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The Role of Parents in Parenting from Islamic Law Perspectives: A Study of Muslim Families in Ambang II Village

M. Alimashariyanto, Suprijati Sarib & Sabil Mokodenseho

Lembaga Penerbitan, Penelitian, dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat (LP3M)

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Tables of Content

- 1-19
Legal Protection of Concurrent Creditors for The Debts That are not Guaranteed by Property Rights
According to Bankruptcy Law and Islamic Law
Risma Nur Arifah, Arman Safril Adam
- 20-37
Human Rights Without Religions: The Polemic in Establishing Churches and The Dilemma of Implementing
Human Rights in Aceh Singkil
Zulfikar Riza Hariz Pohan, Ismail Angkat
- 38-59
The Role of Parents in Parenting from Islamic Law Perspectives: A Study of Muslim Families in Ambang II
Village
M. Alimashariyanto, Suprijati Sarib, Sabil Mokodenseho
- 60-78
Orientasi Tafsir Turjuman Al-Mustafid Karya Abdur Rauf Al-Singkili
Sahlan Muhammad Faqih, Dadan Rusmana, Yayan Rahtikawati
- 79-101
Analisis Penetapan Jadwal Waktu Salat Subuh Wahdah Islamiyah
Andi Muhammad Akhyar, Sirajuddin Sirajuddin, Azwar Azwar, Aswar Aswar, Andi Muhammad Akmal
- 102-121
Sanksi Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual: Studi Komparatif Fiqh, Qanun Aceh dan KUHP
Karimuddin Abdullah Lawang, Muntasir A Kadir, Syamsiah Nur, Rika Sasralina
- 122-141
Perbandingan Penerapan Konsep Kalalah dalam Pemikiran Hukum Waris Islam
Syabbul Bachri
- 142-164
Integrasi Ilmu Keislaman dan Sosial Humaniora dalam Studi Islam: Kritik Epistemologi
Muhammad Arkoun terhadap Metodologi Studi Islam
Arisy Abror Dzukroni

Zulfikar Riḏa Hariḏ Poban, Ismail Angkat

HUMAN RIGHTS WITHOUT RELIGIONS: The Polemic in Establishing Churches and Dilemma of Implementing Human Rights in Aceh Singkil, Indonesia

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Abstract: *The destruction and closure of churches in Aceh Singkil from 1978 to 2015 raises a problematic issue about religious freedom and human right in Aceh. However, the conflict does not grow from religious sentiments, but rather was the contestation of ethnic identity and economic interests. The problem of church burning conflicts always addressed with the conclusion of religious intolerance and discrimination that creates 'an religious identity traps' between Islam and Christian in Aceh. Whereas, historically, Islam and Christianity in aceh singkil have confronted in land tenure and trade. The Islamic community controls a lot of land beuratically while the Christian community controls the market affiliated with North Sumatra Province. This research is based on literature studies with qualitative methods. To see how the constellation that occurs in religion and politics defines local rituals in minor communities in Singkel, this study uses used a developmentalism theory and religious discourse on human right analysis to see overview religious ritual and religious identity segregation in the discourse of economic circulations.*

Keywords: *Aceh Singkil, Developmentalism, Human Right, Religious freedom*

INTRODUCTION

This study was inspired from personal experience which happened in 2015 about the invitation to burn the church. The messages targeted to muslim community in Aceh Singkil without any exceptions. According to that messages, the churches building are illegal and there are 21 churches in Aceh Singkil that have absolutely illegal. The group does want a motion to tear down a church that does not have a permit in one day. The next day, at 11:00 morning (13 October 2015) Gereja Huria Kristen Indonesia (GHKI/The Indonesian Christian Huria Church) in Gunung Meriah sub-district was burned down. The protester, in short, feel winning and confident after successfully burning GHKI Suka Makmur. This spirit became an encouragement to the next church, in Dangguran.

The protesters spread to Dangguran village aimed at burning GHKI in Dangguran, Dangguran village is indeed a Christian settlement since long ago (Pohan, 2021). As the area of Christian community, they fight against the muslim protesters who tried to burn their churches. The conflict was uncontrollable after many of them got injured and one man down with the bullet in the head.

The incident was then highlighted by many media outlets, and many other things were affected by the tragedy, such as the emergence of a lot of research on conflict, conflict entrepreneurs, activist, and political lobbies. In terms of the demands of the protest community, unite in an organization called Pemuda Peduli Islam (PPI) which refers to the 1979 Agreement between Islam and Christianity and the 2001 Surat Keputusan Bersama (SKB), which regulates the restrictions on the establishment of churches and *undang-undang*¹ in Aceh Singkil. All of these rules stem from the same conflict, the burning of the church in Suro in 1978, and the sealing of the Church in 2001 (Hartani, 2020). In the regulation of the area, which is recognized only a few churches, such as GKPPD Kuta Kerangan, and *undang-undang* such as GKPPD Biskang,

¹ Small churches

GKPPD Gunung Meriah, GKPPD Suro, and GKPPD Lae Gecih, all churches and *undang-undang* belong to Protestants

Meanwhile, there are political maneuvers, such as the dismissal of Aceh Singkil Police Chief (Kapolres), and social movements from outside Aceh Singkil that call for Aceh Singkil to be an area that has long been intolerant (since 1978) to this day. This is as a general opinion, as mentioned by many media, and opinions from outside Singkel related to the burning of the church (Helmi, 2017). The issue of the illegal church in Aceh Singkil is far from a completed problem. On the contrary, the regulations, assumptions, and movements of people from both parties are difficult to reconcile, there is still suspicion in Aceh Singkil, especially non-elite grass-roots. Akan tetapi dari sekian lama konflik pembangunan gereja di Aceh Singkil terjadi, hanya dibahas berdasarkan tema-tema toleransi beragama (Alamsyah, 2019, .Ayumi, 2019, Binsal, 2019, Fairusy, 2015) .

The resolution of the conflict without seeing the identity itself raises the conclusion of the parties and blame the other party, which means religious conflict between Islam and Christianity, for example, which happens in Indonesia, often dispute the identity of the majority as a group that rejects tolerance and harmony of religion (Bagir & Asfinawati dkk, 2019). In Aceh Singkil, one of the outlying districts of Aceh province bordered by North Sumatra faced identity contestation between Islam and Christianity (Pohan, 2021). Various identities in Aceh Singkil make it vulnerable to conflicts that were based on the religious in the surface, since 1978, the burning of six churches, and gradually the demolition, closure, and burning of the church in 2000, 2002, to 2015.

Aceh Singkil is the second with most Christian followers region after Southeast Aceh Province (Kutacane) (Zulfan, 2021). It emphasizes the religious conflict in Aceh has gradually occurred in Aceh Singkil. Conclusions that have been obtained from the NGO or research from outside Aceh Singkil was given an explanation that Islam has no tolerance attitude (Al-Fairusy, 2015).

In fact, Islam is understood as the true identity initiated by the likelihood of the hegemony of Aceh to be able to become Aceh territory (because during the colonial period, Aceh Singkil was the area that entered the province of North Sumatra) by saying Aceh Singkil is an Islamic region, Aceh gave a lot of encouragement for Aceh Singkil to defend Islamic identity as practiced in Aceh (Pohan, 2021).

The awareness of Islamic identity implanted to Aceh Singkil automatically became a movement to reject the existence of Christians in Aceh Singkil. Since the beginning of Islam to Aceh Singkil before it was formed Aceh province, no religious conflicts were found, because Islam understood by the Singkil is an accommodating teaching, the heterodox Islamic dialogue between Christian and Islamic fused, Christianity also has heterodox teachings with Islam. The Muslims of Aceh Singkil have the same lineage (*marga*) as the Christians (Ansor, 2014). The religion of Islam and Christianity was understood as a religious system without separation. Later, with the emergence of the orthodox Islamic hegemony, Islam was defined as a 'great tradition' which coordinate to conquer 'small traditions' like Islamic heterodox and Christian heterodox (Pohan, 2021).

The burning of the church in Aceh Singkil was believed to be through the ideologization of Islamic that is sourced from Aceh (Akbar & Abidin, 2018). Thus, Islam is trapped in an epistemic failure to be a movement advocating inter-religious dialogue. Then, the human rights approach to religious conflicts in Aceh Singkil should be able to understand the identity and the contestation behind it so as not to be trapped in the generalization of the majority-minorities in Aceh Singkil. And human rights do not make the space of separation of Islam and Christianity as preliminary analyses to explain the burning conflicts of houses of worship.

METHODS

This paper will elaborate on the conceptual framework used to analyze the conflict through developmentalism and religious freedom by an observation and literature research. This study will present an overview of the sharia law hegemony and identity construction as well as the position of Christian community and muslim in Aceh Singkil. This study also elaborates the relation of the implementation of sharia Islam law and the religious freedom practice. In the end, this study concludes that due to the religious practice in Aceh the analysis of the conflict in Aceh Singkil should indeed focus on economic circulation and the control of the material base between Islam and Christianity in Aceh Singkil.

DISCUSSION

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is important in this study to reveal developmentalism and its relation to religious freedom which used in the following discussion. Developmentalism theory has a scope on religious practice, as discussed in Jaweed's research (2019) which saw a change in religious practice in India with the growth of developmentalism in agriculture and trade. The relationship between religious practice and developmentalism has a broad scope related to changes in the material base and economic consciousness of religious communities. In the analysis of Mansour Fakhri (Amalik, 2001) developmentalism is a hegemonic and ideological phase of neo-colonialism. Developmentalism is a form of exploitation tool centered on the dominant ideology. Thus, the relationship of religious freedom can be seen through the analysis of developmentalism centered on the spirit of Islamization, especially what occurred in Aceh (Bisril, 2017). So the stronger the developmentalism formula by strengthening ideological hegemony, the more human rights violations by the State to its people (Amalik, 2001).

FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS AND BELIEF

Religion and freedom often clash with each other, resulting from a lack of dialogue, and a bias in power that renders religion and freedom uncomprehensive. Religious freedom is also considered to be an issue that later often led to conflict. However, Thorbjorn Jagland (2004) says in the introduction to the book *Facilitating Freedom of Religion or Belief: a Deskbook* explaining freedom of Religion and Belief is “experience has shown that peaceful coexistence across religious, ethnic or national borders is only possible if the freedom to different has religious views is ensured, both formally and in practice”. Ethnic and religion are very influential each other, indicative of a lack of dialogue, also reinforced by the many interventions from both parties that instead cause dialogue of errors, and further widen the distance in the resolution of religious-related conflicts.

Religious doctrine on the one hand can be very destructive if juxtaposed with the reasoning of power, and identity politics. Because religion is placed as a ‘great tradition’ that trumps ‘small traditions’. In many cases, religion is the subject of other traditions, as well as pressure on minority religions. This can at least not be seen simply as the role of religion but as a complex role of ethnicity and identity tension that has long existed. Religion cannot be used as an aspect that gives rise to conflict discourse with freedom, but religion can be used as a reconciliation of conflict.

Therefore, parts of the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), then the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) are not affiliated with any religion, but see diversity and human rights through a religious spirit, as written in UDHR, as ‘human dignity’, in which it explains things based on the importance of establishing the concept of humanity, not the concept of religion. With this approach, in order not to be in abstract discursion, there is a study of many instances of human rights violations that use religion as a justification for violence.

Violence in society requires the rule of law, one of the sources for religious freedom and belief in the ICCPR, which is composed of four points; 1) which contains about everyone's freedom to "... have the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion." In this first sentence, it provides a fairly broad description but can be used as a benchmark in religious expression, free from pressure. For in the next sentence it is explained that, "... freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice, and teaching". 2) The second article describes pressure from the state to restrict and suppress other religious movements to demonstrate its existence, it says, "No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice". From various Freedom of Religion and Belief (FoRB) reports, coercion is common in the world, as is the case with Islamophobia across Europe, and religious pressure for Baha'i adherents in Iran and in other Muslim-majority countries. 3) on the civil rights of religious people, "... to protect public safety, order, health, or moral or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others". 4) Indicating the central role of society in education to complement civil rights for religions that are particularly minorities, "the states parties to the present covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions".

The four elements briefly contain internal freedom, external freedom, non-coercion, non-discrimination, right of parents and guardians, and corporate freedom and legal status. Thus, as an international reference, FoRB is used in looking at the perspective of the country in dealing with religious-related conflicts. To look at religious freedom that avoids discrimination, the CRF (Center for Religious Freedom) standard in Religious Freedom in the World (2008) is used, which has three types of approaches. *First*, look at the existence

of government regulations in giving restrictions on religious practices. *Second*, the prioritization of a particular religion, which can usually be read through the dominance of the majority of power held by a particular group. *Last*, is there a dynamic or social convention that limits religious freedom. In this case, the CRF standard will be used to see how Indonesia, and then Aceh Singkil are related to religious freedom.

REGULATION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND BELIEF IN INDONESIA

In Undang-undang (UU/constitution) in Indonesia governing religious freedom, written in Law 1945 article 28E articles 1 and 2. Plus state guarantees to protect religious freedom are drafted in Article 29 paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution. The implementation of religious freedom laws in Indonesia does have a traction relationship with power, and political interests. In Indonesia, there is also a lot of religious violence that fails and is poorly handled by the Indonesian government. This is understood to be a mistake because it considers the problem of conflict in Indonesia to be resolved structurally. In providing actions that violate the UU on religious freedom and belief that have been recognized by the international and national worlds, can not rely solely on structural elements such as laws and regulations that often involve state apparatus.

SKB (Surat Kerukunan Beragama/Religious Harmony Letter) tries to involve the role of local government and local clergy, otherwise there will be a conference to discuss the permission of houses of worship. However, the regulation is only regulation, the destruction of houses of worship still occurs, and there is no solution that is able to provide a serious approach to the conflict of building houses of worship in Indonesia. SKB was established on September 13, 1969, to prevent religious conflicts that occurred during president Suharto. SKB can be said to be a regulation in the form of instruction, meaning it is in the form of one-way communication. The existence of SKB does not provide

strict restrictions on the closure, and destruction of houses of worship, but SKB is often used as a regulation that provides justification for the closure and destruction of houses of worship, especially churches. In 2006, the state issued PMB (Peraturan Bersama Menteri/Joint Ministerial Regulation), which discusses religious freedom and belief, especially in points Number 9 and 8, 2006. This new regulation tries to update the regulation of the Orde Baru regime era in the form of SKB 1/Ber/MDN-MAG/1969. In Aceh, the requirement to establish the Church in accordance with The Governor of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (Pergub-NAD) Regulation No. 25 of 2007, the church congregation must have 525 people. Meanwhile, the governor's policy of minimum house of worship requirement is 150 people.

However, beyond regulatory issues, there are also social pressures that are formed in Indonesian society in general. In Indonesia, religious conflict is based on a lack of identity, which stems from historical and cultural processes. In general, religious tensions are not always based on religious doctrines, but rather from an interpretation based on the importance of identity that since Indonesia has not become an independent country, the conciliation of religious identity has always existed.

Practically, Indonesia is the same as many Islamic countries that cover themselves from the discourse of religious freedom and belief. This is not based on structural decisions, and regulations, but comes from cultural and historical pressures, so in the name of national identity interests, which include ethnic identity, majority, etc, that cannot separated from the power and pressure of identity.

Often the reinforcement of this identity comes from a religious text and traditional belief. However, it is the reason that identity enters religious narratives. Especially in Indonesia, the potential for religious conflict is huge, the strength of identity discourse affects not only religion and social, but also politics and public policy. Often countries lose or even join these identity

discourses. Historically, Indonesia has a long history with racism or with terms born during the times of the New Order regime, namely the term (SARA, Suku Ras, Agama, dan Antargolongan) or the authoritarian rule, identities of tribes, religions, races, and inter-group were 'executed' and limited under a repressive policy. The policy of this Orde Baru regime resulted in space to realize the difference in identity so that we can see the results after the collapse of the Orde Baru regime, the identity conflicts occur everywhere, such as the military operations in Aceh, conflicts in Ambon, and others that still occur today, related to interreligious conflicts and sectarian conflicts.

Thus the resolution of conflicts (especially religions) that are sourced to power as the Orde Baru regime has executed (and proved to fail) is unable to provide a central path to religious conflicts. This is where human rights run the function, to give way to religious conflicts, or the discourse about the right of one's religion and belief, also the construction of house of worship, the case of religious blasphemy, out of religion and others that are viewed from the more humanitarian side than to control it with machine guns and shields.

FoRB provides protection to individuals, as well as groups in carrying out rituals and beliefs from state pressures, and the pressures of the majority of society. As part of the ritual of worship, and to exercise religion. The establishment of houses of worship often faces rejection from the public and is also equipped with state authorities to seal and close houses of worship. Many case in Indonesia, as a black record of how the right to manifest religion and teaching is restricted by the state.

For a more fundamental part of the establishment of houses of worship, it is often part of a particular political project. That is, some kind of agreement from the Christian or Catholic side to seek the support of politicians to authorize the IMB (IzinMendirikanBangunan/building permit) of the establishment of the church in Aceh Singkil. Often, this friendly relationship occurs during the

campaign, once every five years, the votes of Christian groups depend on the candidate being able to promise the ratification of the church's founding permit.

Thus, in this case, the Christian community is not separated from the political connection to the establishment of the church. It was Christian relations with this politician that fueled protesters often to assume that the Aceh Singkil government itself was unfit to be trusted to solve the issue of church permits referring to the regional regulations of 1979 and 2001. To show people's distrust of this government, the burning of the church is considered the only way.

The church protesters focused on public opinion with the Christianization movement. Despite the fact (Barus, 2018), in Aceh Singkil there is no data showing the conversion of Islam to Christianity, the issue of Christianization is still very much feared. In addition, the lack of understanding of Catholicism and Christianity in the community so that the development of the church is considered an attempt at dominance by the Christian faction. The second factor, as is the case with the rejection of the church in general, (Ali-Fauzi, 2011) is socio-economic, so in building the Church in Aceh Singkil is seen as the economic dominance of Christian North Sumatra.

From this long history, it can be seen how identity is attached to the conflicts in Indonesia. In addition, human rights discourse emerged and provided a middle ground for identity conflicts that became religious conflicts. Here, in the case that I will raise, as in Aceh Singkil experienced an identity gap before the burning of the church in 1978 to 2015, then equipped with the arrival of various parties such as NGO and researchers who saw the Aceh Singkil conflict through an approach that increasingly made the distance for the identities of the people in Aceh Singkil. Thus there is a fragmentation of identity in the conflict, in which the discourse is always looking for perpetrators, and blaming the Islamic side as the majority and even giving accusations that Islam in Aceh Singkil has absolutely no tolerance to the Christian community.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN ACEH SINGKIL

To see the religious identity in Aceh Singkil as a whole, as an effort to understand the conflict that occurs without giving certain fragments to the people who are also equally victims (Anshor, 2014). Aceh Singkil is the outermost area of Aceh, directly facing North Sumatra, economically, Aceh Singkil has long been trading to Sibolga, or areas that can be reached by river or sea, while landlines infrastructure are can not usable, which is why Aceh Singkil rarely conducts economic trade to Aceh. This makes Aceh Singkil, closer to North Sumatra/Medan than Aceh in economic relations.

This condition allows for more intimate social relationships. To clarify this section, Aceh Singkil is indeed a community that is closer to the races of parts of North Sumatra, such as Pakpak, Karo, Batak, Toba, and Melayu Deli. Very few Aceh Singkil communities come from Aceh. Due to the strong influence of history, trade, and conquering in Aceh Singkil and other areas of North Sumatra, religion became diverse. However, that does not mean that the people in Aceh Singkil have become fragmented since the emergence of Islam, Christianity, and Catholicism. These religions were applied with a heterodox religious system through the religious system from Barus port to Aceh Singkil long before the arrival of colonialism from the VOC and hegemony of the Aceh sultanate that brought orthodox teachings.

In addition, there is a close relationship of the same hereditary hierarchy called *marga*(surname). For communities with *marga*, *marga* is understood to be a 'sign' of patrilineal ancestry, in some studies of the community, finding a mixture of immigrants entering the local population. J Gonda (1973) in his research on Sanskrit texts in Indonesia showed more valid evidence by quoting a classic Malay manuscript from TalangTuwo Palembang written since the 7th century, mentioning *marga* meaning 'path'. An argument that could reinforce Gonda's findings mentioned by Barbara Watson Andaya (1993) through the classic search of Palembang-Jambi, *marga* is an explanation of the hierarchy of

descendent, 'path, road, or trail' that connects to the genealogy of the large family, which he referred to as "One road, people of one inclination, one relationship, and the same origin". So from this explanation, *marga* has a scope that people with *marga* have awareness of family ties to all people who have a *marga* that is a descendant of ancestors. So in this clan relationship, it will be found from Christianity, Islam to Protestants found the same clans. The loss of the *marga* system is related to many factors, namely Christianization and Islamization which are both orthodox and come from outsiders.

Mentioned by Lister Berutu (2013: 88) about Christianization, the bad impact is the dissing of Pakpak customs connected to their ancestors, as well as the rush of migrants in colonialism that led the Pakpak people to abandon their mother tongue to be able to get along with the open economic wave that influenced the local culture. In addition, Lister Berutu also sees the influence of Islamization that confirms Islamic identity, thus melting with Islamic culture, this is said to only happen in the region of suakboang (Singkil in some classical literature is referred to as *suakboang*, part of Pakpak). The religion introduced to Aceh Singkil before fragmentation played a major role in inter-religious dialogue, so as a middle ground, the foundation of local religion was built from the teachings of world religious mysticism, and local traditions, such as Parmalim. The term of '*malim*' is derived from the Malay-Islamic term, based on Hindu and Islamic encounters, *malim* is a term for people who perform *tariqat* (sufism rituals), live holy, meditate, do not eat pigs, and actually pursue physical and spiritual abstinence (Situmorang, 2004: 405). From the word '*malim*' there appears a group of saints called Parmalim which means 'saints'.

In the *Toba naSae* (2004) Situmorang, the name Parmalim does refer to the majesty of Sisingamangaraja. On the other hand, there are also two sides of people who entered Islam and Christianity, those who are Muslim or Christian from birth, and those who converted to Islam and Christianity after converting to SipeleBegu (Parmalim), both of which are not separated from the understanding

of the spirit world and the insanity passed down by the indigenous religion, by interpreting that DebataMula Jadi na Bolon and its seven derivatives have changed in the one true God (Tuhan yang Esa). Similarly, Christianity that later included the Father, Jesus Christ, and The Holy Spirit was the Most Merciful Creator God (Yang MahaPengasih dan MahaPencipta), the cosmology of both remained in the local cosmology circles affected by SipeleBegu's beliefs (Tumanggor, 2017; 164).

Automatically, heterodox Islam and Heterodox Christianity faded from Aceh Singkil, the religion today used as an identity. In this case, the fading of the heterodox religious system began in the early 7th to 19th centuries until now. In terms of education, Aceh Singkil has been heavily influenced by the Islamic education system originating from Aceh, in the form of puritanism/orthodox Islam. Thus, religious patterns are seen in Islami and infidels (*kafir*) relationships such as '*black and white theology*'. This is evident from how Singkil's Islamic identity gradually changed, from what was originally believed to be a belief system because it blended with local beliefs, such as Parmalim, relations with local traditions, and Islamic accommodation in dialogue with Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and even Jews (Tumanggor, 2017), which originated from the belief system of Barus port, before AD. Orthodox Islamic education originated from *dayab* (pesantren/Traditional Islamic Boarding School) Darussalam Labuhan Haji in South Aceh Regency, the orthodox Islamic pattern spread to Singkil in the local Islamic curriculum.

In terms of politics, Aceh has a long-standing awareness that North Sumatra is a Batak group of abusive, brutal, cannibal, and infidels. This image continues to be understood by Acehnese for generations. This led Daud Beureuh's politics to decline when Aceh's residency was united in North Sumatra until 1948. Therefore, the elite movement in Aceh rejected the decision, so Daud Beureuh went to Singkil on Aceh's border with North Sumatra to proclaim that Singkil was the land of the cleric, belonging to the great cleric Sheikh Abdurrauf

As-Singkily and Hamzah Fansuri. The effect of the call had an impact on the expulsion of Nias people on Banyak Island, an island region in Singkil. The expulsion occurred because the majority of Nias people are Christian.

In terms of Christians, identity is also something formed by outsiders, by colonial powers. Singkil Church was inaugurated with the help of the colonials. As with the Islamic identity in Singkil, Christian identity is an integral part of the power of identity. The first church in Singkil was founded by colonial settlers to create social stability, established in Kura Kerangen, on January 10, 1935, No. 37 which was named as Zending church from the christianization movement called *Nederlandsche Zendingenvereniging* (NZV) (Pohan, 2021). The Protestant church of Huria was also used by Catholics for a very long time. With the increase in the Christian and Catholic population, the church and the *undang-undang* also increased.

In general, by the end of the 18th century the development of Christianity was growing, in Eastern Indonesia, as well as Java, and Sumatra. The spread of Christianity also presents a new identity for the indigenous population, as happened in Sumatra, between Batak Toba who is Christian, and Batak Karo who Islam hates each other (Ricklefs, 2008, Ali-Fauzi, 2011: 32) and a religious war that resulted in the death of 300 people.

In this context, Singkil faced a long dilemma, with the coercion of indigenous peoples into Christianity, and then, being Christian separately from tradition, forced to fight for identity with Islam. Thus, although the effort made is to provide a role for religious leaders, it has no impact whatever because it still uses orthodoxy. Thus, the path of tolerancy is only work to the elite level, whereas from the grassroots society itself has the culture of suspicion, between Islam and Christianity.

The emergence of PPI to protest the government's performance is the seed that opened up the development of paramilitary organizations such as FPI (Front Pembela Islam/Islamic Defenders Front) in Aceh Singkil. Regarding

social regulation, barriers come from young people and the public who are not tied to any organization, but the movement has lately been supported by the FPI. FPI not only carried out protest movements, and voiced the unofficial closure of the church, the FPI movement in Aceh Singkil also established a study hall of the Qur'an next to the church and established a boarding school by introducing an orthodox Islamic system.

CONCLUSION

The discourse of religious freedom and belief focuses on understanding freedom while protecting people's rights to religion. ICCPR in this case does not direct its analysis on a particular religion. But through the many conflicts related to religion, giving birth to segmentation that conflict is always attached to religion, whereas from the case of conflict that occurs in Aceh Singkil in the form of burning and closing of churches through the path of violence, are identity issues that are formed for the benefit of power, fear of economic dominance, and other things related to political-economic. The fragmentation of identity created by the media and the phrase 'tolerance' coined through political campaigns yield nothing but rhetoric for the ruling elites. While the people of Aceh Singkil still suspect each other of each group, it is affected by the fragmentation of identity created by the media and religious tolerance campaigns.

The identity in Singkil is an identity derived from the same hereditary hierarchy, which distinguishes only religious orientation. Through the political process and the dominance of identity from the outside and completely new, such as Aceh and Colonialism, which formed Islamic, Christian, and Catholic identities so that it formed a rigid and ideologically separate identity. Religion is understood to then become ideological in nature, meaning that each group must side with the opinions of its group. This hindered the dialogue process of the Aceh Singkil community. If it continues to maintain identity fragmentation

for the people of Aceh Singkil, and use the conflict of the establishment of houses of worship as a tool to increase the bargaining power of politics in every election. In that way, the real conflict will never be resolved in Singkil, no matter how much the word 'tolerance' is campaigned for, or as much as the political elite recreates the letter of a temporary peace treaty.

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