ISLAM-CHRISTIAN, 'KAKA-ADE': THE WAY THE KOKODA COMMUNITY CARES FOR RELIGIOUS HARMONY IN SORONG CITY

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ABSTRACT

The socio-religious life in Sorong City, West Papua has been looking exemplary. There are almost no conflicts in the name of religion or ethnicity. As the two dominant religions, the relationship between Muslims and Christians is harmonious, which is shown by the intensive dialogues and cooperation between the two religions. In the Kokoda Community in Sorong City, apart from dialogue and cooperation, Kokoda's Muslims and Christians still live under "one roof". This tradition has been going on for a long time, and they maintain it until now. This study aims to describe the practice of religious harmony in the Kokoda community and the local traditions on which they serve as the basis for building religious harmony. The research data were collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and literature study. The informants of this study were the Chairman of the Sorong and West Papua Customary Institutions, youth leaders of Kokoda, Kokoda residents, and non-Kokoda residents in Sorong. The findings of this study are as follows: First, the religious harmony in the Kokoda community can be seen in the mutual cooperation activities in building houses of worship regardless of religion. Second; Despite their different religions, Kokoda's Muslims and Christians live harmoniously in one house. The tradition of interfaith marriage is a legacy from our ancestors, because they view Islam and Christian as *kaka-ade* (brother/sister). Daily activities such as looking for "mangi-mangi" wood, celebrating religious holidays together, and eating papeda, are the Kokoda community's way of managing and maintaining inter-religious harmony.

Key words: religious harmony, social relations, Muslim-Christian Relation

Introduction

Sorong City, West Papua, is known as a region that is relatively safe from attacks by religious conflicts. An article written by Ismail Suardi Wekke describes how harmonious religious life is in Sorong City. He described the atmosphere of Sorong City after the conflict in Ambon, as follows:

"The violence that flared up in Maluku at the end of 2000 until the next few years did not extend to Papua ... Where the flames of violence that used religious sentiments to kill other groups were actually ignored in Sorong City. In fact, the fear of a similar incident always haunts the Sorong City residents. However, until the people of Maluku were reconciled, this incident in Maluku did not cause any single fight in West

Papua. In fact, this is used as an opportunity to remind each other that losses which happened in Maluku should not occur in West Papua ... (Wekke 2015, 9).

The statement above shows that religious life in Sorong City is not limited to mutual respect and honour between multi-faith people. More than that. On the next page, Wekke describes that the relations between multi-faith people in Sorong have reached the point of helping each other and providing manpower and financial assistance for the construction of houses of worship. One form of cooperation between followers of different religions is the construction of the At-Taubah Mosque in Sorong City. This mosque was built on land owned by a Christian, and when the mosque was about to expand the area, Christian land owners then sold the land at a low price. Another example, land owned by one of the prestigious campuses in Sorong City, STAIN Sorong, was handed over to the church to be used as land to build houses of worship (Wekke, 2015).

The narrative related to inter-religious harmony and social relations between multi-faith people in Sorong City is also stated in the work of Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi (Syuhudi, 2010), Abd. Kadir Ahmad (Ahmad, 2010), and Rusdi Rasyid (Rasyid, 2014). In this article, all found that the relationships that were built between indigenous Papuans (OAP) and other ethnicities (Bugis, Makassar, Maluku, Javanese) in their religious, social, economic and political life were going harmony. Also, multi-faith youth dialogues and cooperation were well established.

In Sorong City, there are various settlements or villages based on the name of the tribe. They are generally migrants, who come to Sorong for various reasons. Starting from a job transfer, to want to change fate. As a result, there were settlements which known as Bugis Village, Makassar Village, Javanese Village, Ambon Village, Kokoda Village, and so on. The naming of the village is based on the dominant number of ethnic groups living in the area.

The presence of migrants in Sorong is closely related to the history of Papuan migration in 1969, and is recorded as the largest migration in Papua. This migration program also has an effect on social, economic and cultural changes in the Land of Papua, which causes multicultural life in Sorong. Most migrants in the context of Sorong are in the category of "life time migrants", or they move from their place of birth to their current place of residence, or those whose current place of residence is not in the province of where they were born (Munir, 2011). The main purpose of the migration is to find a decent living (Haryono, 2017), (Purnomo, 2009).

This paper focuses on the Kokoda tribe in Sorong City. Apart from being heterogeneous in terms of religion (Islam and Christian), Kokoda is the only local "immigrant" ethnic group in Sorong which is predominantly Muslim. However, there are also Kokoda Christians. Interestingly, the social relations of the Kokoda Muslims and Christians have always been harmonious. They have never been involved in fighting or arguing over religious differences. One way to maintain and manage harmony in their community is to "live under one roof" with people of different religions (Islam and Christian). In fact, the tradition of living under one roof between religions has long been practiced by their community. In fact, this tradition was first introduced and carried out by the "old people" of the Kokoda, and is now being re-adopted by some of the present-day Kokoda generations.

Based on the explanation above, this paper wants to answer the question: how does the Kokoda community in Sorong City build and maintain religious harmony. This question is then further divided into two parts: how does the Kokoda community practice religious harmony among themselves, and how does the local traditions form the basis of the Kokoda community in building religious harmony between them.

Literature Review

Tradition

Tradition is often identified with the past habits of a society, and these habits are still practiced today. Edward Shils (1981) defines tradition as anything that is transmitted or passed on from the past to the presen (Sztompka, 2007). Funk and Wagnalls interpret tradition as knowledge, doctrine, habits, and practices, which are passed down from generation to generation (Muhaimin, n.d.).

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In every culture in a society or community, the process of creation of traditions does not occur by itself, but in two ways, which are (1) emerging from below spontaneously, and (2) emerging from above through a coercive mechanism. The first way is usually not expected, because it involves the crowd. The process of creating a tradition such the former is similar to rediscovering something that existed in the past, rather than creating something that didn't exist before. Meanwhile, the process of creating a tradition in the second way is considered as a tradition that is chosen and served as a public attention or imposed by individuals in power. Traditions are also distinguished from original traditions and artificial traditions. Original traditions are considered to have existed in the past, while artificial traditions are fantasies or thoughts of the past (Sztompka, 2007).

Active Tolerance and Pluralism

Active tolerance, as explained by (Walzer, 1997), especially in the last three dimensions of what he called the tolerance regime; first, accept and acknowledge that others have rights. Second, not only limited to showing recognition, but also openness to others, or at least, curiosity to better understand the other. Third; support, care for, and celebrate diversity.

Meanwhile, pluralism in a general sense, as explained by Yasraf Amir Piliang, is a tendency or view that respects diversity, and respects others who are different, have different colors, and open themselves up to these different beliefs, and involve self actively in a dialogue process in it, in order to find common beliefs while still respecting the existing differences (Piliang, 2003).

Diana L. Eck (2006), proposes three things related to pluralism. First, pluralism is an active involvement in the midst of diversity and differences. This means the attitude that allows the existence of other religions, but considers them to have no meaning at all, should not exist. Second, pluralism is an effort to constructively understand different religions or other groups. In this situation prejudice and suspicion must be eliminated. Third, pluralism is an effort to find common commitment amidst various commitments (L. Eck, 2006).

Research Methodology

This research used qualitative method, which take a look at the Kokoda people in Sorong City as the research subject (Arikunto, 2002). To explore the one-stop multi-faith tradition in the Kokoda community, researchers conducted interviews with Kokoda people, observed, and read literature related to the social and religious life of the Kokoda community in Sorong. The selection of informants was carried out purposively, those who understood the context of this research (Kasniyah, 2012). Those who were used as the informants were the Chairman of the West Papua Indigenous Peoples Organization (LMA), the Kokoda traditional leaders, the Kokoda youth leaders, and the Kokoda people in Sorong. After the required data collected, the data is analyzed. Furthermore, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions were carried out (Endraswara, 2006).

Kokoda in Geographical and Demographic View

Kokoda is one of the ethnic names in West Papua (Beaumont, 2016) (James, 2009). They come from South Sorong Regency, which is geographically part of West Papua Province. The word Kokoda itself means lake or swamp, around which there are sago plants, which are their staple food. Sago is a type of palm plant which its tree starch can be made as staple food that contains high nutrition (Rajab & Munisya, 2020) (Pasolon, 2015)(Hayanti et al., 2014).

In their daily conversation, the Kokoda people often speak their native language, Yamueti, even though they are outside their village (in overseas lands). The Kokoda tribe comes from several sub-tribes that are integrated into one area, such as the Migori, Kasweri, Siwatori, Tarof, Nebes, Udagaga, Benawa, and Tambani tribes (Beaumont, 2016) (James, 2009) (Sagrim et al., 2020). The Kokoda people who live in Sorong City and Sorong Regency are the mother of the original Kokoda village. They left, because they thought their hometown did not provide many jobs that could generate enough money for them. At least, by migrating, they want to feel prosperous, or have a higher income than life in the village.

When related to the fact of their origin regarding customs and language, the mention of the

Kokoda tribe has a meaning that indicates a number of tribes, which are bound to one Inanwatan region, namely the IMEKKO tribe, which is a combination of four ethnic groups, namely Inanwatan, Metamani, Kais, Kokoda. Each of these tribes has a different language. (Salambauw & Duwit, 2020), (Suryawan, 2016).

The Chair of the IMEKKO Indigenous Peoples Organization (LMA) and the Chair of the LMA Kokoda Sorong Raya, Essau Gogoba, states that there are actually 12 ethnic groups in the Inanwatan region, but only four are included in IMEKKO. The reason is to make easier to remember the abbreviated names. Even so, the position and social status of the eight other tribes, which are in the Inanwatan region, are still positioned on an equal footing. Their aspirations are still heard, cared for, and acted upon. IMEKKO is also a kind of association, which is likened to an association for South Sulawesi people from various districts in overseas lands, who are members of the South Sulawesi Family Harmony (Interview, Essau Gogoba, and several informants in Sorong City, February and March 2019).

Before settling in Babul Jannah, the Kokoda people lived in kilometer seven, Sorong, since the early 1950s. At kilometer seven, they live with other tribes, such as Seram, Ambon, Buton, Merauke until they are moved to other places. In this place too, they build mosques and churches through mutual cooperation.

Although the airport is provided there and can be operated, they still live in that area. However, the operational schedule for aircraft flights is still limited. After the planned renovation of Domine Eduard Osok Airport, the local government then relocated all residents in kilometer seven, including the Kokoda people. In 1995, after the government decided to renovate the airport, all residents were relocated to several locations in waves around Sorong City and Sorong Regency.

Currently, the Kokoda community in Sorong City is spread across several locations. In addition to kilometer eight (Babul Jannah), they also live in Rufei (kilometer three), Victory (kilometer 10), and kilometer seven near the airport. Among all this distribution, the eight kilometer of Kokoda (Babul Jannah) is seen as the "Centre" or mother of the Kokoda region of

Sorong Raya. Apart from being the largest number of people recorded, several important Kokoda figures also settled in Babul Jannah.

In the context of Sorong, the number of Muslims based on data from the Ministry of Religion of West Papua in 2017 is also seen at the most, 146,012 people, while Christians is in the second, 133,165 people. Adherents of other religions, such as Catholics, have a registered population of 24,954, Hindus (690) and Buddhists (1,831). The highest number of Christian houses of worship was recorded in Sorong City, 305 (263 churches and 42 pospi), while the number of Islamic houses of worship was 79 (73 mosques and 6 mushalla) (BPS Kota Sorong, 2017).

The houses of the Kokoda people in Sorong are not based on the religious segregation. They believe that the segregation of settlements based on religion can lead to disunity between them. If so, the term Islamic Village or Christian Village will appear. Therefore, when the Kokoda people began to be a Christian, their ancestors always advised them to always stay together and prioritize togetherness regardless of religious identity.

Living Peaceful in the Kokoda Community: The Practices of Religious Harmony of the Kokoda People

Construction of Houses of Worship

When asked what made them live in the harmony, they answered, "We have been along from generation to generation, we have been harmonious since our ancestors". Religion has one goal. Even though there are different religions, the goal remains one. "We are born above custom". Rambo (35), a Kokoda person who lives in Babul Jannah, quoted this statement. This statement also becomes a representation of the Kokoda community when asked why they can live and be peaceful until now. For the Kokoda people, custom is everything.

What unites them are the customs inherited from their ancestors. For more details about the practice of religious harmony in the Kokoda Community, we will tell a story as an "entrance" to seeing the religious life of the Kokoda community through the construction of a house

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of worship in their community. Prior to the construction of houses of worship, there were active multi-faith dialogues, and active cooperation during the process of building houses of worship. The head of the mosque construction committee is held by Christian Kokoda, and conversely, the head builder of the church is an Islamic Kokoda, who both live in the community.

"The residents are debating to determine whose house of worship would be built first. Muslims said just church, then we would help build a church. Meanwhile, Christians said the mosque would be built first. Because of the debate, I then took over and told the residents that I wanted to convey and connect the history of the entry of religion in Kokoda. Because of that, there is a term from our ancestors, the Bible was born above (after) the Qur'an, which means that Islam came first rather than Christianity. Because Islam first entered Kokoda, we decided to build a mosque here first. Moreover, there are people from the village who come and say that the parents in the village said that the mosque should be built first, because Islam entered the village first. " (Interview, Chairman of LMA IMEKKO and Kokoda, Essau Gogoba, in Sorong, March 2019).

Essau Gogoba is a Christian. In several conversations with researchers, he always stated that his blood contained Islamic blood. Apparently, before converting to Christianity, his father was an Islamic person. His father converted to Christianity to carry out the tradition of "sharing religion" in his community. In the Kokoda community in West Papua, Essau Gogoba is one of the most respected people. He not only deals with Kokoda customs matters, but also helps and aids the Kokoda people who are involved in criminal and civil law issues. All statements from Essau Gogoba were heard and obeyed. That is also why this former Sorong GMKI activist was elected as the Chairman of the IMEKKO and Kokoda LMA for four periods (one four-year period).

The process of building a mosque lasted for a year. Started in 1996, and finished in the next following year. Essau Gogoba, a Christian, was appointed by the community as chairman of the mosque building committee. Meanwhile, the construction of the church began in 2005, and was completed in 2006. Just like the mosque, the construction of the church was also carried out by Christian and Muslim Kokoda residents working together until it was finished. The head builder of the church is a Muslim Kokoda resident in Babul Jannah. According to the residents' agreement, the church was built in the back, but it is still visible because it is on a side street.

"The Bible was born after the Qur'an" is a symbol of the active tolerance of the Kokoda people. The term shows an attitude of respect for the religion that is considered to be first entered, but at the same time it also shows the brotherhood between them. This term does not only strengthen the inter-religious relations, but also relations between siblings and relatives. Even so, this term did not intend to be an intervention and hegemony of belief (Islam against Christianity). It does not mean Al-Qur'an which gave birth to the Al-Kitab (Bible)". This story for Papuans is a story about the history of the entry of religion in their community (Wahid, 2017).

"The Bible was born after the Qur'an" also correlates with the history of the first entry of official religions into the Kokoda Community. The version of the entry of Islam and Christianity in the Kokoda region is generally in an oral tradition form. If anyone wrote about this history, the data was also gained from an interview with a number of informants who were still alive at that time. However, for local people, oral traditions passed on by their ancestors are very important to emphasize their existence and culture towards other cultures. After all, Jan Vansina says:

"Oral traditions are documents from the present, because they are told in the present. However, it also contains a message from the past, therefore, at the same time, it is also an expression from the past. It is a representative of the past in the present… Tradition must always be understood as something that reflects both the past and the present in the same breath" (Vansina, 2014).

Vansina even put the oral tradition as a historical source that is capable to present the credible facts, and as history itself (Purwanto, 2014). Islam entered the 17th century of Kokoda village through Sultan Tidore. At that time, the Kokoda people still adhered to their traditional religion, worshiping large trees and caves. At

that time, the Kokoda community was often involved in tribal wars with other tribes which caused many victims. Sultan Tidore and his entourage came by boat from Raja Ampat to each coast, continued to Kaimana, Kokas, and finally to Tarof. Because they were considered unknown guests, the Kokoda tribe refused and opposed the presence of Sultan Tidore. The meeting had "heated up" above the estuary. The two sides are face to face on the boat. At that time, the Kokoda tribe still adhered to the barbaric tradition of killing foreigners (honges) who tried to enter their territory. Moreover, at that time, tribal wars often occurred which claimed lives.

Sultan Tidore did not show anger when being treated like that. He remained calm facing the Kokoda tribe that confronted him. He came for good, not for fighting. Then, Sultan Tidore said: "Taro!" Which means, asking the Kokoda tribe to lower war, spears, arrows, and other war attributes. The word Taro later became the forerunner to the name of the Tarof village. Furthermore, still on a boat above the estuary, the Sultan then issued a royal crown (other sources mention the Qur'an), and other royal symbols. Sultan Tidore said he would bring peace and prosperity to the Kokoda tribe. After the Kokoda tribe received Sultan Tidore's arrival with open arms, Sultan Tidore then pulled over the boat, and went up to the mainland towards the Kokoda people. Sultan Tidore then called a Kokoda tribe named Turai, to receive the royal symbol. Furthermore, the Sultan who was there for more than a year, converted all the Kokoda people to Islam, as well as taught religion and read the Qur'an (Interview, Essau Gogoba in Sorong, March 2019). As evidence of the history of the entry of Islam, there is a mosque at IMEKKO Kokoda named Masjid Al-Nur, which is believed to be the first mosque due to the influence of the Tidore Sultanate.

Another version was put forward by Risqiatul Hasanah, who interviewed Jalil Beyete, a Kokoda figure in the Kokoda residential area in Victory in 2013. In the interview, Jalil stated that what the Sultan appointed when dealing with the Kokoda people was Al-Qur'an. The mission carried out by Sultan Tidore in Kokoda was teaching Islam and marriage. For the first mission, the Sultan also mandated Imam Patipi from Fak-Fak to teach Islam there. Meanwhile, on the marriage route, Sultan Tidore mandated

Imam Amin Anggelode, who is usually called Imam Basir Kabes, to marry a Kokoda woman (Hasanah, 2013). Although the narratives of the entry of Islam are different, the story of the entry of Islam in Kokoda is through the same person, namely Sultan Tidore. They also believe that the religion that came to Kokoda was peaceful and without war.

The emergence of tolerance towards followers of other religions in the Kokoda region cannot be separated from the role of Sultan Tidore. As the ruler, whose territory extends to Papua, Sultan Tidore invited two missionaries, Carl Williem Ottow and Johan Gottlod Geissler, to come to Papua to spread Christianity. In fact, the arrival of the two missionaries in 1855 received escort from a royal army led by the Sangaji Patani. Another version says, the missionary was accompanied by the son of Sultan Tidore (Wahid, 2017). Thus, the Christian religion which later entered Papua, actually received the support of the Tidore Sultanate.

Christianization began to take place in Kokoda area through an evangelistic teacher, Cristiana Ayipasa, in 1949. She came from Maluku. Before Kokoda, Cristiana first arrival was at the Mugin and Wuragi areas. Even though at that time the Kokoda people had embraced Islam, they welcomed Cristiana's presence warmly. Indeed, Cristiana, who was sent by the Christian Education Foundation, in a mission to teach reading and writing. By customary leaders, she even provided a house as a place to teach reading and writing.

Cristiana's presence turned out to be mouth to mouth topic of Kokoda people, and attracted the attention of other Kokodas in Kampung Negeri Besar. Finally, several Muslim Kokoda youths including Essau Gogoba's father, Willianus, sought after this information. They walked to Wuragi Village to have a close look at Cristiana. Arriving at the location, they then saw that there was indeed a woman who teached reading and writing. The youth of Kokoda were also interested in learning how to read and write, including Essau Gogoba's father.

Besides reading and writing, Cristiana also teaches Christian teachings. Therefore some residents in the area embrace Christianity. While previously, all Kokoda people had embraced Islam from Sultan Tidore. The arrival of Cristiana was also heard by the five kings of the

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Kokoda tribe. The king then asked each village to help Cristiana to reach Kokoda, and the teaching was centered in Kampung Negeri Besar. As a result, all people in the villages came to Kokoda to learn reading and writing. Apart from studying, some of the Kokoda people are also interested in converting their religion (from Islam to Christianity).

Interpreting "Sharing Religion", "Family Religion", "One Roof, Different Religions"

When the Kokoda people embraced Christianity, since then known the traditions of "sharing religion", "family religion", and "one roof of interfaith" among IMEKKO and the Kokoda community. Some Kokodas, who were previously Muslim, converted to Christianity. Even though they have different religions, they still live with their parents and siblings of other religions. The distribution of religion is intended to balance the population of Christians in the family. At least the numbers are not too far from muslims. The seven children of Essau Gogoba's father (who were previously all Muslim), three of them later converted to Christianity (including Essau Gogoba's father), and four of them remained Muslim as before.

The tradition of "sharing religion" in Kokoda community has rarely done. Even if some people still implementing it, there is no prohibition from their community. Families who get married while maintaining their respective beliefs are commonly happened. It causes there are two religions in their family. This is as stated by Jalil Usman Wugaje, a Muslim youth leader in Kokoda.

"All of us used to be Muslims. However, after the arrival of Christianity, some people converted to Christianity which it is fine. The tradition of "sharing religion" is carried out so that the number of Christians can be equal to Islam. The parents also asked Muslims to convert to Christianity so that there are also Christians Kokoda. We already consider Islam and Christianity as "family religions". Nowadays, it is quite rare to find such thing ("sharing religion"). However, this is still being carry on in the rural villages. If someone does it, we have no problem with it. " (Interview in Sorong City, March 2019).

In order to avoid disunity in the name of religion, they did not divide the settlements based on religious adherents, "Islamic Village" and "Christian Village". They keep on living side by side, helping each other, working together, and visiting each other when someone is sick. They also practice tolerance in their daily life, including food. For example, if a Christian finds a hunted hog in the forest, the pig cannot be brought back home. Kokoda Christians already understand that pigs are forbidden for Muslims. So, they would chop and enjoy the pig in the forest.

The tradition of "sharing religion" in Kokoda is also found in Fak-Fak District, West Papua. Fak-Fak is one of the tribes in Papua, where the majority of the population is Muslim. In Kardono Setyorakhmadi (2015), this Jawa Pos journalist, suggests a model for the division of religion within the Fak-Fak clan. For example, if the brother is Muslim, sometimes the younger sibling is told to convert to Christianity. If by any chance a cleric or missionary come to their village, they often look for relatives or siblings who has no religion yet (officially) to join one of these religions (Islam or Christianity) (Setyorakhmadi, 2015).

From above elaboration, it can be seen that the roots of active tolerance actually go far back in the process of the entry of two religions, namely Islam and Christianity. The joining process of the two religions is then symbolized by "the Bible was born after the Al-Qur'an". This symbol is the basis for the young (Christians) to glorify the old (Islam), on the other hand the old ones should also appreciate and give opportunities to the young. This is then practiced in their daily lives, especially in the relationship between Muslims and Christians. Based on this symbol, Islam and Christianity able to feel the brotherhood. The Kokoda people consider Islam and Christianity as "brother and sister". Islam is seen as a brother, because it was "born" first, while Christianity is the younger brother. In this case, the bible refers to the holy book of Christians, the Gospel.

In Papua, the tradition of living in differences of religion, ethnicity, and customs with other individuals or groups has become a common tradition. They have also received the influence

of Islam and Christianity at the same time or certain sequence of time, so that the influence can be felt in family and community life (Armayanto, 2014), (Mahmud, 2012). For Papuans, religious differences are not an obstacle. Their unifying aspect is not religion, but a sense of togetherness as one clan (Ridwan, 2018), (Bless, 2009).

Perpetuating tradition; The strategy of Kokoda People in Build up the Harmony

Social Relation

Basri (38), a Kokoda man, has been acquainted with a woman (Muna, samaran, 50) from Buton, Southeast Sulawesi for a long time. Before moving to Babul Jannah, Muna, who is a Muslim, lived with the Kokoda people at kilometer seven, airport area. In order to support herself and her family, Muna, a widow with one child, opened a daily necessities shop, which sold things for an average of two thousand rupiah.

Basri himself is a Muslim man, married to a woman (still living together), and a father of four children. In his daily life, Basri works by selling mangi-mangi (mangrove) wood which has been shaped into flagpoles, house poles, and cast material as well, in front of Jalan Basuki Rahmat, kilometer eight, Sorong City.

Muna's relationship with Basri has been around for a long time. About 20 years. Since they both live in kilometer seven. Basri already considered Muna as a biological parent. He also called her Mama. Once upon a time, Muna was about to be outcasted by a drunken young Kokoda, but Basri was angry and defended her. "I see humans not by the color of their skin, but by their blood; both are red, "said Basri.

Even though Basri is already married and get one son-in-law, he is still often called for a lunch and take a nap on the terrace of Muna's house. The researchers see the two of them are very close to each other. Even, in the middle of the conversation between the researchers' and Basri were often paused because they frequently ridicule or make fun of each other, which ended with their laughter. (Field note in Kokoda Babul Jannah Sorong, 2019 February).

Above description illustrates that the Kokoda people build solidarity not only with Kokoda people. They are also familiar with anyone, regardless of ethnic identity. Basically, the Kokoda people are open minded and interact with other tribes and religions. The open attitude of the Kokoda to other groups can be seen by their socialization with people outside their community.

Bugis businessmen or traders in traditional markets of Sorong City also employ several helper from the Kokoda people. They conclude by experiences when employing Kokoda people, they are considered to be cooperative. While the Kokoda people also admit that they are happy to be the workers from other tribes rather than fellow tribes from Papua.

The openness of Kokoda people to other tribes is also shown by allowing other tribes to settle and live next door to them in Babul Jannah. In fact, most of the other tribes who live in Babul Jannah came by the invitation of the Kokoda people themselves.

Inter-ethnic and Religious Marriages

The marriage tradition of the Kokoda people no longer requires them to marry fellow Kokoda (endogamy). Nowadays, it is common to find that the Kokoda people marry outside their group (exogamy). For example, Kokoda women married a man from other tribes, and vice versa, men from other tribes married to Kokoda women. Kokoda Muslim Youth Leader, Jalil Usman Wugaje, stated that there is no prohibition in their tradition of marrying a different tribe. According to him, marriage is a matter of matchmaking, so most parents in Kokoda do not really interfere with who will be the prospective life partner for their child. Parents only hope that their children will be happy with their partner.

Besides inter-ethnic marriages, the Kokoda people also marry couples of different religions, and after marriage they still maintain their respective religions. In fact, the interfaith marriage in the Kokoda community has been carried out by their ancestors, and this tradition (interfaith marriage) is still practiced today. Nevertheless, it is still common to find Kokoda people married to other tribes with different religions. Jalil, the head of youth of Babul

Muhammad Irfan Syuhudi[1], Syamsurijal[1], Sitti Arafah[1], Idham[1], Sabara[1], Basman[2], Baso Marannu[1], Abu Muslim[1], Muh. Subair[1], Nensia[1], Reslawati[1], Ahsanul Khalikin[1], Indo Santalia[3], Muhammad Nur[1], St Aflahah[1]

Jannah Mosque, has a younger sister who is married to a Christian man. According to Jalil, his parents and big family were not resistant when they found out that his younger brother was going to marry a Christian. Currently, the husband and wife maintain their respective beliefs (different religions), and live at home with their parents. So, it is not surprising to find Muslim and Christian in a Wugaje clan.

The tradition of "living under the same roof" after marriage is a cultural strategy to perpetuate relationships between families. This is also one of causes the kinship ties in the Kokoda community to be strong. Even though you have a family of your own, this "one roof living" tradition is still ongoing until today. For example, in Kain's big family, the Youth Leader of GKI Galilea Church, there are several heads of household. Kain himself and his siblings were married and had children, but chose to stay with their parents.

In choosing a place to live after marriage, the Kokoda people have a habit of not being apart from their parents. Even though the child is considered capable of living independently (by buying his own house), the child would prefer to live with his parents. This is done in order to always be close to their parents and siblings. The habit of "living together" is also intended to maintain togetherness with the big family. If, for example, there are Kokoda people, who after marriage want to find their own house (separate from their parents), their parents do not question it. Parents completely leave the decision to their children.

Other Activities That Build Familiarity

Mutual Cooperation (Gotong Royong)

The schedule of gotong royong activities is not fixed. Sometimes it is on Sundays, and sometimes if it's urgent. The people involved in gotong royong comes from all religions and ethnicities. The activities are renovating houses of worship, repairing sewers, celebrating (weddings), and preparing the commemoration of religious holidays.

Taking and Processing "Mangi-mangi" Wood

The activity of "mangi-mangi" is one of the institutions for the Kokoda people to familiarize themselves with one another. This activity becomes a media where the Kokoda people meet in this community. Apart from working, they also communicating and socializing. As a result, the relationship between them is getting closer to each other regardless of religion. Including, discussion on household problems. In case any of them having a tenuous relationship due to misunderstanding and do not comes with a customary solution, this is where they usually make peace, or be reconciled by their friends.

The "mangi-mangi" activity was carried out on the side of Jalan Basuki Rahmat, kilometer eight, in front of the entrance to Babul Jannah village. Apart from working on wood, they also rest here after being tired of working, and waiting for buyers. Therefore, in their spare time, they sit on used-cardboard boxes for chatting, playing cards, having lunch, drinking, and even taking a nap. They are also waiting for buyers at this place. Every day, the activities of most Muslim and Christian Kokoda of Babul Jannah are spent on this side of the road. They would return home before sunset, or when the sky is getting dark. Some non-Papuans also often join them.

The Activity of Enjoying Papeda

Probably, breaking bread the Papeda only seems as an ordinary thing. However, enjoying papeda becomes a media to build and strengthen friendship among local society. Many things were discussed between the process of making and eating papeda. Papeda comes from the sago plant, and after being processed, it is called Papeda. Enjoying Papeda at people's houses should not be at certain time and place. Sometimes, an individual calls another neighbor to eat papeda together at his house. More often, they make arrangements together in a way that several people prepare the necessary ingredients. For example, some people would prepare the Papeda, then the rest would prepare for vegetables, fish, chilies, and so on. Eventually, this papeda meal has become a tradition in Babul Jannah.

Enjoying papeda is done while relaxed-sitting and having light conversation in the house and on the terrace of the house. The host calls people to eat papeda without thinking of their religious identity. Here also can be seen the intimacy between fellow people. On social occasions (weddings), papeda is always available along with other menus. Papeda is a favorite food of the Kokoda people. Although papeda is one of the staple foods of the Kokoda people, they still consume rice as well.

Celebration of Religious and National Day

The atmosphere of celebrating religious holidays in Babul Jannah shows how harmonious the tolerance and harmony are among religious believers. For instance, in welcoming Eid al-Fitr, the Christian Kokoda offer a hand to the muslims in the preparation for Eid al-Fitr. Same thing also done by Muslims to Christians before Christmas. They also visit each other's house celebrating Eid al-Fitr or Christmas (Muslims visit Christians' houses, and vice versa). A few days before Eid al-Fitr, Christians also help prepare firewood to cook the ketupat, and together they wait for the ketupat cooked. Before Christmas, the Muslim Kokoda often help Christians decorate a tree that grows in their yard like a Christmas tree. At least, what was shown by the people of Kokoda was not only done with siblings but with different religions. However, neighbors of different faiths also help each other. At other celebration, such as the Birthday of Prophet Muhammad SAW and Isra Mi'raj which were held at the Babul Jannah Mosque, Muslims often involve Christians as the organizing committee.

The Kokoda people along with IMEKKO, also often celebrate the national days, such as the Youth Pledge and the Independence day on 17 August, which is held in Inanwatan. Long before holding this activity, an executive committee was formed consisting of people who are members of IMEKKO, regardless of religion. This activity becomes a kind of social gathering, not only for fellow of Kokoda people, but also those who are the members of IMEKKO. Inevitably, this activity becomes a cure for longing, familiarizing each other, as well as discussing matters related to the existence of their tribes and the world outside their group.

Kokoda People Address the Issue of Religious Identity

The emergence of several Islamic religious groups adhering to fundamentalism in Indonesia in the early 2000s, apparently did not affect the religious relationship of the Kokoda community. In another words, the people of Kokoda do not respond to such issues as religious identity. This issue, especially regarding to religious understanding is seen as less crucial in their community. With the strong familyhood and kinship ties between them, and the existence of traditions such as, "sharing religion", "family religion", and "living under the same roof with different religions", might be difficult for the Kokoda people to be involved in conflicts only by the name of religion.

"The issue of religion does not prevail in Kokoda. Religion is important, but religion will not be able to make us bakalahi (fight), "said Rambo. The persistence of conventional Islamic traditions among Muslim Kokoda, such as shalawat, tahlilan, zikir, Maulidan, and Isra Mi'raj, also become the causes for Kokoda Muslims to be less interested in Islamic groups that carry anti-traditional Islamic teachings. As a precaution, Muslim and Christian parents also forbid their children to be too fanatical in religion. Moreover, fanaticism that can give birth to hostility towards people of different religions.

CONCLUSION

Based on above description, the practice of religious harmony which took place in the Kokoda community of Babul Jannah Sorong is categorized as active tolerance. Citizens of different religions not only respect for each other, but also have already practiced active dialogues as well as collaborated with believers of different religions. An interesting example of dialogue and cooperation between people of different religions was when they wanted to build a house of worship in their community. Finally after a long discussion, they agreed to build a mosque before the others.

"The Bible was born after the Qur'an" is a symbol of active tolerance among the Kokoda community in West Papua. From this history, it

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then gave birth to other local traditions, such as "sharing religions, "family religion ", and "one roof, different religions ". The essence from all of these, that religious relationship are brotherly relationship.

Referring to Michael Walzer, the Kokoda people have practiced tolerance actively. They provide space for the rights of other religions. In addition, they are also open up to other religions, respect each other and care for opinions from different groups (Walzer, 1997). In short, the Kokoda community does not just accept differences as "an sich" reality, but as Diana L. Eck (2006) argues, they have been involved in an active relationships amidst differences. Through this active relationship, they try to constructively understand other religions or groups.

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