The Baha’i Religion: Maqasid Syariah of Social Religious Frictions in Indonesia

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Abstract

The contestation of conversation about the Baha’i religious group in Indonesia continues from time to time. In valuable retrospect, there has been much debate that characterizes the existence of the Baha’i group. As a result, it is very unfortunate, there are many frictions caused by socio-religious friction in the social sphere. This has led to many assumptions about religious freedom in Indonesia which are increasingly showing a repressive trend. The author is interested in analyzing the various frictions that arise between the gaps in religious plurality in Indonesia, both pragmatic and paradigmatic. In addition, the author wants to examine how the role of the government can break the deadlock of the friction. The research was conducted with a qualitative analysis oriented to literature review and Maqasid Syariah as a theoretical perception. Exploration research focuses on various phenomena that occur around the presence of Baha’is in Indonesia and how potential conflicts can arise in them. This research proves that the state needs to be present to accommodate various religions to coexist by prioritizing the concept of benefit for all citizens. In addition, the role of society in maintaining multicultural values must be initiated more intensely and in a dialogical manner.

Keywords: Baha’i Religion, Socio-Religious Friction, Maqasid Syariah

Abstrak

Kontestasi perbincangan tentang kelompok agama Baha’i di Indonesia terus berlanjut dari waktu ke waktu. Dalam retrospeksi yang berharga, ada banyak perdebatan yang menjadi ciri keberadaan kelompok Baha’i. Akibatnya, sangat disayangkan, banyak terjadi gesekan-gesekan yang diakibatkan oleh gesekan sosial-keagamaan di ranah sosial. Hal ini menyebabkan banyaknya anggapan tentang kebebasan beragama di Indonesia yang semakin meningkat menunjukkan kecenderungan yang represif. Penulis tertarik untuk menganalisis...

Kata Kunci: Agama Baha’i, Gesekan Sosial-Keagamaan, Maqasid Syariah

Introduction

The broadcast of a video greeting of Naw-ruz 178 EB by the Indonesian Minister of Religion, Yaqut Cholil Qoumas, to the Baha’i religious group causes a hotbed of issues. Many assumptions have been put forward by various parties regarding the emergence and inauguration of this religion in the arena of state religious recognition. In regards to the existence of the Baha’i religious journey in Indonesia, it has been echoed for a long time, one of them on February, 24, 2014. By letter Number SJ/B.VII/HM.00/675/2014, The General Secretary of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia has sent a letter to the Director General of Population and Civil Registry of the Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs, regarding the existence and recognition of the Baha’i religion, in order to obtain civil rights services. Then the dynamics of the Baha’i religion were clarified again by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion with a research scheme on the existence of the Baha’i religion in Indonesia to the Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs. (Kustini & Arif, 2014; Panjaitan, 2018)

The Baha’i religion has emerged as a fast-paced belief system. This is due to the openness of the paradigm they initiated to the public. This is proven because it is able to attract the higher masses to participate in the religion without religious discrimination. Moreover, the Baha’I takes the position of putting forward an argument that the spiritual essence of all major religions is the same. It is able to embrace various elements of society who have a moderate religious paradigm to enter this belief (Adamson, 2006).

Initially, the Baha’i group was consumed by various stereotypes. Accusations of false religion are also widely disseminated to Baha’i adherents. This is then widely reported when they don’t get public service as they should. The impact is a discriminatory attitude that is widely felt by minority groups in a certain area (Rosyid, 2018, p. 430). This fact is evidenced by a number of
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historical journeys of the Indonesian nation that often appear in it, socio-religious friction. The disparities that cause social friction are often based on squabbles, grudges and misunderstandings between religious adherents. The pattern that is often found tends to be the same, namely there are repression efforts carried out by many individuals by using the majority statutes against minority groups (Baha’i).

The diversity of belief entities that spread across the Indonesian nation must be seriously considered by the government in order to maintain religious harmony. Regarding the assumptions in this study, the government should be there to carry out the function of protecting and maintaining various sects of belief based on freedom of religion and belief. The manifestation of the protection is to bridge and pay close attention on how the mobility of worship and activities carried out by citizens can run well. Instead, citizens with minority status, such as adherents of the Baha’i religion, received bad treatment by various groups who put a bad stigma. Socio-religious friction continues to worsen the face of minorities as part of the state. As a result, there are many tragic inequalities in the journey of the nation's plurality.

In addition, awareness in reconstructing Pancasila values based on multicultural reality must be manifested in the community. Achieving the goals to create harmony without socio-religious friction can be realized through dialogue and interaction. The results of the interactions that are built will give birth to a communal perspective, values and follow-up actions to realize the agreed consensus goals. With this attitude, the gaps that occur due to wild perceptions about a particular group and teachings, will be controlled. (Coser, 1967)

The author has formulated a list of questions, namely about how the government's attitude if it participates in considering concrete steps in legitimizing the Baha'i group, such as the issues that had previously been rife rolling? Then whether socio-religious friction will become more rampant due to the gap in mindset around the existence of the Baha'i group and its opponents? It will be very interesting if this formulation is explored in depth, especially through the perspective of Maqasid Syariah, with various dialogical constellations centered on this study.

This research was carried out with a qualitative analysis oriented to literature review. The data to be used in this study were obtained through books and related scientific journals. The author will see how the various phenomena...
that occur around the existence of Baha'i in Indonesia and how socio-religious conflicts can potentially arise in it. Exploration of the study is carried out by describing a phenomenon that occurs and then interpreting it by reviewing the *Maqasid Syariah* conception of al-Syatibi & Jasser Auda, the view of power relations in the perspective of Foucault & Talal Asad, as well as various theoretical arguments.

**The Historical Existence of the Baha’i Group**

Speaking in the realm of historicity, the Baha'i religion was initiated by a Baha'u'llah. Baha'u'llah itself is a term that is not similar to the term Prophet and even Imam in Islamic or Shia theological traditions. More deeply, the term Baha'u'llah is highlighted to represent the nature of the authority of a religion that is influenced by the mystical-philosophical lexicon belonging to the Islamic discourse culture. Baha'u'llah is interpreted as a manifestation of God. Lawson found this through writings, that the Baha'u'llah himself did not claim to be a prophet or messenger (Lawson, 2012, p. 464).

Baha'u'llah in this case referred to Mirza Husain Ali, who was born in the city of Tehran-Iran in 1817. He was the son of a honorable noble in the Persian Empire named Mirza Buzurg. Mirza Husein Ali started his history of religiosity when he received a sacred treatise from Al-Bab (The Gate) named Sayyid Ali Muhammad, on May 23, 1844. However, Mirza and his followers have always received discrimination from the government and religious leaders who oppose his existence. He was also exiled in a prison called Siyah-Chal and received the first revelation from the Great Spirit that appeared to him. In short, Mirza Husain then made many visits for self-exile to several areas such as the Kurdistan Mountains (1854), confessional mission in Baghdad (1863), Adrianopel (1863) and in Akka (1968) until he passed away there on May 29, 1892 in a house called Bahji (Lawson, 2012, p. 464).

The Indonesian Baha'i religion was brought by a missionary appointed directly by Mirza Husain Ali, named Jamal Efendi. He was accompanied by Mustafa Rumi on a trip to convey his faith in the existence of the Baha'is in the world (especially Southeast Asia) in the period 1875–1885. Both are treated with respect to have a spiritual dialogue with local stakeholders (king/government) (de Vries, 2007, p. 30). Continuation of the spread of the Baha'i religion was brought by various groups with different characteristics and approaches. Generally, the Baha'i religion is carried through a more progressive and modern approach. By means, there are also many factions who bring Baha'is
with a more pragmatic method of da'wah towards solving society problems. As mentioned by Nurish, Muhadjir who became one of the role models of Baha'i da'wah who worked as a doctor in the 1920s. Muhadjir approached the society through education and health in the Mentawai area, West Sumatra. Especially in dealing with the effects of world war such as illiteracy, poverty and health problems (cholera, dengue fever, malnutrition, etc.) (Nurish, 2021, pp. 94–95).

The dominance of scholars (doctors) in spreading the Baha'i religion also occurred in Yogyakarta and Bandung. Held from 1953 to 1980 by Muhadjir, Soraya, Samandari and Jae Hoon. They use the same da'wah pattern, using professional means as a basis in conveying Baha'i religious values. Some patients who are open – such as the case of Yudi Kisworo in 1957 – after having these interactions, they will be invited to discuss and be supplied with various books related to the corpus of Baha'ism teachings (Mufiani, 2017, p. 30). Baha'i teachings enter various areas, both in urban and inland areas. For example, such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Makassar to remote areas in Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua.(Nurish, 2021).

Since its expansion to a world citizens that began in the 20th century, now the Baha'i group has had a massive adherents. Baha'i accommodates all adherents from across backgrounds, such as various ethnicities, religions, cultures, to socio-economics. There are 5 million Baha'is who can be found in 188 countries with 2100 ethnic plurals. This community was officially organized in the BIC (Baha'i International Community) which was recognized by the United Nations as a non-governmental organization in 1948. BIC now has connections in various sectors which are located in cities such as New York (USA), Geneva (Switzerland), Brussels (Belgium), Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) and Jakarta (Indonesia).(Adamson, 2006) The Baha'i group is led by 9 dignitaries who hold religious authority. The center of Baha'i activity is located in the Universal House of Justice, Haifa–Israel. The Baha'i religion also has several houses of worship called Mashriqul Adzkar which have been inaugurated in major cities in the world. The Mashriqul Adzkar is used as a place for activities and religious rituals.

**Friction Against Baha’i Groups in Indonesia**

There have been many attempts of discrimination and persecution made against the Baha’i group. In their homeland, Iran, the Baha’i group has been banned by the government. Especially during the regime of Ayatollah Khomeini (1979–1989), The Baha'i religion has received various backlashes for the
heretical assumptions that have been directed at it. Mainly, it is around the doctrine of belief about the existence of a prophet after the Prophet Muhammad and the emergence of Imam Mahdi. (Warburg, 2016) The form of discrimination that put the Baha'i group as the target is classified as cruel acts. The dilemma experienced by the Baha'i group continues from time to time with friction in various theological, political and social domains. For example, the expulsion of Baha'i adherents, the disbandment of educational institutions, the administrative and civil facilities that were not accommodated, the places of worship were destroyed, the Baha'i cemetery was devastated to the murder of Baha'is who were not accepted in Iran. (Kazemzadeh, 2000)

This polemic also took place in Indonesia, such as during the reign of Ir. Soekarno in 1962 through Presidential Decree No. 264/1962 under various pretexts. For example, such as the assumption that the Baha'i are heretical teachings, for the sake of revolution, socialism and so on. Then during the New Order era in the 1970s, Baha'i groups and followers of other minority beliefs were instructed to merge into the five major religions recognized by the state. So that the Baha'i religion has experienced a significant number of decadence of its adherents.

In administrative matters, Kustini and Arif reported that there was inequality in civil rights services. As happened in Bandung, Tangerang and Bekasi, where Baha'i adherents did not receive special identity recognition on their Identity Cards (KTP). Then in Jakarta, marriages held by Baha'i adherents also did not get legality from the local civil registry office because they had not received any recommendation from the Indonesian Ministry of Religion. The polemic of education for children also experiences gaps, where Baha'i children have difficulty accessing religious lessons, and even experience rejection. (Kustini & Arif, 2014; Panjaitan, 2018) According to another Nurish report, a form of discrimination also occurred during the unloading of the bodies of Baha'i adherents in a public cemetery. This then sparked social friction which resulted in many negative impacts experienced by Baha'i adherents, such as being imprisoned to being exiled by their place of origin. (Nurish, 2021)

Responding to various phenomena experienced by the Baha'i faction, they were also successfully recorded with a passive tendency to reciprocate these discriminatory efforts. The Baha'i group has a more peaceful tendency and prioritizes unity in the role model of humanist religious da'wah. They have never been involved in any political endeavors or cases involving violent
physical contact between elements of society. Because this behavior will actually worsen the situation and their religious image. In addition, their claim to be a divine religion is also an interesting comparison when compared to other divine religions. As it is known that divine religions such as Christianity, Judaism and Islam, they have a chronic history with various forms of violence and conflict. The Baha’i group upholds their doctrines in every intimidation experienced with peace.

The rise of resistance to the existence of the Baha’i in Indonesia can be caused by many things. Starting from the paradigm of the anti-Baha’i society which is still dominated by hegemony that Baha’is are deviant and heretical, moreover the procedural reality is still rampantly carried out as a legitimate action in the realm of execution. In his notes, Nurish stated that human rights violations in Indonesia are still facilitated by various regulations with strong discrimination patterns, in which the existing rules are a support for anti-plurality groups to legalize their actions in crushing minorities. Then, there are still many postulates that are posted by religious leaders regarding heresy addressed to the Baha’is (minority groups), thus it generates negative desires from the people to participate in rejecting these groups. In addition, the massive friction carried out against the Baha’is was also caused by the negligence of law makers in taking action against discriminatory cases. (Nurish, 2015)

In this case, socio-religious friction in Indonesia also often occurs in the same pattern, between some individuals from the majority and the minority. It must be remembered that preventive efforts must be initiated by the government to accommodate all aspirations in religious freedom. In addition, multicultural awareness based on Pancasila, should also be implemented by all elements of society, both in religious differences and other types of heterogeneity. The necessity that tolerance can be sustainable in this country, it can be realized through a dialogical understanding of perceptions as a community unit that is integrated within one territory of Indonesia.

**Reconstruction of the Baha’i: Socio-Religious Paradigm in Indonesia**

Initially, the Baha’is took their doctrinal corpus through the teachings of Shia Islam in the 19th century. Niyaz also drew a historical line that proves that the Baha’is were pioneered in the *Shia Itsna Ash’ariyah* movement. This movement is one of the sects within the Shia sect that believes in the 12th Imam after Hadrad Ali as al–Mahdi. This group has a leader named Ahmad al–Ahsai
(d. 1826 AD), who became the initiator of the birth of the Babism movement / Bab before Kazim Rasyti (d. 1843 AD) and Sayyid Ali Muhammad. In Wahid’s study of how the conflict between the Shia-Sunni groups is massive in Indonesia through the East Java MUI decision no. Kep-01/SKF-MUI/JTM/I/2012, it is stated that the Shi‘ism of Itsna Asy‘ariyah is heretical (Wahid, 2017, p. 160). However, all of these postulates argue that the Baha‘i group is not a branch of Islam, but an autonomous and independent religion. Baha‘i claim to be independent as a religion that stands alone and it is not in line with many people’s expectations when equating it with Islam, especially the Shia movement.(Lawson, 2012)

The paradox that often dwells on Baha‘i beliefs in society is still massive with the assumption that the Baha‘is are a deviant sect from the patrons of the Islamic religion. However, in the realm of doctrinal and teaching, it can be said that Baha‘i is not the same as Islam. Moreover, if it is withdrawn, for example, with the results of the MUI National Meeting in 2007 which issued 10 identifications of a deviant sect, then Baha‘i cannot be categorized as a deviant sect, but indeed as an autonomous religion/belief (Sajari, 2015, pp. 47–48).

Globally and universally, the Baha‘i religious group has a deep paradigm towards the pursuit of religious reconstruction and world peace. Baha‘i actor Mirza Husain Ali also strongly campaigned in a theological scope that there is no level that distinguishes religions, both from their teachings and their practitioners (ulama) (Cole, 1993, pp. 448–449). This continuation was realized through Baha‘ullah’s son, Abdul Baha’, when he made a trip to Europe and North America from 1911 to 1913. Although it is still relatively early and it moves in small maneuvers, the Baha‘i paradigm has been very well received by the world through the positive response of Abdul Baha’ audience at churches, synagogues, and universities. Especially with the outbreak of World War I, it made him comment that peace cannot be achieved except with inter-religious harmony. Baha‘is considered that humans have stepped on a more mature historical momentum in spiritual terms. This identification began when the Baha‘i teachings were proclaimed in 1844. Furthermore, Baha‘is consider that God’s will and authority are now increasingly known by everyone to be followed and implemented in life.

Especially in the current era of globalization, the Baha‘i sect operates as a mediator in the incorporation of religious principles into various institutional matters, both political, social and cultural. The doctrinal fundamentalization of the harmonization of human life is the essence that is most strongly voiced by
the Baha’i group. Warburg also considered that the Baha’is are a representation of the openness of globalization such as liberalism. In fact, the Baha’i view that the existence of religion should be the main booster as an instrument of revitalizing globalization which is increasingly elusive (Warburg, 2016).

The realization of this paradigm can be seen through the presentation of Goorge, one of the Baha’i adherents, by Mufiani in Yogyakarta. He points out that in Baha’i doctrine, it is taught that all religions are the same, with different paths to God. Baha’is are taught to harmonize humankind with respect and love for one another. This statement was then welcomed by local religious leaders, both from Islam and Catholicism, who emphasized the importance of tolerance in society (Mufiani, 2017). It shows that friction in the name of theological superiority can actually be controlled. The majority group does have a fairly high dominance in Indonesia, but with a cordial and dialogical understanding, conflicts between fellow religious adherents can be eliminated.

According to Beyer, the existence of the Baha’i which spread in a fast period of time is influenced by the complexity of the doctrine they have. For example, the Baha’i positively legitimize the development of the pluralism movement that exists in the world. Baha’is reject racist conflicts based on differences in ethnicity, gender and skin color. They put a high intention of equality between all human beings without any level that can differentiate. In addition, they are also pro-active towards environmental campaigns based on religious motives. So these positive values are compatible with the development of an increasingly open global world (Harees, 2012). In general, referring to the doctrinal paradigm and thinking promoted by the Baha’i religion, it turns out that it has the same message as other religions & beliefs in Indonesia. This should be interpreted wisely by prioritizing the unity of the national vision, although with different procedures and worship methods. The variety of religious existence in Indonesia is also one of the special characteristics that should be maintained by all elements of society and the government as the highest stakeholder who maintains religious freedom in accordance with the final constitutional line.

**Overview of Maqasis Syariah: Seeing the Power Relations Between the Government and the Baha’i Religion**

Furthermore, the elaboration of this study was carried out to find answers to the relationship between the power of the Baha’i religion and the government in Indonesia. The author sees that *Maqasis Syariah* is a quite
relevant concept in identifying this substance. *Maqasid Syariah* has the definition of *al-ma'ani allati syuri'at laha al-ahkam* (values contained in the determination of a law) (Nur Kholisha, Muhammad Roy Purwantob, Supriadic, Tamyiz Mukharromd, 2020, p. 1344).

There is a goal of benefit which is the main corpus in the implementation of a *Maqasid Syariah*, many of these identifications then lead to *al-maslahat*. The originator of this perspective, Abu Ishaq al-Syatibi (hereinafter referred to as al-Syatibi, w. 790 H), states how the characteristics of a maslahat (*dhawabith al-maslahat*) can be accepted, they are absolute and universal (Noor, 2014, p. 51). There is a relevance to the legal provisions made by regulators (*syari’*). To set a law, it must be aimed at realizing a benefit. This embodiment must be carried out with a method to avoid the worst probability that a *madharat* will occur (*jalb al-masalih wa dar’u al-mafasid*). Therefore, the actualization of law must go through a process of consideration that is adapted to the situation that takes place in a case or a legal object. These considerations can be used as essential material by leaders and law enforcement actors in determining a regulation. As stated in a *qawaid*, “*Tasharruf al-Imam Manuthun bi al-Maslahah*”, a policy from a leader must refer to the value of benefit (society).

Al-Syatibi also formulated the value of needs that must be realized in ensuring the value of benefit, namely *dharuriyat*, *hajiyat* and *tahsiniyat*. The basic criteria for fulfilling *dharuriyat* needs must actually include 5 fundamentanism (*usul al-shari'ah*), namely the urgency to maintain religion, soul, mind, honor, lineage, and property. While the criteria for the needs of *hajiyat* are matters in which it does not endanger the safety of the soul, but it can cause anxiety and difficulty. Then, the need for *tahsiniyat* revolves around matters of a moral and ethical nature, in which it does not bring up *dharuriyat* and *hajiyat* matters (Noor, 2014).

This stratification was then reconstructed by Jasser Auda who considered that the integration of the *Maqasid Syariah* concept was not in the form of a ladder, but it was in a circle that met and intersects. (*dawair mutadakhilah wa mutaqati’ah*). Auda also adjusted by doing a re-conception on the suggestion of *usul al-syariah*. Each point, such as (1) maintaining religion (*hifz al-din*) must be interpreted as protection of freedom and respect for adherents of any religion; (2) maintaining soul (*hifz al-nafs*) reconstructed as the protection of everyone’s human rights; (3) maintaining mind (*hifz al-aql*) reinterpreted as freedom to expand knowledge; (4) maintaining lineage (*hifz al-nasb*) should be interpreted as the protection of the family and its
institutional affairs; (5) and maintaining property (hifz al-mal) be an effort to create equitable social welfare. (Auda, 2018). In its realization, a mature paradigm concept is needed to place a solid system in response to legal developments. Referring to Auda's concept of systemic philosophy, that there are several criteria in assessing as well as overcoming the problem of implementing Maqasid Syariah. It is offered as a solution to human life which is increasingly addicted to injustice and intolerance.

The issue of how to create peace, prosperity and a sense of mutual respect is the main corpus that can be resolved through the systemic concept of Maqasid Syariah. Auda divides these criteria into 6 orientations, namely: cognitive nature of system, wholeness, openness, interrelated hierarchy, multi-dimensionality dan purposefulness (Auda, 2018). The view of Maqashid Syariah is considered by the author to be applied inclusively in the case of the existence of the Baha’i religion in Indonesia, considering that the government has the function as the ruler of religious relations in this country. The power that exists in government can be exercised by considering various instruments from several corpus and values in society.

For example, religion, which is a very appropriate internalization system to provide education as well as control and discipline. If you borrow Foucault's genealogical analysis, what needs to be considered in looking at the power relations of government is to highlight the existing social institutions, as well as the realm of practical implementation that occurs there (Foucault, 1977, pp. 20–25). Still in line with Talal Asad's genealogical view that religion, as a symbol, can reconstruct a mood, motivation and emotion in various ways, for example, such as fundamental development towards understanding plurality and diversity that is relevant in Indonesia. In this case, it builds interactions based on togetherness with adherents of any religion, including Baha’i religious groups. (Asad, 1993)

This is significant in responding to what are the causes of various socio-religious frictions that occur, are there really stagnation and gaps in knowledge and socialization? The realization of peace is an essential need in human life, which according to al-Syatibi must be emphasized on absolute universal values. The stipulation of all legal regulations for various chaotic events that occur due to socio-religious friction that occurs must be focused on alleviating disparities in society in understanding religious freedom. The value of maslahat which is peaceful and just, by holding usul al-syariah must be actualized in real terms.
The reality that the plurality of the Indonesian nation is unavoidable, it must direct lawmakers to seek various legal bases that can strengthen and at the same time avoid *mafsadat*. For this reason, efforts to accommodate religious adherents to be able to live side by side must be continued, both by authorized government officials, as well as reconstruction of the awareness of plurality in society. Moreover, it is reinforced by Auda's refreshing interpretation that *hifz al-din* can be contextualized at a crucial moment like this, in the case of the Baha’i religion. Independence in embracing and carrying out religious rituals must be guaranteed by the government and should also be able to ensure that friction does not occur in the smallest scope in society.

By using the perspective of Auda's systemic philosophy, the stipulations of regulations must be viewed with a cognitive reception that always runs dynamically in every case. Then, openness in looking at angles holistically (whole & complete) should also be initiated by policy makers (Auda, 2018). This is in line with what Foucault said that the system of power that is being held will always go hand in hand with the existence of cognition and knowledge. Knowledge, as well as openness, which is included in the decisions of rulers, will produce discipline that arises consciously and accommodates the needs of the people (to avoid socio-religious friction) in a certain territorial area, in this case, it is in Indonesia (Foucault, 1977). The realization that this requires interrelated relationships with one another and involves many elements must be embraced wisely. Thus, the goals/purposes (*al-ghoyah*) can be achieved optimally and in accordance with the ongoing case situation.

**Conclusion**

The reality of religious diversity in Indonesia has become a necessity. By means, one of the multicultural wealth belonging to the Indonesian nation should be protected properly by many parties, especially the government and society. In regard with the many phenomena of socio-religious friction in Indonesia that threaten multicultural reality, it must be immediately minimized with a national solution that is closely related to Pancasila values that accommodates various forms of heterogeneity in society. The government can provide solutions by supporting religious legality in various affairs, both those relating to pragmatic and paradigmatic cases. Of course, it is based on how the benefits can be created according to the current situation and conditions. Units of community groups can also establish a cordial relationship...
by setting positive communal values to be carried out together. With this matter, all forms of socio-religious friction in Indonesia can be minimized.

**Referensi**


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