

## The Strategic Role of Muslims in Realizing Social Harmony in Papua

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### Abstract

Papua faces complex socio-religious dynamics with the potential for conflict among religious communities. This article explores the strategic role of Muslims in building social harmony. The data used as the basis for analyzing this article were obtained through observation, interviews, and literature studies. The results show that the Muslim community plays an active role as a “creative minority” by integrating moderate Islamic values and the socio-cultural context in Papua. Involvement in the Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama (FKUB), social programs, and collaboration with religious leaders, local communities, and the government are key in strengthening tolerance and openness. This study contributes to the integration of the concepts of social capital and Islamic moderation in social-religious studies, emphasizing the importance of involving religious communities in achieving a harmonious social life in a multicultural society. From this, it can be seen that achieving and maintaining harmony in Papua requires a multidimensional approach involving continuous dialogue, policy support, and the utilization of local wisdom. Therefore, further research is recommended to explore the perspectives of other religious communities on presenting inclusive dialogue to promote and maintain a harmonious social life among diverse religious communities.

**Keywords:** Social harmony, Papuan Muslims, Islamic Moderation

### 1. Introduction

Papua, a region with complex socio-religious dynamics, faces the threat of social disharmony due to fluctuations in relations between religious communities, particularly over the last two decades. Muslim and Christian relations are very dynamic, characterized by various conditions, including tensions and even conflicts. For example, the 2019 case of tension in Timika involved youth groups from both religions. Previously, in 2015, there was a conflict between religious believers to coincide with Eid al-Fitr on July 17, 2015, in Tolikara regarding the burning of mosques (Kompas.com). These conflicts have been successfully mitigated through the mediation of traditional leaders, religious leaders, local governments, and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The role of organizations such as the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, the Papuan Muslim Council, and Christian churches is also crucial in building dialogue forums. Another example is the incident in Jayapura in 2021, where Muslim and Christian religious leaders jointly held a reconciliation meeting, resulting in an agreement on the fair sharing of worship spaces. Conflict resolution is carried out openly by community groups, especially Muslims, even though they are in a "minority". Muslim groups work with other elements, including churches and local figures (Al-Hamid, 2016).

The study of the strategic role of Muslims in achieving social harmony in Papua focuses on several key aspects, namely socio-anthropological dynamics, the role of religious leaders, and moderate Islamic values, known as *fiqh wasatiyah*. A study by Hamid (2020) highlights

the crucial role of the interaction between Islam and local leaders in maintaining religious harmony in Papua. In addition, research by Jubba et al. (2022) shows that Muslim migration contributes to the social, economic, and political landscape in Jayapura through open communication and interaction with local communities. In the context of the role of religious leaders, Suprpto (2015) highlights how religious leaders can serve as mediators in conflict resolution, as seen in Lombok, which may also be implemented in Papua. Meanwhile, *wasatiyah fiqh*, which emphasizes values such as tolerance, balance, and justice, is an essential foundation in building religious harmony, as stated by Suwarjin (2023).

On the other hand, social harmony in Papua is also supported by altruism and cultural integration. Thalgi (2024) explained that Islam encourages social action and charity as a means of building positive and sustainable social relationships. Cultural integration is also an important aspect, where the process of desacralization and culturalization of religious teachings can increase tolerance and social harmony, as explained in research by Sodikin and Umrah (2023). Furthermore, ethnoreligious conflict prevention strategies, which involve the adoption of cultural and educational mechanisms based on local wisdom, have proven effective in reducing tensions resulting from the migration of ethnic Muslims to Papua (Pamungkas & Indriasari, 2021). In this case, previous studies have tended to focus on the structural factors of the Papuan conflict, such as economic inequality and political autonomy (Widjojo, 2018), or the role of the state in conflict resolution (Braithwaite, 2019). The arising conflicts are often influenced by local contextual factors, as emphasized by Djeen (2022) in her study, which views conflicts in the Papua region as a socio-cultural phenomenon.

Research on Muslim-Christian relations in Papua remains limited. Existing research, for example, by Salim (2020), examines interfaith dialogue in Eastern Indonesia; however, it does not focus on Muslim initiatives as the primary actors. Meanwhile, Hasyim's (2021) research on the da'wah movement in Papua emphasizes theological aspects more than social contributions. The gap study lies in the absence of an in-depth analysis of the Muslim community's specific strategies in building harmony, especially in areas with a Christian majority. This article aims to fill this gap by examining the active role of Muslims as subjects, rather than just objects, in Papua's social transformation. This context is also emphasized by Doni et al. (2021) The role of Muslims in the Papua region's social transformation is very significant; therefore, the existence of Muslims must be viewed as a subject, rather than an object, in the development of the social system in the Papua region. These studies comprehensively demonstrate that efforts to foster social harmony in Papua necessitate a multidimensional approach that encompasses social, religious, cultural, and educational aspects in building inclusive and sustainable relationships.

This article assumes that the Papuan Muslim community possesses a unique capacity as a "creative minority," blending universal Islamic values with the Papuan socio-cultural context. This argument refers to Putnam's (2000) theory of "social capital," which emphasizes the importance of trust networks in conflict resolution. Papuan Muslims are considered not only to fulfill a religious role, but also to serve as trust-building mediators, for example, through shared economic programs or multicultural education. In addition, the concept of "*ukhuwah wathaniyah*" (national brotherhood) in social *fiqh* became the ethical basis for their involvement (Masdar, 2017). This analysis assumes that social harmony is achieved not only

through top-down policies but also through the agency of religious communities that are responsive to the locality.

## 2. Literature Review

The role of Muslims in Papua involves significant contributions in the areas of economics, society, and politics, as well as efforts toward promoting religious harmony and cultural integration. Muslim migrants have influenced regions like Jayapura through open interaction with local communities (Jubba et al., 2022). Muhammadiyah in Sorong promotes education, social welfare, and cultural acculturation without erasing local values (Wekke et al., 2019; Hamid, 2020). Despite differences in religious and ethnic backgrounds, Papua has avoided major conflict through local cultural mechanisms and inclusive school curricula (Pamungkas & Indriasari, 2021). Islam historically entered Papua's northern coast via the Tidore Sultanate and Muslim traders in the 16th century (Warnk, 2010). Yet, intolerance and discrimination remain challenges to human dignity and peaceful coexistence (Colbran, 2010). A collaborative and inclusive approach is essential to ensure a harmonious and progressive future for Papua.

The strategic role of the Muslim community in fostering social harmony in Papua has been a key focus in several interdisciplinary studies. Jubba et al. (2022) highlight the active role of the migrant Muslim community in Jayapura, particularly in the economic and social spheres, through open interaction and cross-cultural communication. The relationship between the Muslim community and the local community is complex, but adaptive communication strategies have been proven effective in strengthening cooperation between the two groups. In many cases, the presence of Muslims as a "creative minority" has been a catalyst in shaping more open and constructive cross-ethnic and religious social networks. Trust-building approaches and economic cooperation serve as integrative foundations that help alleviate suspicion and foster mutual understanding among different communities. This suggests that inclusive social relations can be encouraged by enhancing the role of religious communities as active agents of social development.

Significant contributions were also shown by Islamic religious leaders in building the values of tolerance and brotherhood. Hamid (2020) emphasizes the importance of a multi-track diplomacy approach undertaken by local Muslim leaders in creating cultural amalgamation without eliminating religious identity. As stated by Suprpto (2015), the role of spiritual leaders as mediators in conflicts has also proven effective in other contexts in Indonesia and can be adapted to the Papuan context. Religious leaders not only fill spiritual spaces but also play a social function as liaisons between conflicting groups. Inclusive leadership is a crucial form of social capital that strengthens horizontal solidarity in a pluralistic society. In addition, the moderate Islamic jurisprudence approach, known as *fiqh wasatiah*, which prioritizes the values of *tawasut*, *tasamuh*, and *tawazun*, serves as a normative framework for strengthening interreligious relations (Suwarjin, 2023) and instilling the values of pluralism within a contextual Islamic framework.

Furthermore, the minority *fiqh* approach is relevant in explaining the strategy of the Papuan Muslim community as a minority group in carrying out Islamic teachings contextually and peacefully. Kasdi et al. (2021) emphasized the importance of the *Maqasid al-Shari'ah* perspective in protecting the existence and rights of Muslim minority communities in non-

Muslim majority areas. Minority *fiqh* serves as a flexible theoretical and practical tool for addressing the challenges of coexistence in a multicultural environment prone to identity friction. On the other hand, Islamic mass organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama have made significant contributions to educating the public about religious moderation and preventing radicalism (Ridwan, 2022). Through education, health services, and interfaith social activities, these organizations build a productive dialogue platform. Additionally, the values of altruism in Islam also play a significant role in fostering positive social relationships. Thalgi (2024) shows that social charity and care-based initiatives in Islamic teachings serve as catalysts for sustainable social development and harmony across identities. This spirit of altruism strengthens social solidarity and fosters collective empathy, which is a crucial foundation for building a peaceful society.

### 3. Method

This study was conducted amid massive conflicts that occurred in the Papua region based on ethnicity and religion. However, this study focuses solely on discussing the strategic role of Muslims in achieving social harmony in the Papua region as its analysis unit. Correspondingly, this study is also based on three substantial reasons. First, the role of Muslims in realizing social harmony in the Papua region is a crucial issue that has not been comprehensively considered. Second, the role of Muslims in promoting social harmony in the Papua region has essential characteristics that need to be explained. Third, the role of Muslims in promoting social harmony in the Papua region is an important context to reflect on, as it helps overcome the massive conflicts that occur in the region. These three contexts are the reasons for this study to examine the strategic role of Muslims in achieving social harmony in the Papua region.

This research employs a qualitative method, utilizing three primary techniques: observation, interviews, and literature review. Observations were conducted in Jayapura, Papua, to gain a direct understanding of the social interactions between the Muslim community and other religious groups in the context of daily life and interfaith activities. These observations are focused on social practices that reflect harmony, such as Muslim involvement in the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) and participation in interfaith religious events. In addition, this study also examines the role of Islamic organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Banser, in maintaining social stability through their practical actions on the ground. With this approach, the empirical data obtained can provide a deeper description of the social dynamics that occur, enriching the understanding of the strategies employed by the Muslim community in building social harmony in Papua.

In addition to observations, this study also relies on in-depth interviews with various related parties, including Muslim and Christian religious leaders, administrators of religious organizations, and the general public in Jayapura. The interviews were conducted to explore their perspectives and first-hand experiences regarding interfaith relations and the challenges in building tolerance in Papua. Interviews were conducted with religious leaders and community leaders, taking into account the background of the informants, including those involved in FKUB. There were six respondents interviewed, but only two were included because their statements tended to be repetitive. Additionally, literature studies are utilized to reinforce research findings with references from various relevant scientific journals, books, and

official reports. This literature study aims to provide a theoretical context for the observed phenomena and interviews conducted. The combination of these methods allows this study to produce a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the strategic role of Muslims in maintaining social harmony in Papua.

In this study, data analysis was conducted through three main stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. Data reduction was carried out by sorting and filtering information obtained from observations, interviews, and literature studies to identify patterns relevant to the theme of social harmony in Papua. After that, the selected data is presented in the form of narrative descriptions to provide a systematic picture of social interactions and the role of Muslim communities in building tolerance. The analysis was conducted using a thematic approach, where each finding was categorized based on key aspects, including involvement in FKUB, participation in interfaith activities, and strategies for addressing challenges in building harmony. Furthermore, data interpretation involves connecting empirical findings with social theories, and the concept of *fiqh wasatiyah* is employed to provide a deeper understanding. *Fiqh wasatiyah* is used as an analytical tool to examine the role of Muslims as mediators, thereby fostering harmony in a multicultural Papuan society. The results of this analysis serve as the basis for concluding that Muslims play a strategic role in maintaining social stability and fostering harmonious relations with other communities in Jayapura, Papua.

#### **4. Result and Discussion**

The strategic role of the Muslim community in promoting social harmony in Papua is a crucial aspect in understanding the dynamics of diversity in the region. Zam & Himmawan (2023) It also stated that, as part of a multiethnic and multireligious society, the Muslim community not only fulfills its religious functions but also actively contributes to forming an inclusive and tolerant social order. Through involvement in various sectors of life, both in social, cultural, and interreligious dialogue, the Muslim community helps strengthen social cohesion and create a harmonious space for interaction between community groups (Jubba et al., 2022). Therefore, the study of the strategic role of Muslims in Papua not only reflects their religious contributions but also serves as an essential indicator in the effort to build a peaceful, mutually respectful, and united society in diversity.

The strategic role of the Muslim community in fostering social harmony in Papua cannot be separated from the context of the region's ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity (Yamin et al., 2022). The existence of the Muslim community is not only as a religious entity, but also as a social actor actively engaged in the process of integration and social cohesion. Within this framework, the participation of Muslims in various interfaith activities, the preservation of local culture, and their contributions to the socio-economic field demonstrate that they play an essential role in maintaining social stability and strengthening solidarity among community groups (Yamin et al., 2022). This strategic role opens up space to understand how the Muslim community adaptively establishes harmonious relationships within a multicultural social environment, while demonstrating that Islam can be a movement that encourages inclusivity, tolerance, and equitable social development in Papua.

The Muslim community plays a vital role in maintaining social harmony (Hamid, 2020; Jubba et al., 2020) and fostering good relationships with other religious and cultural groups (Indainanto et al., 2023). One of the primary approaches employed is moderation in addressing differences in beliefs, as exemplified by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah through the principles of *rahmatan lil alamin* and *da'wah amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. The concrete form of this effort can be seen in the involvement of Papuan Muslims in the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) facilitated by the local government. The Secretary of PWNU Papua, NH, stated that the Islamic position as a "middle ummah" is the foundation for maintaining harmony. He further said:

"The position of Muslims as '*ummatan wasatha*' requires standing during diversity. In addition, Muslims are required to actively coordinate and routinely communicate with various religious leaders and elements of local government. Coordination has been carried out through the Religious Harmony Forum facilitated by the Regional Government" (Interview, February 2025 in Jayapura).

In addition, the Muslim community also participated in various aspects of the social and cultural life of the Papuan people, including interfaith religious events and the preservation of local traditions, such as traditional ceremonies. The Muslim community in Papua actively participates in various aspects of the local community's social and cultural life. The context is also affirmed by Jubba et al. (2022) that the involvement of Papuan Muslims is not only limited to internal religious activities, but also includes participation in interfaith events, which reflect the spirit of tolerance and harmony between religious communities. In other words, the existence of Papuan Muslims in cultural spaces can not only strengthen social integration but also affirm an integration of Papuan social and cultural dynamics that are multicultural.

The involvement of the Muslim community in the cultural life of the Papuan people also shows their role as agents of social integration that can bridge identity differences (Faisal et al., 2019). Through participation in traditional ceremonies and interfaith activities, the Muslim community in Papua demonstrates its involvement in strengthening the values of togetherness and expanding the space for intercultural interaction. This context is also emphasized by Jubba et al. (2020) that by strengthening the solidarity between groups, it is a strategy for Papuan Muslims to realize the values of multiculturalism that exist in Papuan society. Their presence in various social and cultural activities shows that diversity is not an obstacle, but a force that can form harmony in life together.

The participation of the Muslim community in the social and cultural life of the Papuan people reflects a harmonious and inclusive relationship between ethnic and religious groups. (2019) also stated that the active involvement of Papuan Muslims demonstrates that Islamic identity is not a barrier to preserving local traditions, such as traditional ceremonies, and that it fosters a care for the cultural values of the local community. The collaboration fosters an environment for intercultural dialogue that can enhance social cohesion and enrich the diversity of Papua as a region renowned for its values of tolerance, cooperation, and openness. The Muslim community is also actively building awareness of the importance of tolerance through *da'wah*, which emphasizes Islam as a religion that brings blessings to all of creation (Adawiyah,

2019). This awareness is instilled in the young generation of Papuan Muslims from an early age through education in Islamic boarding schools and da'wah forums, which play a crucial role in shaping an inclusive attitude among the younger generation. This is in line with what NH stated:

"We are often involved in the activities of PHBA events of other religions by attending at their invitation (passively), but also actively involved in helping each other maintain the safety and comfort of the implementation of other religious worship activities carried out by Anshor youth, especially Banser. Most of the people agree and appreciate NU's contribution in this matter, especially when it is reciprocal to represent harmony and take care of each other in a good and harmonious manner" (Interview, February 2025, in Jayapura).

In realizing harmony, the Muslim community in Papua is actively involved in various social activities, including the Ramadan Safari, the "Christmas Sharing" program, and the security of Christmas Eve worship. Banser NU, under the coordination of GP Anshor, also plays a role in maintaining the safety and comfort of worship implementation, for both Muslims and non-Muslims. Active involvement in interfaith activities, such as being a committee in Christmas celebrations or non-Muslim weddings, shows that the Muslim community contributes to building solidarity and strengthening brotherhood between religious communities (Rusydi & Zolehah, 2018), including Papua. In addition to its religious aspects, the Muslim community also contributes to the socio-economic field, such as supporting local Muslim entrepreneurs in competing within Papua's multicultural business ecosystem. These efforts not only strengthen the position of Muslims in social life but also demonstrate that their presence brings tangible benefits to society as a whole.

The involvement of the Muslim community in various social and interfaith activities in Papua reflects their real contribution in building harmony and solidarity between religions (Sudirman et al., 2022). Activities such as the Ramadan Safari, the "Christmas Sharing" program, and security during Christmas Eve worship demonstrate that the values of tolerance and cooperation have become integral to the socio-religious practices of the Muslim community. The role of Banser NU, under the coordination of GP Anshor, is a concrete symbol of the spirit of maintaining mutual comfort and security for both Muslims and non-Muslims. Involvement in a committee in Christmas celebrations or non-Muslim weddings reinforces the message that social harmony is built through tangible actions that transcend religious barriers (Yamin et al., 2019). In addition, contributions in the socio-economic sector, such as the empowerment of local Muslim entrepreneurs, are important strategies in promoting economic equality and independence in the context of a pluralistic Papuan society. Thus, the Muslim community not only plays a role in strengthening inter-group relations but also supports inclusive social and economic development.

To foster harmonious relations within the diverse society of Papua, the Muslim community plays a crucial role, despite still facing numerous challenges. National-scale religious issues that sometimes generate negative sentiments at the local level, as well as the presence of internal groups that are not fully aligned with the principles of moderation and tolerance, are factors that can impact social stability (Yamin, 2019). However, synergy between the Muslim community, religious leaders, and local governments, through institutions such as the

Kesbangpol Agency and the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB), demonstrates effectiveness in maintaining harmony and preventing the escalation of conflicts. In this context, strengthening support for religious organizations and optimizing programs such as the Papua Peace Zone is a strategic step that needs to be expanded and strengthened (Jubba et al., 2020). To strengthen interfaith relations, there is a need to increase operational support for religious organizations, including the Muslim community, as well as enhance existing programs such as Papua Peace Zone and FKUB. One of the Muslim figures and politicians, FB, said:

"Generally, interfaith life in the Land of Papua is going well, the slogan Papua Land of Peace is not just a slogan, but peace is very felt at all levels of the archipelago. Local governments need to increase support for operational costs of religious organizations, especially for the Muslim Community. Regarding special programs, in my opinion, existing programs need to be improved, such as Papua Peace Zone, FKUB" (Interview, February 2025 in Jayapura).

Interfaith life in the Land of Papua in general shows a harmonious and inclusive dynamic, making the slogan "Papua the Land of Peace" not just rhetoric, but a reality felt by various levels of society. This condition reflects the success of social relations built based on tolerance, dialogue, and a spirit of togetherness between religious communities (Indah et al., 2023). However, to maintain the sustainability of this harmony, local governments must play an active role in strengthening socio-religious infrastructure, one of which is through increasing operational cost support for religious organizations, including Muslim communities, that also contribute to fostering harmony (Yamin et al., 2023). In line with this, strategic programs such as the Papua Peace Zone and the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) need to be expanded in scope and effectiveness to reach all levels of society more comprehensively.

The harmony of interfaith life in Papua, which is manifested in people's daily lives, shows the collective awareness of the importance of peaceful coexistence amid differences (Indah et al., 2023). This social experience makes Papua a concrete example of how plurality can be managed constructively through inclusive social and institutional mechanisms. However, to maintain and strengthen this condition, continuous support from local governments is necessary, particularly in terms of funding and facilitating the activities of religious organizations, including the Muslim community, which makes an essential contribution to maintaining social stability. In addition, the optimization of programs that have been running, such as the Papua Peace Zone and FKUB, must focus on strengthening the capacity of grassroots communities, so that the values of tolerance and togetherness can be passed down across generations. Thus, harmony in Papua is not only a symbol but a model that can be replicated in other regions of Indonesia.

The harmonious conditions of interreligious life in Papua are the result of social interaction based on mutual respect, openness, and cross-faith collaboration (Jubba et al., 2022). In this context, the Muslim community plays a vital role in maintaining social stability through its active participation in interfaith religious and social activities. However, to keep this harmony and prevent it from being vulnerable to external influences, institutional strengthening and structural support from local governments are necessary. In addition, open dialogue between Muslim groups and other religious communities must continue to be strengthened to build

mutual trust and eliminate negative prejudices. With sustained commitment and cooperation, Papua can continue to be an example of harmonious diversity for other regions in Indonesia (Ernas, 2015). This fact is also found in some places, especially when Muslims are a minority group. In Singapore, for example, the Muslim community, although a minority, plays an important role in promoting social cohesion through organizations such as Pergas (*Persatuan Ulama dan Guru-Guru Agama Islam Singapura*), which emphasizes peace, tolerance, and respect for diversity (Wahid, 2024).

Social harmony in Papua faces obstacles, particularly regarding the diversity of people, including ethnicities. The problem of economic inequality is also a hindrance to the pace of harmonization. The special autonomy that has been implemented is expected to be the path to a more developed Papua, but it has not shown the changes that are mutually desired. The phenomenon of migration of non-Papuan populations, especially Muslims, has caused anxiety among the Christian community, even triggering the potential for ethnoreligious conflicts (Pamungkas & Indriasari, 2021; Jubba et al., 2022). Infrastructure development projects, such as Trans Papua, are often criticized for ignoring local participation, which can lead to economic marginalization and environmental damage (Kambu et al., 2022). What is no less important is that changes in natural resource governance have the potential to weaken the role of indigenous leaders. Furthermore, the revision of the 2021 Special Autonomy Law is perceived as disregarding local aspirations (Rakia et al., 2021). Solutions require inclusive development, strengthening local institutions, and culture-based approaches (Senis et al., 2024; Mollet & Blesia, 2023).

## 5. Conclusion

The main findings of this study reveal that the Muslim community in Papua plays a pivotal role in fostering social harmony through a moderate approach, engagement in interfaith dialogue, and active participation in diverse social and cultural activities. Organizations such as *Nahdlatul Ulama* and Muhammadiyah apply the principle of Islamic moderation, which emphasizes tolerance and balance in religious life to the maximum. In addition, the Muslim community plays a mediating role in reducing conflicts through the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB) and social programs, such as "Christmas Sharing," while also maintaining the security of Christian worship. These efforts have established a pattern of harmonious interaction during ethnic and religious diversity in Papua, making the Muslim community not only an object in social dynamics but also an active subject in creating stability and peace.

The main theoretical contribution of this study lies in the integration of the concept of *fiqh wasatiyah* with the theory of social capital in building social harmony in a multicultural environment. This study enriches understanding of how minority Muslim communities can play a creative role in creating social cohesion by promoting interfaith trust and cooperation. In addition, this study highlights the importance of social interaction based on the values of local wisdom, as well as the application of conflict prevention strategies through cultural and educational approaches. Thus, this study provides a new perspective in the study of interreligious relations in Indonesia, especially in the context of Muslim minorities in Christian-majority areas, which has not been studied in depth.

While it provides valuable insights, the study has some limitations. First, the study focuses more on the social interaction of the Muslim community without exploring in depth the perceptions and responses of the Christian community to the initiative. Second, although the qualitative methods used provide a rich understanding of social dynamics, this study has not fully measured the long-term impact of the various social harmony programs carried out. Third, structural factors, such as local government policies and demographic changes resulting from migration, have also not been thoroughly explored. Therefore, further research that combines quantitative approaches and policy studies can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the effectiveness of Muslim community strategies in building social harmony in Papua.

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