

Education as State Control on Second Space: Sharia Regulation and Millennial Desire on Urban Cafes in Contemporary Bireuen City, Aceh

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Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan menganalisis usaha dominasi *thirdspace* pada kafe milenial urban di Kota Bireuen, Aceh, oleh syariat negara. *Thirdspace* adalah ruang konkrit sebagai aktualitas dari kontestasi pada *second space* oleh masing-masing kelompok. Karena *secondspace* menjadi penentu dominasi *thirdspace*, syariat negara melalui lembaga otoritatif yakni Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja dan Wilayatul Hisbah (Satpol PP & WH) berusaha melakukan tindakan preventif. Penelitian kualitatif ini menggunakan pendekatan antropologi. Peneliti mengumpulkan data dari observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan studi literatur terkait subjek penelitian. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah Thirdspace oleh Edward Soja tentang proses pembentukan *thirdspace* sebagai tempat publik. Fokus penelitian ini adalah Kota Bireuen, sebagai salah satu kota strategis dari sudut pandang perubahan sosial yang cepat, perekonomian yang maju, lokasi geografis yang strategis, dan perkembangan pesat pada tempat publik untuk milenial. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan, syariat negara melalui Satpol PP & WH melakukan pendidikan agama Islam, khususnya pendidikan teologi dan etika Islam secara filosofis kepada milenial dengan mengunjungi banyak sekolah menengah atas, sebagai usaha mendominasi *thirdspace* melalui *second space*, khususnya pada kafe milenial urban di Kota Bireuen.

Kata kunci: ruang ketiga, syariat negara, milenial urban,

Abstract

This article aims to analyze the efforts to dominate thirdspace in urban millennial cafes in Bireuen City, Aceh, by state sharia. Thirdspace is a concrete space as the actuality of contestation in second space by each group. Because second space determines the domination of thirdspace, state sharia through authoritative institutions, namely Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja (Civil Service Police Unit) & Wilayatul Hisbah (Satpol PP&WH) is trying to take preventive action. This qualitative research uses an anthropological approach. Researchers collected data from observation, in-depth interviews, and literature studies related to research subjects. The theory used in this research is Thirdspace by Edward Soja about the process of forming thirdspace as a public place. The focus of this research is Bireuen City, as a strategic city from the point of view of

rapid social change, advanced economy, strategic geographical location, and rapid development of public places for millennials. The research findings show that state sharia through Satpol PP&WH conducts Islamic religious education, especially theology and Islamic ethical philosophy education for millennials by visiting many high schools, as an effort to dominate thirdspace through second space, especially urban millennial cafes in Bireuen City.

Keywords: thirdspace, state sharia, millennial urban,

Introduction

Aceh as the only region in Indonesia that applies regulations on the formalization of religion makes the state have to take care of religious values in shaping citizen discipline, especially in public space (Salim, 2018: 51) In addition to setting regulations on civic practices in public places, the state also burdens itself with taking preventive measures to prevent practices in public spaces that are different from those desired by the state. In this case, there are several aspects handled by the state in forming a space for shariatism, including prosecution and prevention. Through prevention, in Aceh, the state carried out a number of practices such being a ceremonial coach at schools. The main focus of state preventive action through the authority of shariatism by Satpol PP & WH is the young generation.

Basically, millennials, which in this case are the younger generation including the early generation Z and the final generation of millennials, want a free and liberating space as they observe in public spaces outside Aceh and abroad. There, millennials have freedom over their bodies and actions as long as they don't disturb other people. It is the imagination of freedom that fills the millennial's secondspace, as a space for ideas and concepts. However, the actualization in third space is experiencing obstacles with the existence of sharia regulations set by the state. The general public also wants a space that is free and comfortable, but not an area that is continuously controlled by the state (Soja, 2010, pp. 5–7).

Third space, as a concrete actual space, is the actualization of various second space perspectives, namely the image of an ideal space to become an area of contestation, which in this case is between the sharia state, millennials, and the general public. In Aceh, the state has a high pretension to outperform the third space in order to comply with shariatism regulations. However, millennials refuse to comply with sharia regulations because they have a second space full of freedom. The general public, in urban space, sometimes has to negotiate with economic interests. In this case, the aspirations of the general public are

inconsistent. However, in general they want the third space in Aceh to be in line with the first space, namely the Aceh public space before religion becomes a state regulation.

Research on the role of the state in implementing Islamic public space has been carried out by many researchers. Afriani Maifizar researched the Wilayatul Hisbah (WH) strategy in preventing *khalwat* in West Aceh. The research showed that the WH prevented *khalwat* by disseminating regulations through distributing brochures and banners, conducting routine day and night patrols, and building partnerships with the general public (Maifizar, 2022). Research by Afriani Maifizar only discussed preventive measures in one sub-district in West Aceh and did not explore educational content in WH's preventive actions. The research also does not observe civic practices in public space. Furthermore, Sri Roviana, Wening Udasmoro, and Euis Nurlaelawati focused on examining the practice of female citizenship in public space in the area of Shari'aism, namely in Aceh. The research found that after shariatism, women became marginalized in public space (Roviana, Udasmoro, & Nurlaelawati, 2021). But in fact, it is not only women who are marginalized. Especially millennial women, but many citizens in general, especially the millennial generation, are due to sharia regulations. The desire to actualize freedom in thirdspace is experiencing challenges.

Yogi Febriandi and Yaser Amri also researched public space in Aceh. They focused on the marginalization experienced by Christian students in Langsa, Aceh due to the establishment of a sharia public spaces (Febriandi & Amri, 2021). Other research regarding WH's efforts to maintain shariatism was written by Munadi Usman. The research found that efforts to enforce shariatism by the WH in Lhokseumawe, Aceh, were carried out through outreach, enforcement and prosecution (Usman, 2020).

Based on the literature review above, no research has been found that focuses on contestation between groups: between state sharia, millennials, and the general public, in the production of public space, with a focus on urban millennial space in Bireuen City, Aceh. This study uses the Thirdspace theory by Edward Soja. There are two main research focuses. *First*, preventive action as an effort to control the thirdspace through education carried out by the state through Satpol PP & WH in Bireuen City. *Second*, the practice of urban millennial citizenship in cafes in Bireuen City. This article argues that state sharia's preventive actions are an attempt to bring millennials secondspace closer to state sharia secondspace. Because, in the thirdspace, especially the urban millennial cafes in Bireuen

City are spaces that exist based on contestation between millennials, state sharia, and the general public.

Research Method

This qualitative research uses an anthropological approach to obtain completeness of data based on phenomena. Data was collected through observation, in-depth interviews and document review. Data were analyzed using an interpretive approach. The research location is Bireuen City, Aceh. This city was chosen for several reasons. *First*, the addition of millennial spaces, especially urban cafes, is constantly happening. *Second*, Bireuen City is a strategic city, giving rise to rapid social change which is an early marker of social change in Aceh. *Third*, Bireuen City shows the progress of efforts to control public space by the state, through a unique way, namely control over secondspace through education. Observations were carried out using the multisite observation method. Throughout 2022, observations of Bireuen City will be carried out three times. Observations were made at the research location from various perspectives related to the research focus, namely Satpol PP & WH activities in conducting Islamic religious education for millennials in schools and in several urban millennial cafes in Bireuen City.

Interviews were conducted with the management of the urban millennial cafe in Bireuen, the heads of the Satpol PP & WH division, residents of Bireuen City, the millennials who are customers of the urban millennial cafe. This study uses the Thirdspace theory by Edward Soja. Article writing is divided into three stages of the emergence of thirdspace, namely firstspace highlighting how firstspace becomes a concrete space before being re-imagined in secondspace; then secondspace as a container for aspirations, expectations, hopes, conceptions; then thirdspace as a concrete space which is an arena of contestation from secondspace by the residents, millennials, and state sharia.

Research Finding

1. Various Meanings of Aceh: Bireuen as a Trading City on Firstspace

Firstspace is a space practice which is a concrete social practice as an objective phenomenon that can be understood empirically. This space is where a group of people abstract it as a locus to apply second space, namely the idea of representational space which is a subjective space. Firstspace, as an actual space as it is, as explained by Edward Soja, is a neutral space so that it opens opportunities to be filled as a thirdspace (Gren & Soja, 1991: 145) This thinking is identical with Henri Lefebvre who said that empty space should not

exist (Lefebvre, 2009: 210). Tracing Edward Soja's thoughts, in fact firstspace is not a truly neutral space without being filled with spatial formation patterns. However, as a neo-Marxist, the concept of firstspace by Edward Soja must be interpreted as a thesis which of course has undergone formation through previous analysis. Thus, firstspace is a synthesis that must be seen as a (new) thesis. So that later it can be offered an antithesis through a pattern that is conceptualized in secondspace (Sharobeem, 2015: 18). Therefore, in order to truly understand Bireuen City as a firstspace in the context of this research, it is necessary to study the process of its formation into an antithesis so that it can then be interpreted as a thesis from a thirdspace perspective.

Bireuen was originally a sub-district capital city, namely Jeumpa District, North Aceh Regency. Then in 1999, the western part of North Aceh, from the Krueng Mane river to the Batee Iliék river, was made a district, named Bireuen Regency. At first, many people suspected that the new regency would be called Jeumpa Regency, taken from the name of one of the sub-districts there. But apparently not. It turned out that the name Bireuen was chosen as a district. That is the name of the capital of Jeumpa District, the sub-district that previously covered Jeumpa District, Kota Juang District, Kuala District, and Jeumpa District. So, the name of the new district is taken from the name of Bireuen City. To clarify, the focus of this research location is Bireuen City, namely the capital of Bireuen Regency, not Bireuen Regency as a whole.

Bireuen City and its surroundings have an intellectual tradition because the people pay great attention to education. So, when Lhokseumawe City became the capital of North Aceh Regency: which previously covered Lhokseumawe, Bireuen Regency and North Aceh Regency, very many technocrats came from Bireuen City. At that time, very many civil servants, teachers, employees of large companies, went to Lhokseumawe to work. Even some of the residents of Bireuen have settled in Lhokseumawe. Bireuen residents' concern for education has started a long time ago. The first Islamic college in Aceh, Normal Islam Institute was founded there (Alkaf, 2020). The College has produced many modern Muslim intellectuals spread throughout Aceh. Normal Islam Institute has made many contributions to establishing IAIN Ar-Raniry in Banda Aceh. Bireuen has become a Muslim modernist city (Miswari, 2022) Modern Islamic education that teaches religion systematically, Darussa'adah was also established in Bireuen. This educational institution, like the Normal Islam Institute, has created many modern Muslim intelligentsia who have a vital role in developing modern Islam in Aceh. In Bireuen Regency, to prove the high interest in

education there, even though it is only a new district, it already has about nine colleges, such as Al-Muslim University, IAI Al-Muslim, IAI Al-Aziziyah, Kebangsaan Indonesia University, Munawarah Midwifery Academy, Muhammadiyah Nursing Academy, University of Muhammadiyah Mahakarya Aceh, and several other colleges. This number can only be surpassed by Banda Aceh City which is the provincial capital of Aceh.

The progress of Bireuen City is greatly influenced by its strategic position. From many times ago, Bireuen has been a connecting city. Even a few decades ago, in Bireuen there was the most famous mode of transportation that connected between districts in Aceh, namely the Bireuen Express. Bireuen City's strategic position makes the economy grow rapidly. People from many districts shop there. The city of Bireuen is a major center for trade in agricultural and livestock products. The main reason is the strategic position of Bireuen City. So it's not surprising when dozens of urban millennial cafes were built in Bireuen City, almost every day they are always filled with young people. They come from various regions in Aceh. Nonetheless, Bireuen City, as a firstspace, is still interpreted in various ways. Because indeed, firstspace as a space that has the potential to be filled together, is still interpreted differently by each group. Each group has an argumentation base when abstracting the first space to create hopes, desires, concepts, in their respective secondspace (Unwin, 2000: 18) Apart from being a firstspace in the perspective of Thirdspace theory, in a dialectical perspective, Bireuen City is also a thesis which is of course a synthesis of the previous dialectics. Intellectually, in Aceh, including Bireuen City, the actors involved in interpreting space consist of secularists, modernists, and traditionalists.

Modernists interpret Bireuen as a city with the potential to spread modern Islamic teachings in order to respond to the times. Juli District and Peusangan District as a buffer part of Bireuen City have a massive moderate Muslim population. Their moderate religious attitude has been greatly contributed by modern Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Pelajar Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Students, PII). In Peusangan District, there is the Al-Muslim University and the Al-Muslim Institute of Islamic Religion as tertiary institutions which are fostered by the Al-Muslim Foundation, a modern organization where modernist Muslim intelligentsia gather. Recently, the Al-Muslim Foundation has also established the Al-Muslim Modern Islamic Boarding School as a forum for regeneration of moderate Muslims. Muhammadiyah has also established the University of Muhammadiyah Mahakarya Aceh. Before traditionalists appeared to control religion in public spaces, modernists controlled public spaces in urban space. Previously, mosques in Aceh were managed by modernist groups.

Traditionalists interpret the city of Bireuen as the center of santri activity. Traditionalists are based on groups centered on traditional Acehnese Islamic educational institutions called *dayah*. Hierarchically, the traditional religious learning system, starting from the most basic is called *rangkang*, then *bale*, then *meuasah*, then *dayah*, then *dayah manyang*. Recently, Bireuen City, by traditionalists, has been given the title of City of Santri. This claim is based on several arguments, including the existence of Al Madinatuddiniyah Babussalam Blang Bladeh which is located in Jeumpa District. In Peusangan Subdistrict, there is also Dayah Dayah Darul Ulum Tanoh Mirah. However, not many of the Dayah Tanoh Mirah students became religion teachers after graduation. Many of them chose the path of agriculture and trade as a profession. The Dayah Al-Aziziyah MUDI Mesra in Samalanga is currently the biggest dayah in Aceh. This traditional Islamic educational institution largely determines the religious narrative in Aceh. Many alumni from these educational institutions have founded Islamic boarding schools throughout Aceh (Nasution, Miswari, & Sabaruddin, 2019).

Secularists interpret Bireuen as a trading city. The city is very strategic as a trade center, apart from being located in a strategic position, Bireuen has people who have a high fighting spirit at work. Bireuen's good development in the economic field makes the city really ready when it becomes the capital of a district. Secularists are groups that make Islam a foundation of values, not a system. Secularists consist of the general public who make religion an inspiration, not an aspiration. The meaning of secular here means secularism as interpreted by Nurcholish Madjid (Madjid, 2008: 300) not Harvey Cox (Fauzan, 2017: 251).

As a thesis, as a firstspace within the framework of a thirdspace, the city of Bireuen is a space that is willing to be created by various perspectives. In the concept of thirdspace by Edward Soja, firstspace is a space that will be co-created by each group based on each group's imagination expectation, expectation, conception (Meskell-Brocken, 2020: 243–244) Imagination expectation, expectation, conception are in each secondspace. The general public, just like the state and millennials, have an image of Bireuen City, or more specifically, an image of certain public spaces such as a cafe, market, and so on. Bireuen City, unlike Langsa City and Banda Aceh City, does not have public space such as Blang Padang Square in Banda Aceh or Merdeka Square in Langsa City. A monument erected in front of the Regent's Hall is located between two city streets. There, several youths such as activists and young artists have carried out several activities such as book exhibitions, art exhibitions, and demonstrations to advocate for the interests of the people (Interview with

I.M., art worker in Rangkang Sastra Bireuen on April 2, 2022). The image of each social group is actualized in the same space, so that the third space is the actuality of the contestation of expectations, imagination, conceptions, expectations, in the second space of several social groups. Even though an urban millennial cafe is a space for millennials, that space is the actuality of a millennials second space, second space by the general public, and a second space by state sharia.

2. Education of Religious Moral Philosophy: State Sharia Domination on Second Space

Even though the results of the dialectic between millennial expectations and sharia regulations are actualized in public space as a thirdspace, the actual contestation occurs in the second space as a conceptual space. This contestation occurs between millennial expectations and sharia reasoning as sharia regulations. Second Space is a utopian imagination in the form of mental, ideational ideas, displayed, reflected and represented symbolically.

This second space can be identified through an analysis of guide texts that shape imaginations and ideas and thoughts that can be found through in-depth interviews. In the trialektika system by Edward Soja, second space is the space on the mental concepts imagined by various groups. After observing space as the first space, that space is imagined, planned, designed to be implemented as expected (Meskell-Broken, 2020: 243). State sharia wants third space in accordance with the shariatism regulations that have been established in Aceh as part of the autonomy given to the province (Siregar, 2008: 143)

Millennials want thirdspace in accordance with urban public spaces that are friendly to millennial freedom. The general public wants a thirdspace that is orderly, comfortable, an area that supports the economy, while at the same time implementing Islamic values. But in fact, the Islamic values envisioned by the general public cannot be said to be in accordance with the regulations of shariatism that the state shariah wants. Shari'atism that the state wants is a standard product that has been stipulated in regional regulations in Aceh called *qanun*. Those *qanuns* are legal productions that are processed through the domination of Islamic college intelligence. They are a modern group that dominates urban areas. Their interaction with the general public, especially rural communities, is very limited (Ali, 2018). So that the shariatism produced through *qanuns* is very different from the religion that is understood by rural communities. Meanwhile, the religion imagined by the general public is in accordance with the understanding of religion by traditional groups. The traditional group is a representation of rural communities. Rural communities learn religion systematically in the

traditional system. Meanwhile, the religion produced by the modernist group is only in urban locations and is studied more instantly (Nasution & Miswari, 2019).

The understanding of religion by traditional schools is very different from the understanding of religion by modernists. The modernist school does not study religion systematically as experienced by the traditional school. The religious learning system by the modernist school follows the curriculum system as implemented in formal public schools. By the modern system, religion is studied simplistically. Meanwhile, in traditional schools, religion is studied rigidly by the ulamas who have an authoritative and continuous transmission of religious scholar (Nasution & Miswari, 2019: 197). The traditional system applies the concept at the same time as the practice and formation of mentality. While the system of religious learning by modernists only focuses on theoretical knowledge. This is what makes so many Acehnese people, especially rural people, not have a high appreciation for the formalization of Islamic law. Some of them see it as a program of the political elite. Even if there is an appreciation for shariatism, some people are like that, only using the formalization of shari'a as a reference for justifying the interests of something such as the actions of the judges themselves. Rural communities are also very annoyed with the formalization of Islamic law because it seems that it is only to discipline the lower classes of society. Meanwhile, to discipline the middle class society, such as the political and government elite, there is no shariatism regulation for that (Interview with K.M, citizen of Bireuen City at December 1, 2022). The difference between state sharia expectations and rural communities shows the demarcation between traditional and modern schools. Rural society's criticism of shariatism has raised concerns about accommodating traditional groups into institutional institutions dealing with shariatism.

Even though Bireuen City is a district capital, the people around the city, besides following the modernist system, very many follow the traditional system. In this case, thirdspace contestation in millennial urban public space becomes a balanced and dynamic arena of contestation. Thus, state sharia is no longer too focused on prosecution. The state's practice of enforcing shariatism regulations has created public discomfort, especially people who are involved in the urban millennial cafe economy such as cafe entrepreneurs and art workers. When sharia officers such as Satpol PP & WH can control a cafe because of reports of sharia violations, customers abandon the cafe. They become uncomfortable in that cafe.

“If there are reports of violations of sharia, we send spies to check the accuracy of the report. If it is true that there has been a violation of the Sharia, we will contact the managers of the cafes directly. We call to remind customers not to allow sharia

violations. Because there is a mode of business sentiment in the Shari'a budgeting report, we are becoming a focus on preventive.” (Interview with A.M.R, Head Division of Satpol PP & WH Bireuen on April 4, 2022)

In recent years, sharia officers in Bireuen have also begun to pay attention to prevention rather than prosecution for violations of sharia regulations. The preventive action taken is a kind of millennial second space infiltration. The focus on prevention is to minimize the occurrence of violations of Sharia regulations, especially in public spaces such as urban millennial cafes, namely Islamic ethics education. The education is carried out in schools, colleges, villages, and for cafe managers. Islamic religious education, especially Islamic ethics education in schools is carried out by becoming ceremonial coaches at schools by the Satpol-PP & WH Bireuen, counseling in villages, lecture activities in universities, and meetings with cafe managers, especially managers of urban millennial cafes in Bireuen City.

“We have visited forty schools in Bireuen District. We have conducted education in the villages. Each village invited a hundred people, especially the village and hamlet administrators. To cafe managers, we make intense appeals and communications so that there are no sharia violations in the cafes they manage.” (Interview with A.M.R, Head Division of Satpol PP & WH Bireuen on December 2, 2022)

Preventive action by state sharia through Islamic religious education, especially Islamic ethics, is an attempt to transform the second space as desired by the state. In this way, it is hoped that Secondspace by millennials can become more in line with the secondspace by state sharia Secondspace what state sharia wants is as stipulated in sharia regulations. The main references applied by the shariatism officers in Bireuen are “Peraturan Daerah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh Nomor 5 Tahun 2000 tentang Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam” (Regional Regulation of the Special Region of Aceh Province Number 5 of 2000 concerning Implementation of Islamic Sharia, hereinafter referred to as Perda Syariat), “Qanun Aceh Nomor 11 tahun 2002 Tentang Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam” (Aceh Qanun Number 11 of 2002 concerning Implementation of Islamic Sharia, hereinafter referred to as Qanun Syariat) and “Qanun Aceh Nomor 6 Tahun 2014 Tentang Hukum Jinayat (Aceh Qanun Number 6 Of 2014 Concerning Jinayat Law, hereinafter referred to as Qanun Jinayat).

Perda Aceh, discusses ethical philosophy in Islam or is called *akhlak karīmah*. Perda Aceh ordered the implementation of Islamic law in several dimensions, especially morals. Instructed to apply ethical life rules in life, prohibit bad behavior, maintain and adhere to the values of decency, decency and propriety in social life, and carry out kindness (*ma'ruf*) and prevent bad things from happening (*munkar*). It is a phrase close to Muslim modernism. So that it becomes one of the proofs that the formalization of Islamic law is very much

dominated by Muslim modernists in its construction. In Perda Aceh, it is also instructed to create an atmosphere of Islamic brotherhood in every aspect of people's lives. It also orders that every Muslim and Muslim woman must dress in accordance with Islamic teachings, adjusting clothing so that it does not violate the etiquette that is adapted to Islamic teachings as understood by the people in Aceh. In Islamic education, dress ethics are recommended to cover the genitals, namely the whole body except for the palms and face and not to wear clothes that shape the curves of the body (Ansor & Meutia, 2016: 157).

Qanun Syariat also states that Islamic law includes Islamic ethics (*akhlak*). The regulation also regulates clothing, which requires every Muslim to dress in Islamic dress, namely clothing that covers the genitals, is not transparent, and does not shape the curves of the body. Qanun Syariat also discusses the concept of theology, namely regarding faith, worship such as the obligation to pray. The desired theological concept is according to Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah. Who is prohibited from intentionally leaving the theology that is considered insulting the religion of Islam. The content of the Qanun Syariat is an important part of the content of Islamic religious education socialized by state sharia. When they became ceremonial supervisors at school, representatives of the Bireuen Satpol-PP&WH taught that *akhlak karimah*. It is very important to be implemented in every dimension of life. Ethics to Allah, namely understanding Islamic theology, ethic to parents and teachers, respect, ethics to friends, namely being polite, and ethics as part of society, such as dress code and social boundaries between men and women, are important directives.

Ethical philosophy in Islam is an important part of Islamic religious education (Mardhiah, Hadiyanto, Amaliyah, & Hakam, 2021: 81). Authoritative references to this theme are referred to the thoughts of classical Islamic scholars such as Abu Hamud Al-Ghazali through *Ihya' 'Ulumuddin*. There it is explained that ethics is the main concern of Islamic teachings so that every Muslim must apply noble ethics (al-Ghazali, 2005: 51). Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali is indeed well known as one of the main figures discussing Islamic ethical philosophy. He also emphasized the importance of using reason to build relationships with God and build relationships with humans (Al-Ghazali, 2005: 50).

Qanun Jinayat is also an important material socialized by the state as a preventive measure in an effort to control millennial scondspace. Qanun jinayat contains prohibitions on drinking alcohol, prohibition on gambling, *khalwat*, namely acts of both men and women in private places without marriage, prohibits *ikhtilaht*, namely acts of affection between men and women without marriage relations in a crowd, prohibition of adultery, namely sexual

relations. between men and women without marital relations, the prohibition of sexual harassment, and many other prohibitions (Bahiej & Amilia, 2017). According to the Satpol PP&WH Bireuen, the prohibitions in the Qanun Jinayat are socialized through education within the framework *akhlak karīmah*. They delivered educational materials regarding the limits of the relationship between men and women without marriage, the dangers of adultery, and other educational content, especially ethics education in Islam and Islamic theology.

Islamic religious education in schools is carried out through advice during ceremonies. To millennials at college, there is no special program except for the Satpol-PP & WH who are lecturers. They explain to millennials that interactions between men and women without marital relations have certain limits (Interview with A.M.R, Head Division of Satpol PP &WH Bireuen on December 2, 2022). This is an effort to prevent the occurrence of urban millennial citizenship practices that the state sharia does not want. The preventive method is an attempt to dominate the millennial second space. But of course millennials have a second space that is different from the will of regulations made by the state.

Second Space, the millennial perspective on urban spaces such as cafes is a space that is free from various rules and regulations. Interviews with eighteen millennials showed that there is a lot of uniformity in aspirations about what millennial urban public places like cafes look like. In general, they want a cafe that is comfortable to chat with their colleagues, has a large parking area, is clean and tidy (Interview with M.N.S, millennial urban cafe customer at December 5, 2022). Millennials want a cafe that has a natural feel like a tropical theme, but has a luxurious impression, minimalist, luxurious design, open design, providing live music, instagramable layout with supportive lighting. Millennials want a strategic cafe situation, but don't feel bothered (Interview with C.T.P. millennial urban cafe customer at December 5, 2022). This situation is strongly supported by millennial cafes located on Jalan Elak, Bireuen City.

Second Space from the perspective of the general public is very compatible with being represented by art worker. They are intellectuals who really exist as representatives of society's culture. B.S. as an artist in Bireuen said that actually there is no need to argue between the application of Islamic law and the desire of millennials to actualize their desires (Interview with B.S., art worker in Bireuen on April 1, 2022). Each has a different space. But what B.S. said could not just happen. Thirdspace is an arena of contestation between interests (Meskell-Brocken, 2020, pp. 243–244). The results of the contestation between aspirations in the thirdspace produce the actuality of the negotiations. Like live music, state sharia doesn't want live music in cafes, but millennials really want it (Interview with N.F.

millennial urban cafe customer at December 5, 2022). The result is that several urban millennial cafes provide live music using only acoustic guitars. I.M., for example, a young art worker in Bireuen City said, “*Di kafe-kafe kan ada yang namanya live music yang akustik, tidak ada yang menggagu. Tapi kalo pake keyboard atau drum elektrik, ga boleh.*” (Interview with N.F. millennial urban cafe customer at December 5, 2022. Mean: In the cafes, live music is provided using an acoustic guitar. Not prohibited. However, providing live music using drums and keyboards is prohibited). The general public does not reject Islamic values taking place in society, including in urban millennial cafes. But they want that the prosecution is not carried out in an excessive way, besides being able to disrupt the people's economy, it can also hinder the actualization of other aspirations such as the desire to get entertainment. The general public only wants a public space that is safe, not noisy, peaceful, and does not disturb public order (Interview with H., Citizen of Bireuen City at April 9, 2022).

3. Thirdspace as a Contest Area: Millennials at Urban Cafes in Bireuen City

The thirdspace which is the core of the theory of triallelectics is the space of the complexity of the space that is inhabited in total as a combination of the space of practice and the space of ideality which is an individual and collective experience along with agency as a reality and an image, as an actuality and virtuality (Soja, 1980: 207). Urban millennials, just like the state and society in general, apply the thirdspace, as a space that is formed, created, and actualized according to the imagination of an imagined second space. In general, throughout Indonesia, spaces as a gathering place for urban millennials are cafes designed according to millennial expectations. The desired cafe is to have the impression of luxury, elegance, minimalism, supportive light, and can be an attractive background for selfies to be published on social media accounts such as Instagram and others (Interview with C.D.H. urban millennial cafe customers at December 5, 2022). This hope is trying to be realized by cafe entrepreneurs. The existence of entrepreneurs as financiers has received serious attention from Marxist scholars regarding the establishment of a thirdspace that can provide financial benefits (Shashi Joshi, 1991: 2563). Investors try their best to understand the millennial secondspace about public space. As did A. and K. in the City of Bireuen. Each explores millennial cafe references in big cities outside Aceh.

The biographical narrative of K. who founded Jemeun Kupi in Cot Bada shows, as a teenager who toured Indonesia using a Vespa, he observed many models of urban millennial spaces. One of the serious concerns is millennial cafes on the island of Java. Of the many

millennial cafes that impressed K., it was a classic themed cafe in Yogyakarta. There provide traditional Javanese food. The cafe's decor also has a feel from the 1970s to 1990s. About two years after touring around Indonesia, K. plans to tour again around Indonesia. But the plan was canceled. Having nothing to do, K. checked the warehouse at his house and found that he had collected many antique items such as black and white televisions with legs, classic motorcycles, antique bottles, old bicycles, and many other antique items. He remembered the typical cafe in Yogyakarta that impressed him (Interview with K., founder and manager of Jameun Kupi in Bireuen at April 5, 2022).

Next to the house, there is an area owned by his parents, K. dared to open a classic cafe. The location of the cafe is unusual because it is set up in a residential area. The cafe is located fifty meters from Dayah Darussa'adah, a boarding school managed by Muslim modernists adhering to a systematic Islamic education system, an education system that is rarely practiced by Muslim modernists. Also, the cafe is located about sixty meters from the *meunasah* (citizen activity center). But K. doesn't have the burden of thinking about customers. He did not spend much capital money for the cafe. He used the soda bottle holder as a table and chairs, as well as the wood he took from trees from his father's garden. The public cafe designed by K. follows state regulations which require cafes to be open, not hidden. The regulation was established by the government as part of the formalization of Islamic law in Aceh. The open public space design founded by K. is in accordance with the wishes of the urban millennial. Urban millennials do not carry out forbidden interactions in cafes. Closed cafes that are preferred for illicit activities are the imagination of teenagers and youths of the past. Urban millennials want to meet friends who have the same frequency, interests, tendencies, as a place to confirm their friendship on social media groups. Jameun Kupi is also in line with the expectations of some millennials because it has a layout with a tropical feel. Cafes with tropical nuances and classic layouts are also very much in demand by millennials. Interviews with eighteen millennials showed that three of them, Jovita A, Lidia P.S, and Adinda, liked comfortable cafes, with trees, natural nuances, chairs and tables made of wood, classic decorations, and open spaces (Interview with J.A., L.P.S, and Ad., and several other cafe customers, at December 4, 2022). These desires are truly found in Jameun Kupi.

As a young entrepreneur, K. really understands how to attract the young customers he targets. He activates various social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Tiktok, Youtube, and others. K. created an official account for his cafe. Not only K, many millennial urban cafes have official accounts on various social media platforms. They publish special

activities in the cafe, announce the latest menu, and post many other things to keep customers remember and intend to come back and attract new visitors. This is a precise strategy because millennials cannot be separated from social media (Ahyar, 2017).

Kupi Khop. said that the open space design he implemented was recognized not because of regulations set by the state sharia, but because designs with classic nuances were indeed more suitable for open spaces. However, observations show that Jameung KUPI does not allow young couples, male and female, to visit together after nine in the evening. The Bireuen Government's appeal, women may not be served in cafes past nine in the evening (Danirandi, 2018). But K. said, the ban was enforced to suit the wishes of the people. In the interview, K. tried to show agency in designing the cafe by saying that the prohibition imposed on young couples late at night was not due to regulatory pressures, but K.'s claim needed to be adjusted to the interview with Satpol PP&WH who said that they routinely coordinate with the cafe managers to follow the sharia regulations set by the state. Public space in Jameun KUPI shows a thirdspace that was formed jointly between the state, millennials, and the general public. Space, as Edward Soja said, is not a mere creation, but is a shared actualization. There is a battle of ideas that make up the space (Soja, 2010: 6). Even though K. claimed that Jeumeun KUPI did not make the regulation of shariatism what the state wanted, actually, Jameun KUPI, as a public space, really involved shariatism that was carried out by the state.

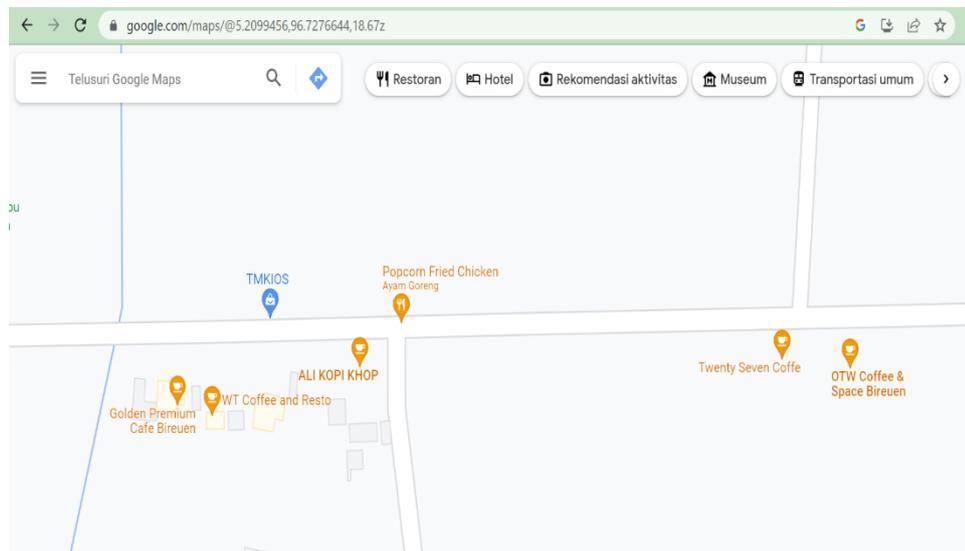
The Satpol PP & WH of Bireuen said that they were intensively communicating with cafe managers in Bireuen. Not only appeals, education in the form of advice is also often conveyed to cafe managers, especially to urban millennial cafe managers. Education through socialization of shariatism during school visits is also a routine agenda for the Satpol PP & WH of Bireuen. The education system has also influenced millennials to act in public space. So, even though millennials have aspirations of greatness in public space, education and pressure to comply with shari'a regulations have helped shape the practice of urban millennial citizenship. In the thirdspace contest at the urban millennial cafe, Satpol PP & WH does not routinely carry out raids on cafes. But they constantly control space by sending spies to monitor millennial citizenship practices. If the spy from Satpol PP & WH reports that there are practices that conflict with Shari'a regulations, the Satpol PP & WH contacts the cafe manager and warns them to always comply with Shari'a regulations. The commemoration also sometimes sends back several articles on regulations, as well as verses from the Qur'an and Hadith related to regulations as part of the educational model. "We have

all the numbers (WhatsApp) of cafe managers in Bireuen.” (Interview with A.M.R, Head Division of Satpol PP &WH Bireuen on April 4, 2022).

Not only K., A., the manager of Ali Kupi Khop, one of about eight millennial cafes on Jalan Elak, Bireuen City, also admits that he often gets educational information in the form of advice to constantly pay attention to Islamic sharia regulations and some religious moral messages, especially those related cafe orderliness such as paying attention to the limits of interaction between men and women so that there is no excessive interaction between men and women who are not bound by marriage, not serving customers at sunset, and several other regulations. Those regulations are the state control system in the urban millennial thirdspace. However, urban millennials have actualized spaces that are different from regulations. They want the interaction between men and women in public space to be unrestricted. Freedom of interaction between men and women in the thirdspace millennial occurs in almost all regions in Indonesia and abroad. The urban millennials in Aceh really understand and support this freedom. According to them, the rules that limit women's space for movement and limit the interaction of men and women, are no longer appropriate to the times. "If a young couple wants to do dirty, they can do it anywhere. In the car, at the house of a lonely couple, outside Aceh, and so on. We go to the cafe to order drinks, chat. Don't want to date, and so on." (Interview with C.D.H. urban millennial cafe customers at December 5, 2022).

At the Rizki Ali Kupi Khop cafe, regulations requiring open spaces are actually fulfilled. However, Ali, as the founder and manager of the cafe, said that according to the narrative of a millennial interviewed, the cafe was open and residents could easily monitor it. "There is no hidden table. Customers just order drinks and chat." (Interview with A., founder and manager of Rizki Ali Kupi Khop in Bireuen at April 5, 2022). The findings on observation support Ali's statement. Even on Saturday nights, almost no millennials came in pairs, male and female; they came in groups, ordered drinks, and chatted. One table filled with about five to ten people. Generally a mix of men and women. There was an appeal from the Bireuen Regency Government so that non-mahrah women and men were prohibited from sitting at the table. But for Rizki Ali Kupi Khop and other cafes on Jalan Elak, observations on Saturday night showed that the cafe managers did not comply with this regulation. The visitors also do not follow that regulation. Many women are still in the cafes. In the appeal from the Bireuen Regency Government, there is also a regulation that prohibits women and men who are not bound by marriage from sitting at the same table. (KumparanNews, 2018) At the cafe on Jalan Elak Bireuen, this regulation is also not followed. This shows that there

is contestation between millennial youth and countries in the formation of third spaces, especially in urban millennial cafes.



Jalan Elak, Bireuen City, Aceh

The regulations that prohibit serving women after nine in the evening and the prohibition of sitting at the table for men and non-mahram women are just a circular letter. The form is an appeal, not a qanun which is binding and coercive. There are also many residents who do not question the practice of millennial citizenship in urban spaces. According to a resident, rules that are too strict can hinder Bireuen City's economic growth (Interview with K.M. Citizen of Bireuen City at April 9, 2022). Arguments like this come because many residents know that Bireuen is a transit city. Its position is very strategic in connecting the city of Medan, the provincial capital of North Sumatra, and the city of Banda Aceh, the capital of the province of Aceh. Not only that, the city of Bireuen is also a route to three regencies in the central part of Aceh, namely Central Aceh district, Bener Meriah district and Gayo Lues district.

Ali, in an interview, said that customers at Ali KUPI KHOP come from all over Bireuen Regency and from many districts in Aceh, especially Pidie, Pidie Jaya, North Aceh, Bener Meriah, Central Aceh, Lhokseumawe City. The urban millennial cafe in Bireuen City is a millennial melting pot from many districts in Aceh. They held offline meetings there. The thirdspace in urban millennial cafes is the actualization of the second space created by millennials through their ideas and expectations. Initiated at social media meetings, and actualized in urban millennial cafes as a thirdspace. Making Bireuen City as a millennial melting pot of many districts in Aceh is another confirmation of Bireuen City's position as a strategic location. It has been practiced by the people of Aceh since many decades ago. The

recognition of Bireuen as a strategic location to bring together people from many districts in Aceh is being carried out again by the millennial generation. They flock to Bireuen to gather at cafes that are designed according to millennial expectations as they have created in their secondspace. Today, in Bireuen City, the urban millennial cafe continues to grow. Since the beginning of 2020, observations have shown that in the four main streets of Bireuen, namely Jalan Gayo to the south, Jalan Kuala to the north, Jalan Medan Banda Aceh to the west, and Jalan Medan Banda Aceh to the east, millennial urban cafes have continued to increase. Not to mention the cafe which is located on Jalan Elak Bireuen, a road which was a former railroad track. The road connects the city center of Bireuen and the village of Cot Bada.

All urban millennial cafes in Bireuen City are designed according to urban millennial expectations: open concept, instagramable layout, supportive lighting, minimalist, luxurious, carrying a tropical concept. But there is a more prominent theme in each cafe. For example, the Ruang tedi cafe on Jalan Gayo is very focused on tropical concepts. Many ornamental trees there. Also planted several types of small bamboo. Lots of leaves like taro leaves and there is a small pond there. Apart from Jameun Kupi, the Rumoh Tuha cafe on Jalan Gayo also carries a classic concept. But at Rumoh Tuha, rather than millennials, the cafe is more in demand by cross-professional youth. The cafe that best meets millennial expectations is the Golden Premium Cafe on Jalan Elak. The cafe has a minimalist, luxurious design, the lighting and layout are very instagramable. Point Kumpul Café on Jalan Medan Banda Aceh also has a similar design to the Golden Premium Café.

The urban millennial cafe as a third space is not a space that just happens, and is not a space that is produced based on the aspirations of only one group, namely millennials. Thirdspace production, as explained by Edward Soja, is production from various interests and from various groups. Each group involved in thirdspace production has an ideal space as a secondspace. State sharia, because they don't want people's economic stability to be hampered, and they don't want them to become a forum for dishonest business competition, state sharia in Bireuen City has become a focus on second space through moral and religious education for millennials. They hope that this can create a third space that is more in line with shariah regulations in Bireuen City, Aceh.

Conclusion

Thirdspace as an actual concrete space, although created for one group, such as an urban cafe for millennials, is a product of the desires, interests, shadows, hopes, expectations of many groups. The urban minelian cafe in Bireuen City is an actuality of the second space by

the sharia state, millennials, and many people. Expectations and hopes are created in secondspace. Secondspace was created based on new expectations for firstspace which is a concrete space.

State sharia in Bireuen, through Satpol PP&WH, is trying to create a thirdspace that is closer to their wishes by making the millennial secondspace more similar to the state sharia secondspace. This effort was carried out through preventive measures, namely implementing Islamic religious education, especially Islamic ethics education for millennials in schools and colleges. The contents of the education carried out include explaining Islamic ethics philosophically so that it becomes a paradigm for millennials. Islamic religious education to the general public is carried out through religious counseling in villages. For cafe managers, Islamic religious education is carried out through meetings in cafes and intense communication through limited social media.

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Interview

Interview with A.M.R, Head Division of Satpol PP &WH Bireuen on April 4, 2022 and on December 2, 2022.

Interview with K., founder and manager of Jameun Kupi in Bireuen at April 5, 2022.

Interview with A., founder and manager of Rizki Ali Kupi Khop in Bireuen at April 5, 2022.

Interview with K M., citizen of Bireuen City at April 9, 2022 and on December 1, 2022

Interview with C.D.H. urban millennial cafe customer at December 5, 2022.

Interview with M.N.S, millennial cafe customer at December 5, 2022.

Interview with C.T.P. millennial urban cafe customer at December 5, 2022.

Interview with N.F., millennial urban cafe customer at December 5, 2022.