

Political Communication of Ulema in Some Islamic Schools Using Traditional Media in Aceh, Bireuen, Indonesia

Syukur Kholil¹, Katimin¹, Yusfriadi²

¹State Islamic University of North Sumatra (UINSU), Medan, Indonesia

²Ph.D Student in State Islamic University of North Sumatra (UINSU), Medan, Indonesia

²Lecturer in Al Aziziyah Islamic Institute, Samalanga, Bireuen, Aceh, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: Syukur Kholil

Abstract: Political communication can be defined as the process of delivering political messages from communicators to communicant in a broad sense. Laws of shari'a and custom have two dominant factors influencing the dynamics and social structure of society in Aceh, especially Bireuen. In Aceh, these two tools have an important role in fostering the identity of a religious society. Where there is custom, then there must be a law that binds it. That the customs prevailing in the Acehnese society should not be contrary to religious law. Ulema as communicator convey information to the community as a communicant by using the above media as a tool in conveying the message.

Keywords: ulema; political communication; Islamic school; traditional media

Date of Submission: 16-04-2018

Date of acceptance: 05-05-2018

I. INTRODUCTION

In Aceh, after the signing of the Helsinki MoU between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), some Acehnese ulema responded to political phenomena with several agendas. Some of *dayah* (Islamic school) clerics who had previously been tied to the National Political Party again reinforced their original political relations. There are also others, in the face of the 2009-2014 elections, by establishing their own local political party named PDA (Partai Daulat Aceh). From the result of the vote, the party did not meet the requirements to return to the next election called degradation. As a result, the elections of the period 2014-2019 were replaced by the Aceh Peace Party which was also briefly with the PDA. Meanwhile, others joined the former Free Aceh Movement fighter who founded the PA political party (Partai Aceh). They are both fighting for this party and to this day still dominate the political atmosphere in Aceh. In addition, there are other efforts made by *dayah* ulema as a way to express their political role. The role of the politics of *dayah* clerics in responding to political issues is evident with the emergence of Aceh Ulama Association (HUDA) post-reform era whose main agenda is to support the discourse of the implementation of the referendum in Aceh. Furthermore, after the signing of a memorandum of understanding of the peace agreement between the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement in Helsinki was used by some of the *dayah* scholars to express their socio-political roles. Although the Association of Acehnese Ulema (HUDA) was formed on the basis of strengthening the silaturahmi among Acehnese ulema in order to foster humanity in accordance with the teachings of Islam through the development of Islamic activities in order to achieve the pleasure of Allah SWT, but its implementation cannot escape from its involvement in politics, directly or indirectly. Back to the initial consistency of political communication, where the pattern of political communication that goes on tends to follow the dynamics of politics. That is, the political system built constantly coloring political communication. In the article Alex Sobur cites Galnor's opinion, mentioning that "Without communication, there will be no concerted effort, and thus no politics." In addition another statement was found from Pye, that "... without a network (communication) capable of enlarging enlarging and magnifying individual sayings and choices, then there will be no politics that can stretch a nation. In essence, a political system will not be formed without political communication and influence each other. Observing the journey of *dayah* cleric politics associated with the dimensions of regional and national political policy, becomes interesting when tracing the role of the clerics in maintaining the political party. As previously illustrated, the local party established by *dayah* ulema did not achieve public support for the two periods of the elections, the 2009-2014 and 2014-2019 periods. This defeat caused the clerical party to be degraded, did not meet the requirements to be able to return to participate in the next election and eventually had to be merged. Ideally, *dayah* scholars get the full support of the community, because generally the people of Aceh who in fact

are the majority of Muslims, place *dayah* clerics as role models in all aspects of life. Similarly, in the field of politics, the society should give support to *dayah* ulama who play a role in it. Among the indicators that people do not support the politics of *dayah* clerics is seen from the results of party votes that carried the ulama in the election.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Political Communication

In general, political communication can be defined as the process of delivering political messages from communicators to communicant in a broad sense. Based on these definitions, then political communication has a characteristic on the content of the message conveyed in the form of political messages that have implications for political activity. The content of this message distinguishes the study of political communication with other studies of communications such as education communication, development communication, and others. While "in the broad sense" mentioned above means that the process of political communication can occur in all levels of society and through what channels are available and can be used. Therefore, every channel of political communication has an equally important role. Some experts define the scope of political communication as follows:

- a. Fagen: Political communication is all communication that occurs in a political system and between the political system with the environment.
- b. Mueller: Political communication is a political outcomes of social class, language patterns, and patterns of socialization.
- c. Galnoor: Political communication is the infra structure of politics, which is a combination of social interactions in which information related to joint ventures and power relations goes into circulation.
- d. McNair: Pure political communication deals with the allocation of public resources of value (whether it is the value of power or economic value), officers who have the power to give power and decisions in the making of laws or regulations (whether legislative or executive), and sanctions (whether it be in the form of rewards or fines).

2.2 Political Media Dayah Ulama

The word means is often interpreted similarly to "media" derived from the Latin "medius" meaning "mediator". Etymologically the means are everything that is used as a tool in achieving the intent and purpose. In terminology, media is a tool or means used to convey a message communicator to halayak. According to Heinich, et.al., quoted by Azhar Arsyad put forward the term medium as an intermediary that delivers information between source and receiver. So television, movies, photos, radio, audio recording, projected images, printed materials, and the like are communication media. According Eriyanto quoted by Irwansyah media have the power to construct the image of something in layman's room. The implication is that the opinions of the people formed are adapted by news outlined by the media. Through media coverage, community education will be constructed into an opinion that will affect the discourse in society, which will ultimately shape the community's perspectives on a case. In this case, media coverage that is categorized as big and dominant will of course have significant implications on the discourse that develops in the society and subsequently gives big problems also in constructing the society view following the information submitted by the media. According to McNair there are five functions of communication media in the ideal type of democratic society, namely:

- a. The media should inform the citizens about what is happening around them
- b. Media must educate so that information has significant with facts.
- c. The media must have a platform for public political discourse, facilitating forms of public opinion.
- d. The media gives publicity to various activities of government and political institutions as the role of watchdog journalist.
- e. Media in democratic societies serve as a channel for advocating political views.

2.3 Political Communication According to Islam

Communication in Arabic is known by the term *al-ittisal* derived from the root word *wasola* which means 'convey' as contained in the Qur'an Suroh al-Qasas verse 51:

Meaning; "And verily We have sent Our word (the Qur'an) unto them that they may learn."

Husain, et.al provide a definition of Islamic communication as a process of conveying messages or information from communicators to communicants by using the principles and communication benefit contained in the Qur'an and *hadith*. Then Mahyuddin Abd. Halim quoted by Gratitude Holil writes that Islamic communication process of delivering or operating the true nature of the religion of Islam to audiences that are carried out continuously by referring to the Qur'an and *al-Sunnah* either directly or indirectly, through media or special media intermediaries, a correct general view based on the nature of religious truth and gives an impression to

one's life in the aspect of *aqidah*, worship and *muamalah*. Thus, in theoretical and practical aspects, Islamic communication can be different from communications according to the perspective of general communication, because the communication of Islam is based on the Qur'an and *hadith* that upholds the truth, when public communication prioritizes political and material. The essence (essence) of Islamic communication is to invite people to *da'wah* road that emphasizes the religious and socio-cultural values, namely by using the principles and principles contained in Qur'an and *hadith*. The principle is not just a message delivery and the change of communicant behavior, but the establishment of a network of harmony and normative normative social interaction. This principle distinguishes the concept of communication with the perspective of Islam communication in a Western perspective that impressed more culture boundary and many regardless of the normative elements. In the perspective of Islamic communication, the process of delivering messages from communicators to communicants must be conveyed honestly and in accordance with the principles contained in the values of the Qur'an and *sunnah*, because that is considered in the part of worship. Application of the principle of Islamic communication takes place between man and his God. This is the basic foundation of Islamic communication. Two things that need to be considered as the most fundamental difference between the communication of Islamic perspectives and the communication of the Western perspective, namely: first, Western communication is individualistic and value-free and apparently in reality unable to build a harmonious social system; secondly, Islamic communication is believed to have an application conception of how the harmonious order of life and the message conveyed contain elements that lead people to the benefit of the world and the hereafter. This value is one of the peculiarities of the study of Islamic Communication, thus becoming part of Islamic studies. In the Islamic perspective, communication theory must be in accordance with culture and religion.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Types of Research

This type of research is qualitative research. According to Strauss and Corbin, qualitative research is a type of research that produces discoveries that cannot be achieved by using statistical procedures or other means of quantification (measurement). One reason researchers use a qualitative approach is that qualitative research can reveal the phenomena that occur related to the communication politics of traditional Islamic *dayah* scholars.

3.2 Place and Time of Research

This research was conducted in Aceh Province associated with traditional and political religious ulema. One of the political aspects of focus here is the aspect of political communication. Aceh province became the study area of this study based on several reasons. Among them is the unique political journey and the heating of the political atmosphere in Aceh province when compared to other provinces. In addition, besides the province is known as a province of ulema producers, also many scholars who took a plunge in practical politics. The timing of the study is from August 2017 to February 2018. The time limit is assumed that after this period there will be a change of political color in preparing for the next political party. Of course this change will also affect politics, where the political nuances will also display different colors.

3.3 Research Mechanism and Design

Ethnographic research proposed by W. Lawrence Neuman, with the following steps:

a. Setting Informant

Although almost everyone can be an informant, but not everyone can be a good informant. A good informant is one who has had years of informal experience. In general, Spradley provides the limitation that, informants should at least have an involvement in the recruitment of bureaucratic positions for a whole year.

b. Interviewing Informants

Ethnographic interviews are a special type of speech event. W. Lawrence Neuman argues that ethnographic interviews are more closely related to friendship. So he defines that ethnographic interviews are a series of friendly conversations into which researchers slowly incorporate some new elements to help informants give answers as informants. If an ethnographic interview is conducted exclusively, or incorporates an ethnographic element with a rhythm of inquiries too quickly, then the interview may change like a formal interrogation.

c. Making Ethnographic Notes

Beginning to collect research records, even before making contact with informants, researchers have various impressions, observations, and decisions to note. According to W. Lawrence Neuman, if researchers conduct research on foreign communities, it can take weeks or months before conducting systematic interviews with informants.

IV. DISCUSSION

According to Eriyanto quoted by Irwansyah media have the power to construct the image of something in layman's room. The implication is that the opinions of the people formed are adapted by news outlined by the media. Through media coverage, community education will be constructed into an opinion that will affect the discourse in society, which will ultimately shape the community's perspectives on a case. In this case, media coverage that is categorized as big and dominant will of course have significant implications on the discourse that develops in the society and subsequently gives big problems also in constructing the society view following the information submitted by the media. Media is also called channel (channel), which is media or vehicle used communicator and communicant to convey message. Media is a tool used to transfer messages from sources to recipients. Media can be various forms, for example in communication interpersonal senses considered as a medium of communication. In addition to the human senses, there are also communication channels such as letters, telephones, telegrams that are classified as interpersonal communication mediums. In addition there are also mentioned mass media such as newspapers, television and radio. In the interpersonal communication the five senses are considered as a medium of communication. While in mass media communication is a tool that can connect between source and receiver which is open nature, where everyone can see, read and hear it. During this time the tendency in the use of media is a tool of mass communications. Media relating to mass communication is classified by Emery, Ault and Agee as print or image media that carries their messages to the desired ones. For example newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, billboards and express mail. Radio and Television have dual functions that can be heard and viewed (audio-visual). According to Hafied Cangara, certain activities and places found in rural communities can also be seen as a medium of social communication, such as houses of worship, village halls, *arisan*, arts and folklore. The effect or feedback is the difference between what the recipient thinks, feels and does before and after receiving the message. This influence can happen to one's knowledge, attitude and behavior. Therefore, influence can also be interpreted as a change or strengthening of belief in one's knowledge, attitude and actions as a result of receiving messages. Of the communication elements described above, it appears that communication has a varied nature.

There are face-to-face communication, mediated, verbal, oral, written, pictorial, gesture or gesture. Face-to-face communication, for example, can be done between a communicator with a direct communicant, without using any media except the language as a symbol. While communication media, communicators convey information to the communicant by using the media as a tool in conveying the message. Communicators can also convey verbal and non-verbal messages. Verbal can be divided into two, namely speech (oral) and written (written). While non-verbal can use gestures or gestures, such as waving hands, dwarfs eyes and so forth. Based on direct observers, researchers in the field during the election period in Aceh has been implemented four times in 1999 s/d 2012 *dayah* scholars do not use media or mass media as their political tool. There are some mass media that is often used by *dayah* cleric as their political tool is print mass media, that is in the form of newspapers, posters and banners. If researchers look inside the *dayah* ulam there are other media to inform to the lower level how the role of the *dayah* clerics in consciously or unconsciously, the existing media are not always used as: (1) Pulpit Lecture, (2) Tarekat, (3) Traditional Ceremony.

1. Pulpit Lecture

Of the six major religions in the world, by Max Muller divide it into two groups of religious propaganda and non-*da'wah* religion. Included in the first group is Islam, Christianity and Buddhism. The second group is Judaism, Brahma and Zoroaster. Limitations of the term to the religion of *da'wah* is a religion in which there is efforts to spread the truth and invite others who have not believed it. The attempt to invite others is regarded as a sacred duty by religion itself. As a religion of *da'wah*, Islam always encourages its people to always actively participate in doing business to invite non-Muslims to embrace Islam, through *da'wah*. Islam also encourages Muslims to spread and broaden the strengthening of Islamic teachings to all mankind. Muhammad Husyn mentioned that the suggestion was set to be a task in the form of *fardu kifayah*. One of the *da'wah* media that until now still exist through the pulpit of *khutbah*. Known in the life of Muslims, especially the people of Aceh is a pulpit Friday sermons are routinely conducted by Muslims dominated by *dayah* scholars, delivering his *da'wah* invites people to the path of goodness. One of the political media used by *dayah* scholars to the people of Aceh is to use the pulpit media to convey moral messages as well as political messages. With his position as a role model and role model, his advice and behavior are followed by many people, the advice and spirit they inflamed contain philosophical values that can affect people's lives Abdurrahman Ibn Muhammad gives a view of why the *dayah* scholars choose the pulpit of *khutbah* (especially the pulpit of Friday sermons) as one of the political tools. This is due to several things, among others:

- a. Friday sermons is a medium of Islamic propagation which is evenly distributed, meaning that the audience (pilgrims) does not come from certain circles but from all circles. The clerics (scholars) had an opportunity to give influence to the congregation who attended the mosque.
- b. The suggestion that the pilgrims should pay attention and hear the sayings of preachers while on the pulpit.

- c. Implementation is routine and continuous because it is done every Friday. Thus within a year of the Friday sermon pulpit is conducted 52 times.
- d. The pulpit of the Friday Khutbah is unfamiliar with circumstances and circumstances, meaning that it is held in all circumstances. Because the Friday sermon is an obligation for Muslims.

In the context of Communication Science, the pulpit of the *khutbah* can be said to be part of the mass media communication tool. This applies because the pulpit of *khutbah* in the process consists of a communicator (*khatib*) and audience (pilgrims), both in terms of numbers and background and audience knowledge, and takes place continuously. Communication science explains that mass media does not have a big influence in fostering perceptions and changing the behavior of society. But the mass media has an important role to nourish or strengthen the perception and behavior of the audience. Where communication will be effective if messages expected to be understood and practiced by individuals or societies are delivered repeatedly and continuously. Based on the above view, pulpit is part of mass media that can be made alternative in *da'wah* Islam (especially related to learning politically politely) in this era. Political messages delivered through the pulpit of the sermon will have a profound effect on increasing Aceh's understanding of politics. With various forms of interesting information and educational socialization, political insights will seem closer to the community. So that Islamic political values can be understood, understood and applied in the life of many people.

2. Tarekat

Etymologically, the word tarekat comes from the Arabic Ath-Tariqa, the plural of Tara'iq which means: (1) the way, the way (Al-Kaifiyyah); (2) Method, system (Al-Uslub); (3) Madzhab, stream, bow (Al-Madzhab); (4) Circumstances (Al-Halah); (5) The high date palms (An-Nakhlah Al-Thawilah); (6) Shelter poles, umbrella sticks ('Amud Al-Mizallah); (7) The noble, prominent of the clan (Sharif al-Qaum); (8) Scratches or lines on something (Al-Khatt fis Sya'i). Meanwhile, according to the term *tasawuf*, *tarekat* means the journey of a *salik* (tarekat followers) to God by purifying themselves or the journey that must be taken spiritually by someone to be as close to God as possible. According to the term or terminology, *tarekat* is: the way, or the method pursued in performing the worship, *zikr* and prayer that a teacher teaches to his disciple. The order is also interpreted as the path that every Sufi candidate must go through to achieve his goal, drawing closer to God. Abu Bakar Aceh gives a limit on the meaning of the *tarekat* that is the way or instructions in performing a worship in accordance with the teachings determined and exemplified by the Prophet, companions of the Prophet, *tabi'in*, *tabi'it tabi'in* hereditary up to teachers or ulama continued connecting to the present moment. In the post-reform era of Acehah *dayah* scholars who are known to practice and teach tarekat to their students is Abu Adnan Bakongan. Abuya Muhibuddin Waly, Abuya Djamaluddin Wali, Abu Usman Krueng Kuta, Abu Hasanoel Bashri, Abu Hasballah Nisam, Abu M. Ali Paya Pasi and some other *dayah* ulamas. The *dayah* clerics in addition to practicing *tarekat* for their personal as individual worship, also practice with the community who became their congregation of worshippers. Implementation of *tarekat* for pilgrims is done through activities *tawajuh*, seclusion and *khalwat*. These three terms are always associated with the spiritual activities of a person who takes the path of Sufism to get closer to Allah SWT, cleanses the heart and soul, controls the lust and repents of the sins that have been done. This is done with the guidance of a leader (*mursyid* or *khalifah*), and follow certain rules that have been established. The observation of the rules and the existence of seclusion or *khalwat* which must be undertaken and carried out by tarekat practitioners, especially on the rules of obligation to obey and obey the command of the teacher or murshid (in this case is the ulama), and some *kaifiyat* (ordinance) implemented on the basis of instruction and direction of the teacher, then this fact can be said that the teacher (murshid) has its own authority against the expert secrets (*salik*). The *salik* must be obedient and obedient to every instruction and advice of the teacher, if you want perfection in the congregation. This phenomenon that *tarekat* indirectly has functioned as a political tool for the clerics of *dayah*. Where some of the Acehnese people who have become tarekat experts and really run the *tarekat*, in politics they tend to follow the direction of the teacher *tarekat*.

This means what the teacher's choice in politics then they will follow. They support and vote against a particular party or pair of candidates based on the teacher's direction. One manifestation of the tarekat's obedience to his master in mundane affairs, which affirms that they are not only obedient in the context of worship alone. One characteristic of *tarekat* associated with politics is that recruiting pilgrims or disciples of the *tarekat* is done through . *Baiat* is done to keep the relationship with the teacher and also with fellow students. In addition, the movement of this *tarekat* has a wide network spread almost to the entire region of Aceh. A *mursyid* tarekat has several representatives who recruit and lead the implementation of tarekat practice. So it can be said that tarekat congregation is an influential network in the social structure of society. One example of the great influence the movement and network of the tarekat had on politics in the victory of the Aceh Party (PA) in the election One of the tools contributing to the PA was the support given by Abuya Muhibuddin Wali who was the murshid of Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah for the whole of Aceh. His position as Chairman Mustasyar MUNA, which became the political machine of the PA, influenced the psychology of his pilgrims' choice from all over Aceh.

3. Traditional Ceremony

The word custom comes from the Arabic word "' there is, ya'udu,' which contains custom meaning. While terminologically the word custom *resam* is meaningful all that is related to the process of human life that began since someone was born until death. Based on that understanding it can be understood that the custom is a human habit that has been done by them since time immemorial and continue to be done repeatedly until now. Habits of the human, can be individual, can also take the form of the habits of a human or by a community community shaped ceremonies related to life from since the human was born to death. In the tradition history of the Acehese people the laws of shari'a and custom have two dominant things influencing the dynamics and social structure of society. In Aceh society, these two tools have an important role in fostering the identity of a religious society. Where there is custom, then there must be a law that binds it. That the customs prevailing in the Acehese society should not be contrary to religious law. flour (*peusijuek*) is something that is commonly done in every ceremony of *resam*. Which is a common sight when a lot of fresh-tasting is applied to the people of Aceh. These include *peusijuek* (newborn) children, *peusijuek* children who will be circumcised, *peusijuek* prospective brides and women, *peusijuek* pilgrims who want to fulfill the fifth pillar of Islam, and also *peusijuek* prospective leaders. The ceremony or custom ritual of the *resam* for the people of Aceh has become a necessity. They will not feel comfortable psychologically if in any activity that requires these rituals are not implemented, therefore customary position is a part of sharia law, then every ceremony is usually led by the clerics *dayah*. With this situation created an interaction of interests between them with the scholars of *dayah* so as to create strong bonds of mind. Especially concerning with the ceremony of the dead. The processing of the corpse is done by the *dayah* scholars, this will leave a deep mark for his family.

The *peusijuek* ceremony conducted by some of the *dayah* clerics in the customary activities, the direct involvement of the *dayah* *ulamas* give a strong influence on the pair of candidates of local heads in *peusijuek* by them, This is evidenced by the victory of the couple Zaini Abdullah and Muzakkir Manaf. Thus it is said that the traditional ceremony becomes a tool for the Acehese *ulema* as a medium to strengthen their political role. This is what the media communication, should *ulama* *dayah* as communicator convey information to the community as a communicant by using the above media as a tool in conveying the message. Communicators can also convey messages verbally and non verbally. The *dayah* cleric (communicator) must know the opinion of the society that is formed according to the news that exist in the society itself through the society's society will be constructed into an opinion that will affect the discourse in society, which will ultimately form the community's perspective on scholars in politics. In addition, many of the media that can be utilized by the cleric (communicator) which is the view of the people of Aceh, the cleric is the place to ask. That opportunity or form of image of the *ulama* can be utilized through the organs of *ulama* (religious institutions) that have been formed by the community such as: (1) Acehese *Ulema* Association (HUDA), (2) Majelis *Ulama* Nanggroe Aceh (MUNA) (5) The Political Party, (6) Rabithah Thaliban Aceh (RTA), (7) Unity of *Dayah* Inshafuddin (PUDI) Unity of *Dayah*,

V. CONCLUSION

In the tradition history of the Acehese, laws of shari'a and custom have two dominant factors influencing the dynamics and social structure of society. In Aceh society, these two tools have an important role in fostering the identity of a religious society. Where there is custom, then there must be a law that binds it. That the customs prevailing in the Acehese society should not be contrary to religious law. *Ulema* has a very important role in a society using some media communication in Bireuen, Aceh.

REFERENCES

- [1] Abu, *Kamus Bahasa Indonesia-Aceh*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2011
- [2] Abu Muhammad Abdullah bin Abdurrahman bin al-Fadhl bin Bahram bin Abdul Shomad al-Darimi, *Sunan al-Darimi*, Saudi Arabia: Dar al-Mughni, 1412-2000), Juz 1, h. 352, no. 334. Hadis Shahih.
- [3] Abdurrahman Ibn Muhammad, *Khutbah Jum'at Fil-Kitab Was-Sunnah*, Software al-Maktabah Al-Syamilah Ishdar Versi 3.8, 2009
- [4] Abdullah, Taufik, dkk. *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*, jld. III , Jakarta: PT. Ihtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2005
- [5] AD/ART Himpunan *Ulama* *Dayah* Aceh (HUDA)
- [6] Ahmad al-Imrani, *Majalah Al-Bayan*, Juz. 205, Software al-Maktabah al-Syamilah Ishdar Versi 3.8, 2009
- [7] Ahmad bin Hanbal, *Musnad*, Makkah: Maktabah Dar al-Baz, 1414-1993, hadis No. 13392.
- [8] Ahmad, Bustamam, Kamaruzzaman, *Acehnologi*, Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2012
- [9] Ali bin Muhammad bin Ali al-Zain al-Syari Al-Jurjani, al-Ta'rifat, cet. 1, Beirut: Da al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1403-1983
- [10] Almon, A., Gabriel & James S. Coleman, *Politics of the Developing Areas* , Princeton, University Press, 1990.

- [11] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya 'Ulumuddin* (tp:tt), dalam Rusjdi Ali Muhammad, *Revitalisasi Syari'at Islam di Aceh*, Cet. I, Ciputat: Logos Wacana, 2003
- [12] Amiruddin, Hasbi, M., *Ulama Dan Politik Menyongsong Aceh Baru*, Banda Aceh: LSMA, 2004
- [13] *Aceh Serambi Mekkah*, Banda Aceh: Pemerintah Aceh, 2006.
- [14] Anggaran Dasar Yayasan Dayah Bersaudara (YADARA), Bab I, Pasal 2
- [15] AP, Soemarn, *Komunikasi Politik*, Jakarta: Pusat Penerbitan UT, 2006.
- [16] Arifin, Bustanul dan Didik J Rachbini, *Ekonomi Politik Dan Kebijakan Publik*, Jakarta: Grasindo, 2003.
- [17] Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Republik Indonesia. Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, Edisi Ketiga, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2001.
- [18] Devito, Joseph A., *Human Communication, The Basic Course*, New York, Harper Collins Publishers, 1991.
- [19] Dharma, S., *Manajemen Kinerja*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2000.
- [20] Effendi, Uchjana, Onong, *Spektrum Komunikasi*, Bandung: Mandar Maju, 1992.
- [21] *Ilmu Komunikasi Teori Dan Praktek*, Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 1984
- [22] Eldersveld, J., Samuel, *Experimental Propaganda Techniques and Voting Behavior, American Political Science Review*, dalam Jalaluddin Rakhmat, *Komunikasi Politik, Khalayak dan Efek* (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2010
- [23] Efriza, *Ilmu Politik "dari ilmu politik sampai sistem pemerintahan* (Bandung: alfabeta, 2008
- [24] Gamson, W.A., *Ower and Discontent. Home*, dalam Muhammad, Arni, *Komunikasi Organisasi*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2014.
- [25] Gazalba, S., *Pengantar kebudayaan Sebagai Ilmu*, Jakarta: Pustaka, 1990
- [26] Goldhaber, Geral, M., *Organizational Communication*, dalam Muhammad, Arni, *Komunikasi Organisasi*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2014.
- [27] Ghani, Abdul Zulkifli, *Islam, Komunikasi dan Teknologi Maklumat: Eksistensi Ilmu Komunikasi Islam*, Bandung: Citapustaka, 2008
- [28] Graber, Doris A, *Mass Media and American Politics*, Washington DC."CQ Press, 1984
- [29] Hamad, Ibnu *Komunikasi dan Perilaku Manusia*, Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2013.
- [30] Harmonis, *Perbandingan Sistem Komunikasi Politik Presiden Soeharto Dan Soesilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY)*, dalam Malaysian Journal of Communication, Jilid 28 (2), 2013.
- [31] Harris, Thomas E. and Mark D. Nelson, *Applied Organizational Communication: Theory And Practice In A Global Environment 3th Ed.*, New Yor & London: Taylor & Francis Group, LLC, 2008.
- [32] Ibn Hajar al-Alqalany, *Fath al-Bary*, Juz. 1, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr,1997.
- [33] Irawan, Prasetya, *Penelitian Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif Untuk Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, Jakarta: DIA Fisip UI, 2006.
- [34] Irawan, Dedi, *Modul Materi Kuliah Teori Perbandingan Politik*, 2005.
- [35] Irwansyah, *Demokratisasi Masyarakat Plural*, Cet 1, Jakarta: ISKI, 2014
- [36] , *Transformasi Komunikasi Politik*, Cet 1, Jakarta:ISKI, 2014
- [37] Kantaprawira, Rusadi *Sistem Politik Indonesia "suatu model pengantar"*, Bandung: Sinar Baru Algensindo, 2006
- [38] Kawilarang, Harry, *Aceh dari Sultan Iskandar Muda ke Helsinki*, Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2008.
- [39] Majah, Ibn, *Sunan Ibn Majah, Juz. 1*, Software al-Maktabah Al-Syamilah Ishdar Versi 3.8, 2009.
- [40] Makluf, Luis, *al-Munjid Fi al-Luughah Wa al-Adab Wa al-Ulum*, Beirut: al-Matbaat al-Katsulikyah, 1956
- [41] Masyhuri, Aziz, A., 22 Aliran Tarekat Dalam Tasawuf, Surabaya: IMTIYAZ, 2014
- [42] Muhammad Ibn Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Shahih al-Bukhari, Juz 1*, Software al-Maktabah Al-Syamilah Ishdar Versi 3.8, 2009
- [43] Muhammad bin Ismail Abu Abdillah al-Bukhari al-Ju'fi, *Shahih al-Bukhari*, Dar Thuq al-Najah, 1422, Juz 7, h. 19, No. 5146.
- [44] Muhammad Syam al-Haq al-'Adzim Abadi, *'Aun al-Ma'bud, Syarh Sunan Abu Daud*, Kitab al-Adab, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr 1415-1995, hadis No. 5006.
- [45] Muhammad, Arni, *Komunikasi Organisasi*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2014.
- [46] Nasution, Harun, *Pembaharuan Dalam Islam: Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 2003.
- [47] Nata, Abuddin , *Metodologi Studi Islam*, Cet. 19, Jakarta: PT Rajagrafindo Persada, 2012.
- [48] Neuman, Lawrence, W., *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial: Pendekatan Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif, Edisi 7 (Jakarta: PT. Indeks, 2013* Pradhan, N., dan Niti Chopra, *Communication Skills for Aducaational Managers*, India: Book Enclave, Jaipur, 2008
- [49] Nimmo, Dan, *Komunikasi Politik (komunikator, pesan, dan media)*, Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2004

- [50] Nimmo, Dan & Keith R Sanders (editors), *Handbook of Political Communication*, London: Sage Publications, 1981
- [51] Nimmo, Dan, *Komunikasi Politik*, Bandung: Rosdakarya, 1982, h. 132.
- [52] Nur, Djamaan *Tasawuf dan Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, Cet. II (Jakarta: USU Press, 2002
- [53] Pabottinggi, Mochtar, *Komunikasi Politik dan Transformasi Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta, Gramedia, 1993.
- [54] Razali, Fahmi, Mutiara, *Tengku Haji Muhammad Hasan Krueng Kalee*, Banda Aceh: Yayasan Darul Ihsan Tgk. H. Krueng Kalee, 2010.
- [55] Saby, Yusni *Islam And Social Change: The Role Of The Ulama in Ancehnese Society* (Kuala Lumpur: UKM, 2005
- [56] Said, Mohhammad, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, dalam Muhammad Thalal, *et al, Ulama Aceh Dalam Melahirkan Human Resource di Aceh*, Cet. 1, Banda Aceh: Yayasan Aceh Mandiri, 2010.
- [57] Unde, Alimuddin, *Andi Televisi & Masyarakat Pluralistik*, Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2014
- [58] Usman, Sani, Abdullah, *Nilai Sastra Ketatanegaraan Dan Undang-Undang Dalam Kanun Syarak Kerajaan Aceh Dan Bustanus Salatin*, Malaysia: Malindo Printers, 2005
- [59] Veithzal Rivai dan Deddy Mulyadi, *Kepemimpinan dan Perilaku Organisasi*, Ed.III, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2009
- [60] Wahid, Umaimah, *Komunikasi Politik, Perkembangan Teori dan Praktek*, Jakarta: Widya Komunikasi, 2012.
- [61] , dalam *Jurnal Sosiohumaniora*, Volume 16 Nomor 1, Maret 2014
- [62] Waly, Muhibuddin, *Maulana Teungku Syeikh Haji Muhammad Waly Al-Khalidy: Ulama Besar Aceh dan Peranannya Dalam Pembangunan Pendidikan*, Jakarta: Intermedia, 1997
- [63] West, Richard & Lynner H. Tunner, *Pengantar Teori Komunikasi Dan Aplikasi*, Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2008.
- [64] Wursanto, Lg., *Etika Komunikasi Kantor*, Jogjakarta: Kanisius, 1987.
- [65] Ya'qub, Hamzah, *Publisistik Islam, Teknik Dakwah & Leadership*, Bandung: CV. Diponegoro, 1992.
- [66] Yusuf, Muhammad, *Muqaddimah Yayasan Dayah Bersaudara (Yadara)*, tt, 2007.
- [67] Yuwono, Sutopo, *Produktivitas dan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia*, Jakarta: Sarana Informasi Usaha dan Produktivitas, 1985.
- [68] Zuriah, Nurul, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial dan Pendidikan, Teori-Aplikasi*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2007
- [69] <http://musyariaulia.blogspot.com/2011/03/sentuhan-sentuhan-tarbiyah-hakikat.html> (Diakses 27-11-2011. 12:14)
- [70] <http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,dinamic-s,detail-ids,13-id,40024-lang,id-c,tokoht, Reungku +Haji+Abdullah+Ujung+Rimba-.php>
- [71] <http://www.partaia Aceh.com/2012/02/sejarah-parti-aceh.html>
- [72] <http://atjehpost.com/read/2012/26/03/12871/31/31/Usulan-Buka-Konsulat-Luar-Negeri-MUNA-Merujuk-UUPA-dan-MoU-Helsinki>
- [73] <http://persatuantarbiyahislamiyah.blogspot.com/p/profile.html>
- [74] <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/news/aceh-ulama-urges-shariah-police-to-pursue-women-involved-in-sex-affle/>.
- [75] http://www.acehjaya kab.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=241:tgk-faisal-ali-minta-aceh-jaya-fokus-pendidikan&catid=41:agama&Itemid=1.
- [76] <http://beritasore.com/2010/08/13/ulemas-dont-link-arrested-terror-suspect-to-aceh/>.
- [77] <http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,dinamic-s,detail-ids,44-id,37275-lang,id-c,nasional-t,FB+HUDA+RTA+dan+NU+Adakan+Pendidikan+Pemilih-.php>
- [78] <http://www.acehinstitute.org/en/programs/public-discussion/discussion-results/item/89-hasil-diskusnasib-rancangan-qanun-jinayah.html>.

IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) is UGC approved Journal with Sl. No. 5070, Journal no. 49323.

Syukur Kholil "Political Communication of Ulama in Some Islamic Schools Using Traditional Media in Aceh, Bireuen, Indonesia." IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS). vol. 23 no. 05, 2018, pp. 18-25.