

ISLAMISM IN DAYAH: SHAFI'YAH, HANBALIYAH, AND POPULAR ISLAM

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Abstract

Islamism is a set of ideologies that believe that religion and the state are one (addinu waddaulah) as happened in Aceh, Indonesia. This research aims to find out the variants of Islamism in integrated dayah in Aceh. The phenomenological method was used to reveal the phenomenon of Islamism in six integrated dayah. The findings show that there are three variants of Islamism in integrated dayah in Aceh, namely shafiyah style, hanbaliyah style and Islamic popular style. This research is limited to integrated dayahs and only reveals dayah variants. Further research is needed on Islamist networks in various types of dayah in Aceh.

Keywords: *Islamism; Integrated Dayah; Shafiiyah; Hanbaliyah; Popular Islam.*

Abstrak

Islamisme merupakan seperangkat ideologi yang berkeyakinan bahwa agama dan negara menyatu (addinu waddaulah) seperti yang terjadi di Aceh, Indonesia. Riset ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui varian Islamisme pada dayah terpadu di Aceh. Metode fenomenologi digunakan untuk mengungkap fenomena Islamisme pada enam dayah terpadu. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa terdapat tiga varian Islamisme pada dayah terpadu di Aceh yakni corak syafiiyah, corak hanbaliyah dan corak populer Islam. Riset ini terbatas pada dayah terpadu dan hanya mengungkapkan varian dayah. Perlu penelitian lanjutan terkait jaringan Islamisme pada berbagai tipe dayah di Aceh.

Kata Kunci: *Islamisme; Dayah Terpadu; Syafiiyah; Hanbaliyah; Islam Populer.*

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مستخلص

الإسلامية هي مجموعة من الأيديولوجيات التي تعتقد أن الدين والدولة يتحدان كما حدث في أتشيه بإندونيسيا. يهدف هذا البحث إلى معرفة متغيرات الإسلاموية في المدارس الداخلية الإسلامية المتكاملة في أتشيه. تم استخدام الأسلوب الفينومينولوجي لكشف ظاهرة الإسلاموية في سبع دايات متكاملة. تظهر النتائج أن هناك ثلاثة أشكال مختلفة من الإسلاموية في الديات المتكاملة في أتشيه، وهي الأسلوب الشافعي، والأسلوب الحنبلي والأسلوب الإسلامي الشعبي. يقتصر هذا البحث على الديات المتكاملة ويكشف فقط عن متغير النهار. هناك حاجة إلى مزيد من البحث فيما يتعلق بشبكة الإسلاموية في أنواع مختلفة من الديات في أتشيه.

الكلمات الرئيسية: الإسلاموية الديات المتكاملة؛ الشافعية المهمالية؛ الإسلام الشعبي.

A. INTRODUCTION

Islamism in Aceh has long been rooted and legitimized as a special region. Aceh has long implemented Islamic sharia since the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda in the 16th century AD¹. Although it is realized that the implementation of Islamic law in Aceh also raises various problems such as the marginalization of women in the public sphere², the shift of Islamism to nationalism³, dormant citizenship with ethno-religious nationalism⁴, and raises the categorization of ulama; dayah ulama and PTKIN ulama. Islamism in Aceh, especially related to dayah, is interesting because there is Qanun number 9 of 2018 concerning the implementation of dayah education as an identity of Islamism in Aceh.

So far, the study of Islamism has been widely discussed by a number of scholars. However, none of these studies have examined the variants of Islamism in integrated dayah in Aceh. Najibs research found that Muhammadiyah's religiousness is pragmatic moderatism⁵. Nurlinah et. al.'s research found that the implementation of Islamism through local regulations was influenced by the victory of local politicians in the general elections in Aceh and South

¹Mohammad Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad* (Medan: Harian Waspada, 2007), <https://doi.org/https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=964210>.

²Zuly Qodir et al., "The Formalization of Sharia in Aceh To Discipline the Female Body," *Al-Jami'ah* 60, no. 1 (2022): 63–90, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.601.63-90>.

³Edward Aspinall, "From Islamism to Nationalism in Aceh, Indonesia," *Nations and Nationalism: Journal of The Association For The Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism* 13, no. 2 (2007): 245–63, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2007.00277.x>.

⁴Moch Nur Ichwan, Arskal Salim, and Eka Srimulyani, "Islam and Dormant Citizenship: Soft Religious Ethno-Nationalism and Minorities in Aceh, Indonesia," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 0, no. 0 (2020): 215–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2020.1780407>.

⁵Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Pluralism, Liberalism, and Islamism: Religious Outlook of Muhammadiyah," *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (2018): 433–70, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v25i3.7765>.

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Sulawesi⁶. Sofanudin found three categories of Islamism in integrated Islamic schools (IIS/Sekolah Islam Terpadu/SIT), namely IIS that are members of JSIT, IIS that are Aswaja and IIS that are nationalist⁷. Ibrahim et al. found that ulama in Aceh and West Java responded to the Islamist movement through the idea of a khilafah state into three variants, namely textualist-substantive, contextualist-substantive, and ideological-political⁸. None of the four studies examined variants of Islamism in integrated dayah in Aceh, so this study is unique and novelty.

The characteristics of Islamism can be seen from the curriculum organized by integrated dayah. Studies related to Islamism by involving the research locus of dayah, madrasah and Islamic schools at the same time are rarely carried out. Moreover, studies related to Islamism in Muslim-majority areas such as Aceh⁹. So research on Islamism in integrated dayah is very interesting because Aceh is the only special region as well as a special autonomous region, which has unique characteristics that are thick with the spirit and values of Islam itself¹⁰.

This research aims to find out the variants of Islamism in integrated dayah in Aceh. Knowledge of Islamism in the integrated dayah curriculum in Aceh is very important considering Aceh's history which is full of past conflicts. Although Aceh is currently very peaceful, it does not mean that there are no seeds that may grow in integrated dayah that teach violent ideologies. Galtung mentions that there is negative peace in the sense of the absence

⁶ Haryanto Nurlinah, Nurlinah, Rizkika Lhena Darwin, Haryanto, "After Shari'ah: Islamism and Electoral Dynamics at Local Level in Indonesia," *Global Journal Al-Thaqafah* 8, no. 2 (2018): 17–29, <https://doi.org/gjat.my/gjat122018/GJAT122018-2.pdf>.

⁷ Aji Sofanudin, "Curriculum Typology of Islamic Religion Education in Integrated Islamic School (SIT)," *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama Dan Keagamaan*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.32729/edukasi.v17i1.563>.

⁸ Farid Wajdi Ibrahim, Shohibul Adib, and Dicky Wirianto, "THE THOUGHT OF FIGURES OF ISLAMIC MASS ORGANIZATION ABOUT CALIPHATE: A CASE STUDY IN BANDA ACEH AND WEST JAVA," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 22, no. 2 (2022): 23–24.

⁹ Bambang Arif Rahman, "Islamic Revival and Cultural Diversity: Pesantren's Configuration in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 12, no. 1 (2022): 201–29, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i1.201-229>.

¹⁰ Yogi Setya Permana, "Subnational Sectarianisation: Clientelism, Religious Authority, and Intra-Religious Rivalry in Aceh," *Religion, State and Society*, 2021, 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2021.1881392>; Kamaruzzaman Bustamam Ahmad and Fitri Zulfidar Ibrahim, "The Family Background and Cultural Landscapes of Youth in Banda Aceh: An Ethnographic Account," *Samarah* 6, no. 2 (July 1, 2022): 844–72, <https://doi.org/10.22373/SJHK.V6I2.12571>; Juwaini Saleh et al., "Marriage Guidance towards Family Resilience in Aceh: A Study of Islamic Law Philosophy," *Samarah* 6, no. 2 (July 1, 2022): 594–613, <https://doi.org/10.22373/SJHK.V6I2.12448>; Arskal Salim, "Adat and Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia: Unequal Coexistence and Asymmetric Contestation," *Samarah* 5, no. 2 (2021): 529–51, <https://doi.org/10.22373/SJHK.V5I2.11082>; Lukman Hakim and Ahmad Sunawari Long, "The Tradition of Tulak Brehu as a Fidyah of Prayer in Aceh Besar Society: A Study of Law Theology," *Samarah* 5, no. 1 (January 1, 2021): 191–209, <https://doi.org/10.22373/SJHK.V5I1.8817>; Adelina Nasution, Pagar, and Asmuni, "The Disparity of Judge's Verdict on Child Custody Decision in Aceh Sharia Court," *Samarah* 6, no. 2 (July 1, 2022): 890–913, <https://doi.org/10.22373/SJHK.V6I2.12758>.

of violence such as war and positive peace which means the creation of social justice¹¹. Aceh is the only province that implements Islamic law and has many Islamic educational institutions, both formal and non-formal¹². The Aceh government has come up with qonun related to the implementation of dayah education. This research aims to uncover various variants of Islamism in integrated dayah in Aceh.

Based on the curriculum applied to integrated dayah in Aceh, three categories were found, namely salafiyah style, hambaliyah style, and popular Islamic style. The three variants of educational institutions have different curriculum characteristics and Islamist orientations. The practice of Islamic education in Aceh is numerous with the presence of various models of management of dayah, meunasah, madrasah and public schools organized by religious-based organization. In addition to following all the provisions of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, an integrated dayah in Aceh follow the policies of the Aceh Education Council, the Dayah Education Office and the local policies of each educational unit. The integrated dayah management model in Aceh is quite varied, reflecting the spirit of the founders, the socio-political conditions of the Acehnese community, and the demands of global development.

This research uses the phenomenological method conducted at six integrated dayahs, namely Dayah Darul Ihsan Krueng Kalee Aceh Besar, Dayah Inshafuddin Banda Aceh, Pesantren Darul Ulum Umar Faruq Aceh Besar, Pesantren Imam Syafi'i Aceh Besar, Pesantren Ruhul Islam Anak Bangsa Aceh Besar, and Pesantren Al-Manar Aceh Besar. Data collection techniques were carried out by observation, in-depth interviews, and document review. This research aims to reveal the phenomenon of Islamism in integrated dayah in Aceh.

Islamism dan Islamic Educational Institutions

Islamism is a set of ideologies that believe that Islam should be the guideline for all aspects of human life, including social, economic, political, cultural and personal life¹³. The hallmark of Islamism is *addinu wad daulah* and the formalization of Islamic law in the state law. Islamism is a critique of modernism, and the failure of liberal and nationalist rulers in

¹¹ Johan Galtung, "Peace, Positive and Negative," *The Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology* 13 November (2011), <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470672532.wbepp189>.

¹² Syamsuar et al., "The Strategies of Teungku Chiek Dirundeng to Develop Islamic Education in Aceh, Indonesia," *Academy of Strategic Management Journal* 18, no. 5 (2019): 1–6, <https://doi.org/https://www.abacademies.org/abstract/the-strategies-of-teungku-chiek-dirundeng-to-develop-islamic-education-in-aceh-indonesia-8463.html>.

¹³ Mehdi Mozaffari, "What Is Islamism? History and Definition of a Concept," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8, no. 1 (2007): 17–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14690760601121622>.

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building social and economic progress facing the country. Islamism has actually entered into educational institutions with various characteristics¹⁴.

Basically, all Islamic educational institutions have a certain ideology that is reflected in the learning curriculum. In addition to the material taught, the curriculum ideology can also be seen from the teachers, ustaz, kiai and managers of these educational institutions. In pesantren as educational institutions, kiai is the curriculum itself. Most Islamic Education institutions are independent in determining the direction of their ideology, curriculum, and learning model¹⁵. The function of educational institutions is essentially to pass on a certain value that is reflected in daily learning. This value may be the spirit of the founder, the teachers and the extended family of the Islamic education institution¹⁶.

Islamic education consists of pesantren, madrasa, and Islamic school¹⁷. William O Neil divides educational ideologies into conservative and liberal¹⁸. In fiqh, ideologies are usually divided into four or five mazhabs ie Hanafiyah, Malikiyah, Shafiiyah, and Hanbaliyah. There are those who add with Jafariyah. The growth and development of Islam in Aceh relies on the community through dayahs in which the turat books are studied directly from teungku, abu or ustadz. Religious leaders directly teach the community. People in Aceh learn religion through dayah. Islamism in education in Aceh grew along with the rise of dayah in the community. The style of Islamism in Islamic Education Institutions is reflected in the books taught in dayah. Dayah became a medium for spreading Islam to the community. Islamic law automatically becomes the customary law that applies in Acehnese society. Islamism grew in the community through dayah, meunasah, and recitation halls.

The development of Islam in Aceh occurred through direct preaching by Teungku and Abu, it is not through religious organizations. The spread of Islam in Aceh began with Sultan Malikussaleh through Samudera Pasai since the 12th century. Islamic culture in Acehnese society has been ingrained as evidenced by its integration with local culture. All national

¹⁴ Ilya Muhsin, "Ideology of Pancasila versus Islamism: Measuring Actions and Reactions of Campus Organs to Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 in UGM and UIN Yogyakarta," *ADDIN* 13, no. 2 (2019): 215–46, <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v13i2.7010>.

¹⁵ Siti Asiah et al., "The Dynamics of Islam in Indonesia in the Perspective of Education," in *Proceedings of the 4th International Colloquium on Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies in Conjunction with the 1st International Conference on Education, Science, Technology, Indonesian and Islamic Studies, ICIS and ICESTIIS 2021, 2022*, <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.20-10-2021.2316321>.

¹⁶ Abdul Karim Umi Kultsum, Muhammad Abrar Parinduri, "Comparative Studies between Public and Private Islamic Schools in the Era of Globalization," *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education (IJERE)* 11, no. 1 (2022): 421–30, <https://doi.org/10.11591/ijere.v11i1.22182>.

¹⁷ Karel A Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam Dalam Kurun Moderen* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986).

¹⁸ Omi Intan Naomi William F. O'Neill, *Educational Ideologies (Ideologi-Ideologi Pendidikan)* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), <https://doi.org/https://oneseearch.id/Record/IOS5906.ai:slims-4411/TOC>.

heroes in Aceh are Islamic religious figures who have the spirit to repel invaders based on religious spirit. The weapon they used was *rencong*, inspired by the letter *ba* as a prefix to the *basmalah*. Religion and culture in Aceh have merged in the community so that Islamic law becomes the main thing in life. The spirit of Islamism is also evidenced by the many mosques in Aceh that make Aceh have the nickname Serambi Mekkah¹⁹.

Typology of Dayah

Dayah comes from the word *zawiyah* which means corner²⁰. Dayah is a typical religious education institution in Aceh. In Java it is known as pesantren²¹. In the beginning, dayah only meant salafiyah pesantren, but since the 1990s dayah in Aceh has expanded its meaning to all types of pesantren. In Aceh itself, dayah is a religious education. In addition to dayah, in Aceh there are non-formal Islamic education institutions such as house of recitation (*balai pengajian*), *meunasah* (musala and place of recitation), *rangkang* (small dayah in the district center), *dayah manyang* (Ma'had Aly/higher Islamic education)²².

Dayah is a community-based Islamic educational institution and is led by a cleric teaching the *muktabar turats* in the understanding of Ahlussunah Waljamaah (Asy'ariyah and Maturidiyah) to santri who stay or lodging for *thulab* or *thalabah* (qanun, number 9 of 2018). In Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning pesantren, it is stated that Pesantren, Dayah, Surau, Meunasah, or other designations are community-based institutions established by individuals, foundations, Islamic community organizations, and/or communities that instill faith and piety to Allah SWT, cultivate noble morals and uphold the teachings of Islam rahmatan lil'alamin which is reflected in the attitude of humility, tolerance, balance, moderation, and other noble values of the Indonesian nation through education, Islamic preaching, exemplary, and community empowerment within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Dayah consists of three categories, namely dayah salafiyah, integrated dayah, and dayah Madrasah Ulumul Quran (DMUQ). Dayah salafiyah is a dayah education unit that focuses on the study of the *kutubut turats muktabarah* (kitab kuning) in Arabic. Integrated

¹⁹ Firdaus M. Yunus and M. Hasbi Amiruddin, "TENSION BETWEEN SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT: ASWAJA AND WAHABI IN ACEH," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 21, no. 2 (2021): 183–97, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v21i2.6039>.

²⁰ Sri Suyanta, "Idealitas Kemandirian Dayah," n.d.

²¹ Marzuki, *PESANTREN DI ACEH: Perubahan, Aktualisasi, Dan Pengembangan* (Yogyakarta: Kaukaba Dipantara, 2019), <https://doi.org/https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/id/eprint/1678/>.

²² Muftiadi Nasrullah Ridwan, Yumna Alifa, "The Study of Genius Loci from Rumoh Aceh Perspective at Museum Tsunami Aceh," *MAJ - Malaysia Architectural Journal* 4, no. 1 (2022): 1–10, <https://doi.org/https://www.majournal.my/index.php/maj/article/view/92>.

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dayah is a dayah education unit that teaches the *kutubut turats muktabarah* and is combined with a school or madrasa.

Dayah Madrasah Ulumul Quran is a dayah education unit that specifically emphasizes *Tahfizul Quran* (memorizing the Quran) and mastering Arabic. In general, dayahs are managed by the community but there are also Dayah Madrasah Ulumul Quran managed by the government²³. The government opened dayahs especially in the border areas of Aceh. Islamic education in Aceh has diversity in types, types of dayah and functions as a bastion of Islamism (Islamic law).

B. Discussion

1. Development Dayah in Aceh

The Dayah Education Office in Aceh Province stated that the number of dayahs in Aceh Province in 2022 was 1,488 institutions. Dayah in Aceh is divided into several types, namely as follows:

Table 1. Type of Dayah in Aceh

No	Type of Dayah	Amount
1	Salafiyah	1.173
2	Terpadu	315
3	DMUQ	-
	Jumlah	1.488

Source: Dayah Education Office, 2022

Meanwhile, emis data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Aceh Province in 2022 states that there are 1,625 dayah with the following distribution in each district/city in Aceh:

Table 2 Number of Dayah by District

No	District/City	Amount
1	Pidie Jaya	79
2	Aceh Selatan	71
3	Aceh Tengah	32
4	Bener Meriah	25
5	Simeulue	13
6	Aceh Singkil	28
7	Kota Subulussalam	29
8	Aceh Utara	257
9	Aceh Timur	127
10	Bireuen	192
11	Aceh Tamiang	59
12	Aceh Barat Daya	58
13	Aceh Barat	56
14	Gayo Lues	25

²³ Nasir Usman et al., "The Implementation of Learning Management at the Institution of Modern Dayah in Aceh Besar District," *Journal of Physics: Conference Series* 1175, no. 1 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1088/1742-6596/1175/1/012157>.

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15	Kota Langsa	39
16	Aceh Besar	201
17	Pidie	118
18	Kota Lhokseumawe	45
19	Aceh Tenggara	50
20	Kota Banda Aceh	36
21	Aceh Jaya	37
22	Kota Sabang	5
23	Nagan Raya	43
	Total	1625

Source: EMIS, 2022

The Dayah Education Office divides the dayah classification into three, namely salafiyah, integrated and DMUQ. In Qanun Number 9 of 2018 there is DMUQ but in fact DMUQ is included as part of an integrated dayah. Factually, DMUQs managed by the community are not recorded by the Dayah Education Office. This is because there are no dayahs that meet the requirements to become DMUQs that focus on tahfizul Quran and Arabic. Therefore, the government established DMUQ with state status, namely DMUQ in Aceh Besar Regency, DMUQ in Tamiang Regency, DMUQ in Banda Aceh City, DMUQ in Langsa City, and DMUQ in Pidie Regency. The implementation of Aceh Qanun number 9 of 2018 is factually different from the field. The qanun mentions three types of dayah, but factually there are only two types, and the dayah ideology does not fully implement the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah manhaj, referring to Imam Asya'riyah and Maturidiyah.

Although in Qanun Aceh number 9 of 2018 there are three variants of dayah, factually not all of them have been implemented. This is because the Dayah Education Office and the Ministry of Religious Affairs cannot intervene in dayah as a whole. In determining ideology, curriculum, reference books, learning models, and programs, dayahs determine their own depending on the direction and idealism of the managers (kiai). Dayahs that grow and develop in Aceh do not all follow Aceh Qanun number 9 of 2018, but they run independently.

The diversity of dayah types proves that Aceh is very accommodating to differences in religious ideology. This is reflected in Qanun Aceh Number 9 of 2018 Article 25 paragraph (2) which states that dayah must be in accordance with the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah manhaj of the Syafi'i school of thought with respect for other Ahlussunnah Waljamaah manhajs. Most of the dayahs in Aceh adhere to the *Shafi'iyah* and some others adhere to the *Hambaliyah*. The difference in madhabs reflects different variants of Islamism in Aceh.

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These are the characteristics of the six dayahs studied:

Table 3 Characteristics of Dayah in Aceh

No	Dayah	Variant of Islamism	Characteristics	System	Affiliate
1	Dayah Darul Ihsan Krueng Kalee Aceh Besar	Shafi'iyah	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The pesantren curriculum refers to qanun and it's developed by it self 2. The ideology of pesantren refers to Ahlussunnah wal jamaah (Asy'ariyah and Maturidiyah) 3. Pesantren refers to turat muktabarah 4. Pesantren refers to dayah salafiyah model 5. Turats used as references in pesantren are similar to the turats of Nahdlatul Ulama 6. The pesantren was founded by a religious and nationalist cleric, Tengku Hasan Krueng Kalee 	The pesantren has an open learning system, inclusive, refers to qanun, and implements the mandate of qanun, namely the ideology of Ahlussunnah Waljamaah (Asy'ariyah and Maturidiyah)	Yayasan Dayah Darul Ihsan Krueng Kalee
2	Dayah Inshafuddin Banda Aceh	Shafi'iyah	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pesantren curriculum refers to qanun 2. Pesantren follow the mazhab of Imam Syafi'i 3. Pesantren refers to the dayah salafiyah model which is characterized by Ahlussunnah Waljamaah. 4. Pesantren practice Islamic traditions such as tahlilan, manaqiban, berzanji, yasinan, grave pilgrimage, and others. 5. Pesantren extracurricular activities include: Al-Qur'an, Language learning (Arabic and English), Scouting, Qiraatil Kutub, Environmental Education, and Sports. 	<p>Pesantren curriculum refers to qanun and teach the Turats Muktabarah that is Ahlussunnah Waljamaah. The jurisprudence used is Matan Taqrib, Bajuri, dan I'anntut Thalibin. The book of Usul Fikih used is Ushul Min Ilmil Ushul and Warakat. The books of creed used is Aqidah Imaniah, Aqidah Islamiah, dan Kifayatul Awam. The book of morals used is Akhlaqul Banin, Taisir Akhlak, Ta'lim Mutaalim, and Syarah muraqil'ubudiyah. The hadits used are Matan Arba'in and Bulughul maram. The books of Ulumul Hadits used is Taisir Musthalah Hadist. The Tafsir books is Tafsir Jalalain. The Tarikh books used are Khulasatul Nurul Yakin and Nurul Yakin. The Nahwu books used are Awamil, Jurumiyah, Nahwu Wadhi Jilid 1-4, Mukhtasar Jiddan, and Kawakib. The Sharaf books used are Zammun</p>	Yayasan Pembina Inshafuddin

				& Tasrif 1, Matan bina & Tasrif 2, Tasrif 3, Kailani, dan Salsul Madkhal. The Arabic language books used are Tamrin lughah 1-3, Qiratun rasyidah jilid 1-4 (mutalaah), and Durusul arabiah lighairiin nathiqin biha 1-4	
3	Pesantren Darul Ulum Umar Faruq Aceh Besar	Hambaliyah	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The pesantren curriculum does not refer to qanun and develop its own 2. The pesantren does not refer Turats Muktabarah 3. Pesantren following the thought of Ibnu Qayyim Al-Jauziyyah 4. Pesantren does not recognize the importance of Pancasila 5. Implementing archery and horse riding extracurricular 6. Female santri wearing the veil 	Pesantren is affiliated with Jamaah Tabligh, reject boy scouts, reject Acehese/ Indonesian cultural arts, closed learning system	Yayasan Darul Ulum Umar Faruq
4	Pesantren Imam Syafi'i Aceh Besar	Hambaliyah	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Pesantren Curriculum does not refer to qanun and develop its own sendiri 2. The Pesantren does not refer to Turats Muktabarah 3. The pesantren does not refer to Shafi'iyah Mazhab (Asyariah dan Maturidiyah) 4. The pesantren used its own curriculum developed from Medina 5. The Pesantren has been accredited by the Islamic University of Medina KSA in 1443 H/2022 M. 6. The mosque in the pesantren complex is named after a Kuwaiti figure, namely the Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah Mosque, which is taken from the Emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah. 	Around the pesantren, there is no national flag, no Garuda symbol, and no photos of the president and vice president of Indonesia. Pesantren Imam Syafi'i is oriented towards the countries of Kuwait and Medina. One of the sources of funding for this pesantren comes from Kuwait. This pesantren has a closed learning system	Yayasan Lajnah Khairiyah Musytarakah (YLKM)
5	Pesantren Ruhul Islam Anak Bangsa	Populer Islam	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The pesantren curriculum refer to qanun and develop its own 2. The pesantren does not refer Turats Muktabarah 3. The pesantren refer to modern book on Tafsir, Kalam, Hadis, Falak, Murajaah, Tahsin, and Tasmi'. 	The pesantren has an open learning system according to the times, refers to popular Islamic movement, this pesantren integrates Islam and Technology	Yayasan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia

			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. The pesantren developed from Pesantren Isykarima dan Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki Sukoharjo, Central Java 5. Pesantren has an idealism that all santri must become leaders in all sectors of life 6. Pesantren has an idealism that all alumni can continue to reputable university in the country or abroad 7. Leading to the contemporary Islamic movement, by using example of alumni Ustaz Hanan Attaqi (Mulyadi), founder of Jihad Sabilillah Movement and Hijrah Youth 	
6	Pesantren Al-Manar Aceh Besar	Populer Islam	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pesantren curriculum refers to qanun and it is developed by it self 2. Pesantren does not refers to turat mutabarah but refers to contemporary books 3. The pesantren emphasizes tahfidzul quran, Arabic and English language, Martial arts, Scouting, Sports, Arts, ICT Skills, Dalail Khairat, Science, and Entrepreneurship. 4. orientation of pesantren to create entrepreneurial students 5. The founder of this pesantren is H. Azhar Manyak or better known as Abu Manyak, an entrepreneur born in Aceh Besar who has been successful in the business world since the seventies. 6. Conversations at the pesantren use Arabic language 7. Pesantren partnered with several political parties 8. Pesantren integrate ICT in their learning process 	<p>Pesantren integrates Islam, ICT, science, entrepreneurship. The style of pesantren developed is modern or popular Islam.</p> <p>Yayasan Bungong Jeumpa Al-Azhar</p>

Dayah has independence in management, financing, including the determination of the curriculum. The government does not have a standardized turats that applies to dayah. The Aceh government has several types of dayah that are directly managed by the Dayah Education Office, namely dayah Madrasah Ulumul Quran (DMUQ) dayah. In general, the

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government does not have the authority to regulate the learning content in each dayah. The majority of dayahs are managed by the community so that they are independent.

Dayahs managed by the community have different characteristics from those managed by the government. Dayahs managed by the community are integrated, namely the dayah education pattern which is integrated with schools and/or madrasahs. Meanwhile, dayahs managed by the government focus on tahfidzul quran and mastery of Arabic. The characteristics of community-run dayahs tend to be heterogeneous, influenced by founders who have diverse backgrounds such as entrepreneurs, ulama, government officials, scientist, and local community leaders. The vision, mission, goals and programs of each dayah vary. Differences in the background of the founder generally affect the orientation and management model of the dayah.

The diversity of orientations and models of dayah management in Aceh reflects the diverse ideologies of its founders. The Aceh government provides more space for the direction and model of dayah management. Despite having regulations, some dayahs do not follow the provisions in the qanun. Dayah accreditation is not carried out by the dayah education office but by the dayah accreditation office (BADA). In its implementation, some dayahs made adjustments to the provisions in the qanun in order to obtain recognition, facilitation and accreditation.

Dayah Darul Ihsan Krueng Kalee Aceh Besar Regency was founded by Abu Hasan Krueng Kalee who was a friend of Daud Beureuh, one of the leaders of Darul Islam (DI/TII). However, Abu Hasan Krueng Kalee rejected Daud Beureuh's thoughts and rebellion through DI/TII to establish an Islamic state in 1953-1962. The name Darul Ihsan, which Abu Hasan founded in 1915, is the antithesis of Darul Islam (Islamic state). Dayah Darul Ihsan Krueng Kalee has the aim of preparing cadres of da'wah, educators, scholars, leaders of the people through learning *turats*, *tahsin*, *tahfidz*, *tahassus*, *tilawah*, *khitobah*, *hadroh*, *ubudiyah practice*, *scouting*, *martial arts*, and *english club*. The orientation and management model of Dayah Inshafuddin Banda Aceh is similar to Dayah Darul Ihsan Krueng Kalee. Of the 1,488 dayahs registered with the Dayah Education Office, the majority are similar to Dayah Darul Ihsan Krueng Kalee and Dayah Inshafuddin Banda Aceh.

Pesantren Imam Syafi'i has a vision to be a true islamic boarding school in *aqidah*, superior in quality, creative and innovative in work. Pesantren Darul Ulum Umar Faruq is an integrated Islamic boarding school with a vision to produce people based on piety, sincerity, simplicity, and high intellectuality so that they can preach Quran-based Islam, science, and technology. The emphasis on language skills in this pesantren adopts the Gontor Pesantren

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Education system. The learning output is to prepare students who follow the *ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah*, graduate students who memorize the Qur'an at least six Juz and produce students with straight and broad insight. The learning output emphasizes the ability to memorize the quran at least five Juz and fluent in Arabic, be accepted at national and Middle Eastern universities, and become preachers and lovers of Islamic value through the quran and the science of education. The books that become learning materials are *kutubussittah* and *asyroh* (Muwatta Malik, Musnad Ahmad ibn Hambal, Sunan al-Darimi, Musnad Imam Syafi'i). Extra-curricular in the form of archery, sewing, muhadtsah, khitobah, tahfid, tahfid hadith, tahfid kitab mutun. Extra-curricular activities developed in the form of activities in accordance with Islamic law such as archery martial arts, horse riding. The name of the mosque of this pesantren is Shaykh Shaybah al Ahmad Aljabir Amir Kuwait in 2026-2020. This pesantren follows many of the opinions of Ibn Qayyim Al jauziyah.

Pesantren Ruhul Islam Anak Bangsa (RIAB) was founded by Syamsuddin Mahmud. He was the Governor of Aceh for the period 1993-2000. Many alumni of RIAB continue to Pesantren Isykarima and Al-Mukmin Ngruki in Sukoharjo. One of the famous alumni of this pesantren is Ustadz Hanan Attaki. He has the real name Mulyadi and is famous as a viral ustadz. The books taught in this pesantren include tafsir, kalam, hadith, falak, murajaah, tahsin, and tasmi'. The spirit of the establishment of this pesantren is in order to answer the challenges of the times which require muslim leaders or cadres who are contextual. Pesantren Al-Manar follows the learning model in Gontor, East Java.

2. Shafi'iyah, Hambaliyah, dan Islam Populer

This research found that there are variants of Islamist patterns in Aceh. There are at least three shades of Islamism in dayah in Aceh, namely shafi'iyah, hanbaliyah and pop Islam. The shafi'iyah style is more of a traditional dayah, as the original meaning of dayah which has a narrower meaning as a salafiyah pesantren (teaching the turats). While the term pesantren refers more to the meaning of modern (integrated) pesantren. Dayah Darul Ihsan and Inshafuddin represent the shafi'iyah style of Islamism. Pesantren Darul Ulum Umar Faruq and Imam Syafii represents more of a hanbaliyah style of thought. Although the name is Syafi'i, it has a tendency towards hanbalian religious patterns. Meanwhile, Ruhul Islam Anak Bangsa and Al-Manar have a contemporary religious spirit. Despite having the same characteristics as an integrated dayah, each dayah has a diverse style of Islamism.

The Aceh phenomenon is a clear form of Islamism. Various religious instruments are incorporated into the Aceh government such as the Ulama Consultative Assembly (MPU)

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which has binding fatwas. The diversity of Islamism patterns in Aceh is a necessity in the midst of the unity of Islam and Acehese culture. The shafi'iyah model of dayah emphasizes more on maintaining the tradition of ahlu sunah wal jamah understanding. Shafi'iyah's orientation is more inward. While the hanbaliyah model dayah has more middle eastern ideals and is outwardly oriented. The Islamic pop model dayah emphasizes maintaining tradition while responding to global challenges. The orientation of the Islamic pop model dayah emphasizes the readiness of leader regeneration. So that political positions are ideally filled by people who understand religion. The key word is ulama cadre as well as being a leader. The shafi'iyah style is more similar to the pesantren developed by NU. The hanbaliyah style is more similar to the wahabi or Arabism model. Meanwhile, the pop Islamic style accommodates NU and Muhammadiyah, which is summarized in the Modern Dasussalam Gontor pesantren in East Java. Although it does not explicitly follow NU, but in practice it is more like Shafi'iyah. However, in the social aspect, there is the Tapak Suci extracurricular which is a special characteristic of Muhammadiyah. The Shafi'iyah style emphasizes the reproduction of scholars, experts in religious fields and becoming experts in religious science. The Hanbaliyah style emphasizes continuity with the salafus shalih ulama. In general, the name of the dayah refers to the names of the *sahabat*, *tabiin* and *tabiittabiin*. Meanwhile, the Islamic pop style is more about mastering religious knowledge and science and technology simultaneously. Mastery of foreign languages, especially English and Arabic, and the tahfidz program (memorizing quran) is a priority program.

The founding actor of the dayah shafi'iyah model is teungku, abu or a charismatic religious figure. In politics, the political orientation is more towards the PPP. The tendency of the PPP elite that is not solid causes this dayah to choose nationalist parties such as the Democratic party, Golkar party and others. The founding actor of the hanbaliyah dayah model is more likely to have a political orientation towards PKS. While the dayah Islamic pop model is more likely to be in line with local parties as its political orientation such as the Aceh party or the Nangroe Aceh Darussalam party. This orientation is personal and does not reflect the views of the dayah in general. In general, the establishment of dayah is more due to religious motivation (da'wah) rather than political orientation (becoming legislative members) or economic (profit oriented). Factually, there is no relationship between certain political parties and dayah. This is only a personal tendency of the figures in the dayah. During data collection in the field, Anies Baswedan's billboards were seen on motorized rickshaws, public transportation, and intersections of main roads. Acehese Islamism is evident in the presence of Anies Baswedan, who is considered to represent the aspirations, ideals and interests of the

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dayah in the future. Anies Baswedan's presence on December 2, 2022 seemed to want to maintain the 212 moment that occurred in Jakarta. Although Acehese Islamism is diverse, there are several points of convergence or compromise with the political reality that occurs. The political orientation of the dayah community seems to be determined by the spirit of Islamism regardless of its model.

The narrative of Islamism already exists in the qanun that govern various aspects of life. Islamic Sharia has become an indispensable part of the law of Acehese society in general. The use of clothing in Acehese society must use muslim clothing in all places. Business actors need to pay attention to the provisions of Islamic law in running their business. For example, in hotels there are provisions that cannot bring or do (1) alcoholic beverage, (2) Maisir, (3) Khalwat, (4) Ikhtilath, (5) adulterya, (6) Sexual harassment, (7) Rape, (8) Qadzhaf, (9) Liwath, (10) Musahaqah. Islamism has become the living family of dayah in Aceh as well as gaining legitimacy from the government.

The findings of this research differ from the results of previous research. In Muhammad Anzaikhan's research on the understanding of the plurality of dayah scholars and its impact on Islamic thought in Aceh, it is mentioned that dayah scholars reject the existence of diversity in mazhab. The ideology that develops in dayah is homogeneous. This research found the opposite, that the ideology of dayah in Aceh is very diverse. The existence of dayah is even supported by the qanun on dayah education. The Aceh Qanun has accommodated differences in madhab in dayah. This Qanun only emphasizes ideologies based on ahlussunnah wal jamaah. In the six integrated dayahs there are various shades of Islamism, namely Shafi'iyah, Hamabalian and Pop Islam. Islamism in integrated dayahs in Aceh is diverse and protected by the qanun on dayah in Aceh.

The diversity of Islamism in dayah cannot be denied, but the differences remain in ukhuwah wathaniyah and do not conflict with the state ideology. Dayah education is an education that is rooted and influential in instilling the ideology of santri so that dayah cannot develop ideologies that are contrary to the ideology of Pancasila. The dayah education system respects differences in understanding, flow, and teaches tolerance. Dayah learning instills ideologies, attitudes and actions of students that do not conflict with nationalism and are in line with the qanun in Aceh.

The dynamics of Islamism in *Dayah* in Aceh do not align with the Qanun on *Dayah*. The Qanun mandates that all *Dayahs* must adhere to the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah madhabs (Ashariyah and Maturiyah), which allows four madhabs, but not all *Dayahs* in the findings of this research carry it out. According to Victor T. King, this happens because the perspective

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of Islamic sociology in Southeast Asia is influenced by social factors consisting of power and authority, poverty, urbanization, and industrialization²⁴. Regarding power, *Dayah* in Aceh is dominated by Tengku or Abu, who sided with Islamic law as the idealism of GAM activists. Although GAM failed to liberate Aceh, Aceh received special privileges and rights to become free to develop an Islamic perspective of Aceh which was thicker in Islamism. In terms of poverty, Aceh is the poorest province in Sumatra. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) states that Aceh's poverty in 2023 will be 818.47 thousand from 806.82 thousand in 2022²⁵. This is reinforced by findings in the field that development in Aceh tends to be stagnant, marked by the lack of large malls and shopping centers that are not as fast-growing as in metropolitan cities. Regarding urbanization and industrialization, Aceh tends to maintain a very strong primordialism. This is evident to migrants when living and making a living in Aceh tend not to be able to adapt and become fully Acehnese. Because when there are people who wear slightly loose clothes, wearing shorts, the Acehnese people with the naked eye say that the person is not genuine. Industrialization in Aceh tends to stagnate because development is running normally, and is supported by local policies that do not allow the development of large malls, and other examples, such as Banks, are only dominated by Sharia Banks. This makes Acehnese Islam unique and not easily influenced or interfered with by outside ideologies.

The finding of this variant of Islamism in Aceh also proves that although Aceh is an area with the establishment of Islamic Sharia with the title Veranda of Mecca (*Serambi Makkah*), it does not make Aceh a place for the growth of radicalism and terrorism as it has developed in other regions. In this context, Taylor and Turton said that radical and critical streams grow because of institutional arrangements at the local level that regulate the economic and political systems, such as in Thailand.²⁶ In the context of Aceh, the government system that runs with the unique autonomous region does not result in religious Acehnese people purifying Islam to acts of terrorism. The findings of Islamism variants in *Dayah* in Aceh, which are dominated by Syafiiyah, Hambaliyah, and Popular Islam, only take place in

²⁴ Victor T. King, "The Sociology of South-East Asia; A Critical Review of Some Concepts and Issues," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 150, no. 1 (2013): 171–206, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003098>.

²⁵ Raja Umar, "Aceh Provinsi Termiskin Di Sumatera, Warga Miskin Naik Jadi 818 Ribu Orang," *Kompas.Com*, 2023.

²⁶ Taylor John G., Turton, Andrew, *Southeast Asia (Sociology of "Developing Societies")* (Macmillan Education, 1998), https://doi.org/https://books.google.co.id/books/about/Southeast_Asia.html?id=t_jZAAAAMAAJ&redir_esc=y.

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religious ideology, not in radical movements like Islamic societies in general that occur in Southeast Asia.

The variant of Islamism in *Dayah* in Aceh also does not affect the concept of statehood chosen or agreed upon by *Dayah* leaders in Aceh. This is directly proportional to the concept of al-Mawardi, which states that Islamic Sharia has a strategic impact on leadership because Sharia has a central position as a source of political legitimacy to determine the *Imamah* and *Khilafah*.^{27 28} *Dayah* Darul Ihsan and Ihsanuddin, which represent the syafiiyah style of Islamism, strongly recognize that Pancasila is the final state ideology, and they remain nationalists. *Dayah* Imam Syafii, which represents the Hanbaliyan style of thought, still recognizes that the government system is a democracy. Meanwhile, RIAB and Al-Manar have the spirit of contemporary religious styles still oriented toward democracy. This is also evidenced by RIAB alumni, namely Ustaz Hanan Attaki, who is said to be a proponent of famous Islam and the founder of the Jihad Sabilillah Youth Hijrah Movement (Gerakan Jihad Sabilillah Pemuda Hijrah), actually compromised with a more moderate Islam, which was marked by joining Nahdlatul Ulama. This confirms that all *Dayahs* with these three variants do not affect *Dayah's* perspective and movements in responding to the relationship between religion and the state.

C. CONCLUSION

Dayah is a very influential agent of social change for the people of Aceh. In its history, *dayah* has become an Islamic educational institution that carries the teachings of Islam rahmatan lil alamin. The style of Islamism in integrated *dayah* in Aceh consists of the Shafi'iyah style, Hanbaliyah style and popular Islam. The Shafi'iyah style emphasizes the teachings of Sufism. In history, the Shafi'iyah style is the main supporter of Indonesian nationalism (NKRI). The hambaliyah style emphasizes aspects of fiqh. In the political context, many are affiliated with the idea of an independent Aceh. Closer to the Aceh Party which is a metamorphosis of former activists of the independent Aceh movement (GAM). The popular style of Islam emphasizes the practical aspects of the need to fulfill strategic posts. One of them is the regeneration of Islamic-minded leadership in the fields of economics, politics, education and da'wah. The shafiiyah style emphasizes contemporary classical books which include *Mafahim Yajibu An Thushohah* by Muhammad Alwi Al-

²⁷ Al-Mawardi, *Qawânîn Al-Wizârah Wa Siyâsat Al-Mulk* (Beirut: Dâr al-Talî'ah, 1978).

²⁸ Rashda Diana, "Al-Mawardi Dan Konsep Kenegaraan Dalam Islam," *TSAQAFAH: Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 13, no. 1 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v13i1.981>.

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Maliki, Asma wa shifat by Imam Manshur Abdul Khahir bin Thohir Al-Baghdadi, Kitab As Sunah by Imam Qosim Atthobari. The hambaliyah style of the Imam Syafii dayah has references to the muktabar books of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jauziyah, M Hayyat Assindi, Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab. The book of hadith refers to kutubus shittah asyarah (Muwatta Malik, Musnan Ahmad Ibn Hambal, Sunan Ad Darimi, and Musnan Imam Syafii). One of the famous alumni of popular Islam is Hannan Attaqi, who has the idea of the importance of youth hijrah. Teungku Hannan Attaki is close to the children of motorcycle gangs, punks, skateboarders and popular youth hobby communities. The style of Islamism in integrated dayah in Aceh is variously influenced by the founder, manager, teungku, abu who determines the curriculum in the dayah.

This research provides a new understanding of the style of Islamism in Aceh. The style of Islam in Aceh is unique, which is an intersection between Islamism and nationalism. Acehnese people obey the provisions of Islamic sharia while obeying the ideology and regulations of the nation (NKRI). Nationalism and Islamism are one breath in an integrated dayah. The research provides an understanding of the variant of Islamism that is rooted and cultured in integrated dayah in Aceh.

This research limits itself to integrated dayahs, which are dayahs that teach the turats combined with a school or madrasa. In addition to the integrated dayah type, there are also types of dayah salafiyah and dayah madrasah ulumul Quran (DMUQ). The number of dayahs recorded by the Aceh Provincial Dayah Education Office in 2022 was 1,488. Of these, there are only 315 integrated dayah institutions. A total of 1,173 dayah are salafiyah dayah. All dayahs that are the subject of research are community-owned dayahs. In fact, in Aceh there are also dayahs with state status. Further research is needed related to the style of Islamism in salafiyah dayahs and dayahs managed by the government.

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