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## FROM THE RELIGIOUS STAGE TO THE POLITICAL STAGE: *TEUNGKU DAYAH'S* POLITICAL COMMUNICATION STUDY IN ACEH

*Muntasir*

Universitas Malikussaleh Lhokseumawe Aceh

*Muhammad Aminullah*

Institut Agama Islam Al-Aziziyah Samalanga Aceh

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*Aceh; Political  
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**Abstract**

*This paper describes the Teungku Dayah political communication model in maintaining the harmony of Muslims in Aceh. Political turmoil in society often creates unrest, as it separates religious and political values. On the other hand politics is actually very instrumental in the development of Islam in Aceh. Teungku Dayah is the main actor and key figure in political development in Aceh. As a public figure, Teungku Dayah has a stake in the mass vote in the regional elections, the president and other political contests. This research is an analysis of the phenomenon of Teungku Dayah's political role in maintaining the harmony of the people. The technique of data collection used was direct observation, and the data were analyzed by describing the actions of Teungku Dayah's political role. The research concludes that Teungku Dayah has its own system and character in guarding Aceh's political development. He uses the Islamic boarding school and the dayah institutions media for political communication. But the shift in values in instant politics makes Teungku Dayah's political communication power limited to front stage politics. Further research is necessary on political communication in Teungku Dayah, since political communication is a dynamic study, as dynamic as the conditions in Aceh.*

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Correspondence:

e-mail: [muntasirakadir@yahoo.com](mailto:muntasirakadir@yahoo.com)  
[aminullahtengku@gmail.com](mailto:aminullahtengku@gmail.com)

## Abstrak

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**Kata kunci:**

*Aceh; komunikasi politik; Teungku Dayah*

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Paper ini menggambarkan model komunikasi politik Teungku Dayah dalam menjaga harmoni umat Islam di Aceh. Gejala politik dalam masyarakat sering kali menimbulkan keresahan, seakan terpisah nilai-nilai agama dan politik. Namun di sisi lain sebenarnya politik sangat berperan dalam perkembangan Islam di Aceh. Teungku Dayah adalah aktor utama dan tokoh kunci dalam perkembangan politik di Aceh. Sebagai tokoh masyarakat, Teungku Dayah memiliki andil dalam pengumpulan suara masaa pada ajang pemilihan kepala daerah, presiden dan kontestasi politik lainnya. Penelitian ini merupakan analisis fenomena peran politik Teungku Dayah dalam menjaga harmoni umat. Teknik pengumpulan data secara pengamatan langsung dan teknik analisis data dengan cara mendiskripsikan segala tindakan peran politik Teungku Dayah. Kesimpulan penelitian ini adalah Teungku Dayah memiliki sistem dan karakter tersendiri dalam mengawal perkembangan politik Aceh. Ia menggunakan lembaga dayah dan lembaga pengajian majelis taklim sebagai media komunikasi politik. Namun pergeseran nilai pada politik instan menjadikan kekuatan komunikasi politik Teungku Dayah hanya sebatas politik panggung depan. Di masa mendatang perlu ada riset-riset lanjutan mengenai komunikasi politik Teungku Dayah, mengingat komunikasi politik merupakan kajian yang dinamis, sama dinamisnya dengan kondisi Aceh.

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## INTRODUCTION

Research on Aceh develops broadly with a variety of perspectives, ranging from the themes of religion, culture, education, politics, history to law and human rights (Ahmad, 2017; Dhuhri, 2016; Saby, 2001; Srimulyani, Afriko, Salim, & Ichwan, 2018; Umam, 2013). Scholars have also written

studies on the dynamics of contemporary Aceh which caused any turmoil (Anshori, 2012; Burhanudin, 2014; Makin, 2016; Munhanif, 2016; Pribadi, 2018). Talking about modern Aceh, the emerging themes are about GAM, human rights, autonomy, and the application of Islamic law. However, little is known about the subject of Teungku Dayah. *Teungku Dayah* is the same designation as the Kiai and the Ustad. It is an honorific title in the culture of the Acehnese people towards those who master the science of Islam. For that reason, *Teungku Dayah* has become a standard term in Aceh community as their traditional culture (Armia, 2014). *Teungku Dayah* is a profession that is owned by graduates of pesantren (Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia) education, specifically in Aceh. The title of *Teungku* is very identical to one's expertise in the field of Islamic science in this region. This title is the same as other Islamic scholars as *ustad*, *kiai*, and religious teachers. But the title of *Teungku* has the characteristics of Islamic scholarship from Islamic boarding school graduates in Aceh. Islamic boarding school education in Aceh is specifically referred to as *dayah*, while graduates are called *Teungku*.

The definition of *dayah* based on Kurdi (2008) is an institution aiming for a place to study various Islamic knowledge in Aceh and is usually established at the initiative of an ulama. *Dayah* is non government educational institution. The management system is generally independent, funded by the community (Kurdi, 2008). While in Java, *dayah* known as *pondok* or *pesantren*, while in Padang, it is called *surau* (Furqan, 2019).

When Islam developed in Aceh in the 16th century to the 20th century AD, there were almost no other educational institutions in Aceh except the *dayah* which had taught Acehnese. It takes them to the position of king, minister, military commander, cleric, agricultural expert, and medical expert. The role of *dayah* in the past has influenced Muslims' thoughts and beliefs in Southeast Asia and was very instrumental in developing the political power of the archipelago. Moreover, *dayah* has

contributed to Aceh's reputation throughout the archipelago, so that Aceh is well-known as Serambi Makkah (Kurdi, 2010).

It is undeniable that the role of *Teungku Dayah* remains influential in Acehnese society. If there are religion-related issues that occur in the community, *Teungku Dayah* will be the first place for consultation. Since its role is always to maintain and carry out tasks related to religion, such as caring for the corpse, studying religion, learning procedures for worship, and daily life activities associated with *amar ma'ruf nabi munkar*. *Teungku Dayah's* doctrines remain dominant and followed by the community. On the other words, people consider that *Teungku Dayah* has a close relationship with God. The general public in Aceh understands *Teungku Dayah* as an expert in Islam (Suyanta, 2012). Therefore, the trust and fanaticism of the people of Aceh in *Teungku Dayah* are powerful. The community consider *Teungku Dayah* as a role-model teacher or educator in worshipping the creator and *muamalah* to his fellow-creatures.

The authority possessed by *Teungku Dayah*, on the other hand, also becomes a great opportunity that can be used in the development of practical politics. It can be seen that *Teungku Dayah* has been involved by almost all political parties or legislative candidates in every general election in Aceh. Yet in the election process and the process of winning, many *Teungku Dayah* candidates did not qualify to become members of the legislature. Those candidates have been recorded in the data of the DPRA members for the 2019-2024 periods.

This phenomenon is intriguing to study, because as a consultant on religious issues for the community, *Teungku Dayah* only gained few supporters to be legislative candidate. It is obvious that the Local Political Party, which was established as a forum for *Teungku Dayah* political unity named PDA (Aceh Sovereignty Party), is less trusted and desirable by the people of Aceh. On the other hand, *Teungku Dayah* is also used as a political support by some elites of party (Akbar & Mujibussalim, 2017).

Based on these problems, this research aims to find the *Teungku Dayah* political communication model in maintaining the harmony of Muslims in Aceh. The dynamics of political development in society have been worrying since it separates between religious values and political attitudes (Noer, 1999). On the other hand, politics is actually very instrumental in the development of Islam (Iqbal & Nasution, 2017). It can be seen that the role of *Teungku Dayah* in the Indonesian independence and the glory of Aceh empire was pivotal. The purpose of *Teungku Dayah* in political development at that time was based on a belief that politics can be governed well according to an appropriate system in Islam (Rais, 2001).

A strict obedience of the Acehnese people in performing Islam and the enactment of Syariah (Islamic divine law) at a certain point reflects Mudzakkir (2019) research about political Islam in Tasikmalaya, where the role of *ajengan* is essential. In Aceh, *Teungku Dayah* takes this role. That research is in line with Ma`rufah (2017) study that discusses Sampit, which turned into a city that displays its identity as a Muslim city with the emergence of urban icons built by local government. Yet, Sampit is typically a multicultural city—Ma`rufah's research related to religion, identity, and politics. In terms of status, the 2018-2019 political year was regarded as the momentum to strengthen political identity. Several politicians, for example, competed to show the image of Islam/religion to get a vote (Zulhazmi, 2018). How religion and politics are intertwined is also discussed by Kusuma & Octastefani (2017), who exposed the nationalist party's strategy to take advantage of the party organization (Baitul Muslimin Indonesia, Ikhwanul Muballighin, Majelis Dakwah Islamiyah).

Aiming to study political communication developed by *Teungku Dayah* in Aceh in shaping the harmony of Muslims in Aceh, the author uses the political communication theory developed by Gun Gun Heryanto based on Erving Goffman's dramaturgy theory. According to this theory, the

main activity in the political process must have two roles, namely the front and the backstage (Heryanto, 2019). More importantly, there is also one of the most critical positions, namely the center stage. The middle stage functions to regulate the processes that apply to the front and backstage. This central stage is, in particular, held by party owners and party elites so that they can control the party's movements on the front and backstages.

Political communication is needed to translate the meaning or values formed in political development. This communication shows that all political behaviors and ideas, require an appropriate explanation and interpretation so that they can be understood properly. The description and analysis of the meanings and symbols formed in political development certainly require a particular field of study to conduct it, which is called the need for political communication in political development.

While the main target in this study is the communication model carried out by *Teungku Dayah* when he is in the position as an important actor who runs political communication in Aceh. *Teungku Dayah* has a lot of mass power from among the *santri* and members of the *taklim* assembly. This phenomenon became interesting for practical political elite actors to involve *Teungku Dayah* in his party to embrace the masses owned by *Teungku Dayah*.

One of the influential *Teungku Dayah* in Aceh is Abu Mudi (Abu Syeikh Hasanoel Bashri HG), the leader of Dayah Ma'hadal 'Ulum Diniyah Islamiyah Samalanga who has more than 7.500 students, the average age from 18 years to 35 years. In 2019, 520 alumni set up their *dayah* throughout Aceh. Each of *dayah* has average alumni of more than 300 people, the average age from 17 years to 22 years (Azizi, 2019). This condition is a golden opportunity for party elites to embrace *Teungku Dayah*, hence students and the community can support the party.

In principle, *Teungku Dayah* always guides the community so that the community is not affected by the instant political system which is only concerned with achieving the highest number of voters but does not

carry out the mandate as an institution that genuinely pays attention to the aspirations of the community (Zulkhairi, 2019). Therefore, the focus of this research is to find the role of political communication carried out by *Teungku Dayah* in awakening the harmony of the people of Aceh.

Based on the explanation, a question arose, where was the position of *Teungku Dayah* on the stage? Was it in the front or backstage? It shows that when *dayah* is used as a medium of political communication, the role of *Teungku Dayah* is very central as a captain in developing the process of a political movement because *Teungku Dayah* has a stake in guiding religion in Aceh (Armia, 2014). Therefore, the primary purpose of this study is to explain the role of *Teungku Dayah* in political communication.

The novelty of this research lies in the role of *Teungku Dayah* in the stage of political communication. This study is to see more clearly his role and position because *Teungku Dayah* has persuasive authority. The study of the scene of political communication, in general, has been explained by several authors but they have not described the political role of *Teungku Dayah* accurately.

Heryanto (2019) explains the meaning of the front stage, namely political actors directed by party owners to play on this position. The front stage position is to convey messages to the public by displaying an excellent political picture for the community. Furthermore, the political meaning behind the stage is the political actors directed by the party owner to be on the backstage.

The backstage position is needed by the party owner to carry out the party's vision and mission properly, particularly carrying out the main tasks of the party's interests. Along with the importance of political parties, there are differences between those raised on the front and backstage. The political game has always been a heated issue in society, so that it provoked action-reaction during the community. Public discourse and public opinion were formed (Heryanto, 2019).



Besides, there is one more stage that is very instrumental, the middle stage. The actual development which needs to be understood is that the main forming actor in a political party is the role of the party owner. This role in communication is called a single communicator that assigns tasks to the communicant, up to the general public. This position refers to political discussion, which is a middle-stage position. The role of the center stage is to regulate political players who are on the front and backstage. The middle stage position in political communication is very open and free in discussions of party interests (Sahlan, Fajarni, Ikramatoun, Kamil, & Ilham, 2019). It is because the main benefits of the party are carried out by actors who are on the backstage, as determined by communicators on the center stage.

## **METHODS**

This research is political communication research to study the *Teungku Dayah* political communication model in maintaining the harmony of the people, using a qualitative approach. This study employs a phenomenological approach to see immediately the practice of political communication carried out by *Teungku Dayah* in Aceh, especially *Teungku Dayah*, who influences society. This research using a phenomenological approach as a basis for compiling several general provisions about the values adopted by the dayah community and discovering the uniqueness of their perceptions and organization of thought about the political communication model.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This research found that the role of *Teungku Dayah* in the process of political communication in Aceh which has been carried out so far, has been carried out with efforts to influence students and the community. But in its development, in Aceh, the party elite only used the role of *Teungku*



*Dayah* as a vehicle to achieve victory. When the winning party came to power, the involvement of *Teungku Dayah* in making government policies in Aceh was marginalized by the role of the winning party elites.

The political phenomenon in Aceh shows that political rulers who win in elections will prioritize their winning teams, then only consider the expertise possessed by someone who will be given position. In contrast, *Teungku Dayah* was merely a vehicle for politicians to play on the front stage. In the scenario of political communication practice, the focus of discussion, it can be seen that there are three stages in political communication, namely the front, the back, and the middle stage.

The drama emerged in *Teungku Dayah's* political communication did not only happen between the roles of the front stage and the backstage, as explained by Erving Goffman. However, the practice of *Teungku Dayah* political communication in Aceh has one more character, the role of the middle stage. People who are in the middle stage are the main actors prepared by party elites to carry out the vision and mission of political parties. Meanwhile, *Teungku Dayah* was only used as a temporary actor who was used to be on the front stage. The placement of *Teungku Dayah* on the front stage is because *Teungku Dayah* has the power of communication in Acehnese society, which can change the way of thinking and behavior of Acehnese.

### ***The Power of Teungku Dayah Political Communication in Aceh***

The power of *Teungku Dayah's* political communication lies in the education system in the form of moral guidance developed in *dayah*, even though the learning methods are done by memorizing and understanding classical books. There are three scientific fields, including monotheism, jurisprudence, and sufism which *Dayah* focuses on. The essence of the study of jurisprudence refers to the thoughts of the Shafi'iy and the study of monotheism refers to the idea of Ash-Ariyah, while Sufism leads to the

theory of Al-Ghazali and Al-Juwaini, which is used to strengthen faith in relationship with God (Krueng, 2010).

There are several main sources as Fiqh material, such as *matan at-Taghrib*, *Hasyiyah al-Bajury*, *ʿanatu at-Thalibin*, *al-Mahalli*, and *Tuhfatu al-Mubtaji*. Monotheism materials used as the main subject of study are *ʿAqidah Islamiyah*, *Khamsatun Mutun*, *Kifayatu al-ʿAwam*, *al-Hud Hudiy*, and *ad-Dusuqiy*. This material is used to strengthen the practice in everyday life, both related to God and also the rules relating to humans. In contrast, the main study materials of Sufism are *Taisir al-Khallaq*, *al-Taʿlimu al-Mutaʿalim*, *Daqaiqu al-Akhhbar*, *Muraqi al-ʿUbudiyah*, *Siraju al-Thalibin* dan *Ihyaʿ ʿulumu al-Din*. The explanation of doctrinal material is discussed in the discussion of the paradigm of thought. This study is needed to form moral values and attitudes in daily relationships both from the implementation and from the words, which can even develop the importance of sincerity in life (Jabbar, 2010).

Based on the above study, the *dayah* became a precious place in the assessment of the people of Aceh. Therefore, the community believes that all policies carried out by *Teungku Dayah* are the right decision in life. Every fatwa issued by *Teungku Dayah* is very influential in society (Nurlaila & Zulihafnani, 2019). Therefore the power of political communication used by *Teungku Dayah* is very prominent in all its decisions and policies. This strategy is used because all studies in *dayah* can provide direct benefits to the community. It can even be ascertained that this phenomenon has become a culture in a society that every *dayah* santri graduate is at least a *Teungku Gampong* who always serves the community in the religious field.

The power of political communication possessed by *Teungku Dayah* is due to the *dayah* having a unique value in the view of the Acehnese; because the *dayah* education system is voluntary, i.e., the teacher who teaches does not have a fixed salary. Unlike the education system in schools or Islamic boarding schools, every teacher gets a salary while at

*dayah* teaching is a voluntary work. The voluntary intention here is that *Teungku Dayah* and the teacher aid no teaching fees, and students enrolled are not limited by a stipulation of having to pay a sum of money. Besides, prioritizing *dayah* is private property.

The communication strategy made for students by *teungku* is in the form of educating and guiding. *Teungku Dayah* is a teacher who gives motivation to students so that students also carry out knowledge transformation to others. Students are connectors of the knowledge of their teachers because students will act as alumni, instructors of *taklim* assemblies in the community, and as lecturers.

The relationship between students and *dayah* teachers is maintained. *Dayah* teachers always supervise their students even though they are no longer studying in *Dayah*. For example, Abu Shaykh H. Hasanoel Bashri HG (Abu Mudi) always advise all his students to choose legislative members. They always help and have exceptional attention to the Islamic boarding school and perform Islamic values. The statement was proven by alumni and the majority of the community to win candidates who meet the criteria. As for the candidates for the DPR RI in Electoral District 2 Aceh, Abu Mudi ordered students and the community to help candidates named H. Ruslan M. Daud from the PKB Party. It was similar, for DPR RI candidates in Aceh 1 electoral district, T. Rifki Harsya from the Democratic Party. Therefore, all elements of the candidate won the 2019 general election. Abu Mudi also hopes that all legislative candidates who have a *dayah* education background help him either to become a member of the DPRK, DPRA, and even the DPR RI.

From these discussions, it can be understood that political communication in Aceh is closely related to *Teungku Dayah*. The reason is that there is a permanent attachment between the teacher and the student. In addition, students who have become alumni when adapting to society always carry out the mandate of their teacher in the concept of learning

and teaching. It can be proven that in every important religious event, *Teungku Dayah* is always invited in hope for a blessing. It can be concluded that people's trust in *dayah* is still dominant. The form of developing political communication media through the role of *dayah* is also always perfect.

### ***Teungku Dayah's Responsibility in Political Development in Aceh***

Based on the observations of researchers, *Teungku Dayah* has a good goal in maintaining political harmony in Aceh. It is apparent that, the education system in *dayah* takes the emphasis on manners, morals, ethics, behavior so that it can be applied later in society. This concept is to uphold the principles of an excellent social community as the foundation of political life and even becomes the task of humanity to realize justice, prosperity, and benefit of the people. A strong commitment from all elements of society is needed, including transparency and accountability, care and response, prioritizing the interests of the people, a strategic vision of a developed and sovereign country, and strength in providing an understanding of the importance of maintaining unity and integrity. According to Zubaili (2017) *Teungku Dayah* had begun to form breakthroughs, such as the development of competencies that were in line with the needs of today's society. It shows the existence of competence, even the development and improvement of superior human resources in Aceh society (Zubaili, 2017). These elements are highly expected by Muslim community in Indonesia, especially in Aceh, which must be owned by *Teungku Dayah* to become a leader who can manage the country well and with dignity.

The development of political parties in Aceh shows that both national and local parties involves the majority of *Teungku Dayah* in shaping the concept of state harmony through a practical political dimension. The purpose of the concept is to answer some questions developed in society,

namely, “what is the shape and content of the state according to Islam?” In fact, in this regard, Islam does not carry specific ideas about the state, but only offers main principles of ethics and morals.

Reconciliation between religious ideals and political reality is the main task of *Teungku Dayah* in shaping the harmony of Muslims in Aceh so that it does not become a new conflict in differences in political thought. Therefore, political communication which has been developed by *Teungku Dayah* through community ethics education taught at *Dayah* can be a solution offered to the community.

Various concepts developed in building harmony among the people by *Teungku Dayah*, but involving ulama to join political parties is a critical moment that is expected by the party elite. It is due to the responsibility of political values held by *Teungku Dayah* as a political communication force for the party. This concept can be proven that the majority of campaigners are *Teungku Dayah*, as in the 2019 general election process. Many political parties involved *Teungku Dayah* as a campaigner. On the other hand, the political party elites used *Teungku Dayah* to gain people's support. This concept is equally carried out by elite political parties, both national parties, and local parties. This action was done because *Teungku Dayah* was closer to the community and *santri*, therefore what *Teungku Dayah* said was a role model for the people of Aceh. This concept is very influential for all people, especially in Aceh, starting from the provincial government, to the city government and even community. Furthermore, only a minority society who are not directly affected by the political development system owned by *Teungku Dayah*. Campus lecturers in Aceh and prominent business people have no significant influence of *Teungku Dayah's* involvement in political parties.

## ***The Teungku Dayah Communication Model in Maintaining Community Harmony in Aceh***

*Teungku Dayah's* communication model in maintaining Muslim harmony in Aceh can be understood that he has the system and character in guarding the political development of the ummah. *Teungku Dayah* applied the political communication system by following the political concept adopted by al-Mawardi, called the state field which is primarily to continue the Islamic mission after the death of Muhammad SAW and protect the public from various *mudarat*. It is due to the realization of religious obligations in its administration requiring government power, to realize justice and ensure the achievement of people's desires and achieving happiness in the world and the hereafter (Musa, 1991).

Al-Mawardi's view concerning state enforcement through politics has six essential elements. The six components include: (a) Islam that is embraced needs to be lived out as a moral provision in daily application. Moral values in Islam can control the desires and passions of humans. The amount of Islam becomes the most valuable joint for the welfare and stability of the State, (b) charismatic, authoritative, and able role models. By doing that way, he can unite different aspirations (heterogeneous), foster the State to achieve lofty goals, keep religion lived and practiced, and protect their people, wealth and honor, (c) ensure justice. The overall truth will create intimacy between fellow citizens, lead to respect and obedience to the leadership, enliven the lives of the people and awaken people's interest to work and excel, and (d) security evenly distributed. With equitable security, people can live peacefully and can carry out their obligations and rights as a people. Fair security is a result of the overall justice, which can enable (e) continuous soil fertility. With the productivity of the land, people's needs for food and other material needs can be met, and then they can avoid evil deeds with all its harmful consequences, and

(f) hope for survival. The current generation is closely related to the ages to come; the current generation is the heir of the last generation (Musa, 1991).

Based on this concept, the political communication model developed by *Teungku Dayah* can be explained that *Teungku Dayah* has the right strategy in using communication media. Therefore dayah educational institutions play a significant role in establishing a harmonious political system in realizing the unity of the people in Indonesia. It is understandable that *Teungku Dayah* can form an optimal relationship by using dayah media appropriately. *Dayah* is a beneficial political communication media in Aceh; this is due to the high-level trust of community towards *dayah* education institutions. Therefore, this uniqueness is needed by the coaches and the elites in political parties.

It is obvious that political communication develops well if *Teungku Dayah* can influence the community in Aceh. Therefore, *Teungku Dayah's* social, moral values are an important political value for Aceh community. This value is achieved through the amount of *Teungku Dayah's* responsibility in maintaining commitment as a bodyguard and guiding the community well.

But the problem arises now is that many political parties are using the power of *Teungku Dayah* to attract the attention of the public so that it can be supported by society (Ali, 2018). Therefore, the political party rulers positioned *Teungku Dayah* to play a role on the front stage in political communication. Furthermore, the role at backstage the oversight function at the center stage is only controlled by the ruler of the political party.

Based on dramaturgy theory pioneered by Erving Goffman, it was found that the main activities in the political process have two roles, namely the front, and the backstage. In this concept, it is reasonable that from these two roles, the stage role has been provided for *Teungku Dayah's* position. This strategy is carried out to show which party was supported



by *Teungku Dayah*, so that they will be persuaded to do so. This opportunity was formed because the community's principle was to help *Teungku Dayah*, because he is a person who always maintains the harmony of life in society.

While the political system built on the backstage utilizes the gait of *Teungku Dayah*, who is already on the front stage, political actors on the backstage only form the party's interests and the actors personalities as party elites. Backstage politics uses Nicolo Machiavelli's political system, which refers to who gets what and how. This concept shapes the capitalist political system; which means "whatever has to be done, the important is to fulfill what he has planned". They are free to do anything, but they should think whose goals need to be prioritized referring to instant politics. The concept of immediate politics continues to be governed and guarded by one of the most critical positions, which is the middle stage. The intermediate stage functions to regulate the processes that apply to the front step and the backstage. The center stage is in particular held by the party owner and the party's elite team, to control the party's movements on the front and backstages. Utilizing the front stage gives advantages for backstage.

The shift in values in instant politics can be used by *Teungku Dayah* to become a front stage politics. However, *Teungku Dayah* only holds sincerity in political development. This is mainly because *Teungku Dayah* holds political commitment along with Islamic values in shaping the harmony of Muslims, not just for personal and group interests.

*Teungku Dayah's* political communication commitment is to form harmony in society so that it can achieve justice, create unity, awaken the loyalty of the people, and prosper the country. Justice must start from oneself, which is reflected in doing well and leaving bad deeds, and being fair to others. The reasonable concept maintained by *Teungku Dayah*, which is accepted by others, has three parts: (a) be fair to subordinates, like the king to his subjects, by providing convenience and abandoning

burdensome methods, (b) be appropriate to superiors, such as the people towards their rulers with sincere obedience, ready to help with high loyalty, and (c) be fair to others who are equal, that is, not to complicate matters, leaving behind dishonorable and painful actions. The application of this concept has become the primary value in shaping harmony in Acehese society.

## CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

### Conclusion

This research concludes that the model of harmonious political communication that *Teungku Dayah* built-in conducting an effective political system is political communication that upholds Islamic values. Harmony politics contact can form a politics that is peaceful, prosperous, and just. Harmony politics communication can overcome the practice of violence, division, and racism in society. The political communication guidance conducted by *Teungku Dayah* is through moral leadership at the *Dayah* education institute. Likewise, when *Teungku Dayah* was also involved in running for legislative membership, *Teungku Dayah* also continued to use the *Dayah* education institution network and *majelis taklim* as a medium for political communication. *Teungku Dayah* has a solid mass (santri and members of the *taklim* assembly).

The power of *Teungku Dayah* political communication in Aceh was formed by the existence of a *dayah* institution and *taklim* assembly. This *Lembang* is very influential in society. In addition, the community can be controlled well and peacefully with guidance from *Teungku Dayah*. Morals formation and its implementation are carried out in daily life. This guidance is essential to form a harmonious relationship with God and fellow humans.

While the *Teungku Dayah* communication model maintains Muslim harmony in Aceh, *Teungku Dayah* continues to develop the *dayah* education

model as a medium of excellent political communication in keeping the moral and ethical community. It is because *Teungku Dayah* has its system and character, such as the application of the concept of good guidance ethics in guarding the political development of the people. Harmony can be formed through *Teungku Dayah's* leadership in guiding the community, so that the community can uphold a good value towards the political communication model undertaken by *Teungku Dayah*. Meanwhile, the problem that caused *Teungku Dayah* to become an “instant political victim” was due to the political party elites being able to utilize the power of *Teungku Dayah's* political communication to be limited to the political front stage. While for backstage politics, they already have specific contracts and policies formed by the controller of the political party movement, which is positioned *Teungku Dayah* on the center stage.

### **Suggestion**

Based on the explanation and conclusion, it would be necessary to study further about *Teungku Dayah*. It is because political communication is a dynamic study as dynamic as the conditions in Aceh. The possible changes need to be responded continuously to enrich the results of this research. Certainly, future research needs to include more diverse perspectives, with different methods, theories, subjects, and approaches.

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