



The *Fiqh Muamalah Ijtimaiyyah* Paradigm in Reconciliation of Religious Conflicts in Jayapura City-Papua

Amirullah^{1*}; Athoillah Islamy²

¹Institut Agama Islam Negeri Fattahul Muluk Papua, Indonesia

²Universitas Islam Negeri K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid Pekalongan, Indonesia
jayapura.amir01@gmail.com

Abstract

This study intends to identify the paradigm of social-community fiqh in the paradigm of reconciliation of inter-religious conflicts by Religious Harmony Forum, Jayapura City. This qualitative research in the form of case studies uses interpretive methods. Core data collection techniques through observation and interviews. The value of Islamic universalism and Islamic indigenization in the social-community fiqh (*fiqh muamalah ijtimaiyyah*) formulated by Abdurrahman Wahid became the theory of analysis in the discussion of this research. The nature of this research approach is descriptive-analytic. Meanwhile, the data analysis technique went through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and data verification. The results showed that there were dimensions of social-community fiqh (*fiqh muamalah ijtimaiyyah*) in the paradigm of inter-religious conflict reconciliation by Religious Harmony Forum Jayapura City. First, the value of Islamic universalism in the socio-religious-based conflict reconciliation paradigm. This can be seen from inclusive religious social values such as tolerance, openness and social care in the dialogue space between interfaith leaders and community leaders regarding inter-religious harmony. Second, the value of Islamic indigenization in the cultural-based conflict reconciliation paradigm. This can be seen from the value of local wisdom that are in line with Islamic teachings in the space of religious and social aspirations. The theoretical implication of this research shows that Islamic religious social values can be the basis of the social-community fiqh paradigm in realizing a harmonious social life between religious communities. The limitation of the research is that it has not studied what factors are the obstacles and support for the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum in efforts to reconcile conflicts between religious communities.

Keywords: *social fiqh; conflict reconciliation; religious harmony forum; jayapura*

A. Introduction

The phenomenon of conflict between religious communities that has occurred for a long time in Jayapura has dampened and shows the face of harmonious and

peaceful life relations. In other words, it no longer shows the face of the conflict that has been going on for some time (Amirullah, et al, 2022). This statement can be proven from the Papua Province Religious Harmony Index survey which shows it is above the national average index. The 2019 national Religious Harmony index is 73.83. Meanwhile, the Religious Harmony of Papua index is 79.00. This figure increased from the previous year, namely 74.80 which was also above the national Religious Harmony index of 70.90. It is important to note that the sample location in the survey is for Papua Province, namely Jayapura City (Sabara & Elce Yohana Kodina, 2020)

The progress of the religious harmony index above cannot be separated from the various forms of inter-religious conflict reconciliation strategies carried out by the Religious Harmony Forum, both at the provincial, city and district levels, including Jayapura city (Muh. Anang Firdaus, 2014). The various conflict reconciliation strategies carried out by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum have certainly been built based on the paradigm of religious social values that can create a harmonious life among religious people. For example, the teachings of fiqh (Islamic law) in Islam, for example, the existence of fiqh as a variant of Islamic teachings does not only dwell on formal legal issues, a mere legal provision, but also contributes greatly to the formation of understanding and social attitudes of muslims. (Athoillah Islamy, 2021).

However, to realize this orientation, a social-community fiqh (*fiqh muamalah ijtimaiah*) is needed which can dialogue between fiqh norms and the conditions of socio-cultural reality, without having to ignore the fundamental values in Islam itself. As the social fiqh paradigm developed by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), it is a dynamic and contextual fiqh paradigm to find the point of relevance of Islamic law to real human needs. In this context, the elements of idealism and universalism of Islamic teachings as well as empirical conditions contribute greatly to the formulation of fiqh (Johari, 2017).

This study intends to identify the existence of the *fiqh muamalah ijtimaiah* paradigm in the reconciliation of inter-religious conflicts by Religious Harmony Forum in Jayapura City. This research is important to do, because the paradigm in the strategy for resolving conflicts between religious communities carried out by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum can practically become a pilot project for Religious Harmony Forum in various other cities in Indonesia. The authors realizes that there are various previous studies that examine religious conflicts in Jayapura with different focuses and approaches, including the following. Study of Muh. Anang Firdaus explained that the harmonious and tolerant social conditions of the people of Jayapura City contributed to the succession of the role of the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum in realizing religious harmony (Muh. Anang

Firdaus, 2014). Then research by Amirullah, Kasjim Salenda, Nurman Said, and Abdul Wahid Haddade stated that the role of the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum when viewed from the perspective of Islamic law, is in line with maqashid shariah, such as maintaining the benefit of religion (*hifz din*), soul (*hifz nafs*), and reason (*hifz aql*) in a pluralistic social life (Amirullah, et al, 2020). Furthermore, Sabara and Elce Yohana Kodina in their research stated that there are various principles of Muslims in realizing religious harmony in Jayapura, including the principles of moderation and Islamic inclusivism as the teachings of rahmatan lil alamin (Sabara & Elce Yohana Kodina, 2020). Next, research by Amirullah, Eko Siswanto, Syaiful muhyidin, and Athoillah Islamy (2022) concludes that there are various manifestations of Pancasila values contained in the role of the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum in resolving conflicts between religious communities (Amirullah, et al, 2022). Based on the various studies above, no research has been found that focuses on identifying the dimensions of the *fiqh muamalah ijtima'iyah* paradigm in the reconciliation of inter-religious conflicts by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum. This focus and approach can then become the distinction as well as the novelty of this research.

B. Literature Review

1. Social Fiqh

Practically speaking, the existence of *fiqh* is actually a social ethic that can realize Islam as a religion that brings compassion to all nature. This is because most people view *fiqh* as merely a normative order, something that is textual, static and cannot keep up with the times. In fact, *fiqh* is something realistic and dynamic, according to the character of the process of its formulation. With this ideal insight, in time one will be able to optimize, maximize and actualize the potential of *fiqh* as a system of values, behavior and social life that continues to develop. Thus, it can be expected that *fiqh* will color various dimensions of public life.

In the concept of social *fiqh*, the existence of *fiqh* is emphasized on its anthropocentric character, namely *fiqh* does not speak in black and white, but is presented in the context of solving the level of human needs; both *dharuriah* (primary), *hajjiah* (secondary), and *tahsiniat* (tertiary). On this basis, social *fiqh* can be said to be part of the indigenization of Islam which aims to make Islamic teachings a social ethic that animates people's behavior as an awareness in all their lives (Nurur Rohmah, 2017). In this context, the existence of social *fiqh* can be a form of *fiqh* paradigm that is contextual and accommodating to social change while advocating various solutions for every community regarding the various social problems it faces. (Fathorrahman, 2020).

2. Religious Conflict and its Resolution

In general, the existence of religious conflicts is divided into four types. First, the conflict between religion and science and culture. Second, conflicts due to the use of religion to achieve certain goals. Third, conflict between adherents of different religions. Fourth, conflicts between adherents of one religion that occur within the flow of one religion. The source of the conflict is the existence of different interpretations of the interpretation of the holy book or religious teachings by the religious leaders. Meanwhile, religious violence is classified into three types. First, internal religious violence. This violence usually occurs in certain religions. Religious leaders who want to carry out internal criticism (as an effort to reform or purification) must deal with groups that want the status quo. From here emerged the tendency of progressive radicalism or orthodox radicalism which led to violent relations as a result of communication impasse and mutual defense and blaming of others. Second, violence arises when religion sees itself in the midst of a bad society. Religion has a moral imperative to fight and eradicate it. Third, violence arises when religions feel threatened by their existence by other religions. In history, this has been a grievous violence.

To overcome conflicts with religious nuances in Indonesian society, government intervention is needed by making regulations in order to resolve existing conflicts so that they do not become more destructive and create more constructive and harmonious relations between adherents and inter-religious adherents. The state is obliged to resolve religious conflicts. There are two common ways of resolving conflicts, namely through litigation and non-litigation, in addition to other ways. Non-litigation processes that are often used are negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration. Meanwhile, litigation or judicial conflict resolution is a resolution that uses the national legal process and is carried out in court. The parties involved in the violent conflict are tried according to the provisions of applicable national law and are held in courts. Usually the decision will be taken by the judge after considering various legal evidences from the two parties involved in the conflict (Muhamad Zuldin, 2013).

C. Research Methods

This qualitative research in the form of case studies uses interpretive methods. Primary data were taken through observation and interviews. While secondary data is taken from various scientific literatures that are relevant to the main object of discussion, including books, journals, theses and dissertations. The nature of this research approach is descriptive-analytic. Meanwhile, the theory used as an analytical theory in this study, namely the value of Islamic universalism and the

indigenization of Islam in the social-community fiqh (*fiqh muamalah ijtima'iyah*) formulated by Abdurrahman Wahid. These two values will be used to identify the dimensions of the *fiqh muamalah ijtima'iyah* in the reconciliation of inter-religious conflicts by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum. In this step, the author documents various data related to the main object of research. After the data is collected, the next stage is data analysis techniques. In this data analysis technique there are three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and data verification.

D. Result and Discussions

1. Social-Community Fiqh (*Fiqh Muamalah Ijtima'iyah*)

In the realm of praxis of pluralistic socio-cultural life, a fiqh paradigm (Islamic law) is needed that can dialogue between various fiqh norms and various socio-cultural values. This is where a socio-community fiqh paradigm is needed that can synergize between fiqh and existing socio-cultural realities. This is not an exaggeration, considering that efforts to present an inclusive, tolerant and adaptive social fiqh character to the empirical reality of human life is a manifestation of universal Islamic teachings that are very much needed (Nilna Fauza, 2018). In this context, Abdurrahman Wahid's (Gus Dur) socio-community fiqh paradigm becomes one of the alternative offers that can present fiqh with adaptive characteristics to socio-cultural and human values (Moh Dahlan, Zakiyuddin Baidlawy & Sugiono, 2019). Gus Dur's social-community fiqh paradigm is inseparable from the epistemology of social ethics which is the basis of his thoughts and social movements, among others, the importance of making Islamic teachings a universal teaching that can be a solution to existing real problems of humanity, the importance of accommodating Islamic normative teachings. in the socio-cultural context of humans without having to eliminate normative identity, and respect for human values (Abdus Salam, 2014). Based on the author's observations, there are at least two basic values (ideas) that are the fundamental elements in the basis of Gus Dur's social-social fiqh paradigm, namely Islamic universalism and Islamic indigenization. Further explanation, as follows.

a. Islamic Universalism

According to Gus Dur, the existence of Islam as a religious teaching of the last revelation applies universally and crosses all conditions of space and time. He explained that the universalism of Islam was actually not caused by the detailed aspects of Islamic teachings, but by the various universal principles of the teachings that he emphasized, such as the value

of justice, benefit, and the character of flexibility in responding to the times with all forms of dynamic and complex problems (Athoillah Islamy, 2021)

The fiqh developed by Gus Dur is in the form of a dynamic and contextual social reality fiqh paradigm. This is intended to be able to find the point of relevance of Islamic law to real human needs. In this context, the elements of idealism and universalism of Islamic teachings as well as empirical conditions contribute greatly to the formulation of Islamic law. For Gus Dur, Islamic universalism is a set of Islamic teachings that include faith (*tawhid*), ethics (morals), and also religious law (fiqh). Therefore, Gus Dur explained that there are five guarantees of Islamic teachings for the protection of the benefit of life, both to individuals and community groups. These include *hifz al-nafs* (protection of life safety), *hifz al-din* (protection of religious benefits), *hifz al-aql* (protection of the safety of reason), *hifzu al-nasl* (protection of family and offspring safety), *hifz al-maal* (protection of property safety). According to Gus Dur, the existence of the five guarantees of protection can show that Islamic universalism contributes greatly to the realization of human civilization in social life. Regarding the five safety guarantees, Gus Dur gave the first priority, namely *hifz nafs*, then sequentially, *hifz al-din*, *hifz al-nasl*, *hifz al-maal*, and *hifz al-aql* (Johari, 2017).

For Gus Dur, to realize the universality of Islam, a new Islamic paradigm is needed to be contextualized with dynamic and complex modern conditions. This is because he views the manifestation of the universalism of Islamic teachings as being able to contribute greatly to the benefit of human life universally. The existence of the teachings of tolerance, openness, moderation, social care can be a human spirit that can realize the benefit of human life regardless of social status or religious background (M. Siswanto, 2022).

b. Islamic Indigenization

Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) rejects any form of formalization, ideologicalization, or shari'atisation of Islam in Indonesia. This is because he views the glory of Islam lies in the potential ability of Islamic teachings to be adaptive and culturally developed. Gus Dur's rejection of the formalization of Islam can be seen in the interpretation of the normative basis of the Qur'anic verse which reads "*udhkuloo fi al silmi kaffah.*" This verse is often understood by groups supporting the formalization of Islam textually, namely interpreting the word "*al silmi*" as a form of "Islamic". Meanwhile, Gus Dur understood it as "peace". According to Gus Dur, those who are accustomed to the formalization of Islam will be bound by various

efforts to realize the "Islamic system" fundamentally and ignore the existing plurality of society, so as to position non-Islamic citizens as second-class citizens. For Gus Dur, to be a good Muslim, it is enough to accept the principles of faith, carry out the teachings (pillars) of Islam well, help those who need help, uphold professionalism, and be patient when facing trials (tests). Therefore, he assesses the formalization of Islam is not a requirement to become a devout Muslim (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2006).

In addition to the value of the teachings of Islamic universalism, Gus Dur in his social fiqh paradigm also emphasized the importance of indigenizing Islam. The idea of indigenizing Islam was put forward at the 1984 Nahdhotul Ulama (NU) Congress in Situbondo. For Gus Dur, the indigenization of Islam is a progressive Islamic idea to awaken Muslims to be able to maintain the tradition of local wisdom that has grown and developed well in the community. In the context of the manifestation of Islamic indigenization, it will bring together cultural norms (tradition) and shari'ah (fiqh) in a synergistic and accommodating manner. With a note as long as the existing tradition does not conflict with the principal teachings in Islam (M. Siswanto, 2022).

It is important to know that Gus Dur defined the idea of Indigenization of Islam not as "jawanization" or "syncretism," because Islamic indigenization still accommodates various needs or local traditional norms that are still in line with or not contrary to Islamic teachings. In other words, it does not mean to abandon the norms of Islamic teachings for the sake of existing local wisdom traditions. For this reason, the existence of methods for formulating Islamic law, such as ushul fiqh and fiqh rules, has a strategic role in the manifestation of the idea of indigenizing Islam (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2006)

The manifestation of the idea of indigenizing Islam by Gus Dur did not involve various provisions of the norms of Islamic teachings that were basic, principal or dogmatic, such as matters of faith and formal worship in Islam. The big idea of Islamic thought as discoursed by Gus Dur in the indigenization of Islam is the development of Islamic thought that can accommodate the dynamic, universal development of human life, without losing the essence of the teachings of Islam itself. Both the idea of Islamic universalism and the indigenization of Islam can all present a cosmopolitan face of civilized Muslim life. That is, Muslims who can respond to changes and developments of the times while still upholding human values and justice in university life (M. Siswanto, 2022).

The two values in Gus Dur's social-community fiqh paradigm above will be used as an analytical theory to identify the muamalah ijtimaiah fiqh paradigm in the reconciliation of inter-religious conflicts which is the main object of this research.

2. Dimensions of *fiqh muamalah ijtimaiah* in the Paradigm of Reconciliation of inter-religious conflicts by FKUB Jayapura City

It is undeniable that history shows that the relationship between Muslims and Christians from the beginning was ambivalent, that is, it can be conflicting and can also be peaceful according to the context that surrounds it. (Zainal Arifin, 2011). However, based on various existing researches, various conflicts with religious nuances are not triggered by the existence of religious teachings, but by various factors, such as social, political, economic, cultural. The role of the involvement of religious factors is actually very small, it's just that they are often scapegoated as the main trigger (Yosua Praditya Suratman, 2017) Therefore, in reconciling conflicts with religious nuances, a social paradigm of diversity is needed which can be realized in the existing strategies for overcoming conflicts with religious nuances.

Based on the author's analysis, there are dimensions of the socio-community fiqh paradigm (*fiqh muamalah ijtimaiah*) in the reconciliation of inter-religious conflicts by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum. The value dimension can be mapped into two major classifications. First, the value of Islamic universalism in the socio-religious-based conflict reconciliation paradigm. Second, the value of Islamic indigenization in the cultural-based conflict reconciliation paradigm. Further explanation is as follows.

a. The Value of Islamic Universalism in the Socio-Religious-Based Conflict Reconciliation Paradigm

The reality of social, cultural and even religious pluralism in Indonesia makes it a country that has a greater potential for social conflict than other countries, especially in socio-religious conflicts (Ahmad Asroni, 2020). In this case, there are at least several factors that trigger various socio-religious conflicts in Indonesia, including dogma, rituals, interpretation of religious texts, and the authority of religious leaders, and unwise religious institutions (Wira Hadikusuma, 2015). On this basis, the occurrence of socio-religious conflicts in the community cannot be seen in a monolithic perspective, but requires approaches from various dimensions. Given the occurrence of socio-religious conflicts can be caused by complex factors, not single. The importance of this awareness is a necessity that cannot be ignored, both in the context of conflict resolution and nuanced conflict reconciliation.

One of the strategies for reconciling conflicts between religious communities carried out by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum is to facilitate the existence of a space for dialogue between religious leaders and community leaders. The dialogue space is intended to understand and find joint solutions to problems that hinder religious harmony in Jayapura City (Eko Siwanto, 2019). In practical terms, the dialogue room is carried out in groups which are then consulted with all social figures, even from external parties from the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum, such as youth leaders and academics. Religious leaders and community leaders are given the freedom to express what problems they are experiencing related to various things that are closely related to efforts to realize religious harmony in the community. Meanwhile, the dominant issues discussed in dialogue with religious leaders and community leaders were related to issues of religious life in the pluralistic social life in Jayapura, not political and economic issues. With this open dialogue space, existing problems can be understood and analyzed together well to find solutions (Said, 2019)

The existence of conflict reconciliation based on socio-religious as above is in line with the basis of the socio-community fiqh paradigm in the form of Islamic universalism. This can be seen from the paradigm of inclusiveness of religious social values emphasized by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum in opening a space for dialogue between interfaith leaders and community leaders in discussing matters relating to inter-religious harmony. According to Gus Dur, the universalism of Islam, the universalism of Islamic teachings, lies in the various universal principles of Islamic teachings that he emphasizes, such as the value of justice, benefit, and the character of its flexibility in responding to the times with all its dynamic and complex forms of problems. On this basis, it can be said that Islamic universalism in the dialogue space between religious leaders and community leaders facilitated by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum is an attitude of tolerance. In the context of an attitude of tolerance, its existence is also a fundamental basis for the life of religious people in responding to the diversity of social and religious expressions they face (Ali Ahmad Yenuri, et al, 2021)

The role of the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum in opening a space for dialogue between interfaith leaders and community leaders regarding inter-religious harmony in the realm of praxis can also contribute greatly in shaping the plurality of religious social life that upholds openness, moderation and social care. This also shows that Religious Harmony Forum emphasizes universal human values more than the exclusivism values

contained in every religion. Such a paradigm is also in line with the value of Islamic universalism. Islam can contribute greatly to the benefit of human life universally. The existence of the teachings of tolerance, openness, moderation, social care can become the spirit of humanity in realizing the benefit of human life regardless of social status or religious background. Gus Dur emphasized the priority of protecting the benefit of the human soul (*hifz al-nafs*) from the protection of other benefits.

b. The Value of Islamic Indigenization in the Cultural-Based Conflict Reconciliation Paradigm

There are at least three strategies in understanding people's aspirations. First, understanding the scope of participation of anyone who can channel aspirations about a policy. Second, understand the character of the communication that occurs between the government and its people. In this case, the character of reciprocal communication in the realm of praxis will be able to provide a wider space for the process of absorbing higher quality aspirations. Third, understand the relationship between the development of aspirations and the substance of the policy. In this context, it is important to understand that the more relevant the policy product is to the problems that develop in society, the better the quality of the absorption of aspirations will be at that time (Muhammad Salman, 2008)

The importance of understanding the aspirations of the community regarding public (government) policies is a major concern of the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum. Thus, we can see that in an effort to reconcile conflicts between religious communities, Religious Harmony Forum does not only stop at holding dialogues between religious leaders and community leaders, but also accommodates religious aspirations and community aspirations, both related to socio-cultural and state affairs (Komar, 2019). In the realm of practice, various forms of community aspirations that have been accommodated by Religious Harmony Forum Jayapura are then channeled in the form of recommendations as material for local government policies (Ida Bagus Sutra Kartya, 2019). The Religious Harmony Forum strategic step has become the material for government policy in supporting the realization of a harmonious pluralistic religious life that upholds the value of democracy in the plurality of social, cultural and religious life.

The existence of an aspiration space facilitated by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum is in line with the basis of Abdurrahman Wahid's social-society fiqh paradigm in the form of Islamic indigenization values. This conclusion can be seen from the efforts to accommodate the aspirations

of the religious and social communities within the framework of the socio-cultural plurality of the Jayapura community. It is important to note that there are values of local wisdom of the Papuan people in general and Jayapura in particular which are parallel to the spirit of efforts to accommodate these aspirations. As an example of local wisdom in Lake Sentani, Jayapura has traditional expressions intended to build harmony in social life in the community, such as the phrase *holei narei* (building and maintaining kinship ties), hard work, mutual cooperation, mutual respect, honesty, and obedience to customs. The various values of local wisdom can be used as a paradigm in various aspects of social life, both socio-religious, socio-economic, socio-political (Wigati Yektiningtyas, 2017). Another local wisdom, namely the manifestation of the motto that has become a tradition in Jayapura in the form of *Satu Tungku Tiga Batu*, is the personification of the three main religions embraced by the people of Jayapura in general, namely: Christianity, Islam, and Catholicism. The motto is intended to represent empirical facts about the plurality of religious life in the community with the hope that the concept of religious harmony will support the stability of a pluralistic social life. (A. Arif Rofiki, 2018)

It is important to note again that the indigenization of Islam in Gus Dur's social fiqh paradigm is an Islamic idea that gives respect to the tradition of local wisdom that has grown and developed in the community. The manifestation of the indigenization of Islam will bring together cultural norms (tradition) and shari'ah (fiqh) in a synergistic and accommodating manner. With a note as long as the existing traditions do not conflict with the principal teachings in Islam. On this basis, the various values of local wisdom of the Jayapura community contained in the expressions of *Holei Narei* and *Satu Tungku Tiga Batu* can be said to be universal social values that do not conflict with the principal teachings in Islam.

Through this space of aspirations, the democratic climate as Indonesia's national political system can be seen from the awareness to participate in the participation of all elements of the Jayapura City community with any religious status background in conveying their aspirations for the realization of a harmonious religious social life, both aspirations related to religious and social aspects. In this context, there is no privilege for the religious majority. Likewise, there is no form of discrimination in rights for religious minorities. Everyone has the same rights in the aspiration space (Febri Hijroh Mukhlis, 2016). This is in line with the orientation of the idea of indigenization of Islam which was initiated by Gus Dur, namely to develop Islamic thought that can accommodate the dynamic, universal development

of human life, without losing the essence of Islamic teachings itself, so that the idea of Islamic indigenization can present the face of civilization. cosmopolitan Muslim life. That is, the civilization of Muslim life that can respond to changes and developments of the times while still upholding human values.

E. Conclusion

Based on the main discussion of this research, it can be concluded that there are dimensions of social-community fiqh (*fiqh muamalah ijtimaiyah*) in the paradigm of inter-religious conflict reconciliation by the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum. First, the value of Islamic universalism in the socio-religious-based conflict reconciliation paradigm. This can be seen from inclusive religious social values such as tolerance, openness and social care in the dialogue space between interfaith leaders and community leaders regarding inter-religious harmony. Second, the value of Islamic indigenization in the cultural-based conflict reconciliation paradigm. This can be seen from the values of local wisdom that are in line with Islamic teachings in the space of religious and social aspirations.

The theoretical implication of this research shows that Islamic religious social values can be the basis of the social-community fiqh paradigm in realizing a harmonious social life between religious communities. The limitation of the research is that it has not studied what factors are the obstacles and support for the Jayapura City Religious Harmony Forum in efforts to reconcile conflicts between religious communities. This can be a lacuna and the object of the next research.

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