

Dialectical Communication of Islamic Sharia in Dayah Culture of Banda Aceh

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Abstract

Dayah has a role in the religious tradition of the Acehnese in making ulema group into an instrument linked in the discussion of Islamic Sharia. People relate the ups and downs of the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Aceh to the role of ulema. Studies of dayah culture in Aceh questioning the role of ulema in the implementation of Islamic Sharia and how dialectical communication from the ulema succeeds the implementation of Sharia Qanun in Aceh. The progress of dayah depends on the leading ulema instead of the name of dayah. Through a case study, this study analyzes the cultural communication created in dayah by studying the character of communication between ulema and dayah students. The concept of habitus as a foundation of the theory applied to see dayah as an arena for communication between ulema and dayah students in legitimizing the value of Sharia becomes a practical and natural action. As a result of habitus, Dayah grows naturally into a structured habit through a long, internalized and acculturated social process in the community. Data are obtained through in-depth interviews with the Acehnese figures and people during the period of 2017. Triangulation is applied to test the validity of data.

Keywords: *Dialectics; Sharia Internalization; Dayah Culture; Habitus of Dayah; Communication*

1. Introduction

Studies of Dayah Aceh have been carried out frequently by academics in Aceh. Educational model of dayah known as pesantren is deeply ingrained in the culture of the Acehnese long before national education exists in our country. Dayah has a role in the religious tradition of the Acehnese in making ulema group into an instrument linked in the discussion of Islamic Sharia. Some people relate the ups and downs of the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Aceh to the role of ulema. In Aceh tradition, ulema play a significant role in developing religious practices of the Acehnese. Studies of Dayah culture in Aceh question the role of ulema in the implementation of Islamic Sharia and how dialectical communication from the ulema succeeds the implementation of the Sharia Qanun in Aceh. The progress of dayah depends on the leading ulema instead of the name of dayah. Therefore, why a santri (dayah student) goes to study in a distant dayah while there is a dayah nearby? It shows a freedom to choose the teachers and knowledge to study. The subjects taught in dayah are religious law, Tawhid, and Arabic.

One relevant previous study is the study by Zamzami of Syiah Kuala University in 2015 on the Socialization Model in Traditional Dayah in East Aceh District. The findings of the study reveal symbolic communication between ulema and santri of Dayah. The findings are used to find out what socialization models in dayah applied to the community by using symbolic interactionism theory by Herbert Blumer.

The discussions about the existence of Dayah in Aceh are never finished to explore. Dayah is a great and strategic force for the foundation of religious education for most the Acehnese. The dynamics of Dayah in Aceh is similar to one in Java. Dayah is an educational institution growing in indigenous Muslim community [1] It is because Dayah has been existed since the early formation of the Muslim community in Aceh. One of the reasons is because Aceh is the first area in the entire territory of Indonesia entered by Islamic da'wah. It can thus be assumed that Dayah is the oldest institution of Islamic religious education in Indonesia. As an original educational institution of Indonesia, dayah becomes the only reference to formal education for the Acehnese children studying religion. Dayah is a sowing place for the candidates of ulema to lead the ummah and general public.

Referring to various data sources in the field, all ulema in Aceh were the result of Dayah education in Aceh. Tengku Cik, the identical figure of dayah, cannot be simply regarded as merely ulema, but also as a cosmopolitan opinion leader and agent of change as well as social control. Historically, ulema in Aceh have a role not only in religious affairs but also in social affairs of the community. For example, in uniting the community that can be seen during Aceh War (1873-1905) where the Dutch entered the beach of Kuala lue for the first time [2]

The challenge to the existence and the continuity of Dayah encourages the government of Aceh to provide legal umbrella for the management of Dayah. Organizationally, dayah is managed by the community that has been legalized in the form of a foundation. Thus, the government of Aceh intervenes in both material such as facilities and infrastructure and in support to improve the quality

of dayah by sub-offices of dayah in the structure of provincial Education Department. In 2003, under the lead of Ir. Abdullah Puteh, the local government of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) through the Decree of the Governor of NAD issued the Regulation of Governor No. 451.2/474/2003 on the Determination of Criteria and Assistance for Dayah in the Province of Aceh. One of the rules is to make a policy that dayah in Aceh is divided into several classifications [3]

Therefore, this study seeks to understand the process of dialectical communication in Islamic education in Dayah Aceh in building the awareness of Sharia among the residents of Banda Aceh. The purpose of this study is to understand the role of traditional education institutions capable of being an agent of socialization in realizing the awareness as well as the understanding of the enforcement of sharia in Banda Aceh. This study is expected to contribute to the development of Dayah Aceh, particularly to the strategy of communication in learning innovation and modernization of dayah education to align the potential and quality of ulema represented by teungku of dayah with technological challenges..

2. Literature Review

The experience in the educational process at traditional dayah is analyzed with Bourdieu thinking about habitus. The concept of habitus can be defined as a system of dispositions (gained and lasting perceptual schemes, thoughts, and actions). Individual agents develop these dispositions in response to the objective conditions they face. In this way, Bourdieu theorizes the implantation of objective social structures into mental and subjective experience of the agent.

3. Methodology

This research uses case study. There are four informants who are interviewed to obtain primary data. The secondary data is obtained through literature study. This research uses interactive analysis of Miles and Huberman. This research uses data triangulation to validate the data obtained.

4. Result and Findings

4.1 Dayah and Aceh Culture

Dayah as a traditional educational institution has been recognized by the government through the establishment of Dayah Education Development Board (BPPD) in Aceh. BPPD is pragmatically established through Qanun No. 5 of 2008 into a new spirit for dayah in expanding towards a better and advanced institution. It is in accordance with the objectives of dayah, namely to accelerate the development of dayah and the improvement of human resources of dayah towards a better one. The number of Dayah Aceh until 2013 is considerable. This statistical data becomes the basis of the study. Dayah still has an important role as the motivator of sharia education based on traditional Islamic boarding school for the Acehnese.

Table 1: Statistics of Dayah in Aceh

Kategori/Kota	2011			2012			2013		
	Jumlah Dayah	Jumlah Santri	Jumlah Penerimaan	Jumlah Dayah	Jumlah Santri	Jumlah Penerimaan	Jumlah Dayah	Jumlah Santri	Jumlah Penerimaan
Simeulue	3	10	19	2	4	6	2	4	6
Aceh Singkil	13	41	54	13	34	47	14	34	54
Aceh Selatan	56	191	265	55	210	265	73	210	283
Aceh Tenggara	20	40	60	22	31	53	23	31	54
Aceh Timur	99	140	239	101	412	513	178	412	610
Aceh Tengah	10	39	49	13	29	42	15	29	44
Aceh Barat	25	37	62	26	28	54	38	28	66
Aceh Besar	96	136	232	92	251	345	130	251	389
Pada	73	226	309	76	261	339	99	261	362
Bireuen	83	208	291	90	549	639	113	549	662
Aceh Utara	184	138	322	187	1642	1829	118	1642	1960
Aceh Barat Daya	30	34	44	29	35	44	35	35	74
Gayo Lues	19	20	19	19	14	33	33	14	47
Aceh Tamiang	27	10	37	14	27	41	20	27	47
Nagan Raya	10	10	10	12	17	29	12	17	29
Aceh Jaya	14	12	46	18	47	63	18	47	66
Bener Meriah	9	25	34	11	17	28	12	17	29
Pidie Jaya	31	132	163	36	200	236	52	200	252
Banda Aceh	9	17	46	11	36	67	16	37	71
Sabang	5	6	11	3	19	22	9	19	28
Lingsia	11	12	23	11	21	34	11	23	34
Blakusumawe	22	27	49	24	36	60	15	36	71
Subulussalam	14	28	42	15	42	57	18	42	60
Jumlah	853	1573	2426	853	4048	4901	1260	4048	5309

Source: Aceh (2017)

Dayah is a religious institution that teaches, develops and disseminates Islamic teachings. The educational structure of dayah also shows certain strata where the curriculum is in accordance with the knowledge possessed by Teungku Chik (leader of dayah). Basic education starts with studying Arabic Malay book known as meunasah, followed by bald Arabic known as class of Rangkang. The last one is a nahwu and shorof known as yellow book. Santri studying the books in Bale (hall) must have a high capability because all Islamic teachings taught in Bale have sustainable nature. The criteria of santri are not only seen from dayah and the maturity of knowledge, but also ability. Therefore, it is no wonder that the last class is attended by santri with diverse age and directly guided by Teungku Chik. They are going to be auxiliary teachers [4].

Dayah is a well-known traditional Islamic institution throughout Aceh ever since Islam entered Aceh in the first or second century of Hijri years [5]. Similar institutions are widely available in other regions in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, particularly in southern Thailand. However, different countries have different names for dayah. In Aceh, this traditional institution is known as dayah, derived from the Arabic word zawayah, meaning a place to educate Muslim children, particularly in the field of Islamic religion. In Indonesia, this traditional Islamic institution is more popularly called pesantren, taken from Sanskrit pesantrian, while in West Sumatra it is named surau and in the peninsula of Malaysia and Thailand it is known as pondok. The number of Acehnese traditional dayah according to the information from the official of Shari'at Islam Office of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (2002) amounts to 468 dayah in Aceh. Since many Dayah still stand in Aceh, it cannot be denied that there is acculturation of Islamic fraternal values taught in the respective institutions.

The word dayah comes from the Arabic zawayah. In Malay, it means 'corner' (Al Maurid: A Modern English-Arabic Dictionary, 1994) [6]. The dialect changes because native Acehnese language does not have letter Z at the beginning of the verse. Later, the verses beginning with letter Z are pronounced with the nearest letter in the Acehnese language, sometimes J or D. Each letter wi located in the middle of the word such as in zawayah is actually letter waw with kasrah in Arabic. If it is followed by the letter ya with fatah and ended with letter ta marbutah pronounced with waqaf, the letter waw with kasrah will be weakly pronounced in the tongue of the Acehnese. Due to the weakness and the speed of the pronunciation that it barely sounds, the letter wi is not sounded and written. Therefore, the word zawayah is pronounced dayah or deah and written as pronounced.

Gazalba states that one of special characteristics of dayah is the existence of a cottage as a residence for santri [7]. Teungku Chik or Kyai has a lot of religious knowledge and should have given it to the santri gradually and regularly over a long period of time. Therefore, santri is required to stay at the dormitory in dayah. Most dayah are located in the villages and provide dormitories for santri coming from far villages. Santri and Teungku Chik have a reciprocal relationship, namely Teungku Chik considers santri as his biological children and santri regard Teungku Chik as their own father in religion. A. Halim Tosa and Kustadi Suhandang define dayah as a traditional Islamic educational institution that minimally has three important components: first, the leader of dayah; second, santri given the lodging; and third, surau or meunasah as a place for congregational praying and bale for learning. If all three criteria have existed within an institution, it can be called dayah ([8]. Dayah in the past and the present are built with the help of the Acehnese, by working together and gathering alms and charity from the local community and other benefactors. In general, the construction of a dayah is began by a Teungku Chik and other community leaders.

Every holiday season, all santri go home to their respective villages. Teungku Chik asks the santri to seek help for the development

of infrastructures of dayah in their villages. During the month of Ramadan, santri are given the freedom to return to their villages because Ramadan is a public holiday for santri. This is where the santri begin to show their skills by involving themselves in every religious activity taking place in their villages. They help Teungku Imuem Meusanah or Peutua Meusanah (Imam Meusanah) and Teungku Khatib Masjid (imam masjid) in their villages. They are allowed to be preachers or imams and lead tahlil events and other religious ceremonies. If there is a death, the community chooses santri and Teungku Chik to perform the prayer for the body and recite tahlil together. Moreover, in a marriage ceremony, the community asks Teungku Chik for instructions on marriage and wedding parties. Furthermore, with other religious ceremonies, people often seek guidance or advice from Teungku Chik.

The learning process in traditional dayah is held at bale while santri are sitting in circle (halaqah) and the teacher is sitting in one corner of the bale. In reality, the materials taught in dayah are more focused on religion according to the classical books with Shafi'i maddhab. The curriculum of traditional dayah does not change from time to time and it is still used by the entire dayah in Aceh. The books are written in Jawi and Arabic, and then explained/translated into Acehnese or Malay language. The schedule of teaching and learning is determined at night (after Isha prayer), in the morning (after fajr prayer) and in the afternoon (after Zuhr prayer). The method frequently applied in the learning process is discussion/question and answer. Memorization is highly encouraged. The test is carried out orally or in the form of recitation in front of the teacher. The curriculum of traditional dayah depends on the decision of Tengku Chik or the teachers teaching in the dayah. They play a role in determining the decisions on the issue of the implementation of curriculum in Dayah.

There is no entrance test for santri who want to learn at dayah. It is similar to the inauguration of a teacher. There is no requirement or special education for teachers who want to teach in dayah. Teachers are selected based on the acknowledgement or recognition by Teungku Chik. Teachers in dayah do not get paid as most government school teachers. Furthermore, dayah also does not burden santri by asking for any payment other than for electricity bills (peng minyeuk panyot). Dayah educational institutions may be the cheapest compared to other institutions in Aceh in particular and in Indonesia in general.

Modern dayah is also frequently pronounced as "Integrated Dayah" [9]. This is because this dayah uses a curriculum that combines traditional curriculum and the curriculum of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. The curriculum of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia is used in the morning until 2:00 pm while the curriculum of traditional dayah is used in the evening and at night.

This new model of dayah emerged in the 1980s in Aceh. The examples of the new model of dayah are Dayah Bustanul 'Ulum in Langsa, East Aceh, Dayah Ulumuddin in Cunda, Dayah Syamsyudduha in Cot Murong, North Aceh, Dayah Jeumala Amal in Lueng Putu, Integrated Dayah Al Furqan, in Bambi, Pidie District, Dayah Teungku Umar Di Yan in Indrapuri, Integrated Dayah Al Manar in Kuta Baro, Aceh Besar, Dayah Ruhul Islam Anak Bangsa, and Dayah Babun Najah in Banda Aceh. In Indonesia, the first established modern pesantren is Pesantren Modern Darussalam Gontor, in Ponorogo, East Java in the 1970s. Currently, Pondok Moderen Gontor 10 has established its branch in Seulimum, Aceh Besar.

The system of entry into the modern dayah is not as easy as that of traditional dayah because santri who want to learn in modern dayah must follow the entrance exam that is tight and full of competition due to many requests. In addition, santri who have passed the entrance exam in modern dayah are required to pay monthly

dues, dues for infrastructure development, and meal allowance every month.

The process of learning and teaching takes place in the same class as in public schools. The system of examination and remuneration is also similar to that in public schools. The obvious difference between public school and modern dayah is in terms of curriculum. Public schools only provide 20% of the curriculum for religious subjects, while modern dayah divides their curriculum into two parts, namely 50% for science and 50% for religious subjects. Traditional dayah teach 100% religious education and Islamic teachings.

This modern dayah is generally owned by a foundation and all issues related to the educational system are based on the decision of the chairman and members of the foundation [10] However, there is also a very few number of personal dayah owned by a teacher. The emergence of modern dayah is inseparable from the influence of information technology growing rapidly today. Most people involved in the establishment process of modern dayah are student of traditional dayah who have a modern and positive thinking about the continuity of education. After studying in traditional dayah, they continue their studies to the Middle East and start a dayah when they return to their hometown. The rest of the dayah is founded by Muslim philanthropists and intellectuals who have a more advanced and mature idea of the importance of education. They assume that good education is something that can bring prosperity to humankind in the world and in the hereafter. Therefore, the educational system of modern dayah is the result of a combination between religious knowledge and science aiming to be able to generate human beings who have technological ability and high moral. This is the main basis for the emergence of modern dayah in Aceh.

The history of development of Dayah Aceh is inseparable from the role of the community and the government of Aceh for decades. It can be concluded that the journey of Dayah is diametrical with the application of Islamic sharia in Aceh. This is stated by one of the informants who explicitly expresses that Islamic law in Aceh is at the threshold of death without dayah [11].

The support from the government of Aceh in promoting dayah is realized through the existence of foundation particularly managing dayah. Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2000 article 1 paragraph 17 on the implementation of education mentions that Dayah is an educational institution carrying out Islamic education with a system of pondok/rangkar organized by the Local Government and Foundation/individual led by Ulema Dayah. Article 15 paragraph 3 mentions that the Government is obliged to foster and oversee educational activities of dayah. One of the communication media accommodating activities of Dayah Aceh is interactive media managed by Dayah Agency.



Fig. 1: Aceh Dayah Media

Source: [1]

4.2 Internalization Habitus of Dayah

The issues of management of dayah are easier identified with the presence of Dayah Agency, one of which related to the updates of learning communication model of dayah. The experience in the educational process at traditional dayah is analyzed with Bourdieu thinking about habitus. The concept of habitus can be defined as a system of dispositions (gained and lasting perceptual schemes, thoughts, and actions). Individual agents develop these dispositions in response to the objective conditions they face. In this way, Bourdieu theorizes the implantation of objective social structures into mental and subjective experience of the agent. The process of implantation of social structures is seen from the role of Teungku in creating an objective condition through the disposition of learning books in dayah. Santri as the agents will further develop dispositions into cognition to be internalized. This internalization will be dialectically reproduced in the process of daily life that naturally applies to any santri.

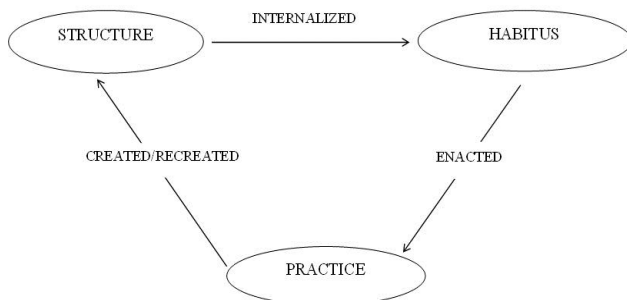


Fig. 2: Habitus Pattern

Source: [10]

Through the theory of Habitus, Bourdieu shows how power relations occur within a given society. However, through the concept of Habitus, it appears that social reality is not as simple as the explanation through the theory of class struggle emphasizing more on economic factors and ignoring other factors. Bourdieu has also shown that the opposition approach of agency versus structure is no longer sufficient in explaining social reality. Thus, Bourdieu rejects the Cartesian view that clearly distinguishes between subject and outside world or between agency and structure. There is a relationship or correlation between subject and outside world, but it is dynamic, complex, influencing, and non-linear to generate social practice. Therefore, Bourdieu views habitus as the key to social reproduction because it is central to generate and organize practices that shape social life. Individuals learn to crave things that are possible for them and do not aspire to things that are not available for them.

Santri of dayah (aneuk beut) have the routine of studying yellow book in bale and mosque from a guree (teacher/tutor). The guree read the contents of the book word for word and explain as well as describe the significance of the contents of the book. Meanwhile, all santri listen and look at the books held by each of them. Santri show respect for their teachers by sitting cross-legged without a bench and listening to the lessons given by teachers. This way of teaching is considered inappropriate compared to the modern theory of teaching and learning applied in schools. The modern theory of teaching and learning suggests that the number of students should be limited and the teachers should use props, LCD, and so on. In addition, various provisions must be followed, for example, how the material of each lesson should be organized, how the teacher asks, the students answer, and so on.

Teachers in dayah usually teach tens or even hundreds and sometimes up to thousands of santri. It is clearly not in accordance with the principles of modern teaching that should limit the number of the students. Teachers in dayah merely read and explain books,

and all santri listen and take note of what is explained by the teachers when necessary. This method of teaching is successful to help santri mastering the books learned. The model of learning culture applied and currently practiced in dayah is sufficient to meet the standards of education, for example an evaluation of study every four months. The culture of traditional Dayah does not apply national examinations like Modern Dayah.

Totally different from teaching in dayah, formal education at school or even in college is fully organized. Teachers, teaching materials, a variety of teaching equipment needed, including handbooks and others must be provided. Similarly, the schedule of activities is organized neatly, including how many times students must attend the class, not to mention when the students must take the midterm exam and also end term exam. The whole process of teaching is also organized, including the exam [12].

However, it doesn't necessarily mean that the teaching organized neatly obtains better results than the simple process carried out at dayah. It frequently arises question about what makes teaching at dayah is more successful than the process of learning and teaching in public schools. As a simple example, santri studying in dayah in a certain time manage to master Arabic and even English in some specific dayah. Meanwhile, students of public schools, even though they have been taught those languages since elementary school, junior high school, senior high school, undergraduate and even postgraduate program, have not succeeded in mastering them fluently.

It turns out that the process of learning and teaching in educational institutions frequently considered as traditional and simple is more successful than that in modern educational institutions. Therefore, to find the best teaching model, who should imitate who needs to be questioned. The informants who have studied in one of dayah in Aceh feel amazed and thrilled by the educational pattern applied in dayah such as Mudi Mesra Samalanga, Labuhan Haji in South Aceh and others. Their santri are able to write papers and deliver speeches in Arabic and English. From the observations carried out by the author so far, not all students studying in modern educational institutions are necessarily capable of obtaining such achievements.

The cultural tradition of traditional dayah has produced a number of great ulema. Therefore, it is natural when a fundamental question arises of what makes the aneuk beut or santri manage to control the amount of knowledge and lead educational institutions trusted by the community when they leave dayah. Observed from teaching methodology, it is clear that education in dayah does not look modern. Similarly, the facilities and infrastructure is highly limited. The guree does not have undergraduate or post-graduate background. The human resources do not meet the criteria of those in formal institutions. The guree teaching in dayah are the alumni of dayah. It can be concluded why education in dayah is different from formal schools general. Dayah has a distinctive educational model, namely:

First, education is surrounded by an atmosphere of sincerity. Teachers and santri are sincere in their respective role. Those involved in the process of teaching and learning feel that it is an obligation to fulfill the mandate of teaching and seeking knowledge by order from Allah as worship. The process of learning and teaching is suffused with spiritual values. Second, education in dayah is not transactional. Knowledge is not traded. There is no term salary from teaching activities. The teachers or Ustad teaching are not driven with material rewards. Even a few teachers have to bear the cost of living of the santri who are economically incapable. General educational institutions speak about the salaries of the teachers, while dayah never speak about the cost of education. Even the energy to speak the cost of education in public schools frequently exceeds the portion of the education. Thus, education becomes a transactional land as the market mechanism.

The transactional atmosphere will eliminate honor that should be built by educational institutions. In educational institutions, mutual respect and honor should be embedded. When teachers take part in a demonstration demanding the right for a raise, the educational atmosphere is failed to be created. Thus, education will not produce anything. The relationship between teachers and santri are well-developed. Teachers at dayah are relatively young and able to portray a true educator. Teachers show their love for santri while santri respect the teachers. It is one of the key to success for education at dayah. This inner connection never develops irregularities in education. Cheating at completion of an assignment or test does not occur in dayah. Supervision of santri is given to the santri themselves. If they make a mistake, they already understand the consequences. Third, the teachers manage to be a role model in various activities. Teachers residing at dayah lead the real life example of role models. The aneuk beut or santri do not only learn from the books, but also from the real life of their teachers.

Cohesive synergy between the tradition of Dayah and santri is only created in Aceh because of the historically inherent issue of sharia culture. The phenomenon of dayah is certainly different with the condition of pesantren in Java, considering that the culture and tradition built in Java generate habitus that is not specific as Aceh.

5. Conclusion

The condition of creation of habitus is what makes dayah has its own advantages compared to the process of education in educational institutions in general. Thus, education in dayah seems more complete or comprehensive. The shortcoming is that the education of dayah merely focuses on the development of religious life. Dayah has not developed the broader areas of science, including education of science and mastery of research-based modern technology. It is highly possible because dayah has an approach, tradition, and insight into much wider and deeper human life.

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