
Sharia Narratives as Identity Politics Strategies of Local Parties in Aceh's 2024 Provincial Democratic Election Context

Wais Alqarni¹, Safrizal ZA², Tasya Meiroza³, Jabbar Abdulrahman Qahar⁴,

Ikhwan Rahmatika Latif⁵

^{1, 2, 3}, Universitas Syiah Kuala, Indonesia

⁴University of Duhok, Irak

⁵Universitas Teuku Umar, Indonesia

(Corresponding author: tasyameiroza5@gmail.com)

ARTICLE INFO

Received: 07 July 2025

Accepted: 29 November 2025

Published: 31 December 2025

ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the use of Sharia Islam narratives as a strategy of identity politics by local parties in the 2024 general elections in Aceh. Employing a qualitative approach through literature-based research, this study draws on Manuel Castells' theory of identity politics and Gary Cox's theory of electoral strategy to examine how religious narratives are constructed and mobilized within political campaigns. The findings reveal that local parties in Aceh strategically employ Islamic symbols, including Sharia rhetoric and affiliations with religious figures, to build collective identity and strengthen emotional ties with voters. This narrative strategy proves effective in garnering support from religious communities, particularly dayah networks and traditionalist groups. However, excessive reliance on Sharia narratives also risks triggering social polarization and undermining the substance of public policy discourse. The gap between campaign rhetoric and post-election policy implementation has led to growing public disillusionment. Therefore, this study emphasizes the importance of aligning ideological narratives with responsive policy agendas as a key to fostering an inclusive and just local democracy.

Keywords: Sharia Narrative; Identity Politics; Electoral Strategy; Local Parties; 2024 Aceh Election.

INTRODUCTION

General elections constitute one of the fundamental pillars of democratic systems, providing citizens with a legitimate mechanism to determine political leadership through representative processes (Nuraliza et al., 2024). Held every five years, elections serve as arenas of competition in which political parties seek public support by presenting visions, missions, policy platforms, and political images intended to resonate with societal aspirations (Rahayu et al., 2025). Within this process, campaign strategies and political communication play a central role, not only in transmitting political messages but also in shaping public perceptions and constructing political identities. These strategies, however, do not operate within a socially neutral space; rather, they are deeply influenced by prevailing social structures, cultural norms, and collective identities within the societies in which elections take place (Yusuf et al., 2024).

One prominent feature of contemporary electoral politics in Indonesia is the strategic deployment of identity politics, an approach that emphasizes cultural, religious, and ethnic symbols to secure electoral legitimacy. Identity politics has become a defining characteristic of post-reform democratic practice, marked by increasingly open expressions of group identity within the political arena (Tumanggor & Azhar, 2025). In electoral contexts, identity-based strategies are frequently employed as instruments of discursive dominance, through which political elites construct particular identity narratives to foster voter loyalty and establish electoral differentiation. This phenomenon is particularly salient in Aceh, the only province in Indonesia that formally implements Islamic law as part of its special autonomous status (Zulkarnaini et al., 2022). This institutional distinctiveness renders Islamic identity not merely a cultural expression but a highly strategic political resource. Consequently, narratives surrounding Islamic law have become integral to identity politics in Aceh, especially among local political actors who seek to establish symbolic and ideological proximity with voters (Hakim et al., 2024).

The emergence of local political parties in Aceh is closely linked to the post-conflict peace process that followed the 2005 Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding between the Free Aceh Movement and the Government of Indonesia (Zulfan et al., 2023). Since then, local parties have been granted formal political space to participate in electoral competition (Fadhli, 2025). In practice, these parties frequently mobilize narratives of Islamic law as a means of consolidating electoral support, emphasizing alliances with religious leaders, the use of religious symbols, and moralistic Islamic rhetoric (Mustafa, 2024). The 2024 election

demonstrates that such strategies remain influential in shaping public opinion and mobilizing votes, particularly among religious communities associated with Islamic boarding schools and traditional religious institutions (Fitri & Suhendra, 2025).

Despite their mobilizing potential, the use of Islamic law narratives as instruments of identity politics also presents significant challenges. On the one hand, this approach can strengthen value-based solidarity and reinforce Aceh's collective religious identity (Bustami & Harahap, 2024). On the other hand, the excessive reliance on identity politics without substantive policy commitments risks deepening social polarization, narrowing inclusive deliberative spaces, and ultimately undermining democratic quality (Helmi & Fadhlullah, 2020). In many cases, Islamic narratives deployed during campaigns are not followed by consistent policy implementation after elections, generating public disappointment and skepticism regarding the sincerity of religious commitments claimed by political parties (Akhyar & Chawari, 2025).

The broader scholarly debate highlights a shift in identity politics in Indonesia from cultural expression toward political exclusivism, raising concerns about its implications for pluralism and democratic inclusivity. Overreliance on identity-based strategies may marginalize rational policy discourse and constrain multicultural engagement in the public sphere. Therefore, local political parties in Aceh face the critical challenge of balancing the use of Islamic law narratives with genuine commitments to inclusive governance and policy agendas that address the concrete needs of the population. Based on this background, this study aims to analyze how local political parties in Aceh employed narratives of Islamic law as strategies of identity politics during the 2024 election, and to evaluate the broader implications of these strategies for the quality of local democracy in Aceh.

METHODS

This study adopts a qualitative descriptive analytical approach to develop an in-depth understanding of how narratives of Islamic law are employed as identity-based political strategies by local political parties in Aceh during the 2024 general election. A qualitative approach is particularly suitable for capturing the complexity of social, symbolic, and cultural meanings embedded in identity politics, especially within a highly religious local context such as Aceh (Phillips, 2023). Data were collected through library research, involving a systematic review of relevant secondary sources, including peer-reviewed academic journals, scholarly

books, research reports, electoral documents, campaign materials, news coverage, and official publications issued by political parties. This approach enables a comprehensive examination of the narrative dynamics and electoral strategies adopted by local parties within the framework of religion-based identity politics.

In this study, the use of Islamic law narratives is analyzed as a social phenomenon and an electoral strategy that reflects the tension between religious symbolism and pragmatic political interests. These narratives are understood not merely as cultural expressions, but as ideologically constructed instruments deliberately mobilized by political actors to cultivate electoral loyalty. Drawing on identity politics theory, such narratives are conceptualized as symbolic articulations that demarcate boundaries between “us” and “them,” while simultaneously functioning as mechanisms of political legitimation within the public sphere. The analytical focus is directed toward examining how religious symbols and narratives are constructed, communicated, and interpreted in the campaign practices of local political parties in Aceh. This focus facilitates an analysis of political communication dynamics and public perceptions of Islamic law as a marker of collective identity. Accordingly, the qualitative approach is combined with interpretative methods to capture the depth of meaning, cultural context, and social implications of campaign practices grounded in Islamic narratives (Hadiyanto et al., 2025).

Data analysis was conducted using thematic and interpretative techniques, integrating content analysis and discourse analysis (Morgan et al., 2024). Content analysis was employed to identify dominant themes within campaign materials, political statements, and party-related media concerning Islamic law narratives. Discourse analysis was used to examine how meanings associated with Islamic symbols are constructed, circulated, and reproduced as part of broader identity-based political strategies. The analytical process followed a three-stage model consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification. Classified data were subsequently interpreted within the frameworks of identity politics and electoral strategy to assess how Islamic law narratives were politically mobilized, the extent of their influence on local voter behavior, and their broader implications for democratic dynamics in Aceh.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Identity Politics in Aceh

Identity politics refers to the use of specific social categories such as religion, ethnicity, race, gender, or culture as the primary basis for shaping political consciousness and mobilizing collective action (Aboi, 2024). In practice, identity politics functions not only as a means of expressing marginalized group interests but also as a strategic instrument for domination within power contestations (Vaara et al., 2021). In the context of Aceh, religion-based identity politics occupies a particularly central position, especially following the formal recognition of Islamic law through the enactment of the Aceh Governance Law of 2006. Political identity can be understood through several typologies, including legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity. In Aceh, the political identity constructed by local parties through narratives of Islamic law largely reflects a form of resistance identity, articulated as a response to centralized and secular state structures (Jong & Ali, 2023). Within this framework, Islamic law functions not merely as a religious or social norm, but as a symbolic resource that provides moral and political legitimacy for the existence and authority of local political parties (Hamid et al., 2025).

The 2024 election demonstrates that Islamic law narratives continue to serve as a core strategy for local parties in cultivating proximity with voters (Suryanagara et al., 2025). Religious identity is mobilized as symbolic capital to gain public trust, particularly among religious communities such as Islamic boarding schools, students, and customary groups that strongly adhere to Islamic values (Mu'alimin & Rosady, 2025). In this context, religion in Indonesian politics operates not only as a moral foundation but increasingly as a strategic tool for electoral mobilization, often without being accompanied by clear or rational policy platforms. Nevertheless, the deployment of Islamic law narratives as a form of identity politics also generates significant challenges (Halimi et al., 2025). When identity politics is constructed in an exclusive manner, it risks undermining pluralism and narrowing the space for intergroup dialogue. The excessive dominance of Islamic symbolism in electoral campaigns can shift politics away from substantive debates over ideas and policy programs toward symbolic competition over moral authority and religious legitimacy.

In Aceh's local political arena, Islamic law symbolism has become an instrument for capturing dominant discourse and consolidating political legitimacy (Ubayasiri, 2021). Following the 2005 Helsinki peace agreement, local parties have strategically employed

religious narratives to reaffirm Acehnese identity, which had long been perceived as marginalized. Islamic symbolism thus represents not only local values but also a calculated political strategy aimed at building electoral loyalty (Fox & Menchik, 2023). By positioning themselves as authentic representatives of Aceh's Islamic identity, local parties seek to differentiate themselves from national parties while strengthening their bargaining position with voters. This condition has created fertile ground for the articulation of Islamic identity as a political instrument. Narratives of Islamic law are packaged in various campaign rhetorics, ranging from morality-based policy claims to alignment with religious authorities. When religious identity becomes the primary determinant of political choice, parties that successfully monopolize such narratives gain substantial electoral advantages.

However, this symbolic dominance also entails the risk of excessive religious politicization. When Islamic law narratives are instrumentalized solely for electoral gain without a genuine commitment to substantive policy implementation, public trust may erode. Such forms of identity politics risk intensifying social polarization and obscuring the inclusive moral essence of religion. From a democratic perspective, this dynamic contradicts the principles of deliberation and pluralism that are fundamental to democratic governance. More broadly, identity politics in Aceh cannot be detached from the collective memory of historical marginalization and enduring aspirations for cultural and spiritual self-governance. Experiences of conflict and the implementation of special autonomy have significantly shaped the formation of local Islamic-based political identity. Consequently, the use of Islamic law narratives by local parties extends beyond religious discourse, encompassing broader demands for political sovereignty, cultural recognition, and authentic representation of Acehnese local values.

Electoral Strategies of Aceh's Local Parties in the 2024 Election

In the 2024 election, local political parties in Aceh operated within a distinctive political landscape shaped by the deep entrenchment of Islamic law in social and governmental structure. This context compelled local parties to design electoral strategies that were not only pragmatic in securing votes but also symbolic in affirming Islamic identity as a form of political capital. These strategies reflect an acute awareness of local conditions characterized by post-conflict memories, dense religious networks, and moral values rooted in Islam. Drawing on electoral strategy theory, Aceh's local parties such as the Aceh Party and the Aceh Justice and Prosperity Party predominantly adopted vote-seeking strategies by deploying Islamic law

narratives as a means of differentiation from national parties (Sari et al., 2024). Their campaigns prominently featured religious symbols, Islamic moral values, and close associations with religious scholars to attract voter support, particularly among traditional communities and Islamic boarding school networks.

Social media emerged as a central campaign instrument, especially for engaging younger voters, including Generation Z (Sobari, 2023). Platforms such as TikTok and Instagram were used to disseminate Islamic value-based messages through communication styles tailored to youth culture. However, younger voters also exhibited increasing skepticism toward superficial religious symbolism that was not accompanied by tangible public policy outcomes or demonstrable governance performance. Local party strategies further involved close collaboration with Islamic boarding schools, religious networks, and faith-based organizations that function as key social and spiritual intermediaries in shaping political orientations. In addition, many legislative candidates were drawn from backgrounds as religious figures, former conflict actors, or customary leaders, enabling them to leverage accumulated social capital to consolidate grassroots support.

Despite these advantages, local parties confronted two major challenges. First, there was a growing demand among younger voters for welfare-oriented and programmatic policy platforms rather than symbolic appeals alone (Faisal et al., 2025). Second, public trust in local parties declined due to perceived failures in implementing campaign promises and concerns over cadre integrity and accountability (Akhyar, 2023). Religious symbolism, while electorally potent, proved insufficient in the absence of effective governance and transparent leadership. A gradual shift from rhetorical politics toward performative politics was also evident, marked by the increasing nomination of religious figures as legislative candidates. This strategy was not solely intended to secure moral legitimacy but also to capitalize on their established and loyal voter bases. From an electoral strategy perspective, this approach aligns with value-based coalition building, whereby votes are consolidated around shared ideological identities and normative commitments. Overall, the electoral strategies of Aceh's local parties in the 2024 election extended beyond vote maximization to encompass the broader construction of religion-based political identity. Narratives of Islamic law functioned as a central instrument for political differentiation, legitimacy building, and the pursuit of recognition within Indonesia's national democratic framework.

The Role of Ulama and Dayah Institutions in Political Mobilization in Aceh

In Aceh's local political dynamics, ulama and Islamic educational institutions such as dayah play a crucial role not only as spiritual leaders but also as cultural-political actors with significant influence over electoral behavior. Their longstanding historical proximity to local communities positions them as central figures in the internalization and articulation of Islamic law narratives, which have increasingly become strategic elements in identity-based political campaigns conducted by local parties (Muntasir et al., 2025). The religious legitimacy embodied by ulama has gradually transformed into a form of symbolic electoral capital, actively mobilized by local parties to reinforce moral credibility and capitalize on public trust (Abda et al., 2025). In this context, Islamic law narratives no longer function merely as normative religious values but are consciously constructed as political resources aimed at consolidating voter support within deeply religious communities (Arahman & Alamsyah, 2025).

Empirical observations indicate that students within Islamic boarding schools tend to support candidates who maintain strong ties with dayah institutions or prominent ulama. This pattern suggests that political preferences in religious communities are not solely shaped by individual rational calculations but are deeply embedded in social and cultural relations cultivated through religious instruction and moral guidance. Moreover, the involvement of ulama has evolved beyond symbolic endorsement, as many now participate directly as legislative candidates, reflecting a shift from moral guardianship to active political engagement (Juliana et al., 2025).

The relationship between political parties and ulama in Aceh has generated a form of religious patronage, in which spiritual legitimacy is exchanged for political support and access to institutional power (Syafieh et al., 2022). This arrangement reflects a symbiotic interaction between electoral interests and religious authority, enabling parties to extend their political reach through actors capable of shaping collective voter preferences (Sari et al., 2022). From an electoral strategy perspective, this alliance represents a mobilization-based coalition in which political actors align with influential figures who possess strong capacity to guide community-level political behavior (Permana, 2021).

Dayah networks and religious study assemblies function as critical nodes in disseminating Islamic law narratives during election campaigns. Support from these institutions provides local parties not only with symbolic legitimacy but also with a robust social infrastructure capable of penetrating rural and peripheral areas. The effectiveness of this

strategy is largely contingent upon the standing and moral authority of ulama figures within communities that remain strongly anchored in religious and customary values.

Nevertheless, the success of this mobilization strategy is accompanied by notable challenges. On the one hand, the political engagement of ulama is often perceived as an extension of their moral responsibility to safeguard Islamic values in the public sphere. On the other hand, when symbolic religious mobilization is not matched by tangible political accountability and policy performance, it risks producing superficial loyalty and political stagnation that fails to translate into improved social welfare. Overall, the deployment of Islamic law narratives through ulama and dayah networks constitutes a pragmatic yet ideological form of identity politics employed by local parties in Aceh. Its long-term sustainability and democratic value, however, depend on the ability of political actors to transform symbolic religious support into concrete public policies oriented toward social justice and inclusive governance in Aceh.

The Impact of Identity Politics on the Quality of Local Democracy in Aceh

The use of Sharia-based narratives as a strategy of identity politics has proven electorally effective in the context of Aceh (Alqarni et al., 2024). However, this strategy carries serious consequences for the quality of local democracy. On the one hand, religion-based identity politics is capable of mobilizing voters through deeply rooted collective sentiments. On the other hand, this approach tends to generate social segregation and political polarization, particularly when religious symbols are employed in an exclusive manner that negates or marginalizes other social groups. Religious narratives in politics often function as instruments of stigmatization, thereby weakening inclusive deliberative spaces (Belov & Sadowski, 2025). When political preferences are shaped more by shared identity than by policy-based arguments, local democracy operates merely at a symbolic level rather than a substantive one. In the Acehnese context, Sharia narratives frequently produce a “us versus them” dichotomy, which undermines pluralism and constrains the development of a healthy public sphere. The dominance of identity politics can obscure voter rationality and reduce the competition of ideas in electoral processes. This condition is further exacerbated by the proliferation of identity-based political content on social media platforms, which deepens social fragmentation and limits voters’ access to objective and balanced information.

Moreover, public disappointment in Aceh toward local parties that symbolically promote Sharia while failing to deliver substantive policy outcomes has further eroded public trust (Jalil et al., 2022). A study by Alqarni et al (2023) indicates that the discrepancy between campaign narratives and post-election governance realities has contributed to the expansion of political apathy. Many citizens perceive religious symbols as being instrumentalized solely for electoral gain, without a genuine commitment to core Islamic values such as justice, trustworthiness, and transparency. Thus, while the use of identity politics in the 2024 elections has provided short-term electoral advantages for local parties, without integrity and people-centered policies, this strategy ultimately risks weakening the quality of local democracy. Accordingly, local political parties in Aceh need to balance symbolic strategies with substantive political agendas particularly those oriented toward social justice, public service delivery, and clean governance as essential prerequisites for an inclusive and equitable democratic order.

CONCLUSION

The 2024 elections in Aceh demonstrate that Sharia-based narratives remain a dominant identity politics strategy employed by local parties to attract voter support. Religious identity functions not only as a moral symbol but also as an effective instrument of electoral mobilization, particularly within Acehnese society, which is historically rooted in Islamic values. This strategy has succeeded in generating short-term political loyalty, especially among santri communities and Islamic boarding school (dayah) networks. Nevertheless, excessive reliance on religious symbolism in electoral campaigns generates several critical challenges. Religion-based identity politics tends to intensify social polarization while neglecting policy substance. Many political parties have failed to translate Sharia-related campaign promises into concrete public policies, resulting in public disappointment and growing political apathy. The disconnect between campaign rhetoric and governance outcomes reinforces the perception that religion is being instrumentalized as a temporary political commodity.

Within Manuel Castells' theoretical framework, identity is strategically employed by political actors as a tool for power contestation. Meanwhile, Gary Cox's theory of electoral strategy emphasizes the rational and adaptive nature of political competition, in which the use of religious symbols and religious patronage forms part of strategic calculations within a multiparty system. However, this symbolic strategy has clear limitations. As public demands for accountability and tangible policy outcomes increase, identity-based approaches alone

become insufficient. Therefore, local political parties in Aceh must strike a balance between identity narratives and substantive policy programs—such as clean governance, equitable development, and inclusive public service delivery—to ensure the sustainability of a healthy, people-centered local democracy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author expresses sincere gratitude to all parties who provided direct and indirect support during the preparation of this manuscript.

REFERENCES

- Abda, Y., Kadir, M. A., Alamsyah, M., & Muttaqien. (2025). Dayah Leaders' Perceptions of the Aceh Local Party's Political Communication Methods (Partai Pas Region Lhokseumawe). *Pena Justisia: Media Komunikasi Dan Kajian Hukum*, 24(1), 1005–1013. <https://doi.org/10.31941/pj.v24i1.6014>
- Aboi, E. J. (2024). Religious, ethnic and regional identities in Nigerian politics: a shared interest theory. *African Identities*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2024.2394181>
- Akhyar, M. N., & Chawari, N. H. (2025). *Negeri dalam Negeri: Otonomi Khusus dan Tantangan Integrasi Nasional*. CV Jejak (Jejak Publisher).
- Akhyar, M. N., Redjo, S. I., Kartini, D. S., Nurdin, I., & Annisa, H. (2025). Implementation of the 2024 General Election in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province Review of Procedural Democracy. *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Bhakti Praja*, 15(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.33701/jiwbp.v15i1.5247>
- Alqarni, W., Saleh, R., Anggraini, T., Sulaksono, T., & Akhyar, M. N. (2024). The Strategic Role of Local Political Parties in the Legislative Process Qanun for Sharia Financial Institutions in Aceh. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 8(3), 1881. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i3.21802>
- Alqarni, W., Syamsudin, M. H., & Saleh, R. (2023). Upaya Membangun Public Trust terhadap Partai Politik di Provinsi Berbasis Syariah Islam Aceh. *POLITEA*, 6(2), 216. <https://doi.org/10.21043/politea.v6i2.22937>
- Arahman, Z., & Alamsyah, M. (2025). The Role of Dayah Ulama in Political Communication during the 2024 Aceh Elections. *Nyimak: Journal of Communication*, 9(2), 204. <https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v9i2.13948>
- Belov, M., & Sadowski, M. M. (2025). Memory of the Marginals: The Constitutional Approach to Exclusion, Marginalization, and Stigmatization. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law - Revue Internationale de Sémiotique Juridique*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-025-10403-8>
- Bustami, & Harahap, E. W. (2024). Husaini M. Hasan on The Concept of Political Activism in

- The Social And Political Context of Aceh. *Reslaj: Religion Education Social Laa Roiba Journal*, 6(12). <https://doi.org/10.47467/reslaj.v6i12.4204>
- Fadhli, F. (2025). Disaffected Coattail Effect: The Election Anomaly in Local Political Party in Aceh, Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 28(2), 166. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.95880>
- Faisal, N., Abdullah, T., Mulyadi, M., Abubakar, M. bin, & Muzaffarsyah, T. (2025). From Identity to Evaluation: Political Reorientation among Generation Z Voters in Post-Conflict Aceh. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Indonesia (JSAI)*, 6(1), 97–108. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jsai.v6i1.7662>
- Fitri, M., & Suhendra, D. (2025). Penguatan Pendidikan Politik Berbasis Syariat Islam dalam Konteks Sistem Demokrasi di Aceh. *Jurnal Ilmiah Guru Madrasah*, 4(1), 66–78. <https://doi.org/10.69548/jigm.v4i1.37>
- Fox, C. A., & Menchik, J. (2023). Islamic political parties and election campaigns in Indonesia. *Party Politics*, 29(4), 622–635. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221091656>
- Hadiyanto, A., Putri, K. Y. S., & Fazli, L. (2025). Religious moderation in Instagram: An Islamic interpretation perspective. *Heliyon*, 11(4), e42816. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2025.e42816>
- Hakim, P. R. N., Abdullah, I., & Marlina, L. (2024). Aceh and the Politics of Islamic Identity: Implications for Social and Political Dynamics. *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 12(2), 98–115. <https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v12i2a1>
- Halimi, D. N., Umam, F., & Wibowo, S. E. (2025). Challenges Of Religion and Identity Politics In Indonesia: The Role Of Islamic Religious Education. *IJGIE (International Journal of Graduate of Islamic Education)*, 6(2), 294–305. <https://doi.org/10.37567/ijgie.v6i2.3887>
- Hamid, R. Al, Jamil, M. S., Nimah, R., Siregar, M. A. H., & Supriyadi. (2025). Political Conflict between Islamic Law and National Law in Indonesia. *Insani: Jurnal Pranata Sosial Hukum Islam*, 1(1), 48–62. <https://doi.org/10.65586/insani.v1i1.4>
- Helmi, H., & Fadhlullah, N. (2020). Positivisation of Islamic Sharia as Local Government Regulations for Minority Citizens as Liyan in Aceh. *Journal of Governance and Social Policy*, 1(1), 17–23. <https://doi.org/10.24815/gaspol.v1i1.17326>
- Jalil, H., Yani, T. A., & Kurniawan, A. (2022). PUBLIC PARTICIPATION MODEL IN THE PREPARATION OF SHARIA-BASED ACEH QANUN: SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE ROLE OF THE ULAMA. *IJUM Law Journal*, 30(2), 280–307. <https://doi.org/10.31436/iiumlj.v30i2.672>
- Jong, A., & Ali, R. (2023). Political Islam as an Incomplete and Contested Category: A Post-Foundationalist Revision. *Religions*, 14(8), 980. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14080980>
- Juliana, J., AR, M., & Saiful, S. (2025). Modern Islamic Boarding Schools as Pillars of Contemporary Islamic Education: A Historical Review and Curriculum at Dayah. *Tafkir: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Education*, 7(1), 47–62. <https://doi.org/10.31538/tijie.v7i1.2364>
- Morgan, A., James Davies, A., & Milton, E. (2024). Using discourse analysis to inform content

- analysis: a pragmatic, mixed-methods approach to exploring how the headteacher role is articulated in job descriptions. In *The Handbook of Creative Data Analysis* (pp. 50–64). Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.51952/9781447369592.ch004>
- Mu'alimin, & Rosady, I. (2025). Strengthening Social Identity: The Role of Islamic Schools in Urban Muslim Communities. *JIE (Journal of Islamic Education)*, 10(1), 398–409. <https://doi.org/10.52615/jie.v10i1.615>
- Muntasir, M., Zulkarnaen, I., Aminullah, M., Hamdani, M., & Hidayat, B. (2025). Power Structures and Religious Legitimacy: The Influence of Dayah Ulama in the Politics of Aceh Analyzed using Powercube Theory. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 13(1), 437–462. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i1.1625>
- Mustafa, A. (2024). Islamic personal branding strategies in the 2024 local election in Central Aceh. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi (Indonesian Journal of Communications Studies)*, 8(3), 685–696. <https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v8i3.8992>
- Nuraliza, V., Andhi Nur Rahmadi, Alvan Mubaroq, Kristiyono Kristiyono, Alisyia Putri Melani, & Anila Ifana. (2024). Peran Komunikasi Politik Dalam Membentuk Opini Publik Menghadapi Pemilu 2024. *CENDEKIA: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Bahasa Dan Pendidikan*, 4(1), 245–261. <https://doi.org/10.55606/cendikia.v4i1.2514>
- Permana, Y. S. (2021). Subnational sectarianisation: clientelism, religious authority, and intra-religious rivalry in Aceh. *Religion, State and Society*, 49(2), 142–156. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2021.1881392>
- Phillips, M. J. (2023). Towards a social constructionist, criticalist, Foucauldian-informed qualitative research approach: Opportunities and challenges. *SN Social Sciences*, 3(10), 175. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s43545-023-00774-9>
- Rahayu, H. S., Hidayat, N., Mbunai, L. ode, Putri, Z. M., Sinaga, M. P. P. M., Ikromi, Z. A., Jaya, U. A., Gunawan, C., Reza, Y. A., & Yulianti, E. (2025). Political Communication Strategy in Legislative Elections in Indonesia (Case Study on Indonesian Legislative Members of the Golongan Karya Party). *Journal of Posthumanism*, 5(5), 2963–2984. <https://doi.org/10.63332/joph.v5i5.1701>
- Sari, E., Rahman, A., Faisal, F., & Muksalmina, M. (2024). Dinamika Politik Partai Lokal Di Aceh Menjelang Pemilu 2024: Analisis Undang-Undang Pemilu Dan Partai Lokal. *Suloh: Jurnal Fakultas Hukum Universitas Malikussaleh*, 12(1), 159. <https://doi.org/10.29103/sjp.v12i1.12046>
- Sari, E., Rahman, A., Syah, A., & Mansari, M. (2022). The Political Changes of Ulama In The Aceh Government System. *Proceedings of Malikussaleh International Conference on Law, Legal Studies and Social Science (MICoLLS)*, 2, 00046. <https://doi.org/10.29103/micolls.v2i.120>
- Sobari, W. (2023). *Emerging Local Politics in Indonesia*. Springer Nature Singapore. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-4622-8>
- Suryanagara, M. I. S., Rahmatunnisa, M., Bainus, A., & Umam, A. K. (2025). Eclecticism of Voter Characteristics and Electoral Choices in Indonesia: Lessons from the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election. *Journal of Posthumanism*, 5(2).

<https://doi.org/10.63332/joph.v5i2.517>

- Syafieh, S., Muhaini, M., & Syufyan, S. (2022). Authority and Ulama In Aceh: The Role of Dayah Ulama In Contemporary Aceh Religious Practices. *Jurnal Theologia*, 33(2), 151–178. <https://doi.org/10.21580/teo.2022.33.2.13455>
- Tumanggor, T., & Azhar, A. A. (2025). Politik Identitas dalam Ruang Demokrasi Indonesia: Dinamika, Strategi, dan Implikasinya Terhadap Kohesi Sosial. *Jurnal Indonesia : Manajemen Informatika Dan Komunikasi*, 6(2), 1417–1426. <https://doi.org/10.63447/jimik.v6i2.1436>
- Ubayasiri, K. (2021). Islamic State's quest for legitimacy: An analysis of IS media frames in Dabiq magazine. *Media, War & Conflict*, 14(2), 133–149. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635219860422>
- Vaara, E., Tienari, J., & Koveshnikov, A. (2021). From Cultural Differences to Identity Politics: A Critical Discursive Approach to National Identity in Multinational Corporations. *Journal of Management Studies*, 58(8), 2052–2081. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12517>
- Yusuf, M., Jannah, M., Rahmi, N., Dewi, P. A., & Husaini, U. F. (2024). Menggali Makna Pemilihan Umum : Peran, Sejarah, dan Tantangan Demokrasi. *PUAN INDONESIA*, 5(2), 656–667. <https://doi.org/10.37296/jpi.v5i2.231>
- Zulfan, Z., Ikramatoun, S., & Aminah, A. (2023). Aceh Local Political Party: The rise, victory, and decline. *Multidisciplinary Science Journal*, 5(in Progress), 2023018. <https://doi.org/10.31893/multiscience.2023018>
- Zulkarnaini, Z., Ansor, M., & Masyhur, L. S. (2022). Sharia in power: non-Muslims and the performance of Islamic politics in Aceh public Sphere, Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 12(2), 257–283. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i2.257-283>