

Fearing the Queer and the War on “Indecency”

Portrayals of LGBT Individuals, and the Struggle for
Religious Decorum in Aceh, Indonesia

Author: Jeanna Nilsson
Supervisor: Monica Lindberg Falk



Copyright 2018 by Jeanna Nilsson

All Rights Reserved

Abstract

Fearing the Queer and the War on “Indecency”: Portrayals of LGBT Individuals, and the Struggle for Religious Decorum in Aceh, Indonesia

Jeanna Nilsson

In 2014, the sharia-ruled Aceh province of Indonesia legislated bylaw *qanun jinayat* no.6/2014, which criminalised same-sex acts, and imposed a caning punishment consisting of a hundred lashes if a person was found guilty. The law impelled a hunt and persecution of LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) individuals, thereby worsening discrimination against the already hampered LGBT community. This study investigated how LGBT individuals are portrayed in Aceh, specifically how the former mayor of Banda Aceh Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal understands the LGBT phenomenon. The research uncovered (1) the different discourses on LGBT individuals that emerged according to Djamal’s understanding, (2) how LGBT individuals are portrayed within the Acehnese society, and (3) how LGBT issues contrast the Acehnese Muslim identity. With the assessment of various gender theories and insights to Islamic paradigms from the Sunni Shafi’i School – the most practised type of Islam in Aceh – the analysis of this study discussed the salience of religion in the society. The results showed that LGBT individuals are portrayed in different discourses – as a threat, disease, deviancy from traditional gender norms, family problem, and a crime. The outcomes further indicated that “LGBT behaviour” is categorically perceived as a threat to Aceh, and incompatible with the Acehnese Muslim identity.

Keywords: Acehnese discourse; LGBT; qanun jinayat; Shafi’i Islam; gender; liwath; musahaqah; kodrat

Abstrak

Fearing the Queer and the War on “Indecency”: Portrayals of LGBT Individuals, and the Struggle for Religious Decorum in Aceh, Indonesia

Jeanna Nilsson

Pada tahun 2014, provinsi Aceh yang diatur oleh syariah di Indonesia disahkan oleh hukum qanun jinayat no.6/2014, yang mana mengkriminalisasi tindakan homoseksual, dan memberlakukan hukuman cambuk yang terdiri dari seratus cambukan jika seseorang dinyatakan bersalah. Hukum tersebut mempergiatkan perburuan dan penganiayaan terhadap individu-individu LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Biseksual, Transgender), sehingga memperburuk diskriminasi terhadap komunitas LGBT yang sudah terganggu. Studi ini menyelidiki bagaimana individu-individu LGBT digambarkan di Aceh, khususnya bagaimana mantan walikota Banda Aceh Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal memahami fenomena LGBT. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap (1) wacana yang berbeda tentang individu-individu LGBT yang muncul berdasarkan dari pemahaman Djamal, (2) bagaimana individu-individu LGBT digambarkan di dalam masyarakat Aceh, dan (3) bagaimana isu-isu LGBT bertentangan dengan identitas Muslim masyarakat Aceh. Dengan evaluasi dari berbagai teori jender dan wawasan terhadap paradigma Islam dari sekolah Sunni Shafi’i – jenis Islam yang paling banyak dipraktikkan di Aceh – analisis penelitian ini berpusat pada pembahasan arti-penting agama bagi masyarakat Aceh. Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa individu-individu LGBT digambarkan dalam wacana yang berbeda – sebagai ancaman, penyakit, penyimpangan dari norma-norma jender tradisional, masalah keluarga, dan tindak kejahatan. Hasil lebih lanjut menandakan bahwa “perilaku LGBT” dengan pasti dipersepsikan sebagai ancaman bagi Aceh, dan tidak sesuai dengan identitas Muslim masyarakat Aceh.

Kata kunci: wacana Aceh; LGBT; qanun jinayat; Shafi’i Islam; jender; liwath; musahaqah; kodrat

Acknowledgements

First of all, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, professor Monica Lindberg Falk. Thank you for your patience in me and for your invaluable contributions to this thesis.

I would like to extend my thanks to all the teachers and staffs at the Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies for the knowledge you have provided throughout the years.

I also want to thank my family and friends for accepting and loving me for who I am. I am forever grateful to have such compassionate people in my life.

This is a thesis that I have written with the inspiration of my wife, Kei, as she has survived many perils living as an ethnic minority and LGBT individual in Indonesia. I turn to her for guidance and illuminating the way when I am lost in the dark.

She is my *Srikandi* and I will always love her.

Lastly, I want to express my support to all LGBTQ+ individuals in the world that experience discrimination on basis of their sexuality or gender identity.

This thesis is dedicated to you.

“Commit to loving yourself completely. It’s the most radical thing you can do in a lifetime.”

– Andrea Gibson, queer poet.

Malmö, 2018-08-24

Jeanna Nilsson

Table of Contents

Copyright	ii
Abstract	iii
Abstract in Bahasa Indonesia – Abstrak	iv
Acknowledgements	v
List of Figures	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
Glossary	x
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Research Aims.....	2
1.3 Research Questions	3
1.4 Research Problem.....	3
1.5 Literature Review	4
1.6 Disposition	6
Chapter 2. Methodology	7
2.1 Ontological and Epistemological Position	7
2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis	7
2.2.1 The Acehnese Discourse	10
2.3 Materials.....	10
2.3.1 Walikota Banda Aceh	11
2.3.2 Serambi Aceh	12
2.3.3 Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal.....	14
2.4 Sampling Method	14
2.5 Validity and Reliability	15
2.6 Reflexivity	15
2.7 Limitations	17
2.8 Ethical Considerations.....	17
Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework	19
3.1 Gender Hierarchies, Heteronormativity, and God’s Given Nature of the Sexes	19
3.2 Enemy Images of LGBT – the Islamic <i>Luti</i> , and the Threat to the Nation	21
Chapter 4. Background	24
4.1 Brief History of Aceh	24

4.1.1 The Veranda of Mecca: Commerce, Colonisation, and Rebellion (16 th Century – 1945).....	24
4.1.2 Oppression During the New Order (1965 – 1998).....	25
4.1.3 The Tsunami Disaster 2004	26
4.1.4 The Reformasi Period and Independence (2005–).....	26
4.2 The Acehese Islamic Identity	27
4.3 The LGBT Issue in Aceh	27
4.4 The <i>Qanun Jinayat</i> No.6/2014	28
Chapter 5. Analysis.....	30
5.1 The Acehese Discourses on LGBT	30
5.1.1 LGBT as a Threat.....	30
5.1.2 LGBT as a Disease.....	31
5.1.3 LGBT as Deviance from God’s Given Nature of the Sexes	32
5.1.4 LGBT as a Family Problem	34
5.1.5 LGBT as a Crime	35
5.2 The Acehese Portrayal of LGBT.....	36
5.2.1 Text	36
5.2.2 Discursive Practice.....	37
5.2.3 Social Practice.....	37
5.3 The Acehese Muslim Identity and LGBT Individuals	38
5.3.1 Text	38
5.3.2 Discursive Practice.....	40
5.3.3 Social Practice.....	41
Chapter 6. Conclusion	43
6.1 Main Findings	43
6.2 Further Studies	44
References.....	45

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Representation of Fairclough’s diagram of “social theory of discourse”	8
Figure 5.1	From “LGBT... Enyahlah dari bumi serambi mekah ini... LGBT perbuatan...,” by I. S. Djamal, 2016 (https://www.instagram.com/p/BBQLV4Vwn7D/). In the public domain.	39

List of Abbreviations

BBC News	British Broadcasting Corporation News
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
GAM	<i>Gerakan Aceh Merdeka</i> (Free Aceh Movement)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ILGA	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association
JDIH	<i>Jaringan Dokumentasi dan Informasi Hukum Aceh</i> (Aceh Legal Documentation and Information Network)
KNPI	<i>Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia</i> (National Committee of Indonesian Youth)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
LGBTQI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPU	<i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama</i> (Consultative Assembly of Ulema)
MUI	<i>Majelis Ulama Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Ulema Council), the highest clerical body in Indonesia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
Pemko	<i>Pemerintah kota</i> (the city government)
PPP	<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> (United Development Party)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Fund

Glossary

<i>Adat</i>	Local customs and law
<i>Allahu Akbar</i>	God is greater
<i>Azaz kekeluargaan</i>	Family foundation
<i>Balee Inong</i>	An organisation for married women in the city of Banda Aceh
<i>Daerah Istimewa Aceh</i>	The special autonomy of Aceh
<i>Fatwa</i>	Juridical decision carried out by Muslim scholars
<i>Fatwa haram</i>	<i>Fatwa</i> – death warrant, <i>haram</i> – forbidden
<i>Gay/lesbi</i>	Homosexual man/woman respectively
<i>Hadith</i>	The documented actions and quotes of the prophet Muhammed
<i>Imam</i>	An Islamic scholar who has a leadership position, normally in a mosque
<i>Inshallah / insha 'Allah</i>	If God wills it
<i>Keluarga sakinah</i>	Harmonious family
<i>Kodrat pria/wanita</i>	Nature male/female respectively
<i>Liwath</i>	Anal intercourse between men
<i>Luti</i>	Sodomite, refers to the analogy of Lut
<i>Marwah</i>	Dignity, prestige, honour
<i>Musahaqah</i>	‘Rubbing’, same-sex intercourse between women
<i>Qanun Jinayat</i>	The Criminal Code of Aceh
<i>Shalat / sholat / salat / solat</i>	Rituals of worship in Islam
<i>Ulema</i>	Islamic scholar
<i>Uztaz</i>	Male religious teacher or professor
<i>Waria</i>	Transgender individual, a juxtaposition of the Indonesian words <i>wanita</i> –woman and <i>pria</i> –man
<i>Wilayahul Hisbah</i>	Sharia Police in Aceh
<i>Zina</i>	Adultery

Chapter 1. Introduction

This chapter uncovers the necessary components that have constituted my research aims and problems, and also which researchers that have been important to this field of interest.

1.1 Background

Indonesia, the Southeast Asian archipelago, is by no disregard a country without diversity. However, it is also no understatement that Indonesia shares a difficult relationship with its lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (henceforth LGBT) citizens. The LGBT issue is a relatively new phenomenon to most Indonesians, and often incorrectly understood. *Gays* and *lesbis* – the Indonesian words for homosexual men and women – are sometimes referred to as “deviants” – *orang yang menyimpang* – or as part of the rich upper class (Boellstorff, 2003). Whereas homosexuality as such is not persecuted under the national criminal code of Indonesia, and was not a criminal offence during the Dutch rule, the general view in Indonesia is that LGBT issues are connected to indecency (HRW, 2016a).

In the province of Aceh, the most northern tip of Sumatra, Human Rights NGOs and UN rapporteurs have been alarmed about the growing intolerance for minorities, including very severe discrimination against LGBT persons. Aceh – previously known as Aceh Darussalam (1511-1959), Daerah Istimewa Aceh (1959-2001), Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (2001-2009) – is a self-governed region, which is ruled by sharia laws that have a criminal code called *qanun jinayat* (HRW, 2016b). As of November 2015, Aceh introduced a new law, *qanun jinayat* no.6/2014, which made “homosexual conduct” – same-sex relations and intercourse – a punishable offence. The punishment either consists of publicly shaming the victim on a large stage in front of an audience, where a masked tormentor whips the victim a hundred times with a wooden, a fine of 1,000 grams of pure gold or a maximum of a hundred months’ imprisonment (Hewson, 2015). This particular law has legitimised not only discrimination against LGBT individuals, but also violence from street vigilantes and arbitrary arrests by a sharia police – known only to Aceh – called the *Wilayatul Hisbah*. In extensive reports made by both Amnesty and the Universal Periodic Review of Indonesia, criticisms have been raised to the excessive violence permeated by the *Wilayatul Hisbah* (UN, 2017; UNDP, 2014).

Nevertheless, despite the human rights abuses identified by several organisations, the “Acehnese case” is very particular and needs a thorough assessment of the region’s history and struggle for independence. As of 2016, several news channels and NGOs, including BBC, described the on-going abuse of Indonesian LGBT individuals as a “sudden onslaught” compared to previous years (BBC News, 2016). I suspect that one reason has been very influential in this case; namely that Indonesian and Acehnese elites – politicians and religious influential persons – have become very active to demand reprimands for constraining the existence of the Acehnese LGBT community. These elites are thus in control of a certain perspective – a discourse – and they are the power holders who can rightfully claim to have the right definition in this discourse and its interpretation, which also includes the rights to claim norms and taboos.

Among the many elites that have spoken out against the LGBT issue, I have especially taken interest in the former mayor of Banda Aceh – the capital city of Aceh province – called Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal (2014-2017). While serving as mayor, she was very outspoken against LGBT issues, and made several appearances in newspapers and on social media that attracted attention worldwide. I have also taken interest in her as she was inaugurated in the same year Aceh enacted the law that criminalised same-sex relations and acts.

1.2 Research Aims

The main aim of this study is to provide a better understanding, and also to shed light, on how the LGBT issue has been framed and understood in Aceh. While not primarily expected at finding the causality between Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s statements and LGBT discrimination such as the caning punishments, this study might make it possible to analyse how marginalisation of the LGBT community has become a heated issue. My focus is therefore to analyse the views of Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s statements – how she understands the issue in relation to the sharia rulings that condemn LGBT individuals. Also, without any anticipation of reaching a result that is entirely generalisable for all politicians and influential elites in Aceh, this research study is inclined at discussing the significance of one politician’s views and control of a certain discourse.

This study also intends to examine how LGBT discrimination can be linked to gender roles in Acehnese society. It is apparent that the LGBT issue stands in stark contrast to how especially Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal and other influential Acehnese politicians and religious leaders perceive gender roles. Since Aceh follows the Shafi’i School of the Sunni

interpretation of Islam, I will analyse the religious values that apply to Aceh from which the *qanun jinayat* no.6/2014 is based on. Accordingly, in order to provide an understanding of this polemic relationship, this study will examine the “Acehnese case” – an assessment of Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel’s statements during her regency as a powerful politician. My research questions are consequently posed to investigate how LGBT individuals have been described, and also how they might contrast and differ from the perceived Acehnese Muslim identity.

1.3 Research Questions

- Which discourses on LGBT emerge from Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel’s understanding?
- How is LGBT described and played out in Aceh?
- In what ways does LGBT contrast and challenge the Acehnese Muslim identity?

1.4 Research Problem

HRW was the first international NGO that reported on the caning punishment in 2009. The news included a discussion in the Acehnese parliament to endorse *qanun jinayat* laws in order to punish individuals for crimes such as adultery and “homosexual conduct” (HRW, 2009). The proposition at this time was that a suspected person should be either flogged with a hundred lashes, or stoned to death. While this law failed to become legislated, it nevertheless stopped the legislation of the current law *qanun jinayat* no.6/2014, where “homosexual acts” are punished by caning (JDIH, 2014). While this study is solely purposed to analyse the chronology of Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel’s regency, there have been numerous reports on the constant human rights infringements on the Acehnese LGBT community that occur to this day.

Since the caning punishment in Aceh is a relatively new phenomenon, there is a void in the literature regarding this issue. Whereas the LGBT issue is not unknown in the field of research in Indonesia, there are currently no academic resources that are focused solely on Aceh. There are plentiful reports made by NGOs such as Amnesty International, HRW, and ILGA that constantly raise concern about the on-going human rights infringements done by both street vigilantes and the *Wilayatul Hisbah*. As such, this research study is aimed at contributing to a research field that has yet to be explored, thereby acknowledging the need for a more academic inquiry.

1.5 Literature Review

There are several authors that have contributed to the understanding of LGBT issues in Indonesia, and the majority of them have various backgrounds in anthropology, gender studies, sociology, and political science. Perhaps the most prominent researcher is anthropologist Tom Boellstorff (2005), who has contributed with his book *The gay archipelago: Sexuality and nation in Indonesia*, which is a landmark study to understand gender relations in Indonesia. While the book is more than ten years old since its release, it is still considered one of the most revered books on understanding LGBT issues in Indonesia.

Another prominent researcher is sociologist Saskia E. Wieringa (2015) and her writings on gender relations, sexual policy, and lesbian relationships in Indonesia. Wieringa has most notably engaged in cross-cultural studies, in which she combines a feminist epistemology and ethnographical methods. Similarly, anthropologist Evelyn Blackwood (2010) did fieldwork resembling that of Wieringa’s research, with a focus on lesbian relationships and tomboys in West Sumatra. Her work has also had a major influence on the discourse of gender studies in Indonesia.

I have also relied heavily on anthropologist Kathryn Robinson’s (2014, 2015) research on gender relations, democracy, and women’s movements in Indonesia. This thesis has mostly discussed Robinson’s ideas in regards to the scholarship of gender studies in Southeast Asia namely how researchers are supposed to view and practice gender studies in this region.

Besides researchers that are focused on LGBT issues in Indonesia, there is much to be learned from Peter A. Jackson (2016) and his work on LGBTQI identities in Thailand. Comparatively, there are both similarities and differences in both the Indonesian and Thai context of LGBTQI issues, and I have especially taken interest in Jackson’s writings on the Thai language of sex and sexuality in Thailand. Jackson, similar to both Wieringa and Blackwood, has described the interlaced use of Thai as a channel to articulate and define LGBTQI individuals and their identities, as well as to understand the context and social reality that these people live in.

There are a few researchers who have focused on gender studies and LGBT identities in relation to Islam. I have relied heavily on Islamologist Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle (2010) for his contributions to the field of understanding how homosexuality has been interpreted in Islamic texts. Kugle (2010) especially notes that different teachings of Islam – whether it may

be Sunni, Shi’a, or Sufi interpretations of the Quran – have different understandings of how same-sex acts should be viewed upon and punished.

Researchers Junaid Jahangir and Hussein Abdullatif (2016) argue in *Islamic law and Muslim same-sex unions* how same-sex relationships and same-sex acts have been, and are, viewed by different Islamic teachings such as the analogies of Muhammad and Sunni narratives. Their standpoint is that, although there is a strong opposition from classical and contemporary Islamic scholars regarding same-sex acts and unions, they predominantly refer to an absence of a legal contract between partners – marriage – as the main source for LGBT discrimination in Islam.

Islamologist Kecia Ali (2016) further notes that while the Quran does not explicitly forbid gay relationships, it does not hold same-sex desires religiously lawful. To many Islamic scholars, queer issues can also be interpreted as Western, modern, and dissents in the Islamic context.

In the scholarship that covers Aceh, there are but a few researchers that are relevant for this research project. I have mostly relied on ethnographer Marjaana Jauhola’s (2010, 2012, 2013) research on post-tsunami reconstruction in Aceh, which includes her fieldwork in Aceh on gender-based violence. Jauhola notes that spiritual reconstruction in disaster-struck Aceh strengthened advocacy of sharia rulings as they were thought to “build Aceh back better”. This research resonates with that of anthropologist David Kloos (2018), whose fieldwork has focused on Acehnese citizens and their struggle to become better Muslims. Kloos rejects the impression that the Acehnese citizens are passive subjects and subjugated under Islamic law, but rather that they have actively created the Acehnese state in which they identify as its citizens.

In relation to Islamic understandings of sharia, I have taken interest in historian R. Michael Feener (2013), whose work on understanding Islamic law in Aceh has contributed greatly to a small scholarship that covers this field. Feener’s work resembles that of Jauhola and Kloos, but he focuses on the implementation and social engineering of sharia law in Aceh.

From a historical perspective, there are a few researchers who have focused their studies completely on Aceh. This thesis mostly consists of political scientist Edward Aspinall’s work (2009), which is focused on both the Acehnese and Indonesian struggle for independence from the Dutch rule. Most importantly, Aspinall has contributed to the scholarship of Aceh in regards to understanding the significance of the Acehnese *GAM* – *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*, and also the aftermath after the peace accords were signed in 2004.

1.6 Disposition

This thesis starts with a methodology chapter in order to explain the methods chosen, and also the materials for this research.

This chapter is followed by a theory chapter, in which I discuss the theories I have deemed relevant to use to analyse my materials.

After that, a background chapter briefly presents the relevant concepts from Aceh’s history. In this chapter, there is a presentation on the LGBT issue in Aceh, as well as a note on the Acehnese Islamic identity and the criminal code of Aceh, the *qanun jinayat*.

The analysis chapter follows after, where I discuss my material in relation to the theories I have chosen.

I close this thesis with a conclusion chapter where I summarise my findings and give insights for further studies.

Chapter 2. Methodology

This chapter is an introduction to the methodology that I have used, and also the necessary considerations regarding the ethics of research that I have contemplated on in order to execute this study.

2.1 Ontological and Epistemological Position

This study follows a social constructivist position in order to understand how Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal has framed the LGBT issue. Social constructivism focuses on how explaining individuals have come to understand the world they live in; namely how they have developed subjective meanings of their world (Creswell, 2014). Social constructivism has formed through interaction with others, and also through historical and cultural norms that have shaped individual lives (ibid.). This approach is context-specific, in which the researcher focuses on how individuals have come to understand their world. As such, this approach implies that there are no objective truths, and that reality is merely a construct made by people (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). The researchers are also aware that their social background will influence and bias the interpretation of the analysis. As such, this perspective is inductively generated as opposed to a theory-driven thesis (ibid.).

The epistemological position for this research takes an interpretivist stance, in which I, as a researcher, is the main tool in understanding and interpreting a certain phenomenon, and where I draw meaning from the findings of the data analysis (e.g. lessons learned, comparing information to literature). As such, my own biases in relation to the LGBT issue in Aceh will categorically affect the outcome of this research. Social researcher Alan Bryman (2012) therefore advises that because the outcome of the study is a product of the characteristics of the researchers (e.g. age, gender, sexuality) and their subjective opinions, this might pose implications when trying to replicate the study in the future.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

A discourse, according to sociologists Marianne W. Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips, is: “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 1). They argue that discourses are relevant to analyse the

construction of social practices and power relations; namely that the discourse’s power holders can claim to have the right definition of the discourse and its interpretation, which also includes the right to claim norms and taboos (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2014), withhold that different discourses, that represent different ways of knowing and talking about the social world, are engaged in an endless struggle to achieve hegemony and dominance of one particular perspective. According to linguists Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, a discourse analysis also “addresses social and political issues and examines ways in which these are constructed and reflected in the use of certain discourse strategies and choices” (Fairclough & Wodak as cited in Paltridge, 2012, p. 187).

I use parts of Norman Fairclough’s (2010) *Critical Discourse Analysis* (henceforth CDA) to study how Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s understands the LGBT phenomenon. I use Fairclough’s concept of a three-dimensional model that includes text discourse, discursive practice, and social practice as illustrated in Figure 2.1. The text discourse, argues Fairclough (2010), is a form-and-meaning analysis; namely that it is interdependent on representation and signification of the world and experience. In this model, discursive practice refers to socio-cognitive aspects of a text, and the analysis, in this case, is concerned of how “authors of a text draw on already existing discourses of the genres in the consumption and interpretation of texts” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 5). As such, it concerns the production, consumption, and distribution of a text to its readers (Fairclough, 2010). The discursive practice is also the mediator between texts and social practice (ibid.). Lastly, social practice refers to the way reality is shaped by texts and the production, consumption and distribution if texts (ibid.).

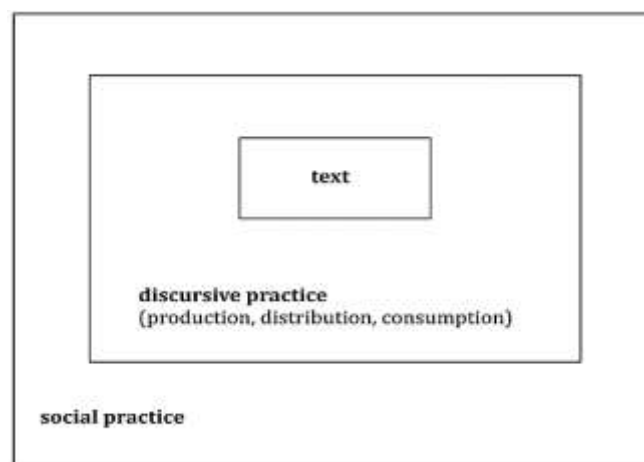


Figure 2.1 Representation of Fairclough's diagram of “social theory of discourse”. Reprinted from *Discourse and Social Change* (p. 73), by N. Fairclough, 1992, Cambridge, England: Polity Press. Copyright 1992 by Norman Fairclough. Reprinted with permission.

The advantage of using the CDA is that it examines a text, while it sees the language as a creator and maintainer of real-world constructions. Linguist Teun van Dijk (1993) further explains the importance of the articulation of power in the language; namely how elites of a discourse also control active access to a communicative event (e.g. time, place, setting, and presence/absence of certain participation of the event), and as such they articulate power by controlling the setting. Norman Fairclough (2010) states that there is a dialectical relationship between a communicative event and the order of a discourse, where the event reproduces an already existing image of a certain phenomenon. Therefore, the CDA aims to examine how these discourses are constructed and reproducing a hegemonic perspective that creates an unequal power relation between social groups, “for example, between social classes, women and men, ethnic minorities and the majority” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 107). The CDA is “critical” to its nature because it will clarify these phenomena as sustainers of social values and also a social-critical tradition. The text analysis is based on the notion that language categorisation is based on conscious/unconscious beliefs about the world (Fairclough, 2010).

Several linguistic researchers state that there is no fixed procedure for applying the CDA, and they argue that it should be tailored to suit the research aims (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1993). As such, my CDA consists of Fairclough’s three-dimensional model (2010), while also using van Dijk’s concepts for conducting text analysis. Van Dijk (1993) argues that justification of inequality happens through communicative events because the power holder of the discourse applies two strategies; firstly, they give the positive representation of the Own group, and, secondly, they give the negative representation of the Other. Given these two strategies, van Dijk (2009) argues that a researcher should examine language via different components such as (1) rhetorical figures – hyperbolic statements and polarisation between other’s negative actions, and our positive actions, (2) argumentation – the negativity of others comes directly from “facts”, (3) quoting credible witnesses, experts on the topic.

Lastly, I also examine Norman Fairclough’s two concepts, called intertextuality and interdiscursivity from my materials. Intertextuality is the examination of texts’ relation to each other, and in which way these texts are produced, distributed, and consumed by their readers (Fairclough as cited in Bergström & Boréus, 2012). Simply put, it is the study of how they “survive” each other, and are repeated with the same formulations and characterisation of a subject (ibid.). Interdiscursivity instead relates to the amalgamation of several discourses in a communicative event (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), and in this case, which discourses on LGBT that emerges from Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s understanding.

2.2.1 The Acehese Discourse

We may reflect upon the idea that there is an Acehese discourse on how the LGBT issue has been understood and delineated. However, in the Acehese discourse, Marjaana Jauhola (2013) writes that “dominant gender norms are constructed and negotiated as a continuous interplay between customs (*adat*), Islam, state ideology, 30 years long violent conflict and militarization and exploitation of natural resources” (p. 30). Since the early 1960s when the idea of imposing a sharia law was created, laws and local customs have helped shape gender norms we see in the contemporary Acehese society. As such, several women’s organisations have raised their concern local sharia regulations are based on “symbolic, literal and un-contextual interpretations of Islam” (ibid., p. 31-32). Women are especially being portrayed and valued symbolically for upholding moral behaviour, and as such, they become a target of normative control (Jauhola, 2013). Jauhola (2012) further notes that since the formalisation of sharia law, gender policies have been constructed as to advice Acehese of what constitutes a proper Muslim, and that God’s given nature (*kodrat*) of the sexes is unchangeable. Jauhola (2012) noted during her fieldwork, “female-to-male transgendered, bisexual and lesbian relationships are kept out of the public eye” (p. 15). As such, there is a strong taboo-laden nature of speaking about, and even considering, LGBT issues.

In this thesis, I have also defined an Acehese discourse that will demarcate the outline of this study. This discourse is concerned about Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel’s understanding of LGBT, and exits of three outlets of materials. Firstly, it is the Walikota Banda Aceh, the official website of the Banda Aceh mayor, the outlet where they have gathered updates on coverage of LGBT. Secondly, I have chosen articles that have covered Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel whenever she has spoken about LGBT from the Serambi Aceh, the most read newspaper in Aceh (Serambi News, 2017). I have chosen this outlet because this newspaper has a great influence on the Acehese society as it reaches out many readers. Lastly, my third outlet is Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel’s own personal views; namely what she has chosen to upload on her personal Instagram in relation to anti-LGBT events that she has participated in.

2.3 Materials

To study Djamel’s understanding on LGBT, the analysis material consists of Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh articles, and Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel’s own Instagram account where she has defined LGBT and how she views their existence within the Acehese society. These sources have been chosen on their accessibility to be reached from a regular computer,

and also intelligibility to translate Indonesian into English. All of Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh’s articles were written and posted in 2016, and this time period was chosen as it chronologically followed Djamel’s regency in years (2014-2017), and seems to be the time period that covered most articles on LGBT in Aceh.

2.3.1 Walikota Banda Aceh

Walikota Banda Aceh is the official website of the Banda Aceh Mayor. It is an informative website about the past and present mayors of Banda Aceh, and it covers events that these mayors have participated in (it includes several headings such as Home, Profile, Activities, Media, and News). To make its readers more familiar with the mayors, there is a link to the official Facebook account of the incumbent mayor Aminullah Usman, as well as Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel’s personal twitter account and Facebook. My focus for this research surrounds their updates regarding Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel and whenever she has been involved in a communicative event in Aceh and explicitly spoken about LGBT. At a total, I have six events for my analysis.

The first article posted on the 18th of February 2016 called *Illiza: Women’s participation in the development is important* covers Djamel’s engagement in a Regional Women’s Action Plans Meeting Regional I in the Hall of the Syiah Kuala District Office (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016a). In her opening speech, she talked about the importance of women that participate in the development process of Aceh (ibid.). In the article, Djamel held a speech to her audience, encouraging women to participate in urban planning and development of Aceh. She further mentioned in the article why LGBT is a threat to this ambition (ibid.).

The second article was released on the 20th of February 2016 called *Illiza asks the National Committee of Indonesian Youth to revive the mosque with dawn prayers in the congregation* in connection to an opening speech Djamel held on Musda XII National Committee of Indonesian Youth in Banda Aceh which attracted over hundreds of listeners (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016b). In her speech, she inspired youngsters to be the active future of Aceh, and she pointed out LGBT and heresy as rising problems in Aceh (ibid.).

The third article was released on the 24th of February 2016 called *Regarding LGBT issues, Illiza asks the society to take early prevention* where Djamel called for parents to react early to prevent the spread of LGBT (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016c). In the interview, she advocated for prevention through socialisation, religious education, and family strengthening for LGBT individuals (ibid.).

The fourth article released on the 25th of February 2016 called *The city government forms a special team to handle LGBT* concerns a meeting in the main hall of Banda Aceh, in which Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal held a speech where she promised to form a special team to combat the spread of LGBT, thus vowed to incorporate psychologists to cultivate LGBT individuals back to a “normal” life (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016d). She finished her speech by referring to the illegality of LGBT in reference to the *qanun jinayat* (ibid.).

The fifth article was also released on the 25th of February 2016 called *Exterminating LGBT, Illiza is asking for full support from the Consultative Assembly of Ulema*, in which Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal participates in a Working Meeting MPU Banda Aceh City 2016, an event that took place in the hall of MPU Office Banda Aceh in Jeulingke region (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016e). The article cites that the MUI has issued a *fatwa* (juridical decision carried out by Muslim scholars) against LGBT individuals. Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal also revealed that based on government surveys, there would be an approximate count of five hundred LGBT individuals residing in Aceh (ibid.).

In the sixth article released on the 8th of March 2016 called *Illiza gave a seminar on LGBT in a law faculty* covers a visit she made to a talk show held by the student board at the Faculty of Law of Syiah Kuala University (*Unsyiah*) called “*LGBT Marak, apa sikap kita?*” (LGBT is booming, what is our attitude?) (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016f). Alongside Djamal, the article further mentions that several other professionals that have given their opinions about LGBT (ibid.).

2.3.2 Serambi Aceh

Serambi Aceh is a part of Serambi Indonesia Daily – an Indonesian newspaper with national coverage), and it is the largest newspaper in Aceh province with ca 40,000 readers per day. They print newspapers seven days per week, and the Serambi group has a radio station called Radio Serambi FM 90.2 MHz, and various other streaming apps available on the Internet; they are also on Instagram and Twitter with 70,000 and 76,000 followers respectively (Serambi News, 2017). My focus on analysing Serambi Aceh is concentrated on five articles where I have narrowed down the search topic into articles that includes writing on Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal and LGBT (search words have been “LGBT” and “Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal” combined).

The first article I will use was published on the 27th of February 2016 called *The city government forms an LGBT prevention team* (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016a). In this article,

Djamal vowed to form a special team to combat LGBT and a quote from Djamal pleading to nurture LGBT individuals back to a normal life (ibid.).

The second article that was published on the 26th of March 2016 called *Balee Inong socialises the dangers of LGBT*, and it covers a socialisation event to speak about the dangers of pornography and LGBT in Balee Inong Bungong Banda Aceh in which Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal participated as the main speaker (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016b). Djamal is quoted several times in the article, especially as she mentioned that LGBT movement has existed with the “sodomites” since the time of the Prophet Muhammad (ibid.). She clarifies that LGBT causes anxiety among the Acehnese, and that the MUI has issued a *fatwa haram* (death warrant carried out by Muslim scholars) against the individuals and also pleaded that parental control is key to discover LGBT behaviour such as controlling TV shows, movies, songs, and daily interactions to halt existence of LGBT individuals (ibid.).

The third article I have chosen was published on the 3rd of April 2016 called *The mayor asks UNICEF to partake in handling LGBT* (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016c). The article describes a meeting Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal had with a representative of the UNICEF at the City Hall of Banda Aceh, where she asked him to create a special program to deal with LGBT in Aceh (ibid.). Djamal is also quoted saying that LGBT is a problem that involves psychologists, sociologists, as well as criminologists since same-sex acts are classified as a sexual crime (ibid.).

The fourth article was published on the 14th of April 2016 called *Illiza claims LGBT perpetrators in Banda Aceh reaches 500 people* (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016d). The article was released after a socialisation event called “Stop Violence Against Women and Children” at the Rukoh Mosque in Banda Aceh, in which Djamal was interviewed after the event and declared that the Acehnese government had via a survey found out that there were more than five hundred LGBT individuals, many of whom would be residing at campuses and active in certain LGBT-friendly communities (ibid.). Besides this statement, Djamal also vowed to stop international organisations from funding these communities (ibid.).

The last article I will use for my analysis was published on the 16th of April 2016 called *The city government discusses violence in Rukoh* and included another event of “Stop Violence Against Women and Children” that was held at Rukoh Mosque in Banda Aceh (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016e). As the main speaker, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal referred to previous statements she has made, such as the five hundred LGBT individual count, but she added that government surveys have concluded that LGBT has originated from domestic

violence. She also added that many LGBT individuals “camouflage” their sexuality and identity (ibid.).

2.3.3 Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal

Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal was born on the 31st of December in 1973 in Banda Aceh. She was the first female mayor that ever held a formal position in Banda Aceh where she served between the 16th of June 2014 to the 7th of July in 2017. Besides her regency over the capital, she was the chairman of the United Development Party (shortened *PPP*) in Banda Aceh, and also involved in several voluntary actives such as the Vice Chairman of Region Board for Women Unity and Development, Councilmember for Acehnese’s Women Organisation, and elected as the Chairman of Asia Pacific UCLG Women Committee (World Cities Summit, n.d.). She took to office in 2014 from Mawardy Nurdin, and was succeeded by Aminullah Usman in 2017.

Djamal is an avid social media user, and is familiar with Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. From every communicative event that I have previously described in “2.3.1 Walikota Banda Aceh” and “2.3.2 Serambi Aceh”, Djmal has posted at least one picture on either her official Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram account. However, whereas I could not find a Twitter or a Facebook post that contained anything else but a picture of the event she participated in, I decided to analyse her Instagram as it was the most detailed in revealing her opinions on LGBT. As such, I chose only one post from her Instagram that contained both a text and a picture worthy to analyse.

The Instagram post that I use in this thesis was posted on the 1st of February in 2016, and was internationally recognised (Al Jazeera, 2017; BBC News, 2017; Knight, 2017a). The post is a close-up picture of the mayor, posing with a gun, and where she wrote a message in which she promised to “clean” and “flush out” LGBT individuals from Aceh. She described LGBT as a destructive force to the human race, and mentioned that Aceh rejects LGBT behaviour (illiza_saaduddin. 2016). I will discuss this post further in “5.3.1 Text”.

2.4 Sampling Method

All my data are sampled through a purposive sampling method, a flexible method where I have deliberately chosen samples of the sources because of their relevance to the subject and my research questions (Bryman, 2012). None of the sources that are used for this research has been selected on a random basis, although I have chosen different types of data with different

key characteristics. This sampling method might reveal something about a social reality; namely a way of thinking or understanding a certain phenomenon. However, since this is a non-probability sampling method, the findings are not generalisable and cannot represent the whole population of Aceh. Furthermore, this sampling method demands absolute comprehensibility to avoid errors in gathering data. My own judgement and choice of articles will bias the study, which is the main reason why I have to consider my reflexivity in relation to the materials. Alan Bryman (2012) also adds that documents in general needs to be acknowledged for their own reality and uniqueness.

I use this data sampling method since I am analysing a dominant discourse, that has framed and understood LGBT issues in its' own specific way. My research questions have therefore been posed to analyse the top-down perspective. In this section, this thesis aims at analysing Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal's understanding of LGBT issues, how she might have been influenced by her context, and also in what way her context has been influenced by her.

2.5 Validity and Reliability

An adequate thesis needs both validity and reliability. Validity is the “integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research” (Bryman, 2012, p. 418). As such, good validity in research determines accuracy, credibility and trustworthiness when I arrive at my conclusions from the material, methods, and theories I have chosen. The goal of validity is to achieve objective knowledge, and not pursuing own personal interests or prejudices (Chambliss & Schutt, 2013). Reliability, on the other hand, is when a “measurement procedure yields consistent scores” (ibid., p. 77) – the assurance that other researchers can arrive at the same conclusions and replicate my research. Reliability is also a prerequisite for validity – a social phenomenon cannot be adequately measured if the results are inconsistent (Bryman, 2012).

2.6 Reflexivity

Sociologists Robert L. Miller and John D. Brewer (2003) stress that reflexivity:

requires a critical attitude towards data, and recognition of the influence on the research of such factors as the location of the setting, the sensitivity of the topic, power relations in the field and the nature of the social interaction between researcher and researched. (p. 209)

In a cross-cultural study, “in which the researchers position themselves of secular-liberal subjectivity, it positions them in a privileged position of the disembodied “self” looking down on the other as morally and politically inferior and in need of help” (Reed, 2015, p. 572).

In this study, I will have to constantly contemplate on my own reflexivity throughout the research process. Alan Bryman (2012) states that a researcher “is never conducting an investigation in a moral vacuum—who he or she is will influence a whole variety of presuppositions that in turn have implications for the conduct of social research” (p. 150). Since this study follows a social constructivist perspective, I recognise that my own bias and background will influence the outcome of the analysis on the LGBT issue in Aceh. For example, it is inevitable that I, as an atheist and homosexual woman, will speak in favour of LGBT issues and secularism, not the other way around. As such, I am already aware of my predisposition to this research. However, I stress that I have an adequate understanding of Aceh with its violent past and present, and that I have a good insight into my materials. Furthermore, I would like to emphasise that human rights issues in Indonesia are my research interest, and something that I am very passionate about. Therefore, I feel it is imperative to make this thesis as good as possible, while still highlighting that this study is *not* meant to incriminate Indonesian values and traditions, and will also shun reductionist views of Islam. Rather, this study aims at producing the “greater picture” how one elite’s understanding of the LGBT phenomenon can contribute to the spread of homophobia from the top-level down.

Furthermore, it is important to understand that the concept of “patriarchy” does not account for a universal explanation of the commonality of all women’s experience in their respective societies (Robinson, 2014). Also, when applying a gender framework, we have to consider that gender has recently entered the Indonesian language as *jender*, and that it is “an ideological product that the observer needs to analyze, in the same manner as other terms relating to gender difference or gender relations (such as “*ibu*” – mother /Mrs)” (ibid., p. 36). In Aceh, Jauhola (2012) argues that *jender* is a selective assimilation that contrasts between “*jender* as a cultural product with *kodrat* (biological destiny ordained by God)” (p. 12), and that *jender* requires a binary of innate, incontrovertible and God-given sex substrate, a trait that cannot be transformed. Therefore, when international agencies and NGOs advocates for gender mainstreaming policies, they can only be adopted to an Acehnese context if the embrace of the approach takes a “woman-friendly” position. Regardless of these cultural-specific interpretations of gender, I still have chosen theories based on mostly Western researchers with a Western understanding of the concept.

2.7 Limitations

I have an elementary ability to both write and understand Indonesian language. As a result, many words in the texts have been hard to translate. As such, I have had the opportunity to access help to translate my sources from a native speaker of Bahasa Indonesia – my wife. The limitation in this case, therefore, concerns that I might have missed certain words or meanings in order to fully comprehend these texts. Since I am not an Indonesian and have never been to Aceh, it could also mean that I am limited in terms of fully understanding the context and setting of the subject of this thesis.

2.8 Ethical Considerations

I am well aware of the guidelines regarding ethics in research from both Lund University (Research Ethics of Lund University, 2015) and the Swedish Research Council's (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002) four requirements for conducting ethical research. However, as I have not involved any informants in this research; I have not taken any ethical consideration whether my study would put harm to them. I have also excluded to study the discourses of victim-centred perspectives since this thesis is focused on the hegemonic viewpoint of the Acehese government.

Nevertheless, in this case, I still need to consider the ethics of the documents I have used. When analysing these documents, I have to bear in mind sociologist John Scott's four criteria: (1) authenticity, (2) credibility, (3) representativeness, and (4) meaning (Scott as cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 544). All these concepts are pivotal when analysing documents and media. Firstly, can the origin of Serambi Aceh and Walikota Banda Aceh's articles be questioned – are they truly reliable? My concern here will be the sources of some articles and especially the bias that will emerge from them. Secondly, there is always a risk that these articles will be distorted and misinterpreted, especially as they are constantly being translated from Indonesian into English. The concern, in this case, is whether the translation and analysis will leave out some meanings. Thirdly, are they representative “of all possible relevant documents, as if certain kinds of document are unavailable or no longer exist, generalizability will be jeopardized” (Bryman, 2012, p. 106)? Lastly, it is also pivotal to reflect whether the articles that are used for the analysis are clear and comprehensible to the reader (*ibid.*).

This thesis contains a picture from Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal's personal Instagram account – which will be discussed in “5.3.1 Text”. However, since her Instagram profile is

public, and has been written about and shown in various newspapers and NGO reports, there are no limitations in using it in this thesis’ analysis.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter covers several gender theory concepts and relevant paradigms from Shafi'i Islam in relation to LGBT. This thesis focuses on theories that put emphasis on the salience of gender and religion in the Acehnese society.

3.1 Gender Hierarchies, Heteronormativity, and God's Given Nature of the Sexes

Gender is the structure of social relations that centers on the reproductive arena and the set of practices (governed by this structure) that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes. (Connell & Pearse, 2002, p. 10)

Philosopher Judith Butler (2006) argues that exclusionary gender norms in regards to the binary concepts of men and women, makes gender norms predetermined. The issue of *performativity* is a concept that presupposes a gendered reality in which we are subjugated under gendered norms that make us behave in a particular way (Butler, 2006). Butler (2006) argues that the concepts of male and female, preordains a heterosexual hierarchy where we are taught to “perform” our genders with the attributes that are only associated with either men or women (ibid.). The heterosexual hierarchy, then, “produces and consolidates gender” and always stands in relation to negotiation of power (ibid., p. xii). Butler (2006) argues that it is not heterosexual normativity that is the cause of this, but rather that the gender hierarchy that underscores and presupposes an operative notion of gender, which in turn may have homophobic consequences.

Sociologist Saskia E. Wieringa (2015) argues that the New Order (further explained in “4.1.2 Oppression During the New Order (1965 – 1998)”) ruled out a patriarchal and hegemonic masculinist ideology that characterised the Indonesian nation-state, which was built on the subjugation of women. A strong Indonesian nation-state was thus based on an idea that presumed a harmonious and equilibrate relationship in which everyone had a “natural” role to play. This nature was separated into two binaries: (1) *kodrat wanita* – female nature – that ordained a biological strife to become mothers, submissive and care for their husbands, whereas (2) *kodrat pria* – male nature – was hegemonic and head of the family with unquestionable authority. As such, gender policies and family laws that were created during the New Order concerned the *keluarga sakinah* – harmonious family – and the *azaz*

kekeluargaan – family foundation. This family foundation rested on the notion that the other family members should serve the husband’s interests, which consecutively, would build healthy families and thus strengthen the Indonesian national character (Aisyah & Parker, 2014). At the very apex of the Indonesian nationhood, former president Suharto was the great *bapak* (father) of his children, the Indonesian residents. As such, Wieringa (2015) argues that these policies also accounted for anything that was abnormal from the normal discourse of healthy relationships, which in turn have ignored and discriminated against:

lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/transsexual and intersex (LGBTI) communities, obscuring the parallels between the concerns of these groups and those of others who are marginalised by hegemonic forms of heterosexuality. (Wieringa, Bhaiya, & Katjasungkana, 2015, p. 517)

Wieringa (2015) further argues that when ignoring such:

degradations, violations and violence experienced by women and LGBT people, to the twisting of history, the manipulation of Islamic teachings, the imposition of biased teachings on the whole of Indonesia and the conjuring up of an external enemy, in the form of Western feminism and globalization in general. (p. 41)

Although these ideas were promulgated mainly through the Suharto era, they still find resonance in the contemporary Indonesian and Acehnese society (Robinson, 2015).

Ethnographer Marjaana Jauhola (2012) argues that the Islamic discourse in Aceh has become a dominant medium to demarcate the aesthetics of gender debate, in which Jauhola argues for the concept of God’s given *kodrat* is key in becoming a “proper Muslim”. In Aceh, “sex is described as the biological differences between men and women and is thought to be universal, unchangeable, something that we are born with” (Jauhola, 2012, p. 6). As such, the gender binary relies upon the explanation that bodies and sex are exclusionary and creates a “natural” duality and interdependence between each other (ibid.). Jauhola (2010) argues that in current debates in Aceh, those who are using the word gender:

has to add that using the concept does not deny the existence of kodrat, as those who are advocating for gender equality are ‘accused of being anti-Islam [...] pro-secularism, Westernization, exclusive, radical, strange, naïve and denying the kodrat. (p. 36)

3. 2 Enemy Images of LGBT – the Islamic *Luti*, and the Threat to the Nation

There are to this day no Quranic verses that directly address same-sex relationships. However, the prohibition of same-sex relationships derives from the *hadiths* (the record of words, actions and approval of the prophet Muhammed) on the verses of Lut. The people of Lut’s tribe in Sodom and Gomorrah are indicted of sinful behaviour as they constantly rejected Lut’s authority, and participates in coercive male same-sex acts. As such, classical jurists have coined the term *liwath* - “the act of the people of Lut” – meaning penile-anal penetration; correspondingly “sodomy” in English (Kugle, 2010, p. 50). A person committing such acts – a *luti* – was associated with other acts that were considered repugnant such as robbery, murder, nudity, gambling or idolatrous worship (Kugle, 2010). In these *hadiths*, *musahaqah* – “rubbing” or obtaining stimuli of the cunnilingus, involving two women or more – is also a debated concept although more downplayed (Jahangir & Abdullatif, 2016). While many classical Muslim scholars from Sunni jurisprudence categorically forbid same-sex intercourse – *liwath* and *musahaqah* crimes – the Shafi’i school rules *liwath* in the same category as *zina* – adultery, and decided to depend on sharia law based on the *hadiths* for conviction of the *luti* (Kugle, 2010). This ruling is also evident in the *qanun jinayat* no.6/2014 where these crimes both equivalents to a hundred times whips or a fine of at most 1,000 grams of pure gold or a maximum of a hundred months’ imprisonment as punishment (JDIH, 2014). Also, the Shafi’i school jurists argue that heterosexual and homosexual fornication are objectively equivalent and should be punished in the same manner (Kugle, 2010). This punishment would either consist of lashing if the person was unmarried and stoning if the person was married. Furthermore, Shafi’i jurists mainly consider penetrative sex between two men illegal, whereas sex between two women is not even accounted as a legal way to have sex. According to Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle (2010), contemporary Shafi’i imams consider *musahaqah* “less weighty” as a crime by means that women do not have a penis, and would, therefore, betray her gender role as a “passive” sexual entity. The homosexuality as an identity is not given any thought to, as it would contradict the human nature (ibid.).

Islam holds a positive view of sex and human sexuality and key Islamic texts emphasise the sexual gratification of both partners. However, in both Muslim legal thought and exegetical tradition, the overwhelming focus is put on women being available to their partners, rather than the reverse (Ali, 2016). Researcher on Islam Kecia Ali (2016) argues

that same-sex intimacy cannot be distinguished from other topics such as sexual ethics, as it contradicts the legal construction of marriage. Although same-sex intimacy has been acknowledged to exist throughout Islamic history, Kecia Ali (2016) holds that it is not religiously legitimate to have homoerotic desires. Queer identities and same-sex desire can according to some conservative scholars be interpreted as a “modern” or even “Western” intrusion into Islamic tradition (Ali, 2016). In classical jurisprudence, intercourse was only possible and legal through ownership or control. Ownership could be established between a man and a woman through marriage. In Islam, sex is thus viewed as a natural need, with its importance in being used as means of procreation, to foster offspring, and marriage is also seen as the basis for legitimising acts of intimacy. Especially fostering children is considered the primary reason for marriage, and the spouse is deemed harmed if that duty is not fulfilled (ibid.).

Researchers Junaid Jahangir and Hussein Abdullatif (2016) argue that *liwath* is a debated concept because it has been, and is, viewed by Islamic jurists as a subjugation and humiliation of men. Past Muslim jurists did not actually consider same-sex intimacy in a legal contract between two free men and two free women, but rather ruled out same-sex acts outside of marriage and thereby a legal contract. They primarily saw such acts forbidden especially between a free man and his slave, considering them as inherently evil. Kecia Ali (2016) argues, however, that viewed in this light, the prohibition of same-sex relationships does not rest on the acts themselves, but rather the absence of a legal contract between members of the same sex and gender. As such, past jurists would consider this relationship ridiculous, as the understanding was that the man – the active partner – held his wife – the passive partner – through an ownership contract. Kecia Ali (2016) also argues that Sunni jurists also deem any other sexual acts than vaginal intercourse illegal, which further strengthens the idea that same-sex acts were forbidden on the basis of their existence outside of a legal contract. Past Sunni jurists were also concerned about the “humiliating” treatment of male slaves and underage boys from their free masters and male peers. Hence, it was pivotal to protect underage boys and male slaves from being penetrated by another man, and since men were viewed as non-receptive entities, such acts would emasculate and subjugate them (Jahangir & Abdullatif, 2016).

Anthropologist Tom Boellstorff (2004) argues that much of the anti-gay sentiment that has arisen in Indonesia is due to the idea of heteronormativity, and specifically to the linkages between heterosexuality, kinship, and the nation. Boellstorff (2004) argues that attacks occur because LGBT individuals can be perceived as a threat to proper masculinity, “an emotional

‘gut reaction’ to what was now interpreted as an assault on the nation’s manhood” (p. 470), and as such, political homophobia can, therefore, be interpreted as a “threat to normative masculinity, and thus to the nation itself” (p. 470). The only acceptable sexual orientation is heterosexuality, in which the family foundation – father, mother, and children – is regarded as the only foundation, upon which the nation can be built (Boellstorff, 2006). Boellstorff (2004) further argues that Indonesian Islam’s rejection of male homosexuality and transgenderism is not only as an expression of religious belief, “but reacting to feelings of *malu*, a complex term that can be provisionally rendered as ‘shame’” (p. 469). Feelings of *malu* emerge, argues Boellstorff (2004), when *gays* and *warias* challenge a nationalised and normative idea of masculinity, which indirectly associates to representations of the nation. As such, he (2004) claims that *malu* is a factor behind gendered violence against LGBT minorities, while still pointing out that the main target is gay men.

Chapter 4. Background

This chapter presents the relevant historical background of Aceh, as well as other concepts that adhere to the Acehnese context, such as an introduction to the Acehnese Islamic identity and also the *qanun jinayat*; the sharia law that condemns same-sex acts in Aceh.

4.1 Brief History of Aceh

4.1.1 The Veranda of Mecca: Commerce, Colonisation, and Rebellion

(16th Century – 1945)

In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Aceh was a prosperous sultanate and a global trading centre for pepper, which made it the main Muslim centre of commerce. The sultanate was also an important portal of Islamic scholarship that attracted *ulamas* – Islamic scholars – from around the world. In the seventeenth century, Aceh had a “Golden Age” of Islamic scholarship known globally to the Islamic world and was nicknamed by other Muslim nations as the Veranda of Mecca for constituting much of the sharia discourses that eventually influenced the whole Malay region (Feener, 2013).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Aceh was colonised by the Netherlands, but the Acehnese constantly rose against them, which eventually led to the Aceh war (1873-1904). By 1903, the sultanate had surrendered and the Netherlands had installed an administration led by rich Acehnese technocrats. However, the violence still continued with insurgencies from those who rejected the weak administration. Throughout the colonisation, the region thus experienced occupation by the Japanese troops in 1942, which stripped the Netherlands of their control. Initially the government was left intact, but eventually, the Japanese started to create an Islamic officialdom. Realising that they were losing the Second World War, Japan fled after 1945 and let the technocrats govern the region (Ziegenhain, 2010).

When Indonesia became an independent state from both Japan and the Netherlands in 1945, a new phase of Acehnese decentralisation took place. The Jakarta-led military with the newly chosen president Sukarno tried to curb the influence of the Acehnese, where the government tried to incorporate Aceh into the newly formed province of Sumatra. Funding for religious schools was also severely cut, and sharia courts were degraded. In a series of rebellions and guerrilla insurgencies, many Acehnese viewed the government measures as an

ungracious recompense for past participation in the struggle for Indonesia’s independence (Feener, 2013). After decades of colonisation, it became a paramount concern for Indonesia to strengthen its nationalism. In 1959, president Sukarno endorsed Aceh as a *Daerah Istimewa Aceh* – Aceh Special Region, in which the Acehnese could declare relative autonomy from the Indonesian state (Aspinall, 2009).

4.1.2 Oppression During the New Order (1965 – 1998)

The beginning of the New Order (1965-1998) started with pogroms and anti-communist sentiment from the Suharto-ruled government, and also gave momentum for Islamic institutionalisation. The *Darul Islam* movement, led by Daud Beureueh, envisaged of creating an Indonesian nation that was legislated by Islamic law. During the *New Order* regime of president Suharto, the Acehnese state was initially untouched. The Acehnese shared support for the regime’s anti-communist policies, and the chaotic leadership of late president Sukarno. However, as the new regime sought to tighten control of its region, the government also tried to curb the influence of countervailing forces of regional powers (Ziegenhain, 2010). Influential political and religious leaders were, therefore, forced to resign and to be monitored by the MUI – an Islamic institution set to maintain control of religious local elites. The Jakarta-based regime also controlled revenues from the Acehnese oil export companies, which exacerbated and exploited resources from Aceh. The *Darul Islam*, therefore, lost support for their ambitions.

Suharto thus ruled with the help of his strong government and Acehnese technocrats that implemented national development programmes. However, the Acehnese *ulamas* saw the state-led programmes as a threat to the morals and identity of the Acehnese society. The technocrats on the other hand, “feared that the powerful Acehnese *ulama* were discouraging foreign investment in the region” (Jauhola, 2010, p. 33).

In 1976, the Free Aceh Movement – *GAM* (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*) – was created by Hasan di Tiro, and started as a separatist group seeking independence for the Aceh Sumatra region from Indonesia. GAM fought against Indonesian forces through insurgencies and guerrilla warfare between 1976-2005. The Suharto-government formulated strong policies against Aceh and prompted the region into unification with the Javanese government. For the Acehnese, to accept the policies enforced by the Javanese government was to also accept the exploitation of natural resources (Bertrand, 2004).

4.1.3 The Tsunami Disaster 2004

The Tsunami disaster that struck Southeast Asia in 2004 was of cataclysmic proportions that claimed 200,000 lives over several countries across the Indian Ocean. Aceh suffered tremendously from the impact, which almost wiped out Banda Aceh. In the aftermath of the disaster, Aceh commenced on a long road towards re-building itself, in which Aceh received aid relief from over twenty states and NGOs (Aspinall, 2009).

For many Acehnese, the tsunami was regarded as a manifestation of “Allah’s power” – the manifestation of God’s omnipotence; namely both a punishment for past sins and a way to flush out old and begin anew (Kloos, 2018). While many aid relief projects launched under the slogan “build back Aceh better”, many Acehnese Muslims also saw the rebuilding as a personal project for ethical improvement in the region. For anthropologist David Kloos (2018), these individuals were active in their own personal strife for ethical development. Kloos (2018) therefore refutes claims that Acehnese Muslims became passive subjects after the tsunami disaster and with the implementation of sharia law. Rather, he argues, many Acehnese Muslims negotiated the devastation as an opportunity for change in their society (Kloos, 2018).

4.1.4 The Reformasi Period and Independence (2005–)

The Reformasi period had a massive impact on the Acehnese, especially as the international community stepped in to facilitate the peace records, only nine months after the tsunami disaster explained above. After thirty years of exile in Sweden, GAM leaders held informal peace talks in Helsinki, Finland with the Finnish Crisis Management Initiative and the former president of Finland Martti Arthisaari. A MoU was then signed on the 15th of August in 2005; a multilateral agreement, which promulgated the Acehnese autonomy which meant that Indonesian government troops would withdraw from the province in exchange for the disarmament of GAM. The peace agreement on the 15th of August 2005 also led to a new governance law and local elections following in 2006, which resulted in the win of former GAM rebel Irwandi Yusuf. Based on the MoU, the *Law on the Governing of Aceh* was implemented as a national law the same year, which was a revival and endorsement of the *Daerah Istimewa Aceh* that promulgated relative autonomy from the Indonesian government. As such, the Acehnese state could freely implement sharia laws and for many Acehnese, it was time to “build Aceh back better” – structurally and spiritually (Jauhola, 2010, p. 36).

4.2 The Acehese Islamic Identity

Aceh has a strong identity linked to Islam with a rich history linked back to the thirteenth century (Feener, 2013). Since the region’s long history of resistance towards external powers, and strong narrative of a past affluent sultanate that became marginalised, Islam became a natural basis of unification for the Acehese in their resistance from the Netherlands (Bertrand, 2004). In the aftermath of both the conflict between Aceh and the Indonesian government and the devastation of the 2004 tsunami, Islam became more influential as many Acehese were impelled by the idea that Aceh should be built back better to manifest the importance of religion in the region. Discourses and practices of post-tsunami reconstruction have resulted in two different narratives, while mutually coherent and intertwining – one focused on socioeconomic development, and the other on moral and religious recovery and rebirth.

Acehese Muslims are following the Sunni teaching, in which the followers believe that Muhammad’s uncle – Abu Bakr – was Muhammad’s rightful successor. The Acehese mostly identify with a Sunni teaching called Shafi’i in their interpretation in Islamic *fiqh* (the process of coming to practical acts based on divine guidance). The Shafi’i School follows the *hadiths* in Islamic jurisprudence to usher new rulings in ambiguous cases. The Acehese society allows other Sunni interpretations such as the Hanafi, Malik and Hanbali, and promotes openness to those who follow the Sunni interpretation of the Quran and the *hadiths* (JDIH, 2014), but Aceh does not recognise Shia and Sufi minorities as well as the Ahmadiyah Muslim community. The Acehese Shafi’i Islam is mainly reliant on the *hadith* and the sharia law, and has existed in Aceh since the end of the nineteenth century. Shafi’i Islam has played a major role in Islamic education in Aceh, and has helped the Acehese ulamas to solidify their influence in the society (Aspinall, 2009).

4.3 The LGBT Issue in Aceh

While *gays* and *lesbis* have not received much room in the Acehese society, *warias* – transgender individuals – have held a relatively public role. *Warias* have usually performed in weddings with traditional Acehese violins, and also been performed cross-dressing/male femininity (Jauhola, 2012). However, since the formalisation of sharia law, their practices have been either banned or restricted due to “unclear demarcations of the two sexes” (ibid., p. 15). The Social Affairs Department in Aceh also recognised that *warias* are in need of re-integration into society. Furthermore, since the enactment of sharia laws, the *qanun jinayat*

no.11 also prohibited mixed-sex salons and massage parlours in Aceh. Anthropologist Marjaana Jauhola (2012) writes “beauty salons have been one of the major sources of livelihoods for the waria, and largely the only occupation where they are accepted” (p. 13).

In several extensive reports made by the UNDP (2014) and the ILGA (Carroll & Mendos, 2017), Indonesia has experienced several setbacks of human rights. Since the independence from Indonesia in 2005 and with the implementation of sharia, Aceh has also developed a stricter intolerance towards religious minorities and women (Hewson, 2015). Following the implementation of the *qanun jinayat* no.6/14, several Human Rights NGOs have been alarmed by the increasing discrimination and violence towards LGBT individuals. The Human Rights Watch has especially followed the issue closely and started reporting on the abuses in 2015. The first article they posted was a story of two girls that were detained on suspicion of being lesbians because of an embrace that was seen by the *Wilayatul Hisbah* (HRW, 2015). In several other reports the HRW expose more detainments of individuals, house raids of finding “suspected lesbians” (HRW, 2017b), vigilantes stalking and the *Wilayatul Hisbah* arresting *warias* and shaving their hair in public (Harsono, 2018), and numerous cases of public floggings of LGBT individuals (HRW, 2017a). In 2017, Acehese authorities felt exposed by the international outcry and response that followed the public whippings, as to where they made a statement to hide them from the public eye (Knight, 2017b).

4.4 The *Qanun Jinayat* No.6/2014

The MoU of 2005 was a symbolic measure to ensure the autonomy of the Acehese state, as it gave Aceh autonomy to enact own laws (Awaludin, Mahmud, & Ahtisaari, 2005), and the implementation of sharia law was first initiated 2002-2003 by governor Abdullah Puteh who introduced a series of bylaws – *qanun* – unique only to Aceh. These laws originated from Sunni jurisprudence and contained regulations for “belief (*adique*), worship (*ibadah*), and symbols (*syiar*) including regulations on dress, intoxications (*khamr*), gambling (*maisir*) and illicit relations between men and women (*khalwat and zina*)” (Kloos, 2018, p. 135).

In September 2014, the Aceh provincial parliament approved the *qanun jinayat* no.6/2014 that “criminalizes consensual same-sex sexual acts as well as *zina* (sexual relations outside of marriage)” (Kloos, 2018, p. 111). The main focus in this law concerns the ban of *liwath* and *musahaqah*, which in turn is punishable by either a hundred lashes or up to a hundred months in prison for consensual same-sex (HRW, 2016b). In the article on 2.i *liwath*

and 2.j *musahaqah*, *liwath* is described as the sexual act between two men or more. It is stated that “liwath is the act of a man by putting his penis into the anus of other men with the willingness of both parties” (JDIH, 2014, p. 4). In *qanun jinayat* article 2.j *musahaqah*, sexual acts between two women or more are described as “the act of two women or more through mutual rubbing limbs or reproductive organs to obtain stimuli (pleasure) sexual willingness of both parties” (JDIH, 2014, p. 4).

In addition to the enactment of the law, the top clerical body of Indonesia – the MUI – issued a *fatwa haram* that legitimised the persecution of LGBT individuals (The Jakarta Post, 2016). On a national level, the MUI also started talks with the House of Representatives of the Jakarta parliament to criminalise same-sex acts in Indonesia (Tempo.co, 2018). Since the full enactment of the *qanun jinayat* no.6/2014 in 2015, over five hundred individuals have been caned for various crimes such as gambling, drinking, extramarital sex, and same-sex intimacy (Harsono, 2017).

Chapter 5. Analysis

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the materials and theories that I have previously explained. The first discussion concerns the discourses that have emerged from Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s understanding, and the two last chapters are divided into each research questions, where I discuss each communicative event from the materials with Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model (2010) and text analysis by van Dijk (1993, 2009).

5.1 The Acehnese Discourses on LGBT

5.1.1 LGBT as a Threat

The first and most prominent discourse that emerges from the texts from Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh is that LGBT individuals pose a threat to the Acehnese nation. The first article by Walikota Banda Aceh *Illiza asks the National Committee of Indonesian Youth to revive the mosque with dawn prayers in the congregation* relates to an opening speech Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal held on Musda XII National Committee of Indonesian Youth in Banda Aceh. In her speech, she inspires youngsters to be the active future of Aceh, while calling for their participation in the development of the region:

We all know that our nation is facing various social problems, from heresy to LGBT. It needs a commitment from the youth to handle it. Concerning the dangers of LGBT, I hope that the National Committee of Indonesian Youth will actively campaign through the media. It’s not the persons we hate, but the behaviour we have to fight for the future of the nation. (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016b, para. 4)

In this quote, it becomes clear that “heresy” and “LGBT” are categorically defined in the same manner; namely as being equally hostile to the nation. Also, in relation to van Dijk’s (1993) writings on strategies for portraying the Other negatively, it is noteworthy to comment on the repetitive usage of the word “we” in the article. Such an emblematic embrace of “we” could be interpreted as into uniting and further dividing “us” and “them” – “us” against the LGBT. Djamal also expresses, “We all know that our nation is facing various social problems” and “It’s not the persons we hate, but the behaviour we have to fight for the future of the nation” (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016b, para. 7). In these sentences, Djamal asserts authority over her, the audience and the identity of LGBT – “we” and “them”. Walikota

Banda Aceh has also included quotes from Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal where she used the word “defend” whenever she spoke directly to the youth committee. Such statements could be related to what Kecia Ali (2016) refers to as an “intrusion to Islamic values” that are specific to Aceh (p. 105). This could also resonate with the idea that LGBT issues are seen as Western and they do not belong in the Acehnese society, as they are dangerous for the future. One could also reflect upon anthropologist Tom Boellstorff’s (2004) idea that LGBT is a threat to the nation’s manhood, and that persecution of LGBT individuals reduces feelings of *malu*; namely shame and humiliation to the human nature. Like the previous article, there are repeated mentions of defending the Acehnese nation from the spread of LGBT. This is further mentioned in Walikota Banda Aceh’s article *The city government forms a special team to handle LGBT*, where Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal held an opening speech at an MPU meeting in Banda Aceh. In this article, she called for support in combating LGBT:

The Central MUI has issued a fatwa haram against LGBT, and today I expect full support from MPU to be at the forefront of the government together in combating LGBT. Indeed, it is not the people we hate, but their behaviour that we must fight. (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016d, para. 3)

It is also notable to reflect upon the fact that Djamal goes on the same line as the MUI. She describes LGBT individuals as *fatwa haram*, and that Aceh must “fight” against and “combat” this behaviour. Whenever Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal is harsher in her condemnation of LGBT individuals, she instead uses the word “war” to accentuate her statements. In the article of Serambi Aceh on the 14th of April (2016d) *Illiza claims LGBT perpetrators in Banda Aceh reaches 500 people*, she is quoted: “When we declare war against LGBT, some of these organisations stop the aid. Some even came out of Banda Aceh” (para. 1). This quote is important to note since Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal was during her regency a staunch supporter of women’s participation in Aceh’s development. According to the statement above, she does not care if some aid organisations –women’s organisations included – have left Aceh because of this proposed warfare. This quote could, therefore, be understood as in terms of posing an ultimatum; namely that LGBT individuals are the enemy, which is why certain sacrifices must be made to wipe them out.

5.1.2 LGBT as a Disease

If we instead reflect upon the second discourse that emerges, the disease discourse, both Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh side with Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal that LGBT is an illness. For example, Walikota Banda Aceh (2016f) posted on the 8th of March *Illiza gave a*

seminar on LGBT in a law faculty, in which Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel attended a talk show at the Faculty of Law in Unsyiah. In this article, we can see several quotes by both Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel and various other persons that attended the event that agree to LGBT individuals being disease-ridden. It is noteworthy to reflect upon the following quote:

If the ulama have said so, then no one should say LGBT is an option. This is a disease to be healed, and God’s forgiveness is immense [...] If it has been proven, the law must be applied. But, of course, there will be coaching first, we still have time to save our children. Guide, and take them back to God’s way. Islam is beautiful, people who commit adultery not arbitrarily, for example, immediately whipped; there must be at least four witnesses. (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016f, para. 3)

From this quote, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel speaks of both LGBT as a disease, but also something that can be cured via the forgiveness of God, and put back on God’s path. In other words, God is the remedy for the illness. Also, there is an idea that “children must be saved”, something that we could interpret in the same manner as LGBT being highly infectious and spreading fast. The idea of LGBT being infectious is also implicitly understood in Serambi Aceh’s article (2016d) *Illiza claims LGBT perpetrators in Banda Aceh reaches 500 people* where Djamel declared that the Acehese government had found out via a survey that there were more than five hundred LGBT individuals residing in Aceh. Although not mentioning that LGBT should be seen as a disease, it could still be related to the idea that these five hundred LGBT individuals represent a disease that will spread if nothing is done.

There is also another indication of the disease discourse in Serambi Aceh’s article (2016c) *The mayor asks UNICEF to partake in handling LGBT*, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel is quoted saying, “About the rehabilitation of them, we are still looking for the right format. I hope UNICEF can propose a program related to it” (para. 5). If we reflect on this quote, there is a conviction that UNICEF can propose some sort of rehabilitation program for LGBT individuals. It is unclear what Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel means by “the right format”, or exactly what this program would cure them of. Nonetheless, the interpretation could still be that LGBT individuals should be treated as “patients” in need to see a clinic for their ailment.

5.1.3 LGBT as Deviance from God’s Given Nature of the Sexes

In the Serambi Aceh article (2016b) *Balee Inong socialises the dangers of LGBT*, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel is quoted saying the following:

The LGBT sexual activity is an abnormal behaviour and violates human nature. But the matter of transgender is set in Islam; if born with two genitals, then the status will be known when puberty hits. (para. 7)

In this quote, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal declares that “LGBT sexual activity” is an abnormal behaviour and something that violates human nature. This understanding is inevitably what Saskia E. Wieringa (2015) and Marjaana Jauhola (2012) write about the *kodrat*, and that men and women possess a non-interchangeable nature. This is also the norm, and Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal probably understands it as the only acceptable nature. She further states that same-sex activity violates this nature. The word “violating” in this case can be understood as something Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal bears personal disgust for; an understanding that LGBT behaviour is not only wrong, it disturbs the normal way of existing as a human being. Also, while incorrectly understanding the issue of transgender individuals, she does accept their existence according to this quote. While Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal in truth means “intersex”, she accepts transgenders as individuals born with two genitals and thereby legitimising their existence as a part of Islam. Not only shows this quote how unknowledgeable she is about the mere concept of LGBT, but also how there is no differentiation between same-sex intercourse and transgenders as a part of someone’s gender identity.

Another quote worthy of discussion comes from Serambi Aceh’s article (2016e) *The city government discusses violence in Rukoh*,

*I was shown a picture of a man wearing Muslim clothes like *uztaz*, but in other photos at night, the man would be dressed in woman’s clothing like a sissy. We are still investigating that person. (para. 5)*

The quote differentiates between what a man should and should not be. Especially as the word “sissy” when translated from the Indonesian word *banci*, implies a derogatory term for describing a feminine man; it could also mean a *waria* or transvestite. This idea would cohere to both Wieringa (2015) and Jauhola’s (2012) ideas of *kodrat pria*, and also to Judith Butler’s (2006) idea of performativity. If we discuss this concept – namely that the Acehnese gender roles determined by the *kodrat* presupposes a gendered reality, and a performative gender identity which ordains us that makes us behave in a particular way – Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal possibly understands the picture of this man as out of the norm, and the nature of the sexes. In this quote, it is noteworthy to mention that Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal speaks of herself as being shown a picture. This could mean that she feels the responsibility to undertake the investigation of this “sissy” person, and that she needs to pursue this sinful

behaviour as the mayor of Banda Aceh. If we would also analyse the setting in which this quote was uttered – at a socialisation event to “Stop Violence Against Women and Children” – it connects to van Dijk’s (1993) writings about power in a discourse. Besides being interpreted and demarcated in different negative portrayals, LGBT individuals are clearly also related to violence against women and children. Since Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal was the mayor of Banda Aceh, she was also the hegemonic elite of the discourse, and could, therefore, control without any resistance the condemnation and discrimination of LGBT individuals.

5.1.4 LGBT as a Family Problem

The second Serambi Aceh article (2016b) *Balee Inong socialises the dangers of LGBT* covers a socialisation event about the dangers of pornography and LGBT in Balee Inong Bungong Banda Aceh. As the main speaker of this event, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal suggests that a bad childhood might be causing LGBT behaviour. The same idea is also seen in Serambi Aceh’s article (2016e) *The city government discusses violence in Rukoh* where Djamal directly accuses LGBT behaviour on problems in the family, “We found in interviews and discussions with youth, that the tendency to LGBT behaviour originated from domestic violence” (para. 2), and “when violence has attacked the mind it will be difficult to heal. Do not let the child be burdened with the quarrel of his parents” (para. 10). These statements indicate a strong sense of the *keluarga sakinah* and the *azaz kekeluargaan*. In other words, she accentuates the importance of the correct “family foundation” – where there is an equilibrate relationship between a man and a woman – which in turn becomes the “harmonious family”.

What we could analyse from those statements are two things. Firstly, the prerequisite for becoming a non-LGBT individual is directly correlated to a good upbringing in a harmonious family – with a man and a woman – in which the parents play their natural roles – *kodrat pria* and *kodrat wanita* respectively. Secondly, we could also understand that Djamal’s statements contradict this idea. In the same article, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal blames LGBT behaviour on external factors, especially as she says, “It takes parental control of children, ranging from TV shows, movies, songs, to their daily interactions. Observe the behaviour of our children, if there are signs that unusual parents should respond quickly” (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016e, para. 11). As such, the cause for LGBT behaviour seems ambiguous, while both being a choice, it can also be interpreted that Djamal understands it as something that is caused by external influence. Nevertheless, she stresses that this behaviour must be quickly reacted upon.

There is also an idea of protecting children in Serambi Aceh’s article (2016c) *The mayor asks UNICEF to partake in handling LGBT* as Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel asks the UNICEF to propose a program to rehabilitate LGBT individuals back on the “right path”. In this sense, we can also reflect that this statement was proposed to an organisation dedicated at providing humanitarian aid to children and mothers in developing countries, and that Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel experiences that LGBT is related to issues regarding the development of children.

5.1.5 LGBT as a Crime

The last discourse that emerges from Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel’s understanding is that LGBT individuals are criminals as the sharia law forbids same-sex acts. One of these ideas is developed in Serambi Aceh’s article (2016d) *Illiza claims LGBT perpetrators in Banda Aceh reaches 500 people* at a socialisation event called “Stop Violence Against Women and Children” in which Djamel declares that the Acehese government had found out via a survey that there were more than five hundred LGBT individuals residing in Aceh and that the majority would live at campuses and be active in certain LGBT-friendly communities. From this article, there is especially one quote noteworthy of discussing:

LGBT behaviour is difficult to prove because it is related to someone’s sexual orientation. However, the response to the future involves not only sociologists and psychologists, but also criminologists because LGBT is a crime. (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016d, para. 2)

According to Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel, LGBT behaviour is hostile on many levels. In this quote, LGBT individuals are seen as sexual offenders, and there is no differentiation between same-sex acts and identifying as gay, and that LGBT issues involve psychologists and sociologists.

In Walikota Banda Aceh’s article (2016e) *Exterminating LGBT, Illiza is asking for full support from the Consultative Assembly of Ulema*, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel is quoted, “Homo, Lesbian, it’s all set in *qanun jinayat*, if found to be punished” (para. 4). While the initial idea that *liwath* and *musahaqah* are what is actually written in the *qanun jinayat*, she refers to sexuality as being a crime. This idea adheres to another article by Walikota Banda Aceh (2016a) *Illiza: Women’s participation in the development is important* where Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel said, “Homo, lesbian, it’s all set in the *Qanun Jinayat*, if caught it will be processed and certainly will also be punished, like *maisir*, *khalwat*, and *khamar*” (para. 6) – gambling, illicit closeness between men and women, and drinking respectively. While these

other crimes are not as weighty as *liwath* and *musahaqah*, she clusters them together, as they all represent criminal activity in Aceh.

5.2 The Acehnese Portrayal of LGBT

5.2.1 Text

According to the texts from Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal is only giving the positive representation of the own group – the pious Acehnese – and always portraying LGBT individuals in a negative fashion – against the own group. In order to accentuate this portrayal, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal further employs the three mentioned rhetorical strategies as articulated by van Dijk (2009). Firstly, she always exaggerates statements about LGBT individuals, ranging from both levels of threat to their supposed infectious and disease-ridden behaviour. Furthermore, she always backs up her arguments with reference to facts, as seen in statements as “LGBT has been prohibited by MUI, and we need to socialise it to the public. Basically, we do not hate the people, but their behaviour” (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016d, para. 8). In this sense, Djamal both relies on the “hard facts” – LGBT is against the law – or quoting experts on the issue – which in this case is the MUI. Secondly, there are no commentaries from any LGBT activists or anyone else with moderate assumptions about LGBT issues. As such, the articles become one-sided, biased, and written in a manner to constantly pose as an opposite to the correct Muslim behaviour and the own group. Furthermore, since these texts more than often contain some sort of religious cleric on the issue, it further legitimises the continuation of negative portrayals of LGBT individuals.

The LGBT issue is portrayed in many ways that I have analysed in previous paragraphs. First of all, the materials used in this thesis are widely read by the Acehnese citizens, and such they have been written in a manner that constantly condones LGBT individuals. The all share the traits of Norman Fairclough’s idea of an intertextual chain (as cited in Bergström & Boréus, 2012); specifically, a continuum of negative portrayals of these individuals’ behaviour and aspects. Secondly, all these articles connect to Norman Fairclough’s idea of interdiscursivity (ibid.); namely that several discourses overlap each other in a communicative event. Conclusively, the readers of Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh are surrounded by negative portrayals, and are constantly encouraged to think the same as Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal.

5.2.2 Discursive Practice

As a discursive practice, we must reflect upon the Acehese readers and consumers of Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh’s posts. While cannot really know how they interpret them, nor feel in regards to the definition of LGBT, it would not be entirely wrong to argue that in their context, many would certainly adhere to the thought of LGBT as being something shameful, wrong, and unnatural. Since the Acehese LGBT community is severely oppressed, and neither Walikota Banda Aceh nor Serambi Aceh represents them in their posts, it would be difficult for the readers to be of a divergent opinion. One could, therefore, argue – in line with what Teun van Dijk (1993) claims about power – that Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal via her dominant position in Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh possessed power over this discourse. As a government official, she represented the hegemonic discourse that controlled communicative events, and thereby actively suppressed any perspective that believed the opposite. Furthermore, in every communicative event from Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh, there is always an attending audience. We can interpret them as being keen listeners to Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s speeches, who are swayed by her rhetoric. As such, it is easy to see how Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal possessed control of the context as a hegemonic elite who could control the setting, time and place for her speeches – and while doing so – she also controlled a discourse that prohibited LGBT individuals from entering the context. Lastly, while in control of the context, Djamal’s rhetoric instead forced LGBT individuals to hide out of fear of persecution.

5.2.3 Social Practice

Human Rights Watch, among various other NGOs, notes that since the enactment of the *qanun jinayat* no. 6/2014 in 2015, over five hundred individuals have been caned for various crimes such as gambling, drinking, extramarital sex, and same-sex intimacy (Harsono, 2017). If we analyse the social practice of Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model (2010) in the Acehese context, the reality shows a very gruesome picture of severe LGBT discrimination. While it might be hard to directly correlate the series of whippings in accordance to every communicative event with Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal, there is certainly a truth in that language does matter when it comes to actual LGBT discrimination. For example, in a post released by Walikota Banda Aceh (2016b) on the 20th of February, in which Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal attended a meeting at Banda Aceh City Hall; the post says:

In the interview session, Illiza said that the City Government will form a special team that will socialise to the community to be more aware and know that LGBT is a big problem that bad for the younger generation in the future. (para. 6)

In this communicative event, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal promised her audience to take greater measures towards quelling the existence of LGBT in Aceh. While it is hard to find a direct correlation between her speeches and the caning punishment, we can see that both during and after her regency, LGBT discrimination has gotten worse and more rampant. More whippings have been covered, street vigilantes are more active to take law into their own hands, and international organisations have raised their voices to end the discrimination against LGBT individuals. What we must highlight here is the importance of Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model that displays how texts – from Serambi Aceh, Walikota Banda Aceh, and Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s social media – become distributed, consumed, and how this affects the social practice how LGBT are being treated.

5.3 The Acehnese Muslim Identity and LGBT Individuals

5.3.1 Text

On the 1st of February in 2016, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal released the following message on her private Instagram (as translated from Figure 5.1):

LGBT... Get out of this earth Veranda of Mecca...LGBT deeds will damage and destroy the marwah of human-beings, as this act clearly violates the sharia of Islam.. Islam puts forward moral and ethics. So we in Banda Aceh unequivocally reject the existence of LGBT. We hate and combat the deviant behaviour of traditional norms and religious norms. What we hate and fight against are not the human beings, but their deeds. Come to sense, come back to the right path... One second, one minute of this life is very meaningful to improve the relationship with Allah SWT... Allah commands.. Fix your relationship with Me (Allah) and I (Allah) will improve your relationship with human beings.. Repent... read Al-Qur'an more often and establish shalat, inshallah, Allah will re-straighten our brothers who believe, Allahu Akbar. God inspires the soul of goodness and evil, it brings fortune to those who sanctify it, and it harms those who contaminate it.... Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal, mayor of Banda Aceh. (illiza_saaduddin, 2016)

There are many dimensions of this quote. First of all, it is noteworthy to reflect upon the fact on why Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal began her post with the name Veranda of Mecca, rather than Aceh. One could analyse that this name illuminates the importance of Aceh as a

religious place, where LGBT individuals firmly have no place. Secondly, Djamel proclaims that her post is representing all Acehnese Muslims disapproval of LGBT – specifically “We hate and combat the deviant behaviour of traditional norms and religious norms” (illiza_saaduddin, 2016). Once again, she stresses the importance of Islam and why LGBT individuals should go back to the “right path”. Especially as she constantly refers to Allah whenever she was making her point. Lastly, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel also repeatedly, via the usage of *inshallah* – if Allah wills it – and *Allahu Akbar* – God is greater, further called for the repentance of “LGBT behaviour” via the unification of Muslims.

The post also includes a picture of Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel holding a gun. This quote holds two messages. Firstly, a promise and an inspiration to get LGBT individuals back on the right path, and, secondly, the picture could also be interpreted as a direct threat. One could, therefore, argue that this quote coheres to Marjaana Jauhola’s (2010) ideas that same-sex desires are not religiously justified in Aceh as they pose a threat to Islamic tradition, promote secularism, and deny the *kodrat*. This also goes in line with Kecia Ali’s idea (2016) that queer identities – or what Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamel probably would interpret as “LGBT behaviour” – is deemed a Western intrusion to Islamic tradition and sharia. The core message of the post is, therefore, that God is good, while deviant behaviours must be combated.



Figure 5.1 From “LGBT... Enyahlah dari bumi serambi mekah ini... LGBT perbuatan...,” by I. S. Djamel, 2016 (<https://www.instagram.com/p/BBQLV4Vwn7D/>). In the public domain.

From Serambi Aceh’s article (2016c) *Illiza claims LGBT perpetrators in Banda Aceh reaches 500 people*, it is written that there are surveys that show that five hundred LGBT people in Aceh, a number that mainly includes campus students that are active in certain communities. The article quotes Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal, “war will be declared on these youth communities where these people are active” (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016c, para. 7). The idea of going to war with LGBT further corresponds to that same-sex acts are an intrusion to traditional Islamic values. As stated by former major Djamal, “we do not hate them, we just hate what they do” (Serambi Banda Aceh, 2016c, para. 4), further corresponds to the idea that the acts are forbidden, not the sexuality per se, although she does not distinguish between the two. In reference to Islamic Shafi’i School ruling, the homosexual acts *liwath* and *musahaqah* are punished in the same manner as adultery, *zina*. Whereas the formulations of “gay” and “lesbian” are not actual quotations from the law, instead *liwath* and *musahaqah*, equals the same thing. We can only assume that whereas the terms diverge from each other, they are both condoned in the same manner.

Lastly, there is a complete absence of mentioned bisexual individuals in the materials. This absence – as I interpret it – could be caused by the fact that the articles do not differentiate between gay men and women, nor withhold sexuality and same-sex acts as two different things. As such, the lack could simply be due to a misconception of the LGBT abbreviation. We could ask whether bisexual behaviour would be portrayed in the same manner as *gays*, *lesbis*, and *warias*.

5.3.2 Discursive Practice

From the discursive practice, we cannot know how the readers of Walikota Banda Aceh and Serambi Aceh actually think about the writings; we can only assume that they are constantly surrounded by the negative portrayals of LGBT individuals. From Walikota Banda Aceh’s article (2016b) *Illiza asks the National Committee of Indonesian Youth to revive the mosque with dawn prayers in the congregation*, Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal is quoted, “This is a great test for those of us who live in areas that apply Islamic Sharia” (Walikota Banda Aceh, 2016b, para. 5). Evidently, sharia is the foundation of how Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal perceives the Acehnese society, and it is the sharia law rulings that distinguish evil from good. Considering the strong impact the sharia law has on the Acehnese society, it would be understandable if these readers also want to “build Aceh back better”, meaning that they also strive for daily ethical improvement. If we contemplate upon the last centuries’ struggles for the Acehnese – ranging from colonisation, GAM insurgencies, and the tsunami disaster – it

would be logical if they also reject the existence LGBT individuals. Considering the last years’ aggravated discrimination and caning punishments against LGBT individuals, religious minorities, alcohol drinkers, and gamblers, it would make sense if this hunt for the “deviant” and “indecent” helps the Acehnese to process both past atrocities and feelings of *malu* while striving for religious decorum in their society.

In the texts, there is always a constant mention of what Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal calls “LGBT behaviour”, and this seems to stand in direct opposition to the Muslim identity. The articles constantly contain quotes and descriptions of LGBT individuals being deviant, and as if the remedy is always a religious piety. For example, in Serambi Aceh’s article (2016b) *Balee Inong socialises the dangers of LGBT*, there is a mention in Indonesian of the *luti* – the derogatory term for sodomite. This term corresponds to the idea that the old sins of Lut are still not accepted, and that *luti* signifies a threat to religion in Aceh. Also, while not explicitly mentioned in the texts, the disgust for the “LGBT behaviour” could relate to researchers Junaid Jahangir and Hussein Abdullatif’s argumentation (2016) that *liwath* is a debated concept because it has been, and is, viewed by Islamic jurists as a subjugation of men; namely that penetration of the anus is connected to humiliation and subjugation. The *luti* is perhaps viewed as inherently evil because he disrupts the human male nature, the *kodrat pria*. Lastly, since LGBT individuals cannot engage in a legal contract with each other, could it be that LGBT individuals are viewed in a negative fashion simply because they lack religious legality to marry, and thereby the correct means to procreate?

5.3.3 Social Practice

When it comes to social practice, there is always a lesson to be learned for the Muslims who observe the caning punishments of LGBT individuals. While these canings are always carried out by an unknown tormentor on a large stage, the punishment – as I understand it – fills two purposes; the first one being to shame the persecuted publicly, and the second one being to teach Muslims a lesson not to break the law. If put into more explicit terms; they should not break the religious law, as they otherwise would display an incorrect Muslim behaviour. The caning punishment can, therefore, be understood as discrediting LGBT individuals as religious devotees. While exposing these individuals, they get known to the community and risks being even more victimised than before. Not only the *Wilayatul Hisbah*, but also street vigilantes have been active to pursue, shame, and curb the existence of LGBT individuals. Albeit the punishment holds legal value in Aceh, we could also interpret that the feeling of *malu* is always present when punishing these individuals. While incriminating LGBT

individuals, the feeling of *malu* can be controlled through the caning punishment since it adheres to the idea of protecting the nation from “deviant” behaviours.

It is not mentioned whether homosexual men or women are portrayed as “worse” and have committed the greater crime, which is seen in opposition to Islamic values. Although there are several mentions of male, while none on female homosexuality, there is evidently a gap in these articles to mention that *liwath* is the greater crime. However, the punishments for *liwath* and *musahaqah* have each the same scale of sentence – both acts are followed by either a hundred lashes or up to a hundred months in prison for consensual same-sex (HRW, 2016b). This is actually diverging from actual Shafi’i school rulings, as the majority of imams would not even consider *musahaqah* as crimes. In this case, could we argue that there is no gender discrepancy or graver depravity in each of the sentences, and is there an idea that men and women are equal before the law in Aceh?

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This chapter concludes and closes this thesis. In addition, I also present my suggestions for future studies on Aceh.

6.1 Main Findings

As the title of this thesis suggests, there is an on-going “War on Indecency”, and “a struggle for religious decorum” in the Acehese society. I named this thesis after my analysis was completed, as I tried to extract the very essence of the current situation in Aceh. As shown in the analysis chapter, the LGBT issue is complex to understand in Aceh. In order to approach this study, I started with three research questions:

1. Which discourses on LGBT emerge from Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s understanding?
2. How is LGBT described and played out in Aceh?
3. In what ways does LGBT contrast and challenge the Acehese Muslim identity?

Firstly, I pointed out that there are different discourses on how Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal understands these individuals in Aceh; namely as a threat, disease, deviancy from traditional gender norms, family problem, and as a crime. Secondly, LGBT individuals are always given negative portrayals, and as such the Acehese LGBT community is severely discriminated against and persecuted as the sharia law prohibits same-sex intimacy. Lastly, given the prejudice and condemnation of LGBT individuals, the LGBT issue contrasts the Acehese Muslim identity, as it opposes the proper way of being a “good Muslim”. In conclusion, LGBT individuals are considered as problems in manifold ways.

By applying the critical discourse analysis with linguist Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of text, discursive practice, and social practice, I have analysed in which ways Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal’s understanding of the LGBT phenomenon matter within the Acehese society. I have thus used linguist Teun van Dijk’s ideas for conducting text analysis to render an understanding of the importance of the language of a hegemonic discourse. First of all, with Fairclough’s concept of an intertextual chain, I could analyse that there was a continuum of negative portrayals of LGBT individuals, and that they were irrevocably polarised from what Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal experienced as collective Muslim Acehese identity. Secondly, there was an overlapping pattern of ideas on LGBT individuals, which connected to Fairclough’s interdiscursivity concept. From different communicative events

that Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal participated in, several discourses on LGBT individuals emerged and formed a way of talking and looking upon these individuals. These formulations distinguished the “we” from “them”, and Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal – as a part of a hegemonic discourse – controlled these communicative events, and shut out different opinions on LGBT individuals. As such, the social practice was connected to complex feelings of *malu* and the idea to defend the nation from a so-called “LGBT behaviour” that disrupted the human *kodrat*. I also analysed these texts with the assessment of various gender theories and paradigms from Shafi’i Islam regarding LGBT individuals.

The LGBT issue is not only a religious affair in Aceh, although Illiza Sa’aduddin Djamal advocated that religious piety – the Shafi’i teachings and sharia – would nurture these individuals back to being decent Acehnese citizens again. However, it is important to acknowledge that LGBT is a complex and often misunderstood phenomenon. We could, therefore, reflect upon the idea that the main reason for the discrimination against LGBT individuals could simply be that these individuals are perceived as different and deviating from the norms in the Acehnese society. As such, we can only conclude that the struggle for religious decorum is but a small piece in understanding the puzzle to LGBT discrimination in Aceh.

6.2 Further Studies

In hindsight, I understand that there is still much more to be written about LGBT individuals in Aceh. While there is an abundance of researchers focused in the Indonesian nation, there are but a few who are specialised on the Aceh region. Therefore, I would propose for future researches to inquire more about human rights issues and daring to investigate the complexity, turbulence, and mystique of the Veranda of Mecca.

References

- Aisyah, S., & Parker, L. (2014). Problematic conjugations: Women’s agency, marriage and domestic violence in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 38(2), 205-223.
- Al Jazeera. (2017, May 22). *Indonesian police detain 141 men over ‘gay sex party’*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/05/indonesian-police-detain-141-men-gay-sex-party-170522134905046.html>
- Ali, K. (2016). *Sexual ethical and Islam: Feminist reflections on Qur’an, hadith, and jurisprudence* (2nd ed.). London, England: OneWorld Publications.
- Aspinall, E. (2009). *Islam and nation: Separatist rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia*. Stanford, KY: Stanford University Press.
- Awaludin, H., Mahmud, M., & Ahtisaari, M. (August 15, 2005). *Memorandum of Understanding between the government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement* [Memorandum]. Helsinki, Finland: Government of the Republic of Indonesia & Free Aceh Movement. Retrieved from http://www.acehpeaceprocess.net/pdf/mou_final.pdf
- BBC News. (2016, February 29). *The sudden intensity of Indonesia’s anti-gay onslaught*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35657114>
- BBC News. (2017, May 24). *No place to hide for LGBT people in Indonesia’s Aceh province*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-40024204>
- Bergström, G., & Boréus, K. (2012). *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*. Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur AB.
- Bertrand, J. (2004). *Nationalism and ethnic conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Blackwood, E. (2010). *Falling into the lesbi world: Desire and difference in Indonesia*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press.
- Boellstorff, T. (2003). Dubbing culture: Indonesian “gay” and “lesbi” subjectivities and ethnography in an already globalized world. *American Ethnologist*, 30(2), 225-242.
- Boellstorff, T. (2004). The emergence of political homophobia in Indonesia: Masculinity and national belonging. *Ethnos*, 69(4), 465-486.

- Boellstorff, T. (2005). *The gay archipelago: Sexuality and nation in Indonesia*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Boellstorff, T. (2006). Gay and lesbian Indonesians and the idea of the nation. *Social Analysis*, 50(1), 158-163.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Butler, J. (2006). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity* (Routledge Classics, Volume 36, 1st ed.). Abingdon, England: Routledge.
- Carroll, A., & Mendos, L. R. (2017). *State-sponsored homophobia 2017 – A world survey of sexual orientation laws: Criminalisation, protection and recognition*. Geneva, Switzerland: ILGA.
- Chambliss, D. F., & Schutt, R. K. (2013). *Making sense of the social world: Methods of investigation* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Connell, R. W., & Pearse, R. (2002). *Gender: In world perspective (Short introductions)* (3rd ed.). Cambridge, England: Polity Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (2nd ed.) Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited.
- Feener, R. M. (2013). *Shari'a and social engineering: The implementation of Islamic law in contemporary Aceh, Indonesia*. Croydon, England: Oxford University Press.
- Harsono, A. (2017, October 24). *Public floggings in Indonesia top 500*. Retrieved March 21, 2018, from HRW website: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/10/24/public-floggings-indonesia-top-500>
- Harsono, A. (2018, January 30). *Indonesian police arrest transgender women*. Retrieved March 21, 2018, from HRW website: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/01/30/indonesian-police-arrest-transgender-women>
- Hewson, J. (2015, December 5). *Caning laws pushes Aceh's LGBT further underground*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from Al Jazeera website: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/caning-law-pushes-aceh-lgbt-underground-151205110810340.html>

- HRW. (2009, October 11). *New Aceh law imposes torture: Law violates basic rights, fails to protect victims of sexual violence*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2009/10/11/indonesia-new-aceh-law-imposes-torture>
- HRW. (2015, October 2). *Indonesia: 'Suspected' lesbians detained*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/10/02/indonesia-suspected-lesbians-detained>
- HRW. (2016a, January 24). *Indonesia's "LGBT Crisis" in Words*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://www.hrw.org/video-photos/interactive/2016/08/10/2016-indonesias-lgbt-crisis-words>
- HRW. (2016b, August 10). *"These political games ruin our lives": Indonesia's LGBT community under threat*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/08/10/these-political-games-ruin-our-lives/indonesias-lgbt-community-under-threat>
- HRW. (2017a, May 19). *Indonesia: Stop public flogging of gay men*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/05/19/indonesia-stop-public-flogging-gay-men>
- HRW. (2017b, September 5). *Indonesia: Stop raids on homes of 'suspected' lesbians*. Retrieved March 21, 2018, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/09/05/indonesia-stop-raids-homes-suspected-lesbians>
- illiza_saaduddin. (2016, February 1). LGBT... Enyahlah dari bumi serambi mekah ini... LGBT perbuatan... [Instagram post]. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://www.instagram.com/p/BBQLV4Vwn7D/>
- Jackson, P. A. (2016). *First queer voices from Thailand: Uncle Go's advice columns for gays, lesbians and kathoeyes*. Pokfulam, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Jahangir, J., & Abdullatif, H. (2016). *Islamic law and Muslim same-sex unions*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Jauhola, M. (2010). Building back better? Negotiating normative boundaries of gender mainstreaming and post-tsunami reconstruction in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, Indonesia. *Review of International Studies*, 36(1), 29-50.
- Jauhola, M. (2012). 'Natural' sex difference? Negotiating the meanings of sex, gender and kodrat through gender equality discourse in Aceh, Indonesia. *Intersections: Gender & Sexuality in Asia & the Pacific*. Retrieved from <https://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue30/jauhola.htm>
- Jauhola, M. (2013). *Post-tsunami reconstruction in Indonesia: Negotiating normativity through gender mainstreaming in Aceh*. Abingdon, England: Routledge.
- JDIH. (2014). *Qanun Jinayat No.6/2014*. Aceh, Indonesia: Author.

- Jørgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London, England: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Kloos, D. (2018). *Becoming better Muslims: Religious authority & ethical improvement in Aceh, Indonesia*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Knight, K. (2017a, May 12). *Sparing the rod in Indonesia*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from HRW website: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/05/12/sparing-rod-indonesia>
- Knight, K. (2017b, July 13). *Now Indonesia wants to hide its floggings*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from HRW website: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/07/13/now-indonesia-wants-hide-its-floggings>
- Kugle, S. S. (2010). *Homosexuality in Islam: Critical reflections on gay, lesbian and transgender muslims*. London, England: OneWorld Publications.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2014). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics* (2nd ed.). London, England: Verso Books.
- Miller, R. L., & Brewer, J. D. (Eds.). (2003). *The A-Z of social research: A dictionary of key social science research concepts*. London, England: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Paltridge, B. (2012). *Discourse analysis: An introduction* (2nd ed.). London, England: Bloomsbury.
- Reed, T. (2015). Syariah as heterotopia: Responses from Muslim women in Aceh, Indonesia. *Religions*, 6(2), 566-593.
- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. London, England: Routledge.
- Research Ethics of Lund University. (2015, November 5). *When is ethical permission required?* Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://www.researchethics.lu.se/research-ethics-information/ethical-review/when-is-ethical-permission-required>
- Robinson, K. (2014). What does a gender relations approach bring to Southeast Asian studies? In: M. Huotari, J. Rüländ, & J. Schlehe (Eds.), *Methodology and research practice in Southeast Asian studies* (pp. 107-127). London, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Robinson, K. (2015). Masculinity, sexuality and Islam: The gender politics of regime change in Indonesia. In: L. R. Bennett & S. G. Davies (Eds.), *Sex and sexualities in contemporary Indonesia: Sexual politics, health, diversity and representations* (pp. 51-68). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Serambi Banda Aceh. (2016a, February 27). *Pemko bentuk tim pencegahan LGBT [The city government forms an LGBT prevention team]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2016/02/27/pemko-bentuk-tim-pencegahan-lgbt>
- Serambi Banda Aceh. (2016b, March 26). *Balee Inong sosialisasi bahaya LGBT [Balee Inong socialises the dangers of LGBT]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2016/03/26/balee-inong-sosialisasi-bahaya-lgbt>
- Serambi Banda Aceh. (2016c, April 3). *Walikota minta UNICEF ikut tangani LGBT [The mayor asks UNICEF to partake in handling LGBT]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2016/04/03/wali-kota-minta-unicef-ikut-tangani-lgbt>
- Serambi Banda Aceh. (2016d, April 14). *Illiza sebut pelaku LGBT di Banda Aceh capai 500 orang [Illiza claims LGBT perpetrators in Banda Aceh reaches 500 people]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2016/04/14/illiza-sebut-pelaku-lgbt-di-banda-aceh-capai-500-orang>
- Serambi Banda Aceh. (2016e, April 16). *Pemko bahas soal kekerasan di Rukoh [The city government discusses violence in Rukoh]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2016/04/16/pemko-bahas-soal-kekerasan-di-rukoh>
- Serambi News. (2017, December 21). In *Facebook* [Fan page]. Retrieved March 21, 2018, from https://www.facebook.com/pg/serambinews/about/?ref=page_internal
- Tempo.co. (2018, February 6). *DPR, MUI Agree to Convict Same-Sex Behavior of LGBT*. Retrieved March 21, 2018, from <https://en.tempo.co/read/news/2018/02/06/055915514/DPR-MUI-Agree-to-Convict-Same-Sex-Behavior-of-LGBT>
- The Jakarta Post. (2016, February 17). *MUI wants law to ban LGBT activities*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/02/17/mui-wants-law-ban-lgbt-activities.html>
- UN. (2017, February 20). *National report submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of the annex to Human Rights Council resolution 16/21 – Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G17/036/93/PDF/G1703693.pdf?OpenElement>
- UNDP. (2014). *Being LGBT in Asia: Indonesia country report*. Bangkok, Thailand: Author. Retrieved from https://www.asia-pacific.undp.org/content/dam/rbap/docs/Research%20&%20Publications/hiv_aids/rbap-hhd-2014-blia-indonesia-country-report-english.pdf

- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4(2), 249-283.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2009). *Society and discourse: How social contexts influence text and talk*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Vetenskapsrådet. (2002). *Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning*. Stockholm, Sweden: Elanders Gotab. Retrieved from <http://www.codex.vr.se/texts/HSFR.pdf>
- Walikota Banda Aceh. (2016a, February 18). *Illiza: Perempuan dalam pembangunan itu penting [Illiza: Women's participation in the development is important]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://walikota.bandaacehkota.go.id/news/read/477/illiza--partisipasi-perempuan-dalam-pembangunan-itu-penting.html>
- Walikota Banda Aceh. (2016b, February 20). *Illiza minta KNPI hidupkan masjid dengan shalat subuh berjamaah [Illiza asks the National Committee of Indonesian Youth to revive the mosque with dawn prayers in the congregation]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://walikota.bandaacehkota.go.id/news/read/478/illiza-minta-knpi-hidupkan-masjid-dengan-shalat-subuh-berjamaah.html>
- Walikota Banda Aceh. (2016c, February 24). *Soal LGBT Illiza minta masyarakat lakukan pencegahan dini [Regarding LGBT issues, Illiza asks the society to take early prevention]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://walikota.bandaacehkota.go.id/news/read/487/soal-lgbt,-illiza-minta-masyarakat-lakukan-pencegahan-dini.html>
- Walikota Banda Aceh. (2016d, February 25). *Pemko bentuk tim khusus tangani LGBT [The city government forms a special team to handle LGBT]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://walikota.bandaacehkota.go.id/news/read/494/pemko-bentuk-tim-khusus-tangani-lgbt.html>
- Walikota Banda Aceh. (2016e, February 25). *Berantas LGBT Illiza minta dukungan penuh dari MPU [Exterminating LGBT, Illiza is asking for full support from the Consultative Assembly of Ulema]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://walikota.bandaacehkota.go.id/news/read/490/berantas-lgbt,-illiza-minta-dukungan-penuh-dari-mpu.html>
- Walikota Banda Aceh. (2016f, March 8). *Illiza isi seminar soal LGBT di fakultas hukum [Illiza gave a seminar on LGBT in a law faculty]*. Retrieved July 15, 2017, from <https://walikota.bandaacehkota.go.id/news/read/505/illiza-isi-seminar-soal-lgbt-di-fakultas-hukum.html>

- Wieringa, S. E. (2015). Gender harmony and the happy family: Islam, gender and sexuality in post-reformasi Indonesia. *Southeast Asia Research*, 23(1), 27-44.
- Wieringa, S. E., Bhaiya, A., & Katjasungkana, N. (2015). *Heteronormativity, passionate aesthetics and symbolic subversion in Asia*. Eastbourne, England: Sussex Academic Press.
- World Cities Summit. (n.d.). *Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal*. Retrieved March 21, 2018, from <http://www.worldcityessummit.com.sg/whos-coming/illiza-saaduddin-djamal>
- Ziegenhain, P. (2010). The Aceh conflict during the New Order and following the democratization process. In: A. Graf, S. Schröter, & E. P. Wieringa (Eds.), *Aceh: History, politics and culture*. Singapore, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.