

**BEING NON-MUSLIM IN A SHARI'A LAND:
THE LIFE STORIES OF CHRISTIAN POLICEWOMEN IN
ACEH, INDONESIA**



By
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SRN. 1630016030

DISSERTATION

Submitted to
School of Graduate Studies of
Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN) Yogyakarta
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor in Islamic Studies

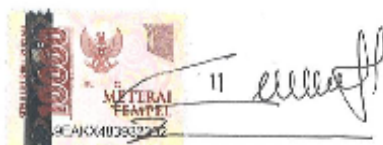
YOGYAKARTA
2023

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To the best of my knowledge and belief, I declare that this dissertation is my own work and that I have used no sources other than the ones referred to. I understand that the School of Graduate Studies of UTN Sunan Kalijaga may take disciplinary action against me if it believes that this is not my own unaided work.

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DATE: Yogyakarta, June 21th 2023



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ATTESTATION

Dissertation entitled : BEING DEVOUT CHRISTIANS IN A SHARI'A LAND: The Live Story of Non Muslim Policewomen in Aceh, Indonesia.

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Department. : Doctor (S3) / Islamic Studies

To be submitted and defended
As one of the requirements to obtain a Doctoral degree (Dr.)
In Islamic Studies with specialization in *Islamic Thought and Muslim Societies*

Yogyakarta, August 24th, 2023

Rector
Head of the Examining Committee,



Prof. Dr. Almakin, S.Ag., M.A.
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GRADUATION EXERCISE

BISMILLĀHIRRAHMĀNIRRAHĪM

HAVING OBSERVED AND CONSIDERED THE ANSWERS THE PROMOVENDUS HAS CONVEYED AND THE OBJECTIONS OF THE EXAMINERS IN THE CLOSED EXAMINATION ON **MAY 11th, 2023**, AND THE ANSWERS OF THE PROMOVENDUS AND THE OBJECTIONS OF THE EXAMINERS TODAY, WE DECLARE THAT THE PROMOVENDUS, **SAFIRA MUSTAQILLA** STUDENT ID **16300016030** BORN IN **LHOKSEUMAWE** ON NOVEMBER 1ST, 1975

HAS SUCCESSFULLY PASSED THE EXAMINATION WITH THE PREDICATE:

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SAFIRA MUSTAQILLA IS THE 924TH DOCTORAL STUDENT GRADUATED, AND THE FIRST FROM *ISLAMIC THOUGHT AND MUSLIM SOCIETIES*

YOGYAKARTA, AUGUST 28th, 2023

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Graduation : ~~cum laude~~ / Very Satisfactory / Satisfying

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APPROVAL STATEMENT

To
Director of School of Graduate
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Written by:

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Major : Islamic Thought and Muslim Societies

Has been revised based on the comments and questions raised by the examiners in the closed examination on May 19, 2023. I am of the opinion that the dissertation can be submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta for a doctoral defense.

Wassalamu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh

Yogyakarta, June 21th 2023
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Prof. Dr. Irwan Abdullah

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Co-Promoter,



Dr. Moch. Nur Ichwan, M.A

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Examiner



Prof. Euis Nurlaelawati, Ph.D.

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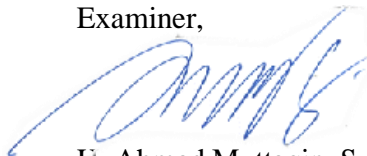
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Ii. Ahmad Muttaqin, S.Ag., M.Ag., MA., Ph.D.

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Dr. Suhadi, S.Ag., MA

ABSTRAK

Aceh merupakan satu-satunya Provinsi di Indonesia yang menerapkan Syariat Islam, melalui *Qanun* No 44 Tahun 1999, UU No 18 tentang Otonomi Khusus, dan UUPA (Undang Undang Pemerintahan Aceh) tahun 2006. Pada pasal 126 ayat 1 UUPA dinyatakan bahwa setiap Muslim harus patuh dengan syariat Islam. Sementara tidak bisa dipungkiri bahwa terdapat kelompok keagamaan lain yang berdomisili di Aceh, yaitu kelompok minoritas non-Muslim. Meskipun pasal 126 ayat 2 menyatakan jika bahwa mereka hanya diharapkan menghormati penerapan syariat Islam tersebut di Aceh, tetapi dalam praktiknya mereka merasakan dampak dari penerapan syariat Islam tersebut. Terkait dengan beberapa ketentuan seperti ketentuan tentang hukuman syariat pencambukan dan ketentuan kewajiban penggunaan jilbab. Dampak penerapan syariat Islam juga dialami oleh para perempuan Kristen yang bekerja di institusi kepolisian seperti di tiga institusi kepolisin di Banda Aceh. Disertasi ini mengkaji tentang pengalaman para perempuan polisi di tiga institusi kepolisian tersebut dalam kaitannya dengan penerapan syariat Islam. Kajian ini menjawab beberapa pertanyaan, (1) Bagaimana respon polisi perempuan Kristen terhadap penerapan syariat Islam, (2) Apa bentuk dan lingkup tantangan yang dihadapi oleh para polisi perempuan terutama tiga sosok polisi perempuan yang dikaji ini. (3) Sejauh mana tiga polisi perempuan melakukan upaya adaptasi dengan budaya kehidupan sosial dan keagamaan Islam dan strategi yang digunakan untuk mengatasi tantangan tersebut

Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan antropologi. Penelitian ini didasarkan pada data primer yang dikumpulkan melalui observasi dan wawancara mendalam dengan ketiga informan dan para pihak lain yang relevan. Menggunakan teori *Interpersonal Acceptance and Rejection* (IPARTheory), Ronald P. Rohner serta *Construction of Identity*, Manuel Castell dan dengan metode *life story*, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa para polisi perempuan memperlihatkan respon

penerimaan *acceptance*, di mana mereka berusaha menerima dan mengikuti ketentuan syariat Islam yang diterapkan dan budaya kehidupan keagamaan di Aceh, meski harus mengaburkan identitas mereka sebagai penganut Kristen. Mereka mengikuti ketentuan penggunaan jilbab dalam pelaksanaan tugas mereka di Aceh dan berbaur dengan masyarakat Muslim Aceh dalam kegiatan-kegiatan keagamaan. Namun penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa mereka mencoba melakukan upaya penolakan *rejection*, terhadap beberapa sikap dan perilaku masyarakat Muslim dan beberapa ketentuan lain dan dengan tetap kuat berpegang pada ajaran keagamaan Kristen. Penelitian ini juga menegaskan bahwa kepatuhan ketiga polisi perempuan merupakan strategi yang mereka lakukan untuk bisa tetap bertahan serta aman di wilayah syariat, baik dalam lingkup kelembagaan kepolisian maupun lingkup masyarakat secara umum. Pengalaman dan tantangan yang mereka hadapi dalam pelaksanaan tugas kepolisian di wilayah syariat dalam upaya mengakomodir dan mengadopsi budaya dan ajaran keagamaan yang berbeda dengan ajaran agama mereka ini telah membentuk mereka sebagai penganut agama Kristen yang teguh.

Konstruksi identitas yang terbentuk adalah bukan konstruksi identitas sebagai Kristen yang patuh terhadap syariat Islam, melainkan sebagai anggota polisi yang profesional dan taat terhadap aturan, atau yang disebut dengan “reverse construction of identity”.

Kata kunci: Non-Muslim, Life Stories, Polwan Kristen, Aceh.

ABSTRACT

Through *Qanun* No 44 of 1999, Law No 18 on Special Autonomy, and the Law on Aceh Governance (UUPA) of 2006, Aceh has been granted the only Indonesian province permitted to apply Sharia law. Chapter 128 Verse 1 UUPA obliges every Muslim to obey Sharia law, despite the existing groups of different faiths or the non-Muslim minority. According to Chapter 126 Verse 2 of the law, these groups are to respect Sharia law, and yet the enforcement of it (e.g. whipping sentences and veil-wearing rule) has quite an impact on them. Even Christian police women from three different resorts of Banda Aceh would undergo the inconvenience. This dissertation takes a deep look at the police women's unpleasant experiences. The questions to answer are as follow. (1) How do the Christian police women respond to the practice of Sharia law? (2) What type and scope of challenges do police women, in particular the ones within the study areas, have? (3) How far have the three police women adjusted themselves to social life and various Islamic cultures and what strategies do they have to deal with the challenges?

This qualitative study applies an anthropological approach. Primary data was obtained through observation and carrying out an in-depth interview with the three informants and relevant parties. With two theories (Interpersonal Acceptance and Rejection (IPAR) theory by Ronald P. Rohner and Construction of Identity by Manuel Castell) and life story method used, the research shows that the police women showed their acceptance and tried to follow the Sharia and religious culture of Aceh people, even though they had to disguise their Christian identity. They wore a veil when doing the job and mingled with the Muslim society of Aceh (they even participated in religious activities). This study also discovered the three police women's rejections of Muslim society's attitude and behavior and also of some rules while adhering to Christian teachings. This research also revealed these female officers' strategies. Their obedience was in fact a strategy to stay safe in both the society and in the police institution.

Having to accommodate and adopt a different religious culture and teaching from that of their Christian belief while doing their jobs made the female officers adherent Christians.

The identity construction being formed was not as a Christian who obeys Sharia law, but a professional officer who obeys the rules. This construction of identity is known as '*reverse construction of identity*'.

Key words: Non-Muslim, Life Stories, Christian Policewomen, Aceh.

الملخص

آتشيه هي المحافظة الوحيدة في إندونيسيا التي تطبق الشريعة الإسلامية، على أساس القانون رقم ٤٤ لعام ١٩٩٩، والقانون رقم ١٨ بشأن الحكم الذاتي الخاص، وقانون حكومة آتشيه (UUPA) لعام ٢٠٠٦. تنص المادة ١٢٦ الفقرة ١ من قانون حكومة آتشيه على أنه يجب على كل مسلم أن يطيع الشريعة الإسلامية، على الرغم من أنه لا يمكن إنكار وجود مجموعات دينية أخرى مقيمة في آتشيه، وهي أقليات غير مسلمة. وإن كانت الفقرة ٢ من المادة ١٢٦ تنص على أنهم أن يجتروا تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية في آتشيه، إلا أنهم في الواقع يشعرون بأثر تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية. وذلك يتعلق بعدة أحكام مثل الأحكام المتعلقة بالعقوبة الإسلامية مثل الضرب بالسوط ووجوب ارتداء الحجاب. كما تعاني النساء المسيحيات اللاتي يعملن في قسم الشرطة مثل ما حدث في ثلاثة أقسام الشرطة في باندا آتشيه من تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية.

ارتكزت هذه الرسالة على ما تعاني ضابطات الشرطة في ثلاثة أقسام الشرطة من تجاربهن مع تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية. أجابت هذه الدراسة على عدة أسئلة، (١) ما هو رد فعل ضابطات الشرطة المسيحيات على تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية، (٢) ما هي التحديات التي تواجهها ضابطات الشرطة، لا سيما الضابطات الثلاث اللواتي تمت دراستهن في هذه الدراسة. (٣) كيف تجاهد الضابطات الثلاث في التكيف مع الثقافة الإسلامية والحياة الاجتماعية والدينية والاستراتيجيات التي استخدمتها هؤلاء الضابطات للتغلب على هذه التحديات. تعد هذه الرسالة من رسالة نوعية على أساس المنهج الأنثروبولوجي. واعتمدت هذه الرسالة على البيانات الأولية التي تم جمعها عن طريق الملاحظة

والمقابلات المتعمقة مع المخبرين الثلاثة والأطراف الأخرى ذات الصلة. وباستخدام نظرية القبول والرفض بين الأشخاص (IPARTheory) لرونالد ب. رونر Ronal P. Rohner ونظرية بناء الهوية لمانويل كاستل Manuel Castell وطريقة قصة الحياة، أشارت هذه الدراسة إلى أن ضابطات الشرطة يظهرن استجابة القبول، ويحاولن القبول ومتابعة أحكام الشريعة الإسلامية المطبقة وثقافة الحياة الدينية في آتشييه، رغم أنه يتعين عليهن إخفاء هوياتهن كمسيحيات. ويرتدين الحجاب في أداء واجباتهن في آتشييه ويختلطن مع مجتمع آتشييه المسلم في الأنشطة الدينية. وأثبتت هذه الدراسة أنهن يحاولن في رفض بعض مواقف وسلوك المجتمع المسلم والعديد من الأحكام الأخرى ويحاولن الالتزام بقوة بالتعاليم الدينية المسيحية. كما أكدت هذه الرسالة أن ما فعلته الضابطات الثلاث من امتثال هذا التطبيق ما هو إلا استراتيجياتهن ليبقين على قيد الحياة والأمان في منطقة الشريعة، سواء داخل نطاق قسم الشرطة وداخل المجتمع بشكل عام. إن التجارب والتحديات التي تواجه هؤلاء الضابطات الثلاث في أداء واجباتهن كشرطة في منطقة الشريعة هي جهود لاستيعاب وتبني ثقافات وتعاليم دينية مختلفة من ثقافاتهن، وهذه التحديات تجعلهن من أتباع المسيحية الثابتة. إن بناء الهوية التي يتم تشكيلها ليس بناء الهوية المسيحية الملتزمة بالشريعة الإسلامية، ولكن بناء عضو الشرطة المحترف والمطيع للقواعد، أو ما يسمى بـ"البناء العكسي للهوية".

الكلمات المفتاحية: غير مسلمة، قصة حياة، ضابطات مسيحيات، آتشييه.

TRANSLITERATION

This work contains many non-English words in languages such as Indonesian, Acehnese, and Arabic. I write non-English words in italics with the exception of certain words. Short explanations of non-English words are written inside square brackets [] and footnotes are used for longer and more detailed explanations. To write Arabic words, the transliteration system of the Library of Congress and the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* has been used with slight variations.

ء = '	ز= z	ف= f	
ب= b	س= s	ق= q	
ت= t	ش= sh	ك= k	
ث= th	ص= ṣ	ل= l	
ج= j	ض= d	م= m	
ح= h	ط= t	ن= n	
خ= kh	ظ= z	و= w	
د= d	ع= '	ه= h	
ذ= dh	غ= gh	ي= y	
ر= r			
Short:	= a	= i	= u
Long:	ا = a	ي= i	و= u
Diphthong:	اي = ay		او= aw

The *ta marbuta* (ة) is omitted unless it occurs within an *idafa*, in which case it is written “t”, such as *wahdat al-wujud*. Arabic words that have been incorporated into Indonesian or Acehnese and indicate certain events, names of institutions and persons, or those words that are now part of the vocabulary of these languages, are written in their Indonesianized form, such as ‘*Ahli Hikmah*’ instead of ‘*Ahl al-Hikmah*’, ‘*Akhwat-Ikhwan*’ instead of ‘*Akhwat-Ikhwan*’, and ‘*Sultan Hasanuddin*’ instead of ‘*Sultan Hasan al-Din*’.

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There were many obstacles in collecting the data, particularly when I entered the police institution with very strict procedures to get access to conduct the research in the Police institution, as well as the business of each informant with their duties and responsibilities as the servants of the State. But I am so lucky to have gotten the opportunity to do the research there. In addition, there were unique impressions and experiences when I was in the field, namely when I met the three Christian policewomen and several police personnel who were willing to be interviewed. Therefore, I was very grateful for the cooperation and opportunity from the various parties in the police institution, especially in providing many sources of information that I needed. In brief, on this occasion I would like to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to all parties who helped me during the process of writing this dissertation.

First and foremost, gratitude is dedicated to the entire academic community, both lecturers and professors of Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta, whether I met them in class or in person to discuss and provide any questions in various matters relating to this dissertation. I would also like to express my gratitude to the administrative staff who had gone to great lengths to exert their energy and assistance during the stage-by-stage process of examinations that I went through.

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Pat ranub nyang hana mirah (How is betel without a red hue possible?)

Pat peuneurah nyang hana bajo (Nor is it possible for a filter without fastener)

Pat narit nyang hana salah (Where is speech without failure?)

Nyoe ken di awai teunte bak dudo (If not in the beginning, indeed surely in the end)

Terimong geunaseh (Thank you)

Safira Mustaqilla

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Glossary and Abbreviations

Aceh Pungo: This term originated from Acehnese language, which consist of two words, Aceh and pungo. Aceh means, the people and pungo means mad. Linguistically Aceh pungo it means Aceh Crazy, for Acehnese people this term is refer to an irrational act.

Adat Bak Po Teumeureuhom Hukom Bak Syiah Kuala, Qanun Bak Putroe Phang Reusam Bak Laksamana: These words of wisdom originate from the Acehnese language and are well known with hadih maja terms. These consist of four terms, adat, hukum, qanun and reusam. Adat is the king's decision which contains cultural values, customary norms, and customary law sourced from Sultan Iskandar Muda.

Hukum means religious regulations derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet which were then applied to the kingdom of Aceh by ulama during the time of Sheikh Abdul Rauf bin Ali As Singkily, it contains laws and rules of Islam that govern all joints of human life, both Muslim and non-Muslim in Aceh.

Qanun, which is royal law, originates from the deliberations of scholars. Qanun is a statutory regulation, similar to Regional Regulations pinned on Putroe Phang, because it was the result of the deliberations of scholars on the advice of Putroe Phang, the Empress of Sultan Iskandar Muda, from Pahang, Malaysia.

Reusam is a habit in society that is not binding and is not bound by legal sanctions. Reusam is used to maintain a friendly relationship between two parties.

Reusam in a broad sense can be interpreted as adab or high manners and culture. One example of reusam is greeting guests with the Ranub Lampuan dance. It is pinned on Laksamana because this term is a metaphor which means strength and wisdom in the diversity of customs

Nanggroe Syariat	: It means the land of shari'a, pinned on Aceh region that implements Islamic shari'a
<i>Eid al-Fitr</i>	: Namely the special day after the month of Ramadan, where Muslims all throughout the world are happy to celebrate, in Aceh the non-Muslim community is also happy to welcome it
Eid al-Adha	: Is a historic day in Islam. This feast day commemorates the event of sacrifice. In several places in Aceh the non-Muslim groups also receive distributions of the meat of qurban.
Hijri	: is the Islamic New Year which is an important day for Muslims, marking the event of the migration of the Prophet
ASN	: Aparatur Sipil Negara, it means Civil Servant
Azan	: is a call to worship for Muslims to pray at the mosque
Binroh	: Bimbingan rohani or spiritual guidance. This is carried out once a week in the Police institution.
BTM	: This term is used as an abbreviation of the name of one of the Polsek where the research was conducted
Bumi Iskandar Muda	: Is one of the names pinned on Aceh, by including the name of Sultan Iskandar Muda, king of the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam.
<i>cari 'ap</i>	: Originates from the Acehnese language. It's a term used to twist the meanings, for the people who misuse the definition of Islamic shari'a in Aceh
SKCK	: Surat Keterangan Catatan Kepolisian,

- Conduct/Police Clearance Certificate, is a certificate issued by the National Police which contains a record of a person's crimes
- Cua'*, originates from the Acehnese language and is used during a conflict aimed at those who are considered traitors, spying on the people of Aceh and reporting to members of TNI or Polri.
- Daud Beureueh: He once served as the Military Governor of Aceh and once rebelled against President Soekarno for not fulfilling his promise to give the Acehnese people authority to implement Islamic Shari'a.
- Dayah : it referred to as Islamic religious schools (madrasah) in Aceh, this institution is similar to pesantren in Indonesia.
- Dimana bumi dipijak di situ langit dijunjung: where the foot meets the earth holds up the sky. These words of wisdom indicate that a person must be able to adapt to wherever she is
- DLT : This term is used as an abbreviation of the name of one of the Polsek where the research was conducted
- SD : Elementary School
- Fiqh : This term is derived from Arabic; it is interpreted as human understanding of religious practices based on shari'a.
- FKUB : Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama, Religious Harmony Forum
- GAM : Gerakan Aceh Merdeka is an armed separatist movement which aims to separate Aceh from Indonesia
- Gampong : distribution of administrative areas at the sub-district or village level in Aceh Province
- Gulai pliek Ue*: a very typical traditional cuisine from Aceh. Pliek ue is the remaining coconut after the oil has been squeezed out. These coconut dregs are dried in

the sun and used as pliek ue by the people of Aceh as a base seasoning for pliek ue curry.

Hablu minallah: derived from Arabic, namely how humans relate to the Creator by following all His commands and avoiding His prohibitions.

Hablu minannas: is social piety, in which humans maintain good relations with other humans.

Hablu minal alam: is the relationship between humans and nature and not doing damage on earth.

Hakka: is one of the largest Han Chinese groups in the People's Republic of China. Hakka groups are spread all over the world, including in Aceh.

Hijaiyah: is comprised of Arabic letters or the Arabic script system. These letters were also used in writing the Qur'an so that it should become basic knowledge that is mastered by Muslims. In the context of this dissertation, one of the Christian policewomen understands hijaiyah and is able to write them.

Hiwalah: derived from Arabic and refers to the transfer of debt or receivables from the creditor to the party responsible for repayment of the debt.

Hukom ngoen Adat Lagee Zat Ngoen Sifeut: Derived from the Aceh language, which means that customs and Islamic shari'a cannot be separated (already united), like a substance with its nature. Likened to nails with flesh, so that Islamic rules are already part of the custom.

Humas: Hubungan Masyarakat, public relations, which is referred to in this research as Mapolda Aceh, in which Humas is in charge of carrying out public relations activities, producing, managing information, presenting data, and documenting activities of the Regional Police which can be accessed by the public.

Ikhtilaf al-dien: is a term in the study of Islamic law which means differences of opinion regarding religion

Ikhtilath: originated from Arabic and is one of the items in the *qanun jinayat*, namely violation of shari'a such as consensual making out, touching, hugging and kissing between men and women who are not husband and wife , either in public or hidden places.

Imum meunasah: derived from the Aceh language, which means a person who leads community activities in the village relating to the field of Islam, implementing and enforcing Islamic shari'a.

IPAR: Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection Theory :

JR: This term is used as an abbreviation of the name of one of the Polsek where the research was conducted

Kaffah: derived from Arabic in which the meaning of *kaffah* is associated with pure and entirely without exception.

Kamtibmas: derived from an abbreviation in Indonesian, namely Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat or Community Security and Order, one of the fields in the police institution

Keuchik gampong: is the person who leads the village, this term is only used in Aceh Province that adheres to the Aceh regional government system.

Keujruen Blang: is an institution whose mission is to coordinate farming communities ranging from agriculture to the social (customary) field of the people of Aceh

Khalwat: violation of Qanun Number 14 of 2003 concerning adultery

Khamar: violation of Qanun Number 12 concerning Liquor

KUA: is an office that carries out some of the tasks of the office of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion in all regions in the field of Islamic religious affairs in

the sub-district area.

Maslahah: is the term in Fiqh to maintain shari'a goals and to receive benefits/avoid harm.

Maulid: is the commemoration of the birth of Prophet Muhammad SAW on the 12th of Rabiul Awal in the Hijriyah calendar.

Mawah: originated from the Aceh term, which is a cooperation agreement in business in Aceh where a person gives their assets to other people to be managed with the distribution of the results in accordance with an agreement

Maysir: violation of Qanun Number 13 of 2003 concerning gambling

Meugang: is a tradition in Aceh that has been passed down from generation to generation. The tradition is such as slaughtering animals in the form of goats or cows and is carried out three times a year, namely Ramadhan, Eid al-Adha, and Eid al-Fitr.

MOU: a memorandum of understanding is a legal document that describes an agreement between two or more parties. The MOU referred to in this dissertation is the peace agreement between the Government of Indonesia and GAM in 2005.

Muallaf: is derived from Arabic and it means someone who recently converted to Islam

Mudharabah: is derived from Arabic and means the form of a cooperation agreement between the owner of a property and the manager of the property. The owner of the property surrenders his property to another party for business. If it is profitable, the profit is shared between the owner of the property and the manager of the property, according to the agreement at the beginning.

Mukhabarah: is derived from Arabic and refers to land management with seed sources originating from the land or

land owners

Muslimah: is derived from Arabic and means Muslim woman

Muzara'ah: is derived from Arabic and refers to an agricultural management cooperation between landowners and cultivators,

Nanggroe: is derived from the Aceh language and means country

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

Panglima Uteun: Similar to *Peutua Uteun*, he is commander of the forest, was the wrong one of the spearheads in maintaining forest sustainability in Aceh. The practice of illegal logging, whether done clandestinely or openly by various persons,

Panglima Laot: is derived from the Acehnese language and means a customary structure among fishing communities in the Aceh province in charge of leading the customary association managing the *Hukôm Adat Laôt*.

PLTMG: *Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Mesin Gas* or Combined Cycle Gas Turbine Plant

Pesantren: is a traditional Islamic educational institution where students live together in dormitories and study under the guidance of teachers known as *kyai* or *teungku* in Aceh.

Peumulia jame adat geutanyoe Aceh: It is one of the most popular philosophies among the people of Aceh, which is aimed at honoring guests

Peusijek: is a traditional cultural procession of the people of Aceh that is still practiced today. This tradition is carried out in almost all customary activities in people's lives in Aceh

Polki: The Indonesian abbreviation for *Polisi laki-laki* or Policeman

Polres: The Indonesian abbreviation for *Kepolisian Resor*

Polsek: The Indonesian abbreviation for *Kepolisian Sektor*

Polwan: The Indonesian abbreviation for *Polisi Wanita* or Policewoman

Putroe Phang: she is the wife of Sultan Iskandar Muda whose real name is Puteri Kamaliyah. As she comes from Pahang, Malaysia, the people of Aceh call her Putroe Phang.

Ratoh Duek: a type of dance in Aceh of which all the dancers are women. This dance is performed by 11 women and 2 singers. Accompanied by Islamic rhythms, the dance elements look so harmonious and describe the interactions of everyday life and community cohesiveness

Laweut Aceh: The Laweut dance is one of the dances originating from the Pidie area that spread to all corners of Aceh, especially the coastal areas. The term Laweut comes from Arabic, namely *seulaweut* or *salawat*. The meaning of the word is praise the master of Islam, namely the Prophet Muhammad.

Tarek Pukat: The Tarek Pukat dance is one of the typical dances of the Aceh region and all of the dancers are women. This dance depicts the activities of fishermen who catch fish in the sea. Tarek means "pull" and *seine* is a type of net used to catch fish

Bines: is a traditional dance originating from the Southeast Aceh district. According to history, this dance was introduced by a scholar named "Syekh Saman" in the context of da'wa. The dancers are all women and they begin by moving slowly while gradually becoming faster and finally simultaneously stopping suddenly.

Ranub Lam Puan: is one of the traditional dances originating from the Aceh region. This dance includes a welcoming dance, usually performed by female dancers by presenting betel nuts as a token of community acceptance. This dance is often

performed to welcome distinguished guests and for other traditional welcoming events

Rencong: is a typical weapon of the Aceh Tribe. Rencong is a symbol of self-identity, braveness, and toughness of the Acehnese.

Rapai *Angguk (geleng):* Rapa'i Geleng is an Acehnese ethnic dance originating from the Southern Aceh region, specifically Manggeng. Usually there are 12 trained men who dance. The poetry that is delivered is an outreach to the community about how to live in a society, religion and solidarity upheld.

Likok Pulo: is a traditional dance originating from Aceh, Indonesia. "*Likok*" means dance moves, while "*Pulo*" means island. *Pulo* here refers to a small island at the northern tip of Sumatra Island called Breuh Island, or Rice Island. This dance is held after planting rice or after harvesting rice and is performed while kneeling, shoulder to shoulder.

Seudati: The Seudati dance is one of the traditional dances originating from the Aceh region. This dance is usually performed by a group of male dancers with distinctive and energetic movements and accompanied by the chanting of poetry and the thumping sound of the dancers.

Santri: Santri is a term for someone who receives Islamic religious education in a pesantren.

Sheikh Abdul Rauf bin Ali As Singkily: A well-known and great Acehnese ulama. He had influence in the spread of Islam in Sumatra and the archipelago, in general. His title is also well-known as Teungku Syiah Kuala, which is Acehnese and means Sheikh Ulama in Kuala

STAIN : Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri

Unsyiah : Universitas Syiah Kuala

- Tahlilan : rituals to commemorate the dead, public rituals that involve people in the neighborhood and relatives who are invited into the bereaved family's home
- Tanah Rencong : Aceh's nickname as Tanah Rencong or the Land of Rencong has a long story. This is inseparable from the spirit of the Acehnese people in fighting invaders by using this Acehnese weapon.
- Taqnin : the process of law-making in Aceh
- Tsunami : are large ocean water swells caused by disturbances on the seafloor, such as earthquakes. This disturbance forms waves that spread in all directions with wave speeds reaching 600–900 km/hour. One hit Aceh in 2004.
- Tuha peut : one of the officials in the village or person who is the elder as the *Gampong* Representative institution and is a vehicle to realize democratization, openness and people's participation in the administration system of village Government
- Ulama : the people who are experts in religious knowledge and other general sciences related to the benefit of the people. In in Aceh they are known as *Teungku*
- Ulee balang : Ulèëbalang is the head of government in the Aceh sultanate who leads an area or sagoë, namely a district-level area in the current Indonesian government structure. Ulèëbalang office holders are titled Teuku for men or Cut for women.
- UNMUHA : Universitas Muhammadiyah
- SARA : Suku, Agama, Ras dan Antar Golongan (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Group

	Affiliation), which has become one of the main points of social conflict
NKRI	: Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia
Mabes Polri	: The abbreviation in Indonesian Markas Besar Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia
Kafir	: In Islam, infidel is a term that refers to people who do not believe in the words of Muhammad as the last of the Prophets and Apostles. Kafir based on the creed is divided into two, namely Ahlul Kitab and Musyrik. However, the infidels referred to by the Christian policewomen in this dissertation are intended for those who have no religion.
Reskrim	: The abbreviation in Indonesian for Reserse Kriminal, Criminal Detective
Kapolsek	: The abbreviation in Indonesian for Kepala Kepolisian Sektor, Police Chief
Satpol PP	: The abbreviation in Indonesian Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja, Civil Service Police Unit

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

A. Background

This dissertation discusses the existence of non-Muslim minority groups in Aceh, especially after the implementation of Islamic shari'a. Islamic shari'a, which has gone through a very long journey, has been believed to be the order of life in accordance with the principles of Islamic values for the people of Aceh. Its application is the authority and rights of the government and people of Aceh based on Qanun No. 44 of 1999 on Aceh Privileges, Law No. 18 of 2001 on Special Autonomy, and strengthened by the birth of Law No. 11 of 2006 concerning the Aceh Government.¹

After Islamic shari'a was officially declared by the Governor of Aceh in office at that time, namely Abdullah Puteh, precisely on March 15, 2002 coinciding with 1 Muharram 1423 Hijri, it was affirmed that its implementation only applies to Muslims, and not to other religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity in Aceh.² This is as written in Law No. 18 year 2001, Chapter I, Number 7, which stipulates that the Syar'iyah Court of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province is an institution free from influence of any party within Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province, which applies to adherents of Islam. However, before Islamic shari'a was inaugurated, there was concern for non-Muslims, arguing that Indonesia is a country based on Pancasila and not based on one particular religion, but Aceh, which is part of NKRI, dared to implement Islamic shari'a.

These concerns were evident by the letter sent from the Aceh Church Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Gereja/MPG*), dated January 16, 2002, in which the contents were about concerns and requests for the government to be neutral in paying

¹ Sulaiman, *Studi Syariat Islam Di Aceh* (Banda Aceh: Madani Publisher, 2018).

² Ibid.

attention to minorities, avoiding forms of violence, and colonization by the ruler in the name of religion.³

At first glance, the relationship between the Muslim community in Aceh and non-Muslim groups in general looks harmonious. It seems in line with the results of research in the dissertation written by Mulia, which illustrates that the harmony of these two groups is based on several factors including family, tribal similarities, culture, and customs. He offers five models of relations established in Aceh between the two groups such as cultural adaptation, family conflict resolution, interactive social, conventional, and involvement of all parties in policymaking.⁴

Related to this problem, Fatimah Husein described the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia's New Order (1965-1998). In general, she stated that this relationship deserves a special focus for several reasons. First, Muslims are the majority population in Indonesia, with more than 85% of the total population. Husein added that even though they comprise the majority of the population, they did not initially play an important role in politics, especially during the first 20 years of the Soeharto government. On the contrary, although Christians (Catholics and Protestants) represent only around 9% of the total population, they play an important role, especially in the economic domain. Second, even though Muslim-Christian relations in New Order Period were very harmonious, it was these two groups more than any other religious group who were often involved in tensions and misperceptions. Third, their current relations in present day Indonesia

³ Safrilsyah, *Persepsi Masyarakat Non Muslim Terhadap Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam Di Kotamadya Banda Aceh* (Banda Aceh: Puslit IAIN Ar-Raniry, 2004).

⁴ Muji Mulia, *Relasi Muslim Dan Non-Muslim Dalam Negara Bangsa* (Kajian dari Perspektif Syariat Islam di Aceh), Postgraduate of Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, 2017.

are, to a great extent, more connected to various policies and regulations than in the past.⁵

Indeed, in some cases the facts show that the implementation of Islamic sharia had an impact and marginalized the existence of non-Muslim groups in Aceh and changed their lives. Some phenomena that generally affect them are the dress code, punishment for non-Muslims, and the establishment of houses of worship. As stated in Qanun No. 4 of 2016, the contents originally regulated the requirements for the establishment of all houses of worship for every religion, but in its application it only applies to non-Muslims.⁶ Other examples include the conflict that occurred in Aceh Singkil⁷ and various experiences by some Christian women in Aceh⁸.

If looking back to the historical-factual time of the Prophet who was a role model for Muslims around the world, we see that non-Muslim minority groups received high attention and respect from the Islamic government.⁹ The Prophet seated Jews and Christians parallel in the context of citizenship among the Muslim majority who was in power at the time.¹⁰ One of the results of Ichwan's research stated otherwise, where Aceh applies the citizenship of the host; it is seen as a "land of shari'a" (*nanggroe syariat*), also as an Islamic land with the majority of Muslims and non-Muslims are considered comparable to "guests". His other findings also prove that it is not only the Acehnese who define themselves against "others", but also the way non-Muslims

⁵ Fatimah Husein, *Muslim-Christian Relations in the New Order Indonesia: The Exclusivist and Inclusivist Muslims' Perspectives*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2005), 27.

⁶ Faradilla Fadlia, "Toleransi Ala Aceh (Intoleransi): Sebuah Analisis Sense of Place Dalam Pendirian Rumah Ibadah Agama Minoritas Di Aceh," *Journal of Political Sphere* 1, No. 1 (2020).

⁷ Al Khanif, "The Paradox of Religious (In) tolerance in Indonesia", *The Jakarta Post*, October 16, 2015, accessed on August 24, 2017.

⁸ Muhammad Ansor, "Being Like Other Faiths: Jilbab and Hybrid Identities of Christian Students in Aceh", *Jurnal Panamas*, Volume. 29, No. 1 (2016), 11-30.

⁹ Muhammad Husain Haekal, *Hayat Muhammad*, trans. Ali Audah, *Sejarah Hidup Muhammad*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya dan Tintamas, 2001), 218.

¹⁰ Budhy Munawar Rahcman, *Argumen Islam Untuk Pluralisme*, (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 2008), 151.

view themselves,¹¹ so it is undeniable that Islamic shari'a has implications for non-Muslims and has the potential to create legal tensions at the regional and even national levels.¹²

Indeed, in this contemporary era, the application of Islamic shari'a in Aceh was proposed by the central government to end the armed separatist insurgency (GAM), even some writings explained that its implementation provides space for non-Muslim groups to be able to coexist with the Muslim majority in Aceh. However, it is undeniable that the application of Islamic shari'a has had an impact on non-Muslim groups in Aceh. Some writings criticized the study of Islamic shari'a and its relation to non-Muslim groups in Aceh. Danial's research found that the *qanun* imposed in Aceh adhered to the principle of personality. On the one hand, the *qanun* only applies to every Muslim in Aceh, but on the other hand it also affects all people living in the Aceh region, including non-Muslim minorities; especially if they commit crimes that are not regulated in the Criminal Code, but are in other regulations outside the Criminal Code, such as *khalwat* and *ikhtilath* acts.¹³

Meanwhile, Basri Siregar said that the implementation of Islamic shari'a in Aceh has caused various difficulties, especially if applied to non-Muslims who live there, likewise for Acehnese who commit violations while outside Aceh, or people other than the people of Aceh who commit violations in Aceh, among various other problems.¹⁴

¹¹ Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Faith, Ethnicity and Liberal Citizenship: Authority, Identity and Religious "Other" in Aceh's Border Areas, *Jurnal Ma'arif* 11, No. 1 (2016).

¹² Moch Nur Ichwan, *The Politic of Shari'Atization: Central Governmental and Regional Discourse of Shari'a Implementation in Aceh'. In Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*, R. Michael Feener and Mark E. Cammack (Eds), (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹³ Danial, "Syari'at Islam Dan Pluralitas Sosial (Studi Tentang Minoritas Non-Muslim Dalam Qanun Syari'at Islam Di Aceh)", *Journal: Analisis* Vol. XII, No. 1 (2012).

¹⁴ Hasnil Basri Siregar, "Lessons Learned from the Implementation of Islamic Shari 'a Criminal Law in Aceh , Indonesia," *Journal of Law and Religion* 24, No. 1 (2008/2009) : 146.

As Anshor explained, the application of Islamic shari'a has an impact on discrimination against Christians such as restrictions on church construction, demands that they respect and adapt to Islamic dress regulations, or restrictions on access to justice for non-Muslims in the public sphere. According to him, it proves that the academic construction of Christian-Muslim relations in Aceh is not as simple as expected. The social context faced by Christians in Aceh has influenced the process of forming their collective identity.¹⁵

Indeed, the application of *qanun* based on the substance of the contents of Law No. 18 of 2001 and other shari'a *qanun* applied in Aceh should only apply to Muslim communities in Aceh. Therefore, non-Muslim communities are not required to follow various legal and regulatory products based on the Islamic shari'a. This was further strengthened by the birth of Law No. 11/2006 on the Government of Aceh. In Chapter XVII Article 126 it is explained:

- (1) Every Muslim in Aceh must obey Islamic shari'a;
- (2) Everyone living in Aceh must respect the application of Islamic shari'a.

Then, in Article 127 it is affirmed:

- (1) The Aceh Government and the district and city governments guarantee freedom, foster harmony, respect religious values espoused by religious communities, and protect fellow religious communities to worship in accordance with their religion;

Based on Article 126 Statutes 1 and 2 and Article 127 Statute 1, it can be understood that Islamic shari'a in Aceh only applies to all adherents of Islam. In addition, Article 127 Statute 1 affirms that the Aceh government, at both the provincial and district/city levels, guarantees freedom, fosters harmony, and respects the religious values believed by the "non-Muslim" minority in carrying out worship in accordance with their respective religions. Although the continuation

¹⁵ Muhammad Anshor, "We Are from the Same Ancestors: Christian-Muslim Relations in Contemporary Aceh Singkil," *AL-ALBAB* 3, no. 1 (2014): 15.

of the contents of Article 129 Statutes 1 and 2 explains that shari'a punishment also affects non-Muslim groups, where it reads:

- (1) In cases of violations committed by two or more people together, one of whom is not Muslim, a non-Muslim may vote and voluntarily submit himself or herself to religious law;
- (2) Any person who is a non-Muslim commits an act of violation that is not stipulated in the Criminal Code or criminal provisions outside the Criminal Code applies to the criminal law.¹⁶

Anshor also mentioned that the position of non-Muslims in Islamic shari'a regulations in Aceh can be seen in Law No. 05/2000 on the application of Islamic shari'a. The law affirms that "other religions outside Islam will be recognized in this region, they may practice the teachings of the religion with their respective followers". The previous paragraph normatively acknowledges the existence of non-Muslims in Aceh. They are respected, protected, and given freedom of worship in accordance with the teachings of their religion.¹⁷ Therefore, referring to previous *qanun*, as well as the position of the non-Muslim minority, being in shari'a territory should not be a problem for them to worry about because they are respected, protected, and given freedom to worship.

But in fact, their existence as second-class citizens is still considered by the people of Aceh, based on the results of research from Ichwan in the previous explanation, by affirming the citizenship of Acehnese as "hosts", while non-Muslims are "guests". So it is in the perspective of minority groups, where they see themselves as others, who must respect the people of Aceh as hosts.¹⁸

¹⁶ Law of the Republik of Indonesia No. 11 of 2006 concerning Aceh Government, (Jakarta: Tamitra Utama, 2006), 82.

¹⁷ Muhammad Ansor, "We Are from the Same Ancestors: Christian-Muslim Relations in Contemporary Aceh Singkil.", 15.

¹⁸ Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Faith, Ethnicity and Illiberal Citizenship: Authority, Identity and Religious 'Others' in Aceh's Border Areas," *Ma'arif* 11, no. 1 (2016).

Similar research by Mulyani that was also written with Ichwan and Salim¹⁹ discussed citizenship in Aceh based on shari'a, as well as ethnoreligious nationalism, and its impact on minority rights in Aceh. Ichwan et al, asserted that Acehnese citizens are divided on the basis of religion or "citizens of the *ummah*" who are considered "hosts" in shari'a land, with full rights, and those of a different religion are viewed as non-citizens and considered guests, with some rights granted by the "hosts".

Ichwan and others also argue that inactive citizenship is a synthesis between 4 political traditions, namely: Islam, ethnicity, Indonesia, and the West. Talking about Islamic and Christian relations, as the researchers found, explains that the context of Aceh is different from other countries such as European countries. There, citizenship is seen as a layered construction that encompasses local, ethnicity, and national, while in the context of Aceh it refers to citizenship based on religious affiliation, where Muslims as first-class citizens (hosts) and non-Muslims as second-class citizens (guests).²⁰

Criticizing the results of Abdullah's research, which states that religion is a symbolic world that affirms the identity of the group that can strengthen the sense of community or solidarity between fellow members of society with the same understanding, religion is the basis of social grouping, in which the members gathered should be able to cooperate.²¹

Regarding religious issues and Christian-Islamic relations in Aceh, several other impacts are also felt by non-Muslim minority groups such as Ansor who conducted research on the experiences of Christian female teachers in public schools in Aceh.²² He highlighted

¹⁹ Eka Sri Mulyani, Arskal Salim, Moch Nur Ichwan, "Islam and Dormant Citizenship: Soft Religious Ethno-Nationalism and Minorities in Aceh, Indonesia", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 2020, 1–26.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Irwan Abdullah, *The Muslim Businessmen of Jatinom: Religious reform and economic modernization in a Central Javanese town*, (AMSTERDAM: UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM, 1994).

²² Muhammad Ansor and Cut Meutia, "Jilbab Dan Reproduksi Identitas Perempuan Kristen," *Kawistara* 6, No. 2 (2016).

the school's public space as an arena for power struggles between Muslims and the Christian women minority. His writings illustrate that the application of Islamic shari'a encourages the emergence of Christian women who wear a hijab. His study gave birth to the notion of a "hybrid identity". This theory was born from the results of complex negotiations among the identities as female teachers, adherents of Christianity, and also Acehnese. She asserted that the phenomenon of Christian women wearing a hijab is not a true identity, but a creative strategy for some Christian women in Aceh.

From the school arena, Ansor further explored a similar study in a wider field, namely at one of the campuses in Aceh. He talked about the experience of negotiating the identity of veiled Christian students. The focus of his study analyzed the formation of a third space and hybrid identity. The results of his research showed that the campus public space became an arena of unbalanced power contestation between Muslim and Christian female students, so that there was a hybrid cultural identity of veiled Christian students. Just like his previous studies, a hybrid cultural identity was born from the results of complicated negotiations between identity as students, Christians, and Acehnese citizens.²³

Acehnese people's stereotypes toward non-Muslim minority groups is not only experienced by Christians, but also by Muslims themselves who try to enter the non-Muslim public area, as happened a few years ago, as when one of the lecturers at one of the universities in Banda Aceh brought her students to compare the concept of gender between men and women in two religions, Islam and Christian, and the study was delivered by one of the pastors. It turned out that this reaped negative perceptions from most Acehnese people who judged that there was a veiled agenda behind the delivery of her lecture material, moreover since the place was in a church. This incident shocked the people of Aceh. Much criticism and curses were aimed at the lecturer. Meanwhile, one of the online media reporters at that time

²³ "Muhammad Ansor, 'Being Like Other Faiths: Hijab and Hybrid Identities in Christian Students in Aceh', *Panamas Journal*, Volume. 29, No. 1 (2016), 11-30.," *Jurnal Panamas* 29, No. 1 (2016): 11–30.

assessed that the public did not see the context as a whole and did not understand that this was related to academic activities and ordinary lectures. The community considered that the lecturer's actions were far from Islamic values and Acehese local wisdom.²⁴ Even though the problem was solved by the academic community of the campus where the lecturer carried out her duties, the event traumatized her, as well as her family, because almost every day she experienced intimidation and threats from various parties in Aceh. The lecturer was also given a sanction by the campus where she worked because the campus also received threats and felt terror; if the lecturer was still in the campus area, they would carry out mass demonstrations. Finally, she was suspended from teaching for a certain amount of time.

A picture of the treatment received by non-Muslim minority groups during the implementation of Islamic shari'a can be seen from some of the phenomena above. In general, the studies only highlight Islam and Christian relations in civil society, such as civic identity in the study by Ichwan et al of ethnoreligious nationalism, as impacting non-Muslim minority groups. The relationship of Christian women, both the scope of schools and colleges, does not touch at all on the scope of police institutions. Therefore, departing from this academic anxiety, further research was carried out to complement the shortcomings of previous studies of non-Muslim minority groups, and this time especially those in police institutions.

In general, all policewomen in Aceh wear hijabs as a part of their uniform. Regarding the uniforms for Indonesian policewoman, they are regulated in the Decree of the Police Chief (SK) No Pol: Skep / 702 / IX / 2005. Indeed, the contents of the decree do not explicitly prohibit or require a hijab, however, when working to serve the community, in fact Muslim policewomen often wear hijabs as a part of their uniforms. One exception is in the field of investigation and intelligence where they are not required to wear uniforms, so they are allowed to dress freely with or without a hijab. In connection with the uniforms with hijabs in the police environment, there were still pros

²⁴ BBC News Indonesia, "Kontroversi Dosen di Aceh yang Mengajak Mahasiswi Kuliah di Gereja", 8 January 2015, accessed on 29 February 2020.

and cons from the community because at that time, the National Police did not have special rules for hijabs for policewomen, except in Aceh Province.²⁵

Conducting research at police institutions in Aceh is not easy, not only because it is one of the law enforcement institutions in Aceh, but this institution is also strictly guarded because Aceh has been colored by the atmosphere of conflict. All rules must be obeyed by every visitor, but because of great curiosity, a search was carried out on the traces of non-Muslim minority groups there, despite having to go through a complicated process. On the first day of arriving at the research site, it was seen that the police officers, both *Polwan* (policewomen) and *Polki* (policemen), as the members often called it, as well as the officers of the State Civil Servants (ASN), were ready to carry out the morning ceremony. Suddenly there was a sound resembling a trumpet as a signal of the start of the morning ceremony. The commander of the ceremony took place and before it was carried out, the policemen were instructed by the commander to recite remembrance (*dhikr*) and prayers (*du'a*). All members and commanders chanted the remembrance with *lafaz subhaanallah, walhamdulillah, walaa ilaaha illallah wallahu akbar*. All participated in the recitation without exception and the police officers and ASN members who were women were all seen wearing hijabs with their uniforms. There is nothing unusual about the phenomenon; everything looked ordinary and went according to the rules until the ceremony was over. Unexpectedly it turned out that, in addition to Muslim personnel, there were also non-Muslim personnel who filled the field. At the time the observation was made and my mobile phone camera was ready to capture the moment, the officers on guard prohibited me from taking a picture on the grounds that I must first get permission from the Public Relations Department (*Humas*) and I did not yet have the documentation. In accordance with the direction of the police officers on guard, the initial research was continued by interviewing

²⁵ Dian Maharani, "Polri Kaji Ulang Penggunaan Jilbab Bagi Polwan," *Kompas.Com.*, 2019.

one of the officials who usually accepted students who conduct research, namely Kompol RP.²⁶

RP was very cooperative with this research and our communication went smoothly. From the interview, preliminary data was obtained; the total number of policewomen throughout Aceh in 2018 was 752 people. In greater detail, 742 of them were Muslim and 10 others were non-Muslim. It turned out that of 10 informants, three of them were domiciled in Banda Aceh, and this is the focus of research in this dissertation. Why was Banda Aceh chosen? Was it because it is the central region of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province and also a representation for other regions from all over Aceh? After the information was obtained, RP immediately contacted the intended informants, namely three non-Muslim policewomen and coincidentally, all of them were Christians. The policewomen were in three different work units, namely DLT Polda Aceh, Polsek BTM, and Polsek JR.

After leaving Mapolda Aceh (the Aceh Regional Police Headquarters), the journey continued to the three institutions mentioned. The first day was intended for obtaining a research permit from the three institutions. The first person I met was a beautiful policewoman and still very young, but she was not wearing a uniform. In accordance with the address given, namely at Polsek JR, the welcome at the police station was very familiar, and I was introduced to a young policewoman, Brigadier Kristina (pseudonym), from Papua, but the meeting did not last long, because she was doing service with the community. Finally, a follow-up meeting was agreed to on the next occasion.²⁷

From there the journey continued to Polsek BTM where the next policewoman carried out her duties. As in Polsek JR, in Polsek BTM the officers were also friendly and kind, and permission to meet with the officer named Brigadier Maria (pseudonym) was given by the

²⁶ Kompol RP is Kasubbagsipers Ro SDM Polda Aceh, July 04, 2019, at Mapolda Aceh.

²⁷ The results of the first observation and interview with policewoman Brigadier Kristina at Polsek JR Banda Aceh, July 17, 2019.

picket officer. This policewoman was also young, complete with her uniform and hijab, and it turned out that she was also a student at the Muhammadiyah University of Banda Aceh. The first day's meeting was also brief, because Maria had to go to the field for a meeting with the people of the BTM subdistrict, because she worked in the Kamtibmas field. We agreed to a meeting at another time, as well.²⁸

From there the search continued to DLT Polda Aceh; policewoman Brigadier Elizabeth (pseudonym) was introduced by an officer. Unlike her two colleagues that I had previously met, Elizabeth was a little quiet and seemed to keep to herself. She showed a slightly less friendly attitude, likely because she did not know the intention and purpose of the researcher. Although she looked stiff, she was still receptive to the invitation to communicate. After getting to know each other and communicating, the atmosphere also changed and melted, but this meeting also did not last long because she had to go to the field to conduct vehicle raids. Elizabeth was also a beautiful and energetic policewoman; her distinctive Batak accent was also quite noticeable when she spoke and a follow-up meeting was also agreed to for another time.²⁹ The distance of the three institutions is close, making it easy for me to conduct initial surveys and observations. Before moving on from each of their three work units, one question was asked about the hijab and the recitation of remembrance and prayers (*du'a*). Each policewoman had experiences with both phenomena. Other conditions were also recognized; special worship rooms for them to carry out spiritual guidance were not provided.³⁰

After a brief introduction and conversation, they returned to carry out their duties. From the aforementioned phenomenon, one assumption arises, that the implementation of Islamic shari'a has implications for the rights of non-Muslim minorities who are not only

²⁸ The results of the first observation and interview with policewoman Brigadier Maria at Polsek BTM Banda Aceh, July 17, 2019.

²⁹ The results of the first observation and interview with Policewoman Brigadier Elizabeth at DLT Polda Aceh, Banda Aceh, July 17, 2019.

³⁰ Interviews with Brigadier Elizabeth, Brigadier Kristina, and Brigadier Maria in the three institutions of each informant on July 17, 2019

among civil society, but also among those in police institutions, because it seems to have suppressed freedom of expression in displaying their identities in the public space, one of which is wearing a hijab as a part of their uniform. Another phenomenon was shown by the three non-Muslim Policewomen through the recitation of remembrance (*dhikr*) and prayer (*du'a*) when carrying out the morning ceremony, which was characteristic for Muslim police officers, but had an impact on other personnel who were non-Muslims. Another fact that was witnessed based on observations and interviews with the three was that the worship facilities for them to carry out spiritual guidance on every Thursday were still very limited; however it could be realized if their commander happened to also be Christian. They seemed to be required to be a person of "another religion" by wearing a uniform with a hijab and reciting remembrance and prayer in a "forced" manner. This is what will be tested, whether the social fact is a rule that is applied thoroughly to all personnel in the police institution or if they are otherwise given the freedom of choice to follow it or not.

B. Research Question and Purpose

Based on the problems mentioned above, there are three research questions to answer, namely:

1. How do the three Christian policewomen experience or respond to the application of Islamic shari'a in Aceh?
2. What are the challenges faced by the three Christian policewomen living and working in Aceh?
3. To what extent are the three Christian policewomen able to adapt to the social and religious culture in Aceh and what strategy is deployed by the three Christian policewomen to cope with the challenges?

C. Objectives and Significances of the Study

1. Objectives of the Study

- a. By knowing the responses of the Christian policewomen working and living in Aceh through in-depth observation

and interviews, it allows us to better understand the various difficulties and obstacles they face.

- b. By knowing these challenges, it allows us to know the existence and the treatment they receive while living with the Muslim community in Aceh, as well as the strategies they used to survive in Aceh.
- c. After exploring the ways they adapt to the social and religious culture in Aceh, as well as the adaptation strategies they perform in coping with the challenges of the Muslim societies, it will add a new understanding of whether the situation can affect their own identity and faith in their religion.

2. Significances of the Study

As explained in the objectives of study above, there are two main considerations that contribute to this study.

First, theoretically, Islamic shari'a issues become something interesting to study, especially in relation to minority groups, either from the perspective of sociology, anthropology, politics or so on, both locally and internationally. The study of minorities coexisting with the majority group is a very unique thing to look at from different angles. Among the subjects at the center of the study were three Christian policewomen who served in Aceh and their challenges and experiences, including the uniforms they wore while on duty, the recitation of remembrance and prayer during the daily ceremony, as well as the strategies they built to stay afloat or survive in shari'a areas, were closely examined. The results of this study are expected to contribute to society at large, as well as within the scope of researchers and academics, especially adding new references to the existence of non-Muslim minority groups in police institutions, which other researchers have never done before.

Second, empirically (social reality), this study will get to know more closely the non-Muslim minority groups in the police institutions, namely the three Christian policewomen, through in-depth observation and interviews that reveal their experiences living

in shari'a areas. Minority groups often come under pressure from the majority group, not only in treatment, but also in regulation. The study will also analyze the perceptions of various groups regarding the application of Islamic shari'a in Aceh and the impact on non-Muslim minority groups in the Aceh region, as well as revealing whether intolerant practices occur in police institutions. The study is also expected to provide contributions and effective solutions to various problems of non-Muslim minorities, particularly in police institutions.

D. Literature Review

Literature related to Islamic Shari'a and non-Muslim minority issues in Aceh, in general, has been written by many researchers with different perspectives and with various findings, among which some authors argue that the claims of shari'a phenomenon are motivated by various factors, one of which is political factors politicized by Muslim alliances. Therefore, it is necessary to re-analyze the identity of Islamic shari'a and its politics by the Muslim community in Aceh. Another argument also asserts that the provincial government tends to emphasize symbolic religious issues such as Islamic dress codes and the use of Arabic signs and letters, whereas it is not the substance of Islamic shari'a such as justice and prosperity for all people. When associated with contemporary society in the application of Islamic shari'a, it can be read as a project of future social transformation – not as a series of reactive steps to see the 'crisis of modernity' and/or the political machinations of the elites competing for control of the state.

Researchers who concentrate on studying Islamic shari'a with various perspectives include Salim³¹, Bustamam-Ahmad,³² and Feener.³³

Another work by Ichwan with Sri Mulyani describes the Chinese diasporic community after the conflict in Aceh. It is told that during the 17th century in the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda, they arrived in Aceh, spread and settled in Aceh in the areas of Stui, Peunayong, and Lampulo. The presence in Banda Aceh of Chinese ethnic groups who were predominantly Buddhists had goals, one of which was to strengthen business capital, all of which would not be obtained except with their good attitude. Their commitment to maintaining their religious and cultural identity during their stay in Aceh and after the implementation of Islamic shari'a gradually changed and became more flexible than before, for example being able to accept people from other cultural and religious identities as their partners. The findings from the research of Ichwan, Mulyani et al explained that one strategy for the Chinese diaspora in Banda Aceh to adjust to other groups in Aceh, especially to the Muslim majority, was through their ethnic-based organizations, one of which was incorporated in Hakka. Hakka's organization later became a social organization representing all Chinese ethnic groups in Aceh.³⁴

Another work related to non-Muslim minorities was written by Danial,³⁵ in which he explained that *qanun* in Islamic shari'a as

³¹ Arskal Salim, "Shari'a from Below' in Aceh (1930s–1960s): Islamic Identity and the Right to Self-Determination with Comparative Reference to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Vol. 32, No. 92, (March 2004): 80," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, No. 92 (2004): 80.

³² Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad, "The Application Of Islamic Law In Indonesia: The Case Study in Aceh".135

³³ R. Michael Feener, "Social Engineering through Shari'a: Islamic Law and State-Directed Da'wa in Contemporary Aceh," *Islamic Law and Society* 19, No. 3 (2012): 275–311, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156851911X612581>.

³⁴ Eka Srimulyani, Moch. Nur Ichwan, et al, "Conflict Aceh, Socio-Cultural Identities and Social Relations with the Acehnese Muslim Majority", *Al-Jāmi' Ah* 56, No. 2 (2018).

³⁵ Danial, 'Shari'at Islam and Social Plurality (Study of Non-Muslim Minorities in Qanun Shari'at Islam In Aceh)', *Journal: Analysis*, Volume XII, Number 1, (June 2012)."

applied in Aceh adheres to the principle of artificial personality, where on the one hand it only applies to every Muslim living in Aceh, namely the principle of personality, but it also has an impact on non-Muslim minorities living in the Aceh region with territorial principles, especially if they commit crimes that are not regulated in the Criminal Code and other regulations outside the Criminal Code, for example *khalwat* and *ikhtilath*. The solution he offered was that the *qanun* making-process and the implementation of Islamic shari'a in Aceh need to take several steps, including the equality of a common platform that upholds moral conceptions of justice, humanity, and public interest or *maslahah*.

In addition, there is some literature both in the form of dissertations and journals related to Christian women and veiled clothes in Aceh which is held as a reference, such as the work of Anzor. In his dissertation,³⁶ he revealed that the public sphere is framed with religious values and identities through the formalization of Islamic shari'a and its implications for the agency of Christian women as a minority in Aceh. According to him, the existence of dominative Islamic public spaces is always accompanied by the emergence of counterpublic spheres. As a result of his research on the response to the dominance of the hijab culture and Islamic fashion, he found that Christian women's agencies are in a critical condition, even though they are independent and not easily subdued by public spaces driven by the religious values and identity of the majority.

Besides that, other works from Anzor are in the form of journals including writings that explain the similarities and differences in the response of Christian and Muslim girls in Langsa regarding clothing raids, but these raids were not only aimed at Muslims, but also at non-Muslims. The study used Bourdieu's habitus concept and Scott's hidden transcript. The results of his research showed that behind the fragmentation of religion, Muslim and Christian girls as agencies, it

³⁶ Muhammad Anzor, *Christian Women's Agency in Aceh Islamic Public Space*, (Dissertation), Concentration of Islamic Politics doctoral program in Islamic Studies UIN Graduate School Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2019.

turned out that they agreed in expressing symbolic resistance to clothing regulations.³⁷

In another work,³⁸ he highlighted the overview of Islamic shari'a in Aceh in the sociopolitical context of *Fiqh* regulation and the position of non-Muslims in it, as well as Muslim-Christian relations in Singkil in this contemporary era. He used Erving Goffman's dramaturgy theory and put forward several reasons why he chose Singkil as a study subject. First, although Singkil was not the region with the largest population, in recent years the relationship between the two religions had become the most dynamic. Second, the sealing of more than 20 Churches in mid-2012 became a National discussion on Islamic-Christian relations. Third, Ansor judged that their everyday relationship differed from the way it looked on the outside and what happened behind it. He noticed that there was possibly sentiment and suspicion from the Muslim elite towards Christians in Singkil.³⁹

The results showed that most Muslims in Singkil were trying to draw a line of collective identity between Muslims and Christians, but on the other hand, rural communities were struggling to build harmonious relations between the two different religious communities. Goffman's dramaturgy theory talks about the front stage and the back stage. The front is a formal state that determines the situation of the people watching it, where according to Goffman, people generally display an image of their own. Meanwhile, backstage is an informal fact. Goffman added that stage performances are often not exactly the reality. In the case of Muslim-Christian relations in Singkil, the appearance on the front stage is seen from the perspectives of Muslims towards Christians in Islamic jurisprudence, including their attitudes that advocate the restraint of Christians. The reality can

³⁷ Muhammad Ansor, "Kita kan Beda!" Persamaan Remaja Perempuan Muslim dan Kristen di Langsa, Aceh", *Jurnal Multikultural dan Multireligius*, Vo. 13, No. 2, (2014).

³⁸ Muhammad Ansor, "We Are from the Same Ancestors: Christian-Muslim Relations in Contemporary Aceh Singkil," *Al ALBAB-Borneo Journal of Religious Studies (BJRS)* Volume 3, Number 1, (2014).

³⁹ Ibid.

actually be seen backstage, where there is a daily dynamic between the two communities.⁴⁰

Furthermore, Anshor's other work⁴¹ emphasized the application of Islamic shari'a in Aceh, particularly analyzing resistance to women's clothing regulations in Langsa which triggered various responses. Based on the results of his study, 66.1 percent of the 305 respondents interviewed said that women should cover their heads and dress loosely; 12.1 percent said they would allow tight clothing for a woman as long as she covered her head; and 12.2 percent of respondents stated that women are free to determine their own style about whether they want to cover their heads or not. However, 80 percent of respondents agreed with the dress control act carried out by WH (Wilayatul Hisbah) members. The data showed that although the majority of respondents in Langsa agreed with the rules on women's clothing, the hidden resistance group quantitatively increased significantly. His observations and interviews focused on Zawiyah Cot Kala State Islamic College (STAIN, Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri), Masjid Agung, Lapangan Merdeka, and Jalan Lingkar Langsa.

In addition, another writing from Ansor and his colleagues Amri and Fahmi⁴² described the main practical issues affecting the lives of Christians in a Muslim-majority context. Their writing is based on ethnographic studies conducted in 2013-2014 in Langsa and Aceh Singkil. The focus of his writing was to investigate the relationship between Christians as the minority and Muslims as the majority who implement Islamic shari'a. They described the experience of Christians in Aceh in Muslim-Christian relations in Langsa and Aceh Singkil by highlighting two differences in the cases. In Langsa, they showed the involvement of Christian women that was associated with

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Muhammad Ansor, "Being a Woman In The Land of Shari'a: Politics of the Female Body, Piety and Resistance in Langsa," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* Vol. 52, No. 1 (2014): 59-83.

⁴² Muhammad Ansor, et al, "Under the Shadow of Shari'a: Christian Muslim Relations from the Acehnese Christian Experience.," *Komunitas* 8, No. 1 (2016): 125-34.

the phenomenon of wearing a hijab. Women should cover their heads in public spaces. In Aceh Singkil they explored Christian gatherings related to the sealing of places of worship that occurred in 2012. The cases were analyzed based on research questions posed in the introduction on how the application of Islamic shari'a affected the establishment of the religious experience of Christian minorities in both regions. The results of their research showed that the discrimination faced by non-Muslims in Langsa and Aceh Singkil was generally triggered by low religious tolerance, especially intolerance by the majority towards minorities. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the insight of tolerance and awareness of diversity in the Muslim community in Aceh, whether through education at universities, schools, or dormitories (boarding schools/*pesantren*).

What characterizes this dissertation from those authors who previously focused on minorities is that they only aimed at civil society and did not touch on the police environment. Therefore, this research is important because it seeks to reveal the voices of minorities in police institutions, where there has been no similar study, as well as attempting to prove whether it is true that there have been allegations of 'intolerant' practices there against minority groups, especially the three Christian policewomen in Aceh. Another reason why this study is important is that although this is not the only study of minorities, it is unique that this phenomenon only exists in the Aceh region that implements Islamic shari'a.

This study focuses more on the role of minority women in police institutions. It is a very interesting thing when researching about the role of "women", to borrow the term Abdullah, which states that the burden of being a woman in the modern era has become much heavier than before because various content of values must be accommodated by women: the burden of the concepts of "dual role", "multi-role", and "the role of women in development".⁴³ Besides wanting to complement the shortcomings of previous studies, this paper also wants to reveal the difficulties experienced by non-Muslim women

⁴³ Irwan Abdullah, *Sex, Gender, and Reproduction of Power*, (Yogyakarta: Tarawang Press, 2001), 5,

who work as police in the shari'a dimension. Furthermore, this research applies the IPARTheory of (Interpersonal Acceptance and Rejection) by Ronald P. Rohner and Construction of Identity by Manuel Castell.

E. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework in this dissertation looks at non-Muslim minority groups, specifically Muslim-Christian relations in police institutions in Aceh, particularly in Banda Aceh. Based on data that has been obtained from Mapolda Aceh, the three informants are Christians (2 Catholics and 1 Protestant).⁴⁴ By taking three samples of non-Muslim police in the Banda Aceh region, there are two theoretical frameworks that will be outlined.

1. Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection Theory (IPARTheory), Ronald P. Rohner

Next is the modification of a theory initiated by Rohner, namely IPARTheory. IPARTheory, or Interpersonal acceptance-rejection, can be viewed and studied from one of two perspectives. One is that acceptance-rejection is subjectively felt or experienced by individuals (phenomenological perspective) and the other is that it can be learned by outside observers (behavioral perspective). Usually, but not always, the two perspectives lead to similar conclusions. IPARTheory research suggests, however, that if the conclusions differ widely, one should generally trust information derived from a phenomenological perspective. To understand why denial has such a consistent effect whether subjective or objective, everywhere, one must understand its symbolic nature certainly in the context of ethnic and cross-cultural study. The researchers should understand society's symbolic, behavior-based cultural interpretations if they are to fully understand

⁴⁴ The results of the interview with Sul, Head of Renmin Ro SDM Aceh Regional Police, August 6, 2018, at Mapolda Aceh.

the process of acceptance and rejection in such behavior. Everyone varies their expression in accepting or rejecting something.⁴⁵

IPARTheory's emphasis on mental activity, including the mental representations we expect, is that certain socio-cognitive abilities enable the subjects and objects to cope with perceived resistance more effectively than others. These abilities include a distinct sense of self, a sense of self-determination, and a capacity for depersonalization. More specifically, the coping subtheory expects the capacity to cope with resistance to be enhanced to the degree that they have distinctly different feelings of self. The concept of a differentiated sense of self (or self-differentiation) refers to the IPARTheory of the individual's ability to (a) understand the feelings of others, thoughts, and motivations of a person, and – most importantly – (b) clearly distinguish that disposition from feelings, thoughts, and their own motivations, particularly in emotionally close relationships. Consequently, self-differentiation involves the ability to maintain psychological individuality in the context of emotionally intense relationships. Another attribute in theory, to help people cope more effectively with perceived resistance, is self-determination. Self-determined individuals believe they can exert at least some control over what happens to them through their own personal efforts or attributes. Others may feel like pawns: They feel as if something happened to them by fate, chance, luck, or some other powerful person. Individuals with a sense of self-determination are believed in IPARTheory to have internal psychological resources to minimize some of the consequences of perceived rejection.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Ronald P. Rohner, "Introduction to Interpersonal Acceptance-Rejection Theory (IPARTheory) and Evidence," *Culture and Human Development: Infancy, Childhood and Adolescence*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2021, 4.

⁴⁶ Ibid

2. Construction of Identity, Manuel Castell

To see the formation of the identities of the three police officers, the theory initiated by Manuel Castell is also used.⁴⁷ According to him, the construction of social identity always occurs in a context characterized by power relations. Castell distinguishes the three forms and origins of the formation of the identities as legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity.⁴⁸

In Castell's view, each type of identity formation process leads to different results in shaping society. Legitimizing identities produces civil society; that is, a set of organizations and institutions, structured and organized social actors, which reproduce identity (sometimes) through conflicting means and stem from structural dominance.⁴⁹ This identity is introduced by the dominant institutions in a society. They do so to broaden and rationalize their dominance vis-a-vis with social actors. Identity, which is the main characteristic, will form when the dominant institution is rationalized thought in the form of domination. This identity then forms the civil society which consists of institutional elements.

The second type is the identity that leads to the formation of a community of resistance or rejection. It establishes forms of collective resistance against unbearable oppression; usually the identity is determined by several factors such as history, geography or biology, which makes it easier to concentrate the boundaries of resistance, for example, ethnic-based nationalism.⁵⁰ This type of identity is held by actors where, in their position, they are obtained as a result of resistance to the logic of thought by the dominant group. It can also be interpreted as the process of maintaining identity as a form of resistance or, in this case, produced by those who are in a weak position or condition due to the stigma of the dominating party and is usually used more towards the use the politics of identity. From that

⁴⁷ Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity*, (United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 6

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

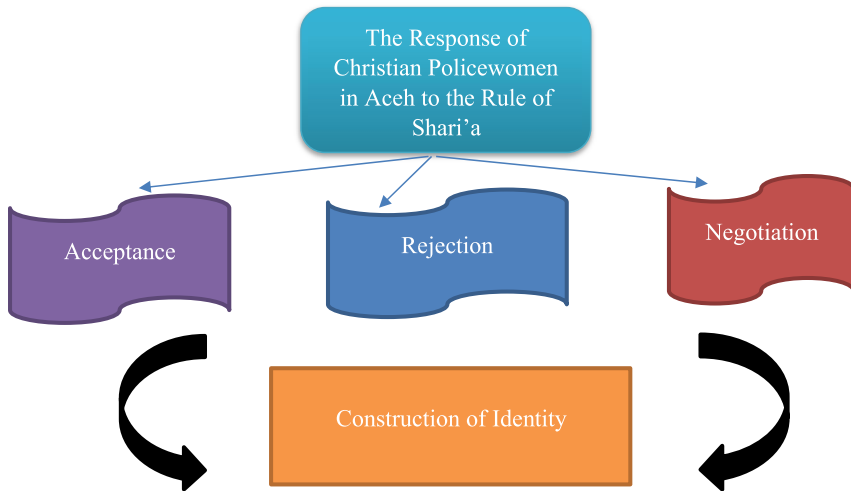
⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

identity stems the formation of a community as through collective resistance to existing pressures. The community can be the basis for the emergence of a strong and solid network. Castells firmly focuses studies in the context of network society on collective identities. This is because in society, a network of individual meanings passes through space and time and is continually spun. In contrast to the sociological approach that defines identity as a role or a series of roles, there has been a shift in the meaning of identity built by Manuel Castells.

The third process is building the project identity. The formation of the project identity is based on different lives, but develops towards the transformation of society (e.g. the liberation of women from the patriarchal culture of men through the realization of their identity). Or, in another perspective, there is an awareness to change identity with religious conversions that initially are godless, anti-family, and materialistic, then finally have trust and brotherhood under the guidance of God's law, whether which is believed by Muslims as 'Allah' or believed by Christians as 'Jesus'.⁵¹ This project of identity is obtained as a result of identity construction that occurs when social actors, through any cultural base, form a new identity that defines their position in society, through their means, trying to find the transformation of all the structures they have. When the actors construct identities and transform into social structures, identity in this case is also related to the position of social groups, especially organizations. Identity groups are also politically significant associations that attract a person because of the togetherness of identification. The group identity also refers to an organized group that has social expectations and creates collective behavior. The group identity also occurs because of the members that participate, group support, and shared identification.

⁵¹ Ibid, 10.

Picture 1.1
Research Scheme



The scheme above indicates that in order to be a member of the non-Muslim minority group in Aceh, particularly as Christian policewomen, they should comply with shari'a rules, even though in application they are in a position to accept, reject or, in between both, acceptance with exceptions. As each minority group should live side by side with a homogeneous Acehnese society with binding shari'a rules, they had to have a strategy in order to survive, working and living with the socio-cultural Acehnese people. Through acceptance and rejection of shari'a rules, including wearing the uniform with a hijab, reciting dhikr and *du'a* during ceremonies, as well as mingling with the Acehnese people in various religious activities, their identities as devout Christians will certainly blur, as all these experiences and challenges they face to live comfortably in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. Both theories are used as an analytical view in this research, to see the formation of their identity after going through various responses or experiences, challenges, and strategies to cope with these challenges.

F. Methods

1. Research Object Selection

The initial location for this research was in Mapolda Aceh, addressed in Jeulingke village, Syiah Kuala District, Banda Aceh. The selection of the research location was carried out with the following considerations: (1) Mapolda Aceh is a Regional Police classified as a type A Regional Police station, which has the most High-Ranking Officers compared to those in other regions. (2) Because Mapolda is the center of all resorts throughout the Aceh region and is located in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province. (3) Mapolda Aceh is the community service center and the center of all police institutions in Aceh, where it has adequate archives related to various information about police institutions and the number of police personnel from all regions of Aceh, including Christian policewomen who are the object of study in this dissertation.

From Mapolda Aceh, information was obtained regarding the number of non-Muslim Policewomen from all over Aceh, which was further limited to 3 Christian policewomen in the Banda Aceh region as the central capital of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province. After receiving preliminary information from Mapolda Aceh, the research continued to the places where the policewomen served, namely DLT Polda Aceh, Polsek BTM, and Polsek JR. All of these locations are located in Banda Aceh region and are considered a representative picture of the entire region of Aceh. This study does not intend to generalize all of the experiences of policewomen in Aceh, especially from non-Muslim minority groups who are Christian, but to find meaning for their individual experiences as informants in this study.

Picture 1.2
The Map of Aceh Province



2. Research Type and Data Type

Research in this dissertation is qualitative research using the life history method. Life story research is considered the most appropriate in this dissertation because the data revealed are in the form of life story experiences in the form of narratives.⁵² The study uses the personal life story of each subject as the primary data for analysis.

With regard to data sources as described earlier, primary and secondary data are used as data sources in this dissertation. Primary data was obtained through in-depth interviews with the three policewomen, as well as other selected informants who were initially purposively determined. After being selected, it rolled away much like a snowball. Meanwhile for the secondary data, all types of literature and documents related to the topic of dissertation discussion were used.

Data collection was done by conducting semi-structural interviews with lenient interview guidelines. The interview guidelines

⁵² Burhan Bungin, *Qualitative Research Data Analysis* (Jakarta: Rajagrafindo, 2010).

covered subjects that included how the application of Islamic shari'a could be a factor affecting the lives of the three Christian policewomen, their social identity as non-Muslims living side by side with the Acehnese Muslim majority, as well as their social interactions with the community, both in the work environment and in the residential environment, and whether the experience could affect their faith in their beliefs. Interviews were also conducted with seniors and colleagues of the policewomen. Interviews were also conducted with other parties such as academics, Kadis Syariat Islam, representatives from the MPU, Sub-KUB field, Catholic religious leaders and nuns, as well as several informants from non-Muslim groups.

3. Research Information Sources

Participants in this study were taken using the *purposive sampling life story* technique, which refers to their life experiences during their stay and work in Aceh. This study established three main participants, namely three Christian policewomen domiciled in Banda Aceh, as representatives of other non-Muslim groups living throughout other Aceh regions. In addition to data enrichment, interviews were also conducted with several other non-Muslim policewomen domiciled outside Banda Aceh.

In 2018, the total number of policewomen from all over Aceh was 752 people. In detail, 742 policewomen were Muslim and 10 others were non-Muslim. All these personnel were scattered throughout the Aceh region. The following will briefly describe the identities of all the policewomen. In this dissertation, the names of the three informants are disguised and the names of other non-Muslim Policewomen are abbreviated with the initials of their real names, in order to maintain confidentiality and ethics in this study:⁵³

1. Ln, Polres Gayo
2. **Maria, Polsek BTM Banda Aceh.**
3. In, Aceh Tenggara
4. Ai, Aceh Barat

⁵³ The results of interview SL, Kasubbag Renmin Ro SDM Polda Aceh; August 06, 2018, at Mapolda Aceh.

5. Rn, Aceh Selatan
6. Jl, Aceh Tenggara
7. Yf, Aceh Tenggara
8. Ag, Aceh Tenggara
9. **Kristina, Polsek JR, Banda Aceh**
10. **Elizabeth, DLT Polda Aceh, Banda Aceh.**

The text in bold represents the subject of research, but the identities of the informants are stored in the documents. Before continuing this research in more depth, interviews were conducted with several non-Muslim policewomen spread throughout the Aceh region. These will be discussed in Chapter III of this dissertation, although some of them were reluctant to comment and some were not even willing to respond at all.

Interviews were also conducted with some non-Muslims, in general, in Banda Aceh and surrounding areas, such as Catholic leaders, nuns, teachers at Sekolah Methodist, and traders in Peunayong. Other supporting data are WhatsApp stories from the informants that were taken as screenshots.

4. Research Stages and Data Collection Techniques

The data collection was carried out by interviewing the three policewomen, direct observations in Mapolda Aceh, and in the work units of the three non-Muslim policewomen mentioned earlier. Interviews were also conducted with seniors and colleagues of the three policewomen.⁵⁴ Extracting and digging up was carried out through life story methods, ethnography, in depth-interviews, and documentation. After the permit was given by Mapolda, all matters related to research and interview processes could be easily carried out with the three policewomen in the three institutions in accordance with the information needed. In-depth interviews were conducted, in addition to with the three non-Muslim policewomen, with their superiors and colleagues, several fields in Mapolda Aceh, Catholic

⁵⁴ The results of observations, as well as the submission of a permit to Mapolda Aceh and Banda Aceh Police, on July 4, 2019.

religious leaders, and competent parties in Islamic shari'a such as the Head of the Islamic Sharia Office (*Kadis Dinas Syariat Islam*), academics, and representative members of MPU.

The length of this research continuously lasted approximately one year after the initial research, yet before the proposal exam was carried out. Meanwhile, for approximately six months togetherness was carried out with the three policewomen and other informants. Interviews were conducted informally and in their spare time without disturbing their respective activities, but were still through guidance and all conversations were recorded via audio-recorder, then transcribed, and then analyzed according to the theme of the research.

To add data sources related to the problem and the focus of this research, photo documents are also attached (even though they are blurred), such as being in a ceremony line wearing a uniform and hijab. All information from informants in the form of words or stories and their reasons became the main data for this qualitative research. Secondary data consists of various articles, journals, books related to the dissertation topic, as well as photos of statuses on WhatsApp. Informant activities that could be obtained from interviews using a recorder are also documents used as authentic information related to the focus of this research.

5. Data Processing and Analysis Techniques

Data processing techniques were carried out to organize the data obtained. Normally, the information collected cannot be directly analyzed, but must first follow several processes to turn from field data into research data, namely correcting, editing, and copying the existing data.⁵⁵ The steps of data analysis in writing this dissertation were: First, all data obtained through observation and interviews was verified and reduced by simplifying it in the form of narratives and schemes so that data reading was easy. Second, the data was categorized to formulate or support a hypothesis or inference. Third, the data was arranged in the form of units, the smallest part that could

⁵⁵ Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, Johnny Saldana, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Method Source Book*, (Sage Publication, 2014).

stand alone regardless of the other, but could be recognized and understood so that it could be used to form patterns. Fourth, each unit was collected into a single data unit then simultaneously verified and triangulated through observation techniques, in-depth interviews and documentation, or sources of all research subjects that ran continuously in the overall time span of data collection and analysis. Fifth, established a configuration of systematic relationships between problem formulation inferences by having a dialogue with various relevant theories so that a systematic and coherent pattern could be built as an answer to the problem formulation awakened through IPARtheory and Manuel Castell's Construction of Identity. Sixth, the theory was then reanalyzed to standardize into a new theory and novelty of this research.⁵⁶

G. Structure

This dissertation consists of 6 chapters. This chapter begins with an introduction, presenting the background of the problem, research questions followed by research objectives and significances, literature review, and theoretical framework. This chapter also presents IPARTheory by looking at the position of the three policewomen in the process of acceptance and rejection that they experienced during the implementation of Islamic shari'a in Aceh; identity construction theory, specifically regarding their freedom to express their identity as a non-Muslim minority group in the public sphere; as well as Manuel Castell's construction of identity theory. Research methods are also discussed in this chapter by displaying life story methods and several stages in the research such as the choice of research objects, types and kinds of research, sources of information, research stages, data collection techniques, and data analysis techniques.

Chapter II describes the picture of Aceh as a shari'a region including a brief description of the history, economy, demographics, and social structure of Acehnese people which includes *ulama*, *ulee*

⁵⁶ Barney G. Glasser and Anselm L. Strauss, *the Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006), 53-80.

balang, and *tuha peut*. It also informs about the culture of the Acehnese, in which it discusses the Acehnese character, culture, and arts to the function of shari'a in Acehnese society.

Chapter III discusses the police in general, their social paradigm, and the life experiences of the Christian policewomen in Aceh, specifically of the three informants selected in this dissertation, namely policewomen Elizabeth, Kristina, and Maria; their biographies, assignments, existence, and association with the people of Aceh.

Chapter IV describes Islamic shari'a as a challenge for the three, which includes Islamic shari'a and their existence as non-Muslims, daily life challenges with the government and police institutions, and also regulations and consequences for the three Christian policewomen.

Chapter V describes the strategy deployed by the three Christian policewomen for surviving in their positions in Aceh, including discussion, raising awareness of diversity for the three Christian policewomen through the attitude of multiculturalism, inclusiveness and tolerance, adapting to cultural issues with the people of Aceh, expressed attitudes of the three Christian policewomen and the strategies they employ, as well as the new theory, Construction of Identity.

Chapter VI contains concluding remarks including research findings, theoretical reflection, and suggestions.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUDING REMARKS

A. Conclusion

Previous chapters discussed the application of Islamic shari'a and its implications for three Christian policewomen in Banda Aceh. The identity they display is basically shaped by social actors who dominate them through either individuals, the institutions where they work, or the social groups in which they live. This dissertation describes several empirical findings about how the three Christian policewomen respond to what they experience in the application of Islamic sharia in Aceh. Indeed, non-Muslim minority groups in Aceh are not required to follow all legal products that apply in Aceh, but in practice, it has had a significant impact on them. As recounted by the three Christian policewomen, who each has a different experience, but receives the same treatment. For instance, they should wear uniforms with hijabs, recite the *zikir* and *du'a* as practiced regularly by Muslim colleagues and ASN in the police institution, and all other religious activities involving adapting culturally to the people of Aceh, attending the *wirid yasin* recitation that is routinely held in the environment where they live, wearing the Ibu Persit uniforms with the headscarf, participating in the celebration of the Prophet's *Maulid* or breaking fasts (*iftar*) together, and so forth. In short, Islamic sharia has given birth to an impact for the three Christian policewomen to become multicultural as associated with Elizabeth, inclusive for Kristina, and tolerant for Maria in the midst of majority diversity within the Muslim society of Aceh.

Secondly, related to the challenges faced by Christian policewomen living and working in Muslim societies, basically the non-Muslim minority groups in Aceh, but especially the three policewomen, have never experienced SARA conflicts, as they have never experienced racial discrimination. Elizabeth, who is of the Batak ethnicity, Kristina from Papua, and Maria, who is also Batak, but born and raised in Aceh. Moreover, the three of them have inconspicuous,

ethnically ambiguous faces, and that makes it very easy for them to mingle with the people of Aceh. However, the challenge they feel is the impact of the implementation of Islamic shari'a that they generally experience in the environment where they live, their offices, and also the Muhammadiyah University where one of them studies. This impact is inseparable from the lack of attention from the institutions where they work, as well as the government, including the public sphere for them to increase their career opportunities, and also inadequate worship facilities. It is easy to feel under pressure because of their small number, as experienced by Elizabeth when labeled *kafir* or infidel by her Muslim colleague, a persuasive conversion to become *muallaf*, notably a satirical comment made in front of Eli to a friend who had just converted to Islam. Likewise, the challenge for Kristina, who has metamorphosed from the majority group in Papua to a minority in Aceh with complete changes. Then Maria who, although she was born in Aceh, was ostracized by her classmates on campus after they realized she was a Christian. She also had to stay away from the mosque area while carrying out her duties as a member of the Kantibmas (Public Health and Safety Department of the Police) because she is Christian.

Third, this dissertation discusses the extent the three Christian policewomen went to adapt to the social and religious life culture in Aceh and the strategies deployed to cope with the challenges. There were some situations they experienced in dealing with various challenges during their lives in Aceh. They accepted various regulations described above to respect the application of Islamic shari'a, although they must obscure their identity as non-Muslims by wearing hijabs with their uniforms both during service and outside working hours, being in the ceremony lines accompanied by the recitation of *zikir* or remembrance and *du'a* with Muslim colleagues, as well as other unwritten conditions such as participating in Muslim religious studies and rituals such as the Prophet's birthday (*Maulid Nabi*), fasting with Muslim colleagues, breaking fasts together, studying on an Islamic campus, and living in an Islamic boarding school environment. These activities are done so that they can still

survive in the shari'a land where they carry out their duties and work. These phenomena have produced a pattern for them; however, they never reveal any resistance in the public sphere and, in their confessions, they declared themselves "comfortable".

Based on a rejection position, the condition of the three policewomen is contrary to the principle. The statement *kafir* addressed to policewoman Elizabeth by her Muslim colleague was rejected by her. She did not accept the remarks on the grounds that she had a religion and was not *kafir*. On another occasion, she also received unpleasant treatment from her co-workers who invited her to become a *muallaf*. Eli spontaneously refused and persisted with the religion she embraced. The attitude of rejection was also shown by Maria through a post on her WA status. Maria stated she wanted to be like her colleagues outside Aceh who wore uniforms without a hijab. The caption very clearly showed her disappointment with the veiled uniform she wore, due to the enactment of Islamic shari'a: "*what can be done, I should be covered with a headscarf, but everything will be beautiful in its time*". Although she still wore the hijab, deep in her heart there was a great desire to display her identity as a Christian.

However, there were some conditions they could negotiate, such as they would like to accept the general dominant ideology, but still make some exceptions in its application that are adjusted to the rules of local culture. The three only accept wearing a hijab when carrying out work in the office or in the dormitory environment during Ibu Persit activities, as well as when participating in Qur'anic study/recitation activities in the local environment, but not when they want to worship at church, even they also refuse the dress code raids as carried out by the WH members.

Although the three were in the position of acceptance of and rejection to the regulation, the experiences of the three non-Muslim policewoman – such as using other religious symbols through uniforms with headscarves, reciting *du'a*, living near Islamic boarding school neighborhoods, studying at Islamic universities, participating in Islamic studies and so on – did not at all erode their faith as Christians. Even though they were not able to express the freedom of

the religion they embraced, it never crossed their minds to convert to become 'muslimah' (Muslim women).

Being Christian policewomen in the area of shari'a has compounded their minority status more firmly and consistent, amidst the challenges of the majority group. In fact, the situation has led them to be more "obedient and pious" to their Christianity. Their compliance is a strategy that puts them in a "safe zone" when they are side by side with the people of Aceh. Basically, seeing from the character of the Acehnese, although they are tough, they deeply respect guests. Minority groups, who are second-class citizens as explained by Ichwan, only receive the non-Muslim minorities if their religion is not disturbed. Even the non-Muslim minority group would like to express their identity like other religions, as shown by the three Christian policewomen who survive living and working in Aceh.

Research Findings

The theory of identity initiated by Manuel Castell when related to the Aceh context reveals that identities can be formed from dominating institutions, yet it becomes identities only if social actors internalize them. However the police institution where they work cannot legitimize their identity, because they only comply with the regulations of wearing a hijab with their uniform, or participating when in the ceremonial line during the recitation of *dhikr* and *du'a* and other Muslim habits, but they do not internalize Islamic religious values within themselves.

However, the three Christian policewomen do not have the authority to refuse and reject various rules imposed on them because of their weak position, they are also in the different work place in which each of them has the experience as a minority group. According to Castell, the resistance of identity occurs in the formation of a collective community so as to form a strong and solid network. Castells focuses his studies in the context of networked societies on collective identity. For the three Christian policewomen, even though there is a rejection of a rule or custom that is contrary to their Christian identity, they do not express resistance collectively in the public

sphere, only passively and individually as shown by policewomen Elizabeth, Kristina, and Maria when they are in the ceremonial line accompanying *zikir* and *du'a*, they just stand there silently.

Furthermore, in the form of the project identity that was initiated by Castell and related to the Aceh context, the identity construction activities that occurred for the three Christian policewomen did not form a new identity. However, the attempt, in essence, just played a pseudo identity by using Islamic religious symbols and practicing customs in an office environment and residence. They did all that to survive their position and to be accepted by the Acehnese people as the Muslim majority, but their beliefs as Christians did not change at all.

Analyzing IPARTheory, acceptance, rejection by Ronald P Rohner, as well as the issues that they could negotiate and related to the context of the three policewomen, acceptance dominates more than the position of rejection and negotiation. There are several reasons and considerations for this acceptance, namely first, the obedience that they experience to respect Islamic law as stated in Article 126 of the UUPA paragraph 2. Second, as a minority group, they cannot outwardly and obviously reject because they are few in number. Third, they have to accept in order to obey their seniors. Fourth, they did not want to be different from their Muslim colleagues, even though sometimes they considered wearing uniforms with headscarves as fashionable and they enjoyed it. And five, they conducted acceptance not to obey the Islamic shari'a as Christians, however as professional policewomen honoring the regulation in the police institution.

Theoretical Reflection

Analyzing the data, and related to the Aceh context such as legitimizing identity, identity can be formed from dominating institutions where someone works. For the three Christian policewomen, the police institution could not form their identity, because they only complied with the rules of shari'a, but they did not internalize it. Furthermore, in the resistance of identity, Castell described that rejection will happen if it is done collectively. In this

research, the informants individually expressed rejection. And related to the project identity, the environment should transform the new identity, but the three Christian policewomen said that they would not convert to Islam, on the contrary, they became more pious to their own faith.

The theoretical finding in this dissertation is that minority groups, especially the three Christian policewomen in Aceh, adopt to the religion-based dominant culture that differs from their identity and beliefs, but at the same time, it turns out that this further strengthens their faith as Christians. The new theory produced here is “reverse construction of identity”.

This theory was born to complement the theory related the construction of identity, not to refuse previous theories, nor the collaboration, assimilation, and derivative from other theories. This theory was produced as the process of negotiation by the Christian policewomen that never changed their identity into a “Muslim woman”. On the one side they should comply with the provision of shari’a, such as the rule of dressing with the hijab in their police women uniforms or as Ibu Persit, and as a student of the Muhammadiyah University, and so forth. However, on another side, they will not convert to Islam. This negotiation gave birth to the new theory reverse construction of identity, namely the phenomenon that they have enacted as a strategy to being in the safety zone as the minority group in the land of shari’a.

B. Suggestion

The existence of non-Muslim minority groups in the police institution obscures their identity as Christians. Although they comply with various written and unwritten rules, in essence the rules have deprived them of their rights as a minority group that should be respected, appreciated, and recognized for their existence in the land of shari’a. To avoid various potential problems regarding Muslim and non-Muslim relations in Aceh, there are several recommendations that are suggested.

First, the police institution should review the uniform rules for non-Muslim policewomen and provide worship facilities for them to carry out *Binroh* (spiritual guidance). Similarly, the government, especially institutions that support Islamic shari'a such as executive, legislative and judicial, need to reformulate Islamic shari'a *qanuns* by involving non-Muslim minority groups from various circles during the formulation and preparation of Islamic shari'a *qanuns* (*taqnin*).

Second, the government should pay attention by providing adequate facilities for worship facilities and special stalls provided to non-Muslim minority groups during *Ramadan*, provided that only non-Muslim groups are allowed to enter and carry out trading activities there. In addition, it should also provide a special institution in addition to FKUB to deal with various issues related to non-Muslim minority groups, including special courts to resolve their various problems.

Third, increase tolerance insights in every Educational Institution, including the opening of public spaces for non-Muslim minority groups in schools, universities, and other institutions that hold competitions without limiting conditions, including for minority children who want to develop their potential and talents in various fields.

Last but not least, minority studies in the police institution have not been studied much. There are still many problems that require resolution through academic studies using various interdisciplinary and scientific approaches. Therefore, further research is needed to expand the horizons of the Acehnese people's thinking regarding Muslim-non-Muslim relations in the police institution, for example with a larger number of respondents or in non-Muslim police groups in the law enforcement agencies in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam.

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