"ISLAM" IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE:
Post-Tsunami Dialog and Negotiation of Aceh Identity

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Abstract

This paper highlights the perspective of dialog in the negotiation of Aceh identity. If observed, the context of the tsunami followed by the development of Aceh is not without impact at all on the Acehnese entity, but in fact it has triggered a strong clash especially between local identities and influences of global construction. Among the important things offered in this paper is an attempt to reproduce and create "public space" as a productive social capital, that is, a space that is expected to build an atmosphere of openness, egalitarianism, inclusivism of many diverse groups. Therefore, in responding to the wider variety of cultural plurality which penetrates through ethnic clusters, religions, political parties, and all forms of interests, it can be managed through the deliberations of dialog. Therefore, the "public space" that can serve to discuss, hold dialog, and even negotiate the clash of the Acehnese identity forms the modus operandi of the discussion of this article, especially in the context of the development of Aceh that is currently taking place.

Keywords: *Islam, locality, globality, public space, dialog, negotiation of identity, diversity of Islamic groups, the other.*

INTRODUCTION

Islam in the "Global Village" can be understood as a claim, social fact, or portrait of social practices that is inherent in the sociological perspective of a community, including local Islamic order that is encountered with global cultural construction (Kurtz, 1995). The depiction of the dynamics of identity in Aceh is also an inseparable part of the influence of global culture's insistence (Brubaker, 2004, 49) which is now becoming widespread practices in Aceh. The shifting social practices, such as the weakening of bonds, as well as traditional communalism that have long been fractured are also part of the indicator attached to the heart of the development of cultural behaviors in Aceh (Abdullah, 2005). In fact, the emergence of a new identity that is developed through the practice of primordialism or imposed by the laws of modernity on the latest developments, has come to question the authority of the various agencies and actors involved in the rehabilitation and reconstruction program after the tsunami in Aceh. The question then is "how has the Aceh local identity

which is under contestation of various agencies been reproduced and become the value of local wisdom in favor of the people of Aceh, especially its Islamic values that has long been a popular ideology for its people?"

Aceh as an icon of globalization expansion in the local domain should be referred to as a global village. The influx of global culture should not become "threats" for the development of local culture and knowledge (Geertz 1983), but it should be able to define itself in the context of efforts to strengthen the local identity. In fact, confrontational patterns of the encounter between the two identities ("global-local") are now taking place in a critical fashion (Woodward, 1997:84) and appear to be face to face. The basic principles of the conflict of two identities in Aceh is not like the Clash of Civilization (1996) as Huntington described when referring to the clashes between Islam and the West at the time, but the context of Aceh now seems to indicate a different way, that is by looking at the paradigm used. So the clash between Sharia Islam and Sufic Islam for example, is a conflict that boils down to two different paradigms: the "substantive Islam" and "formalistic Islam".

This social fact is considered to be one of the factors that triggered conflict between the two Islamic groups. Interestingly, the phenomenon has now added a row of a new social practice called "revivalization of Islam" in Aceh for the last 5 years (Aspinal, 2009, 76) in the wake of the 2004 tsunami tragedy, i.e. the return of the Islamic movement of Sufism which had been the practice of the early generations of Muslims in Aceh. Signs like the rise of the study of Sufism and the sufic practices in various corners of the city in Aceh have also become an indicator that should be noted in the history and dynamics of Islam in Aceh (Mujib, 2010,8). In addition, such phenomenon also must be seen as part of a social backlash over a new order that does not support the local order based on local wisdom. Therefore, various actors and agencies are also responsible for the birth of new social practices that have been evolving in the Acehnese community lately.

This study attempts to point to some opportunities and models of dialog in the ongoing identity negotiation in Aceh, which in reality have been contested by various agencies in Aceh in the last 10 years, either through the international NGOs, world economic institutions, political interests of various countries enter that spread fast and systematically, or pressure of a global culture that could not be contained. Therefore, the facts about the identity contestation have inspired me to map out the other perspective on Aceh in a variety of identity contestation, covert conflict between Islamic diverse groups, and the emergence of the movement of "Islamic revitalization" in Aceh that has become one of the icons of social change transition in the post-tsunami Aceh.

In this light, this study will begin by showing the Islamic group polarization of the motives of the clash to the conflict of identity among Islamic groups, followed by mapping a discourse and conflict between Islamic groups that are taking place, that brings us to the end of the discussion in which this study will show various opportunities of dialog as the urgency of the growing "public space" for the dialog community (Mujib and Rumahuru, 2010) in Aceh.

POLARIZATION OF ISLAM IN ACEH: ENCOUNTER AND CONFLICT OF "GLOBAL-LOCAL" IDENTITIES

In the literature of Islam in Aceh, for example, the views of Islam in Aceh, besides having similarities to other places such as in Java, also have typologically similar variants that exist in Java. The depiction of the political schools of thought indicated by Clifford Geertz (1981) in Java through three major typologies, namely: *Santri, Abangan,* and *Priyayi* was the depiction of the division of social groups through the identity of political schools of thought. Such patterns when compared to the context of Aceh also have almost the similar typological roots, although the epistemological framework is different. There are groups that base their religious ideology on the lines of *priyayi*, *santri*, as well as *abangan*. The only difference between the religious polarization in Aceh and Java is that "Islam" in Aceh has become a popular ideology that has not been equaled by any other ideology (Ali, 2006: 10). Therefore polarizing the political schools of thought in Aceh remain under the umbrella of Islam.

For instance, Geertz referred to it a group of *santri* (students). In Aceh, this is a group that has a base or a strong *dayah* or boarding schools. The group that was born from the *dayah* and *pesantren* (boarding schools) are relatively able to perform worship as other Muslims do, such as prayers, fasting, alms and Hajj that have been mandatory for adherents of Islam since the beginning. The group, that was also born from the *ulamas* (Tengku), also has a strong relationship with Islam in the Middle East and several boarding schools in Java. The practice of that relationship can be seen in school programs or lecture exchange to the Middle East. They have to send their *santri* to Java when the students concerned want to continued their studies in Egypt.

The strong foundation of *dayah* or traditional *pesantren* also affects the various principles of life and religious understanding of the society, as well as actions in responding to the reality of difference against "the others". Religious fanaticism occurs at various levels or classes in the community. There are at least two forms of fanaticism indicated by the group. *First*, religiosity or Islamic fanaticism over non-Muslims. Fanaticism in this form is shown with

a conviction that Islam has become the only ideology for the people of Aceh. *Second*, sectarian fanaticism or Islamic schools of thought in Aceh. As we know that the schools of thought in Islam generally vary although the source comes from the Quran and Hadith. However, it needs to be recognized that the fanaticism of each school of thought can be caused by several factors, such as books, descendants, socio-political affiliations, networking, teachers and other factors. It is these factors that determine the attitude of religious groups or the polarization among diverse society. Therefore, the difference of schools of thought has also given rise to clashes between groups in Aceh.

In addition to the religious background with polarization based on the *dayah* or boarding schools, there are also pluralist groups or commonly referred to as the moderate. These groups are those who have the middle to high educational background, such as those trained by Islamic based institutions, like Ar-Raniry Institute of Islamic Studies, Syiah Kuala University, and other Islamic Colleges, as well as those who study outside of Aceh particularly in Yogyakarta. The Islamic thought they got from the *dayah*, for example, will not only change once they go to college, , but it will also experience the transformation on aspects of the mentality, perspective, and analysis tool to see the reality of difference, diversity and Islam in Aceh. Of course not all the Islamic colleges have a moderate point of view, but at least a touch of views about a more democratic, pluralistic and multicultural Islam in campus debates has somehow contribute to an understanding over *the others* for them. As defined by a lecturer and a researcher below:

"the plurality of understanding Islam in Aceh should be viewed as a cultural reality and identity of Acehnese that has lived long enough in Aceh". (interview, 2009 with Qomarudin, Lecturer at IAIN Ar-raniry). "the people of Aceh should be aware that Aceh is not born from a single ethnic group, but they have a pretty rich ethnic backgrounds, such as the names of Acehnese that have Arabic, Chinese, European and Indian origins (interview, 2009 with Musri Musman, head of the Research Department, Univ. of Syiah Kuala). In addition to those with Islamic college education, moderate groups also appear in some of the local NGOs and social institutions, such as The Aceh Institute, An-Nisa' Center, Aceh Peace Resource Center (APRC), Kontras Aceh, Kata Hati, and Demos, and several others from both individual and institutional.

Keep in mind that level of moderate thought of these groups is not only shown through thoughts on the interpretation of Islam, but also on other thoughts related to the attitude and behavior of religiosity, openness toward peace processes, shifting awareness of the Acehnese identity, and also on gender and women's participation in public space and pluralism, where this latter

issue--at the time this research was conducted-- is now being discussed in the campus forums, NGOs and other social organizations, not to mention the involvement of various International NGOs that are also contributing to how moderate Islamic movements also currently have a place in some religious groups in Aceh despite the relatively limited quantity (Mujib, 2009.52).

However, it is interesting that this polarization appears in a society that has a strong Islamic background like Aceh, although such community culture is historically different from that of Java with its macro multicultural diversity. Aceh, with all the polarization that exists there has shown a social construction that not only can be viewed as the uniqueness of identity, but also the experience of identity that transforms on its elements. Hence, debates about transformation on Aceh's identity could be understood as a social polarization that will always have a redefinition of social changes in the society with a set of global culture emerging in Aceh. In line with it, examining the Islamic roots in Aceh, in addition to the demands of history, is also an important part to mark the dynamics Islam in Aceh and its social changes.

Nevertheless, sometimes the dialectical relationship between local and global identity cases diverse historical burdens in Aceh. What I call the clash of paradigms in managing diversity of Islamic groups in Aceh is a fact of the limited "public space". The conflict between the "Sufic Islam" and " Sharia Islam" recently was a small part of the identity conflict that lacks a touch of public space to its full potential, so to the extent that the identification of the diversity of Islamic groups has yet to be established neatly and comprehensively. At this point, a society's social system is experience social dysfunction as a result of social clusters that are growing massively in a limited management of public space. Therefore, the uncontrolled growth of Islamic groups should be managed by bringing them together into the public space, so as to take advantage of cultural spaces, creating a more open space for inclusiveness as opening the boundaries of exclusivity of the Islamic groups is part of managing the group differences.

Further discussion of the above will be examined in detail in the final part of this study, namely how to manage diversity in various Islamic groups in Aceh by opening a network between actors and agencies, while exploring opportunities of dialog which can be done as an effort to expand more open public space. Prior to the discussion of the latter issue, this section will try to map the discourse of Islam in Aceh in 3 basic principles: based on the ideology of the religiosity, the orientation of the movement, and the community's attitudes and lifestyle trends of Muslims in Aceh. The need to map Islam in the local context is to easily identify the Islamic groups, the agencies involved, as

well as the methods used, vision and movement, etc. so as to be able to explain publicly how the perspective of dialog will be created.

THE MAP OF ACEH'S ISLAMIC DISCOURSE IN THE CONTEXT OF LOCAL SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY

Through the complex ideological background of Acehnese religiosity at least--on the impact brought about by the transition of the tsunami--can be shown through two typologies in society, where they always generate negotiations that will bring up the ideology of popular integration expressed lately. The two typologies are: first the religiosity based on the ideology of the disciplines and practice of Sufism. Second, the ideology of the religiosity based on the patterns of "Islamic Sharia". Therefore, the war against the Dutch, Indonesia-GAM conflict, and the tsunami are three essential conditions of the turning point of development and dynamics of religiosity in Aceh.

First, what I call the sufic Islamic ideology; this ideology of religiosity tend to lead to Sufism. It was born as a gesture that returns on Islam that flourished in the early days in Aceh that was inherited by the early generation of scholars in Aceh. The leading Sufi figure such as Hamzah Fansuri, Nuruddin Ar-Raniri, and many other important figures have become icons of religiosity in Aceh. The description of this sufic Islam can we shown in the model of Sufism developed by Nuruddin Arraniri with the rhythm of a tambourine. Tambourine is a thriving Islamic art passed down widely through generations, but the recitals contained in it are related to the *tariqa* --a school or order of Sufism—(as described by Nasir Waly, Meolaboh), the tambourine is not understood by the society as a creation of Sufism, but rather as an ordinary Islamic art which has undergone a redefinition in accordance with the times. This is where the branches of Sufism developed. Slowly but surely in the tradition of Sufism has been deep rooted in the cultural religiosity in Aceh in the early days.

The development of the branches of Sufism is not only ritualistic --such as those developed by the *tariqa* groups-- but it is also done through public sermon of Sufism in villages. The second Model is loosely developed in Aceh. In addition, *Naksabandiyah, Tauhidiyah,* and *Nasiriyah tariqa* also appeared with a different approach in Aceh. One of the names of the Sufic groups is "*Jawiah Rumoh Aceh*" and many groups of this sort in Aceh particularly in villages are growing widely. The most powerful base to develop the ideology of religiosity is through traditional boarding schools called *dayah* Aceh. Usually, the actors that develop it are scholars who are in non structural lines such as (MUNA). In addition to the scholars, this kind of religious ideology is also followed by Qur'anic recitation groups in villages and also the elites and

customary figures.

With regard to the tsunami, groups of Islamic Sufism are more likely to respond to the tsunami disaster more wisely. It means that as religious people they must view the tsunami as a test that must be accepted. As a form of response, they immediately rose from the tsunami crisis, and also in receiving assistance, both from within and outside the country they accepted without suspicion, even when it came from religious organizations. Even in an interview with one of the religious figures in the Meolaboh named Muslim Has (leader of Babussalam *pesantren* and a follower of Naksabandiyah *tariqa*) the following statement was made: "We must not have suspicion about donor agencies; they come to help build Aceh. Therefore we do not want to be picky. If there is such intention, (Christianization) that's a small part of their mission, yet we also know what is good for us," he said. In this way, the construction in their areas tends to be faster and easier to run. In addition to the influence caused by the ideological diversity that they believe, such condition is also indicated as a direct result of the basic ethos created by other social practices, such as stronger communality values which they culturally form, so that mutual aspects, the return to traditional values that got loose at the time of the conflict, now have started to return. Interestingly based on common commitment between them as both feel the transition of the tsunami reinforced by cultural systems that was previously attached, they can imagine the development process in Aceh can be created in a conducive manner. Armed with such social capital, at least the conflict created over the interests of individual initiatives, as well as attraction between groups also look quite limited.

Therefore, the tsunami on the one hand becomes an indicator of a real crisis in a variety of spaces such as social, political, economic, religious, and cultural aspects that require a lengthy process to restore normal conditions. However, interestingly a group affiliated with the religious sector based on Sufism or congregations interprets and reformulates the orientation of the tsunami to serve as a media designed to restore Islam to its early heritage that is Islam of the early scholars. So it can be understood that Islam in Aceh is basically constructed over the paradigms and mysticism, not formalistic Islam or that which is now being attempted to be practiced in the life of a new Islamic generation of Aceh lately.

Second, it is the group with a religious ideology of Sharia Islam. This trend was growing not long after the treaty of Helsinki was declared in Aceh. As a new religious model in Aceh, it should be understood as a narrative of cultural change that happened lately after the tsunami in 2004. In this light, the growing Islamic schools in Aceh also differ substantially from the model of Islam at the

time of the early generations. More political elements dominate the Islamic practices rather than as cultural practice that appears naturally in Aceh.

The groups which are affiliated on such religious pattern or ideology are characterized by metropolitan Islam and supported by regional officials, and appear to be affiliated to institutions such as Islamic jurisprudence court, enforcement of religious law, etc. In addition, they are also in the line of structural *ulama* (MUI), public and institutional groups, students, and political Islamic institutions such as the PKS. These groups have a lot of interaction with this model of ideology. The rest are those who give support morally even though not many of them get involved in the implementation of the Islamic law. Thus the practice of the ideology of Islamic law can only be seen from other forms of the enforcement of Islamic jurisprudence.

Some interesting things are concerned with reaction to the 2004 tsunami and a wide response to the widespread global culture emerging in Aceh after the tsunami. The emergence of diverse backgrounds from international funds became capital of independent thinking for these groups. The paradigm that is used, among others, is religious or ideological background of the donor agencies that will affect theologically on the victims in Aceh such as the emergence of "Christianization". Second, the diverse backgrounds of donor agencies will also interfere with the enforcement of Islamic law, for instance many Acehnese women now participate in international NGOs which contributes to widespread practices of free association in Meolaboh, especially in Banda Aceh especially at specific spots such as mobile phone stores where Acehnese women can be seen hanging out with male foreigners who are also working as NGO members in Aceh as accounted by a religious figure, T Faizal Ali (Chairman of the Rabithah Taliban of Aceh who is also a member of MPU Banda Aceh). Even at coffee shops now, Acehnese women also can be seen hanging around late into the night. Third, the globalization network came to Aceh will be getting stronger. Here we can indicate several ideological considerations regarding the influx of global culture in Aceh.

However, when we try to observe the response to the influx of global culture in the development of important parts of Aceh which is now still in progress, several things we can take into account such as the slow process of rehabilitation and reconstruction, the difficulty in enforcing Islamic law as a result of diverse institutional attitude toward the religiosity of this group, as well as the limited public space being created. In addition, the institutional orientation of this religiosity frequently deals with the matter of institutional policy direction toward supporting rehabilitation and reconciliation programs. Because of the complicated process with regard to the assistance, the development of Aceh

is very much hampered. The impact is not merely caused by this attitude of religious ideology, but it has also become a real indicator of a symptomatic response to the rigor of global culture in Aceh. So it can be understood that such diversity of formalist attitude in some ways affects the structure of orientation in understanding the disaster response, i.e. putting the tsunami as a position that gave birth to the Islamic media and cemented a formalist Islamic law.

In Meolaboh, it is undeniable that the practices of this kind of religious ideology emerged, especially at Johan Pahlawan sub-district, where besides as city with strong Islamic practices, Meolaboh has also become one of the areas in Aceh that serves as a pilot project for the application of Islamic law, as reported by a religious figure, Waly Nasyir. However, based on the observations of the researcher in this area, the application of Islamic law increasingly shows that it is difficult to do, due to the factor of Islamic cultural history in Aceh which tend to be on the Sufism —face to face methodologically with Islamic law-- Meolaboh also has experienced the transition period in a variety of aspects so the management system of Islamic law still has its own constraints. Therefore, the ideology of this kind of religiosity is valid only at the level of the existing Islamic transformation in some specific classes in Aceh primarily and by some institutional support from outside Aceh that does not describe the context of the history of Islam in Aceh.

OPPORTUNITY FOR DIALOG AND NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITY: the Urgency of the Growing "Public space" In Aceh

Although physically conflict between Islamic groups in Aceh does not emerge significantly in the discussion above, the difference between both Islamic groups will result in interpretation, perception, and even the imagination of what is called "the others" in the literature of social science. The perception of a group within the heterogeneous society will result in the boundaries or territorial identity of other groups. Therefore, the chance of conflict will be more open when different forms of perception arise to justify other groups, not to mention the fact that gave rise to the claims deliberately reproduced without any popular clarification. So, learning to understand the identity of the other group is an important part to eliminate the negative perception by developing a tradition of dialog between community structures, diversity of culture, or even between different political parties.

In Aceh various opportunities of dialog can be identified and it needs to be demonstrated, such as the relationship between the state and the *ulamas* who

should have an important role in reconstructing Aceh. However, both do not seem to be notable actors that can bridge the differences between Islamic groups, but in fact that position has been replaced by other agencies and actors. So, should the negotiating opportunities in a variety of local policy require many roles in maintaining traditional values and local wisdom in Aceh, now even the function of the *ulamas* as a reference for the Acehnese is increasingly fading away. While the state is not able to understand the local world more openly, so the policies created sometimes clash with the spirit of local people. In addition to the state and the ulama, there are many other potentials in Aceh can serve as contestation between the actors and the agencies in representing and making room for dialog between different religious groups, such as non-government agencies and agents of globalization, cultural spaces such as "coffee shops" in Aceh which have become important to be identified as an opportunity for a dynamic public space.

What happened in Aceh recently, both conflicts caused by economic factors – new forms of political conflict in Aceh--, a widespread so-called crisis of culture and identity, as well as other forms of moral crises that weaken the traditional system, in addition to the traditional systems caused by the international mobility that is taking place in Aceh after the tsunami which is also an integral part of a social change in Aceh or what experts called by the term 'deterritorialization' of culture (Abdullah, 2006: 136). Therefore, the problems encountered in transformation of the people of Aceh are a kind of definition of the context which is not formed by a single agent, but by a variety of agencies with different interests. The prevalence of various institutions, NGOS, government agencies, both local and international is a real example of agents involved in the various processes of defining the values created.

The era of freedom and openness in the post-transition of conflict and the tsunami in Aceh is the symbol of a new civilization of the Acehnese people, as well as an indicator of a shift in the supra-structure, including the Acehnese values that are now being encountered during the crisis. Various forms of structure of traditional, religious, customary, values to the subculture of the Acehnese are currently undergoing a redefinition or what is often referred to as widespread transformation. Freedom is also understood as a post-conflict culture of that sometimes stumbles upon the indigenous values). The tradition of "coffee shops" in Aceh for example which not only serve as a medium for communication, but in turn they also could become a social agent of cultural process capable of moving people in Aceh, including marking the era of openness and freedom in the region.

If we map them out, on the one hand, the communication patterns designed

in the structure of this coffee shop become loose and very central, and the limits of culture seem to melt, various forms of negotiation, conflict resolution, business transactions, and even the consolidation of political parties can be done within the space of this kind of coffee shop culture. It is relatively capable of doing not only in formal spaces but also in an informal framework that would probably be a new asset for the growing portraits of local wisdom that is important to the life of the people of Aceh (Brubaker, 2004: 67).

Local wisdom built as a cultural ideology in Aceh requires the identity symbols is not only accepted by the people of Aceh with moral consensus being created, but also capable of bridging the diversity that comes from various subcultures developing in Aceh. Viewed from the historical roots of its culture, coffee shops serves as a place for entertainment, hangout, as well as for sharing information among the people of Aceh. Through such natural processes, in each of its space, it delivers forms of a sturdy communality in Aceh. Therefore, the process of developing a culture that is so natural should be valued as a cultural narrative has an important role for the transformation of the space which can now be found in the land of *rencong* (Aceh).

These forms of public space have become a sign of consolidation of a new identity, through the merging of different people, institutions, social status and multicultural identity. At this level of shifting mode, the creation of cultural narratives that cross the boundaries of the territory of Aceh culture, on the one hand, coffee shops are even capable of being cultural adhesive that can be accepted by a variety of different social levels. On the other hand, public space creation is also part of the process of changing the cultural escalation which has now started to crawl in search of a new identity, especially in the most active generation i.e. young people of Aceh. Correspondingly, this stage should be coupled with finding new forms of more critical cultural changes.

In addition, public space that shaped this coffee shop should also be seen as part of a subculture that brings together different cultures and a new identity. It can be imagined that the emergence of a global culture that is widespread in Aceh, slowly but surely has shaped the orientation, mentality, lifestyle, and even the formation of a structure of a new history that will bring the people of Aceh to the symbols of political culture of this kind. So, it's no wonder, this kind of public space, in time will become a new agent for the emergence of a culture of openness in the Aceh province after a long conflict years that trapped the local Acehnese intelligence. Thus, it must also be utilized as a cultural space that is productive and encourages the spirit of innovation for local capacity.

As a space of freedom and openness, coffee shops also bring out what is called

the advent of "political space", where public space like this in turn will also become power contestation in Aceh. The widespread cultural spaces like coffee shops can be seen through several important things as a change process in Aceh, among them. First, coffee shops have confirmed the new Acehnese identity (Friedmen, 1995), even though it is also a cultural pattern that has become entrenched, however, in the context of post-tsunami and development in Aceh, now that the coofe shop character is increasingly strong. Even in another perspective, coffee shops now have become a wide discourse toward what I would call "beyond the coffee shop". In Banda Aceh in particular several coffee shops have particular names such as, *de Helsinki, Ayah Solong-Ulee Kareng, Chek Yuke, Dapukopi*, and so forth. This indicates that the identity of the Acehnese has begun to shift toward a productive subculture and should be developed and maintained to be more a communication medium with cultural bargaining values.

Second, coffee shops have expanded the cultural space (Appadurai,1994: 193) in Aceh. On the one hand, at first women in Aceh did not participate in the cultural process, now they have begun to fill the cultural spaces of coffee shops. On the other hand, the influx of global culture in the post-tsunami Aceh also has marked various changes at various levels, ranging from lifestyle, outlook on life, mentality, imagination, even materialization of values has been extended in the heart of the life of the people of Aceh. The most striking thing to describe in this pattern is when most national and international NGOs have started construction of Aceh, a result that also brings light to the changes in society, such as the dependency which is starting to affect the aspects of the mentality of the people of Aceh, consumerism is beginning to take root in the realm of the young city of Aceh, unemployment is also beginning to expand in various levels in the city or in the countryside.

This fact shows that the space of Aceh culture is not only created by the Acehnese themselves, but it is also part of the wider global culture that has deliberately been widened in this kind of cultural spaces. Therefore, it is no wonder coffee shops someday will replace the spaces of "culture carriers" that had been established earlier. Its existence has even been a part that does not just become a medium of consumerism of some specific class, but he has shown characteristics of culture that is able to dominate the other cultural roots in this Islamic province. No wonder, the Islamic law which has recently been applied in Aceh for example, has virtually been unable to operate in such cultural spaces, the Court System is also being called into question of its existence.

Third, in addition to having expanded as a cultural space, coffee shops someday will also become a model for the merging of cultural diversity (Green, 1995:

34) particularly on the development of a culture that is undergoing a lengthy transition period like Aceh. It can be seen as other forms of local wisdom we cannot find easily elsewhere. For supporting the system that applies in every room of the culture, they do not always have the same character, so that at least the fundamental characteristics of a pattern of behavior, whether individual, institutional, cultural symbols, values, and even life choices built must have similarities (Fatherstone, 1995). Thus, coffee shops have become a place of reference that has cultural and historical values not only in limited areas or on the individual resident of Aceh, but also on local party elites, intellectuals, researchers, even academics who have been losing space to immerse all forms of debate in formal classrooms.

Therefore, even though his presence does not affirm a message or a particular mission, but in time inevitably, such public space will experience a redefinition that will continuously be in line with the growth of global culture. The so-called political spaces --in a political anthropology perspective--even will also occur in social spaces of this kind of coffee shop. Where coffee shops are built with local characteristics, roots and in time will be filled and replaced by a cultural space that even supports a pattern of power relations that is developing there. So coffee shops will be built, maintained, preserved, even modified according to the tastes of thriving cultural politics to ensure the sustainability of elite groups who are currently in power.

As a cultural space, coffee shops are positioned as a narrative of culture that will always experience a shift in orientation as well as its meaning. So there is a need to encourage a more critical way of seeing symptoms of this kind of space transformation. Moreover, in recent years the momentum of political competitions at the local level is competing. In line with that, with the development of socio-cultural spaces like coffee shops called public space in Aceh in this study, it is expected that it will restore the Acehnese values that have started to disappear, where traditional bonds are weakened, including the reference of important figures can be found again.

Therefore, we can imagine an Acehnese resistance when the process of enculturation is no longer dominated by traditional agents such as parents, religious leaders, and custom. The construction process of these values that have been done in a very competitive manner by different agencies, ranging from state agents, markets, and society itself should become a more decisive pattern developed as a narrative that is created through the local genius of the Acehnese society. The question is how these forms of public space such as coffee shops can be managed to serve as a cultural change agent capable of restoring the Aceh transition periods.

CONCLUSION

Dialectical relationship between local and global identity brings diverse historical burdens in Aceh. A clash of paradigms in managing diversity of Islamic groups in Aceh is a fact of the limited "public space" created. The latent conflict between Islamic groups recently is a small part of the identity conflict that lacks a touch of public space to its full potential, so to the extent that the identification of the diversity of Islamic groups have not been established effectively. It is at this point that a society's social system is experiencing social dysfunction as a result of social clusters that grow in massive way and in limited management of a public space. Therefore, the free growth of Islamic groups should be managed with by bringing them together in the public space so that, as in the case of taking advantage of cultural spaces, creating a space that is more open, inclusive capable of opening the boundaries of exclusivity in the Islamic groups is part of how to manage the differences.

The symbolic conflict between Islamic groups is not the stressing point in this discussion, but rather the difference between Islamic groups is the important discussion, because it will create the source and the potential for a larger conflict through interpretation, perception, imagination against "the others". The perception of a group within the heterogeneous society will create the boundaries or territorial identity between one group and another. Therefore, the chance of conflict will be more open when different forms of perception arise massively to justify other groups, even giving rise to the claims reproduced continuously without any popular clarification. Therefore, learning to understand the identity of other groups is an important part to eliminate the negative perception by way of fostering dialog tradition in various layers of cultural diversity, community, and even among the political parties.

Relation between the state and *ulamas* should be an important icon in reconstructing the "development" of Aceh; at present the relationship does not seem to be a notable actor who is able to negotiate between the diversity of Islamic groups, but in fact the position has been replaced by other agencies and actors. The opportunities for negotiation in a variety of local policy requires a lot of roles in maintaining traditional values and local wisdom in Aceh, but now even *ulamas* as reference figures for the Acehnese are increasingly fading away in their role. While the state is no longer able to perceive the local domain in a more open and balanced way, the results of the policies created sometimes clash with the spirit of local citizenship. In addition to the state and the ulamas, there are many other potentials in Aceh that can serve as contestation between the actors and the agencies to represent and make room for dialog between

the existing differences, such as non-government organizations and agents of globalization, media and cultural spaces such as "coffee shops" in Aceh that need to be identified to public promote the openness and opportunities for dynamic dialog.

In addition, the creation of public space in Aceh is not merely as a medium of communication, but in turn it also becomes an active social agent capable of moving the community's cultural process, including marking the era of openness and freedom in Aceh. Moreover, the inclusion of global culture in the wake of the tsunami also has marked various heritage changes at various levels, starting from the idea, views of life, mentality, imagination, even the consumptive lifestyles that have been prevalent in the heart of the life of the people of Aceh. So the public space in time will become a new agent for the emergence of a culture of openness in Aceh. Thus, public space must also be utilized as a cultural space that is productive and promotes spirit of innovation for local wisdom.

Therefore, the existence of public space, *first*, will affirm the identity from the possibility of inclusion of a wide range of interests that tried to accomplish their mission, either through the hands of the power, the strength of the global economy, or the political media. *Second*, public space is also created to expand the cultural space. The Acehnese cultural space is not created only by the Acehnese themselves, but it is also part of the wider global culture that, deliberately or not, has been extended in cultural spaces like coffee shops that are developing extensively and even getting rooted in Aceh. Therefore, it is no surprise that someday coffee shops will replace the main cultural spaces established earlier, including religion and custom. *Third*, public space has also become a model for the merging of cultural diversity especially in the development of a culture that has been undergoing a lengthy transition period like Aceh. Therefore, the social capital owned by the people of Aceh will help the formation of a more open, inclusive and democratic society. Thus, Aceh as the icon of Islamic civilization (the terrace of Mecca) will be able to create new awareness of life that builds interconnections with one another in a multicultural life, as propose in the global village above.

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