

Hazard Shadow From South: Mapping The Potential Of Inter-Religious Conflicts In Ende, Flores, East East Nusa, Indonesia

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Abstract: This article is the result of research on the Mapping of the Potential of Inter-religions Conflict in Ende, Flores, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia with the main locus in the Southern District of Ende. The selection of Ende is based on the consideration that the district has a high level of diversity. Three major religions (Muslim, Catholicism, and Protestantism) emerged almost simultaneously in the 16th century. Diversity plunged Ende into two ends of the spectrum. At one end of the spectrum, plurality in Ende is a social glue. However, at the other end of the spectrum, plurality brought social disasters such as riots in the name of religion on February 8, 1998, known as Ende Gray. Until now coexist. The theory used in this research is Social Conflict Theory. Conflict theory helps explain the causes of conflictual patterns of relations between religious groups. Conflict Theory can also explain two paradoxical phenomena, namely religion which on the one hand is a social glue, but on the other hand is the main cause of disintegration. While the method used is descriptive premises field strategy staging potential conflict. Social mapping of potential conflicts as the most direct way to understand the intricacies of the nature, intensity and area of conflict. The results showed that the encounter of two or three religions contained potential conflicts, both hidden conflicts and open conflicts. Every district in NTT has a typology of conflict. The nature and form of conflict is very dependent on four things: The history and mode of meeting religions, the way indigenous people accept other religions. The form of settlement (exclusive or random) has the potential for interreligious conflict, and the influence of interreligious conflicts that occur outside the East Nusa Tenggara region. Potential interreligious conflicts arising from exclusive patterns of settlement and because of population heterogeneity. Certain religious communities choose specific areas with certain socially constructed traditions. Potential conflicts are found in Paupanda, Tetandara and Tanjung Sub-districts in Ende Selatan District and Ende Island in Ende District..

Keywords: pluralism, social conflict, religion, social mapping

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I. INTRODUCTION

Compared to other districts in Flores, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia, Ende Regency is the busiest and most potential district to experience interreligious conflict. Ende is one of the district capitals in Flores where the majority of the population of the capital is Muslim other than Labuan Bajo (West Manggarai). Overall Ende Regency is Catholic. However, Ende City, which is the capital of the regency, is predominantly Muslim (18,983 people), while Catholics number 2. 591 people. Therefore, in ancient times, Ende had the connotation of Muslim. If it is not Muslim, it means that it is not Endenese (migrants). This situation is different from Bajawa (capital of Ngadha district), or Ruteng (capital of Manggarai district) or Sikka (Maumere), Larantuka (East Flores) where the majority of the population is Catholic.

Ende is one of the districts in the middle of the island of Flores. This position makes Ende one of the most crowded cities on the island of Flores. Geographically, the Ende Regency government has the following territorial boundaries: North with Flores Sea, South with Sawu Sea, East with Sikka Regency, West with Ngadha Regency. Such a geographical position is very strategic in trading activities. Therefore, since the 17th century, especially when the kingdom of Gowa expanded its power and trading business, the port of Ende became an important port on the island of Flores. The position also invited various tribes in Indonesia to work and settle in the area.

Three religions with large population and strong historical roots namely Muslim, Protestant Christian and Catholic have lived together since the 16th century. The highest level of diversity or religious diversity is found in Central Ende District with a composition of 8,240 Muslims, 13,894 inhabitants Catholics, 1,970 Protestants and 100 Hindus. Ende Selatan, 10,509 Catholics, 12,140 Muslims, 1,699 Protestants, 16 Hindus and Hindus. Ende Timur, 11,704 Catholics, 10,130 Muslims, 1,115 Protestants and 250 Hindus.

Some places that are concentrated in certain religions such as Ende Island District claim 100% Muslim. In Ende Regency's statistical data it is noted that in Ende Island District, all residents are Muslim. In other districts, almost all religions are there except Buddhism. The three major religions exist in the midst of differences, while at the same time raising conflicts both religious issues *an sich* and other social problems that affect religious issues. For example, the riots known as "Ende Gray" took place on February 8, 1998. At first the issue continued to be blown by a group of people as a conflict between religions (Catholicism and Muslim).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Conflict Theory

Sociologically, conflict is defined as a social process between two or more people (it could be a group) because one party tries to get rid of the other party by destroying it or making it helpless. Conflict theory emphasizes his analysis on the origin of the creation of a rule or social order. This theory does not aim to analyze the origin of violations of regulations or a person's background in deviant behavior. The conflict perspective emphasizes the pluralistic nature of society and the imbalance distribution of power that occurs between various groups (Narwoko and Suyanto, 2004: 117).

This analysis underscores the role of religion in creating inequality in society. Marx argues that religion is only a tool to instill false consciousness so people can accept social problems in this world and hope that a better world will come. Religion is also seen as a tool for political elites to maintain their power because religion, power and politics have a close relationship. The struggle for power in a country will continue, because of that religions are racing to get closer to the sources of power from time to time.

Conflict theory helps explain the causes of conflictual patterns of relations between religious groups. This approach can also explain two paradoxical phenomena, namely religion which on the one hand is a social glue but on the other hand is the main cause of disintegration. Interfaith conflict in Indonesia itself is an internal conflict which is a problem in Indonesia. So many conflicts that occurred in various regions, such as conflicts that occurred in Maluku, Poso, and several other areas including in East Nusa Tenggara. Many people assume that the conflicts that occur stem from a sense of animosity between certain religious people that has been going on for a long time in history. However, an expert named Brown did not accept the explanation because he also had an argument why the same amount of conflict did not occur in other areas which also consisted of multicultural societies (Jemadu, 2008: 205)

Brown said, internal conflicts that occur are not merely religious conflicts, but have main causes and triggering causes as follows.

Table1. Causes of Conflict

underlying Causes	Proximate Causes
Structural Factors Weak country Concerns about internal security Geographic, ethnic	Structural Factors Countries that are collapsing / failing Changes in the balance of military power Changing demographic patterns
Political Factors Discriminatory political institutions An exclusive national ideology Inter-group politics	Political Factors Political transition Exclusive ideology that is increasingly influential Competition between groups is increasingly sharp Increasingly sharp leadership battles
Economy/Social Factors Economy problem Discriminatory economic system Economic development and modernization	Economy/Social Factors Increasingly sharp economic problems Widespread economic inequality Rapid economic development and modernization
Socio-Cultural Factors Patterns of cultural discrimination History of troubled groups	Socio-Cultural Factors The pattern of cultural discrimination is getting stronger Ethnic insults and propaganda

Source: Jemadu, Alexius. 2008. *Politik Global dalam Teori dan Praktik*.: Graha Ilmu, Yogyakarta.

In sociology-politics, conflict includes two perspectives as follows (Leo Agustino, 2007: 206).

a. Conflict can be considered as a social pathology due to the failure of a community or community integration process. In this perspective conflict is something that should be avoided because social pathology that emerges can result in destructive conflict. Conflict arises because there is no agreement in the community.

b. Conflict on the second perspective is seen from the "functional" side, namely as a mechanism for the process of perfecting social integration. Conflict from this perspective has an optimistic energy because it eliminates the disintegration that exists in society.

In looking at the relationship between religions, sociologists usually use two analytical frameworks, in addition to the Conflict Theory mentioned above as well as Functional Structures. The Functional Structural Approach focuses on the function of religion in interrelated structures in society. This theory refers to Durkheim's opinion, that there are three main functions of religion: a). as a social glue, b). as social control, c). as a giver of meaning and purpose. Whereas Conflict Theory underlines the role of religion in creating inequality in society. Marx argues that religion is only a tool to instill false consciousness so people can accept social problems in this world and hope that a better world will come. Religion is also seen as a tool for the political elite to maintain its power (religion, power, and politics have a close relationship). Because the struggle for power in a State or region will continue, religions are racing to get closer to the sources of power from time to time.

This study, will analyze the problem of relations (relations) between religions from the point of view of conflict theory. Conflict theory is a theory which considers that social change does not occur through a process of adjusting values that bring about change, but occurs due to conflicts that produce compromises that are different from the original conditions. This theory is based on the ownership of the means of production as a basic element of class separation in society. This theory helps explain the causes of conflicting patterns of relations between religious groups. This approach can also explain two paradoxical phenomena, namely religion which on the one hand is a social glue but on the other hand is the main cause of disintegration.

III. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a type of qualitative research with a social mapping field strategy. In this study, social mapping (social mapping) is defined as a systematic process of describing the community and involves collecting data and information about the community including the profile and social problems that exist in the community. Referring to Netting, Kettner and McMurtry (1993), social mapping can also be referred to as social profiling or "making a community profile". These targets can be investigated through the focuses detailed in the following table: Understanding of social problems can be seen in the following table.

Table. 2 Community Understanding Framework and Social Issues

Focus	Duties
A. Identification of the target population	1. Understand the characteristics of the target population members
B. Determination of Community Characteristics	1. Identifying community boundaries 2. Describe social problems (religion) 3. Understanding dominant values
C. Recognition of Differences	4. Identifying visible and formal mechanisms of interreligious conflict 5. Identifying evidence of discrimination
D. Structure Identification	7. Understanding locations of power 8. Determine the availability of resources 9. Identifying patterns of supervision and service delivery

Source: Adapted from Netting, Kuttneradn McMurtry (1993:69).

Data collection in the field is done through interviews, Focused Discussions. This method is very sociological. This method is used primarily to obtain overall information and information regarding (1) the ins and outs of history and how to convert to religion in Ende - Flores. (2) Obtaining data on the profile of community religious diversity in Ende Regency. In addition, observations are needed to obtain data and information in natural situations such as the daily lives of religious communities in Ende Regency. Observation activities involved were carried out repeatedly in order to obtain accurate data, especially those relating to: (1) the natural social context of the daily community interaction which became the meeting point of religions in Ende District; (2) trying to capture meaningful events or events that affect the social relations of individuals in different religious communities. (3) identifying regularities and recurring symptoms in social life by comparing and observing the differences in data obtained from a study with study data from other environmental settings. Researcher's data will be collected through informants with qualifications that have the following criteria: The main qualifications include religious leaders, community leaders and informants who are willing and understand religious differences. Thus the selection of informants is done purposively. This strategy requires informants to be chosen based on the consideration of researchers with the aim of obtaining accurate data.

IV. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Geography and Demography

Geographically, Ende Selatan District borders the following areas: North: Central Ende District, Ende Utara; South: By the Savu Sea; East: With East Ende District, West: With Sawu Sea. This district has a tropical climate. Like other areas on Flores Island, Ende Selatan District has a quite extreme topographic character of mountains, valleys and highlands and lowlands. Most of the Ende Selatan Subdistrict region is on the southern coast of the Flores Sea.

The South Ende Region is one of the most populous sub-districts. This is because (1) the South Ende region has been a trade center since colonial times, (2) this region is strategic from an inter-island trade point of view, (3) this region is a concentration and livelihood center in Ende Regency. Viewed from the socio-cultural aspect, this region is a typical region which has a very high level of diversity. This situation is influenced by the easy access to enter the region and become a vein of trade in Ende Regency. Data on population in South Ende can be seen in the following table.

The important thing in Ende's demographic problems is that the inhabitants of the area are not only native, but also newcomers from various places. This diversity will bring up social dynamics and selective and controlled communication patterns for the sake of lasting unity in diversity. Marriage-marriage relationship becomes the main variable in the togetherness between religious believers. They live in a community together regardless of ethnicity and religion. Religious differences are not a problem for residents in fostering togetherness and the spirit of mutual cooperation in development in the area.

Socio-Cultural Structure Of Ende People

As mentioned earlier, the population of South Ende Subdistrict is very heterogeneous. Society consists of many tribes, religions and cultures. Dulla Wara, one of the leading figures of Ende Seasarana, among others said:

For centuries, residents in Ende have intermarried with many people from various ethnic groups in Indonesia. The Kingdom of Ende at that time was a very open kingdom. So, many people from all over Indonesia came to Ende. Some of them came from Goa (Makassar), Sumbawa, Ternate, Wio (Sumba), and China.¹

Overall, the people who inhabit the South Ende coast are ethnic Ende and Lio ethnic. Even so, in social dynamics, this area has become a melting pot (a place where various ethnics merged in it). The openness and moderate attitude of the people of South Ende provide space for outsiders to dominate the area. Among other things, Dulla Wara said:

Ende people are friendly, courageous, full of initiative, stubborn who are not easy to budge, are good at testing people, and are critical in choosing friends. The Ende people prioritize commerce over education. Socially and culturally, the Ende people who inhabit the South Coast of Ende and Ende Island have a social structure called Ata Nggae, Ana Nua, Ana Mabo and Ata Oo. Kingdom-based social hierarchy divided into kings and people.²

Dulla Wara's statement emphasized that the friendly nature of the people of South Ende must be accompanied by being critical and brave. In addition, the people of South Ende are stubborn (opinionated), are good at testing real people other forms of sociological sensitivity internally. They must know who can be friends and who can be enemies. Thus, friendly attitude is the most serious intimidative attitude in detecting others. Such knowledge is very important in order to regulate their behavior or match their speech and actions in daily life.

In the culture of the people, Ende is familiar with traditional social hierarchies. Hierarchy shows a social coating system that has its own role and position. It is interesting that the Ende Selatan social coating system contains the main ideology that the top caste must be a model, wise, wise and be a source of peace water. Whereas the most carrying layer is precisely the level of society which is seen as morally backward.

Social stratification consists of four layers namely Ata Nggae. Ata Nggae's level consists of two more layers of groups, Ata Nggae's Puu and Ata Nggae Nua. Ata Nggae Puu plays the role of king, priest and shahbandar, mosalaki, capitan and traditional elders. Ata Nggae Puu has important power, rights and authority in the community. Ata Nggae Puu is the owner of Ende Kingdom. While Ata Nggae Nua is a group under Ata Nggae Puu. This group was appointed and appointed by Ata Nggae Puu. Ata Nggae Nua was given the authority to handle all matters in one kingdom. Some matters that must be carried out are for example customary marriage, house building, betrayal, festivity and some other traditional rituals.

¹Results of an interview with Mr. Dullah Wara on August 21, 2015 at his residence (Ende Selatan). Dullah Wara is a prominent figure of Ende Selatan. He is a native who knows the ins and outs of the people in South Ende.

²Dulla Wara, *Ibid*.

Under *ata pugae*, there is the *Ana Nua* group. *Ana Nua* is the middle group in Ende's social structure. This group has a large influence on the community, especially to carry out and carry out some special affairs in the Ende community. *Ana Nua* is not dealing with the Ende government. *Ana Nua* deals with traditional affairs. *Ana Nua* is affiliated with *Ata Nggae Puu*. The *mawin mating* process often occurs in these two groups. A prospective teacher's research note states that the assistance given by *Ana Nua* to *Ata Nggae* is based on the principle of *Imu Ria Ari Kae Pawe* (a close friendship as a brother and sister).

Under the *Ana Nua* layer, there is the *Ana Mabo* group. *Ana Mabo* has a low position. The position of the *Ana Mabo* group in the Ende community is not because of something given. The position of *ana mabo* is caused by the behavior and bad behavior of certain people or individuals. According to *Dulla Wara*, the act of adultery is an act that can put people into the group of *ana mabo*. *Ana Mabo* was forbidden from becoming a priest, preacher and mosque administrator.

The lowest group in the social stratification of the Ende community is *Ata Oo*. This group is divided into two parts namely *Ata Oo* and *Oo Tai Manu*. The *Oo* group are slaves and prisoners of war. The *Oo* group has a low position in the Ende community. Meanwhile, *Oo Manu* is a slave community group. *Oo Manu* is considered a substitute slave. *Oo Manu* has the role of opening the door and taking orders from *Ata Nggae*. At present, the division is still attached to the Ende community. Even though this institutional hierarchy no longer exists, stereotypes sometimes arise, especially if certain cases occur.

Turajaji is an ideological agreement because it has core values which are facilities in a shared life in diversity. *Turajaji* ideology that anyone should be seen as a brother regardless of differences (origin, religion, class and others). For this reason, South Ende must be great for everyone. Deficiency means that each Ende community (both native and non-native) must become a large family of Ende. Deangan thus, if people on the beach go to the mountain, they can pick coconut without having to ask permission first. The condition, when picking coconuts, coconuts should not be thrown anywhere but stored near the coconut tree. Conversely, if the people from the mountain go to the beach, they may take fish or something that is being dried in the sun. The condition, on the clothesline is marked branches or twigs of trees that are near the clothesline. The arrival of people from outside Ende was accepted as brothers. The people call this custom *ari ari kae pawe*, that is, brothers in good and sincere brotherhood ties.

Potential and Map of Interfaith Conflict in Ende Selatan District

Religion as an institution is in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand it becomes an internal glue, while on the other hand it causes disintegration (externally). Religion, in other words, creates inequality in society. As Marx said, religion is only a tool to instill false consciousness so that people can accept social problems in this world and hope that a better world will come. In fact, religion is often used as a tool for political elites to maintain their power.

This discussion will present the potential for interreligious conflict in Ende Selatan. The research findings show three main factors that are potential interfaith conflicts in South Ende. First, the history of converting to religions in this area is colored by wars between religions, both in the spread of religion and as an instrument of colonial power. Second, the high level of religious and cultural diversity makes the region very vulnerable to religious issues. Third, South Ende is the artery of trade in Ende. Such conditions lead to economic competition that uses religion as an economic sentiment tool. Below we will describe holistically the potential for interfaith conflict in South Ende.

A placard written in blue letters on the white glass of a mosque in South Ende: "... Difference like a rainbow ... She is beautiful because of the many colors, let us live in harmony in difference". This paper is not a random event or just a fad, but a form of awareness of: (1) the importance of living together in diversity, and (2) an indication of friction that occurred among the people of South Ende as a consequence of diversity, (3) History of Ende (South) has experienced interreligious conflict. Thus, the tulsan is not read enough as an appeal, but should be read as a discourse that reminds the wider community about the potential for conflict in the area. This situation is also supported by the location of the placard in the middle of the city. It was intended that all citizens could read the appeal. That is, the more widely read by the public, the more effective the appeals and messages of the placard are. The writing was a yellow light that tried to remind the people of South Ende of the dangers of ethnic and religious sentiment.

The potential for conflict in South Ende can also be examined in the past situation in the area. South Ende's past is a shirt and dark. History of conversion to religion is a black history full of horror and blood. The situation can be read in the following quote:

The spread of Muslim religion in Ende and Ende Island was carried out in a peaceful manner through traders from the Tuban and Gresik merchants in East Java and from Ternate. The way of peace was lost since Ende Island was converted to Christianity by Portuguese priests. It is said, Muslim traders robbed Ende islanders with the aim of frightening and paralyzing Christianity. Report from *Kontrolleur Ende B.C.C.M.M. van Suchtelen* reported the frequent robberies of East Javanese Muslim pirates against Catholics on Ende Island.

Because there were Catholics from Makasar Don Joao and Amaqira from Tonggo on Flores Island who converted and converted to Islam, the Sultan of Goa sent a large expedition to punish Flores, namely Sikka, Paga, Solor Island, and Ende Island. The great expedition failed. In Sikka it died 100 and on Ende Island it killed 800 subordinates (Anonymous, 1979).

The history and ways of entering religions in South Ende become a reference to the awareness of the importance of harmony. History must be read in the context of the awareness that interfaith war only destroys civilization, and destroys literary solidarity between citizens. Therefore, history should be a mirror that reflects how to organize together in diversity. More important than that is deity defining religion in the context of diversity. Thus, plurality does not have to cause social polarity. Such awareness encourages the local government of Ende to build a "harmony" inscription on the top of Mount Iya.

The article was actually a positive reaction to the anxiety of diversity danger or at least there was a danger signal due to the diversity of the South Ende. The inscription "harmony at the top of Mount Iya suggests several things. (1) Harmony is the highest value in the life of the people of NTT because it is revealed that it is placed on the top of a mountain, (2) Yes mountain itself is a myth shared by the Ende people. Therefore, loving Ende means valuing your existence as a diverse region.

Southern Ende is a meeting point for five religions, namely Muslim, Christian, Catholic, Hindu and Buddhist. This high level of diversity gives rise to conflict. Noted, chaos occurred in the 1990s through the pollution of holy hostia by certain parties in several Catholic churches in South Ende (Cathedral Church, One Kore Church in 1993). The hostess or troublemaker is not a native of Ende. He has several ID cards that listed in several religions. The root of the problem is always unclear. But usually the political situation such as before the election or regional head election becomes an arena for social eruption based on religion in Ende Regency. In 1995 there was pollution of the holy hostia at the Catholic Church, the largest church in Ende City, surrounded by Muslims, and not far from the oldest mosque in the city of Ende. The perpetrators of the incident allegedly from Java and he has several Identity Cards. Each ID card includes a different religion.³

Picture: A plaque that reads "... Differences like a rainbow ... she's beautiful because of the many colors ... let's live in harmony in difference. This plaque is found in the middle of Ende Selatan District.

In addition, Ende was once hit by a quite violent mass riot. The riots, known as "Gray Ende", took place on February 8, 1998. Initially the issue was constantly blown by the masses as a conflict between religions (Catholic and Muslim). Common ethnic Chinese Catholics throughout the South Ende were economically striking targets. Chinese shops were set on fire, goods were jailed. On the contrary, the shops belonging to Arab (Muslim) entrepreneurs were not destroyed. The situation indicated that the Ende riot on 8 February 1998 was an inter-religious conflict. One thing that actually becomes a potential interfaith conflict from the event that the resolution of the problem is not much known to the public. Thus what was left behind was the perception of the community that the riots had religious backgrounds.

A number of informants (Hasan, Aden and Ruslin) referred to the history of the arrival of religions in South Ende as saying that in the past religion was synonymous with violence. Because, in its development, because of religion, the Ende community has long been in conflict. Muslims with Caliphs and Christians with missionaries became the main actors of the conflict. At the same time, colonial power and the seizure of world power are other important matters that must be mentioned. The spread of Muslim religion and Catholicism continued to be in tension towards conflict.

Ethnic diversity, especially religion, was considered to be very vulnerable by the participants of the Focus Group Discussion in Ende Selatan. Potential conflicts are so sensitive when external issues with nuances of SARA spread in the area. The results of discussions with groups of community leaders in the Ende Selatan District Head Office received information that the development of sophisticated information technology caused people in South Ende to get information from various parts of the world very quickly. Information about the Muslimic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), for example, is easily accepted by the public through text messages. The ISIS issue spread through text messages in the Paupanda Village. At that time, leaders in South Ende were late listening to the issue of ISIS being in Ende. The issue was obtained from people who get short messages from outside. Although the presence of ISIS in South Ende is only an issue, the behavior of the people spreading the ISIS issue is an attitude that shows the vulnerability of interfaith relations in South Ende.

Another example that appears in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) refers to events that are still warm in South Ende. Young people from outside the village consume liquor in Tetandara Village. After consuming liquor, the drunken young man pelted the house of a friend who was a motorcycle taxi driver. The neighbor was greeted by neighbors by spreading ethnic and religious issues. The masses began to arrive and noise was inevitable. After being examined, the drunken young man indeed came from outside the Tetandara Village. Nevertheless, the anger of the people has ignited and the conflict has spread to almost all places. The conflict

³Fundamental research report written by Marsel Robot et al. Explain the conflicts that occurred in Ende Regency. A description of the interfaith conflict in Ende can be read in the report.

could eventually be localized due to the alertness of the village officials.

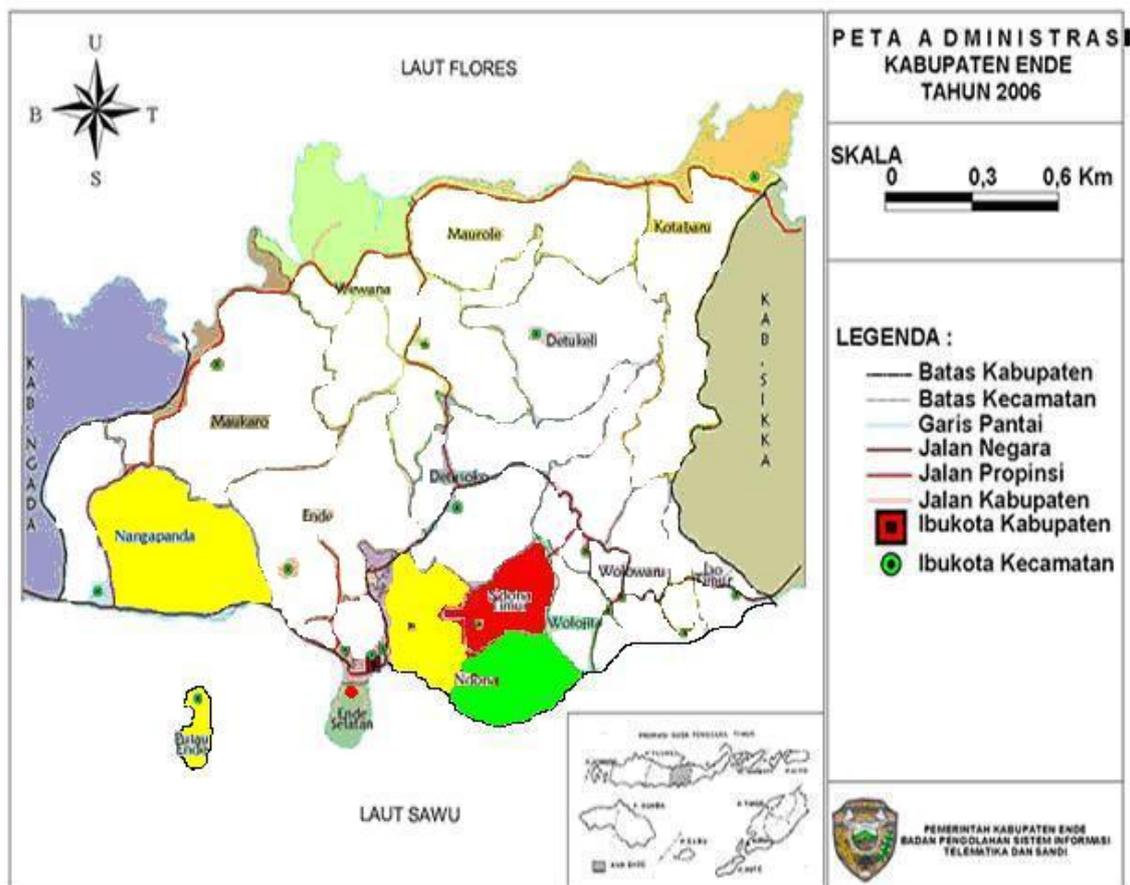
These events indicate that the sensitivity of the religious issue in South Ende is so strong. In this context, the joint of togetherness in diversity is so fragile. Easily provoked by sui issues. This situation shows that diversity has the potential to be social antagonistic and deny a sense of brotherhood. In this context, truth claims are institutionalized in the thinking of the people of South Ende. The reality of diversity has not yet been accepted as a mercy from God.

Another factor that triggers conflict in South Ende is a high level of diversity. Five religions (Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, Buddhist), tribal bergam (Ende, Manggarai, Bajawa, Sumba, Sabu, Makassar, China, Java) and others make this area vulnerable to conflict. If a high level of ethnic diversity is not well managed and people live exclusively, then truth claims will soon emerge. It also makes it easier for the community to be very sensitive to issues that threaten their relationship. The situation was exacerbated by the lack of information technology such as telecommunications, internet and mobile phones. Sincerity and willingness to accept differences become essential in managing togetherness. This situation has not yet fully occurred in South NTT. The case of married marriage between religions for example, not every community accepts it as awareness, not necessity. An informant (Hasan Wani) honestly said the following:

When it comes to marriage, each means to maintain their religion, it never happens. ... The habit, ... for example, from Christians or Catholics who may marry or like us Muslims, he naturally goes to Muslims without any objections on their part, and vice versa if later on our side likes them, it is indeed sometimes an obstacle, because we are present defending what we believe in, so that if it happens like that usually it is sometimes that marriages are not done here, they run to other places to do marriagesrunaway marriage.⁴

Graphically the potential for inter-religious conflict in Ende Regency can be noted in the following map:

INTER-RELIGIOUS CONFLICT MAP IN ENDE DISTRICT



⁴The results of an interview with Hassan Atawani, on September 16, at his residence in South Ende. Hassan Atawani is a Muslim figure in South Ende.

Keterangan:

- (1) the green color of the symbol of the area is safe from interreligious conflict
- (2) the yellow color of the area symbol that has the potential for inter-religious conflict
- (3) the red color of the area that was once an inter-religious conflict

The map above shows that the southern lane (Ende, Ende Selatan, Nangapenda) is the yellow and red lane. Two other regions in South Ende with potential for conflict are Ende Island and Nangapenda. Ende Island claims to be a Muslim island. This island is a symbol of Muslim victory in the history of expulsion of the Portuguese (broadcasting Catholicism) on the island. The history of Muslims entering Ende Island is the history of the invasion by expelling Catholics under the Portuguese. This exclusive and historical settlement is a latent danger in the future. In the Ende Regency statistics written only one other religious (Catholic) on the island of Ende. Claims as an island of Muslims and exclusivity are difficult to penetrate by the ideology of differences that come from outside.

In contrast to Ende Island, the potential for conflict in South Ende comes from within the community itself. Information about incidents of interreligious riots, tribal conflicts brought the Nangapenda people in affirming Muslim identity. Events brought by the television media into social cognition actually cause antagonistic polarization.

In the limited group Diksui (FGD) it was concluded that the latent danger in Ende was not only on religious heterogeneity, but because of religious relations with outside parties. Internally, challenges center on the consistency of religious teachings in practicing religious teachings in social life.

Even though the people of South Ende are known for their high level of heterogeneity, there are still exclusive or closed settlements. This settlement can bring up stereotypes. This perspective is followed by claiming truth and institutionalizing in the minds of the community. Another impact of the exclusive settlement (Ende Island) is the emotional young mobilization. As a result, people easily accept sensitive outside influences.

V. DISCUSSION

In many cases, plurality has the potential to create antagonistic polarity. Promo Levi (Volf, 2002: 9) Holocaust reviewers, among others, write, "racial, cultural and religious differences are the most important sources of conflicts in the world." What Levi said was actually not parallel with the potential for conflict in South Ende. The Ende people have a "tura jaji" tradition (adat agreement as one blood) to respect each other. For Ende people, racial, religious or ethnic differences are not problems that cause conflict. It is precisely elements outside religion such as economic problems. Economic control by certain ethnic groups causes social jealousy. Thus, conflicts between interreligious conflicts in Ende are basically outside the religious element. This is certainly not in line with the opinion put forward by Harland Develand, "the reality of diversity and cultural differences is a new devil in the universe of our lives" (O'Dea, 1996: 427).

Since the 16th century, three large (Catholic, Muslim, and Protestant) groups lived side by side in Ende. As the research findings suggest, the potential for conflict can be caused by exclusive settlement patterns and the influence of outside information. Villages that are concentrated in certain ethnicities and religions tend to revive prejudice and high sensitivity towards other groups. This phenomenon can be confirmed in the opinion of O'Dea who said, religion often has a negative effect on the welfare of society and individuals. Religious issues become one of the causes of war, religious beliefs often lead to intolerance, religious loyalty only unites certain people and separates others (O'Dea, 1996: 139). In the Ende conjecture, the exclusivity of certain ethnicities gives rise to excessive ethnocentrism. This was also reinforced by information both through the mainstream media and online media that influenced their views.

The results of the Focus Group Discussion found that religious differences were not a problem for them. They admit, the strength of solidarity in them is the element of blood or heredity. Religion came later, whereas the Ende had existed long before that. Religion is not an obstacle in social spontaneity and does not make them hate one another. This finding can be confirmed by the opinion of Jonathan Wift who said, with a sarcastic tone saying: "John Hick for asking a number of basic questions that open the discourse of the exclusion of religions in the world. Hick (Aydin, 2001: 332) writes:

If God is the God of all humanity why is the true religion, the right approach to God, confined to a single strand of humanity, so that it is not available to the great majority of the thousands of millions of human beings who have lived and died from the earliest days until now? If God is the Creator and Father of all, can God have provided true religion only for a chosen minority?

In another part, John Hick answers a series of basic questions with a picture, the lamps are different, but the Light is the same (Volf, 2002: 8). However, according to Diana L. Eck (2006):

In the Endenese vocabulary it is called "turaJaji" (tradition agreement) to respect one another. Tura Jaji is obeyed by all ethnic groups, by all religious adherents. The basis of Tura Jaji is a derivative or recognizing religion may be different, but the Ende people remain one.

VI. CONCLUSION

Ethnic diversity, especially religious diversity, has sociological consequences, namely conflict. On the one hand, conflict is needed so that people exist and control each other with very natural mechanisms. On the other hand, conflicts always bring disaster to humanity. Therefore, social mapping of the potential conflicts caused by the meeting of two or three religions is urgently needed. Social mapping of potential conflicts as the most direct way to understand the intricacies of the nature, intensity and area of conflict. This conflict occurred in Ende Selatan. In Ende Selatan District, the three villages that became Melting Pot were Tetandara Village. Whereas villages that have very high levels of social homogeneity are found in Tanjung and Paupanda.

This study found that the meeting of two or three religions contained potential conflicts, both hidden conflicts and open conflicts. Every district in NTT has a typology of conflict. The nature and form of conflict is highly dependent on four things: The history and mode of meeting religious religions, The way indigenous people accept other religions, The form of settlements (exclusive or random) has the potential for interreligious conflict, and the influence of interreligious conflicts that occur outside the Nusa area Southeast East.

Shadow and potential conflicts arise because of history and the way to enter certain religions. This type of potential conflict exists in Ende Selatan District and Ende Island (Ende Regency). Potential interreligious conflicts arising from exclusive patterns of settlement and because of population heterogeneity. Certain religious communities choose specific areas with certain socially constructed traditions. Potential conflicts are found in Paupanda, Tetandara and Tanjung Sub-districts in Ende Selatan District and Ende Island in Ende District.

Potential conflicts that come from within the community itself as a result of the influence of events from other regions. Certain societies reinforce identity in certain ways. Technological developments, the spread of global culture and economic growth are other triggers for conflict. Most interreligious conflicts in Ende Regency are influenced by non-religious factors. Every interfaith conflict is always associated with certain social contexts, such as political, economic or land issues. Conflict that has become a trend is an insult to sacred hosts which is believed by Catholics as a symbol of the body of the Lord Jesus.

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