

Islamic Shari'a Politics and Teungku Dayah's Political Authority Crisis in Aceh

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Nirzalin

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Malikussaleh Lhokseumawe,
Aceh. Email: nirzasaja@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study examines the Islamic Shari'a politics and Teungku Dayah's political authority crisis in Aceh. The main question being answered is how Islamic shari'a is adopted and practiced by the government of Aceh and why Teungku Dayah as traditional Islamic leaders in Aceh did not become the dominant actor and even their political authority those who have been in crisis since the latter part of the New Order era not yet recovered in the political structure that has turned into all-Islam in the post Order Baru. The result of this study indicate that the presence of Islamic shari'a in Aceh in the Post New Order cannot be utilized by Teungku Dayah to recover their political authority that has been in crisis since the latter part of the New Order era. Because as a political formula that is intended to reduce conflict, Islamic shari'a in Aceh since the first fully controlled by the state, bureaucratically managed and modified for the benefit of the ruling power elite. As a result, the political authority of the Teungku Dayah in Aceh on post-New Order era did not recover from but remained as in the previous era. However, Teungku Dayah's political authority crisis in Aceh was not followed by a crisis of authority in the realm of religion. This fact emphasize that Teungku Dayah's political and religious authority in Aceh which is previously integrated have now been separated.

Keywords: Islamic Shari'a Politics, Teungku Dayah, Political Authority Crisis, Aceh.

ABSTRAK

Studi ini mengkaji tentang politik syari'at Islam dan krisis wibawa politik teungku dayah di

Aceh. Pertanyaan utama yang hendak dijawab adalah bagaimana syari'at Islam diadopsi dan dipraktikkan oleh pemerintah Aceh dan mengapa teungku dayah sebagai pemimpin Islam tradisional di Aceh tidak menjadi aktor dominan dan bahkan justru wibawa politik mereka yang sudah mengalami krisis sejak paruh akhir era Orde Baru tidak mengalami pemulihan dalam struktur politik yang sudah berubah menjadi serba Islam pada era pasca Orde Baru. Temuan studi ini menunjukkan bahwa kehadiran syari'at Islam di Aceh pasca Orde Baru tidak dapat dimanfaatkan oleh teungku dayah untuk memulihkan kembali wibawa politik mereka yang sudah mengalami krisis sejak paruh akhir era Orde Baru. Sebab sebagai sebuah formula politis yang dimaksudkan untuk meredam konflik, syari'at Islam di Aceh sejak semula sepenuhnya dikontrol oleh negara, dikelola secara birokratis dan dikomodifikasi untuk kepentingan kekuasaan elite yang sedang memerintah. Akibatnya, wibawa politik teungku dayah di Aceh pada era pasca Orde Baru tidak mengalami pemulihan tetapi tetap krisis sebagaimana di era sebelumnya. Namun, krisis wibawa politik teungku dayah di Aceh ini ternyata tidak diikuti dengan krisis pula wibawa mereka dalam ranah agama. Kenyataan ini menegaskan bahwa wibawa politik dan agama teungku dayah di Aceh yang sebelumnya menyatu (integrated) kini telah terpisah (seperated).
Kata Kunci: Politik Syari'at Islam, Teungku Dayah, Krisis Wibawa Politik, Aceh.

INTRODUCTION

In the Post-New Order era, the structure, space and political ideology in Aceh experienced significant changes. Authoritarian structure and political space in the New Order era turned into an open and democratic. Similarly with the previous secular political ideology shifted into all-Islamic Shari'a after its application was legalized. That conditions of the political milieu opened space for the various political actors in Aceh free to compete in various aspects of political state with no exception to the traditional Islamic leaders, teungku dayah.¹

As Islamic leaders in fanatical Muslim societies such as in Aceh, the existence of political frame that is religious (Islam) to open up opportunities for them to act dominantly. It is because normatively they actually become the main reference even a single reference in this all-Islamic political construct as applicable in the region which implements the Islamic shari'a as the political ideology of the country such as Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and so on. However, in reality, teuku dayah's political authority in the all-Islamic political era of in Aceh in the post-New Order era is contrary to the normative rationality which is the dominant and decisive one.

Teungku dayah's political authority in Aceh which is already in crisis since the New Order era is caused by the domination of the power of the

state due either to the interests of the various symbolic legitimacy of the corrupt policies of development and justification of the use of force against the efforts of termination of the conflict with the Free Aceh Movement (Tim Kell, 1995: 35 and Yusny Saby, 2000:297), apparently in the post-New Order era although the structure of the political space has been transformed into an open and all-Islam after the Islamic Shari'a is applied in Aceh they do not have their political authority restored. In other words, the teungku dayah's political authority in Aceh remains teungku crisis, as happened diparuh end of the New Order era.

Some of those realities are manifested in the high resistance of the people of Aceh to the political agency of teungku dayah in winning their supported figure in both the regional head elections (*pemilukada*) province (governor), district (Regent) and the Legislative Elections (DPRD and DPRD) that they follow their own. Departing from these reality anomalies this paper is about to explore and investigate further how the political practice of Islamic shari'a in Aceh? Why does Teungku Dayah as Islamic leaders do not become an actor in the practice of Islamic shari'a and even their political authority in crisis?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Teungku dayah's political authority in Aceh is closely related to their ability to perform various agency against the interests of the public to the state (structure). Through their actions as social agents which capable of affecting the structure of the (state) in order to always be in the side of the interests of society so that they regarded as a warrior of the people's aspirations. Hence they are declared as public heroes and be honored.

The practice of agencies can be successfully carried out by teungku dayah if the openness of space power of the state's political structure exists. Conversely, the state is willing to accept the influence of agents (teungku dayah) if the latter has the capacity needed to allow the encouragement of their agency actions adopted in various forms of policy. In this position, the power relations between teungku dayah as the agent and the state as the structure is of duality (equal and reciprocal). So both are bound in a relationship of mutual giving and receiving.

This relations of power duality between teungku dayah as the agent

and the state as the structure can be analyzed by using the perspective of structuration developed by Giddens. According to Giddens, the relationship between agents (actors) and the structure of the duality relation is not a dualism. In this case, Giddens is opposite with structuralist such as Durkheim who considers the relationship of agents and structures are dualism, and external and a form of restraint (constraining) to the agent (Doyle Paul Johson, 1994: 177-178). Giddens believes that the structure relationship with the agents is duality (reciprocity), internal, constraining, but also enables the production of the agent's act (enabling) as well. This duality of structure occurs in recurrent social practices (social reproduction) and cross-plotted in space and time (Antony Giddens, 1984: 25-27).

What is called the actor (agent) refers to a concrete person in the continuum flow acts, while a structure is a set of rules and resources or a set of transformative relations in organized as social systems which are formed by and forming recurrence (reproduction) of social practices that recursively involved in institutions. Analyzing the structuration of social systems means reviewing modes of production places and the reproduction of such systems in the interaction which is based on the major activities of actors in certain places that uses the rules and resources in the context of its diverse actions (Antony Giddens, 1984: 19 and 25).

There are two kinds of resources that make up the structure of domination, which are allocative resources and authoritative resources. Allocative resources related to material or economic domination while authoritative resource is the political domination. Therefore, these resources can be significantly scientific, economic, political, religious symbols and so forth. While the rules are action procedures, the aspects of praxis. In the social life, these rules (canon law, bureaucratic rules, the rules of the game and so on) are techniques or procedures that could be generalized to be applied in the manufacturing/reproduction of social practices (Antony Giddens, 1984: 21).

As a loading control, rules, resources and control over space and time then this structure that is commensurate with the state (B. Herry-Priyono, 2000: 20). This study interprets the structure in that terms. According to Giddens, structure consists of three major groups, first, the structure

of signification which involves a symbolic scheme, naming and discourse. Second, the structures of domination which includes the schemes of control over the people (political) and goods (economic). The third is the structure of legitimacy which concerns on normative regulation scheme revealed in the legal procedures (B. Herry-Priyono, 2000: 29 - 33). In the realization of the social practices, of the three groups of structural principles are related to each other, meaning that the structure of signification (discourse), in turn, also includes the structures of domination and legitimacy.

Relationship and dialectical linkage of the three schemes structure in the concept of Giddens structuration is described as follows:

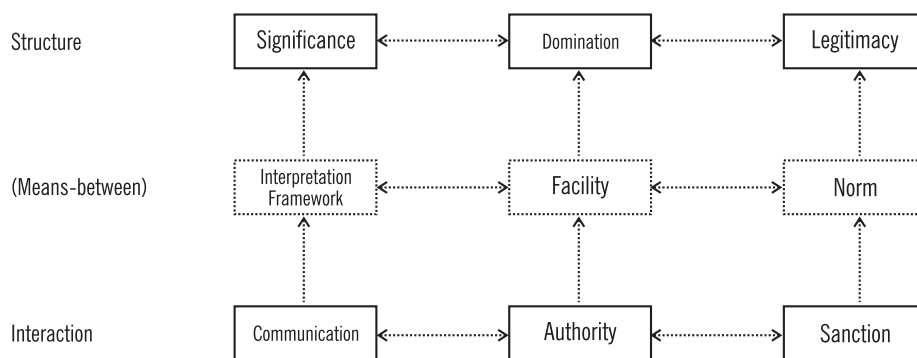


FIGURE. THE CONCEPT OF STRUCTURE DUALITY ON GIDDENS' PERSPECTIVE
(ANTHONY GIDDENS, 1984: 36).

Those three structure categories mentioned above according to Giddens is a resource (which is focused through the significance and legitimacy) which is the characteristics of structured social systems, generated and reproduced by qualified knowledgeable agents during the interaction. These resources is the medium used to perform power (Antony Giddens, 1984: 36). Thus, power is generated in and through the reproductive structures of domination. Figure who has power are those who control the resources and are able to distribute it to other parties which is claimed as his/her subordinate. This differs from the concept of power constructed by Weber. Weber argued that the "Power (*Macht*) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship is be able to carry out his ideas despite of people's resistances" (Max Weber, 1964:53).

The ability of religious elite to master the structure of significance (discourse), in the end, becomes the facility for them to dominate and mobilize the community. Therefore people accept the domination of power of the religious elite through the attitude of obedience and submission which they interpret as something natural or unnatural. The actions and social practices of obedience and submission of the society gradually become their routine.

This routine happened because of what it is become routine carried out based on the reflection of the practical consciousness. Doing something that has become a practical consciousness raise the sense of security for the actor, so that by itself encourages them to do it over and over again. This practical consciousness means commensurate with the concept of *habitus* in Bourdieu, which is the mental or cognitive structures used by individuals (actors) to deal with social life. As a mental or cognitive structures which determine social praxis, *habitus* includes thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions that were born in the frame of history, circumstances and particular social structure (Cheelen Mahar, no year: 15). *Habitus* is a product of the dialectical internalization of the social world structure. Because of that, *habitus* is a social structure which is internalized and realized (George Ritzer, 2004: 522).

However, what need to be remembered is that power does not exist out of nowhere. It refers to the transformative capacity of human action. It means that the the most extensive meaning of powers logically be subject to the subjectivity of introspection and self-awareness. This needs to be emphasized because the conception of power in the social sciences tends to reflect the dualism of subject and object. So, power is often defined in terms of purpose or will which is the ability to achieve desired and intended results (Antony Giddens, 1984: 15). Meanwhile, Foucault is different, he regards power as a belonging to the society or social community. Coextensive with the power of social institutions, there is no free space at all in the crevices of its network. The power relations are intertwined with other types of relationships (Michel Foucault, 2002: 175 and Steven Lukes, 1986: 240).

Power in the sense of the transformative capacity of human agency by Giddens is the ability of actors to intervene the series of events and also

to change its sequence like the word “*bisa*” which mediates the intention or desire and the actual realization of the required result. In this sense, some people have power over other people: this is the power as domination (Antony Giddens, 1984: 153).

In the context of *teungku dayah*, the dominance of their power in society related to their roles to be the agent of the interests of society to the structure (the state). In which with their action they affect the structure in order to act in accordance with the social aspirations of the community. Although by their ability and success of the agency action, the agency managed to make his power of domination on the other party (the community).

However it does not mean he/she totally dominates that other party. It is because the submission to a ruling agency is not always absolute or total mastery. Because the control is always involved in the relation of autonomy and dependence, both the master and the dominated one. All of the dependencies offer some resources where the one become subordinate can influence the activities of his/her superiors. By Giddens, this mechanism is called the dialectic of control in social systems (Antony Giddens, 1984: 16).

Therefore, every agent in charge must always be introspective and consider the interests of his subordinates. In addition to its actions must always pay attention to always conform to the demands of social norms on which the authority of that rule. In the context of power relations and public boarding *teungku Aceh*, the dialectic of control is manifest in their ability to constantly run the agency's role is affecting the structure.

RESEARCH METHODS

According to Giddens study using structuration theoretical perspective is essentially a study trying to find mutual knowledge from a practical realization as the basis of social practice itself (Antony Giddens, 1984: 336-337). Mutual knowledge is not a series of things that can be corrected, but represent interpretive schemes used by sociologists and common actors to understand a social activity. Thus involvement in a community life which is observed is a must. For according to Giddens for a researcher to understand is:

“Understanding is provided by the reasons or accounts social actors give for their actions. The latter is also associated with the meaning of an event or activity in a particular social context, either that given by social actors or the meaning that researchers derived from social actors’ account. Explanations are produced by researchers who looks at a phenomenon from the “outside”, while understanding is based on an “inside” view in which researchers grasp the subjective consciousness, the interpretations, of social actors involved in the conduct” (Antony Giddens,1976:55).

Therefore, in order to provide an explanation of the symptoms of the “outside” and the understanding of “inside” phenomenon under study itself, as Giddens said above, this study uses ethnographic methods in data collection. However, it should be emphasized that this study is not a pure ethnographic study that attempted to conduct a scientific social description of human and his cultural foundation as a whole (holistic-integrative) as adopted by anthropologists (Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln, 1994: 25). But this study only seeks to find and describe the knowledge with the mutual knowledge of community on how they understand Islamic shari’a practiced in Aceh and why political agency of teungku dayah to them were no longer determining.

These data were collected through participant observation work and in-depth interviews to the key informants who have been identified through observations made previously (Paul Atkinson et al, 2001: 340 and James P. Spradley, 2007: ix) . These two methods are selected based on the principle as stated by Atkinson that we can not examine the social reality without becoming a part of reality itself (Paul Atkinson, 2001: 249). Other than through these ways, the techniques of data collection is also done through the documentation study. The data obtained through participant observation and in-depth interviews are the primary data while the data obtained through the documents in the form of books, diaries, decrees and other documents relevant to the theme of this study is a secondary data (Norman Blaikie, 2000: 183 -184).

Interpretation of data is done by using the perspective of structuration as developed by Giddens. Nevertheless this study does not pretend to test the theory. It should be emphasized that the existence of the theory in this study is only intended as a conceptual perspective and

enrichment. In that way this study is believed to be able to obtain a full and comprehensive understanding of Islamic shari'a and Teungku Dayah's crisis of political authority in Aceh which become the focus of the study.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

1. The practice of Sharia 'a t Islam in Aceh

a. Political Genealogy of the Legalization of Islamic Shari'a Application in Aceh

The policy of the implementation of Islamic shari'a in Aceh after the New Order was started by President B.J. Habibie to enforce them through the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 44/1999 on the Special Province of Aceh. Followed later by the issuance of the Act No. 18/2001 on Special Autonomy, as well as to transform the Province of Aceh into the province of Aceh. Shari'a legal force becomes more solid after the Act No. 11/2006 on The Aceh Government legalized by the central government (Department of Islamic Shari'a Province Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, 2006).

However, the existence of Islamic shari'a in Aceh was not born as something natural. It appeared as an instrument to end the war that has lasted nearly 30 years between the Indonesian government with the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). In fact, the long and historical conflict which began in 1976 has increased very rapidly after the New Order both in quality and quantity. The development of the GAM are energetic, systematic and get a huge mass support after the removal of DOM (Military Operations Area) 1998 has even managed to put the GAM as a quasi state (Ali et.al, 2008: 179).

That reality can be observed in three of the most fundamental things, namely, the enactment of the *nanggroe* tax system (state tax), the expansion of military power and political control over the territory. According to the theoretical domain of politics, control of these three areas are the minimum requirements for the birth of a nation (Ali et.al, 2008: 179). At first the main source of the GAM tax is derived from *infaq* and *sadaqah* of society. This system has actually been going on since the uprising of the Darul Islam (DI) under the leadership of Teungku Muhammad Daud Beureueh. Although some can not be accounted for, but overall the sys-

tem is able to form a relatively DI solid fiscal. This is a proof that in the DI era, the salaries was paid to the military members on a regular basis (Ali et.al, 2008: 179). But in the GAM era, *infaq* and *sadaqah* is no longer embraced as a source of taxes. For according to Sofyan Ibrahim Tiba (a GAM negotiator), GAM's struggle is not aimed at establishing an Islamic state, then the tax system is no longer on the basis of religion but on the basis of the secular system, namely, *nanggroe* taxes or Aceh state taxes (Nirzalin, 2003: 233).

Other sectors that showed they had tried to transform itself as a country is through political control in public life. Building influence at the local level has become the main goal of GAM. With this influence, GAM not only aims to paralyze the Jakarta government bureaucracy in Aceh, but also to build its own bureaucratic network (Nirzalin, 2003: 191). The expansion of GAM's political structure is not a figment. It is proven that in the second half of the period of 1999 they began to form a civilian government structures such as police, judges, scholars and *kadhi* (KUA) (An interview with Cek Fachrul, former GAM's Kadhi in Aceh Besar, June 25, 2008).

The existence of the power of GAM is also very pronounced in the government of the village where they were able to put someone into *Geuchik* (head of village) and fully control of the policy which he decided. Therefore it is not surprising that out of town in North Aceh villages are arguably the villages of GAM (Interview with Nasir GAM's sympathizers in North Aceh, November 17, 2008). In the Post-New Order era, GAM's military development is also very significant to the formation of the troops "*Inong Balee*" (the women forces). Latter these forces are also called *Asykariah*. This military wing is once again shows that the Aceh independence movement is no longer just a matter for the men, but has become all Acehnese's business across gender and age.

GAM's movement after the New Order era become more solid and more massive after they gained success and also collaborate with the student activists who are members of SIRA (Information Center for Aceh Referendum). The pressure conducted by SIRA under the label of referendum discredit the government of Indonesia in the eyes of the international world for more and more. The successful socialization of the refer-

endum seen later on the day when masses flocking from various rural and urban areas of Aceh and assembled in Mesjid Raya Baiturrahman Banda Aceh, said that the referendum as the only path to solve the problems in Aceh.

The referendum, with the demands of only two choices, namely still choose to join Indonesia or split, was attended no fewer than 500,000 people. This major events conducted in November 2000 was of course drawing international attention because, Martikus said: *"Press reports talked of how people carried United Nations flags and banners emblazoned with the word "referendum"* (Martinkus in Ali, 2008: 195).

The situation is urging the central government to find a quick and instant solution as a formula to reduce the insurgency in Aceh. The solutions offered of course must be used to embrace two goals, the first internal targets that are expected to grow the legitimacy of the Republic of Indonesia in Aceh which is still in crisis and the second external means may be used as a "fence" in order not to raise international support for the secession efforts from the NKRI conducted by GAM.

This political atmosphere ultimately pushed the Indonesian government to choose Islamic shari'a as a political tool to reduce the political expansion of GAM as well as to overcome the crisis of Indonesian state in Aceh. Islamic shari'a touches Acehnese socio-psychologically because they are Muslims fanatics. It is expected to bring back the relationship with the Indonesian government and Aceh and at the same time is expected to reduce their support for GAM. As for the international world, especially Europe and America, Islam-phobia is still a haunting reality.

This fact according to Haedar asserts that the application of Islamic shari'a in Aceh is not completely grow purely from the movement of society but rather because of the accommodation and political policies in the context of conflict settlement in the area since the New Order era (Nashier, 2007: 329). The legalization of the application of Islamic shari'a in Aceh as an instrument of conflict reduction is not the first time since the same practice had been done before by the Soekarno's government in 1959 and intended as a means to cope with Aceh DI / TII rebellion which is driven by Teungku Muhammad Daud Beureueh (Alyasa 'Abu Bakar, 2008: 28). Therefore, the legalization of the Islamic shari'a vol-

ume II of the RI after the New Order government was even until the end of the New Order era failed to apply, it can be interpreted as the result of learning from past actions.

2. The Bureaucratization of Islamic Shari'a and the Dominance of the State against Teungku Dayah

The political character of historical background on the legalization of Islamic shari'a in Aceh after the New Order era turned out to be a strong grip to its implementation. The government of Aceh as a representative of central government control and operationalize Islamic shari'a politically and bureaucratically. The bureaucratization of Islamic shari'a began after the *Qanun* (Local Regulation) No.33/2001 on the establishment of the Islamic Shari'a Office of the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam was passed in 2002. This agency served as the responsible for the planning and implementation of Islamic shari'a in Aceh, especially in relation to the preparation of the *Qanun* draft for the implementation of Islamic shari'a, the establishment of Shari'a Court in all of Aceh, the preparation of its personnel and facilities, assist and organize the implementation of worshipping, supervise the implementation of Islamic shari'a and provide guidance and counseling about it (Amal and Panggabean, 2004; 27 and Abu Bakar, 2005; 2).

Due to its bureaucratic characteristic, the implementation of the Islamic shari'a features logics positivistic and always requires leadership that is legally rational. In addition, as mentioned by Weber, bureaucracy also requires technical skills, is impersonal and specialized (Weber, 2009: 236-238). The policy closes the door to teungku dayah to take part in the formalization of the structure of Islamic Shari'a. Because, by Islamic boarding school's tradition (*pesantren*), teungku dayah emphasizes the mastery of normativity of religious texts and the leadership that emphasize the personal charisma and the justification of his divinity did not have the technical ability to deal with bureaucracy.

The marginalization of the structure also result that they are marginalized from Shari'a discourse formulations in the form of *Qanuns* (Local Regulation) in Aceh. Because Islamic shari'a in the various policy was decided by the government through its bureaucratic apparatus. The

existence of Teungku Dayah ostensibly excluded because their existence was publicized through mass media while the qanun is still a draft, either qanun on Khamar (liquor), Maisir (gambling) and khalwat (couple without marriage) which are already enacted for example, are more meaningful as a symbolic actor than the determining actor.

On the other hand, the existence of teungku dayah outside the arena or the peripheral zones of the system and discourse in the construction of *qanun* of Islamic shari'a is a separate issue as well on the image of their dominant influence in Acehnese society. This reality is concerned with the mastery of discourse or knowledge of the existence of which is one important instrument of the dominant authority in Aceh latter, as what is presented in the range of historical-sociological Aceh society between 1620's to 1980's. At those times, it is teungku dayah whoc become the determinant of discourse in various state policies. This is because, as said by Foucault, power is closely related to knowledge. No knowledge without power and vice versa there is no power without knowledge. Knowledge and power is a pair (Kebung, 2002: 35).

In the era of the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam (1513-1942), it appeared for example Sheikh Hamza Fansuri, Sheikh Shamsuddin al-Sumaterani, Sheikh Ar-Raniry, Sheikh Abdul Rauf As-Singkili, Teungku Chiek di Tiro, Teungku Chiek Pante Kulu and Teungku Chiek Kutakarang. Even at this phase, Aceh could become a center of intellectual activity in Southeast Asia with Teungku Dayah as its center. It was evident, in this era of some scholars from other countries come to learn to Aceh. A renowned scholar Sheikh Muhammad Yusuf al-Makasari (1626-1699), one of the well-known scholars of his day was, for example, had studied in Aceh (Bruinessen, 1990:157).

Similarly, Sheikh Burhanuddin of the Minangkabau, who later became well-known scholars and spread Islam in Ulakan and establish a mosque in Minangkabau, is a beloved student of Sheikh Abdur Rauf al-Singkili (Taufik Abdullah in Abdullah & Siddique, 1988: 986). Sheikh Daud al-Fatani, a famous scholar from Thailand Pattani Muslim region of highly productive and respected is also for being a teacher for students of Southeast Asian Muslims in Mecca, had also studied in Aceh in 1760's. While in Aceh, who last studied is Sheikh Muhammad Zain al-Faqih Jalal al-Din

al-Ashi (Abdullah, 1983, 32). Sheikh Muhammad Zain al-Faqih Jalal al-Din al-Ashi is a leader of the Islamic boarding school (pesantren) in Aceh and the author of two very famous book *Kashf al-Kiraam fi Bayan al-Niyat fi Takbirat al-Ihram* and *Talkhis al-Falah fi Bayan al-Thalaq wa al-Nikah* (Alyasa' Abubakar and Wamad Abdullah, 1992; 35).

Since Sheikh Hamza Fansuri until the arrival of the Dutch, there are 13 teungku dayahs who are very productive in writing books. Their books are well known even to the intellectual discourse of foreign countries which reached 114 books (Alyasa' Wamad Abubakar and Abdullah, 1992: 35-40). The books are comprised of a large variety of subjects such as Sufism, the science of kalam (theology), logic, philosophy, jurisprudence, hadiths, interpretations, morality, history, monotheism, astronomy, medicine, environmental and political issues. When Dutch invaded Aceh, through their discourse domination they were also be able to be the public agencies and take the fight and they themselves also become the commander of the war.

In this phase, they wrote books or tales which contains the obligations of sabil war (*jihad fi sabilillah*) and the retaliation for those who are slain in battle (sabil war). Among the books written and among other tales the writings of Nyak Teungku Ahmad Cot Paleue, *Hikayat Prang Sigli* (The Tale of Sigli War) in 1878 and *Hikayat Nasihat Ureung Muprang* (The Tale of Advice of ureung Muprang) in 1889. The works of Teungku Chiek Pante Kulu, *Hikayat Prang Sabi* (The Tale of Sabi War) no year, Teungku Chiek di Tiro's, *Hikayat Nasha'ihu l-Ghazat* (The Tale of Nasha'ihu l-Ghazat) no year, Do Karim, *Hikayat Prang Gompeuni* (The Tale of Gompeuni) no year, *Hikayat Prang Sabi* (The Tale of Sabi War) no year, *Hikayat Hadzihi Qisah Nafsiyah* (The Tale of Hadzihi Qisah Nafsiyah) no year and *Hikayat Wasiat Wasiet* (The Tale of Wasiet Testament) no year. Teungku Kuta Reef wrote books, *Mau'ithatu-l Ikhwan* in 1886 and *Tadzkiratur- Rakidin* in 1889.

During the revolutionary period and the Old Order era (1943-1966), it is appeared Teungku Muhammad Daud Beureueh, Teungku Ahmad Hasballah Inderapuri, Teungku Muhammad Hasan Krueng Kalee, Teungku Abdurrahman Meunasah Meucap, Teungku Abdullah Lam U and Teungku Sheikh Muhammad Muda Waly al-Khalidy, as a leader of

public discourse in Aceh (IAIN Ar-Raniry Writing Team, 2004: 75-193). The power of *teungku dayah* discourse agency on society and the state continued and remained dominant until the beginning of the New Order era. They are fully engaged in the formulation and implementation of Islamic shari'a based on Local Regulation (Perda) No. 6/1968, a local regulation (the current *qanun*) concerning Basic Provisions for the Implementation Elements of the Islamic Shari'a as the implementation of privilege status of Aceh conflict resolution results in the war against Aceh's DI/TII and the central government. In the 1970's the *teungku dayahs* successfully urged the government of Aceh to agree to ban immoral things such as gambling, prostitution and alcoholic beverages. As a result, the central government failed to build alcohol factory in Aceh in 1984 since *teungku dayah* opposed for it (Amiruddin, 2005: 58-59).

The power of discourse put *teungku dayah* to be a very charismatic figure and determining in Aceh not only in the realm of religion but also in politics as well. Their political appeals are always followed by the public as they did when the party won the PPP (United Development Party) in 1982 and won the Golkar Party in 1987 and 1992 elections. This is called by Giddens, the control structure of signification or discourse, in turn, puts an actor (*agent*) to have the legitimacy to dominate others (Herry Priyono, 2000; 20). The discourse domination of *teungku dayah* in Aceh's historical range confirms their position as a determinant of the "truth" of the political choices that is obligated.

Another prominent reality in post-New Order era in Aceh is that the state more intense in penetrating *teungku dayah*, even compared to the New Order era. Since this time the penetration is deeper, official and binding because using religion (Islamic shari'a) as the instrument. The reality of Islamic fanaticism of Acehnese demanded religious legitimacy in the political practice of development therefore an intimate relationship between government and religious elite becomes a must. This creed is embraced as mimesis (imitation) of the same practices performed by the New Order state before.

The formalization of Islamic shari'a by the country's ruling elite is precisely interpreted as a momentum, and instruments as well as justification to keep the "good" relationship with *teungku dayah*. But, in fact

this relationship is dominative and subordinate. The efforts to build a relationship with teungku dayah is done through the establishment of a special body in charge of empowering dayah. The institution was established through the *Qanun* No. 5/2007 is named the Institution for the Development of Dayah's Education (BPPD).

In reality, the presence of this institution legalize the penetration of the state to the Islamic boarding school. Whereas in previous eras are relatively "clean" of such state intervention. In the New Order era, for example, it is an era that has always rested the authority legitimacy in Aceh to teungku dayah, not forming such a special institution. The operationalization of dominance only done through the perseverance of Golkar apparatus, led by Governor Ibrahim Hasan and officials of the Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces (Iskandar, 2003: 221-305).

Through this Islamic shari'a bureaucratization, the state deepen its dominant grip of the teungku dayah in Aceh. The strategies of diverting dayah's economic resources from the public to the statesucceed in making teungku dayah domesticated and included in the ruling circles of the ruling elite. In 2008, the Aceh government disbursed Rp 164.5 billion grants for the dayah. These funds are disbursed to more than 700 dayahs with Rp 102.5 billion each for dayah's physical rehab, Rp. 5 billion for the purchase of books, Rp. 15, 644 billion for the construction of 172 dayah, Rp. 1.2 billion for 10 Darul Aytams, Rp. 14.5 billion for teacher incentives (teungku dayah and teungku rangkang) and the remainder to other dayah equipment (*Harian Aceh Newspapers*, Thursday, August 14, 2008; 1)

The amounts of the grants depend on the size of the dayah based on the standard valuation of BPPD. By BPPD, dayah is divided into 4 (four) types, namely types A, B, C and D. Each type is measured by the number of students and instructors. In 2008, according to Bustami, the Head of the Institution for the Development of Dayah's Education, boarding type A granted to Rp.300 million, type B get Rp. 250 million, type C get Rp. 200 Million and type D get Rp. 150 million (*Serambi Indonesia Newspaper*, June 8, 2008: 13).

But in 2009, the amounts of grants to the dayah has decreased from Rp. 164.5 billion in 2008 to Rp. 104.7 billion in 2009. The reduction

of grants to the dayah in 2009 was affected by Aceh's declining revenues from oil and gas sectors which is one of the main sources of financial assistance for the dayah. Consequently dayah with type A which previously received Rp. 300 million decreased to Rp. 200 million, B, from Rp. 250 million to Rp. 170 million, C from Rp. 200 million to Rp. 130 million and D from Rp. 150 million to Rp. 100 million (Interview with Jakfar Sulaiman, Staff of the Institution for the Development of Dayah's Education, January 4, 2010).

Through this grants received regularly by the dayah and teungku dayah, dayah's economic interdependence can not be avoided. Moreover, the grant is not only for the dayah's physical form of development which is extremely important but also include the incentive (salary) on teungku dayah. On the other hand, this grant for dayah has distorted the previous existence of relatively independent dayah. Since the financing of the various activities of the dayah is only sourced from its own economic production (agriculture and animal husbandry) and economics of religion (*zakat, infaq, sadaqah, nadzar* etc.) issued by the community (Sufi et al, 2003; 12).

This reality creates an intimate relationship between teungku dayah and the community. This proximity is psychologically encouraging teungku dayah to always defend and pay attention to the people. Through this independent existence in the history of the political frame of Aceh, teungku dayah is able to assert himself as a person who is always capable of being critical agency to the state policy that is considered to be deviated, both from the perspective of religious and community interests. However, the reality of economic dependence of teungku dayah on the state have managed to change the relationship position of teungku dayah's intimate closeness with the community to be "in affair" with the country's ruling elite.

It is because flowing grants from the state aid to teungku dayah along with their mechanisms and bureaucracy has got teungku dayah to be in the iron cage of state power (Interview with Hasbi Amiruddin, Professor of IAIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, January 14, 2010). On behalf of the administration, openness and transparency are the key principles used and pre-requirements in the distribution of dayah funds that actually con-

tains the supervision code (*surveillance*) and the state hidden penetration to teungku dayah. Foucault mentions this hidden control code as a panoptic system. In this panoptic system the relations of power becomes total and not physical. As a form of obsession rationalization, panoptic functioned as the social orthopedic. It is a hidden system of running power. A function which is perceived as common but can not be recognized (except from the consequences). Politically it is an invisible form of control but subtly forced to be obeyed (Kebung, 2002: 35).

On the other hand, having incentives (salary) from this country makes people suspicious of the sincerity of teungku dayah to the people's activities (teaching and committing acts of political agency). Indeed, in reality, funding from the state or other elite should always be awared of by the true leaders who rely on charismatic authority like teungku dayah. In its pure form, as suggested by Weber, charisma is never be a source of private income to the holder. It is also not a source of income in the form of financial compensation for the material needs of his mission (Weber, 2009: 236-238).

But this does not mean the material is not important to teungku dayah. Material wealth is still needed by them, in addition to meeting the needs of their family but also to ensure the sustainability and development of dayah. However, material wealth is not the ultimate goal. Moreover, if it eliminates the independence and the action of critical agency. In fact, a critical and independent agency action is a part of the resources of teungku dayah's political authority in Aceh (Yusny Saby, 2000: 284-285).

As an authoritative social agents, they are always required to be able to fight in order for the power resources to survive. Otherwise, as stated by Giddens, an actor (agent) stops being an agent because he lost the ability to dominate (Antony Giddens, 1984: 14). When dominance can not be maintained longer then his political authority is in crisis.

3. Teungku Dayah and Political Authority Crisis

The practice of Islamic shari'a that is political in which the state appears with the totalitarian face closes the space of active participation of various components of civil society with no exception to traditional Is-

lamic leaders in Aceh, teungku dayah. For teungku dayahs themselves, the lossing of their role and ability exert their critical influence on the state both in terms of the application of Islamic shari'a and express the community's follow-up impact of a weakening of their political authority in Aceh. Reality is reflected in the weakening of the influence of their political agency in Aceh in winning certain figures in the Regional Head Election (Pemilukada). Neither the political parties which they founded, PDA (Daulat Aceh Party) did not obtain a meaningful response from the society. The last party failed to win votes in various Aceh region in the 2009 legislative election except for one seat in the provincial parliament (House of Representatives Aceh).

In General Election of 2006, a political figure who is supported by teungku dayah for Gubernur positions is Humam Hamid and Hasbi Abdullah while as the regent, two of them are Tarmizi A. Karim and Amirullah in North Aceh. The results the candidate which are supported by teungku dayah for the Governor obtained only 16.62% of votes lost with a pair of independent way Yusuf and Muhammad Nazar who obtained 38.20% of the vote. Neither the candidates for North Aceh Regent which only obtained 20.8% of the vote and was defeated by a pair supported by GAM (Free Aceh Movement) Ilyas. A. Hamid and Syarifuddin who obtained 67.4% of the vote (Independent Election Commission of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, 2006). The weakening of teungku dayah's political authority paves the way for GAM activists into the major political actors in Aceh. This was reflected in the success they achieved almost in all political position in Aceh in the General Election and Legislative Elections in Aceh since 2006 to 2012.

In fact the changing of public attitudes in assessing the political agency in addition to teungku dayah's personal qualities are also associated with the changes in their conception of teungku dayah's political ideology. Teungku dayah's political agency currently rated by the community is no longer based by struggling in the interests of Islam (ideological) but only the interests of their own political practices (Interview with Nasrullah, Muzakir, Nurdin and Badruzzaman, a resident of Simpang Keuramat North Aceh, 20, 21 and 22 November , 2008). This reality encourages the public to re-interpret of their respects (submission) to

teungku dayah in the political sphere. The results of re-interpretation as shown by the results of the Election above, people determine their own autonomous political options (interview with Zakaria and Muntasir, a resident of North Aceh Nisam, November 22, 2008).

The easiness of people to be out of the circle of influence of teungku dayah in Aceh also lies in the reality of relatively minimal strings attached to their political power in society. In Aceh, the existence of teungku dayah as political role models are not bound by material and spiritual dependence as the relationships of *kiai* patronage and the mass of Islam in Java,² but solely only on the knowledge and spiritual attachment or Islamic ideology (Syamsuddin, 1990; 178)

This thing happens, because the Aceh people is not in the condition of shorting of arable land (farm/field) to fulfill their family needs so that even poor people of Aceh can take advantage of agricultural lands that are still widely available and when the famine comes they can seek help from their families to meet their daily living needs because the emotional connection between families in Aceh still strong and reliable.

In economic terms Teungku Dayah who are indirectly dependent on the community through *Sadaqah*, *Zakat*, *nadzar* and other religions donations. With such a position that the people of Aceh “bind” teungku dayah to always take and defend their interests. When the actions of teungku dayah political agency is no longer perceived to defend or fight for Islam and their interests so easily or necessarily, the people of Aceh to break away from their ideological attachment to teungku dayah.

As a result, the accumulation of Acehnese resentment against teungku dayah in the political sphere to encourage them to follow where the crossing from the direction of politics or teungku dayah political agency switch to the GAM as represented in the General Election of Governors, Regents and legislative elections in Aceh. The switching action of the political choice from teungku dayah to GAM is a real action of resistance and the final punishment from them because they considered no longer be used as a political reference.

But what unique is, teungku dayah authority crisis in the sphere of politic is not followed by the crisis in the realm of religion. In the realm of religion, they remain the main community reference (*group*

references) . Their position as the heir to the prophet is considered Karamah (*keuramat*) remains a powerful charisma that established them as a determinant (*peuneutoh haba*) in every religious issues that arise in Aceh (Interview with Nasrullah, Citizens of Simpang Keuramat, 20 November 2008). Similarly, in terms of their position as a religious teacher remained firm in Aceh. This fact is reflected in the reality of the community to keep their bustling visit to consult about religion. Neither the recitations that they do still crowded by people.

The recitation of Abu Paloh Gadeung and Abu Tumien in Krueng Geukuh, for example, remains crowded as usual. Similarly, with the dayah led by them remains crowded with students who come from across the province and even from various other places in Sumatra such as Medan, Padang, Bengkulu and Jambi. This reality above confirms that in the case of the actor who originated from the religious elite, their authority is doubled both religious and political authority. When one of his authority is in crisis then it is not immediately followed by another crisis of authority.

When their political authority is in crisis because it is considered no longer made to defend the interests of the community while on the other hand they are rated by the community still able to carry out its position as a religious teacher then the influence of religious authority in the field is still strong and dominant as ever. This fact denies the theoretical views of Giddens (1984: 14) that the actor stopped being the agent altogether when he was no longer able to influence the series of events and affect the causal powers that spread by others.

Teungku Dayah cases in Aceh is also at the opposite side with Weber's view that says that the figure of a charismatic leader when leadership is no longer valued by the community can give them the benefit of charismatic authority is disappear at all (Weber, 194: 359-360). In the case of teungku dayah in Aceh, completely lost his authority but only on the secular aspects of religion, the politics whereas non-political aspects (religion) still have high authority or not affected. This confirms that the teungku dayah's political and religious authority in Aceh which previously are fused (*meusaboeh/integrated*) have now been separated. This is in contrast to the findings of the Geertz study (1959-1960; 234), Dhofier

(1982: 56-57), and Turmudi (2003: 95-96) on the authority of a kiai in Java which is united in their conclusion (absolute/*integrated*) between political and religious authority

CONCLUSION

Islamic shari'a in Aceh after the New Order era is managed politically and bureaucratically. The level of praxis, the norms of religion was controlled entirely by the ruling elite and modified precisely for the sake of their power. Action on the one hand ensure that Islamic shari'a is fully under the control of the government but on the other side at the same time marginalizing the traditional Islamic leaders in Aceh which is *teungku dayah* from the arena. Because of the bureaucratic practice of Islamic shari'a requires the building of rational knowledge, contextual, efficient and pragmatic while *teungku dayah* building knowledge is still traditional and textual in nature so that between Islamic shari'a and *teungku dayah* the discrepancies (distance) are obvious.

In another part, the reality of the Acehnese people who are very fanatical about Islam and their attachment to religion is very strong with their *teungku dayah* made the post-New Order regime in Aceh need their justification to embed an image of the ruling elite is the Islamic elite. Then it is pushed the post-New Order regime in Aceh to use Islamic shari'a as facilities to dominate the power against *teungku dayah* so they can be used for the benefit of symbolic power.

If in the New Order era, the domination of power against *teungku dayah* is done through the jargon "for the sake of development" of Aceh, the jargon of post-New Order era is to "strengthen and accelerate the implementation of Islamic shari'a" in Aceh. On behalf of this "sacred" interests in the post New Order regime in Aceh and then set up a special agency called the Institution for the Development of Dayah's Education (BPPD) which has the task of facilitating the needs of *dayah*. Through this *dayah* bureaucratic institutions, elites in Aceh pull over structural economic dependence of the *dayah* and *teungku dayah* from the people become dependent on the state. The action is done by the state by the guise of their grants to *Dayah* regularly, either in the form of physical development grants, *Teungku dayah* incentives (salary) monthly and other

Dayah apparatus.

At this position the existence of Islamic shari'a in Aceh was more meaningful as games or merchandise of power (commodification) because it is used as a structure resource to dominate the power of the society agent (teungku dayah) than a religious law and become tradition and culture which gives space for the various social components to participate in it. This fact confirms that the power relationship between the state as the structure and teungku dayah as the agent does not develop duality (equal and mutual influence) but dualism (top-bottom) where the state dominates the agent.

The operational practices of domination of power after the New Order regime in this teungku dayah in turn deprive the independence and tame their critical attitude towards the state. As a result, Teungku Dayah dominant political authority in Aceh in previous eras turned into a crisis. The reality is represented in at the birth of Acehnese resistance to the actions of their political agencies such as the Aceh General Election (Election of Regional Head), both the General Election of governors, regents and legislative elections in which people are not willing to choose a figure who campaigned by them or their own political party, Daulat Aceh Party (PDA).

But teungku dayah crisis of political authority in Aceh is not followed by a crisis of their authority in the realm of religion. Compared with the religious elite who come from Islamic scholars (graduate of Islamic University) in the realm of religion remains a dominant figure and be the number one reference in Aceh. That reality is represented in the numbers of the students studying in the dayah (*pesantren*) and as well as community recitations and visits to the dayah to consult about various things related to their religion. The fact that teungku dayah's political authority crisis on one hand but on the other hand they remain to have dominant authority in the realm of religion is affirmed that the teungku dayah political and religious authority in Aceh which is previously fused (*integrated*) has now turned into a separate (*seperated*).

ENDNOTES

¹ Teungku Dayah is a term from the Acehnese people to the Islamic

cleric. Teungku dayah is equivalent in meaning to the term Buya in Minang society, Ajengan in Sundanese society and Kyai in Javanese society. They are believed to be widely knowledgeable (in Islam), leading and a graduate of a traditional Islamic boarding school (pesantren salafi) that is dayah who only studied the religious sciences of Islam, based in gampoeng (rural areas) and charismatic. See, Nirzalin, *Relasi Kekuasaan Teungku-Murid, Studi di Dayah Tanoh Abeu Kabupaten Aceh Besar*, (Lhokseumawe: LPPM Malikussaleh University, Research Grants from the Province of Aceh, 2004), p. 15 and Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), p. 55

- ² Therefore, the perspective of Geertz's research findings, Horikoshi and Turmudi in Java which concluded that the political patronage of Islamic Javanese kiai always encourage people to follow the kiai political invitations can not be applied in Aceh. Since the foundation of authority engagement kiai with the Javanese Islamic community is different from Teungku Dayah in Aceh. This kiai political authority engagement in Java is not just awaken of spiritual excellence and religious knowledge but also the economy. Kiai in Java is rich and the owners of well cultivated land and farm fields where people work as laborers or tenants of land of the kiai. While in Aceh Teungku Dayah authority both in religious and political awakening from purely spiritual excellence and knowledge of their religion. See, Clifford Geertz, "The Javanese Kyai: The Changing Role of Cultural Broker", *Journal Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 2, 1959-1960, p. 234, Horiko Horikoshi, "A Traditional Leader in a Time of Change: The Kyai and Ulama in West Java", (University of Illinois: Doctoral Dissertation, 1976), p. 104-105 and Endang Turmudi, *Infidelity Kiai and Power*, (London: LKiS, 2003), p. 95-9

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