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TÍTULO: El desvanecimiento del carisma Ulama en la Sociedad. El colapso de la dominación política de Ulama en Bireuen 2017.

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RESUMEN: El propósito de este estudio es proporcionar una visión general del carisma de los eruditos de Bireuen cuando entran en contacto con el mundo político. Esta investigación es una investigación de campo que utiliza un enfoque sociológico y los conceptos de Bourdieu sobre campos (dominio, arena), capital (capital) y habitus en la política electoral para ganar escaños en la contienda política electoral. En los resultados se encontraron 2 factores: factor interno: es algo que es propiedad de Ulama en forma de amplio conocimiento religioso, el comportamiento de los estudiosos que fascinan a la sociedad (moral noble), sagrado y lejos de los gobernantes; factor externo: es una notificación desde fuera del Ulama a la comunidad que debe respetar al Ulama; estos factores incluyen: Al-Quran, Hadith y el libro.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Ulama, comunidad democratizadora, Política, Al-Quran, Hadith y libro.

TITLE: The fading of charisma Ulama in the Society. The Collapse of Ulama Political Domination in Bireuen 2017.

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of this study is to provide an overview of the charisma of the Bireuen scholars when they come into contact with the political world. This research is a field research that uses a sociological approach and Bourdieu's concepts about fields (domain, arena), capital (capital), and habitus in electoral politics to win seats in electoral political contestation. In the results of this study, there have been found 2 factors: internal factor: it is something that is owned by Ulama, in the form of extensive religious knowledge, the behavior of scholars who fascinate society (noble morals), sacred and far from rulers; external factor: it is a notification from outside the Ulama to the community that it must respect the Ulama; these factors include: Al-Quran, Hadith and book.

KEY WORDS: Ulama, democratizing community, Politic, Al-Quran, Hadith and book.

INTRODUCTION.

Ulama plunging into the world of practical politics is not something new. Historically, the involvement of scholars in politics has been proven since colonial times, the old order, the new order, and post-reformation as it is today. This is evidenced by the increasingly widespread *Ulama* that

descended into the world of politics both directly and by participating and becoming sound attracting magnets in winning candidates carried.

It was evident in the previous periods that Ulama was the main factor in the Bireuen's regent's victory, as well as in the legislative elections. Dayah scholars are always elected as members of the House of Representatives, both representatives of Bireuen District and Aceh province, such as Tengku Muhammad Wali Al Khalidi (Waled Tanoh Mirah) who is the Dayah leader of Darul Ulum Tanoh Mirah once a member of the Aceh Party DPRA (DPRA) (PA) and Teungku Nurdin Judon were better known as Abi Nas, who was also the leader of the Dhiya Ulhaq Al-Aziziyah Dayah in the district of Bireuen. He had served as a member of the Bireuen DPRK for the period 2009-2014 as well as the previous regent success team. The election of Dayah Ulema as people's representatives is because the Ulama are the most essential elements in society even more so in the Islamic world.

DEVELOPMENT.

The theoretical frames of the study of accountability.

At present, the involvement of Ulama in practical politics, especially as prospective executives raises concerns from many groups, because the involvement of ulama in the democratic party is feared to divide Muslims and the santri community themselves.

In the year 2017, Regional Head Election (PILKADA), one of the charismatic scholars of Bireuen district namely Tengku Muhammad Amin (Tu Min) who was one of the Acehnese charismatic scholars domiciled in Bireuen district supported one of the pairs of Bireun regents namely H. Ruslan M. Daud and Drs. H. Djamaluddin Idris lacked public trust.

Not only became a successful team for one of the Bireuen district head candidates, there were also scholars who ran for the Election of Regional Election of Bireuen Regent from 2017-2022 namely Tengku H. M. Yusuf Abdul Wahab or better known as Tu Sop.

The nomination of Tengku H. M. Yusuf Abdul Wahab (Tu Sop) was also supported by senior Acehese cleric, Usman Ule Glee (Abu Kuta Krueng), besides Abi Nas, Dayah leader Dhiya Ulhaq Al-Aziziyah also became Tengku H. M. Yusuf Abdul Wahab's campaign team leader. However, Tengku HM Yusuf Abdul Wahab lost in the Bireuen District Election in 2017. The data for votes obtained by the Bireuen District Election Commission showed that the Dayah scholars who ran for Bireuen regent and also candidates supported by senior Acehese clerics were not elected Bireuen regents.

Voting results / percentages in the Bireuen District Election Region in 2017, from the results of the General Election Commission (KPU) count from TPS (Form C1) with 708 Entry data from 708 TPS or 100% are:

1. H. Ruslan M. Daud and Drs. H. Djamaluddin Idris 14.60% or 31,086 votes.
2. Dr. H. Amiruddin Idris, SE, Msi and Drs. H. Ridwan Khalis 2.35% or 9,269 votes.
3. H.M. Yusuf Abdul Wahab and Dr. Purnama Setia Budi, Sp.OG 28.65% or 60,971 votes.
4. H. Khalili, SH and Yusri, S. Sos, Msi, MS 14.06% or 29,934 votes.
5. H. Husaini M. Amin, SE and Azwar, S.Pd 3.26% or 6,936 votes.
6. H. Saifannur, S. Sos and Dr. H. Muzakkar A. Gani, SH, Msi 35.07% or 74,650 votes.

These show the submission and obedience of the people in politics towards the Ulama who initially became the parent and mecca for the santri and the Bireuen community underwent changes. The Bireuen community is no longer dominated by the power and power of Teungku Dayah, and is no longer obedient, submissive and supportive of what is desired and supported by scholars. The sami`na paradigm wa atho`na (we hear and we obey) and the term (durhaka) that has been formed and is inherent has now turned into sami`na wa analysis (we heard and analyzed) which caused the Bireuen community not to trust ulama as formal leaders.

Methods.

In this study, researchers used qualitative research to be carried out in natural settings. The research entitled: Fading of the charisma of the Ulama in the community, study of the collapse of the Ulama's political dominance in local democratization in society Bireuen 2017. It is a descriptive qualitative research.

This research approach qualitative information is described theoretically and analytically. This research will explain the process of forming the charisma of Ulama and why the people of Bireuen did not choose charismatic cleric scholars in the Bireuen district election in 2017.

This study took place in the Bireuen district of Aceh Province. This location was chosen based on several considerations. First, the Bireuen District is one of the districts dubbed the city of santri, because many religious education institutions are in the form of pesantren or dayah which are scattered in each sub-district. Secondly, compared to other regions in Aceh, Bireuen District became the center of the spread of Islamic scholars in Aceh, besides there were still many charismatic clerical figures, there were still many reformist scholars of Dayah this decade. Scholars with the title of existence of charismatic clerical leadership. Fourth, the author is familiar with the area for a long time and the author's wife is a community in Bireuen district, so it is no stranger to the location of the research being worked on, so it is not too difficult for me as a writer to collect field data. In this context, the authors easily found respondents with an atmosphere that had already been familiar and even familiar. Some respondents who have not yet known the author before, both among the scholars and others easily found the author through the friendship network that the author had at the research site.

The object or object of this research is the Bireuen Society. While the informants in this study are subjects who understand information from the object of research. The researcher obtained data and information about the fading of the Ulama charisma in the Bireuen regent election. Researchers have

explored the subject of key informants (key informants), this is done in order to find out information in depth in order to guide and draw conclusions.

The key informants who have interviewed the researchers in this study are Ulama who have Dayah, Dayah santri and also several figures who understand the object being examined. This research is grouped into field research (research research) by utilizing data as the main base in analyzing. To obtain data on the charisma of the scholars, the authors used in-depth interviews with key informants in the Bireuen district election committee in 2017. In addition, the authors also carried out observations and literature studies on something related to ulema and the Regional Election of Bireuen district.

Result.

Discussing the Kharisma of Ulama in the election of Bireuen district head in 2017 made this research interesting, considering the figure of the cleric who had charisma participated in running for being one of the candidates. Since the general elections took place in Bireuen district, charismatic Ulama only became vote getters; each candidate who was supported by the Ulama always got the most votes. Year 2017 will be a place for betting the charisma of the Bireuen cleric, where the Ulama who are running for regent are not elected. The defeat experienced by charismatic scholars attracted writers to study it.

Ulama is someone who is highly admired in the environment, all because Ulama has such high charisma. Charisma possessed by ulama does not happen by itself because the charisma possessed by ulama is an attribution that comes from an interactive process between scholars and the community as Weber said that charismatic leadership is where the leader is obeyed because of his supernatural powers or because he has special characteristics extraordinary as a gift from God. In general, his

followers acted on the basis of emotional feelings. Like the qualities possessed by prophets, apostles, Allah's Aulia in history and so on (Gani Isa, 2002: 9).

The establishment of the Charisma Ulama.

Ulama is someone who is highly admired in the environment, all because Ulama has such high charisma. The Bireuen community has positioned scholars as charismatic figures. Charisma possessed by Ulama is an attribution that comes from an interactive process between scholars and the community. Not all scholars have charisma, there are several types of Ulama in the Bireuen community.

Table 1. Typology of scholars in Acehnese society.

<u>Charismatics</u>	<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Rational</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stunning figure • Spiritual ability • Do no strings attached • Authority of him • Ukhrawi orientation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stunning figure • Spiritual ability • Do no strings attached • Authority of him • Ukhrawi orientation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional figure • Individual ability • Do for reality • Authority of the sciences • World-hereafter orientation

The cultural values of the Bireuen people make Ulama a figure that the saint makes a patron of people's lives must be imitated. Genealogically, in general, the teungku-teungku dayah who has high authority in Aceh, today has uniform intellectual roots. They are students or educated by students from Labuhan Haji Dayah Darussalam graduates in South Aceh. The last dayah was founded and led by Hadratus Teungku Syekh Muhammad Muda Waly Al-Khalidy (1917-1961), who in Aceh, was known as a mysticism expert in his day (Leight, 2007: 27-28).

The reality of the similarity of scientific networks has not only succeeded in binding the Teungku Dayah in a solid community but also benefiting them in supporting each other's authority in society. This scientific network succeeded in forming a system of interaction between them. Bourdieu said that this scientific network is one of the most important social capitals in the establishment of a power. Because relationships and relationship networks are useful resources for determining and reproducing social positions (Haryatmoko, 2006: 11).

Apart from being a scientific resource, this scientific network is also one of the most important political capitals of the Dayah Teungku in mobilizing people to support their political attitudes, and at the same time, carry out political pressure on various policies. In line with Giddens in Nirzalin (2012), this system is a pattern of relations in various groups, from small groups, intimate groups, groups of social networks to large organizations that form patterns of relationships and repetition (reproduction) forms of interaction social and form a social network that benefits agents / actors.

Bourdieu holds that power comes from relationships that occur within society. Arena as a battle and also a struggle. Arena can also be interpreted as a social arena in which there are battles and struggles to fight for and gain resources (capital). In the social arena, there must be dominating and also dominated. This is inseparable from the capital resources (capital) owned by someone, where capital is something that is rare and valuable. For Bourdieu, capital is an accumulation of work, in the form of both material and symbolic goods, which when privately allocated by agents or groups of agents, enable them to obtain social power. Arena as a battle and struggle is like a market where there are sellers and buyers. Sellers are those who have competing capital and face to face with other traders. The stakes are located in the accumulation of certain forms of capital that allow it to dominate in these fields (Haryatmoko, 2003).

The secrets of Allah Almighty are only given to certain selected people, such as the holy saints. With the strength they receive from Allah, the saints can do things which in normal human view are not

ordinary. As Weber said (1964: 358-359): The term charisma apart from ordinary men and superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. This is an as of divine origin or exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader. In primitive circumstances this is the kind of deference that is paid to prophets ... It is very often thought of as resting on magical powers. How quality in question would be ultimately judged from ethical, aesthetic, or other such point of view is entirely indifferent for purposes of definition. What is alone is important is that the individual is subject to charismatic authority, by his followers or disciples.

The trust of the Bireuen people towards the priesthood of this Dayah cleric, confirmed by Tengku Mulia Rahmat, said: Sacred is something that Allah has bound to his chosen people, surely a pious person who is always obedient to Allah SWT no longer does small sins (*wira'i*).

The *keuramat* *teungku dayah* is an instrument to spread the power mechanism of ideology, through signs that try to naturalize and depoliticize it in markings that look so natural, without political tendencies. Marking that occurs in myths is a discursive practice which is a representation of a wider discursive formation in society.

Apart from the sacred, the charisma of the Ulama is explicit with theological doctrine. As described, the Bireuen community can still be categorized as an organic religious community. In traditional religious societies, religious leaders have gained high social class. Religious leaders (*ulama*) get such a high class, besides being based on the factors described above also due to the existence of ideas (ideas) and religious doctrine (*Al-Quran* text, *hadith*, books). In the religious text, it has been stated that the Ulama are heirs and substitutes of the apostles when the apostles are gone (*Al-ulamaul warasatul ambiya*). In addition, in the *Qur'an*, it is also clear that the Ulama are Allah-fearing servants, as stated in the *Al-Fatir* letter 28 (Depag, 2008):

وَمِنَ النَّاسِ وَالْأَنْعَامِ مُخْتَلِفٌ أَلْوَانُهُ وَكَذَلِكَ إِنَّمَا
يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ غَفُورٌ ﴿٢٨﴾

And likewise of men, cattle, moving creatures, are of various colors. Those of his servants only who are the learned (scholars) are in reverence towards Allah. Surely Allah is All-Mighty, Oft-Forgiving. This is also reinforced in the book of Ta'lim al-Muta'allim by al Zarnuji which requires that people will obtain useful knowledge when doing two things, namely respecting the teacher and the knowledge (the book). Sahabat Ali also said, "I am the sahaya (slave) of the one who taught me even if only one letter, if he wants, he has the right to sell me, or to free me, or still make me his slave. The religious text is not in the least doubted by the religious community. This is in accordance with what Weber has said that". The source of charismatic power is obtained from the fixed religious doctrine (fix), adequate scientific ability regarding the revelation of God and accompanied by the sacred-karamat possessed by a priest (Ulama / teungku) causes him to have extraordinary charisma. More clearly, it can be seen in the chart of the process of distributing religious texts to the public and santri. From the sociological facts above, it shows that the Ulama in Bireuen district have all four types of capital in controlling the arena. As Bourdieu said in (Mutahir, 2011) dividing capital into four types: First, economic capital (economic capital), namely in the form of assets such as property, money and the like. Economic Capital is the fastest capital and can be directly converted into money and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights. Second, social capital (social capital) is a collection of social relations that govern individuals or groups, that can be information networks, social norms and beliefs that give birth to obligations and expectations.

وَمِنَ النَّاسِ وَالْأَنْعَامِ مُخْتَلِفٌ أَلْوَانُهُ وَكَذَلِكَ إِنَّمَا
يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ غَفُورٌ ﴿٢٨﴾

Namely in the form of social sources such as networks and beneficial reciprocal relationships. Third, cultural capital, namely in the form of information assets such as knowledge and skills that can be possessed through the process of socialization and education. Cultural capital can exist in three forms: first it can exist in a manifested (non-physical) state, that is in the form of attitudes and behaviors that have long been formed, and appear physically as such as ways of speaking (language), ways of walking or other behaviors. Second, it can exist in a state of matter, such as in the form of cultural goods (paintings, books, electronic devices, machines etc.), which show social status because of the ownership of these objects. The latter can exist in institutionalized conditions such as academic qualifications, degrees or diplomas related to intellectual quality. This cultural capital plays a role in determining social position. Fourth, symbolic capital, whose form is in the form of authority legitimacy in the form of honors and reputation. These capitals determine one's position. This position depends on how much and how much ownership of the capital.

Habitus who is in accordance with social values with capital supports making scholars as local elites and an all-time leader in the community of Bireuen. However, the 2017 nominees in the contestation of local democratization in the Bireuen Regional Election in 2017 did not appear as a winner.

The domain of elections is very complete capital with habitus must synergize in mastering the arena. that is, capital must exist in a domain so that the domain has the power that gives meaning. The relationship between habitus, fields and capital is directly linked and aims to explain social practice. The characteristics of capital are related to the habitus scheme of action and classification and domain as the place of operation of capital. While the realm is surrounded by objective power relations, it is combined with habitus. The concept of habitus cannot be separated from what is called a call field, because both of them presuppose two-way relationships: objective structures (social field structures) and habitus structures that have been integrated into behavior (Mahar et al. 2010). While habitus is in the minds of actors, the realm is outside their minds.

Clash of capital charisma scholarships and betting.

The charismatic power of the power in Aceh, which is not only in the social-political realm, but also the support of the three main foundations of religious ideology, the dominant mastery of discourse and the ability of the three base domains, to appear as elites. In the Regional Election Committee of Bireuen Regency in 2017, there are pros and cons of Ulama, as said by Tgk. Nasruddin Judon that:

"The voice of the santri is not solid because the Ulamas are pro and kontra with the nomination of ulama leaders" (interview, 2 August 2018).

The same thing was said by Tgk. Marwan Kamaruddin who said that: "Tgk, pulo iboh did not agree with the rise of Tu to the world of politics, Abu Mudi also told his santri students who blessed the Ulama and the dayah plunges into the political world both as legislators and executive members, because they will bring religion and strengthen religion, but for the scholars who have a Dayah, they should stay focused on their dayah and da'wah (interview, 2 August 2018).

Besides that, the closest person to Abu Mudi had also conveyed, that: "Hope for Abu Mudi, Sop's father to be a scholar, a role model for all Acehnese people, Abu Mudi wants his father to be their manager. If the father of soup becomes a regent, the father's name will be smeared, especially the caliber. of the regent".

In the nomination of To Sop in 2017 Bireuen district election, the Prokontra among Dayah Ulama became a pedestal to the formal leader of the Bireuen district. The ownership of the capital is not synergistic in supporting Tu Sop. This is because there are other hopes by one of the Charismatic Ulama (Abu Mudi) to the Tusop, Abu Mudi Abu Tumin hopes that Tu Sop will become their successor and become a cleric for all Acehnese people. The proximity of the Tu Sop in the charisma can have inherent in Tu Sop.

As Abu Mudi said in his recitation said, Sa'id ibn Musayyid Rahimahullah If it is a comes to the government then he is a thief. Gopnyan ureng na ilme but hana pre container for the mayor, regent, regent, gebenor. Nyan was shocked the position of getanyo tengku, defender to the government of the government of the tanyo jet. Ulema people who are trusted by the apostle because of the apostle deals with knowledge to scholars, ureung scholars believe Le Apostle for the knowledge to the ummah. Mantas are considered umana 'as long as hana mixes with the government.

Said by Said ibn Musayyid Rahimahullah If a cleric plunged in both politics then he was a thief. He is a knowledgeable person, but always in the mayor's office, regent, sub-district head, gebernur, so our position is tengku (Ulama dayah), not close to the government, the government that approaches us can. Ulama are people who are trusted by the apostle because the apostle inherited knowledge to the clerics, meaning the scholars of the people who were trusted by the apostles to convey knowledge to the ummah, still considered as umana 'as long as they did not mix with the government (pengajian, July 20, 2018).

Abu Mudi's words are also strengthened by the legitimacy of the theologies, which has always become the cleric as a holy elite.

يحب الأمراء إذا خالطوا الله إن: وسلم عليه الله صلى الله قال رسول الله عنه قال وأخرج الديلمي عن عمر بن الخطاب رضي العلماء، ويمقت العلماء إذا خالطوا الأمراء، لأن العلماء إذا خالطوا الأمراء رغبوا في الدنيا، والأمراء إذا خالطوا العلماء رغبوا في الآخرة

From Umar bin Khattab, the Messenger of Allah said, "Verily Allah loves rulers who interact with scholars." And hate the ulama 'who approach the ruler, because the ulama' when close to the ruler who wants the world, but if the ruler approaches the ulama, he wants the hereafter" (HR. Dailami).

This shows the clash of capital in the political sphere in the Bireuen regional election contestation. As Bourdieu's words they define the domain as follows: In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively

defined, in their existence and in their determinations they are occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situations whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as the objective relations to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.) Bour (Bourdieu and Wacquant: 1992).

"In analytical terminology, a domain can be defined as a network, or configuration, objective relations between various positions. Position is defined objectively, in its existence and in the determination of the determination imposed on those who occupy it, namely agents and institutions, by the actual situation and potential situation in the structure of the division of power (or capital) in which ownership of power (or capital) opens access into an advantage that is a bet in the realm, as well as in its objective relations with other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.)".

In Bourdieu's perspective, agents do not act in a vacuum, but in concrete social situations governed by a set of objective social relations. In order to understand a situation or a context without falling back into this objectivistic analysis determinism Bourdieu developed the concept of realm. According to Bourdieu's theoretical model, any social formation is structured through a series of hierarchically organized domains (economic, educational, political, literary, etc.).

Not only was the support of the dayah alumni support which caused Tu Sop not to be elected as the Bireuen regent. The author discovered the existence of money politics. The Money Politic practice by one of the pairs of candidates openly became the source of the defeat of the ulama pair Tu Sop.

From the 4 Capital mentioned by Pierbordieu, there were far more possessed by charismatic ulamas than in the Bireuen community than the elected regent. Previously the elected regent had failed a health test (: //news.okezone.com Monday October 3 2016). In economic capital Tu Sop also mastered it more as said KIP chairman in the Aceh media where the richest candidate in Bireuen was H. Muhammad Yusuf or more akrab greeted Tu Sop and the second richest was occupied by his deputy Purnama Setia Budi or Dr. Pur "http://mediaaceh.co October 22, 2016).

Ownership of economic capital does not necessarily imply ownership of cultural or symbolic capital. Although it has an important role in practice, this capital does not automatically have significant power in a domain. Each domain has specific capital requirements that are different from the needs of other domains. The strength of one's economic capital in the realm of power may enable it to fight effectively, but in the realm of literature; the stakes are legitimacy, which is needed more on cultural capital and symbolic capital (Krisdinanto, 2014). Bourdieu illustrates the differences in the types of capital that are significant and their effects as follows: "Here There is thus a schismatic structure, homologous with the structure of power, which, as we know, the intellectuals, rich in cultural capital and (relatively) poor in economic capital, and the owners of industry and business, rich this economic capital and (relatively) poor in cultural capital, are I opposition ... "(Bourdieu: 1993; p. 185).

"There is a crossing structure that is homologous with an arenas of power in which, as we know, intellectuals, who are rich in cultural capital and (relatively) poor in their economic capital, and industrial and business owners, who are rich in economic capital but relatively poor in cultural capital, in opposition to each other".

Thus, capital has a close relationship with habitus. Capital is present in a person or together with habitus. Like habitus, capital becomes an inseparable part of the struggle of agents in the realm (Bourdieu: 1991). Habitus always find themselves in the realm, while the realm of installing capital as an important part of him.

CONCLUSIONS.

The defeat of the pillars in the Regional Election of Bireuen 2017 is not people's distrust of the Ulama, the disagreement of religious elites in the nomination of Tu Sop rendered the santri and the people of Bireuen confused about the nomination of the top tu sop as Bireuen Regent.

The lack of understanding of Elit religion's nomination towards the nomination of the Tu Sop is not a form of division between scholars. The religious elite prepares the Tusop as Ulama for all Acehnese people.

Realism was evident from the attitude of some of the scholars in the overthrow of the chairperson of the Aceh Hama Association (HUDA), which the religious elite openly appointed Tusop as the chairman of the Aceh HUDA. Then, the practice of money politics became a separate issue for the Tusop and its boarders; this phenomenon of political assistance was understood as a manifestation of a system of social exchanges that usually occurs in the reality of political play, because political interaction indeed requires a person's attitude to be fulfilled by reciprocity.

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