

Everyday Tolerance under *Syariat Islam*: Muslim Perceptions of *Chithirai Maha Puja* in Banda Aceh

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Abstract

In Banda Aceh, the public celebration of *Chithirai Maha Puja* by the Hindu Tamil community takes place within a Muslim-majority city formally shaped by *Syariat Islam*, or Islamic sharia. This article asks how Muslim residents in *Gampong Keudah* make sense of this visible minority ritual and how their interpretations shape local religious coexistence. Drawing on Alfred Schutz's phenomenology, the study uses in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation with seven Muslim informants living around *Kuil Palani Andawer*, or Palani Andawer Temple. The analysis identifies three patterns of perception. Some residents support the celebration through practical assistance, including food preparation, parking, and public order. Others regard it as an ordinary part of neighborhood life that does not disturb Muslim worship or daily routines. A third group expresses concern about the visibility of Hindu ritual symbols, especially in relation to children's religious education. These findings show that tolerance in *Gampong Keudah* is not a simple matter of acceptance or rejection. It is practiced through familiar neighborhood relations, practical coordination, symbolic adjustment, and the careful maintenance of religious boundaries. The article argues that *Chithirai Maha Puja* remains socially intelligible in Banda Aceh because it is embedded in long-term proximity, Acehnese moral vocabularies, and shared knowledge about how minority ritual expression can occupy public space without openly challenging Muslim-majority sensibilities.

Keywords: *Chithirai Maha Puja; everyday tolerance; Hindu Tamil; Muslim perception; religious boundary-making; Syariat Islam*

A. Introduction

Aceh occupies a distinctive position in Indonesia's religious and legal landscape. Its formal implementation of Islamic sharia, locally known as *Syariat Islam*, is legally grounded in Law No. 44 of 1999 and Law No. 11 of 2006. This legal status has shaped Aceh's public image as a strongly Islamic region and as a social space where Muslim identity holds considerable cultural and political authority (M. Nur, Packer Mohamed, and Sham Rambely 2021; Nur, Mohamed, and Rambely 2021). Historically, this image has also been reinforced by Aceh's reputation as *Serambi Mekkah*, or the Veranda of Mecca, a designation associated

with the region's long-standing Islamic intellectual and political traditions since the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate (Adan 2014; Kamaruzzaman 2016). Yet this dominant image does not fully capture the everyday religious composition of Acehnese society. Aceh has long been home to non-Muslim communities, including Christians, Catholics, Buddhists, Hindus, and Confucians, whose presence forms part of the province's broader social history (Mustaqilla et al. 2024; Tobroni 2021).

The presence of minority houses of worship in Banda Aceh points to patterns of social accommodation toward religious minorities, while recent discussions of religious moderation in Aceh show that such accommodation continues to be negotiated within the formal context of Islamic sharia. This historical continuity suggests that religious plurality has never been entirely absent from Acehnese social life, even though Islam remains the central marker of public identity. Recent studies have shown that the existence of minority houses of worship in Banda Aceh reflects a certain degree of social accommodation and institutional tolerance toward religious minorities (Mustaqilla et al. 2024; Nur et al. 2021; Tobroni 2021; Zulkarnaini, Ansor, and Masyhur 2022). At the same time, tolerance in Aceh cannot be understood simply as a formal legal arrangement or as a normative discourse on pluralism. It also requires attention to the ordinary practices, shared memories, and negotiated boundaries through which Muslim majorities and religious minorities inhabit the same social space.

The Hindu Tamil community represents one of Banda Aceh's religious minority groups with a visible ritual presence in the city's public life (Iramarisa, Aslam Nur, and Ikhwan 2022; Muhammad 2021). One of its most visible religious and cultural expressions is the annual celebration of *Chithirai Maha Puja*, a Hindu Tamil ritual performed in Banda Aceh after the 2004 tsunami and publicly documented again in 2023 following the COVID-19 interruption (Irwansyah Putra 2023). The celebration is centered around *Kuil Palani Andawer*, or Palani Andawer Temple, in *Gampong Keudah*, a neighborhood marked by long-standing interethnic and interreligious contact. The ritual includes a procession involving the symbolic representation of Lord Murugan and attracts public attention because it takes place in a Muslim-majority city within a province where *Syariat Islam* is formally enforced. This situation creates an important sociological puzzle: how do Muslim residents interpret and respond to a visible Hindu Tamil ritual performed in their everyday social environment?

Existing studies on religious minorities in Aceh have provided important insights into public restrictions, discrimination, interreligious relations, and community participation. Husni Mubarrak and Kumala (2020), for example, show that minority religious groups in Banda Aceh have encountered obstacles in expressing themselves in public spaces, partly due to prejudice, suspicion of

religious conversion, and formal or informal regulations that restrict minority visibility. Other research has examined Muslim participation in Hindu Tamil rituals in Banda Aceh, particularly *Panghuni Uthiram*, and found that local participation often takes the form of practical assistance and social support (Muhammad 2021). These studies are useful for mapping structural constraints and forms of participation, yet they leave an important question insufficiently explored. They do not fully explain how Muslim residents, as members of the majority community, subjectively make sense of a Hindu Tamil ritual that appears regularly within their neighborhood and within the broader symbolic environment of Islamic sharia.

This study addresses that gap by examining Muslim perceptions of the 2025 *Chithirai Maha Puja* celebration in Banda Aceh through Alfred Schutz's phenomenology (Natanson 1966). Schutz's approach is relevant because it allows the analysis to move beyond formal claims of tolerance and toward the lived processes through which social meanings are formed. In Schutzian terms, individuals interpret social reality through accumulated experience, *stock of knowledge*, social typification, and intersubjective understanding (Nindito 2013). These concepts help explain why some Muslim residents actively support the celebration, why others regard it as an ordinary part of local life, and why some express concern about the visibility of Hindu ritual symbols, especially in relation to children's religious education. By focusing on these variations, this article treats tolerance not as a fixed attitude but as a situated social practice shaped by memory, neighborhood relations, religious boundaries, and repeated encounters in everyday life.

The article argues that Muslim perceptions of *Chithirai Maha Puja* in *Gampong Keudah* are shaped by a layered social experience. The ritual is understood by many residents through the language of neighborliness, habit, and local coexistence rather than through abstract theological debate. At the same time, the presence of concern about ritual symbols indicates that tolerance in this setting is not limitless or free from negotiation. The case of *Chithirai Maha Puja* therefore offers a valuable entry point for understanding how religious tolerance is practiced, adjusted, and given meaning in a Muslim-majority locality under the formal implementation of *Syariat Islam*. The aim of this study is to identify and analyze the meanings that Muslim residents attach to the celebration and to explain how these meanings contribute to local forms of social and religious harmony in Banda Aceh.

B. Methods

This study was conducted in *Gampong Keudah*, Banda Aceh, where *Kuil Palani Andawer* is located and where the 2025 *Chithirai Maha Puja* celebration took place. The site was selected purposively because it represents an everyday social setting in which the Hindu Tamil community, as a religious minority, and Muslim residents, as the majority population, have lived in close proximity within the broader context of Aceh's formal implementation of *Syariat Islam*, or Islamic sharia. This study employed a qualitative research design with a phenomenological approach inspired by Alfred Schutz. This approach was chosen because the study does not seek to measure public opinion statistically, but to understand how Muslim residents make sense of a visible Hindu Tamil ritual through lived experience, neighborhood interaction, accumulated social knowledge, typification, and intersubjective.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation. Seven Muslim informants were selected through purposive sampling. They consisted of key, main, and supporting informants who met the following criteria: they were Muslim residents living around *Kuil Palani Andawer* for at least five years, had directly witnessed or been involved in the *Chithirai Maha Puja* celebration, and represented different social positions in the local community, including village officials, women's figures, youth, informal workers or traders, and ordinary residents. This selection was intended to capture variations in Muslim perceptions rather than to produce a representative statistical sample. The interviews explored residents' memories of the celebration, their everyday relations with the Hindu Tamil community, their forms of support or distance, and their concerns regarding the visibility of ritual symbols. Observation was used to understand the social setting of the celebration and the forms of interaction surrounding it, while documentation supported the contextual reading of the ritual and its place within local social life.

The data were analyzed thematically using the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, which consists of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification. In the first stage, interview, observation, and documentation materials were reduced by identifying statements and events related to Muslim perceptions of *Chithirai Maha Puja*. In the second stage, the data were organized into emerging themes that corresponded to the empirical patterns found in the field, namely active support, neutral acceptance, and concern about ritual symbols and children's religious education. In the final stage, these themes were interpreted through Schutz's phenomenological concepts, particularly *stock of knowledge*, social typification, and intersubjectivity, in order to explain how tolerance is formed, practiced, and negotiated in everyday Muslim-Hindu relations in *Gampong Keudah*.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Results

1) The Social Setting of *Chithirai Maha Puja* in *Gampong Keudah*

The 2025 *Chithirai Maha Puja* celebration took place in *Gampong Keudah*, Banda Aceh, where *Kuil Palani Andawer*, or Palani Andawer Temple, has long served as the religious center of the Hindu Tamil community (Iramarisa et al. 2022; Muhammad 2021). The presence of Hindu Tamil residents in this area is part of Banda Aceh's broader historical and social landscape. Before Islam became the dominant religion in Aceh, Hindu cultural influence had already been present in the region (Fadhil and Putri 2025). Field information from a Hindu religious figure in Banda Aceh indicates that Hindu Tamil life in *Gampong Keudah* has existed since 1934, when their ancestors came from India and established a local religious presence. Although the temple was destroyed during the 2004 tsunami, it was rebuilt in 2006 with support from the local government and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The installation of religious statues was later formalized in 2012, and the temple continues to function as the main site for Hindu religious activity in Banda Aceh.

The social environment surrounding *Kuil Palani Andawer* is marked by ethnic and religious diversity. Muslim Acehnese residents live alongside Tamil, Chinese, Minangkabau, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian communities. This diversity is not understood by local residents as an abstract idea, but as part of everyday life. One village leader explained that the Tamil community had lived in the area before several other ethnic groups. A Muslim resident described this shared social life in the following way:

"In *Gampong Keudah*, we come from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, such as Acehnese, Indian, Chinese, and Padang people. The Indian community is still Hindu, but there has never been a problem. Togetherness and mutual respect have become part of our everyday life. During religious celebrations, whether Hindu, Muslim, or Buddhist, people support each other." (Interview, ED)

This statement shows that religious difference in *Gampong Keudah* is not always interpreted through formal theological categories. For many Muslim residents, difference is encountered through neighborhood relations, daily interaction, and long familiarity with one another. The 2025 *Chithirai Maha Puja* celebration therefore did not appear as an isolated ritual event. It was perceived within a social world already shaped by shared space, repeated encounters, and a local memory of coexistence.

2) Muslim Residents' Meanings of *Chithirai Maha Puja*

Muslim residents attach varied meanings to *Chithirai Maha Puja*. These meanings range from active support, ordinary acceptance, to concern about the visibility of Hindu ritual symbols. The celebration is generally recognized as a

Hindu Tamil religious practice, but it is also understood as part of the recurring social rhythm of *Gampong Keudah*. Several informants stated that they had known the celebration since childhood. This long familiarity makes the ritual appear less as a new or disruptive religious event and more as an annual activity of neighbors who have lived in the area for generations.

For some residents, *Chithirai Maha Puja* is associated with practical solidarity. They do not merely allow the celebration to take place, but also assist in non-ritual aspects of the event. Their involvement includes helping with logistical arrangements, preparing food, managing parking areas, and helping maintain the smooth flow of the procession. A village figure in *Gampong Keudah* explained:

“Since I was a child, we have been used to seeing the Hindu Tamil celebration here. Every year they hold the event around the temple, and we have never felt disturbed. Sometimes we even help them, such as by managing the street or parking area. Even for the catering during the 2025 event, Acehnese residents were still the ones who cooked the food.”
(Interview, Mayadiana, Tuha Peut of *Gampong Keudah*)

This account shows that Muslim support is grounded in familiarity and neighborhood ethics rather than in formal interfaith discourse. Helping during the celebration does not mean entering the ritual meaning of Hindu worship. It is understood as a social act toward neighbors. Muslim residents are involved in practical and public aspects of the celebration, while still maintaining their own religious boundaries.

Other residents express a more neutral form of acceptance. They neither participate actively nor oppose the celebration. For them, *Chithirai Maha Puja* is part of the ordinary social life of *Gampong Keudah*. The ritual belongs to the Hindu Tamil community and does not interfere with Muslim worship or daily routines. This neutral attitude is shaped by repeated exposure to the celebration. Because the ritual has been seen over the years, it has become part of the local background of everyday life. In this sense, tolerance is not always expressed through active endorsement. It may also appear as ordinary non-interference, where residents allow the celebration to continue because it is familiar, locally bounded, and socially manageable.

At the same time, some Muslim residents express concern about ritual symbols, especially in relation to children’s religious education. This concern does not appear as direct rejection of the celebration, but as anxiety about the visibility of Hindu symbols in public space. One informant stated:

“Personally, I am not disturbed, but honestly I am a little worried if my child sees the event too often. I am afraid children may start asking questions and become confused about the symbols of their gods, which are different from what we teach in Islam.” (Interview, coffee shop informant)

This statement shows that some Muslim residents distinguish between social coexistence and religious transmission within the family. They may accept the celebration as part of neighborhood life, but still feel responsible for maintaining the boundaries of Islamic belief for their children. Their concern is not directed at the Hindu Tamil community as a social threat. Rather, it is directed at the visual presence of ritual symbols and the questions those symbols may raise among children.

3) Meanings, Boundaries, and Local Harmony

The meanings attached to *Chithirai Maha Puja* show that tolerance in *Gampong Keudah* is neither uniform nor unconditional. It is shaped through practical arrangements, social familiarity, and implicit boundary-making. Active support, neutral acceptance, and concern about ritual symbols are not separate realities. They exist within the same social field and show how Muslim residents manage religious difference in everyday life.

The celebration is accepted partly because it is embedded in long-standing neighborhood relations. Hindu Tamil residents are not perceived only as members of another religion, but also as part of the local community. This social positioning reduces emotional distance between groups. Difference remains visible, but it is moderated by shared space, everyday greetings, mutual assistance, and repeated encounters during religious and social events.

In this setting, tolerance works as a negotiated practice. For example, the procession may pause when the call to prayer is heard. This practice suggests that coexistence is maintained not by erasing difference, but by arranging public behavior in ways that recognize Muslim religious norms while still allowing the Hindu Tamil celebration to continue. In this setting, tolerance works as a negotiated practice. Minority religious expression is given space, but it is also adjusted within the moral and symbolic environment of the surrounding Muslim community.

Therefore, Muslim perceptions of *Chithirai Maha Puja* cannot be reduced to a simple narrative of acceptance or rejection. The celebration is understood as a neighborly event, a familiar annual ritual, and, for some residents, a moment that requires parental caution. These layered meanings contribute to a local form of social and religious harmony that is lived, practical, and negotiated. It is sustained not through the absence of religious boundaries, but through the ability of residents to manage those boundaries without turning them into open conflict.

2. Discussion

The findings show that Muslim perceptions of *Chithirai Maha Puja* in *Gampong Keudah* cannot be reduced to a simple narrative of religious tolerance. At the surface, the celebration appears to demonstrate peaceful coexistence

between a Muslim-majority community and a Hindu Tamil minority. Yet the data show a more layered process. Coexistence is sustained through familiarity, practical assistance, symbolic adjustment, and quiet boundary-making. The point matters because studies on religious minorities in Aceh have often emphasized either restriction in public religious expression or visible forms of social participation (Mubarrak and Kumala 2020; Tobroni 2021; Zulkarnaini et al. 2022). This article does not reject those arguments. It shifts the analytical focus from formal regulation and public participation to the everyday meanings through which Muslim residents interpret a Hindu Tamil ritual that takes place within their own neighborhood.

Schutz's social phenomenology helps explain why many Muslim residents do not perceive *Chithirai Maha Puja* as a threat to their Islamic identity. Their responses are shaped by a *stock of knowledge* formed through childhood memory, long-term neighborhood relations, and repeated exposure to the Hindu Tamil community. The ritual has appeared in the same social space, around the same temple, and among people already recognized as neighbors. Over time, this repetition produces a practical understanding that the celebration belongs to the ordinary social rhythm of *Gampong Keudah*. This is consistent with Schutz's argument that social actors interpret reality through accumulated knowledge, typification, and intersubjective experience (Rasid, Djafar, and Santoso 2021; Schutz and Luckmann 1973). In this case, Muslim residents do not absorb the Hindu theological meaning of the ritual. They classify it socially: it is "their religious celebration," but the people who hold it are "our neighbors."

This distinction clarifies why tolerance in *Gampong Keudah* takes a practical rather than ideological form. Tolerance in *Gampong Keudah* does not primarily emerge from abstract pluralist discourse or formal interfaith ideology. It is grounded in the ordinary language of neighborliness, habit, non-disturbance, and mutual assistance. Muslim residents help with catering, parking, and public order not because they reinterpret Hindu worship as theologically acceptable within Islam, but because helping neighbors is already meaningful within local social life. In this sense, tolerance is practical before it is ideological. It appears through labor, proximity, and social recognition. This finding complicates approaches that view majority-minority relations only through regulation, discrimination, or formal protection. Those dimensions remain important, but they do not fully explain why everyday coexistence continues in a place where religious difference is visible, recurrent, and ritually marked.

The findings also contribute to broader debates on living with religious difference. Valentine (2008) warns that shared space and everyday encounter do not automatically produce meaningful acceptance. Encounters may generate familiarity, but they can also leave hierarchy and prejudice intact. The case of *Gampong Keudah* supports this caution. Muslim residents' familiarity with

Chithirai Maha Puja makes coexistence possible, but it does not dissolve religious boundaries. The celebration is tolerated because it is familiar, locally rooted, and socially manageable. It is not necessarily embraced as an equal religious truth. This distinction matters because tolerance should not be confused with unrestricted acceptance. As Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, and Adelman (2019, 2020, 2023) argue, toleration often involves permitting practices that one does not fully agree with, as long as disagreement does not turn into exclusion or coercion.

This perspective helps explain the concern expressed by some Muslim residents about ritual symbols and children's religious education. The visibility of statues, processions, and divine symbols creates a moment in which religious difference becomes pedagogically sensitive for Muslim families. Parents do not necessarily reject the celebration, but they become cautious when ritual symbols enter the field of children's religious imagination. This concern shows that tolerance and religious boundary maintenance can operate at the same time. Parents may accept the Hindu Tamil community as neighbors while still trying to preserve the Islamic categories through which their children learn to distinguish belief, worship, and religious identity. In Schutzian terms, children are seen as still forming their *stock of knowledge* about what is religiously familiar, legitimate, and different. Parents therefore manage symbolic exposure not as a form of open hostility, but as part of religious transmission within the family.

This boundary-making is one of the most important findings of the study. Tolerance in *Gampong Keudah* is not the absence of difference, nor is it the full acceptance of all religious symbols without reservation. It is a selective accommodation. Muslim residents may accept the public presence of *Chithirai Maha Puja*, but they still mark limits around religious learning, symbolic visibility, and family identity. These limits do not necessarily produce open conflict because they are handled through quiet negotiation rather than public confrontation. The result is a form of coexistence that is socially stable but symbolically delicate. Similar studies of interreligious tolerance in Indonesia show that harmony often depends not on the disappearance of boundaries, but on the ability of communities to negotiate space, ritual visibility, and everyday interaction without escalating difference into conflict (Muhammad, Khusnia, and Barakah 2025; Rohman 2018).

The practice of pausing the procession during the call to prayer illustrates this negotiated structure of tolerance. On one level, the adjustment reflects respect for Muslim religious time and the dominant religious environment. On another level, it allows the Hindu Tamil celebration to continue without being interpreted as a challenge to Islamic public norms. This practice reveals that harmony is produced not through equal visibility in an abstract liberal sense, but through careful coordination between minority expression and majority sensibility. In Aceh, where *Syariat Islam*, or Islamic sharia, carries both formal and

symbolic authority, such coordination becomes a practical mechanism for preventing friction. The minority ritual remains visible, but its visibility is calibrated to the moral rhythm of the Muslim-majority space.

The Acehese context makes this negotiation especially visible. Studies on non-Muslims under Aceh's Islamic legal order show that minority communities are formally protected, yet their public expression is also shaped by the broader authority of Islamic norms and local regulations (Djawas et al. 2023; Tobroni 2021; Zulkarnaini et al. 2022). The present study adds a micro-sociological layer to that debate. It shows that the everyday reception of a minority ritual depends not only on law, but also on whether the ritual has been localized within neighborhood memory, social familiarity, and accepted patterns of conduct. *Chithirai Maha Puja* becomes socially manageable because residents know where it takes place, who performs it, how it is conducted, and how its public presence is adjusted to the surrounding Muslim environment.

Acehese local values further explain why this negotiation can work. Values such as *peumulia jamee*, meaning honoring guests, *meusaboh*, meaning togetherness in communal work, and *ta'awun*, meaning mutual assistance, provide a cultural vocabulary through which Muslim residents can support a Hindu Tamil celebration without presenting that support as theological compromise. These values do not erase religious boundaries. They provide a social language for managing difference. Earlier studies have shown that local traditions and everyday social relations can sustain interreligious harmony in Aceh and other Indonesian settings (Hermaliza 2015; Ranisa, Mulyazir, and Rifai 2024; Rohman 2018). This study shows how such values operate at the micro level: they appear in food preparation, parking assistance, neighborhood recognition, and the willingness to let a minority ritual occupy public space under locally understood limits.

The comparison with previous research on Hindu Tamil rituals in Banda Aceh also clarifies the contribution of this article. Studies on *Thaipusam* in Banda Aceh have emphasized ritual identity, ethnic continuity, and public reception of Hindu Tamil religious practice (Iramarisa et al. 2022). This article extends that discussion by focusing specifically on Muslim residents' meaning-making. The issue is not only that a Hindu Tamil ritual can be performed in Banda Aceh, but how Muslim residents classify, tolerate, assist, and limit its presence within their own lifeworld. This shift from ritual description to majority meaning-making allows the article to explain why the same ritual can be seen as a neighborly tradition, an ordinary annual event, and a source of parental concern at the same time.

Therefore, the main contribution of this study lies in its account of negotiated everyday tolerance under the formal presence of *Syariat Islam*. The case of *Chithirai Maha Puja* shows that tolerance in Banda Aceh is neither purely

legal nor purely cultural. It is produced at the intersection of Islamic public norms, Acehnese local values, long-term neighborhood relations, and the Hindu Tamil community's ability to maintain its ritual life in a socially intelligible way. This tolerance is not free from tension, but its strength lies in the capacity of residents to manage tension without turning religious difference into open conflict. By reading Muslim perceptions through Schutz's phenomenology, this study shows that interreligious harmony is built not only through official recognition of minority rights, but also through the everyday meanings that people attach to neighbors, rituals, symbols, and shared space.

D. Conclusion

This study shows that Muslim perceptions of *Chithirai Maha Puja* in *Gampong Keudah*, Banda Aceh, are shaped by a layered experience of proximity, memory, and religious boundary-making. The celebration is not interpreted by Muslim residents in a single way. Some residents support it through practical assistance, others accept it as an ordinary part of neighborhood life, while some express concern about the visibility of Hindu ritual symbols, especially in relation to children's religious education. These variations indicate that tolerance in this setting is not a fixed attitude or a simple expression of pluralist ideology. It is formed through repeated encounters, shared social space, and accumulated knowledge about the Hindu Tamil community as long-standing neighbors.

The findings suggest that religious harmony in *Gampong Keudah* is sustained through negotiated everyday tolerance. Muslim residents may assist the celebration without entering its ritual meaning, accept its public presence without dissolving their own religious boundaries, and manage concerns about symbolic visibility without turning them into open rejection. Practices such as helping with food, parking, and public order, as well as adjusting the procession to the call to prayer, show that coexistence is maintained through practical coordination between minority religious expression and Muslim-majority sensibilities. In this case, *Syariat Islam* functions less as a direct explanatory variable and more as a formal and symbolic context within which Muslim residents and the Hindu Tamil community negotiate ritual visibility, public conduct, and local coexistence.

The contribution of this study lies in showing that tolerance in a Muslim-majority locality under the formal implementation of *Syariat Islam* is best understood as a lived and negotiated social practice. Through Alfred Schutz's phenomenology, the study demonstrates that interreligious harmony is produced through the meanings residents attach to neighbors, rituals, symbols, and shared space. This conclusion also clarifies the limits of the study. Its findings are based on a small qualitative case in *Gampong Keudah* and should not be generalized to all of Aceh. Nevertheless, the case offers an important sociological

insight into how minority religious expression can remain socially intelligible in a strongly Islamic public environment when it is embedded in long-term familiarity, local moral vocabularies, and everyday forms of mutual adjustment.

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