

NOT MUSLIM, NOT ACEHNESE: Digital Counterspaces, Religious Conversion, and Identity Negotiation among Acehese Christians

Muhammad Ansor

Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, Indonesia

Email: ansor@uin-suska.ac.id

Fernando Yudistira

Institut Agama Islam Diniyyah Pekanbaru, Indonesia

Email: fernando@diniyah.ac.id

Muslem Ibnu

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Langsa, Indonesia

Email: muslim.ibnu@iain.langsa.ac.id

Abdul Rahim Hakimi

Herat University, Afghanistan

Email: hakimiabdulrahim@yahoo.com

Laila Sari Masyhur

Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, Indonesia

Email: laila.sari.masyhur@uin-suska.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study examines the dynamics of digital counterspace as a platform for activism among former Acehese Muslims who have converted to Christianity. It focuses on how digital spaces contribute to the articulation of narratives that resist the marginalization and discrimination these individuals have encountered. This resistance is expressed through shared testimonies of conversion experiences, the normalization of apostasy, and the redefining of a social identity as Acehese Christians. Data were gathered through an ethnographic study of 65 videos produced by 5 Christian ex-Muslims, including 3 YouTubers and social media activists, and 2 in-depth interviews with one of them. The findings demonstrate that digital platforms enable Christian ex-Muslims in Aceh to re-negotiate the inseparability of their Acehese ethnicity with Islam by reformulating their social identity as Acehese Christians. Ultimately, this study aims to enrich the discourse on political Islam and its implications for the religious practices of subaltern minorities, drawing on experiences from Aceh, the only province in Indonesia that implements Islamic law as a sharia-based special autonomy regional government.

Keywords: *Religious Conversion; Digital Counterspaces; Identity Negotiation; Acehnese Christians*

INTRODUCTION

Although widely recognized as one of the ethnic groups closely associated with Islam, the Indonesian digital space has recently been colored by narratives on Christians who self-identify as Acehnese (Alyuddin, 2021a; Saputra, 2022c; Script, 2023; Usman, 2020a, 2025). They are Acehnese Christians who were born to Acehnese parents, or at least to one of them, converted, and mobilize digital spaces to present themselves as such. While this is not a common trend, these religious conversions signal a shift in religious affiliation among some Acehnese communities, where community members are renegotiating the inseparability of Islam and ethnicity. This is a socio-cultural anomaly because the Acehnese identity has historically been constructed through the integration of Islam with Aceh's culture (Ichwan et al., 2020). Islam is not only a religion and a guiding principle but also a collective identity for the Acehnese people (Ansori, 2012). Therefore, for most Acehnese, narratives of conversion from Islam to Christianity in digital spaces are seen not merely as a change of faith but as resistance to the cultural foundations and collective identity of Aceh. Meanwhile, for former Acehnese Muslims, digital spaces serve as arenas for resistance against religious marginalization and discrimination.

Existing scholarship on the relationship among Islam, ethnicity, and restrictions on religious conversion in contemporary Indonesia offers valuable insights. Based on case studies of communities identified with Islam, such as Minangkabau and Aceh, the writings highlight social changes in which the links between ethnicity and religion are being reconsidered and challenged by community members. Mina Elfira's article discusses the identity negotiations of Minangkabau people outside West Sumatra who convert to another religion due to marriage (Elfira, 2009). Similarly, Jufri Naldo et al. (2026) examine the struggles of Minangkabau people in migration areas who convert to Christianity while trying to maintain their identity as both Minangkabau and Christian. Likewise, Muhammad Ansor's study explores the experiences of Acehnese people who convert to Christianity, challenging the limitations on expressing their identity as both Christians and Acehnese by reproducing counter-narratives in digital spaces (Ansor, 2024). However, the last study is still preliminary and needs to be expanded, including by highlighting the reproduction of digital counter-spaces as expressions of resistance to restrictions on religious freedom following the implementation of shari'ah in Aceh.

In general, for most Muslim communities, apostasy or leaving Islam is considered an act that is not permitted by religion. Around 70 percent of Muslim countries in the Middle East and Africa categorize leaving Islam as an act of defamation (Kutty, 2018), leading these countries to regulate cultural sanctions or even criminal sanctions against such actions. Several countries with Muslim-majority populations, including Egypt (Berger, 2003; O'Sullivan, 2003), Malaysia (Ismail & Awang Mat, 2016; Samuri & Quraishi, 2014), Iran (Darwish, 2018), and Indonesia (Seo, 2013), impose social sanctions and even criminal penalties on individuals who convert from Islam. In Aceh, the only province in Indonesia that applies Islamic law or sharia, there is a regulation on the prohibition for Muslims to leave Islam. According to Aceh Qanun (Islamic-based local regulation) number 8/2015, any Muslim who leaves Islam is subject to *uqubat ta'zir*—a type of discretionary punishment in Islamic criminal law—in the form of public flogging of a maximum of 60 times and a minimum of 30 times, or a maximum prison sentence of 60 months and a minimum of 30 months, or a maximum fine of 600 grams of pure gold and a minimum of 300 grams of gold (article 18 of Aceh Qanun 8/2015). The cultural practices of the Acehnese people also show strong rejection of the act of leaving Islam, whether manifesting through persecution, expulsion, or other intolerant acts (Ansor, 2024).

In certain Acehnese communities, the decision to leave Islam is often followed by migration from Aceh (Ansor, 2024) as a strategy to avoid socio-political and criminal pressures. This article argues that, amid political Islam's control over religious freedom, particularly the marginalization and persecution of those who leave Islam, digital public spaces enable former Acehnese Muslims who have become Christians to express a social identity that counters the dominant narrative of an inseparable Acehnese and Islamic identity. They use digital spaces as an alternative channel for sharing information, reasons, and experiences, and for articulating new identities associated with religious conversion. Digital spaces transform into counterspaces where they express their rejection of marginalization and persecution due to their decision to leave Islam.

This study aims to examine the dynamics of digital counterspace as a platform for activism among former Acehnese Muslims who have converted to Christianity. The article argues that amid the restrictions on religious conversion in Aceh following shariatisme, the digital space not only becomes an arena for negotiating new identities expressed through digital activism but also facilitates the formation of a counterpublic space that serves as a platform for marginalized communities to express resistance. By using

Lefebvre's public space theory (1991, 2003) and Lopez-Leon and Casanova's digital counterspaces concepts (2025), it explores how digital environments contribute to the reproduction of narratives that reject the marginalization they have faced. This is achieved through the mediation of conversion testimonies, the normalization of apostasy, and efforts to redefine a new social identity as Acehese Christians. As a result, this study enhances the discourse on political Islam and its implications for the religious practices of subaltern minorities (Nieuwkerk, 2006; Starr et al., 2019). This article expands the discussion on how digital space functions as a counterspace, drawing on the experiences of Acehese Christians who challenge dominant narratives that limit religious conversion and the negotiation of new religious identities.

This study presents a digital ethnography of five Christian former Muslims from Aceh who actively present themselves as subjects in digital spaces. Among them, three individuals manage YouTube channels: @InjilHabaGet, run by Effendi Usman; @Deditersadarkan, run by Dedi Saputra; and @alyudinok, run by Alyuddin bin Zainul Abidin. These channels, at that time, released at least 2,757, 136, and 277 videos, respectively, featuring a range of content, including testimonies, accounts, articulations of social identity, missionary activities, and daily spiritual experiences after religious conversion. The remaining two, Dika Aldinanda and Cut Fitri Handayani, although not managing their own YouTube accounts, actively express themselves through digital channels managed by others, affirming their social identity as Christian ex-Muslims from Aceh. Both regularly appear on TikTok accounts, either managed by themselves or by others, to mobilize their social identity as Christian ex-Muslims from Aceh. We inventoried, watched, and documented information from 65 videos on the three aforementioned YouTube channels. This study used the YouTube video inventory as part of a netnographic study (Marôpo et al., 2021). Then, we transcribed or made netnographic notes from observations of video content relevant to the research theme.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AND DIGITAL COUNTERSPACES

This study employs Lefebvre's concept of the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991, 2003, 2009; Janzen, 2002; Shewly, 2025) combined with the concept of digital counterspaces (Lopez-Leon & Casanova, 2025) for analyzing the intersectionality of spatial practices and the religious narratives of Christian former Muslims from Aceh (Chiodelli, 2013). According to Chris Butler (2012), Lefebvre describes the relationship between the state and spatiality as a triadic model of space. Lefebvre's triadic model—consisting of spatial representation (or abstract space), spatial practice (or perceived space),

and representational space (or lived space)—serves as an analytical lens for understanding the relationship between state control, social practices, and physical public space based on a case study of the experiences of Christian ex-Muslim Acehnese.

According to Lefebvre (1991), space is never static, but rather is produced dialectically through contradictions, conflicts, and negotiations between dominant forces and everyday practices. His progressive-regressive dialectical method rejects linear temporality by exploring how historical residues, lived experiences, and emerging spatial strategies collide in the ongoing production of space (Lefebvre, 1991). In the dynamics of protest, this framework explains how space is contested, occupied, and reclaimed. Abstract Space (Metaphysical), for example, can be understood as an organized environment, often controlled by the state, where surveillance and regulation limit public gatherings. Perceived Space (Spatial Practice), in contrast, encompasses the everyday material interactions within these regulated spaces, which enable protest movements to create physical symbols of dissent. Finally, Lived Space (Representational Space) refers to the subjective and experiential dimensions in which individuals and communities create meanings and narratives, often through acts of resistance (al-Nakib, 2014; Cesari, 2013; Fincher, 2007; Galanakis, 2016; Zanolli, 2013; Zillinger, 2014). In addition, protest movements traverse and reconfigure these dimensions not sequentially, but dialectically, engaging in spatial production that is simultaneously symbolic, material, and political (Shewly, 2025). The state endeavors to create abstract spaces that are homogeneous, policed, and regulated. However, these efforts inherently provoke dialectical reactions from society, which seeks to reclaim, subvert, or reconfigure such spaces. In the digital realm, the dialectical dynamics of these elements, as outlined by Lefebvre, continue to evolve and shape models of spatial resistances or counterspaces, a concept that this study will soon explore.

According to Lopez-Leon and Casanova (2025, pp. 336–337), counterspaces are contexts where marginalized individuals with similar social identities can affirm their identities, develop a sense of belonging, and collectively cultivate critical awareness to reject and challenge deficit-oriented narratives. Counterspaces help individuals develop three forms of critical awareness articulated through spatial practices: reproducing social identities through counter-narratives, articulating resistance in spatial practices, and strengthening resources through relational transactions within the community. The work of identity narration is a process in which individuals question existing societal narratives about their social identities and challenge narratives that diminish human dignity

by offering counter-narratives that highlight their strengths and dignity. Articulation of resistance refers to the strategic and deliberate subversion of dominant cultural beliefs and behaviors to critique oppressive conditions and reclaim power. Meanwhile, direct relational transactions emphasize the community's role in providing social support and strengthening resources that help mobilize resistance against marginalization.

Digital space provides an alternative channel for sharing spiritual experiences, expressing identity, or creating new social networks, especially given the strong resistance in Acehnese society to religious conversion. This makes such interactions impossible in traditional public spaces (non-digital). Digital channels also expand the temporal dimensions of protest (Elahi, 2012; Evolvi, 2017; Starr et al., 2019). Unlike physical gatherings, which are limited by proximity, digital spaces preserve and reinforce protest narratives, maintaining continuity (Shewly, 2025). We argue that these digital contexts serve as counterspaces where former Muslim Acehnese Christians engage in crucial processes for developing their intersectional selves. Digital counterspaces foster a sense of belonging by validating their intersectional experiences. Online platforms provide a venue for engaging in critical consciousness to reject dehumanizing narratives and challenge intersectional forms of oppression (Yilmaz, 2026). Notwithstanding the liminality and vulnerability of digital spaces, Acehnese Christians within these digital contexts reimagine and develop a coherent sense of self that embodies their intersectional social identities.

MEDIATIZATION OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION EXPERIENCE TESTIMONIALS

Testimonials about religious conversion experiences have become a means for Acehnese Christians to express resistance to restrictions on religious conversion (Alyuddin, 2021b, 2023, 2024a, 2024b). They counter persecution by sharing unpleasant experiences during their faith transformation through testimonies, generally aimed at a Christian audience. The tendency for Acehnese Christians to create testimonies as a form of resistance to dominant cultural pressures, especially regarding the prohibition on apostasy, is a relatively new phenomenon. Notably, the mediatization of conversion experiences has intensified since early 2020, coinciding with the COVID-19 pandemic that impacted Indonesia.

Several studies have explored the diverse meanings of testimonies and their contribution to enriching discussions of religious conversion (Avance, 2013; Khalil & Bilici, 2007; Pentilla, 2016; Vliek, 2019b). According to Vliek 2019a,

2019b), testimonies about conversion experiences from Islam reflect not only the phase of publicly expressing disbelief in former beliefs and articulating a new identity, but also the phase of publicly expressing disbelief in former beliefs and articulating a new identity. For converts from Islam, testimonies serve as statements of affiliation with the broader Christian community and as efforts to expand the new community's social networks (Vliek, 2019b). Based on a study of Muslims in Sulu facing militarization, Elgin Glenn R. Salomon (2022) states that testimonies serve as a strategy for subaltern communities to express resistance to the oppression they experience. For some individuals, testimonials are a means of exercising their freedom of speech.

According to Rambo (1999), testimonials in the process of faith transformation are individuals' attempts to reconstruct their personal biographies after religious conversion. Furthermore, testimonials are part of articulating commitment to a new religious group or environment (Vliek, 2019b). Similarly, Stromberg (1993, p. 3) states that testimonials function as performative acts of self-transformation to foster one's faith. Thus, conversion narratives are not merely recollections of past events but the creation of specific situations at the time of recounting. Stromberg analyzes this dual process: faith-strengthening and life-transformation when conversion testimonies are spoken. Building on prior studies, particularly based on the experiences of former Muslim Christians in Aceh, we aim to show the use of testimonies by our research subjects as a way of expressing resistance to the dominant culture and dominating structures that persecute religious conversion from Islam (Aldinanda & Darmawati, 2025a, 2025c, 2025b; Saputra, 2022b, 2022d, 2022a).

Testimonials about conversion from Islam in Aceh attract both Christian and Muslim audiences. Testimonials about conversions from Islam in Aceh are received differently by different audiences. For new converts, this interest is fueled, among other things, by public curiosity about how they overcome obstacles, or even persecution, for leaving Islam. For adherents of old religions, conversion is a collective issue that requires synergistic attention from various parties. Conversions from Islam in Aceh consistently make viral news because they are seen as a threat to the religious integration of Acehnese ethnicity. Testimonials about conversion experiences are perceived as a threat to religious authority, both culturally and structurally, in a region that enforces Islamic law.

The COVID-19 pandemic also drove the intense use of digital media by religious converts in early 2020, which limited social interaction among citizens. The Jokowi government's policy of limiting social interaction between individuals shifted religious practices, such as the exchange of knowledge

and spiritual experiences, through digital communication channels (Hilmy & Niam, 2020; Said & Santosa, 2021). For Acehese religious converts, the COVID-19 pandemic has been a blessing, as digital communication channels have allowed them to express their religious identity and spiritual experiences within their new religion. This is considered a blessing because, as previously mentioned, in Acehese sharia law, religious converts face strict censorship when sharing their spiritual experiences with a broader audience.

Individuals share their conversion testimonies through digital media, either through other organizations' channels or their own YouTube channels. Diaspora TV is one such channel that actively facilitates former Acehese Muslims in sharing their experiences of religious transformation, although it is not the only platform of its kind. According to information on the Diaspora TV YouTube channel, the channel is managed by Rahmani Christ Church of Indonesia (GKRI, *Gereja Kristus Rahmani Indonesia*) and Diaspora City Center. It focuses on presenting a variety of Christian spiritual programs that equip believers with faith in today's modern world.

Alyuddin bin Zainul Abidin, Effendi Usman, and Dedi Saputra are among the former Acehese Muslims who have shared testimonies through Diaspora TV (Alyuddin, 2023, 2024a; Saputra & Usman, 2022b; Usman, 2024). In fact, Effendi Usman and Alyuddin have been featured more than once to share their spiritual experiences related to their conversion from Islam to Christianity. Dedi Saputra made his first appearance on this channel to share the testimony of his faith transformation from Islam to Christianity. In addition, several YouTube channels run by Christian YouTubers, such as Lusy (@lusydaivachannel), have uploaded testimonies from former Acehese Muslims who have converted to Christianity. One channel uploaded three episodes of Dika Aldinanda's testimony, an apostate (Murtad) from South Aceh. In addition to sharing their conversion experiences on other channels, they also share their personal YouTube channels. Beyond these platforms, they also share personal experiences of their religious conversion on their own YouTube channels and other digital platforms.

In this study, netnographic data shows that the spectrum of themes presented through testimonies extends beyond the need to share spiritual experiences and also includes a sense of resistance to the pressures of the dominant culture that prohibit leaving Islam. The conversion material generally addresses the spiritual and psychological aspects underlying faith transformation, the process of revealing this new faith to the Muslim public in Aceh (both family and the general public), and converts' responses to this decision (Saputra, 2022b). The narrative flow is relatively similar, although with varying emphases

(Alyuddin, 2024b; Saputra & Usman, 2022b; Usman, 2021). Each convert has a spiritual and psychological experience that accompanies the conversion event, whether in the form of a dream about meeting a figure believed to be Jesus, an encounter with a specific figure that then sparks a decision to change their faith, a change of faith due to marriage to a partner of a different faith, or an experience of adversity that then sparks repentance and a change of faith.

It is interesting to focus on how converts narrate their experiences during the coming-out phase (Smuts, 2011), the publication of their new faith, and the impacts they experience as a result of their conversion decision. The majority of the subjects in this study experienced a difficult phase when their decision to leave Islam was made known to those closest to them (Seo, 2013). All subjects discussed in this study experienced family rejection regarding their conversion decisions. At this moment, the difficulty each converter experienced varied significantly. However, none of the converters discussed in this study received support from their families for their conversion decisions. In fact, the majority experienced persecution and traumatic experiences.

We found that the details of traumatic narratives conveyed through conversions convey messages of resistance to the prohibition on conversion. Testimonies delivered by Dedi Syahputra and Dika Aldinanda, for example, emphasize the traumatic experiences they experienced when their conversion decisions met with opposition from their families (Aldinanda & Darmawati, 2025c; Saputra, 2022b). The repetition of these traumatic and unpleasant experiences on several YouTube channels and the intensity of the storytelling indicate that these testimonies not only serve as a means of gaining acceptance within the new religious community but also demonstrate criticism and resistance to the coercion and persecution they experience.

On several YouTube channels, both Diaspora TV and his own channel, Dedi Saputra, shared his testimony about the moment his family learned he had converted to Christianity (Saputra & Usman, 2022b). Dedi is from Aceh and was raised in a devout Muslim environment, taught to recite the Quran and pray five times a day. In 2010, while in the third grade of junior high school, he watched the film "The Vision of Christ." Jesus's closing words, "It is finished," puzzled him and sparked his curiosity. He wondered what "it is finished" meant and why Jesus did not leave another message for his followers. His search continued until 2013. Initially, finding Christian information was difficult because the internet was less advanced than it is today, and Christian articles were scarce. He eventually joined a Christian community forum on Facebook and asked, "Is it finished?" The initial answers were not satisfactory, but he continued searching. He found an article explaining that "it is finished"

meant that Jesus had finished “the debt of human sin.” This raised new questions for him about why humans have a debt of sin. Dedi then read that humans inherited the debt of sin from Adam and Eve, a concept not present in previous teachings. He concluded that any issues with God must be resolved according to God’s will.

The article he read stated that to become a follower of Jesus and pay off the debt of sin, one must be baptized to be united with Jesus. Dedi, who resides in the interior of Aceh, saw baptism as the only way. He prayed as usual, and during the month of fasting, he prayed fervently, deceiving his parents by telling them he was going out with friends when in fact he was heading to Medan. Through a Facebook forum, he found the address of a pastor in Medan. He discovered the address of a pastor in Medan through a Facebook forum. Setting off on a night bus with no clear destination and without contacting the pastor in advance, he arrived in Medan and, with the assistance of a pedicab driver, found the pastor. Though surprised by Dedi’s arrival, the pastor welcomed him. After spending five days at the pastor’s home and reading the Bible—where he first encountered Philippians 1:21: “For to me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain”—Dedi was determined to be baptized, despite not having received thorough guidance. He clung firmly to the article’s assertion that baptism was the path to uniting with Jesus.

After being baptized, Dedi returned to Aceh. Three months later, his family discovered his conversion to Christianity when his cousin found a Bible in his room. Dedi was chased by a mob, pelted with stones, and ran into the forest. Miraculously, he was unharmed and rescued by an evangelist. The incident went viral and was featured in local newspapers, describing him as “the head of apostasy in Aceh.” As a result, Dedi was banished from his family and expelled from the Islamic school two weeks before his final exams. In 2013, he was forced to leave Aceh. He tried to return in 2014 to live like an Acehnese, but found no peace because of religious differences, so he left Aceh again. At the time of this study, Dedi claimed to be residing in South Tangerang, Banten.

Dika Aldinanda also shared a testimony about his conversion experience on a YouTube channel run by someone who identifies herself as Lusy Diva. Dika, originally from South Aceh, was a Muslim who was very hostile towards Christians. In 2019, he accidentally heard a Christian hymn on his aunt’s (Muslim) phone. The song brought him peace and prompted him to search for and download dozens of hymns. Dika said he dreamed of meeting Jesus shining brightly as the “light of the world,” who took him to a beautiful garden like heaven. He posted the dream on Instagram, prompting anger and threats from his mother, which led his family to discover his interest in Christianity.

He also said he dreamed of Christians being persecuted, some apostatizing, before Jesus descended from the clouds and lifted believers to heaven.

Inspired by his dream and the stories of other apostates, such as Cut Fitri, Dika sought counseling through the “Answers Channel”: an institution run by someone affiliated with Christians. The counselor explained that he was “the chosen one” of Jesus. On April 28, 2021, Dika was baptized by an evangelist on the coast of Aceh because local churches there did not accept Acehnese individuals for baptism. Although Dika faced challenges finding work in Aceh, he found opportunities in Medan, which he interpreted as God’s way of guiding him out of Aceh. After his decision to convert to Christianity reached his family, Dika was interrogated and subjected to violence. Dika was interrogated and forced to confess his faith. He was forced to confess his faith, after which he was beaten and attacked with thrown chairs. To further exert pressure, the family summoned three Ustad (Islamic teachers or preachers) to perform a *ruqyah* (Qur’anic recitation for healing individuals from spiritual disturbances like the evil eye, evil possession, or even black magic) and convert Dika to Islam. Dika, however, refused, invoking Surah Maryam, verse 71 of the Quran, which left the Ustads and his family speechless. They concluded that Dika’s path had been “taken away by God.” Subsequently, Dika relocated to Medan as a Christian, proudly embracing his Acehnese identity. His social media accounts reflect an enthusiastic connection to both Christianity and his Acehnese heritage (Aldinanda & Darmawati, 2025a, 2025c).

Testimonials in religious conversion literature are analyzed as a means for converts to display and assert a new social identity (Ansor, 2024; Ansor & Masyhur, 2013; Vliek, 2019b). However, in the cases of Dedi and Dika, the important role of testimonies that transcends these boundaries is revealed. For Dika and Dedi, testimonies serve as a space to express new faith, build social networks, and provide a medium to criticize the pressures of Aceh’s dominant culture, which imposes sanctions on those who leave Islam. Although this criticism is sometimes not expressed directly, the story’s emphasis on the moment of persecution and their disappointment with the treatment they experienced demonstrates Dika and Dedi’s opposition to the persecution of converts from Islam.

Furthermore, netnographic evidence can be presented to support the argument that testimony is both a symbolic and creative arena of resistance. For Dedi, the decision to speak in an open forum was a form of resistance to the persecution he experienced after leaving Islam. He expressed his disappointment with Acehnese culture, which prohibits people from choosing a religion that aligns with their beliefs. He believes that every individual has the right to choose a

religion and to practice it in accordance with their beliefs. In a YouTube video posted on his personal channel, he urged Acehnese audiences to embrace Jesus for their salvation, asserting that only the gospel can bring peace to Aceh (Saputra, 2022a). Through digital spaces, individuals like Dedi, along with other former Acehnese Christians, not only contest the constraints on religious freedom but also seek to counter negative stereotypes surrounding apostasy. In doing so, these former Acehnese Christians are working to normalize the term “apostasy” across their respective digital channels and social media.

NORMALIZING APOSTASY AS DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP

One form of symbolic resistance by former Muslim Christians in Aceh is the use of digital space to renegotiate the concept of apostasy. The concept of apostasy in Muslim religious literature is portrayed pejoratively. An apostate, or the plural form of the word apostate, is defined as a Muslim who voluntarily abandons or rejects Islam through belief, speech, or action, meaning he or she returns to infidelity after previously embracing Islam. The concept of an apostate has also been used to refer to someone who became Muslim by descent and then abandoned Islam to embrace another religion.

The concept of apostasy in Muslim literature has negative connotations because this act is considered a betrayal of communal ties as a Muslim. Therefore, as previously mentioned, most Muslim countries regulate sanctions for leaving Islam, both structural and cultural sanctions (Kutty, 2018). Aceh imposes sanctions for apostasy, including under Qanun No. 8/2015 on the Protection of Faith. Furthermore, culturally, Acehnese who choose to leave Islam experience persecution and isolation from their social environment. Some of the informants who became the subjects of this study then chose to leave Aceh to avoid social and structural sanctions (Aldinanda & Darmawati, 2025a; Handayani, 2021; Usman, 2022c; Saputra & Usman, 2022b; Usman & Handayani, 2022). In contrast to Christian ex-Muslims who chose to live in Aceh after conversion, who tended to be passive, this study found that the citizenship practices of ex-Muslims assertively criticized the negative stigmatization of the decision to leave Islam by neutralizing the concept of apostasy.

The normalization of the concept of apostasy occurs in various forms. This study found that the normalization of apostasy is carried out through, among other things, (a) self-narration as an apostate from Aceh by connecting it to the experience of liberation; (b) re-signifying the term apostasy as an act of courage in fighting for religious freedom both personally and collectively; (c) reproducing visuals and rhetoric that display emotional and dramatic framing

of the act of leaving Islam; and (d) repeating contrasting narratives between the current faith and the former faith in their various aspects to show that the act of leaving Islam is a logical and humane attitude.

Most of the research subjects' self-narratives, as demonstrated in their testimonies, seek to normalize apostasy, in which faith transformation is part of the experience of seeking religious freedom. The YouTube channels and social media of research subjects such as Effendi Usman, Dedi Saputra, Alyuddin, and Dika Aldinanda recount their spiritual journeys, including their backgrounds, social pressures, and the moment of their first reading of the Bible (Aldinanda & Darmawati, 2025c; Usman, 2021b; Saputra, 2022b), thus leading the audience to perceive apostasy not as a moral crime as constructed in the Acehnese social system, but as a transformation of identity and spiritual liberation. One excerpt from Dedi Saputra's testimony, as quoted in the preface, demonstrates this. In one of his YouTube posts, Dedi stated:

These past few days, or every day, I've heard people say that Acehnese convert to Christianity because they lack money or because their children lack compassion. I want to respond to these things: that people who convert to Christianity are not, and not only, hungry. And, even if they are hungry, they are hungry for the truth. They are truly hungry for the truth; they are tired and weary of being lied to by teachings that dehumanize humans. Teachings that only claim to be *rahmatan lil alamin* (blessing for the universe) but always cause unrest everywhere. How can we say that it is *rahmatan lil alamin* when church building permits are difficult to obtain, churches can be burned, and for some Christians, their lives are always persecuted? (Saputra & Usman, 2022a)

The YouTube channels participating in this study also used the terms "apostates" or "Murtadin" in their video titles to attract audience attention. Several examples of video titles that use the concept of apostasy were found on the YouTube channels of Effendi Usman, Alyuddin, Dedi Saputra, Dika Aldinanda, and other general channels featuring former Acehnese Muslims leaving Islam. Dedi Saputra, for example, created digital content on his YouTube channel entitled: "*Sang Murtadin Siap Kembali Ke Islam???* [The Apostate is Ready to Return to Islam???]" (Saputra, 2022d). Effendi Usman released content entitled: "*Geger!! Kesaksian 4 Murtaddin Aceh Di Kediaman Cut Fitri, Muslem Aceh Banyak Yang Sudah Percaya Yesus* [Commotion!! Testimony of 4 Acehnese Murtadins at Cut Fitri's Residence, Many Acehnese Muslims Have Believed in Jesus]" (Usman, 2025) or "*Orang Pinter Pasti Murtad* [Smart People Will Definitely Apostate]" (Usman, 2020b). These videos use the concept of apostasy to construct a narrative that presents apostasy as a logical and normal

decision. Normalization is also achieved through the repetition of the concept of apostasy in video content to neutralize the audience's, especially Muslims or Acehnese, interpretation of it (Alyuddin, 2023; Zulkifli, 2020; Usman, 2020a).

Most of the subjects in this study attempted to reinterpret the concept of apostasy by emphasizing the narrative construction that the act is not a punishment, but rather evidence of the discovery of truth and the courage to bear social consequences. Apostate is framed as the self-image of those who undertake the search for truth and find it. The construction of videos using the keyword *Murtadin* also presents narratives of people who possess the courage and strength to face the cultural sanctions of their society (especially those imposed by their former religious community). This study found strong suspicion that the normalization of the concept of *Murtadin* is intended to minimize, or even eliminate, the criminal connotations or negative stigma associated with the term in certain public spheres. The digital space enables most of the subjects in this study to articulate their civic stance without undue anxiety, since they are outside the direct reach of Acehnese audiences or Indonesian Muslims in general.

Furthermore, this study also uncovered digital content that seeks to depict apostasy through emotional and dramatic storytelling. A notable example is the video documenting Cut Fitri's conversion (Handayani, 2021). This timeline highlights the moment when Cut Fitri, a woman from Langsa, Aceh, gained significant attention on social media. In the video, she refutes allegations of kidnapping and coercion surrounding her conversion to Christianity, emphasizing that her decision was entirely her own. Cut Fitri also expressed her sorrow over her children being taken by her family.

In the video, Cut Fitri stated that she was not kidnapped and that all the rumors spread by her family were untrue; her decision to convert to Christianity was purely her own free will, without coercion. She apologized to her mother, brother, sister, and her entire extended family, but asked that they accept her life's path and not blame others or spread slander. The video depicts Cut Fitri's sadness and disappointment over the removal of her children by her biological family and her ex-husband's family. She feels entitled to her children and criticizes her family for separating her from them. An earlier version of the video was uploaded by a local Acehnese newspaper, but on YouTube channels aimed at Christian audiences, it was framed more dramatically to encourage viewers to understand Cut Fitri's decision. Cut Fitri's actions are presented as a human story rather than a violation of religious, moral, or cultural law.

The normalization of the concept of apostasy promoted by former Acehnese Muslims is more than just a presentation of a new social identity; it is also

a form of symbolic and overt resistance to censorship of religious freedom (Halama & Lačná, 2011; Yilmaz, 2026). Some of the subjects in this study used digital channels to launch their critique and resistance, rejecting the negative assessment of leaving Islam. The practice of digital citizenship allows them to act more critically than they could in conventional, non-digital spaces (Boutros, 2015; Davis, 2018; Lopez-Leon & Casanova, 2025). Based on our study, we did not find any statements from the subjects that normalized the concept of apostasy through direct statements to Muslim audiences in Aceh. In several interviews, statements that pointed to efforts to normalize and rationalize their actions of leaving Islam were delivered cautiously. This contrasts with the narrative findings in digital spaces. Digital channels allow a Christian YouTuber, a former Muslim from Aceh, to more assertively articulate his thoughts and attitudes in normalizing the concept of apostasy. Dedi Saputra stated in one of his YouTube videos:

Previously, everyone was searching for my Facebook and terrorizing me. In the past few days, it's happened again because of my statement about Acehnese apostates and that I follow Jesus. [...] If you say I follow Jesus because I'm paid, I'll say this. Anyone who can prove that I follow Jesus because I get paid, let's say someone pays me two million rupiah a month, from the first day I was paid until today, I will give that money to you. That's the first thing. Secondly, if you can prove it, [...] I'm ready to be returned to Islam (Saputra, 2022d).

The normalization of apostasy through YouTube channels was also carried out by most research subjects by constructing contrasting narratives or comparing teachings between Islam and Christianity. In videos posted on YouTube channels, these research subjects, for example, presented comparisons between the teachings of Jesus in the Bible and the Islamic narrative as they experienced it during their transition to faith. In several videos posted on his personal YouTube channel, Usman compared his life after coming to know Jesus with his life as a Muslim. He described himself as a messed-up Muslim who brought shame to his family, but after leaving Islam, he became a good person and closer to God. Similarly, Alyuddin, in several testimonies uploaded to various personal YouTube channels and Christian communities, presented himself as a delinquent youth who committed various violations of the law. However, his life changed for the better after he came to know Jesus. These narratives were constructed to rationalize their decisions to become apostates and to normalize them.

The normalization of apostasy in the digital space is furthered by this research

subject's efforts to construct their social identity as both Acehnese and Christian. In the following exposition, we explore the efforts of some research subjects to mobilize their social identities as both Christian and Acehnese. This exposition also aims to expand and strengthen forms of creative and assertive resistance in the digital space against restrictions on religious freedom in Aceh. Efforts to further restrict and prevent citizens from leaving Islam are strengthened by political and structural approaches, as well as by the expansion of resistance strategies, particularly in the digital space.

MOBILIZING IDENTITIES AS ACEHNESE CHRISTIAN

Scholars on Acehnese social identity have consistently identified Acehnese society with Islam (Ansori, 2012; Kloos, 2018; Makin, 2016). The ethno-religious integration of Acehnese as Muslims is a well-established social concept. To date, no studies have explored the Acehnese community's efforts to renegotiate this unification of ethno-religious identity. This contrasts with the ethno-religious unification within Minangkabau society, which began to be negotiated by its members (Elfira, 2009).

The emergence of YouTube channels run by former Acehnese Muslims demonstrates a shift in how individuals articulate their religious identity in the digital space. The netnographic data obtained through this study indicate that these YouTube channels feature testimonies from former Acehnese Muslims, evangelism by Christian figures or pastors of Acehnese ethnicity, or the spiritual experience of an Acehnese encountering Jesus. The presence of narratives of Acehnese socio-religious identity beyond Islam reflects challenges to the integration of Acehnese ethno-religious communities as communities identified with Islam.

This phenomenon is interesting to explore. Aceh's Islamic identity has been firmly institutionalized through *qanuns* (religious laws), local culture, and the social structure of its society (Ansor, 2014a; Febriandi et al., 2021; Feener, 2013; Jauhola, 2020; Kloos, 2018; Otto & Otto, 2016; Salim, 2008, 2021). Therefore, as the first author has demonstrated in his other articles, religious conversion in Acehnese society is not only a spiritual conversion phenomenon but also reflects ethnoreligious dislocation, namely a shift from collective social norms (Ansor, 2024). Acehnese who choose a faith outside of Islam are socially pressured to leave Acehnese territory. Similarly, in the social sphere, Acehnese who renounce Islam are prohibited by the majority of their former community from identifying themselves as Acehnese.

The emergence of several YouTube channels run by Christian ex-Muslims from

Aceh, along with posts from individuals identifying as Acehnese Christians, highlights ongoing efforts to reshape social identities that carry both political and symbolic weight. This phenomenon involves negotiating the identity of ‘Aceh’—typically associated with Islam—against that of ‘Christian,’ which is often viewed as an outsider presence in the region. The digital content produced by these individuals reflects their attempts to renegotiate and challenge the prevailing ethno-religious integration within Acehnese society. Digital platforms now allow Christian ex-Muslims to publicly assert their identities, including within Aceh’s online landscape, which was previously unfeasible due to significant security concerns surrounding direct social interactions.

This study identifies at least six patterns of social identity mobilization among the research subjects, Acehnese Christians, within digital spaces. These patterns include identity performances, the reframing of collective memory, the utilization of Acehnese symbols as forms of digital identity capital, narratives centered on trauma and redemption, renegotiations of Acehnese ethno-religious integration, and the establishment of digital counterpublics (counter-publics within digital environments). Drawing on these digital insights, the article posits that this mobilization of social identity constitutes a form of creative resistance to the conflation of Acehnese identity with Islam.

The performance of identity as an Acehnese Christian is a form of symbolic and creative resistance. Christian YouTubers, former Acehnese Muslims, the subjects of this study often incorporate Acehnese cultural symbols into their videos, whether through their accents, clothing, childhood stories from Islamic boarding schools, or nostalgia for their hometowns. Effendi Usman and Dedi Saputra are among those most active in articulating their identity as Acehnese Christians. Based on their testimonial videos, both are Christians of Acehnese ancestry through both their fathers and mothers. Effendi Usman is from Biereun, while Dedi is from Pidie. Effendi Usman and Dedi not only do not intend to erase their Acehnese identity but also intensively maintain their social identity as Acehnese Christians. Usman and Dedi affirmatively counter-narratives to the stereotype that true Acehnese must be Muslim.

The mobilization of counter-social identities also involves reframing Aceh’s collective identity. One of Dedi Saputra’s YouTube videos depicts Aceh not only as the Veranda of Makkah, but also as a “land thirsting for truth.” Effendi Usman named his Acehnese-language YouTube channel @InjilHabaGet. Similarly, Dedi Saputra previously named his YouTube channel @InjilHabaJroh, but later changed it to @Deditersadarkan. In several testimonies and vlogs uploaded to their respective YouTube channels, Usman, Dedi, Alyuddin, and Dika present personal narratives from their time in Aceh. Dedi Saputra, in

one of his YouTube channels, stated:

I want to respond to some Acehnese who keep telling me: 'Aceh is one hundred percent Muslim, and Acehnese people never leave Islam.' People will never leave the teachings of Islam because they have never studied other teachings. [...] This is the first factor that makes all Acehnese Muslims. Because from birth, they have never learned about anything different. I decided to dare to learn things that differ from what has been passed down to me (Saputra, 2022a).

Digital spaces allow research subjects to manage rhetorical strategies to mobilize their social identity as Acehnese Christians. Conversations on YouTube channels generally take the form of monologues, two-way dialogues, or discussions, as in mass communication (*komunikasi massal*, Komal) on TikTok. Through dialogue, research subjects can freely express their life journeys as they discover the truth of Jesus. They also respond to accusations of apostasy with rational arguments or scripture, as a polite counter to such charges. Identity mobilization also occurs through detailed exploration of moments of persecution experienced upon leaving their former faith (Aldinanda & Darmawati, 2025c; Saputra, 2022b). It appears they are attempting to construct a narrative of martyrdom as a strategy to gain acceptance within their new affiliation while maintaining their old identity as Acehnese Christians

YouTube serves as a digital public space where in-group dynamics take shape, allowing former Muslims, as highlighted in this study, to form a new identity as Acehnese Christians. Various video uploads by Alyuddin, Dedi, and Usman showcase gatherings among fellow Acehnese Christians, illustrating that they are not alone in their decision to embrace Christianity. During a visit to Medan, Usman expressed his habit of regularly connecting with other Acehnese Christians. Similarly, Cut Fitri, though she does not manage her own YouTube channel, frequently appears on Usman's channel, reinforcing her social identity as an Acehnese Christian.

As a result, digital channels serve as arenas for religious mediation for converts. Religion is not only practiced but also mediated. YouTube and other social media platforms help transform conversion experiences into visual content for public consumption. The identity narratives constructed through these digital public spaces reflect their confrontation with the dominant narrative of Acehnese Islam. The digital spaces discussed by the converts have enabled them to demonstrate faith practices that transcend the control of the state or local Islamic communities.

NOT MUSLIM, NOT ACEHNESE? DIGITAL COUNTERSPACES

Digital space contributes to the theorization of counterspaces by Acehese Christians as a subaltern community. The previous exposition demonstrates the intersectionality between authoritarian control over physical and digital space in Aceh, encouraging former Muslims, the research subjects, to adapt and reconfigure their spatial practices. Digital space becomes an arena where they articulate non-mainstream identities and resist political pressure that prohibits self-identification in public spaces as both a Christian and an Acehese. YouTube channels are one form of digital engagement that can facilitate individual and community communication, connect them to broader spaces, and create alternatives for subaltern communities (Evolvi, 2017). The Acehese public sphere, dominated by narratives of the inseparability of Islamic and Acehese identities, is challenged by Aceh's non-Muslim identities. According to Fraser (1990) the counterpublic becomes a parallel discursive arena where members of subordinated social groups find and circulate counter-discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs.

This study finds that the YouTube channels of former Acehese Muslims who converted to Christianity are an arena for expressing resistance to dominant narratives and political pressure. For example, they use YouTube to convey testimonies of their experiences of religious conversion and the challenges faced (Alyuddin, 2021c; Usman, 2021b; Saputra, 2022b), normalize the concept of apostasy (Usman, 2021a, 2022b; Zulkifli, 2020; Hilda, 2021; Meutia, 2022; Rasyidah, 2021; Saputra, 2022b; Syafriani, 2021), reject the narrative of religious conversion as a wrong decision (Alyuddin, 2020; Usman, 2021b, 2022a), and act as an arena for resistance against the concept of integration of Acehese and Islamic identity (Usman and Alyuddin, 2020; Saputra, 2022a). Their criticism of various dominant views in Acehese society on these topics is expressed on YouTube as a form of disagreement and resistance.

For the Acehese Christians who were the research subjects, testimonies about their religious conversion experiences, their struggles in finding a new faith, and the experiences of the persecutions resulting from their decision to convert could not be freely shared through physical spaces in Aceh. The digital space has enabled them to do this not only with the Christian community but also with the community from their former religion, namely the Acehese audience. Moreover, through the digital space, they challenge the dominant narrative that discredits the decision to leave Islam. The normalization of apostasy is a strategic agenda that underlies the presence of YouTube channels of former Acehese Muslims. While in the Acehese public sphere, and for

Muslims in general, the concept of apostasy is used in a pejorative sense, referring to individuals who are considered to have deviated from Islam (Samuri & Quraishi, 2014; Vlieg, 2019a). However, within the narrative framework of these YouTube channels, apostasy is redefined to describe Christians from diverse religious backgrounds, particularly those who have converted from Islam and have found a new path to salvation through Jesus.

YouTube, for the subaltern community of former Muslim converts, represents a renegotiation of the essentialism of the concept of apostasy. Through digital narratives in the public sphere, the public receives counterinformation that presents apostasy in a way that differs entirely from the established, institutionalized meanings within Muslim society. Classical and traditional perspectives on sanctions for apostasy within Islamic legal discourse have been challenged by the presence of several YouTube channels discussed in this study. This study also found that former Muslim YouTubers from Aceh are not alone in mobilizing counter-discourses about the normalization of the concept of apostasy. Former Muslim converts to Christianity from various regions in Indonesia also support the process of normalizing the concept of apostasy in a sense that differs from its basic meaning.

Additionally, former Acehnese Muslims counter the narrative that deems conversion a wrong act. The YouTube videos examined demonstrate the collaboration among foreigners in warmly welcoming new Muslim converts. The YouTube videos present a counter-narrative with the agenda of normalizing the act of leaving Islam. This phenomenon is often found in Islamic culture, where the arrival of new converts from other religions is greeted with great fanfare and special respect (Ariff, 2012; Hass, 2020; King, 2017; Krings, 2008; Roald, 2012; Shanneik, 2011). Former Acehnese Muslim YouTubers also attempt to negotiate this narrative by participating in constructing a counter-narrative that normalizes the concept of riddah. Several studies have shown that Christian audiences respond positively and enthusiastically to narratives of conversion to Christianity (Akcapar, 2006; Boulos, 2010; Chua, 2012; Hamer, 2002; Klaver et al., 2017; Pérez, 2012; Van Klinken, 2012).

Therefore, this study identified another characteristic associated with the presence of former Acehnese Muslim YouTubers: the normalization of the integration of Acehnese and Christian identities. The digital space has enabled them to do this, although these efforts remain fragile and sporadic. The YouTubers typically capitalize on the presence of Acehnese Christians. The non-Muslim Acehnese population is statistically very small (Ansor, 2014b; Ansor & Amri, 2020; Zulkarnaini et al., 2022). However, through the digital public space, YouTubers capitalize on narratives and performances of social

identity, creating a framing that suggests a significant number of Acehnese Christians. In addition, this study finds resistance to the dominant narrative of Acehnese and Islamic integration. The presence of the digital public space provides an alternative not previously available in empirical social public spaces (Ahyar, 2017; Ahyar & Alfitri, 2019; Lim, 2013).

CONCLUSION

This study explores the dynamics of Aceh's digital space by connecting it with the discourse of identity among former Acehnese Muslim Christians. The paper concludes that the digital space of YouTube not only facilitates the identity negotiation of former Acehnese Muslim Christians but also challenges monolithic Islamic stereotypes. YouTube serves as a third space, existing between the personal experiences of Acehnese Christians and public perceptions, thereby intertwining Acehnese and Islamic identities. For them, digital space serves as a counterspace where subjects can express their social identity as Acehnese Christians, a form of resistance to the dominant narrative that Acehnese and Islamic identities are inseparable.

Furthermore, this study also demonstrates that the intersection of physical spatial practices and digital dynamics is not mutually exclusive but rather interdependent. YouTube, as a digital space, serves as an alternative public sphere that can neutralize social conflict arising from differences in religious attitudes and beliefs. The potential for vigilantism and social conflict resulting from religious conversion in Acehnese society is minimized by shifting the debate to the online public sphere. The social conflict resulting from religious conversion is channeled with greater integrity and quality, despite also possessing vulnerabilities and fragility, a topic that can be explored further. This article concludes that narratives surrounding the religious conversion of former Acehnese Muslims expressed through digital public spaces indicate an improvement in the quality of democracy and freedom of expression in Indonesia. Online public spaces serve as arenas for consolidating diverse social elements to improve the quality of democracy in a society dominated by Islamic structures and culture.

Finally, several limitations of this study and opportunities for further study should be noted. These limitations arise from the scope of the data, methodological choices, and inherent constraints of the research design. Although the digital data was relatively abundant and easily accessible to the authors, the majority of participants declined to be interviewed, at least during the research period. This resulted in the study relying largely on digital sources from the subjects' YouTube channels and on two in-depth interviews

with one former Acehnese Muslim subject. As a result, these findings reflect dynamics with a relatively limited scope, given the constantly changing performance of digital spaces. Therefore, further research is needed to deepen our understanding of the dynamics of the digital spaces of Christian former Acehnese Muslims. The digital lives of former Acehnese Muslims are a rich field with many underexplored dimensions. This topic is not only crucial but also provides a lens for understanding broader transformations at the intersection of religion, digital space, and democratic practices in Indonesia, particularly Aceh.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We would like to thank Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau for funding this research (Project Number 616/2025). We also greatly appreciate the reviewers' critical comments and helpful suggestions for revisions to earlier versions of this article.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahyar, M. (2017). Islamic Clicktivism: Internet, Democracy and Contemporary Islamist Activism in Surakarta. *Studia Islamika*, 24(3), 435–468. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v24i3.4859>
- Ahyar, M., & Alfitri, A. (2019). Aksi Bela Islam: Islamic Clicktivism and the New Authority of Religious Propaganda in the Millennial Age in Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 9(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v9i1.1-29>
- Akcapar, S. K. (2006). Conversion as a Migration Strategy in a Transit Country: Iranian Shiites Becoming Christians in Turkey. *International Migration Review*, 40(4), 817–853. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2006.00045.x>
- Aldinanda, D., & Darmawati, L. [@lusydaivachannel]. (2025a, January 22). *Dasyat !! 1 Lagi Pemuda Aceh Bertobat Terima Yesus*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PbyBRxdbtFE>
- Aldinanda, D., & Darmawati, L. [@lusydaivachannel]. (2025b, February 1). *Murtadin Menyala!! Dika Aceh & Aisyah Memilih Ikut Yesus | Part 3*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f50hJf-yXNM>
- Aldinanda, D., & Darmawati, L. [@lusydaivachannel]. (2025c, January 24). *Part 2 !! Pemuda Aceh ini Rela di Usir dari Kampungnya Demi Bisa Ke Gereja Kejar Yesus*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/>

watch?v=CfJmot-dWaw&t=4s

- al-Nakib, F. (2014). Public Space and Public Protest in Kuwait, 1938–2012. *City*, 18(6), 723–734. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2014.962886>
- Alyuddin. [@alyuddinok]. (2021a, January 16). *Putra Aceh Aneuk Sigli*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ds-l2-IEFy8>
- Alyuddin. [@alyuddinok]. (2021c, February 3). *Titik Awal Berjumpa dengan Yesus*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qc3zIu-dq3E8>
- Alyuddin. [@DiasporaTVOfficial]. (2021b, April 24). *Putra Aceh dan Betawi Dipersatukan Tuhan untuk Kemuliaan-Nya*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SyqIIBfT5n0>
- Alyuddin. [@DiasporaTVOfficial]. (2023, September 9). *Kesaksian Murtadin : Kisah Pemuda Asal Aceh hingga Percaya Yesus Kristus*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YqqHUA2qt4&t=4381s>
- Alyuddin. [@DiasporaTVOfficial]. (2024a, April 13). *Murtadin Pdt Aliyuddin Asal Aceh: Tugas Saya Hanya Beritakan, Yesus Juru Selamat Semua Orang*. [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a_YFoH57XJ4
- Alyuddin. [@DiasporaTVOfficial]. (2024b, March 30). *Pdt. Alyuddin bin Zainul Abidin Murtadin asal Aceh: Menginjil Spontan Saja*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IvjwRDmo5P0>
- Alyuddin. [@korneliusrahtomojaticchannel]. (2020, August 3). *Muslim Radikal dari Aceh Terima Yesus Sebagai Tuhan*. [Video]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pkSzLRP1J1Q>
- Ansor, M. (2014a). Being Woman in the Land of Shari'a: Politics of the Female Body, Piety, and Resistance in Langsa, Aceh. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 52(1), 59. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2014.521.59-83>
- Ansor, M. (2014b). 'We are from the Same Ancestors': Christian-Muslim Relations in Contemporary Aceh Singkil. *Al-Albab*, 3(1), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v3i1.92>
- Ansor, M. (2024). Moving out of Islam on YouTube: Acehnese Christian Narratives, the Public Sphere, and Counterpublics in Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, 31(3), 543–574. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v31i3.39771>
- Ansor, M., & Amri, Y. (2020). Being Christians in the Acehnese Way: Illiberal Citizenship and Women's Agency in the Islamic Public Sphere. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 14(1), 77–112. <https://doi.org/10.15642/>

JIIS.2020.14.1.77-112

- Ansori, M., & Masyhur, L. S. (2013). Religion, Marginality and Power Relations: Religious Conversion and Religiosity of the Indigenous People in Penyengat. *Al-Albab*, 2(2), 169–186. <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v2i2.34>
- Ansori, M. H. (2012). Linking Identity to Collective Action: Islam, History and Ethnicity in the Aceh Conflict. *Studia Islamika*, 19(1), 1–46. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v19i1.368>
- Ariff, T. N. A. Z. (2012). Ethnographic Discourse Analysis: Conversion to Islam Ceremony. *Discourse & Communication*, 6(3), 295–322. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481312446266>
- Avance, R. (2013). Seeing the Light: Mormon Conversion and Deconversion Narratives in Off- and Online Worlds. *Journal of Media and Religion*, 12(1), 16–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348423.2013.760386>
- Berger, M. (2003). Apostasy and Public Policy in Contemporary Egypt: An Evaluation of Recent cases from Egypt's Highest Courts. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 25(3), 720–740. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2003.0026>
- Boulos, S. (2010). 'A Clean Heart Likes Clean Clothes': Cleanliness Customs and Conversion in Egypt (1900–1956). *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 21(4), 315–330. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2010.529661>
- Boutros, A. (2015). Religion in the Afrosphere: The Constitution of a Blogging Counterpublic. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 39(4), 319–337. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859915608916>
- Butler, C. (2012). *Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to the City*. Routledge.
- Cesari, J. (2013). Self, Islam and Secular Public Spaces. In N. Gole (Ed.), *Islam and Public Controversy in Europe* (pp. 47–55). Ashgate.
- Chiodelli, F. (2013). Planning and Urban Citizenship: Suggestions from the Thoughts of Henri Lefebvre. *Planning Perspectives*, 28(3), 487–494. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2013.800717>
- Chua, L. (2012). *The Christianity of Culture: Conversion, Ethnic Citizenship, and the Matter of Religion in Malaysian Borneo*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Darwish, L. (2018). "When Your Heart is Touched, It's Not a Decision": A Narrative Analysis of Iranian Muslim Conversion to Christianity. *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*, 47(1), 45–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00141801.2018.1488888>

[org/10.1177/0008429817732327](https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429817732327)

- Davis, S. (2018). Digital Archives as Subaltern Counter-Histories. *Digital Journalism*, 6(9), 1255–1269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1510738>
- Elahi, B. (2012). Crossing Tehran Avenue: Digital and Urban Spaces in Tehran. *Cultural Studies*, 26(6), 956–981. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2012.671334>
- Elfira, M. (2009). “Not Muslim, not Minangkabau”: Interreligious Marriage and its Cultural Impact in Minangkabau Society. In G. W. Jones, C. H. Leng, & M. Mohamad (Eds.), *Muslim-non-Muslim Marriage: Political and Cultural Contestations in Southeast Asia* (pp. 161–189). ISEAS Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812308221-009>
- Evolvi, G. (2017). Hybrid Muslim Identities in Digital Space: The Italian Blog Yalla. *Social Compass*, 64(2), 220–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768617697911>
- Febriandi, Y., Ansor, M., & Nursiti, N. (2021). Seeking Justice Through Qanun Jinayat: The Narratives of Female Victims of Sexual Violence in Aceh, Indonesia. *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, 9(1), 103–140. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v9i1.8029>
- Feener, R. M. (2013). *Shari’a and Social Engineering: The Implementation of Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia*. Oxford University Press.
- Fincher, R. (2007). Space, Gender and Institutions in Processes Creating Difference. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 14(1), 5–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690601122150>
- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text*, 25/26, 56–80. <https://doi.org/10.2307/466240>
- Galanakis, M. (2016). Public Spaces for Youth? The Case of the Jane-Finch Neighborhood in Toronto. *Space and Culture*, 19(3), 208–223. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331215595731>
- Halama, P., & Lačná, M. (2011). Personality Change Following Religious Conversion: Perceptions of Converts and Their Close Acquaintances. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 14(8), 757–768. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2010.522564>
- Hamer, J. H. (2002). The Religious Conversion Process Among the Sidāma of North-East Africa. *Africa*, 72(4), 598–627. <https://doi.org/10.3366/>

afr.2002.72.4.598

- Handayani, C.F. [@tribuntimur]. (2021). *Klarifikasi Perempuan Aceh yang Pindah Agama: Itu Semua Keinginan Saya*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LTx1iNlpilg&t=55s>
- Hass, B. S. (2020). Being a 'White Muslima' in the Netherlands Ethnicity, Friendships and Relationships—The Dutch Conversion Narrative. *Religions*, 11(7), 345. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11070345>
- Hilda. [@alyuddinok]. (2021, March 26). *Jumpa Tante Murtadin dari Aceh di Manado*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Dw2No7r6x8>
- Hilmy, M., & Niam, K. (2020). Winning the Battle of Authorities: The Muslim Disputes Over the Covid-19 Pandemic Plague in Contemporary Indonesia. *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, 8(2), 293. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i2.7670>
- Ichwan, M. N., Salim, A., & Srimulyani, E. (2020). Islam and Dormant Citizenship: Soft Religious Ethno-Nationalism and Minorities in Aceh, Indonesia. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 31(2), 215–240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2020.1780407>
- Ismail, S., & Awang Mat, M. (2016). Faith and Freedom: The Qur'anic Notion of Freedom of Religion vs. the Act of Changing Religion and Thoughts on the Implications for Malaysia. *Religions*, 7(7), 88. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel7070088>
- Janzen, R. (2002). Reconsidering the Politics of Nature: Henri Lefebvre and The Production of Space. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 13(2), 96–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455750208565481>
- Jauhola, M. (2020). *Scraps of Hope in Banda Aceh: Gendered Urban Politics in the Aceh Peace Process*. Helsinki University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1c9hpsr>
- Khalil, M. H., & Bilici, M. (2007). Conversion Out of Islam: A Study of Conversion Narratives of Former Muslims. *The Muslim World*, 97(1), 111–124. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.2007.00161.x>
- King, E. (2017). Pathways to Allah: Female Conversion to Islam in Australia. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 28(4), 453–472. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2017.1324004>
- Klaver, M., Roeland, J., Versteeg, P., Stoffels, H., & Mulligen, R. van. (2017). God Changes People: Modes of Authentication in Evangelical Con-

- version Narratives. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 32(2), 237–251. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2017.1298905>
- Kloos, D. (2018). *Becoming Better Muslims: Religious Authority and Ethical Improvement in Aceh, Indonesia*. Princeton University Press.
- Krings, M. (2008). Conversion on Screen: A Glimpse at Popular Islamic Imaginations in Northern Nigeria. *Africa Today*, 54(4), 44–68. <https://doi.org/10.2979/aft.2008.54.4.44>
- Kutty, F. (2018). Blasphemy and apostasy laws in the Muslim world: a critical analysis. In N. Hosen (Ed.), *Research Handbook on Islamic Law and Society* (pp. 217–249). Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781003060.00018>
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Lefebvre, H. (2003). Space and the State. In N. Brenner, B. Jessop, M. Jones, & G. MacLeod (Eds.), *State/Space: A Reader* (pp. 84–100). Blackwell Publishing.
- Lefebvre, H. (2009). *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Lim, M. (2013). Many Clicks but Little Sticks: Social Media Activism in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 43(4), 636–657. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2013.769386>
- Lopez-Leon, G., & Casanova, S. (2025). “Those are the Spaces Where I Feel Seen and Fully Understood”: Digital Counterspaces Fostering Community, Resistance, and Intersectional Identities Among Latinx LGBTQ+ Emerging Adults. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 40(2), 331–360. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07435584231165993>
- Makin, A. (2016). Islamic Acehese Identity, Sharia, and Christianization Rumor: A Study of the Narratives of the Attack on the Bethel Church in Penauyong Banda Aceh. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 10(01), 1–36. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2016.10.1.1-36>
- Marôpo, L., de Carvalho, R., & Jorge, A. (2021). Children’s Cancer Narratives on YouTube: Agency and Entrepreneurship in Brazilian CarecaTV. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 11(4), 318–330. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610620967018>
- Meutia. [@PraysonManubulu]. (2022, April 22). *Aceh Banjir Murtadin Baru Puluhan Muslim Murtad Terima Tuhan Yesus*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5NtkYZe0nI0>

- Nieuwkerk, K. van. (2006). Gender, Conversion, and Islam: A Comparison of Online and Offline Conversion Narratives. In K. van Nieuwkerk (Ed.), *Women Embracing Islam* (pp. 93–119). University of Texas Press. <https://doi.org/10.7560/712737-007>
- O’Sullivan, D. (2003). Egyptian Cases of Blasphemy and Apostasy against Islam: Takfir al-Muslim. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 7(2), 97–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642980308629709>
- Otto, B., & Otto, J. M. (2016). Shari’a Police in Banda Aceh: Enforcement of Islam-based Regulations and People’s Perceptions. In R. M. Feener, D. Kloos, & A. Samuels (Eds.), *Islam and the Limits of the State: Reconfigurations of Practice, Community and Authority in Contemporary Aceh* (pp. 185–213). Brill.
- Pentilla, M. (2016). Creating an Evangelical Self: an Analysis of Narratives of Conversion to Evangelicalism in Post-Soviet St Petersburg. *Religion, State and Society*, 44(2), 111–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2016.1175156>
- Pérez, E. (2012). Staging transformation: Spiritist Liturgies as Theatres of Conversion in Afro-Cuban Religious Practice. *Culture and Religion*, 13(3), 361–389. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2012.708230>
- Rambo, L. R. (1999). Theories of Conversion: Understanding and Interpreting Religious Change. *Social Compass*, 46(3), 259–271. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003776899046003003>
- Rasyidah. [@alyuddinok]. (2021, June 10). *Satu Lagi Murtadin dari Aceh Percaya dengan Yesus Kristus!* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cg7DQy1sGA0>
- Roald, A. S. (2012). The Conversion Process in Stages: New Muslims in the Twenty-First Century. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 23(3), 347–362. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2012.676782>
- Said, I. G., & Santosa, N. E. T. I. (2021). Negotiating Religiosities among Indonesian Muslims amid the Covid-19 Pandemic: Acceptance, Resistance, and Transformation. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 15(2), 271–300. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.2.271-300>
- Salim, A. (2008). *Challenging the Secular State: The Islamization of Law in Modern Indonesia*. University of Hawai’i Press.
- Salim, A. (2021). Adat and Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia: Unequal Coexistence and Asymmetric Contestation. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, 5(2), 529. <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v15i1.4080>

org/10.22373/sjkh.v5i2.11082

- Salomon, E. G. R. (2022). Testimonial Narratives of Muslim Tausug: Against Militarization in Sulu (1972-1974). *Studia Islamika*, 29(2), 241-270. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v29i2.23131>
- Samuri, M. A. A., & Quraishi, M. (2014). Negotiating Apostasy: Applying to “Leave Islam” in Malaysia. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 25(4), 507–523. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2014.907054>
- Saputra, D. [@KhotbahPendeta]. (2022b, May 22). *Kesaksian Murtadin Terbaru: Maaf, M*slim Dilarang Menonton! S4ng4t Berani Murtadin Aceh ini*. [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DYIqhl_x3g0
- Saputra, D. [@Tersadarkan]. (2022a, January 2). *Hanya Injil Yang Dapat Membawa Damai Di Tanah Aceh*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9_O_LBzl7Jo
- Saputra, D. [@Tersadarkan]. (2022c, Juli 5). *Perbincangan Hangat Dua Murtad*n Dari Aceh*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://youtu.be/-pmVW0rvI-wU?si=ltmPzeYwi1NMRvpy>
- Saputra, D. [@Tersadarkan]. (2022d, August 3). *Sang Murtadin Siap Kembali ke Islam?* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-mji1NDgiE4>
- Saputra, D., & Usman, E. [@DiasporaTVOfficial]. (2022b, July 22). *Viral... Putra Asal Aceh Ini Murtad Dan Ngotot Minta Dibaptis*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=APMF3HXHzoc&t=3318s>
- Saputra, D., & Usman, E. [@Tersadarkan]. (2022a, October 24). *Kasih Kok Ngancem Mulu Sih*. [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WB9ngyZt-_4
- Script, R. [@remedialscript]. (2023, Mach 3). *Dulu Muslim Taat! Enam Tokoh Agama Aceh Yang Kini jadi Pemberita Injil Kristen, Tak Lagi Berhijab*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Qn-WHh-9CsA>
- Seo, M. (2013). Falling in Love and Changing Gods: Inter-religious Marriage and Religious Conversion in Java, Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 41(119), 76–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2012.750104>
- Shanneik, Y. (2011). Conversion and Religious Habitus: The Experiences of Irish Women Converts to Islam in the Pre-Celtic Tiger Era. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 31(4), 503–517. <https://doi.org/10.1080/136>

02004.2011.630859

- Shewly, H. J. (2025). Lefebvre in the Digital City: Trans-Spatial Contestations and the Co-Evolution of Protest and Control in Dhaka. *City*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2025.2533620>
- Smuts, L. (2011). Coming Out as a Lesbian in Johannesburg, South Africa: Considering Intersecting Identities and Social Spaces. *South African Review of Sociology*, 42(3), 23–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2011.621231>
- Starr, C., Waldo, K., & Kauffman, M. (2019). Digital Irreligion: Christian De-conversion in an Online Community. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 58(2), 494–512. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jssr.12599>
- Stromberg, P. G. (1993). *Language and self-transformation A study of the Christian conversion narrative*. Cambridge University Press.
- Syafriani. [@alyuddinok]. (2021, May 9). *Satu Lagi Murtadin dari Aceh Lhok-seumawe Percaya Tuhan Yesus*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tzglkQr2coY>
- Usman, E. [@alyuddinok]. (2022c, January 26). *Orang Aceh yang Keluar dari Agama Isl4m Harus Meninggalkan Aceh*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pfTKiG69RuM>
- Usman, E. [@DiasporaTVOfficial]. (2024, October 11). *Murtadin Ev Avraham Effendi Usman : Menyampaikan Kebenaran Tentang Yesus di Warung*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BnKJOIYwX-gc>
- Usman, E. [@DiasporaTVOfficial]. (2021, September 5). *Ev. Avraham Efen-di Usman Minta Maaf kepada Ibunya: Hatiku Sudah Sama Yesus Tak Bisa Masuk Islam Lagi*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Xi28Q1ZhbK&t=721s>
- Usman, E. [@InjilHabaGet]. (2020b, April 17). *Orang Pinter Pasti Murtad*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QMYokF-KoMhM>
- Usman, E. [@InjilHabaGet]. (2020a, June 18). *Murtadin Aceh Jadi Pengikut Kristus*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2x-1OGDWcyhc>
- Usman, E. [@InjilHabaGet]. (2021a, December 9). *Ev. Effendi Usman Sediakan Tempat Untuk Para Murtaddin Aceh*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YHdCq5f8oiU>

- Usman, E. [@InjilHabaGet]. (2022a, August 5). *Banda Aceh...!! Yang Menolak Penginjil di Aceh Sama Dengan Menolak Tuhan*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ix1FixHVZ4I>
- Usman, E. [@InjilHabaGet]. (2022b, April 22). *Geger di Medsos, Ancaman Dari Serambi Mekkah Untuk Murtaddin Aceh Efendi Usman*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FGqTNc0pqnE>
- Usman, E. [@InjilHabaGet]. (2025, August 5). *Geger!! Keesaksian Empat Murtaddin Aceh Di Kediaman Cut Fitri, Muslem Aceh Banyak Yang Sudah Percaya Yesus*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X854RKCoqJU>
- Usman, E. [@yonsulionotv2594]. (2021b, December 19). *Kesaksian Ev. Efendi Usman (Asal Aceh) Menemukan Juru Selamat*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j8NmSJCKac8>
- Usman, E. and Alyuddin. [@InjilHabaGet] (2020). *Kami Sama-sama Orang Aceh*. [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J_Zxex-0eOi8
- Usman, E., & Handayani, C. F. [@InjilHabaGet]. (2022, April 22). *Gempar...!! Bersama Kak Cut Fitri di Medan, Habaget Terus Mencari Petaubat dari Aceh*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wLS6k-c36DnE>
- Van Klinken, A. S. (2012). Men in the Remaking: Conversion Narratives and Born-Again Masculinity in Zambia. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 42(3), 215–239. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700666-12341229>
- Vliek, M. (2019a). 'It's Not Just about Faith': Narratives of Transformation When Moving Out of Islam in the Netherlands and Britain. *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 30(3), 323–344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2019.1628459>
- Vliek, M. (2019b). "Speaking Out Would Be a Step Beyond Just Not Believing"—On the Performativity of Testimony When Moving Out of Islam. *Religions*, 10(10), 563. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10100563>
- Yilmaz, I. (2026). *Navigating Identity, Belonging and Power in Cyberspace: Young Muslims in the Anglosphere*. Springer Nature Singapore. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-95-4660-2>
- Zanotti, L. (2013). Resistance and the Politics of Negotiation: Women, Place and Space among the Kayapó in Amazonia, Brazil. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 20(3), 346–362. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2012.674927>

- Zillinger, M. (2014). Media and the scaling of ritual spaces in Morocco. *Social Compass*, 61(1), 39–47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768613513941>
- Zulkarnaini, Z., Ansor, M., & Masyhur, L. S. (2022). Sharia in power: non-Muslims and the performance of Islamic politics in Aceh public Sphere, Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 12(2), 257–283. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i2.257-283>
- Zulkifli. E. [@bintangtimur9097]. (2020, July 20). *Elyas Zulkifli Menjadi Mur-tadin Karena Kebenaran Alkitab*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JzeWDLsIHbs>