

Women and Coffee Shops: Negotiation of The Identity of Modernity and Piety in the Sharia Public Space

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ABSTRAK

Perempuan kerap mendapat perlakuan diskriminatif di ruang publik. Apalagi dalam budaya patriarki yang masih kental, perempuan tidak bisa beraktivitas di ruang publik. Ada beberapa studi tentang citra perempuan Muslim dan gaya hidup mereka, membela argumen tentang perlawanan mereka terhadap hegemoni budaya agama untuk mengekspresikan identitas sosial yang sejalan dengan modernitas. Tulisan ini hendak mengajukan argumentasi yang berbeda. Berdasarkan studi kasus di Langsa, Aceh, tulisan ini membahas bagaimana perempuan Muslim menegosiasikan identitas dan gaya hidup yang saleh berdasarkan praktik sosial di kedai kopi. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi, wawancara, dan focus group discussion (FGD) dengan konsumen perempuan, pemilik usaha, dan staf kedai kopi. Menggunakan agen patuh yang diusulkan oleh Saba Mahmood, tulisan ini berpendapat bahwa penerapan hukum Syariah di Aceh menyebabkan perempuan muda memiliki kreativitas dalam mencari sintesa antara kesalehan, gaya hidup, dan modernitas. Temuan ini menantang pandangan beberapa feminis yang mengklaim bahwa peningkatan kinerja keagamaan di ruang publik berdampak pada marginalisasi identitas sosial dan otonomi perempuan Muslim. Berbeda dengan pandangan tersebut, studi saat ini menunjukkan kemampuan perempuan Muslim di Aceh untuk menemukan kombinasi kreatif antara kesalehan, modernitas, dan gaya hidup yang sesuai dengan zamannya.

ABSTRACT

Women often get discriminatory treatment in public spaces. Especially in a still strong patriarchal culture, women cannot move in public spaces. There are several studies on the image of Muslim women and their lifestyles, defending the argument about their resistance to the hegemony of religious culture to express a social identity in line with modernity. This paper intends to put forward a different argument. Based on a case study in Langsa, Aceh, this paper discusses how Muslim women negotiate a pious identity and lifestyles based on social practices at coffee shops. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and focus group discussions (FGD) with female consumers, business owners, and coffee shop staff. Using the docile agency proposed by Saba Mahmood, this paper argues that the implementation of Sharia law in Aceh causes young women to have creativity in seeking a synthesis between piety, lifestyle, and modernity. This finding challenges the views of several feminists who claim that the increasing religious performance in the public sphere impacts the marginalization of Muslim women's social identity and autonomy. In contrast to this view, the current study shows the ability of Muslim women in Aceh to find a creative combination of piety, modernity, and a lifestyle that fits their era.

1. INTRODUCTION

Women often get discriminatory treatment in public spaces. Especially in a still strong patriarchal culture, women cannot move in public spaces (Ahmad, Mahmood, Saud, & Mas'udah, 2019). In principle, female marginality occurring in various regions is not much different. Women are excluded from public spaces because they are considered sub-ordinates of men. Women deal with domestic households, while men deal with the outside world (Mukodi & Burhanuddin, 2015). It is almost the same as that experienced by Acehnese women. Their activities in public spaces are very limited due to the strong influence of patriarchal culture and the impartiality of Islamic sharia (Roviana, 2016). In 2014, the Circular Letter of the Governor of Aceh Number 02 /INSTR / 2014 was about limited women's activities in the public space

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of coffee shops until 21:00 WIB. The instruction aims to minimize the occurrence of sharia violations. The Regent of Bireuen, for example, released an instruction banning cafes from serving female customers above 21:00 WIB. The narrative of implementing Islamic sharia restricts women's activities in the public spaces of coffee shops, receiving various responses from women. Some consider the instructions for the common good because Aceh has long been implementing Islamic sharia. Some responded as a form of concern for the Aceh government's Islamic sharia violations in coffee shops.

In many areas, coffee shops become a unifying container among people with gender backgrounds, social status, economy, and education so that a new culture is born (Faisal, Putra, & Nugraha, 2018). After home and office, coffee shops become the third world for those who like it (Lukitaningsih & Juliani, 2021; Manzo, 2015). Similarly, in Aceh, coffee shops have long been an integral part of society, serving as an identity and a place to discuss various issues (Mursyidin, 2018). Modernization of coffee shops at the transaction and aesthetic level also encourages a shift in function from what was originally just a coffee shop to hang out to a part of a subculture that gives rise to a new identity and lifestyle symbol (Setiati, 2015). Modernizing coffee shops in Langsa City also encourages more visitors, not only the elderly but also teenage girls. Teenagers' coffee shops become public spaces for discussing college assignments, the future, online businesses, and life partners. The intensity of teenage association in coffee shops gave rise to a new identity as a slang, modernist, and contemporary Langsa City Muslim teenager. The expression of a new identity as a modernist teenager in the public spaces of coffee shops is limited by strict sharia rules. However, they are not necessarily passive about their condition. This condition encourages adolescent creativity to negotiate a modernist identity vis a vis with Islamic sharia. One form of creativity by Acehese women to appear in public spaces as an agency of piety is still adhering to religious teachings (Srimulyani, 2013). Such experiences are seen in Langsa city's Muslim teenage girls who are increasingly creative in negotiating identity as slang, modernist and piety teenagers.

Research on Acehese women in public spaces is very much taking the attention of researchers. Some studies describe Acehese women's resistance to religious hegemony or authority to express their social identity. Ethnographic research strengthens the argument that Islamic sharia in Aceh has forcibly regulated women in public spaces (Pirmasari, 2020). Langsa women are depicted as resisting the interpretation of religious teachings in uniformizing Muslim women's clothing which is still debated (Ansor, 2014). The Aceh Christian woman negotiates her identity with conditions forced to obey sharia rules to express herself comfortably in public spaces (Ansor & Meutia, 2016). Christian students studying at Langsa make functional secularism an alternative to negotiating their identity, more easily overcoming the shock of the new culture, and younger interact in public spaces with Muslim students (Mawardi, Yusmami, Sufyan, & Azwir, 2019). The argument of this paper takes the side of a study based on the concept of a moral agency (docile agency) presented by Saba Mahmood. In detail, Mahmood outlined the pious women's movement in Egypt, which has a large role as an agency that makes changes based on adherence to religious teachings. They have high creativity and a strong spirit of learning, even practicing Islamic traditions that they believe to be brought to life in society (Mahmood, 2001). Egyptian women make movements from mosques, not because they want to rebel against patriarchal culture but as a form of their adherence to the practice of religious teachings (Mahmood, 2011). The piety movement was carried out by Riyadh preacher women who did Amar Makruf Nahi Munkar by adapting to societal changes. They also encourage society's progress without opposing the cultural religion (sharia) (Makboul, 2017). The vibrant implementation of Islamic sharia rules in Aceh is an undeniable reality. Thus, understanding Acehese women in public spaces using the concept of Mahmood agency piety becomes very important. This article is described in two parts. It starts from the exposure of the development of coffee shops in Langsa and its use as a public space to construct a new identity for teenage women. The next section outlines the negotiation of modernist identities and piety of teenage girls in coffee shops. It displays teenagers' creativity in synthesizing piety, modernity, and lifestyle in the public space of coffee shops.

2. METHODS

This research report systematically follows field facts (Kriyantono, 2014). This research was designed as qualitative research with an ethnographic approach. Data is collected through observation, interviews, and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with women consumers and business owners or coffee shops conducted in 2020. Observations were made in some coffee shops that became the choice of Aceh Muslim women. Observation aims to see the forms of creativity and piety that teenage girls display when interacting in coffee shops. In-depth interviews are an integral part of the study's data collection. Interviews are conducted with key informants, selected from teenage female visitors and coffee shop business owners. The interview raised questions about girls' views on restrictions in the public spaces of

coffee shops and the identity negotiations they conduct. FGD with Muslim women is done to explore more in-depth data. Through FGD, participants will be more open in conveying information related to experiences, views, and forms of creativity that they do in the public space of coffee shops. The data obtained are presented in-depth after reducing, presenting, and drawing conclusions (Miles, A, & Saldana, 2014).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Results

In Langsa city, the development of coffee shops has increased significantly along with society's increasing need for coffee. Although there is no strong data on the overall number of coffee shops in Langsa City, the model can be divided into traditional and modern coffee shops. First, a traditional coffee shop is a coffee shop that still maintains tradition. The manufacturing process does not use modern tools. The place is simple and displays the taste of local coffee typical. Among other traditional coffee shops in Langsa City are Damai coffee shop, Dinda coffee shop, and Rahmat coffee shop. The survival of these three traditional coffee shops is supported by their strategic place, close to the Masjid Raya of Langsa City and shopping centers. These three coffee shops have also been attached to people's memories because they have been around since 2007. Local wisdom remains in the appearance of these three coffee shops by relying on traditional foods such as special, junk food, martabak telur, and Aceh noodles.

The second model is a modern coffee shop identical to the name. Manufacturing uses sophisticated tools like espresso machines (Fadlia, Lhena, Dan, & Ramadani, 2017). In addition, the characteristics of modern coffee shops are characterized by the availability of wifi facilities, live music, interior modifications, and attractive exteriors decorated with lights, paintings, and decorations. Likewise, service has been neatly managed, and various food and beverage menus are more complete. Modern coffee shops in Langsa City, namely Urban Coffee, Straw Coffee, Kopikay, Merdeka Coffee, and Spot Coffee, appeared between 2019-2020. Muslim teenagers in Langsa are very selective in choosing coffee shops that become hangouts. Based on the information obtained, there are four criteria for coffee shops that become the hangout of Muslim city girls. The four criteria are; modern, entered, bright and strategic. Coffee shop criteria with these criteria are found in certain places, including Merdeka coffee shop, Straw Coffee, Urban Coffee, and Kopikay. The choice of coffee shops with these criteria is closely related to lifestyle, feeling more slang, entertained, and eliminating alienation in a crowd.



Figure 1. Kaya Coffee dan Merdeka Coffee

The two coffee shops in the Figure 1 are modern and gendered. They are called modern because they provide wifi facilities, live music, exotic rooms, and fashionable decorations so teenagers can take selfies. It is entered because the visitors are made up of men and women. To appear modernist and pious in the public space of coffee shops, Muslim girls in Langsa City chose the coffee shop. As explained by a teenage coffee shop visitor;

The coffee shop is not just for adult men or boys. We are the girls who can do too. At the same time, you are entertaining yourself, taking selfies, telling stories with friends, and eliminating boredom at home. Especially Sunday nights like this, we need entertainment too. However, I also choose the place if I want to hang out in a coffee shop with friends. For example, the place is open and spacious, with wifi and live music, clean, crowded, cool, and suitable for selfies (Interview Results, 2020). The experiences of women in two different cities in, Langsa and Metro Lampung, indicate that not always religious teachings contribute to the oppression of women. The actions of Muslim girls in Langsa City and Salafi women in Lampung Metro City are always interesting to be reviled. Obedience to domestic duties and the desire to perform in public spaces gave birth to a new identity creatively constructed by a female agency.

Muslim girls of Langsa City became more creative in negotiating their modernist identity vis a vis with the enactment of Islamic sharia in Aceh. Identity as a pious Muslim teenage girl in a coffee shop public space results from complicated negotiations between two poles, namely between the poles of religion (sharia) on the one hand and the desire to remain modernist at the other pole. All of that is inseparable from 3 factors that affect it: knowledge, emotional strength, and the ability to adapt to the situation and environment.

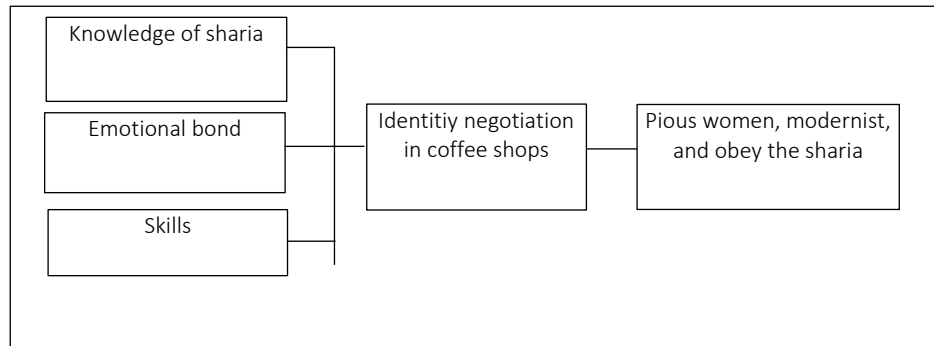


Figure 2. Factors that Influence the Negotiation of Modernist and Pious Identities

Based on Figure 2, the negotiation of modernist identity and the piety of teenage girls in the public spaces of coffee shops is inseparable from the three main instruments depicted above. Understanding the correct rules of sharia does not make teenage women resistant. Langsa Muslim teenagers are increasingly creative and skilled at negotiating their identities in public spaces without fighting sharia rules.

Discussion

Coffee was initially just a regular snack but later changed to a favorite drink favored by many people worldwide (Bond, 2011). Coffee became the second-highest trading commodity in the world after petroleum, and in its long development, people began to enjoy it in traditional roadside stalls (Wright, Zeltmann, & Griffin, 2017). The two models of coffee shops mentioned bring a typical disparity in visitors. Generally, visitors to traditional coffee shops come from older people, rickshaw pullers, transport drivers, traders, and people who have just finished shopping. Coffee shop visitors with a modern culture style come from elitist groups, young people, academics, office people, politicians, entrepreneurs, etc. The disparity in coffee shop visitors occurs because of different interests. Visitors to traditional coffee shops are generally interested in association, enjoying a distinctive aspiring coffee at an economical and affordable price. For visitors to modern coffee shops, their interest is not just to want to drink coffee but to seek entertainment, lifestyle, and symbols of self-identity, even though the price is high. As explained by an informant, I often sit around with friends in coffee shops. My friends and I chose to sit in a comfortable coffee shop and available live music to be more entertained. They are sometimes bored at home alone. I want to be like other friends and meet them at the coffee shop. I also do not want to be said less promiscuous teenagers because, in Langsa, many coffee shops already adjust to the tastes of young people or the millennial generation (Interview Results, 2020). The development of coffee shops in Langsa City is increasingly interesting in the wider function. For Muslim teenage girls, the public spaces of coffee shops have become a symbol of association and identity. Coffee shops become a new stage to establish the association and a psychological investment pouring all the complaints and problems of life, ranging from careers, the future, and love stories. For them, coffee shops are public spaces interpreted as a place to negotiate lover relationships and talk about online business. It is almost the same as the politicians in Trang, Thailand. They make a public space coffee shop, not just a place to meet for coffee but talk about bargaining positions and political developments (Yeetin & Buakaew, 2018).

Intensive communication and increasingly intimate association, such as those in coffee shops, can strengthen emotional bonds and common interests in constructing identity (Jeffrey, Staeheli, Buire, & Člebičić, 2018). The emergence of identity similarities is strengthened by attachment to thinking and feelings that influence and support local environmental situations and conditions. This condition triggered the birth of a new identity (Burke & Stets, 2009; Jhon & Foos, 2013). The coffee shop catalyzed Langsa's Muslim teenage girls to reconstruct their modernist identity. Modernists are always associated with a lifestyle (lifestyle) that is responsive to modernity, prioritizes kindness, and leaves things detrimental (Van Geel, 2016). For Langsa Muslim teenage girls, coffee shops became public spaces for discussing many things. The intensity of interpersonal communication in coffee shops became the main social capital

in constructing a new identity: a modernist and piety teenage girl. Modernist Muslim women are depicted as piety women following the demands of the times—for example, using a fashionable hijab coupled with a simple accessory that fits the demands of modernity (Putri, 2020). Women's appearance in coffee shops signifies the social change in Acehese society. Coffee shops that used to belong only to men, but in the context of modern coffee shops, are also part of women's lives. It illustrates a change in the way women view equality in public spaces. Indicators of the change are also seen from the increasingly high level of political participation of Langsa city women. Following BPS data in Langsa city in 2021, of the 25 members of DPRK Langsa elected in 2019-2024, five people are women (Langsakota.bps.go.id, 2021). The percentage of this number is much larger than in the previous period when only two people were.

Awareness of the importance of equality has helped drive the increasing social mobility of Langsa women in public spaces. The same condition occurs in the women of the Dendun Village Riau islands. The women are described as very active and creative in public spaces, although they have to work for a living as fish sunbathers. Wanting to change socio-economic conditions that are very concerning becomes the main reason women in the village appear as public leaders (Hanani, 2017). Muslim teenage girls in Langsa are very creative in negotiating their modernist identity in the public space of coffee shops to avoid conflict with sharia. From the identification done, there are two ways that they do this. The first way, selectively choose coffee shops to hang out with, and the second way is to use fashionable Islamic clothing that is not contrary to Islamic sharia. Gender practices are fragmented in coffee shops, encouraging the expansion of cultural space. Initially, more women lived at home, and even women in Aceh were considered very awkward when drinking in coffee shops. The genderization of coffee shops occurs along with the increasingly open flow of information driven by the development of communication technology. Coffee shops began to provide wifi facilities. It became crowded, visited not only by men but also by women, increasingly participating in filling the conversation in the public space of coffee shops (Mursyidin, 2018).

Men and women get the same opportunity to be served as coffee shop visitors. It reinforces the assumption that women no longer only deal with domestic issues but have begun to dominate public spaces that men have controlled. Women's growing awareness of equality in the public sphere is supported by the openness of an increasingly globalized flow of information. Women in India are showing this condition, where the growing flow of information globalization encourages them to be more aware of equality. Women fight gender injustice to determine their fate in a more prosperous direction (Guenther, 2015). The experience of Indian women shows that in addition to mastery of information, understanding knowledge becomes an act, helping to support the realization of women's equality with men in public spaces. The phenomenon was seen in the Muslim teenage women of Langsa City who interacted in the public space of coffee shops to share information with friends. Through more polite ways, Muslim women in Langsa began to show awareness of the importance of resisting patriarchal power. Civility in fighting the culture of patriarch and the unfair application of sharia is done by teenagers by choosing a bright and strategic coffee shop. At the same time, this action is a form of negotiation to appear as a modernist woman and obey the rules of sharia. As explained by one of the informants, I like the coffee shop, often here, because it is bright, easy to reach, close to home, close to Merdeka field, live music, and the average visitor is younger. Suppose sitting with a girlfriend still choose here, so as not to be too flashy, because it is bright and crowded. If sitting in a quiet coffee shop, let alone dark and closed, it could be later arrested WH for allegedly *berhalwat* (quietly alone). Because we live in Aceh, we must stick to the rules, keep our distance, remember the time, and care for ourselves. Islam also prohibits women from being alone with non-mahram (Interview Results, 2020).

Muslim teenage girls in Langsa realize the importance of obeying the rules of Islamic sharia imposed. They also know the punishment given to violators of Islamic sharia. Knowledge of sharia rules and a feeling of shame if they violate them serve as a control tool to maintain association in the public space of coffee shops. That is why Muslim teenage woman Langsa chose a bright, crowded, open coffee shop as a hangout. Fashionable, trendy, and politely covered bodies are pious Muslim teenage girls (Bhowon & Bundhoo, 2016; Bullock, 2018). The piety of modernist women is described as a woman who can adapt to the demands of modernity but does not forget the practice of her religion. Modern women are active in public spaces and remain fashionable and beautiful, following the popular style, but the prayer is still closed, conscious of practicing religious teachings (Pamungkas, 2015; Putri, 2020). The identity is attached to Muslim teenage girls who visit coffee shops in Langsa City. Islamic clothing, such as hijabs and fashionable robes covering the body, is one form of modesty and piety practiced by Muslim girls in the public space of Langsa City coffee shops. The information is obtained from an informant; I often go to coffee shops with friends. Usually, Sunday nights, often hang out to reduce the boredom at home. I went to the coffee shop, still wearing Islamic clothes covering my body. I know that covering the body is a religious commandment. Therefore, if I go to the coffee shop, I still dress modestly, wearing a hijab and loose

clothes like robes. Even if sometimes I wear a pants skirt or jeans, it is to be more relaxed and follow the style of teenagers (Interview Results, 2021). Covering the body in public spaces is an obligation in Islam. The awareness of dressing modestly in public spaces expresses adherence to Islamic sharia. Wearing Islamic clothing in an everyday association is not forced but conscious of commitment to practicing religious teachings. The experiences of several Muslim women in Norway, Istanbul, and Malaysia illustrate this attitude. Norwegian Muslim women display piety in public spaces by using Islamic dress as a form of their involvement in supporting the rise of Islam (Jacobsen, 2011). Muslim women in Istanbul also follow the trendy style between Western clothing fashion and the dominant Islamic culture in Turkey so that women can appear as fashionable and sharia-compliant Muslim women (Kütük-Kuriş, 2020). In Malaysia, it is portrayed that religious teachings inspire women to appear more fashionable in public spaces as a disclosure of the identity of piety. Even women's morality is considered degenerate if they do not use Islamic clothing (Tong & Turner, 2008).

In principle, the experiences of women in some of the countries already mentioned illustrate women's efforts in negotiating modernist identity and piety in public spaces through fashion or fashionable dress models that fit the demands of the times. That is why being beautiful and fashionable is a woman's choice to negotiate with her environment. However, men often use beauty to discriminate against women in public spaces. As depicted in the novel *Memoirs of Geisha*, women are victims of male discrimination because men make beauty a qualification for accepting women in work. Thus, beauty becomes a tool for legitimizing women's synergy in the job market (Malik, 2018). Therefore, Muslim girls in Kotala Langsa look fashionable using Islamic clothing in the public space of coffee shops, not because of religious force. The broader meaning behind Islamic clothing is a sincere awareness of sharia teachings. As one of the informants said, I am more often with friends if I want to go to a coffee shop. We talked about college assignments and, once in a while, vented about careers. I go to the coffee shop and always wear polite Muslim clothing. I am closing the teachings of Islam. Moreover, in Aceh, women must dress Muslim if they leave the house. However, if I go to the coffee shop, I prefer to wear big skirt pants because the place is relaxed. I rarely wear tights because it is also a shame to be seen by people. If a hijab, I wear a fashionable hijab tied to the neck. Adjust to the situation (Interview Results, 2021).

Dressing Islamic in public spaces is necessary for Muslim girls in Langsa City. In addition, the importance of shame, a fashionable lifestyle, and wanting to appear attractive in front of others is also an excuse for them. Conditions are not much different for Muslim women in the Region of Mauritius, which has a population of 1.2 million. Women in the region wear hijabs on their conscience, even though they live in different ethnicities and religions (Bhowon & Bundhoo, 2016). Awareness of wearing hijab in public spaces is described by five Palestinian Muslim women in America who took a long time negotiating their identity with the local culture. However, wearing a hijab for them is a manifestation of consciousness that manifests itself to still look elegant according to religious teachings and strengthen religious identity (McGinty, 2014). Modernists and piety in public spaces are the daily practices that have become the identity of the Muslim teenage girls of Langsa City. Muslim teenagers negotiate their identity by looking fashionable but still obeying sharia rules. The piety expressed by Acehnese Muslim girls in the public spaces of coffee shops is called modernist piety. Women adhere to sharia authorities not because they are unable to resist but that they do so because they are aware of the religious commandments they believe in. Submission to authority is not because it feels discriminated against, but thus a form of patience and shame if one does not obey it (Mahmood, 2011). Such an attitude is called obedience, formed based on authentic religious logic. Women's adherence to religious norms that produce piety becomes part of the struggle to defend women's rights in public spaces (Avishai, 2008). This condition is closely related to religiosity and piety shown by Indonesian women's political agencies represented by two large organizations, namely Rahima with Fatayat NU. In addition to appearing as piety women in public spaces, these two women's organizations remain critical in fighting for equality and fairer women's rights (Rinaldo, 2014).

Without having against Islamic sharia, Muslim teenage girls in Langsa City appear as pious modernist agencies in the public spaces of coffee shops. Modernism does not mean being liberal and free against religious teachings. However, modernists, in an elegant way, put forward moral and sharia considerations. The identity of modernist piety that adolescents fragment arises from the awareness of the religious practice, just like the Salafi woman in The Metro City of Lampung, who is pious about her peace and domestic affairs. Adherence to domestication is done by them, not because of the husband's compulsion but based on the awareness of the practice of sharia that they believe in (Khotijah & Madkur, 2018). The experiences of women in two different cities in, Langsa and Metro Lampung, indicate that not always religious teachings contribute to the oppression of women. The actions of Muslim girls in Langsa City and Salafi women in Lampung Metro City are always interesting to be reviled. Obedience to domestic duties and the desire to perform in public spaces gave birth to a new identity creatively constructed by a

female agency. Muslim girls of Langsa City became more creative in negotiating their modernist identity vis a vis with the enactment of Islamic sharia in Aceh. Identity as a pious Muslim teenage girl in a coffee shop public space results from complicated negotiations between two poles, namely between the poles of religion (sharia) on the one hand and the desire to remain modernist at the other pole. All of that is inseparable from 3 factors that affect it: knowledge, emotional strength, and the ability to adapt to the situation and environment. Understanding the correct rules of sharia does not make teenage women resistant. Langsa Muslim teenagers are increasingly creative and skilled at negotiating their identities in public spaces without fighting sharia rules. Langsa's experience parallels research that says religion is not always a source of discrimination or a cause of discrimination against women in public spaces (Glas, Spierings, & Scheepers, 2018). Research in Australian society also sheds an idea of patriarchal beliefs among religious and irreligious people who support gender equality. Twenty-six religious groups in Australia showed attitudes and beliefs toward gender equality. Such attitudes and beliefs occurred from 2005 to 2015, although the increase was insignificant (Perales & Bouma, 2018). This research reinforces the argument that understanding religious texts correctly can correct a positive meaning of patriarchy. Religion has not always been in an arbitrary position towards women.

It contrasts with research that sees religion as a source of violence and discrimination against women in public spaces. Women in public spaces are discriminated against because of religious teachings, as a 2010 Pew Research Center research report showed low Muslim attention to gender equality (Moss, Blodorn, Camp, & O'Brien, 2017). The disparaging view of religion as a source of violence against women has long been straightened out by some liberal feminists, such as Amina Wadud, Amin Qasim, and Nawal Elsadawi. Islam is an egalitarian religion that is anti-patriarchal and anti-discrimination against women. The main source that causes women to be oppressed in public spaces is the interpretation of religious texts, patriarchal traditions, and the historical paradigms already entrenched in society (Saadawi, 1982). The piety of Muslim teenage girls in Langsa City coffee shops' public spaces is a self-disclosure as a modernist teenager and a commitment to complying with sharia rules. Appearing fashionable in public spaces and staying obedient to sharia rules is a form of the increasingly creative ability of Muslim teenage girls to negotiate their identities. It is all inseparable from the support of good knowledge about the importance of implementing Islamic sharia in regulating a better life.

4. CONCLUSION

The coffee shop is a public space for young Muslim women in Langsa City to construct their new identity as modernist women. The modernist piety displayed by Muslim teenage girls in the public space of a coffee shop in Langsa City results from negotiations between modernist attitudes and adherence to Islamic sharia. They are negotiating the identity of modernists and piety, played by Muslim teenagers in their daily association in the public space of coffee shops. Langsa City's Muslim youths come across as an increasingly creative agency of piety, synthesizing piety, lifestyle, and modernity. Being a modernist woman and staying obedient to sharia rules became an option for Muslim girls to move into the public spaces of Langsa City.

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