either from local party in Aceh or from national party. This factor was considered important because in ideological and traditional political system, religious legitimacy was highly needed, and the reputation of a good Muslim, obedient and maintain a harmony relation with *ulama* and also to decide the electability of political

⁹⁴ Interview with Waled Nu in Dayah Samalanga, Indonesia

⁹⁵ Interview with Ruslan M. Daud (Anggota DPR RI) in Aceh, Indonesia

practitioner before the Muslims. Accordingly, *dayah* often received “order” political visits, candidate of legislative member, vice president, or communities of political party that are in the battle. All of this was done to gain the popularity and reputation as good Muslim amongst the religious community or in *dayah* in Aceh. This was necessary to gain the trust from society, because the *fatwa* of an ‘*alim* that they believed in meaning one “decision word” that could not be revised and compared.⁹⁶

Senior Researcher Populi Center Afrimadona mentioned that, *ulama* has a powerful influence in politics, especially in General Election 2019; the election of DPR, President and Vice President. According to him, “Interesting enough, a factor of leader and religious figures are a significant factor to initiate a remarkable movement.” He added that the phenomena of religious figures contributing in gathering the support which have been happening for a long time ago until today. “Because religion still becomes a decisive factor. Our consequent thinking is still in the identity frame and all things related to the religion are still dominant in our people’s thinking.”

Senior Researcher Populi Center Afrimadona also once conducted a survey themed *Religious Centric Voting* by using the data of *Indonesian Family Life Survey* (IFLS) showing that in 2007 to 2015, there have been significant changes toward the factor of religion in electing a leader. “We see the religious participants significantly increase the possibility of someone to tend to choose a leader based on their religion. This is happening because society is facilitated by the several religious activities held in their environment. The religious programs like recitation and so on do affect.”⁹⁷

⁹⁶ See Saidin Ernas & Ferry Muhammadsyah Siregar, *Kontekstualita*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2010, hlm 207

⁹⁷See in website www.ayobandung.com, “*Ulama Cukup Berpengaruh dalam Politik Termasuk Pemilu 2019*,” pada URL <https://www.ayobandung.com/read/2019/04/12/49549/peneliti-ulama-cukup-berpengaruh-dalam-politik-termasuk-pemilu-2019>

Because of that, when Muslims perceive that taking part in politics is same with the taking part in Islam, that character will push the arrival of religious figures as the political figures. By having a political party is also same with choosing Islam, and then, the obedience in politics means being obedient in performing the teaching of Islam. While the topology of charismatics assume that Muslims choose a political party, follow someone's attitude and behaviour admired in his surroundings. So that, the involvement of *pesantrén* in politics, actually has proven that every *ulama* and *dayah* have their own ways.

From several explanations above, it could be concluded that the existence of *Ulama* and *santri dayah* became a magnet in the event of 2019 *Pemilu*, not because the massive number of *santri* and its popularity. That was because the powerful influence of *Ulama* and *Teungku* in society. *Ulama dayah* became the locomotive to carry people's voice. So, *dayah* was not simply seen by the votes of *santri* in it, but their social influences. *Dayah* which were led by charismatic *ulama* along with their *santri* became the first target of Muslim basis in Aceh, because the influence of *ulama* would affect the choice of *santri*. The cultural relationship between *santri dayah* and *ulama* was basically between teachers and students in *tarekat*, which was *sami'na wa atho'na*. The honour and obedience of students to the teacher was an essential component. This was similar to what that was applied in *tarekat*. As mentioned by Ibn Arabi, a student who did not show respect and loyal to his/her teacher, so he/she had no longer good manner.

Therefore, students in *tarekat* should maintain their manner toward their teacher. They were not allowed to discuss, complain or question their master's advices. Manner here was said as students would get bless from the teacher. Hence, we often found that the form of honour and respect done by the follower to *ulama* or *mursyid* of *tarekat* was very amazing, even when their teacher has passed away, the honour had been proceeding in form of *dhikr*, *shalawat*, prayer and others. Unexceptionally in the political attitude, when *ulama* and the leader of *dayah* had decided their option, so it could be predicted that all *santri* also decided the same one. Thereof, the influence of *ulama dayah* in politics was very influential,

especially in succeeding the activities of *santri's* political participations. Therefore, it was unquestionable if in politics, many leaders had maintained a close relation with *ulama*, and even the leaders appointed them as their personal advisor. That was because the spiritual power of *ulama* that owned the followers were expected to protect and preserve their dominance. The presence of *ulama* in governmental environment, was expected to bring the blessing, and as important as being able to strengthen the leaders' legitimacy in the society.

C. The Attitude of Ulama and Santri Dayah in the 2019 Election in Aceh.

The result of the study also suggested that there were some attitudes of *ulama* and *santri dayah* in succeeding the 2019 election in Aceh. One of them was the political attitude that stood on one of the candidates in the 2019 election. According to Waled Nu (2019), mentioning that it was allowed for *ulama* to participate in politics because in the political world, it needed the foundations of the religion.⁹⁸ However, when the principle violated the rules, for instance forcing the *dalil-dalil* to seek for the justification, then it would not be good. The presence of religious figures in the political sector certainly attracted many people to put their symphaties toward them rather than to other candidates who did not have the background in the *dayah* or *pesantren*.

For instance, based on the research findings done by the researcher, was also obtained a strange attitude from the *ulama* and *santri dayah* in Aceh. The main factor was because the fanatic attitude that turned to be ambitious in campaigning the candidates. For example, in the 2019 election, due to the ambition, desire and certain purposes (either political interest-economy, or the interest of ideology-religious), they wanted to "fight" and "battle" (psywar) with the religious figures and *ulama* that supported another candidate. On the other hand, in order to

⁹⁸ See Abdul Manan, Rahmad Syah Putra, Hoax "Image-Build" and Democracy in Aceh, in Proceedings of the 19th Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies (AICIS 2019), Jakarta 1-4 October 2019, p 1-11.

succeed the candidate whom, they supported, they were not reluctant to cite the verses and religious texts as the “legitimacy of theology”. Another attitude, there were also verses and texts (either the *firman* of Allah, *hadits* of the prophet, or other *ulama*’s quotes) as one of the accurate weapons to affect people by interpreting as they wanted and the interest for those who read it. Tragically and naively, these “political *ulama*” were claiming each other that verses, *hadits* and opinions from *ulama* that they had chosen, selected and cited that became the most right (*shahih*), most valid, accurate and religious.⁹⁹

In another case, having drawn the number for each candidate of president and vice president of Indonesia, the successors from each candidate in Aceh also interpreted the news about those serial numbers with many interpretations that were considered to be benefited for their team through unique and strange interpretations that were created. For instance, for those who got number 1, they attempted to interpret that number as the symbol of victory. It was often that the interpreter tried to “hijack” the holy verses of al-Qur’an to justify their interpretation. Another example was said that “Number 1 is the symbol of *tauhid*” to attract the people’s sympathy. Similar to candidate who got Number 2. They also would interpret that number greatly. The opportunity of “hijack” would be always opened. For instance, “The prophet had left the two guidance, those are al-Qur’an and *hadits*, so the candidate with number 2 must be supported and selected”. This became one of the examples of the hijacked interpretation that related their number with the religious aspect.

Next, it was not impossible that holding number 1 would interpret the number of their rival as the symbol of “*kesyirikan*” (shirk) because they were considered to double the God and other things. Oppositely, candidate with number 2 also interpreted negatively the opponent’s number with the words “one is enough” and so on. Hence, it made people confused, and even got nuts in the social media. In this era of Android, such phenomenon could affect to every level of people, from

⁹⁹ See Abdul Manan, Rahmad Syah Putra, Hoax “Image-Build” and Democracy in Aceh...p. 9.

younger one to the older one. The attitude that attacked each other, to mock and berate each other had become the "new tradition" in Aceh. The war also took place in social media, by spreading the untrue news or also called as hoax in social media, hence, it became the new weapon to win the battle in the political contestant.

Observing that such development, through social media had also produced many observers through the comments that were splashed in the social media, especially *Facebook*. Their comments kept greeting the social media users without knowing the time: in the morning, afternoon and evening. The political observer of social media, this seemed to be strived and not giving up in doing the analysis of national political map, especially toward the contestation of candidate of president and vice president of the Republic of Indonesia. The social media observers were serious enough in proposing their arguments that were believed to be true. Uniquely, just like another team successors of *Capres* and *Cawapres*, the political observers in social media were "equal" with team successor, even though they would never admit and even pretend to be independent. The existence of political observer in social media would consequent to the livelier distributed hoax in social media that implicated to the society in Aceh to split becoming two sides. Not just that, Aceh so far looked easy and relaxed, would be affected with various news and hoax reported in the social media.

Even, it was also found that from the conducted study, the sudden experts would spend almost their time to post many issues and even campaigned their idol in the 2019 Democracy Party in social media. There were some of them who fought between one another in defending their arguments. For instance, in defending the argument toward their *capres* and *cawapres* to death even they mocked each other, for example the A side called their opponent as "*Cebong*", and side B would call their rival as "*Kampret*".

Another phenomenon obtained from the result of the study indicated that some of them even had claimed themselves to be the most Indonesian, the most millennial, smartes, most understandable about religion and most handsome. They were carried to the imagination and

their own halusination, seeming like they would change their destiny in a sudden. They even were very strived more than the team successor who obtained the *Surat Keputusan* (SK) as the successor. They even wanted to spend their time from morning, afternoon and evening without thinking about their lives. Without thinking about the stock of needs at their home, like rice, chili, onion, tomato, sugra, salt, dried fish and many things. Whether their children's milk had been bought or the needs for the family had been fulfilled well. As its implication, the democracy in Aceh would become unhealthy, even some of the people would ignore themselves, and almost in every part in Aceh, it was also found that the presence of hoax that had impacted many social life through the mantra of hoax they spread in form of news in social media and developed in the society in Aceh.

From the result of the study, it was also obtained that the impact of the many distributions of *hoax* had got people in Aceh confused and they felt they were impacted. The implication of *hoax* in the democracy in Aceh had been totally distracted. The people of Aceh experienced the disunity, especially due to the distribution of issue, one of them was the issue related to the politics of 2019 President election and the governor election. This was closely related to the issue of religion, especially thing which was provocative and incited. Even, *hoax* itself was used as the form to provoke and negative agitation, which was to trigger the hatred, anger, incitement to many people (to cause the chaos, and other things), and it usually was done by the religious figures and the activists through the furious speeches to influence people. Then, *hoax* in Aceh was considered as the negative propaganda as the purposive and systematic intention to form the perception, manipulation, thinking and cognition. It also directly affected the attitudes in order to provide the response that was based on the desire of the actor of propaganda for the sake of political purposes to support their group in the 2019 General and Presidential Election.

Establishing the *fatwa* that the politics is a part of worhipness. When we conclude that being involved in the politics is part of worship, and that worship is the kindness done by a moslem that can benefit for himself or even for many people, hence the essence of politics in Islam

became a pure action and the rights for moslem to use the Islamic signs to the development of Islam for the sake to form *al-haq* (truth) and to demolish the *al-bathil* (evil) on the earth.

Therefore, the people of Islam are not prohibited and considered not to be fault to be involved in the politics whenever that politics itself is positioned as the part of worship of him to Allah SWT. Figuratively, one moslem jumped into the politics by using their 100% contained the Islamic values, he politicised as if he wanted to enforce the law of Allah in his country and help people that so far had been the objects of politics by the people who were in the secular and national politics. Then, his kind of political action is considered as part of worship to gain the virtue and blessing from Allah SWT even though eventually he did not get any position. Here, the advantage of the deeds of Islamic politics compared to other deeds done in the secular political actions that has dominated this whole world.

Another attitude played by *ulama* and *santri dayah* in Aceh was also through the establishment of *fatwa* "compulsory" (*wajib*) for one moslem politician who is doing the politics in Islamic ways, and he/she does not need to be afraid of it. Because, if he/she fail in the politics, they will at least get one benefits, that is the virtue from Allah, either in world or later in the hereafter. While, if he/she succeeds in their political journey, they will receive two benefits, besides getting the position, also the virtue from Allah SWT. Meanwhile, *ulama* and *teungku dayah* or even *santri* who apparently did not show the support upon the politicians coming from their group, they will later make a *fatwa* that the secular or non-moslem politician from all their political works would only receive sins and disadvantage from Allah SWT in this world and hereafter. If they win the politics in the world due to the falsehoods, so they will get the sins the world and in the hereafter. Although, at glance, the people in whole world see him as a great person who becomes the member of People Representative (DPR), becomes the President, Minister, Governor, Mayor and others, but all those positions firstly came from a falsehood, then it will still become falsehood and lies since he firstly involved in the politics

until the end of his political career, even worse, until his death because he was fed up by the unkind source of food of the falsehood in the politics.

Another attitude of *ulama dayah* in Aceh during the 2019 election, was also showed by making a *fatwa*, hence all the *santri* participated in supporting their master/teacher, as stated in the press conference in Banda Aceh, Friday (12/4/2019). Tgk. H. Muhammad Yusuf A. Wahab (representing *ulama* of Aceh). Stating that 26 *ulama* from numerous districts in Aceh signed the Memorandum of Understanding, to support political partner, Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. One of the points was asking the commitment from them (candidate number 2) to implement the **"Syariat Islam in Aceh."**

"We writtenly stated the commitment for the number 02, the candidate of president in form of the MoU, containing the main thinkings and ideas of *ulama* Aceh related to the development of Aceh in the future that will be fought by Prabowo-Sandi if they are elected."

The form of support was issued after the *ulama* observes, studied and understood the situation of religious development, nation and politics. To declare the support, these *ulama* also asked Prabowo and Sandi to sign the MoU. That MoU was signed by 26 figures of *ulama* and the leaders of *dayah* all across Aceh on April, 3rd 2019. The MoU signed by 26 *ulama* and the number 2 candidate containing nine points.

"This is the idea or mutual understanding from *ulama* and was approved by the candidate number 2 for the interests of Aceh in the future."

According to him, *ulama* just delivered the main thought that was very significant. "This is not a persuasion (to fully support), but to articulate the bottom heart and the order of knowledge how to advise them who take control in order to make a policy and authority based on the religious teaching", reported from detik.com. There were *ulama dayah* in Aceh who participated to support and to issue the *fatwa* to support the

political candidate in the 2019 Election was Tgk. H. Muhammad Amin (Abu Tumin), Tgk. H. Usman Ali (Abu Kuta Krueng), Tgk. Muhammad Daud Ahmad (Abu Lueng Angen), Tgk H Muhammad Ali (Abu Paya Pasi), Tgk H Judin Tahmad, Tgk H.M Yusuf A Wahab (Tu Sop Jeunib), Tgk H Syekh Marhaban Adnan (Waled Bakongan), Tgk H Bukhari Hasan (Ayah Leuge), Tgk H Hasballah Ali (Abu Keutapang), Tgk H Mustofa Ahmad (Abu Paloh Gadeng), Tgk H Muhammad Amin Daud (Ayah Cot Trueng), Tgk H Bulqaini Tanjongan, Tgk H Ramli Ben Cut (Abati Babah Buloh), Tgk H Abdul Manan (Blang Jruen), Tgk Muslim Qamaruddin, Tgk H Abdurrahman Badar, Tgk H Abu Hasan (Abi Batu Korong), Tgk Fauzi Abubakar, Tgk Razali Manyak, Tgk Syeh Muhajir, Tgk Mahmuddin Usman, Tgk H Abi Hanafiah, Tgk H Basarinur, Tgk H Muhammad Ja'far, Ustadz Mansur dan Tgk Muslim At Tahiri (FPI).¹⁰⁰ The following is the points of Memorandum of Understanding between *Ulama* Dayah and the Candidate of President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia:

*NOTA KESEPAHAMAN POKOK PIKIRAN ULAMA ACEH DENGAN
CALON PRESIDEN DAN WAKIL PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA H.
PRABOWO SUBIANTO-H. SANDIAGA SALAHUDDIN UNO PADA
PEMILIHAN PRESIDEN TAHUN 2019*

Having observed, studied and comprehended the situation of the development toward Religion, Nation and Country and also the current social situation, politics and economic in the society, both in the level of national or provincial in Aceh.

That to bind the mutual understanding, need to be writtenly stated, the commitment of the Candidate of President and Vice President of 2019-2024 period in the form of Mutual Understanding agreed by *Ulama* of Aceh together with the Candidate of President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. H. Prabowo Subianto and H. Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno in the President Election on 17th of April 2019.

The followings are the agreed statements:

¹⁰⁰See in the <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4507996/26-ulama-aceh-teken-nota-kesepahaman-dengan-prabowo-sandi>

- 1) That the President/Vice President of Indonesian republic will be committed to the implementation of *Syari'at Islam* which is grounded by the history and culture of people of Aceh, which is Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah based on the Undang-Undang Number 1, 2006 About the Aceh Government which always clings firmly to Pancasila and UUD 1945 in the frame of The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI);
- 2) That President/Vice President of Republic of Indonesia support the peace in Aceh through the humanitarian principles and the justice that upholds the idiosyncracies and specialties of Aceh in NKRI, as stated in the Helsinki MoU and also based on the law and the existed constitutions;
- 3) That President/Vice President of Republic of Indonesia can form the institution or agency of *Forum Konsultasi Pemerintah Pusat dan Aceh* that functions to discuss and decide the administrative and other strategic policies applied in Aceh in the administration of the government related to the issue of Religion, Education, Politics, Law, Social, Economic, Layout, Land, Environment, Natural Resources, Poverty Alleviation and others that are based on the law and the constitution;
- 4) That President/Vice President of Republic of Indonesia will be committed to strengthen the role of *ulama* in the well administration of government in Aceh;
- 5) That President/Vice President of Republic of Indonesia will be committed to the development and the reinforcement in the sector of *Dayah* based Islamic Education in Aceh to be truly equal with the formal education;
- 6) That President/Vice President of Republic of Indonesia will be committed to the development of economic and *Syari'ah* investment that was typically based on the characteristics of Aceh as the special region;
- 7) That President/Vice President of Republic of Indonesia will be committed to preserve the authority of Special Autonomy Fund of

Aceh (Dana Otonomi Khusus Aceh) oriented on the welfare and the improvement of Aceh;

- 8) That President/Vice President of Republic of Indonesia will be committed to optimize the authority and function of *Lembaga Wali Nanggroe* as the special institution of Aceh as agreed in the MoU of Helsinki and the Undang-Undang Number 1, 2006 about the Government of Aceh;
- 9) That President/Vice President of Republic of Indonesia will be committed to involve the *Ulama* of Aceh and the components of intellectual individuals, scholars as the advisor or another title based on the law, in order to formulate the strategic policy to actualize the mandate of Undang-Undang Number 11, 2006 about the Government of Aceh that has established Aceh as the Special Region in NKRI.

May Allah blesses us with the *taufiq, hidayah* and *ma'nah* upon us all.

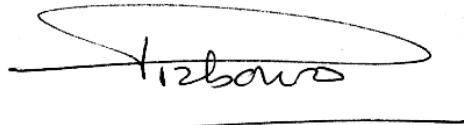
Aceh, 27 Rajab 1440 H/03 April 2019

Signed by:

Agreed

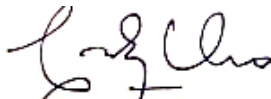
Jakarta, 27 Rajab 1440 H/03 April 2019

Candidate of President-Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia



H Prabowo Subianto

Candidate of President



H Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno

Candidate of Vice President

Questioning about another attitude of *ulama* in Aceh in politics had been also explained clearly by Khairil in his book entitled *Demokrasi Kurang Ajar*, that a *kyai* may become the holy “king” before his *santri*, but in front of political practice, that “holiness” will be faded instantly through the nudity action that cannot be prevented. All his kindness that have been spread will be drowned and all of his deep and hidden mistakes will be exposed in the nudity. Someone who is recognizably clean out there, instantaneously will lose his dignity when he dives into the political practice. All of the evils that used to be buried now will become emerged through the nakedness.¹⁰¹

For instance, the political side that has been already played the religious issue in the early of his political journey will be on the “sideway” when their political rivals played the same issue. In this condition, they will play the re’*’ijtihad*”, whether they will continue that issue as the political commodity or choose to revise and turn to another issue. As mentioned earlier, this decision really depends on the assumptions related to the future impact. If they consider the religious issue is still effective and advantageous, so they will preserve this. For instance, the political side who had already campaigned to the public that they will vote for the *ulama* as the candidate of vice president, but in reality, they “cancel” to choose the *ulama* due to certain considerations. So, the candidate of vice president who was firstly not an *ulama* will be forced to be “*ulama*” through many ways without caring much about people’s trust. At least, he will be the *santri*.

To preserve this sustainability, it can be applied in several steps and can be done simultaneously. The phase pattern is by convincing public that the candidate of vice president that they support will look for the correct argument through the method of “*cocoklogi*”¹⁰² After the people were convinced, the status of *santri* will be upgraded as the *ulama* through the strategy of “*confirmation*”. Then, there were the millennial

¹⁰¹ Khairil Miswar, *Demokrasi Kurang Ajar*, Yogyakarta: Zahir Publishing, 2018, p. 1-23.

¹⁰² *Cocoklogi* adalah suatu istilah untuk kegiatan yang dipaksa cocokkan dalam politik.

ulama. If the strategies to preserve this lateness was proved to be ineffective, so it perhaps turned back into another strategy by revising the unupdated thing. The easiest way to revise this lateness was by re-campaigning that *ulama* did not belong to the room of politics. To support this statement, it required proposed arguments that were contradicted with the earlier arguments. In the political practices, the sudden changes become a very common thing.

The development of political contestation to the 2019 President Election that seemed to be mad. This conclusion was not considered to be exaggerated if we concerned the attitudes and indications of the successor team from both sides that was competing each other. The sanity seemed to be degraded in the midst of furious and explosive optimism. Both parties were convinced that their candidate would win the “fight” to reign the power for the next five years. Both parties admitted to be the strongest, smartest and most pious, most millennial and coolest, most “qualified”, most loved by people and millions of countless “the most”.

In the midst of the sanity that seemed to be thinner, the ridiculous ideas emerged; caught and stumbled. Joking themselves and laughing to themselves. They were the jokers and they also became the audience of themselves, entertained by their own jokes. The silliest silliness that had not been realized in the middle of confession that they became the most aware party from the unaware. Does it look crazy? Recently, reported from “*media facebook*” that had controlled all people’s minds from half of population across the globe in this century – there was a debate between two parties related to the president election. One party proposed the debate using English language and another party asked in Arabic. The emergence of this ridiculous idea was certainly without any reason. The one who asked the debate to be held in English was not an excellent English user, while the one that asked in Arabic might be the *Mumtaz* in Arabic. But, they were not aware that such idea would more emphasise their ridiculousness. One side believed that their rival was not capable in English or Arabic each other. The both ridiculousness from both parties finally met. It can be analogized like to ask the chicks to bleat and goat to cackle. Which one was crazy? If the sanity keep dying, so there might be a

suggestion in the future that the debate between the candidate of president to be held in the sign language or maybe the *Sansekerta* or using the flag of *semaphore* or morse code using whistle. That can be wrapped up from the current political condition in Aceh.

D. Factor that Motivated the *Ulama* and *Santri Dayah* to Participate in Politics.

From the result of the study, there were some factors that motivated *ulama* and *santri dayah* in Aceh to participate fully in the 2019 General Election in Aceh. One of them which was very fundamental, was the religion-ideology. In the current political tradition in Aceh, the term of *santri* and *ulama* had become popular, becoming one significant attribute in one political product. Uniquely, the label of "*santri*" can increase its level to fulfil the desire and basic needs of religious politics. Even more, to strengthen the legitimacy, they often "rape" the religious proportions to forcefully to be fitted with their political product that they would market. Legitimizing the political products through the religious proportions, was the true evidence how religion became the essential matter in every political promotion for whatever it takes and should be allowed "*halal*".

Including between both parties supporting the candidate of President and Vice President, Jokowi-Ma'ruf and Prabowo-Sandi. The involvement of *ulama* and *santri dayah* attempted to play various political tricks through the religion as the attribute. Consequently, *ulama* in Aceh was separated into two sides. The presence of *ulama* as the master of political campaign attracted the people's enthusiasm in order to socialize their support to be called higher. This could be seen in the orientation of participants in socializing the candidate they proposed. Just like in the process of campaign, people's enthusiasm became highly improved, and the pride for wearing the attribute of the candidate (sticker, pictures of candidate, pin, flags of parties). The use of *fatwa* or certain terms that was developing was something common to happen as the way to attract the voters as long as it did not contain the negative imagery. Because, basically, the political identity of *ulama* maybe seemed to be difficult to be

separated from the interests and their political agenda. For instance, whether *ulama* affiliated with Islamic party, or took the role in politics, so that *ulama* could freely issue the certain *fatwa* about their political orientation.

The factor of ideology and religion became one of the main things that encouraged *ulama* and *santri dayah* to be involved in politics. This was convinced by some field notes occurred in Aceh. For instance, recently, the effect of differently interpreting Islam, so it caused something to happen “tension” between group that was perceived as *Wahhābi* with the group of *Aswaja* (*Ahl as-Sunnah Waljama’ah*) by the traditional stream (*dayah*). From here, it proved that the ideology and religion factor became one of the main factors in the participation in politics.

Therefore, it barely could be imagined, in Aceh, they tended to sacrifice and even ready to shed the blood to defend their ideology and religion, that is “Islam”, even though one moslem was drunk and even miss out the five-time prayers. This must be motivated by the aim and specific target related to the Islam itself. Even more, it had been declared in *fatwa* by *ulama dayah*. So, hence, they defended until death, without checking and reviewing them. They directly considered them as “*Jihad Fisabilillah*” even though what they defended was not truly right. That was the doctrine of religion played by *dayah* in the political competition in Aceh during 2019.

Another result of study revealed that the issue related to the ideology and religion showed by one of *ulama dayah* in Aceh, that was Waled NU. He even instructed his *santri* to vote for number 2, that was Joko Widodo and Ma’ruf Amin as the president and vice president of 2019-2024. When he was interviewed by the research team, the main reason Waled NU supported Joko Widodo and Ma’ruf Amin as the president and vice president of Indonesia in 2019-2024 was because Joko Widodo chose the cadre of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Ma’ruf Amin. Therefore, they had one ideology to fight for, that was NU.

Even when he delivered an opening speech during the campaign under the theme: *Geutanyoe Aceh pileh Jokowi Ma'ruf* held by *Sekber Aceh* and *Tim Pemenangan Jokowi-Ma'ruf* in the Lido Graha, Lhokseumawe, attended by five thousands invitations, as reported from Acehtrend.co, mentioning that the reason Waled NU to fully support the 2019 Election and ready to be the front line in supporting Jokowi, since he selected Prof. Dr. Kyai H. Ma'ruf Amin as his partner. Ma'ruf Amin was recognized as the moslem scientist and kharismatik *ulama* in Indonesia.

"It must be known that Jokowi had picked up our "parent" as his vice, that is Kyai H. Ma'ruf Amin, *Rais 'Aam* of the great member of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU). He is our master and our parent. He (Ma'ruf Amin) is our parent, and now he becomes the vice president, what are you waiting for? I put hope and ask you all to choose our parent that has been elected as the vice president of Jokowi."¹⁰³

Furthermore, Waled NU also mentioned that his support was because of their caring toward "Islam". And also, it was proved since Joko Widodo became the President of Indonesia, the first step he took was to authorize *Hari Santri Nasional* as *Hari Besar Nasional*. Waled hoped that there will be minister coming from *santri*. Waled NU also read an Acehnese verse twice.

*"Tajak u Bireuen piyoh di Blang Bladeh
tabloe bu payeh di Keude Peudada.
Tanggai tujuh blah uroe memileh,
bak bajee puteh neutop lumboi sa,"*

From the explanation above, it could be concluded that religion and ideology become one of the main factors, especially in the interest of political world. One of them, as what has shown by one of *ulama* of Aceh,

¹⁰³ Waled Nu dalam Kompenye yang dilingsir dari . (<https://kitabkuning90.blogspot.com/2019/04/alasan-waled-nu-ulama-kharismatik-aceh.html>)

Waled NU in the 2019 General Election. When it was analysed further by the researcher, it found the truth that Waled NU was involved in the politics was encouraged by the presence of his master in NU that becomes the great *ulama* in the archipelago, KH. Ma'ruf Amin.

For Waled NU, Ma'ruf Amin was a figure who is not only admitted for his knowledge in *dayah* and *syari'at Islam*, but also, he was also expert in the *ekonomi syari'at* in this country. The choice for KH. Ma'ruf Amin as the vice president was considered right and this became a progress in the world of *pesantren* that should be proud of. Waled NU undoubtedly elected and defended his master including in the political contest and this as the form of allegiance as the student toward his teacher, KH. Ma'ruf Amin as the candidate of vice president. It seemed like, Waled NU should stand along side his spiritual father under the ideology of Nahdlatul Ulama. Even though there was still disagreement opinion even was mocked by the common people and even from the people of *dayah* themselves, this was also experienced by al-Mukarram Waled NU after being invited to the Presidential Palace (Istana Presiden), but Waled NU responded it calmly.

According to Abu Usman (2020), this condition appeared from several power which was on behalf of the people of Islam. "They considered that they are the true Moslem, who control all masjid. We proved, if he (Jokowi) was not anti-Islam,". Jokowi was a humble man and there were many achievements in term of development done by him. Since then, *Insyah Allah*, he will be elected as the President of the Republic of Indonesia one more time."

The participation of *ulama* in politics was viewed as a reference point for determining the vote acquisition that will be obtained by parties. The participation of the *ulama* gives rise to pro and contra views in the midst of society, the pro view sees *ulama* being able to clean up the political atmosphere, while the counter view sees politics as limited power and tarnishes the *ulama's* image. Because, tied to the word "Islam," politics also has specific goals and targets with respect to Islam itself. One of them, Ibn Khaldun in his Preamble, mentioned the objectives of the practice of *As-Siyasah As-Syar'iyah* are: *Iqomatud din wa siyasatud dunya bihi*

(upholding the religion of Islam, and regulating the affairs of this world with it). This specific target is what distinguishes which political activities are "approved" by Islam, and which are not. Ulama in Aceh believed that in their involvement in carrying out *As-Siyasah As-Syariyah* a good Muslim has a goal as outlined by Ibn Khaldun above. Which Muslim does not want Islam to become the supremacy of the system that governs all life in this world, however, the problem is that there are two conditions that Muslims experience when they want to carry out these noble ideals.

First, is the *tamkin* condition. It is also called an ideal condition in which Islamic law becomes a single system that regulates all lines of life. In simple terms, the conditions when Islam won and held the reins of leadership in total. Ulama have a very neat term, namely "*Siyadatus Syariah*". Like building a house, all the tools, craftsmen, weather and various things needed for the enforcement of Sharia are perfect and ready for use.

Meanwhile, the second condition is a non-ideal condition, in which *Syari'at Islam* loses control over all lines of human life. This condition is also called *istidh'af*, which is a condition when Islam is weak in front of other systems that are its rivals. *Ulama* participating in politics are important, because they have an obligation to uphold religion (*iqomatud din*) which binds all Muslims, regardless of the circumstances. While the circumstances and conditions are not single, each has a different rule of game. Politics during *istidh'af* (weak), of course, is different from when Islam was in total rule. Allah will not change the fate of a people, if that people do not change their own destiny. Therefore, humans must start by choosing a good leader. Therefore, the scholars must regain control, all lines, from politics, economics and knowledge, so that they can return to their former glory.

With the direct involvement of the ulama in the world of politics, it will also have implications for real changes in the *dayah* and of course it will also be of great benefit in improving *dayah* coffers, from a financial and economic perspective in the form of rewards given by candidate pairs to scholars as a form of strengthening the *ulama's* relationship. with

the power (government), with the strong relationship between the *ulama* as a partner of the government, it will make it easier for the *dayah* to carry out development, as a result of the *ulama* being involved in playing legitimate roles in government policy.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A. Conclusion

The role and existence of *ulama* and *dayah* in the political dynamics in Aceh has been existed for a long time, especially in the development of Islam in Aceh. From several phases of political development in Aceh, from the era of Kingdom, phase of Independence, New Ordo until the phase of Reformation had also been discovered the success indicators of politics in Aceh. Even though the involvement of *ulama* in the political practice becomes controvercy amongst society. However, the *ulama* along with their *dayah*, had played a significant role through the movements and networking between *ulama* and *santri dayah*.

There was the participation of *ulama* and *santri dayah* in Aceh in the 2019 General Election. That participation was obviously recognized to their full support toward one of the candidates in the 2019 General Election. The reason of their participation of *ulama* and *santri dayah* in that politics was grounded from the teaching that Islam does not forbid *ulama* to be involved in the politics. Because, it was similarly done with doing the *syari'at*, like worship, law, *muamalah*, *syari'ah* economic needed a political leader that shared the same ideas for Islam. And the general election was a way done by the government to decide and select the leader that could run the fair governmental system.

Various forms of attitudes of *ulama* and *santri dayah* in succeeding the 2019 General Eelction in Aceh was showing the political action that stood a side to one of the candidates in the 2019 Election through the use of *fatwa* or certain terms that were used frequently in influencing the voters. The *fatwa* or term that was popular was something common to happen as the way to attract the voters as long as it did not contain negative imagery. Because, basically, the political identity of *ulama* perhaps seemed to be difficult to separate from the intention and interest of their political agenda. For instance, whether the *ulama* affiliated with the Islamic party or took the role in the politics that caused them to issue the certain *fatwa* about their political orientation. Another attitude, there

were also many verses and texts (*Firman* of Allah and *Hadits* from *Rasulullah*, or the said of *ulama*) as one of the effective weapons to influence the society by interpreting those verses as what they wanted and for the purpose of their interests.

The factor that motivated *ulama* and *santri dayah* in Aceh to participate fully in the 2019 General Election in Aceh, one of them was the one which was fundamental, that was the ideology-religion, so it was barely imagined, in Aceh they wanted to sacrifice and even be ready to spread their blood to defend the ideology and their religion, that is "Islam", even though one muslim was drunk and even miss out the five time prayers. This must be motivated by the aim and specific target related to the Islam itself. Even more, it had been declared in *fatwa* by *ulama dayah*. So, hence, they defended until death, without checking and reviewing them. Another factor was by involving *ulama* directly in the politics, it would imply another real change in *dayah* certainly it also benefited greatly in curing the *dayah's* financial and economic, as form of reward given by the candidate to *ulama* as the manifestation of future strongly close relationship between *ulama* and the government. Through this strong relationship, as the partner in the government, they would ease *dayah* in executing the development, as the effect from the involvement of *ulama* in doing the legitimacy toward the governmental authority.

B. Suggestion

For *Ulama dayah*, they expectedly could maintain the role as *unifier* who are able to protect and unite the people in the politics, and also in order to preserve the interests of many people above the personal interests, and keep playing the role in form of inputs, suggestions and morale values (*tausiyyah*) oriented by the Islamic values, in order to rejuvenate our political condition in Aceh based on the Islamic politics, by not ignoring the religious propositions for the just political interests.

For *santri dayah*, they could play the role in politics well by paying the attention to the Islamic values, and do not commit the dirty politics by disorienting the religious proportions in the wrong political gulf.

For the researcher and readers, it will be expected to be the reference as the knowledge and insight, especially about the political dynamics in Aceh related to the *ulama* and *santri dayah*, and expected to conduct the future study in order to see from another different perspective to prevent the misunderstanding. Finally, it could result to a better Islamic idea and become the references for future studies both scientifically and academically.

REFERENCES

BOOK & JOURNAL

- Abdul Hamid M. Jamil. (2019). *Umat Bertanya Waled Menjawab: Pemikiran Teungku H. Nuruzzahri*. Edisi Kedua. Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing.
- Abdul Manan, Rahmad Syah Putra. (2019). Hoax “Image-Build” and Democracy in Aceh, in *Proceedings of the 19th Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies (AICIS 2019)*, Jakarta 1-4 October 2019, p 1-11.
- Abdullah. (2008). *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam Asia Tenggara*, Jakarta: Ichtiar baru Van Hoeve.
- Ahmad Patoni. (2007). *Peran Kiai Pesantren dalam Partai Politik*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Ahmad Ramdhani. (2009). Relasi Partai Politik dengan Pondok Pesantren (Studi Kasus PPP dengan Pondok Pesantren Daruttafsir Kabupaten Bogor), *E-Theses*, Program Studi Pemikiran Politik Islam, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.
- Amirul Hadi. (2008). Menguak Beberapa Dimensi Budaya Kerajaan Aceh: Sebuah Kajian Historis, in *Miqot* Vol. XXXII No. 1 Januari-Juni 2008, p. 110.
- Andrew Heywood in Budiardjo Miriam. (2007). *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Basri Seta. (2011). *Pengantar Ilmu Politik*, Jogjakarta: Indie Book Corner.
- Budiardjo Miriam. (2007). *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Budiman Arif. (2017). *Partisipasi Ulama Dayah dalam Partai Politik Lokal pada DPC PNA-PA, dan PNA Kabupaten Aceh Selatan*, e-Theses, Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Universitas Syiah Kuala Banda Aceh.
- C. Snouck Hurgronje. (1906). *The Atjehnese*, A.W.S.O’ Sullivan (terj), Vol. 1, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

- Dicky Wirianto. (2017). Abuya Muda Waly Al-Khalidi, in *Kalam: Jurnal Sosial dan Humaniora* Vo. 5 No. 1. p. 146.
- Faisal Ismail. (2004). *Dilema Nahdlatul Ulama di Tengah Badai Pragmatisme Politik*, Jakarta: Mitra Cendikia.
- Gabriel A. Almond in Basri Seta. (2007). *Pengantar Ilmu Politik*, Jogjakarta: Indie Book Corner.
- Gabriel Almond dan Sidney Verba. (2011). *Budaya Politik: Tingkah Laku Politik dan Demokrasi di Lima Negara* Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Hamdiah Latif. (2007). *Tradisi dan Vitalitas Dayah (Kesempatan dan Tantangan*, in *Didaktika*, Fakultas Tarbiyah, Keguruan, dan Ilmu Pendidikan UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh.
- Harry J. Benda. (1965). *Japanese Military administration in Indonesia, Selected document, Translation series* No. 6, New Heaven: Yale University, 1965, p. 73.
- Hasan Shadaly. (1955). "A Preliminary Study on the Impact on a Community and its Culture in Indonesia", Unpublished M.A. thesis, Ithaca,N.Y: Cornell University.
- Hendro Fadli Sari. (2013). *Perilaku Politik Elit & Hubungannya dengan Kyai-Santri: Dukungan Politik Pondok Pesantren Maba'ul Ma'arif Denayar Jombang Terhadap Pemilihan Gubernur (Pilgub) Jawa Timur 2013*, in <http://journal.unair.ac.id/>.pdf, p 1.2
- Ikhwan Arifin. (2008). *Kiai dan Politik: Studi Kasus Perilaku Politik Kiai dalam Konflik Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) Pasca Muktamar II Semarang*, e-Thesis, Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro.
- Irianto Maladi Agus. (2015). *Interaksionisme Simbolik: Pendekatan Antropologis Merespon Fenomena Keseharian*. Semarang: Gigih Pustaka Mandiri.
- James L. Peacock. (1973). *Indonesia: An Antropological Perspective*, Pacific Palisades, California: Good Year Publishing Company.
- James T. siegel. (2996). *The Rope of God*, Berkeley and Los angeles: University of California Press.

- Jenius Khadafi. (2011). Pandangan Siyasah Terhadap Transformasi Peran Tengku Dayah dalam Perpolitikan di Aceh, in *e-Theses*, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.
- Juliansyah Noor. (2011). *Metodologi Penelitian: Skripsi, Tesis, Disertasi, & Karya Ilmiah*, Jakarta: Penerbit Prenada Media Group.
- Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad. (2016). Relasi Islam dan Politik Aceh Abad 16-17, in *Jurnal Al-Tahrir*. 16 (2) November. p. 276
- Khairil Miswar. (2018). *Demokrasi Kurang Ajar*, Yogyakarta: Zahir Publishing.
- Kotler, P. (1994). *Marketing Management: Analysis Planing, Implementation, and Control*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice- Hall, Inc.
- Mahfud Ihsanuddin. (2015). Pesantren dan Dinamika Politik Lokal (Studi Kasus pada Pondok Pesantren Assalam, Desa Sri Gunung, Kecamatan Sungai Lilin, Kabupaten Musi Banyuasin, Sumatera Selatan 1998-2010, *E-Theses*, Pascasarjana Program Studi Agama dan Filsafat, Konsentrasi Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga.
- Maksudi Iriawan Beddy. (2016). *Sistem Politik Indonesia: Pemahaman Secara Teoritik dan Empirik*, Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.
- Margono. (2010). *Metodologi Penelitian Pendidikan*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Marhamah. (2018). Pendidikan Dayah dan Perkembangannya di Aceh, in *At-Ta'dim: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 10 (1) June. p. 71.
- Marhamah. (2018). Pendidikan Dayah Periode Awal di Aceh, in *At-Ta'dim: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 10 (1) June. p. 72
- Marzuki. (2011). Sejarah dan Perubahan Pesantren di Aceh, in *Millah XI* (1), August. p. 222,
- Miriam Budiardjo. (2014). *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Cet IV, Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Mohammad Takdir Ilahi. (2014). Kiai: Figur Elite Pesantren, in *Ibda: Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* ISSN. 1693-6736, 12 (2) July-December. p. 147
- Mualimbunsu Syam Muhammad. (2013). *Motivasi Perang Sabil di Nusantara: Kajian Kitab Ramalan Joyoboyo, Dalailul-Khairat, dan Hikayat Perang Sabil*. Tangerang: Media Madania.

- Muhammada. (2014). Kedudukan Ulama dan *Uleebalang* sebagai Elit Sosial Politik Aceh (1900-1946), in *e-Thesis* Pemikiran dalam Islam Program Pascasarjana Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, Medan.
- Niffenegger, P. B. (1989). *Strategi for Succes From The Political Marketers*, in *The Journal of Consumer Marketing*. p. 45-51
- Nurcholish Madjid. (1997). *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: Potret Sebuah Perjalanan*. Jakarta: Paramadina.
- Nurlatipah Nasir. (2015). Kyai dan Islam dalam Mempengaruhi Perilaku Memilih Masyarakat Kota Tasik Malaya, in *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 6 (2). 2015. p. 34.
- Ormrod, Robert P. (2011). *Political Market Orientation: An Introduction*, Associate Professor Institute for Economics and Management Aarhus University, Denmark, p. 7-12.
- Ramlan Surbakti. (2010). *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, Cet VII, Jakarta: Grasindo Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia.
- Ridwan Hasan. (2013). Peranan dan Sikap Transformasi Politik Ulama dalam Menghadapi Pemilu 2014 di Aceh, in *Millah* Vol. XII, No. 2, Februari. p. 511.
- Riva Rusda. (2014). Keterlibatan Ulama dalam Politik (Suatu Penelitian Terhadap Partai Aceh dan Partai Daulat Aceh di Kabupaten Aceh Barat Daya), *e-Theses*, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Syiah Kuala Banda Aceh.
- Saidin Ernas & Ferry Muhammadsyah Siregar. (2010). *Kontekstualita*, Vol. 25, No. 2. p 207
- Saiful Mujani. (2011). *Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*, Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Schroder, Peter. (2003). *Strategi Politik*, Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, Jakarta.
- Sugiyono. (2012). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Suharsimi Arikunto. (2010). *Prosedur Penelitian; Suatu Pendekatan Praktis*, Edisi Revisi, Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.

- Sukmana Oman. (2016). *Konsep dan Teori Gerakan Sosial*. Malang: Intrans Publishing.
- Surbakti Ramlan. (1992). *Memahami Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: PT Grasindo.
- Syamsul Rijal. (2014). *Peran Politik Kiai dalam Pendidikan Pesantren, dalam Tadris (Jurnal Pendidikan Islam)* e-ISSN. 2442-5494 ISSN. 1907-672X Vol. 9, No. 2. p. 208
- Takeshi Ito. (1978). Why Did Nuruddin ar-Raniry Leave Aceh in 1054 A.H.?, *BKI* 134.
- Tgk. Mohd Basyah Haspy. (1987). *Apresiasi terhadap Tradisi Dayah: Suatu Tinjauan Terhadap Tata Krama dan Kehidupan Dayah*, Banda Aceh: Panitia Seminar Apresiasi Pesantren di Aceh, Persatuan Dayah Inshafuddin, 1987.
- Tim Penyusun PDA. (2017). *AD/ART Partai PDA*, Banda Aceh: PDA.
- Tore Kjeilen. (2005). *Ensiklopedia of the Orient*, Lexic Orient Copy Right.
- Tri Sundari. (2005). Peran Politik Kyai di Pedesaan (Studi Kasus di Kecamatan Wangon, di Kecamatan Banyumas), *Theses Report*, Semarang: UNNES.
- Wasisto Raharjo Jati. (2012). Ulama dan Pesantren dalam Dinamika Politik dan Kultur Nahdlatul Ulama, in *Ulu'ul Albab* Volume 13, No.1.
- Wasisto Raharjo Jati. (2016). *Ulama dan Pesantren dalam Dinamika Politik dan Kultur Nahdlatul Ulama*, Jurusan Politik dan Pemerintahan Fisipol Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.

PERATURAN/UU

- Peraturan Daerah (Perda) Nomor 5 Tahun 2000 tentang Pelaksanaan Syari'at Islam di Aceh.
- Undang-Undang Nomor 44 Tahun 1999 about "Penyelenggaraan Keistimewaan Aceh."

WEBSITE

<https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2016/04/01/amran-wali-jadi-pembicara-tasawuf-di-galus>.

<https://kitabkuning90.blogspot.com/2019/04/alasan-waled-nu-ulama-kharismatik-aceh.html>

<http://www.ayobandung.com>, "*Ulama Cukup Berpengaruh dalam Politik Termasuk Pemilu 2019*," pada URL <https://www.ayobandung.com/read/2019/04/12/49549/peneliti-ulama-cukup-berpengaruh-dalam-politik-termasuk-pemilu-2019>

<http://www.golkar.or.id/tentang/sejarah>

<https://modusaceh.co/news/arus-reformisme-islam-dalam-politik-aceh/index.html>

<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4507996/26-ulama-aceh-teken-nota-kesepahaman-dengan-prabowo-sandi>

<https://www.kba.one/news/melihat-reinkarnasi-partai-daerah-aceh-dari-pemilu-ke-pemilu/index.html>

<http://jsi.web.id/2013/12/pemetaan-political-marketing-partai-nasional-dan-partai-lokal-pada-pemilu-2009-di-provinsi-aceh/#edn55>

INTERVIEW

Interview with Abu Mudi Samalanga in Dayah Mudi Mesra Samalanga, Bireuen, Aceh, Indonesia.

Interview with Abu Qudrat in Nagan Raya, Aceh, Indonesia.

Interview with Abuya Amran Waly Al-Khalidi in Dayah Pawoh Aceh Selatan, Aceh, Indonesia.

Interview with Adjidar Matsyah (Direktur Dayah Tinggi Islam Samudera Pase, Baktiya, Aceh Utara) on routine activities Pengajian Kaukus Wartawan Peduli Syariat Islam (KWPSI) 7 Januari 2018.

Interview with Ruslan M. Daud (Anggota DPR RI) in Aceh, Indonesia

Interview with Teuku Raja Keumangan (TRK) in Banda Aceh, Indonesia

Interview with Tgk HM Yusuf A Wahab (Tu Sop) adalah Pimpinan
Dayah Babussalam Al-Aziziyah Jeunieb, Bireuen,

Interview with Tu Bulqaini (General Secretary of Himpunan Ulama
Dayah Aceh)

Interview with Waled Nu in Dayah Samalanga, Aceh, Indonesia



KEMENTERIAN AGAMA
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH
Jl. Syeikh Abdurauf Kopelma Darussalam Banda Aceh
Telp/fax : 0651-7552921
Situs : www.ar-raniry.ac.id E-mail: humas@gmail.com

SURAT TUGAS

Nomor : 173/Un.08/LP2M/Kp.01.2/01/2020

- Menimbang
- a. bahwa dalam rangka kegiatan Penelitian Pengembangan Pendidikan Tinggi, maka perlu adanya penugasan untuk kegiatan tersebut;
 - b. bahwa berdasarkan pertimbangan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam huruf a, nama tercantum dalam surat tugas, mampu dan cakap untuk melaksanakan tugas sebagaimana dimaksud;
- Dasar
1. Peraturan Menteri Agama RI No. 12 Tahun 2014, tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh.
 2. Peraturan Menteri Agama Nomor 21 Tahun 2015 tentang Statuta UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
 3. PMK Nomor 113 Tahun 2012 tentang Perjalanan Dinas
 4. DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry Nomor : SP DIPA 025.04.2.423925/2020, Tanggal 12 Nopember 2019

Memberi Tugas

Kepada :

1. Nama : Rasyad, S. Ag., M. Ag.
NIP : 197304031998031005
Pangkat/Golongan : Lektor Kepala/IV/a

Tujuan : Bireuen, yang dilaksanakan pada tanggal 10 s/d 12 Februari 2020

Untuk : Kegiatan Penelitian dengan Judul "Dayah and Politics (a Case Study Toward The Political Attitudes of The Ulama and Dayah Students in Aceh During The 2019 General Election".

Selesai melaksanakan tugas segera menyampaikan laporan kepada pemberi tugas sesuai ketentuan.

Banda Aceh, 20 Januari 2020

Ketua,


Dr. Mukhlisah, MA

Tembusan :

1. Kabag. Keuangan dan Akuntansi UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh;
2. Kabag. Organisasi dan Kepegawaian UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh.

MENTERI KEUANGAN
REPUBLIK INDONESIA

	<p>I. Berangkat dari : Banda Aceh (tempat kedudukan)</p> <p>Ke : Bireuen</p> <p>Pada Tanggal : 10 Februari 2020</p> <p>an. Rektor UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh Ketua LPM</p> <p><i>[Signature]</i> Dr. Muklisah, MA NIP. 197809012007102001</p>
<p>II. Tiba di : Pada tanggal : Kepala : <i>Muhammad Chusuf</i></p> <p><i>[Signature]</i> DAYAH UMMUL AYMAN</p>	<p>Berangkat dari : Ke : Pada tanggal : Kepala : <i>Muhammad Chusuf</i></p> <p><i>[Signature]</i> DAYAH UMMUL AYMAN</p>
<p>III. Tiba di : Pada tanggal : Kepala : <i>Cm Yusuf</i></p> <p><i>[Signature]</i> DAYAH UMMUL AYMAN</p>	<p>Berangkat dari : Ke : Pada tanggal : Kepala : <i>Cm Yusuf</i></p> <p><i>[Signature]</i> DAYAH UMMUL AYMAN</p>
<p>IV. Tiba di : Pada tanggal : Kepala :</p>	<p>Berangkat dari : Ke : Pada tanggal : Kepala :</p>
<p>V. Tiba kembali di : Banda Aceh (tempat kedudukan) Pada Tanggal : 12 Februari 2020</p> <p>Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen</p> <p>Nurasiah</p>	<p>Telah diperiksa dengan keterangan bahwa perjalanan tersebut di atas benar dilakukan atas perintahnya dan semata-mata untuk kepentingan jabatan dalam waktu yang sesingkat-singkatnya.</p> <p>Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen</p> <p>Nurasiah</p>
<p>VI. Catatan lain-lain</p>	
<p>VII. PERHATIAN : PPK yang menerbitkan SPD, pegawai yang melakukan perjalanan dinas, para pejabat yang mengesahkan tanggal berangkat/tiba, serta bendahara pengeluaran bertanggung jawab berdasarkan peraturan Keuangan Negara, apabila negara menderita rugi akibat kesalahan, kelalaian, dan kealpaannya.</p>	



MENTERI KEUANGAN
REPUBLIK INDONESIA

Lampiran 1

PERATURAN MENTERI KEUANGAN REPUBLIK INDONESIA
NOMOR 113/PMK.05/2012

TENTANG

PERJALANAN DINAS JABATAN DALAM NEGERI BAGI PEJABAT
NEGARA, PEGAWAI NEGERI, DAN PEGAWAI TIDAK TETAP

KEMENTERIAN AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA
DIREKTORAT JENDERAL PENDIDIKAN ISLAM
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY
BANDA ACEH

Lembar ke :
Kode No :
Nomor : 174/Un.08/LP2M/Kp.01.2/014

SURAT PERJALANAN DINAS (SPD)

1.	Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen	Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh	
2.	Nama / NIP pegawai yang melaksanakan perjalanan dinas	Rasyad, S. Ag., M. Ag. 197304031998031005	
3.	a. Pangkat dan Golongan b. Jabatan / Instansi c. Tingkat Biaya Perjalanan Dinas	a. Lektor Kepala/IV/a b. Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora c. =C =	
4.	Maksud Perjalanan Dinas	Untuk melaksanakan Penelitian Dayah and Politics (a Case Toward The Political Attitudes of The Ulama and Dayah Stude Aceh During The 2019 General Election	
5.	Alat angkutan yang digunakan	Darat	
6.	a. Tempat berangkat b. Tempat tujuan	a. Banda Aceh b. Bireuen	
7.	a. Lamanya perjalanan dinas b. Tanggal berangkat c. Tanggal harus kembali / tiba di tempat baru *)	a. 3 (tiga) hari b. 10 Februari 2020 c. 12 Februari 2020	
8.	Pengikut : Nama	Tanggal Lahir	Keterangan
	1. Ikhwan, MA.		
	2. -		
	3. -		
9.	Pembebanan Anggaran a. Instansi b. Akun	DIPA UIN Ar - Raniry Banda Aceh	
10.	Keterangan lain-lain		

Coret yang tidak perlu

Dikeluarkan di Banda Aceh
Tanggal : 20 Januari 2020
Pejabat Pembuat Komitmen

Nurasiah



FATWA
MAJELIS PERMUSYAWARATAN ULAMA ACEH
NOMOR 03 TAHUN 2014
TENTANG
PEMILIHAN UMUM MENURUT PERSPEKTIF ISLAM

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

MAJELIS PERMUSYAWARATAN ULAMA ACEH

- Menimbang :
- a. bahwa pemilihan umum merupakan sarana kedaulatan rakyat untuk memilih pemimpin dan wakil rakyat yang aspiratif, komunikatif dan bertanggungjawab;
 - b. bahwa Islam mewajibkan ummat memilih pemimpin dan wakil rakyat yang bertaqwa kepada Allah SWT dengan melaksanakan perintah-Nya dan menjauhi larangan-Nya;
 - c. bahwa untuk menghasilkan pemimpin yang baik, pemilihan umum harus diselenggarakan dengan baik, tertib, aman, bebas dan rahasia;
 - d. bahwa Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh perlu mengkaji secara mendalam menurut perspektif Islam;
 - e. bahwa berdasarkan pertimbangan sebagaimana dimaksud dalam huruf a, huruf b, huruf c, dan huruf d, Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh memandang perlu menetapkan fatwa.

- Mengingat :
1. Al-Qur'anul Karim;
 2. Al-Hadits;
 3. Ijma' Ulama;
 4. Qiyas;

5. Kaidah Fiqh;
6. Kaidah Ushul Fiqh;
7. Pendapat-pendapat ulama;
8. Undang-Undang Nomor 44 Tahun 1999 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Keistimewaan Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh;
9. Undang-Undang Nomor 11 Tahun 2006 Tentang Pemerintahan Aceh;
10. Undang-Undang Nomor 15 Tahun 2011 Tentang Penyelenggara Pemilihan Umum;
11. Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah;
12. Peraturan Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum Nomor 1 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pengawasan Pemilihan Umum Kepada Daerah dan Wakil Kepala Daerah;
13. Peraturan Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum Nomor 4 Tahun 2013 Tentang Tata Cara Pengawasan Kampanye Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, Dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah;
14. Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 1 Tahun 2013 Tentang Pedoman Pelaksanaan Kampanye Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, sebagaimana telah diubah dengan Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 15 Tahun 2013 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 1 Tahun 2013 tentang Pedoman Pelaksanaan Kampanye Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah;

15. Qanun Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Nomor 11 Tahun 2002 Tentang Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Bidang Aqidah, Ibadah dan Syiar Islam;
16. Qanun Aceh Nomor 02 Tahun 2009 Tentang Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh;
17. Keputusan Gubernur Aceh Nomor 451.7/465/2012 tentang Penetapan Pengurus Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh Periode 2012-2017;

Memperhatikan : 1. Khutbah *iftitah* yang disampaikan oleh Ketua Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh;

2. Risalah yang disiapkan oleh Panitia Musyawarah Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh;
3. Pikiran – pikiran yang berkembang dalam sidang Paripurna Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh tanggal 26 sampai dengan 28 Februari 2014.

dengan

bertawakkal kepada Allah SWT dan Persetujuan

DEWAN PARIPURNA ULAMA

MAJELIS PERMUSYAWARATAN ULAMA ACEH

MEMUTUSKAN :

Menetapkan :

PERTAMA : Kriteria pemimpin dan wakil rakyat menurut Islam adalah; beriman, berakhlak mulia, jujur, adil, berilmu, amanah, arif, sehat jasmani dan rohani serta mengutamakan kepentingan dan kemaslahatan ummat.

4/KEDUA...

- KEDUA : Memilih pemimpin dan wakil rakyat yang bertaqwa kepada Allah SWT dan menjalankan *fardhu 'ain* seperti shalat, dan lain-lain adalah hukumnya wajib.
- KETIGA : Pemilihan umum harus diselenggarakan dengan ikhlas, jujur, aman, bebas, rahasia dan penuh rasa tanggungjawab.
- KEEMPAT : Memilih pemimpin dan wakil rakyat yang tidak memenuhi kriteria hukumnya adalah haram.
- KELIMA : Politik Uang dan atau memberikan sesuatu untuk kemenangan kandidat tertentu hukumnya adalah haram.
- KEENAM : Pemberian sesuatu baik langsung atau tidak langsung yang berkaitan dengan politik adalah perilaku yang tidak terpuji, baik yang memberi atau yang menerima.
- KETUJUH : Menghilangkan dan atau merusak alat peraga/ atribut pemilu yang sah menurut hukum negara hukumnya adalah haram.

TAUSHIYAH:

- PERTAMA : Menyerukan kepada semua warga negara Republik Indonesia di Aceh untuk menggunakan hak pilihnya dalam Pemilihan Umum tanggal 09 April 2014 dengan sebaik-baiknya.
- KEDUA : Menyerukan kepada Komisi Independen Pemilihan, Badan Pengawas Pemilu, dan semua pihak yang bertanggung jawab atas penyelenggaraan pemilihan umum agar bertindak jujur dan adil serta menjaga ketertiban, keamanan dan kedamaian.
- KETIGA : Mengajak semua warga Negara Republik Indonesia di Aceh untuk tetap menjaga persatuan dan kesatuan serta memelihara ukhuwah demi terpeliharanya perdamaian yang abadi.
- KEEMPAT : Kepada pimpinan partai politik, anggota, kader dan para kandidat untuk senantiasa memelihara *ukhuwah* Islamiyah dan *ukhuwah wathaniyah*.

- KELIMA : Kepada pimpinan partai politik, anggota, kader dan para kandidat untuk tidak memfitnah, mencaci maki, mengadu domba, melakukan teror, mengintimidasi dan menghujat pihak lain.
- KEENAM : Kepada pimpinan partai politik, anggota, kader dan para kandidat untuk memberikan keteladanan dan pencerahan politik serta tidak mudah mengumbar janji.
- KETUJUH : Kepada pimpinan partai politik, anggota, kader dan para kandidat untuk menerima hasil pemilihan umum dengan penuh keikhlasan dan tawakkal.
- KEDELAPAN : Apabila terjadi perselisihan agar dapat diselesaikan dengan musyawarah dan mufakat sesuai dengan perundang-undangan yang berlaku.

Ditetapkan di : Banda Aceh

pada tanggal : 28 Rabiul Akhir 1435 H
28 Februari 2014 M

PIMPINAN
MAJELIS PERMUSYAWARATAN ULAMA ACEH
K e t u a,
d.t.o

Drs. Tgk. H. Gazali Mohd. Syam

Wakil Ketua,
d.t.o

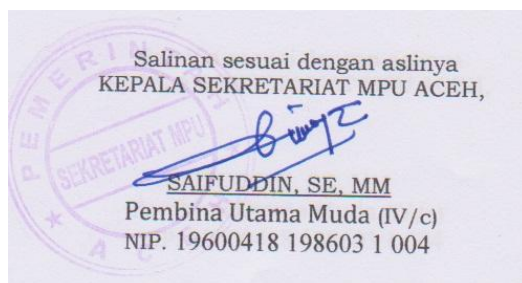
Wakil Ketua,
d.t.o

Wakil Ketua,
d.t.o

Prof. Dr. Tgk. H. Muslim
Ibrahim, MA

Tgk. H. M. Daud
Zamzamy

Tgk. H. Faisal Ali





TAUSHIYAH
MAJELIS PERMUSYAWARATAN ULAMA ACEH
NOMOR : 8 TAHUN 2016
TENTANG
PEMILIHAN KEPALA DAERAH

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Dengan Rahmat Allah Yang Maha Kuasa

MAJELIS PEMUSYAWARATAN ULAMA ACEH

- Menimbang :
- a. bahwa masalah pemerintahan dan kehidupan bernegara adalah masalah yang sangat mendasar dan diatur dalam Islam;
 - b. bahwa Pemilihan Kepala Daerah adalah bagian dari tuntunan agama Islam untuk memilih penyelenggara negara yang baik dalam upaya menerapkan Syariat Islam, mewujudkan kedamaian, kesejahteraan, dan kemakmuran bagi seluruh masyarakat;
 - c. bahwa untuk terselenggaranya pemerintahan yang baik perlu menjunjung tinggi nilai-nilai syariat Islam serta peran aktif masyarakat secara optimal;
 - d. bahwa untuk maksud tersebut, Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh memandang perlu untuk mengeluarkan taushiyah tentang Pemilihan Kepala Daerah.

- Mengingat :
1. Al-Qur'anul Karim;
 2. Al-Hadits;
 3. Ijma' Ulama;
 4. Qiyas;
 5. Kaidah Fiqh;
 6. Kaidah Ushul Fiqh;

7. Pendapat-pendapat ulama;
8. Undang-Undang Nomor 44 Tahun 1999 Tentang Penyelenggaraan Keistimewaan Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh;
9. Undang-Undang Nomor 11 Tahun 2006 Tentang Pemerintahan Aceh;
10. Undang-Undang Nomor 15 Tahun 2011 Tentang Penyelenggara Pemilihan Umum;
11. Undang-Undang Nomor 8 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah;
12. Peraturan Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum Nomor 1 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pengawasan Pemilihan Umum Kepada Daerah dan Wakil Kepala Daerah;
13. Peraturan Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum Nomor 4 Tahun 2013 Tentang Tata Cara Pengawasan Kampanye Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, Dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah;
14. Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 1 Tahun 2013 Tentang Pedoman Pelaksanaan Kampanye Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, sebagaimana telah diubah dengan Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 15 Tahun 2013 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 1 Tahun 2013 tentang Pedoman Pelaksanaan Kampanye Pemilihan Umum Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah;
15. Qanun Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Nomor 11 Tahun 2002 Tentang Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Bidang Aqidah, Ibadah dan Syiar Islam;
16. Qanun Aceh Nomor 02 Tahun 2009 Tentang Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh;

17. Keputusan Gubernur Aceh Nomor 451.7/465/2012 tentang Penetapan Pengurus Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh Periode 2012-2017;
18. Keputusan Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh Nomor 2 Tahun 2014 tentang Kriteria Pemimpin Menurut Syariat Islam;
19. Fatwa Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Aceh Nomor 3 Tahun 2014 tentang Pemilihan Umum Menurut Perspektif Islam.

Dengan bertawakkal kepada Allah SWT

Memutuskan :

Menetapkan : TAUSHIYAH TENTANG PEMILIHAN KEPALA DAERAH

- PERTAMA : Menyerukan kepada semua warga Negara Republik Indonesia di Provinsi Aceh untuk menggunakan hak pilihnya dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah tanggal 15 Februari 2017 dengan sebaik-baiknya.
- KEDUA : Setiap muslim wajib memilih orang yang bertaqwa, jujur, amanah, cerdas, berpengetahuan luas, komunikatif dan memiliki komitmen yang tinggi terhadap penerapan Syariat Islam secara kaffah.
- KETIGA : Menyerukan kepada KIP, PANWASLIH, dan semua pihak yang bertanggung jawab atas penyelenggaraan pemilihan kepala daerah agar bertindak jujur dan adil serta menjaga ketertiban, keamanan dan kedamaian.
- KEEMPAT : Mengajak semua warga Negara Republik Indonesia di Provinsi Aceh untuk tetap menjaga persatuan dan kesatuan serta memelihara ukhuwah demi terpeliharanya perdamaian yang abadi.
- KELIMA : Mengharapkan kepada para kandidat dan tim suksesnya agar tidak melakukan fitnah, politik uang, intimidasi dan hal-hal lain yang bertentangan dengan Syariat Islam.

KEENAM : Mengharapkan kepada para kandidat dan tim suksesnya agar menerima hasil pemilihan kepala daerah dengan penuh keikhlasan, dan apabila terjadi perselisihan agar dapat diselesaikan dengan musyawarah dan mufakat sesuai dengan perundang-undangan yang berlaku.

Ditetapkan di Banda Aceh
pada tanggal 15 Safar 1438 H
15 November 2016 M

MAJELIS PERMUSYAWARATAN ULAMA ACEH

Ketua,

Prof. Dr. Tgk. H. Muslim Ibrahim, MA

Wakil Ketua I

Tgk. H. M. Daud Zamzamy

Wakil Ketua II

Tgk. H. Faisal Ali

Wakil Ketua III

Tgk. Hasbi Albayuni



**BIODATA PENGUSUL
PUSAT PENELITIAN DAN PENERBITAN LP2M
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI AR-RANIRY BANDA ACEH**

A. Identitas Diri

1.	Nama Lengkap <i>(dengan gelar)</i>	Rasyad, S.Ag., M. Ag.	
2.	Jenis Kelamin L/P	Laki-Laki	
3.	Jabatan Fungsional	Lektor Kepala	
4.	NIP	19730403 199803 1 005	
5.	NIDN	2003047301	
6.	NIPN <i>(ID Peneliti)</i>		
7.	Tempat dan Tanggal Lahir	Segamit (Sum-Sel), 3 - 4 - 1973	
8.	E-mail	rasyad@ar-raniry.ac.id	
9.	Nomor Telepon/HP	081360001083	
10.	Alamat Kantor	Jl. Ar-Raniry No. 1 Darussalam Banda Aceh	
11.	Nomor Telepon/Faks		
12.	Bidang Ilmu	Bahasa dan Sastra Arab	
13.	Program Studi	Bahasa dan Sastra Arab	
14.	Fakultas	Adab dan Humaniora	

B. Riwayat Pendidikan

No.	Uraian	S1	S2	S3
1.	IAIN Ar-Raniry	IAIN Ar-Raniry	IAIN Ar-Raniry	-
2.	Kota dan Negara PT	Banda / Indonesia	Banda /Indonesia	-
3.	Bidang Ilmu/ Program Studi	Bahasa dan sastra Arab	Pemikiran Islam	
4.	Tahun Lulus	1997	2006	-

C. Pengalaman Penelitian dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Tahun	Judul Penelitian	Sumber Dana
1.	2017	Sejarah Perkembangan Tarekat Syattariyah di Desa Peuleukeung Kecamatan Seunagan Raya Timur Kab. Nagan Raya	DIPA UIN Ar-Raniry
2.			
dst.			

D. Pengalaman Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat dalam 3 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Tahun	Judul Pengabdian	Sumber Dana
1.	2017	Safari Ramadhan	UIN Ar-Raniry
2.	2018-2020	Khutbah Jum'at	BKM
3.	2019-2020	Imam rawatib Mesjid Baitu Jannah Tungkop	-
dst.			

E. Publikasi Artikel Ilmiah dalam Jurnal dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul Artikel Ilmiah	Nama Jurnal	Volume/Nomor/Tahun/Url
1.	<i>Tanbīh Al-Māsyī Al-Mansūb Ilā Tariq Al-Qusyasyī</i> : Analisis Uslub Bahasa Arab dalam Karya 'Abd Ar-Rauf As-Singkili	Adabiya Fak. Adab dan Humaniora,	(Volume 18, Nomor 35), Banda Aceh, 2016
2.	Lintasan sejarah pemberlakuan syari'at islam di Aceh antara harapan kenyataan	Tahqiqa	Vol. 13, No. 1 Januari 2019
3.	Nuzum Al-Durar Fi Tanasub Al-Ayati Wa Al-Shuar (Tinjauan Metode dan Pendekatan Tafsir)	Mu'ashira	Vol. 16, Nomor 2, Juli 2019

F. Karya Buku dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul Buku	Tahun	Tebal Halaman	Penerbit
1.	Pandangan Hamka Terhadap Tasawuf: Analisis Metodologis,	2016.	172	Yayasan Pena, Banda Aceh,
2.	-	-	-	-
dst.				

G. Perolehan HKI dalam 10 Tahun Terakhir

No.	Judul/Tema HKI	Tahun	Jenis	Nomor P/ID
1.	-	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-	-
dst.				

Semua data yang saya isikan dan tercantum dalam biodata ini adalah benar dan dapat dipertanggungjawabkan secara hukum. Apabila di kemudian hari ternyata dijumpai ketidaksesuaian dengan kenyataan, saya sanggup menerima sanksi.

Demikian biodata ini saya buat dengan sebenarnya untuk memenuhi salah satu persyaratan dalam pengajuan Penugasan Penelitian pada Pusat Penelitian dan Penerbitan LP2M Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh.

Banda Aceh, Oktober 2020
Ketua/Anggota Peneliti,



Rasyad, M. Ag.
NIDN: 2003047301.

