

## Maintaining Inter-religious Harmony through Acculturation of the Local Tradition in the Dani Muslim Community, Papua

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### Abstract

This study aims to identify patterns of social interaction among the inter-religious communities in Jayawijaya, Papua, through the tradition of *Bakar Batu*. This study employs a qualitative approach by interpreting data from observation and interviews. Associative and dissociative social interaction patterns are also used as analytical theories. This study revealed that the associative interaction pattern is evident in the social interaction between the Dani Muslim community and the Christian community in the *Bakar Batu* tradition through accommodation and acculturation. The accommodation process is reflected in the form of tolerance; both respect each other despite their different religious teachings. Meanwhile, the acculturation process is found in reconstructing the essential elements in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition by substituting pork with halal meat. The theoretical implication of this study reveals that associative patterns of social interaction can be the basis for paradigms and approaches to harmonizing relations among distinct religious communities and between religion and culture. However, this study has not discussed the role of Islamic socio-religious institutions or organizations in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition.

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*Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi pola interaksi sosial antar umat beragama di Jayawijaya, Papua, melalui tradisi Bakar Batu. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan menginterpretasikan data dari observasi dan wawancara. Sedangkan untuk analisis, studi ini menggunakan pola interaksi sosial asosiatif dan disosiatif. Penelitian ini mengungkap bahwa pola interaksi asosiatif terlihat dalam interaksi sosial antara komunitas Muslim Dani dengan komunitas Kristen dalam tradisi Bakar Batu yakni melalui proses akomodasi dan akulturasi. Proses akomodasi tercermin dalam bentuk toleransi; keduanya saling menghormati perbedaan ajaran agama masing-masing. Adapun proses akulturasi ditemukan dalam merekonstruksi elemen mendasar pada tradisi ini yakni dengan mengganti daging babi dengan daging halal. Implikasi teoretis penelitian ini yakni pola interaksi sosial asosiatif bisa menjadi landasan untuk membangun paradigma dan pendekatan untuk harmonisasi hubungan antar umat beragama, dan antara agama dan budaya. Namun, penelitian ini belum membahas tentang peran lembaga atau organisasi sosial keagamaan Islam dalam praktik tradisi Bakar Batu.*

**Keywords:** acculturation; *Bakar Batu*; Dani Tribe; social interaction

## Introduction

The reality of religious life in Indonesia is always brought together in the plural aspect of social life. On the one hand, this plurality can positively impact society by complementing each other. On the other hand, it sometimes triggers the emergence of conflict in social interactions. Strategic efforts are necessary to harmonize the distinctive aspects to achieve harmonious social interaction relations To prevent problems or potential conflicts (Asrul Muslim, 2013). In this context, social interaction between religious communities requires strategies compatible with the existing spirit of socio-cultural and religious plurality (Wasino, 2013, p. 148). Furthermore, inclusive religious teachings can also play a positive role in plurality relations among religious people, especially in countries with democratic political systems and plurality, such as Indonesia (Arfa, 2014, p. 209).

Despite the importance of realizing patterns of social interaction relations between religious communities, Indonesia's unique phenomenon describes harmonious patterns of social interaction between religious communities in a local tradition. The tradition in question is the *Bakar*

*Batu* tradition which is implemented by the Dani Muslim community in Jayawijaya, Papua Province. The practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition is a unique socio-cultural phenomenon amid the bad stigma that was once attached to the social conditions of the Papuan people, who were prone to conflicts with religious nuances (Akib et al., 2020, p. 50). Furthermore, it is important to know that the *Bakar Batu* tradition is an old tradition passed down for generations by the Papuan people. The existence of *Bakar Batu* tradition is a collective cooking ritual by residents of the same village as a form of gratitude, friendship among relatives, welcoming births, marriages, etc. One of the unique things we can find is that the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition by the Dani Muslim community does not use pork, which historically is the main food in general *Bakar Batu* tradition. Instead, they use halal meat, such as chicken. This is intended as a substitute for pork which is forbidden to be consumed according to Islamic teachings (Herningsih, 2018, p. 223).

The practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition by the Dani Muslim community in Jayawijaya is interesting to study more deeply, especially from the perspective of patterns of social interaction between religious communities because the social interaction between religious communities and traditions can cause confrontational relations. Moreover, some interpretations of religious teachings deny all forms of cultural elements. That is because culture could potentially destroy the purity and sacredness of religious teachings (Roibin, 2010, p. 1).

This study aims to identify patterns of social interaction between the Dani Muslim community and the Christian community in the *Bakar Batu* tradition in Jayawijaya, Papua Province. There are indeed some previous studies that are correlated with this research, among others, research by Umar Yelipele and Moh. Hefni explained that the Dani Muslim community still uses pork as a condition for the marriage contract procession (Yelepele & Hefni, 2013, p. 46). This explanation is corroborated by research by Ibrahim Kuan and Anwar M. Roem, which confirms that the pattern of the relationship between customary marriage

law and Islamic law among the Dani Muslim community does not work synergistically (Kuan & Roem, 2018, p. 46).

Furthermore, Herningsih's research reveals the obstacles experienced by the Dani Muslim community in caring for the *Bakar Batu* tradition. Religious differences between Muslims and Christians trigger these obstacles. However, these obstacles are no longer found after the intervention of the government's political policies related to implementing the *Bakar Batu* tradition (Herningsih, 2018, p. 223). Next, Abu Muslim's research said that *Bakar Batu* had become a local tradition that can reduce conflicts and social conflicts between religious communities in Papua. This is because, in the ritual process, the tradition contains the internalization of various religious and social values compatible with efforts to build a harmonious life between religious communities (Abu Muslim, 2019, p. 101). Then, the research by Ahmad Syarif M and Athoillah Islamy said that the reconceptualization of pork by replacing it with halal meat in the *Bakar Batu* tradition is a form of integration of idealism and realism of Islamic law in building the benefit of inter-religious life (Makatita & Islamy, 2022, p. 241). The research focuses on efforts to identify the basis of the Islamic da'wah paradigm in the *Bakar Batu* tradition, not identifying the dimensions of religious moderation contained in it.

However, no previous research has focused on identifying patterns of social interaction between religious communities in the *Bakar Batu* tradition implemented by the Dani Muslim community in Jaywijaya Papua. Therefore, this research is important because, theoretically, it can provide an overview of the ideal pattern of social interaction in developing inter-religious harmony through local traditions. Furthermore, this research can practically be used as a model for implementing social interaction between religious communities in the practice of local traditions. In this context, the pattern of social interaction in the *Bakar Batu* tradition can be a role model for the practice of local traditions in other areas to foster harmony between religious communities.

## **Social Interaction in Multicultural Society**

Efforts to incite harmonious social interaction in the plurality of social life are urgent and inevitably necessary, especially in multicultural life, as in Indonesian society (Islamy, 2022, p. 51). In this context, patterns of social interaction that can lead to the formation of harmonious relations in pluralism are necessary, including in bringing harmonious social interactions between religious communities. This is nothing but intended to create social stability from ideological coercion and physical clashes amid different religious communities (Ulfaturrohmatiririn et al., 2021, p. 137).

Broadly speaking, patterns of social interaction can be classified into two forms, namely associative and dissociative. Each of these patterns in the realm of praxis has various strategies—further explanation, as follows.

### **Associative Pattern**

The existence of associative patterns in social interactions leads to the orientation of achieving social integration amid pluralism. Associative interaction can be seen through various approaches. *First*, cooperation. This approach can be formed when the community realizes that they have the same interests and agree to work together to achieve these common goals. Based on its implementation, there are four forms of cooperation in the form of bargaining, co-optation, coalition, and joint ventures. *Second*, accommodation is a process of adjustment between individuals with individuals, individuals with groups or groups with groups to minimize, prevent, or overcome tension and chaos. The accommodation process is divided into several forms, among others; 1) Coercion, a form of accommodation whose process is carried out because of coercion. 2) A compromise is a form of accommodation in which the parties involved each reduce their demands to resolve an existing conflict. 3) Mediation is a way of resolving conflicts by asking for help from a neutral third party. 4) Arbitration is a way of reaching a compromise by asking for help from a third party chosen by both parties or by a body whose domicile is more

than the parties to the conflict. 5) Judiciary is a form of conflict resolution through the courts. 6) Stalemate is a situation in which the opposing parties have equal power and stop the conflict because it is no longer possible for both parties to advance or retreat. 7) Tolerance is a form of accommodation without formal approval. 8) Conciliation brings together the wishes of the disputing parties to reach a mutual agreement. *Third*, assimilation is characterized by efforts to reduce the distinctive aspects of several people or groups in society and equate attitudes, mentality, and actions to achieve common goals. Assimilation occurs when groups of people with different cultural backgrounds can interact with each other intensively for a long time so that their original culture can change its nature and form a new culture as a mixed culture. *Fourth* is acculturation when a community group with a certain culture faces various elements of a foreign culture. Then over time, the elements of foreign culture are accepted and processed into their own culture without causing the loss of personality from the existing culture (Hamzah, 2018, p. 1).

In the context of the role of religion in associative interaction patterns in realizing harmonious relations in the life of a pluralistic society, it cannot be separated from the existence of religion itself which has an integrated role in people's lives. Emile Durkheim quoted by Ninsiana, explaining that religious practice can be understood as a role for the integration and stability of society. Religion can be understood as an expression of an integrated society caused by blood ties, and also caused by a community with the same interests and traditions, which then merge into the collective consciousness. In this context, Durkheim also stated that religion and integration do not mean that faith produces a cohesive society but rather the phenomenon of cohesion that has religious qualities (Ninsiana, 2016, p. 359).

### **Dissociative Pattern**

The existence of dissociative patterns in social interactions leads to the orientation of the realization of separation. This pattern can be seen in three forms of social interaction strategies. *First*, competition is a struggle

carried out by individuals or certain social groups to get a victory or competitive results. *Second* contravention, the process of social interaction in the form of competition and conflict or conflict. *Third*, conflict, the process of social interaction between individuals or certain community groups in the form of gaps or disputes caused by differences in understanding or basic interests (Asrul Muslim, 2013, pp. 486–488).

Several things often trigger conflict, including the following related to the occurrence of conflict in social interaction. *First*, ethnocentrism. This factor is in the form of a view that considers the group itself the center of everything. Meanwhile, other groups will always be compared and judged according to the standards of the group they follow. *Second*, stereotypes. This factor is in the form of generalizing, demeaning, or exaggerating beliefs about certain ethnic groups. The existence of this stereotype in the realm of practice will identify individuals on the basis of certain group members as well as assess the individual's self. *Second*, prejudice. This factor in the form of an attitude of rejection is against all evidence that will shift it, thus giving rise to negative thoughts towards other people or a certain group that is different from him (Siregar, 2021, p. 12).

There two patterns of social interaction, i.e., associative and dissociative, can occur in the context of Islamic relations and local traditions. This statement is because, theoretically and practically, the relationship between Islam and local traditions can occur in various forms. *First*, coexistence or adhesion without mutual intervention and interruption. *Second*, the integration or cohesion that can occur, either in the internationalization of Islamic teachings into local traditions or the adjustment of local traditions to Islamic teachings. This can happen, both symbolically and substantially. *Third*, the conflict relation between Islamic teachings and existing local traditions (Hamzah, 2018, p. 1).

The existence of the associative pattern will be used as an analytical theory in exploring and identifying patterns of social interaction between religious communities in the *Bakar Batu* tradition implemented by the Dani Muslim community in Jaywijaya, Papua Province is the main object of discussion in this research.

## The Role of the Papuan Government in Preserving the Practice of the *Bakar Batu* Tradition by the Muslim Community

We need to know first that the harmonious relationship between two religious communities in local traditions cannot be separated from the role of the government through various forms of political policy, before elaborating on the pattern of social interaction between Dani Muslims and non-Muslims. Muslim (Christian) community in the *Bakar Batu* tradition. Given the concrete rarity of maintaining and preserving traditional culture, it is not only the duty of the community that owns the culture but also the duty of all stakeholders and the Central Government and Regional Governments. Likewise, in preserving Papuan culture, the Papuan Regional Government has made several policies to maintain and preserve Papuan cultural traditions. The policy of the Papuan Regional Government not only protects, maintains, and preserves cultural traditions that have the potential to boost Papuan tourism but also applies to traditions carried out by the Muslim Community, which is a minority group. This is based on Article 5, paragraph (2) of Law no. 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Papua Province, hereinafter referred to as the Papuan People's Assembly, which was formed in 2005. The regulation explains that in the context of implementing special autonomy in the Papua Province, the Papuan People's Assembly is formed as a cultural representation of the indigenous Papuans based on respect for customs and culture, empowering women, and establishing religious harmony.

Burning stones (*Bakar Batu*) tradition is one of the important traditions in Papua as a cooking ritual with residents of the same village. It aims to be grateful, stay in touch, gather relatives and relatives, welcome birth happiness and traditional marriage, the coronation of tribal chiefs, or to gather soldiers to fight. The *Bakar Batu* tradition is generally carried out by mountain tribes, such as in the Baliem Valley, Paniai, Nabire, Central Mountains, Bintang Mountains, Jayawijaya, Dekai, Yahukimo, etc. The mention of *Bakar Batu* is because the stone is burned



until it is scorching hot, then piled on top of the food to be cooked. However, in each place (tribe), it is called by various names, for example, Gapiia (Paniai), Kit Oba Isogoa (Wamena), or Barapen (Jayawijaya). The original tradition of burning stones used pork, but because Papuan Muslims carry this out, the pork is replaced with chicken meat. The practice of burning stones by the Muslim Community is held every year to welcome the holy month of Ramadan and also during Eid al-Fitr. The local government protects this stone-burning tradition in accordance with the Papua Province Regional Regulation, Number 16, Article 2 and Article 4, 2008 concerning the Protection and Development of Papuan Indigenous Culture (Herningsih, 2018, pp. 214–216).

Based on the previous explanation, the Papuan Regional Government, through its political policy authority, has a major contribution to maintaining and preserving the *Bakar Batu* tradition, which is implemented by both Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the Papua region.

### **The Dani Muslim Community Social Interaction with the Christian Community in the *Bakar Batu* Tradition**

The pattern of relations between religion and culture does not always show a pattern of harmonious or synergistic relations. In fact, they are often found in the midst of people's lives, both display a dichotomous relationship pattern and even conflict (Makatita & Islamy, 2022, p. 241). In fact, the conflicted relationship between the two should not occur because religion also has universal teaching values that can be elaborated and synergized with noble values in the socio-cultural community, such as universal teachings in Islam, which most Indonesian people embrace. An example of Islamic teachings in the form of *rahmatan li al-'ālamīn*, which emphasizes spreading the value of love and peace in universal life on this earth (Islamy, 2021a, p. 114). The aspect of Islamic universalism is not contained in the detailed aspects of Islamic teachings but in the principles or values of the teachings that it emphasizes, such as the value of justice, benefit, and flexibility in responding to the dynamics of the dynamic life of the people (Islamy, 2021b, p. 61). The character of the universality and

flexibility of Islamic teachings on the noble values of local wisdom in the Indonesian context can be the basis for the paradigm of the idea of Islam Nusantara. Although it is undeniable in the realm of Muslims in Indonesia, the idea or idea of Islam Nusantara is still reaping the pros and cons among Indonesian Muslim leaders themselves over the term Islam Nusantara (Fahmi et al., 2019, pp. 333–334).

Based on the statement above, in responding to the reality of the plurality of social life, religion, and local culture in Indonesia, it is necessary to understand and moderate the attitude of religious people in Indonesia itself (Azis et al., 2021, p. 230). It is because if plurality is not addressed and managed wisely, it can cause social and religious conflicts (Prasojo & Pabbajah, 2020, p. 1). However, efforts to achieve these goals are not easy, but it requires awareness of understanding and good social interaction attitudes in the life of inter-religious people.

Based on the analysis of research data, no indicators of dissociative social interaction patterns were found between the Dani Muslim community and the Dani Non-Muslim (Christian) community in the *Bakar Batu* tradition but instead showed two associative social interaction patterns. These two patterns are fundamental in realizing harmonious relations between the Dani Muslim community and the Christian community in Jayawijaya. An explanation of the two patterns of social interaction will be described as follows.

### **Accommodation as Associative Interaction in Harmonizing Relations between Religious People**

The predicate as a multicultural country pinned on Indonesia cannot be separated from the diversity factor in aspects of the life of the Indonesian people themselves, including the aspects of cultural and religious diversity that exist. This fact of diversity emphasizes the importance of awareness to build and maintain harmony in life in the reality of the plurality of cultural and religious life (Islamy, 2022, p. 51). It is because issues related to religion and culture in the realm of praxis do

not give rise to social conflicts within internal religions and between people of different faiths. Therefore, religious communities must be aware of the importance of accommodative social interaction in plural society without distorting the authentic teachings of their respective religions.

The importance of realizing an accommodative attitude as above can be found in the *Bakar Batu* tradition by the Dani Muslim community in Jayawijaya, Papua Province. We can see the accommodative attitude in inter-religious relations in this tradition. Concretely, this accommodative attitude is manifested through tolerance and pluralism between religious communities. This can be found in the implementation of Halal Bi Halal Eid. The practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition at that time used two holes initiated by the Ulesi Region Family Association. The existence of these two holes is one of the unique things in renewing the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition. Likewise, when celebrating Christmas, two holes in the *Bakar Batu* tradition were also made with the intention: one special hole for pork and another hole for halal meat in the form of chicken.

The existence of one hole for chicken meat that is specifically for the Dani Muslim community shows the tolerance between religious communities between the Dani Muslim community and the Dani Non-Muslim community. Vice versa. Through the manifestation of tolerance among religious communities, the Dani Muslim community can participate in the practice of cultural traditions with the non-Muslim Dani community (Christian). Not only that, the two communities can be accommodative. The Dani Muslim community can accommodate all aspects of the differences in religious teachings with the non-Muslim Dani community who are Christians so that harmony between religious communities can still be achieved in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition. The manifestation of social interaction in the form of an attitude of accommodation in social interaction between diverse people is strengthened by the meaning of the symbols of identity elements in the ritual practice of *Bakar Batu*, such as stone, wood, sweet potatoes, food, vegetables, meat, and others. The various types of food show a symbol of

pluralism. Meanwhile, the existence of a hole is a symbol of integration (H. K. Yelipele, interview, 2018) .

The accommodation aspect in the form of tolerance in the *Bakar Batu* tradition shows a pattern of associative social interaction between religious communities. For the Dani Muslim community, the manifestation of tolerance in the *Bakar Batu* tradition has a basis in the teachings of Islam which is *tasāmuḥ* teachings, respecting and appreciating the distinctive aspects of human life. Therefore, the manifestation of *tasāmuḥ* teachings is very much needed for Muslims in general, especially in addressing the plurality of inter-religious social life in Indonesia (Yenuri et al., 2021, p. 141). Meanwhile, the Christian Dani community also has a Christian teaching base in the form of the teaching to love one another as human beings as one loves oneself (Siswanto et al., 2022, p. 200). Tolerance in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition in its practical realm can reach a mutual understanding of both parties, which is expected to solve all forms of social problems in the inter-religious relationship between the Dani Muslim community and the Dani Christian Community (Yanti & Witro, 2020, p. 446).

The manifestation of inter-religious tolerance in the *Bakar Batu* tradition can be said to be an indicator of religious and social understanding and attitudes that can respect and appreciate and accept differences in social life as a natural law. Especially in the context of Indonesia, the embodiment of the value of tolerance is a very urgent element in building a harmonious life amid the plurality of Indonesian society. The symbol of religious pluralism also avoids minority claims against individuals (groups) of religious adherents with a small number of followers, and conversely, the majority claims for groups with the most followers (Islamy, 2021a, p. 217). The value of tolerance will be able to emphasize the intensity of tolerance between religious and intra-religious people, both related to social and political life. The realization of the tolerance value in *Bakar Batu* tradition, there is not only appreciation and respect, but more than that. It is hoped that there will be an attitude of

mutual dialogue, and cooperation in the context of pluralism, religious and social life between the Dani community who are Muslim and the non-Muslim Dani community. Socio-anthropologically, the portrait of inter-religious harmony in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition can also help several Islamic organizations that play a major role in shaping the harmonious civilization of the Papuan people in the midst of existing social pluralism (Al Hamid, 2020, p. 121). Furthermore, the *Bakar Batu* tradition can also be a medium for harmonizing the relationship between religious leaders in Jayawijaya and government figures related to social-political issues (Darma et al., 2021, p. 149). This then shows the existence of an associative social interaction pattern through accommodation in the form of a manifestation of tolerance between religious communities in a practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition.

### **Acculturation as the Basis for Associative Interaction in Integrating Tradition and Religion**

The relationship between Islamic teachings and local traditions in the realm of praxis does not necessarily show a harmonious relationship. Such a statement is often found that the relationship between the two is not harmonious, but tends to be dichotomous, even conflicts due to a discrepancy between religious norms (Islam) and existing cultural norms (Hamzah, 2018, p. 1). It is unfortunate because if it can be addressed through a moderate, open, and inclusive socio-religious attitude, it is possible to find a meeting point between the two in forming a harmonious, synergistic civilization of socio-cultural life. However, realizing a synergistic relationship between religion and culture is not easy but requires a pattern of social interaction between religious communities that can be associated with tradition.

The importance of associative interaction patterns by Muslims with local traditions can be seen in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition by the Dani Muslim community in Jayawijaya. They can still carry out the *Bakar Batu* tradition, which has become a cultural heritage, without any

deviation from the teachings of Islam itself (Makatita & Islamy, 2022, p. 241). Whereas in this tradition, there is pork which incidentally is not only a fundamental element in the *Bakar Batu* tradition. But it is also a central aspect in the life of the Dani Community (Boelaars, 1986, pp. 108–119)). The central aspect is a symbol of togetherness, solidarity, happiness, and sorrow. Pigs are also a symbol of representation of the life of the Dani people. The existence of pigs is very attached to the culture of the people in the highlands of Papua (Suroto, 2017, p. 37). However, the Dani Muslim community did not eliminate or abandon the *Bakar Batu* tradition. They can be moderate, not removing the pattern and the basic nature of culture from the *Bakar Batu* tradition, which, when adapted to Islamic teachings. They change the internal elements contrary to Islamic teachings, such as the presence of pork in the *Bakar Batu* tradition, which is seen as the main food with halal meat, such as chicken meat.

The associative interaction pattern of the Dani Muslim community in the form of replacing elements in the *Bakar Batu* tradition that is contrary to Islamic teachings, such as replacing pork with halal meat, was also explained by the Head of the Walesi District Religious Affairs Office. According to him, the Dani Muslim community in Jayawijaya is still very much bound by customary norms that have been passed down according to tradition. For example, the habit of those who still raise pigs even though they have embraced Islam. It is the tradition of raising pigs which, in practical terms, is also a difficult task to provide understanding to the Dani Muslim community in terms of replacing pork with halal meat in the *Bakar Batu* tradition (H. A. Yelipele, interview, 2017).

The substitution of pork with halal meat in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition shows that the social interaction pattern applied by the Dani Muslim community is associative-acculturative. In other words, it does not tend to be deconstructive, let alone radical, but is more persuasive in realizing the integration of traditional values with Islamic teachings. Through this associative interaction pattern, the Dani Muslim community can implement and preserve the *Bakar Batu* tradition which

has become local wisdom in their lives. A new *Bakar Batu* tradition has been implemented by replacing pork with halal meat as the main food in the practice of this tradition.

The form of acculturation in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition by the Dani Muslim community can also be found legitimacy through the theory of Islamic law in the form of 'Urf. The existence of 'Urf can be the basis for the legitimacy of a tradition, whether it is in accordance with or against the teachings of Islam (Fahimah, 2018, p. 91). It can practically strengthen the statement that the existence of Islamic law (*Fiqh*) as part of Islamic teachings can contribute greatly to the formation of social and religious paradigms and attitudes of Muslims in responding to local traditions (Islamy, 2021b, p. 69). This is because the manifestation of Islamic teachings in Muslims' social and cultural life can be eclectic with various values and norms in existing local traditions. The character of the flexibility of Islamic teachings is what then also makes the succession of Islamic preachers in the history of the spread of Islam in Indonesia. They can successfully integrate Islam and local wisdom (Ediyono, 2017, pp. 149–150). Their success is a portrait of the pattern of dissemination of Islamic teachings amid the plurality and social and cultural complexity of Indonesian society (Tolchah, 2016, p. 1). These historical facts strengthen the universalism character of Islamic teachings, namely religious teachings that can manifest in various places and times (Hermansyah, 2014, p. 55). We can also see the universalism of Islamic teachings in the associative interactions between religious communities in the *Bakar Batu* tradition implemented by the Dani Muslim community in Jayawijaya.

## Conclusion

Based on the description of the main discussion of this research, it can be concluded that the social interaction of the Dani Muslim community with the Christian community in the *Bakar Batu* in Jayawijaya uses an associative interaction pattern: implemented through two approaches. The first is accommodation as an associative interaction pattern in harmonizing relations between religious people. It is manifested through an attitude of

tolerance (*tasamuh*) in the *Bakar Batu* tradition. The tolerant attitude of the Dani Muslim community and the Christian community to respect and appreciate the distinctive aspects of their respective religious teachings in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition. The second is acculturation as an associative interaction pattern in integrating tradition and religion. It can be seen from the reconstruction of the fundamental elements in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition in the form of replacing pork with halal meat so that a new *Bakar Batu* tradition is implemented, which has a distinctive aspect to the previous *Bakar Batu* tradition.

The theoretical implication of the research findings above shows that associative social interaction patterns can be the basis for paradigms and approaches to harmonizing relations between religious communities and between religion and culture. The limitation of this research is that it has not examined the role of Islamic socio-religious institutions or organizations in the practice of the *Bakar Batu* tradition by the Dani Muslim community in Jayawijaya. It is important to study this in-depth because the authority of socio-religious institutions, such as fatwas related to social and religious matters issued by the Indonesian Ulema Council, has a major influence on the formation of Islamic understanding and social attitudes.[w]

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