

THE WALLS OF THE HOUSE AS A GRAMMAR OF DIVERSITY (COMMUNICATION MODEL OF CATHOLIC AND ISLAMIC SOCIETIES IN NTARAM)

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Abstract: This study aims to find a communication model for people of different religions in Ntaram, Flores, and East Nusa Tenggara. The Ntaram people understand their world as a synthesis perpetuated by differences. One of the modes of communication that exists together in religious differences is symbolic communication. Ntaram people use the walls of houses as a medium to express their religious identity. The relevant theory for analyzing the form of symbolic communication is the theory of Symbolic Interaction. The Symbolic Interaction Perspective sees the social structure as shaped precisely by interaction. For example, a family is formed because those family members communicate. The way they communicate sets them apart from the rest of the family. In the process of meaning occurs mental activities that distinguish the meaning of human actions from the movements of animals. The activity of interpretation becomes a bridge between stimulus and response. The method used is qualitative with a field strategy of ethnography of communication. Ethnography in the context of phenomenology emphasizes the investigation of social events from the point of view of "indigenous or insiders". In this case, the task of the researcher is to try to interpret and understand the behavior patterns and forms of communication of members of a community. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with purposively determined key informants. Also, through Focus Group Discussion (FG), and observation, especially to obtain data related to context. Data validation is carried out through triangulation. Triangulation is carried out between sources to ensure the accuracy of data from key informants and other informants. The findings of the study show that the walls are about who they are. Each data sili mai wae house visible on the wall of the living room is plastered with several sacred images (such as sufis or Islamic imams) of the world or calendars with Islamic nuances. On the contrary, for ata le mai tana golo, the identity was placed in the corner of the living room. A statue of Jesus or a statue of Our Lady with a small house complete with accessories that give a religious atmosphere in the corner of the room. It all revolves around who the occupants of the house are and how they are treated. The strategy of pronouncing a special identity through the walls and corners of the house indicates that what appears outside the home is universal, while the inside of the house is a space of privacy.

Keywords: home wall; communication; harmony; Ntaram; syncretism.

INTRODUCTION

Ntaram is a village with three main tribes, namely the Mbaru Ajang Cengi tribe, the Mbaru Golo tribe, and the Mbaru Munta tribe. Today, Ntaram is an entity consisting of several villages (Nanga, Golo Wote, Golo Ngawan, Nelo, and Ntaram) located in the interior of East Manggarai, in Golo Ngawan Village, Sambu Rampas District, Manggarai Regency - West Flores, East Nusa Tenggara Province. The sovereignty of Ntaram as a village can be referred to in Braam Morris's (1891:182 in Dami Toda, 1999:193) description of the districts under Pota (now the capital of Sambu Rampas-author's District). Ntaram which Braam Morris writes Taram is a region of the Congkar district. Braam Morris details as follows: Tjongkar consists of 30 villages: Pisi, Tjenap, Mennie, Diroek, Pannis, Toenggal, Gilak, Lawie, Wangkar, Taram, Pasie, Wanang, Giling, Pota, Woega, Ramboek, Kangoe, Koe-it, Djaliet, Watoe, Milim, Meran, Tiwoe, Lioe, Nawal, Toedie, Sapie, Paiet, Goeneong, Setawangan.

Administratively the modern government, Ntaram is within the area of Golo Ngawan Village, one of the 8 villages in Sambu Rampas District. The name of the village (Golo Ngawan) is taken from the name of a hill where the people of Ntaram live around the hill. Golo Ngawan village borders four other villages that culturally include Congkar culture. The eastern boundary is with Rana Mese Village, the Western boundary is with Golo Wangkung Village, the Northern boundary is with Buti Village, Southern boundary is with Satar Nawang Village.

The uniqueness of Golo Ngawan Village lies in the tradition of the plurality of beliefs that they adhere to. Almost every small village in the name of Ntaram must have these two communities. The individuals of the two communities live randomly. That is, Muslims and Catholics live without any barriers. The Ntaram people themselves do not call it that. They have more euphoric connotations or designations. They labeled the community *ata sili mai wae* (people from the river/coast) for the Muslim religious community and the *ata le mai* community *tanah golo* (people from the mountain) which is often connoted with Catholicism. That connotation seems more anthropological-geographic than a connotation of a religious nature.

Ntaram in the modern sense is an entity that references the syncretism of eight tribes, two religious traditions, and two forms of the power structure. In other words, concretely the village of Ntaram is no longer occupied. The village has long been abandoned by its inhabitants and bloomed into several small villages, namely Nanga, Golo Wote, Nelo, Golo Ngawan, and several others small villages. However, the small villages are under the name Ntaram. Some of these small villages, basically only Golo Wote called *Kampung Ntaram*. The naming was deliberately given as a spiritual memory (plural culture) of the old village (Ntaram) that they had left behind. More than that, the naming was a way of passing on the value of plurality that the Ntaram people live and bring to life to this day. Therefore, whoever is a stranger or an outsider asks the village where he stepped on his foot first there, then the

answer is hood Ntaram (this is Ntaram). That is the phrase that became the thesis to understand the miracle of plurality in several villages in the name of Ntaram.

Differences in religious traditions, differences in traditions of power, and variations of the tribes that inhabit Ntaram give the typical complexion of Ntaram society with all its social consequences. It can be said that beyond the names of several villages, Ntaram is a unique form of synthesis. As a synthesis, Ntaram was formed by the confluence of eight tribes (Mbaru Mese Tribe, Mbaru Bongko Tribe, Mbaru Labal Tribe, Mbaru Weli Tribe, Mbaru Cangge Tribe, Mbaru Golo Tribe, Mbaru Munta Tribe, Mbaru Ajang Cengi Tribe). The eight tribes spread out to form small villages under their names but always legitimized themselves as Ntaram people. Ntaram, therefore, is not an identity that is only real in the form of birth, but rather an entity of plurality. In a more concrete formulation that Ntaram is a finished definition in the thoughts and deeds of orang Ntaram. When one mentions Ntaram for example, it immediately refers to the plurality of Ntaram people. That is what causes the villages under Ntaram to seem eccentric and have a typical personality. The social reality was born by Ntaram's history. Social mechanisms in the formation of values, norms, attitudes, and worldviews as well as institutional patterns and features of social hierarchies are determined by the mechanisms of meeting and social processes of the two communities. In this regard, the history and manner of entry of the two religions have its influenced the acceptance and development of the two religions in

Ntaram. The significance of the meeting of the two religions is that consciousness fosters the personality of Ntaram (Robot, 2005).

Theoretical Perspective

The theory used in this study is Symbolic Interaction. The Symbolic Interaction Perspective sees the social structure as shaped precisely by interaction. For example, a family is formed because those family members communicate. The way they communicate sets them apart from the rest of the family. According to Blumer, Symbolic Interaction points to the typical human nature of the interaction between humans. Distinctiveness is that humans translate and define each other's actions (Ritzer, 1992:61). In the process of meaning occurs mental activities that distinguish the meaning of human actions from the movements of animals. The activity of interpretation becomes a bridge between stimulus and response. That is, it is the stimulus and meaningful response that are at the core of the theory of Symbolic Interaction.

Stimulus and response are not mechanical responses, but mental processes. This was expressly stated by Mead. The three core concepts in Mead's view that underlie Symbolic Interaction are mind, self, and society (Litlejohn, 1996). These three aspects are different but contribute equally to social action. According to Mead, social action is the basic concept of almost all psychological processes and other social processes. An action is an overarching unit of behavior that cannot be separated in its analysis. An action can be simple, but it can be

complicated.

To illustrate, there is an intrinsic relationship between symbolism in fists, feelings of anger or intent to attack, and actual physical aggression. That is to say, he consciously clenched fists to express anger or cohesiveness and thus would foresee the response of the person who received that gesture or behavior. In other words, conscious human behavior is deliberately carried out to give a certain message to the target who receives the message. So, human beings are not just acting, but acting meaningfully. Burke specifically provides a firm boundary between motion and action. According to Burke, the action consists of deliberate and purposeful behavior, while movement is behavior that contains meaning but is not purposeful. Objects and animals have motion, but only humans have action (Litlejohn,1966).

Symbolic Interaction emphasizes that human behavior is seen as a process that involves individuals shaping their behavior taking into account the expectations of the people with whom they interact (Becker,1961 in Mulyana,2002:230). With the explanation of Ritzer (1992:62), individuals or units of action consisting of a certain set of people, adapt or match each other's actions to each other through a process of interpretation.

Ritzer describes the life of society according to the view of symbolic interaction as follows: Individuals or units of action consisting of a certain set of people, mutually adjusting or matching each other's actions with each other through a process of interpretation. In the case of actors who are in the form of a group, then the action of the group is the collective

action of the individuals who are members of that group. For this theory, the individual, interaction, and interpretation become key in the understanding of social life.

Ritzer (1992:69) concludes Rose's Theory of Symbolic Interaction as follows: People's lives are formed through the process of interaction and communication between individuals and between groups using symbols that are understood to mean the process of learning. A person's actions in the process of interaction are not merely a response of a direct nature to a stimulus from his environment or from outside himself. But the action is the result of a process of interpretation of the stimulus. So, it is the result of the process of learning, trying to understand the symbols, and adjusting each other's meanings. Although these norms, social values, and meanings provide restrictions on his actions, with his ability to think man has the freedom to determine the actions and goals he does not achieve.

The basis of the Symbolic Interaction perspective is self, other, symbol, meaning, interpretation, and action. The flow of symbolic interaction sees participants as actively communicating, reflectively and creatively interpreting, and displaying behaviors that are complicated to foresee. Blumer put forward three premises on which this model is based. First, the human being acts on the meaning that the individual gives to his social environment (verbal symbols, nonverbal symbols, physical environment). Secondly, that meaning is directly related to the social interaction that the individual carries out with his social environment. Third, meaning

is created, maintained, and transformed through the process of interpretation that the individual undertakes about his or her social environment (Fisher, 1986: 241; Mulyana, 2000).

Mead emphasized the importance of gestures in communicating with humans. According to Mead humans communicate with cues (Johnson, 1990). Mead gives an example, a person who is no longer interested in a conversation but looks up at the sky without paying any more attention to the conversation. A gesture or gesture of looking up at the sky sends a message to the interlocutor that the conversation immediately stops because it is not interesting anymore. If the act of "looking up at the sky" is understood as intended by the person who acted, then the interlocutor adjusts his behavior, whether stopping the conversation, or other actions that respond to the action of "looking up at the sky." So, there are nonverbal acts done intentionally that have the potential to be a message for others to respond to. Then, the other person adjusts his actions according to his interpretation of the action.

A gesture that produces the same response in the person doing it as in the person to whom the gesture is intended is a meaningful cue. This same response is the meaning of cues, and the emergence of those shared meanings allows symbolic communication to occur (Johnson, 1990:12). As Mead said, motion or gesture is a basic mechanism in social action and more general social processes. According to Mead's definition, gestures are movements of the first organism that act as specific stimuli that elicit an appropriate social response from the second organism

(Littlejohn,1996; Johnson, 1990; Mulyana, 2002; Ritzer and Goodman,2004). Mead emphasizes the relationship between vocal cues and behavior as the basis of symbolic interaction. Mead explained this as follows:

Language is part of social behavior. There are an indefinite number of signs or symbols which may serve the purpose of what we term "language" We are reading the meaning of the conduct of other people when, perhaps, they are not aware of it. There is something that reveals to us what the purpose is -just the glance of an eye, the attitude of the body which leads to the response (Mulyana, 1995:69).

The peculiarity in symbolic communication that human beings are not only limited to vocal cues but also gestural cues during such movements has the potential to be interpreted. Mead himself admits that the vocal cues and behaviors associated with them in human society provide the foundation for symbolic interaction (Mulyana,2002:79). In Goffman's abstraction it is called expression given and expression given off, the first is intentional communication (usually referring to verbal cues), while the second refers to unintentional (nonverbal) communication that may give a very different meaning to verbal cues (Littlejohn,1996: Mulyana,2002:79).

Significant language or symbol functions generally drive the same response on the part of the individual speaking as well as the other party. The word dog or cat acquires the same mental image in the person who pronounces it and in the person of the interlocutor. Mead also sees the function of cues primarily to create opportunities among individuals involved

in certain social actions concerning the objects to which those actions are subjected (Ritzer and Goodman, 2004). However, in the process of interaction individuals or groups of people not only interpret and give meaning but also establish conventions such as rules, roles, and norms that allow effective interaction. In the words of Littlejohn (1996:16) as follows:

Interaction, therefore, leads to or reinforces the shared meaning and establishes conventions like rules, roles, and norms that enable further interaction to take place. Conventions, or standard meanings, are worked out through interaction. Meanings change from time to time, from situation to situation, and from one group to another.

Convention or the standard meaning and action is generated through interaction. In other words, the interpretation during the interaction process is determined and determines a context and convention.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The method used in this study is qualitative. The selection of methods is very relevant because the data collected are in the form of, words, phrases, sentences, symbols, and metalanguages. Moleong (2007) said qualitative research intends to understand the phenomenon of what the research subject understands. For example, behavior, perception of motivations, actions, etc. holistically and in a descriptive way in the form of words and language, in a special natural context, and by utilizing various scientific contexts. Field

studies using ethnographic strategies (Cresswell, 2012, Emzir, 2012). This method asks researchers to stay long in the field because it not only collects data but has to experience data. Determination of informants is carried out purposively. The research location is in Taga (Golo Nderu Village, North Kompa City District, East Manggarai Regency which was conducted from June to November 2021).

Field strategy through an ethnographic approach to communication. Ethnography in the context of phenomenology emphasizes the investigation of social events from the point of view of "indigenous or insiders". In this case, the researcher's task is to try to interpret and understand the behavior patterns and forms of communication of members of a community (Littlejohn, 1996). Meanwhile, communication ethnography is the application of ethnographic methods to communicate behavior patterns in a community.

Philipsen (Littlejohn, 1996) separates four ethnographic assumptions of communication. First, community members create shared meaning. They use methods that have a common understanding. Secondly, the communicators of each cultural group must coordinate their actions. That is, there is an order and a system for communicating. Thirdly, the meaning, actions, and distinctive properties of each group. Fourth, not only do patterns of behavior and cultural codes differ between communities or groups, but also differ in ways of understanding behavior and cultural codes.

According to Donald Carbaugh (in Littlejohn, 1996:215), communication

ethnography refers to at least three types of problems. The first type of problem is to find the type of shared identity created through communication in a cultural community. This identity is a meaning that unites them while showing who they are as a community. It is a collection of shared qualities central to the orientation of its members in behavior. The second type of problem expresses the common meaning of public performance seen in the community. What shapes communication behavior in the community, and what meaning do the various performances entail? The third type of problem, delving into the contradictions or paradoxes of the group. How the situation is addressed through communication. How, for example, does a culture treat its members as individuals while also providing a bond of commonality? How is autonomy granted while also maintaining authority? How rules are taught while instilling thoughts about freedom.

Researchers select informants based on the purpose of obtaining the data needed in this study. Informants are subject to certain criteria, namely, (1) knowing in depth the intricacies of the characteristics of the Ntaram community, (2) being born and raised in the research area, (3) being able to communicate and being able to form researchers to provide information, (4) men at least 50 years old. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews based on open-ended questions, recording, and observation to observe behavior and ritual context. Data validation is carried out in two ways, namely triangulation and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) which presents the main

resource persons, other resource persons, and related parties, both government and non-government agencies. Triangulation is carried out between sources to determine the validity of data from key informants and other informants. Also, the triangulation method is to carefully examine the consistency of interview data and observation or recording data.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Nataram and the Ntaram People

Geographically, Ntaram is located in Golo Ngawan Village, Sambu Rampas District, Manggarai Regency. The topographical state of Sambu Rampas District is mostly 30 marbles. 732 ha, the total area reaches 40,009 ha. The height from sea level reaches 500-1000 m. This condition allows residents in this area to cultivate more dry land covering an area of 5,144 ha (gardening) than wetlands (swamped) covering an area of 482 ha. The population of Sambu Rampas Subdistrict produces only 3,108 tons of rice per year from an area of 952 ha. Green beans are quite a lot of crops and produce 319 tons per year. Most of the soil textures with lithosol reached 33 809 ha, and the most rainfall occurred in February, namely 466, or 23 days in February there was rain in this district.

Golo Ngawan Village is one of the 8 villages in the Sambu Rampas District. The name of the village (Golo Ngawan) is taken from the name of a hill where the people of Ntaram live around the hill. This village belongs to the villages located in the mountains. Golo Ngawan village borders

four other villages that culturally include Congkar culture. The eastern boundary with Rana Mese Village, the Western boundary with Golo Wangkung Village, the Northern boundary with Buti Village, Southern boundary with Satar Nawang Village.

The uniqueness of Golo Ngawan Village lies in the tradition of the plurality of beliefs that they adhere to. Almost every small village in the name of Ntaram must have these two communities. Such a situation shows that in each village there are two communities. The individuals of the two communities live randomly. That is, Muslims and Catholics live without any barriers. The Ntaram people themselves do not call it that. They have more euphoric connotations or designations. They labeled the community *ata sili mai wae* (people from the river/coast) for the Muslim religious community and the *ata le mai tanah golo* (people from the mountain) which is often connoted with Catholicism. That connotation seems more anthropological-geographic than a connotation of a religious nature.

On the slopes of Golo Ngawan covering an area of 480 ha, there are 2,164 inhabitants. The *ata sili mai wae* community has 2 mosques 1 mosque and another Islamic school (madrasa). Meanwhile, *ata le mai tanah golo* has three churches. A madrasa stands majestically near the courtyard of a Kapela or about 22 meters from the door of a kapela. Everyone who wants to go to the chapel for Sunday mass or worship must pass through the courtyard of the madrasa.

Such spatial planning is more symbolic than purely technical problems. That is,

churches and madrassas facing each other seem to exude a pluralistic beauty between *ata sili mai wae* and *ata le mai tanah golo*. That situation was reinforced also by their knowledge of the essence of the difference between them. Both communities know each other well in their religious traditions. Regular meetings and rituals seem to provide complete knowledge to understand each other. *Ata sili mai wae* truly knows exactly when and when to start praying on Sunday. They also know the day of Easter and Christmas and the rituals associated with them.

The case below could explain the circumstances. One Sunday, a rather old man crossed the road between the madrasa and the church. He was dressed in makeshift clothes, carrying a sickle about to go to the garden. While the others were neatly dressed and hated. When asked in their language: *Jam Pisa ngaji sena mai chapel hoo?* (What time is the prayer in this chapel?). The man replied: it's usually eight o'clock. The use of the word *lasagna* (usually) contains empirical experiences that prove that *ata sili mai wae* (Muslims) not only know Sundays but know at what time *ata le mai tanah golo* performs mass worship in the chapel. Furthermore, sociologically the phrase *lasagna* (usually) asks for the consequence that passing through the chapel on Sundays and at such hours is not allowed to sing or fuss. Sensitivity to differences and an excellent way of maintaining harmony.

On the contrary, *ata le mai tanah golo* (Catholic community) knows well when it is not permissible to smoke in the middle of the village: "*Eme cai willing ceiling dise ase have sili mai wae, hami toe roko one natas*"

(If the month of abstinence – fasting from our brother *ata sili mai wae*, we naturally do not smoke in the village yard).

The layout is also shown in the village system which is randomly inhabited by members of the two communities. The placement of houses and the location of houses of worship that they do reinforce the impression that in Ntaram there live two communities that acknowledge each other's existence and seek to exist in these differences.

Several small villages under the identity of Ntaram (Golo Wote, Nanga, Nelo, Golo Ngawan) are located on the hillside of Golo Ngawan. The village has a slope of 55 degrees. Hill soil reaches 83% with the state of Litasol soil (rocky) with an altitude of approximately 700 m above sea level. Such topographical conditions caused the inhabitants of Ntaram to depend only on dry land (farmed) areas. Ntaram farmers work with a diversification system. In a garden, various plants are grown such as coffee, pecan, chocolate, coconut, banana, keladi, cassava, and other types of plants.

The trade crops cultivated by the Ntaram people and the people of Golo Ngawan Village to this day are coffee, chocolate, vanilla, and pecan. While the wet area (rice fields) is very small. Therefore, in the dry season (July to September) Ntaram and its surroundings are included in food-insecure areas. The geographical situation also encourages Ntaram people in certain seasons to work odd jobs in the informal sector in Ruteng (the district capital), and in other areas. Some residents of Ntaram, especially young people, make a living as migrant workers in Malaysia.

House Walls as Grammatical Diversity

The history of the confluence of religious differences in Ntaram gave rise to certain social experiences and accompanied their behavior both verbally and nonverbally. Living and experiencing differences in regular encounters (every day) is also a latent attempt to form several values, norms, conventions, and codes shared that are oriented towards social harmony and seek to let differences grow between them.

Several core poles support diversity in Ntaram. First, the value of consciousness *ca nang agu ca wa'u* (inbred and *seketurunan*) with several elements related to it, namely customary principles, *beo-wae* (kampung), the importance of the family in maintaining social harmony, *media banteng agu reject* (customary agreement) for brothers and sisters and living in harmony and long (the habit of meeting). Second, the family is the foundation of harmony; third, *Murin agu Ngaran* is the Supreme Being believed by Catholicism and Islam; fourth, the concept of *hiring tau* (mutual respect), which in the Ntaram sense is more substantial, namely respecting others not only because of the other person as a human being but also because the other person is as *ata ba tara de Murin* (the bearer of the owner's likeness). While several elements are covered in it the theme *ning agu theme bis* (not feeling disgusted and not trying to insult others), *Copel*, and *Jurak* (sanctions for people who act unethically and people who commit adultery). Fifth, the potential for conflict in Ntaram society.

Another path taken by the Ntaram people to experience and dive into the reality of difference is epistemic sensitivity

i.e. being sensitive to what they know about their differences as *ata sili mai wae* and as *ata le mai tana golo*. There were no banners of exhortation on the curb, or verbal announcements spoken through dignitaries when the fasting month came. Reality is simply captured with a taste antenna. *Ata le mai tana golo* knew carefully when his brother *ata sili mai wae* performed fasting, and what they should do.

The point is that any outsider who comes to Ntaram will find it difficult to identify individuals from both communities. There is nothing particularly distinctive that characterizes the distinction between the *ata le mai tana golo* community and the *ata sili mai wae* community. In the daily appearance between the individuals of the two communities, it is difficult to distinguish. There is not a single distinctive identity that distinguishes the two. They both use *peci*, have the same house shape, the same language, speaking style, and manners. However, when they entered their home, it was very clear that their identities were read on the wall of the living room or the corner of the living room. The walls are splattered with who they are. Each *ata sili mai wae* house visible on the wall of the living room is plastered with several sacred images (such as *sufis* or Islamic imams) of the world or calendars with Islamic nuances. On the contrary, for *ata le mai tana golo*, the identity was placed in the corner of the living room. A statue of Jesus or a statue of Our Lady with a small house complete with accessories that give a religious atmosphere in the corner of the room. It all revolves around who the occupants of the house are and how they

are treated. The strategy of pronouncing a special identity through the walls and corners of the house indicates that what appears outside the home is universal, while the inside of the house is a space of privacy. In a sense, the issue of religion is a private matter. While on the street or in the yard it becomes a humanitarian affair or a social affair.

The images and statues of the saints are real objects or objects, but at the same time express the intention (subject) of the inhabitants of the house. In other words, a picture or statue is a real object affixed to the wall constituting an objectivation of the subjectivization of its inhabitants. Thus, images and statues express certain motifs (we are a Muslim family or we are a Catholic family), and treat us as we should". In Haji Ahmad Heba's house, for example, there are pictures of several young children reading the Quran. The semi-permanent house was painted green as a color as an Islamic icon. On the wall of the triplex door which is also pressed green inscribed Arabic letters with a black marker. The host writes the Arabic letters not to be understood by the visitor of the house, or to know the meaning of the word, but the script is just a gesture that wants to convey a message to anyone who meets in the house, that "we are a Muslim family, and please adjust your behavior".

In the context of Ntaram (which is plural), the act of putting a sacred image on the wall of the living room or installing a statue in the corner of the living room is related to moral rules, and is social, both for the Ntaram people themselves and for foreigners (not Ntaram people). Because the image and the statue indirectly tell

people to change or modify their behavior during communication with the host. Also, that plurality does not always produce secularization i.e. weakens the position of religion and reduces it to a very personal problem. This is how to build a movement of harmony to live in differences.

It can further be explained that the statues and images of the saint can be described as social acts (doings), and therefore asked to be interpreted by others, and not as happenings. Each action has a specific motive and contains a certain meaning. There is a certain intention behind the installation of the image of the saint or the installation of a statue in the corner of the guest room.

This symptom is a form of social action since it is asked to be interpreted and ultimately aims to match each other's actions. The reason is very clear that each action must contain certain intentions, plans, and certain expectations of the person involved. The act of putting up images of saints, putting up statues, and crosses in the living room is an act of purpose, deliberately to be interpreted in the context of the differences between the two communities. Therefore, the act is a moral, legal, and social rule both for the Ntaram people themselves and even for foreigners. Because events in the yard or routines outside the home do not give their color to the two communities that have different religious traditions.

The act of putting a statue in the corner of the room or sticking a picture of a saint on the wall of the living room wants to convey the message that we are a Catholic family or a Muslim and treat us as you know about us. It's a moral message that is

delivered simply and can only be read by the radar of sensitivity. This phenomenon from the perspective of Symbolic Interaction is explained as a behavior that seeks to engage individuals to shape their behavior taking into account the expectations of the people with whom they interact. The units of action of a certain set of people, mutually adapt or match each other's actions to each other through a process of interpretation. The goal is to expand the field of mutual understanding between them. Thus, a harmonious state is created.

This behavior contains knowledge as well. At least, the picture affixed to the wall and the statue deliberately placed in the corner of the guest room became a discourse that reminded everyone of the importance of difference, and the importance of appreciating that difference. Because, after all, the action has consequences, and asks for certain treatment as well. An action contains the motive or intention of the perpetrator and that action is only in the context of the reality that has provided the difference. That is, both are well aware that in special cases (streams of belief) they are very different. The Catholic in Ntaram put up a statue in the corner of the living room because he knew his neighbors were many Muslims.

This situation is different from some non-Muslim areas such as the Riwu or Manus regions or in other areas in Manggarai. In this region, the statue is hidden in a bedroom. On the contrary, images of sufis, and saints, are not found in Islamic-majority areas such as in Pota. In other words, in Ntaram, the walls of houses become a text to introduce who they are

and at the same time a simple communication system that is asked to be interpreted. Although the scenery outside the house is the same between the two communities. However, the walls of the guest room and the corner of the living room are distinctive. A guest or stranger is introduced to a simple syntax: The image of a saint means that the inhabitants of the house are communities of *ata sili mai wae* (Islam); the statue in the corner of the guest room hints that the occupant of the house is the community at *le mai tana golo* (Catholic). This is a convention that has social dimensions or at least contains social action. An act that is motivated to be interpreted. The image on the wall of the guest room, or the statue in the corner of the guest room becomes an index that explains the differences and the path to meaning to the plan of behavior.

This is what Berger explains, institutionalization occurs when reciprocal typicality is accustomed to different types of perpetrators. In other words, each such typicality is one institution (1996:79). Berger stressed that the reference to actions that have been made customary, which make up institutions is always a common property. Those typical according to Berger are available to all members of the particular group in question, and the institutions themselves define the actions of individuals.

It is very clear that putting a picture of a saint on the wall of the living room and installing a statue in the corner of the living room is a reference frame for interpretation which then proceeds to behavior matching. In the Symbolic Interaction paradigm, this symptom is seen as a process that involves

individuals shaping their behavior taking into account the expectations of the people with whom they interact. In other words, individuals or units of action consisting of a certain set of people, adapt or match each other's actions to each other through a process of interpretation.

The Social Construction Paradigm sees this phenomenon as a form of objectification that provides signification by creating signs by individuals in the community. A sign is an objectification to exploit subjective meanings. However, the sign only applies here and now. At least the individuals of both communities know a very general rule.

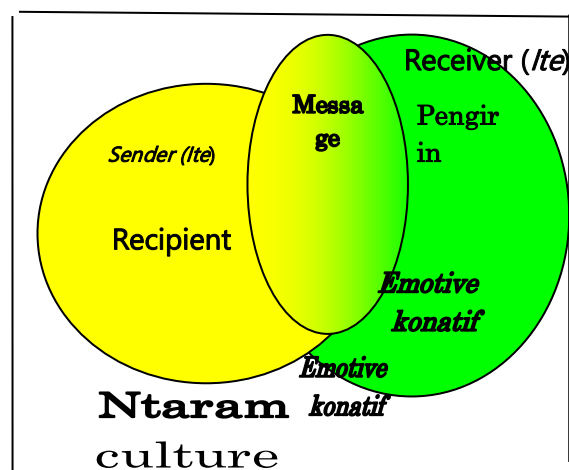
Muslims forbid wine drinks, forbid eating pork, are encouraged to meet before or after 6:00 p.m., and talks around taboos are minimized in such a way. That specific set of norms is to be presented as a framework and plan of conduct. Those norms manifest in the form of artifacts as icons of the identity of each community. Artifacts (in the form of photographs of *muaafir* or the most influential religious figures) are displayed on the wall or in the corner of the living room (the heart of Our Lady and the Cross of the Lord Jesus) as behavioral references and are simple grammars that give meaning and involve involving individuals to shape their behavior taking into account the expectations of the people they interact with. The important thing in this relationship is that the individuals of both communities can adjust and foresee the actions of others. The result is surprising that in Ntaram there is an ethical movement organized in a routine space to maintain social harmony.

The communication behavior of the individuals of the two communions is affiliated with some general values and norms organized in the tradition and customs. This is the general standard or what Mead calls generalized other takes on the role in which the individual refers to his behavior in communicating and planning actions while considering the reactions of other individuals. Those standards include normative habits or patterns and values that underlie behavioral orientations. Generalized other can dampen the differences between the communities at sili mai wae and ata le mai tana golo.

Communication Model of Different Religious Communities in Ntaram

In previous descriptions, it has been shown both explicitly and implicitly the interrelationship between the cultural and communication elements of the Ntaram People to establish and maintain plural social harmony in Ntaram. Such phenomena give a distinctive character to the communication patterns of the Ntaram People. In the context of Ntaram, communication is not merely a linear transmission of messages but a ritual that posits a plurality of civilization. Here the elements of meaning and value become very vital elements in communicating. Thus, communicating is a series of ethical actions that reflect cultural elements jointly constructed by the data sili mai wae community (characterized by Islam) and the data le mai tana golo community (characterized by Catholicism). As an act, communication shapes the individual as a Ntaram person. In a sense, communication

is not just the process of sending a message from the sender to the recipient and then stopping, but communication is a humanitarian ritual, and communication becomes a social activity. Georg Mead (Hrdt, 2005:71) says that communication is never just a process of conveying abstract symbols; Communication is always a movement in social action that invites the individual himself to act the same as the invitation of others. The communication model of the Ntaram People can be observed in the diagram below.



It is clear that the communication model of the Ntaram people as drawn above specifically shows that communication events are not merely a process of transmitting messages, but communication is a ritual process. This model shows that the sender and receiver exchange roles with each other during the course of the communication event. This site – Ite (we-us) pattern has two consequences. First, the ite-ite pattern constructed by the Ntaram people shows a pattern of linear-familiar relationships. In such a communication pattern Who (the sender of the message) and Who (the recipient of the message) are written in capital letters as a consequence that

communication takes place between cultured human beings. The linear-familiar pattern is based on the value of hiring tau (mutual respect) because of sincerity in calling naming agu ca wa'u (inbred and seketurunan) and because man is seen as ba tara de Murin (as the bearer of the face of God).

Secondly, the sender and receiver of the message do not seek to objectify each other which may indicate gradation and domineering. However, both the sender and receiver are in a socio-cultural context that determines their role. Thus, the relationship pattern (ite-ite) is a distinctive style that expresses submission to the context. The context in this pattern contains two aspects, namely the situation which is the physical environment in which communication takes place, and the socio-cultural environment, namely the value of a naming agu ca wa'u, Chiang tau attitudes, customs, worldview, and belief systems) and other cultural aspects that become the frame or context of communication. Sensitivity to context is very important in communicating. Sometimes context can determine how to communicate. In certain cases, for example, the individual of ata le mai golo is already determined by the context of how to communicate with the individual at sili mai wea and vice versa.

In addition, in the communication patterns ite (we-sender) and ite (we are recipients) not only serve to convey messages but serve as an expression of who they are (as what and from what community) because messages can only be well received by the recipient if the way they are delivered is appropriate. In short, in an ite-ite communication pattern where

the message element and the impression element come together and are equally important. Often the element of impression can determine the content of a message conveyed. In short, in the case of Ntaram, there is no communication between me and hau (me and you), but it takes place in it (us). The sender and receiver of the message are ite as an ingroup reflection.

A case that relates to the above concept explains how impressions can affect the message. A father is invited to attend a wa'u wa tana (ceremony of introducing a newborn). His son who served in Ruteng (the capital of Manggarai Regency) wrote a letter to his father in Ntaram. One of the crucial parts of the letter reads as follows:

Ema, kapu haa empo dite, ata ronai. Ami manga plan pe wa'u wa tana wulang musi. Omo manga time ite agu ende mai awo main. (Father, your grandson has been born, a baby boy. We are planning a thanksgiving event for her birth early next month. If father and mama have time please come).

What happened to the letter? The hope of the child who served in Ruteng that his parents in Ntaram would be present would invite a major conflict. The father conveyed a message to the person who went to Ruteng that he would not attend the event. The reason is, that he invites them with times omo manga time (if da time). That sentence seems to underestimate their position as parents. They feel neglected as parents. He seems to be seen as an unimportant person by saying omo manga time (if there is time). The father was furious and decided not to participate in the celebration of his

grandson's birth. In fact, for many years they were in conflict because of the word *omo*. However, because his mother was sickly in Ntaram, the child with his family visited the mother in Ntaram. But, when they arrived in Ntaram, they were barred from entering the house. They were forced to stay overnight with neighbors eavesdropping on the state of their ailing mother. After mediation by neighbors, the child enters the house with a fine of a pig just *muun tangka* taken (sorry for the child's actions). In the context of the story, it is understood that impressions have a very strong influence on the message. The use of certain words becomes a determinant of the meaning of the message. That is, the communication of people asking for a message must be conveyed impressively. Messages and impressions are the effects that converge in the communication rituals of Ntaram.

Furthermore, the *ite-ite* communication pattern contains referential meanings. As explained in the previous section, the typical thing *tofu* attitude of Ntaram is that humans are treated as *batarade ngaran* (bearers of the likeness of God), and human existence lives in two realms, the virtual world and the here world. Man himself is only a constitutive part of the all-vast, all-unattainable, and superpowered universe. Therefore, the pattern of *ite-ite* communication has communication that has theological consequences. All behaviors both verbal and nonverbal must be expressed within the framework of *Chiang tau*. The pattern of *ite-ite* has destroyed the identity, status, and confusion between the sender and recipient of the message.

Furthermore, in the above symbolic model, there is an element called "code". The code is a shared meaning created by both the *data sili mai wae* community and the *ata le mai tana golo* community. So, the code is a sign-organizing system. Sign systems are conventions or constructed by both communities. The way of sitting among men is seen as the most positive way of sitting and so on. Proper visiting hours, illegitimate and halal food. In short, manners are an ethical appeal in communicating. Likewise, for example, the strong use of consonants and vowels in verbal behavior is a sign system that appears as a reflection of the differences between the two communities. Strong vowels and consonants can carry a clearer message so as not to cause blurring or misinformation. Such a situation is a form of effort to maintain social harmony.

In the Ntaram people's communication model, the code and context are themselves messages. When someone mentions the word Ntaram then the real communication process has begun. That is, mentioning Ntaram immediately appears the message that several villages in the name of Ntaram are a plural region (which is at least known that two religions are followed by its inhabitants. Similarly, when you hear the word *king* (who is in Ntaram), it is immediately known that the person is from Ntaram. The code works indexically indicating who and where the speaker is from. Therefore, each person should carefully plan the behavior which he presents. Another rather distinctive code of Ntaram putting up statues in guest rooms or images of saints affixed to the walls of guest rooms is a convention that is

indexical and serves as a reference for matching behavior.

The codes (the entirety of communication behavior) constructed together as outlined above are finite. These codes are oriented towards social relations, and better denote the function of fats. The purpose of these codes seeks to minimize individual signals of difference. Instead, the constructed code serves communality and takes into account the similarities between the speakers. Communicators and communication are in liner line without gradation gaps. Conversations always contain lite paga (so master) to show similarities between speakers and at the same time shrink individualistic expressions. In other words, the code jointly constructed by both communities bases itself on common interests shared experiences and shared expectations. So, code is constructed due to certain differences in typical and occurs here and in the interests of people's communication here.

Ntaram people's communication patterns are perspective. That is, the sending and receiving components are devoted to emotions and relationships. Emotions focus on the quality of the relationship between the sender and receiver. Thus, the message is packaged in such a way as to take into account the family hierarchy, the social hierarchy, and most importantly the religious differences they adhere to. In other words, the quality of the relationship between data sili mai wae and ata le mai tana golo is organized in a linear-familiar communication pattern. Thus, it is not only the message that becomes important, but also the effect of

the message or conation, namely on the clarity of information (through the selection of strong vowels and consonants), and the dramaturgical nonverbal expression.

Communication by considering the social environment is one of the referential components. That is, religious differences become a reference for structuring and planning the behavior of communicating clearly and trying to be redundant. Therefore, the site and its patterns (us and us) with code are constructed together to become an important element of maintaining the relationship between the sender and recipient of the message. Such efforts are a form of Ntaram-style fatigue communication. In the context of Ntaram, redundancy of messages is needed. Thus, the politeness of the micro-context affects the content of the message conveyed. The communication pattern of it is very redundant because it is related to the importance of a clear message so as not to cause misunderstandings that are very sensitive to a plural society. Therefore, greetings such as nia ngaok, and mame ute are a form of fats and redundant communication that reinforces social harmony.

The key word in Ntaram's communication pattern is ite (we). It contains several meanings. First, it contains ethical appeals that reflect ingroup feelings based on ca naming agu ca wa'u consciousness (inbred and seketurunan). Secondly, it is an ontological form of Ntaram which is a synthesis between two faith traditions, eight tribes, and two power traditions. That is, it is not only a pragmatic term to express respect for each other

under homogeneous conditions, but because they want to express differences and each exists in those differences. Third, it for Ntaram is a verbal gesture to objectify the plurality (differences) synthesized by their history and consciousness. However, in the process of interaction of individuals both groups of society do not stop interpreting and giving meaning, but also construct or create conventions such as rules, roles, and norms that allow effective interaction.

Therefore, Ntaram's communication model shows a shift in emphasis on the importance of senders and recipients, but emphasizes the importance of how "messages are sent", and how the recipient "receives them". How to deliver and how to receive determines the effectiveness of the message. How to convey and how to accept reflects on the values, norms, belief systems, and worldviews of the Ntaram People. Thus, one of the hallmarks of Ntaram people's communication is that the "what" they communicate determines "how" they communicate it.

CONCLUSIONS

Differences in religious traditions, differences in traditions of power, and variations of the tribes that inhabit Ntaram give the typical complexion of Ntaram society with all its social consequences. It can be said that beyond the names of several villages, Ntaram is a unique form of synthesis. As a synthesis, Ntaram was formed by the confluence of eight tribes (Mbaru Mese Tribe, Mbaru Bongko Tribe, Mbaru Labal Tribe, Mbaru Weli Tribe, Mbaru Cangga Tribe, Mbaru Golo Tribe, Mbaru

Munta Tribe, Mbaru Ajang Cengi Tribe). The eight tribes spread out to form small villages under their names but always legitimized themselves as Ntaram people. Ntaram, therefore, is not an identity that is only real in the form of birth, but rather an entity of plurality.

The walls are splattered with who they are. Each data sili mai wae house visible on the wall of the living room is plastered with several sacred images (such as sufis or Islamic imams) of the world or calendars with Islamic nuances. On the contrary, for ata le mai tana golo, the identity was placed in the corner of the living room. A statue of Jesus or a statue of Our Lady with a small house complete with accessories that give a religious atmosphere in the corner of the room. It all revolves around who the occupants of the house are and how they are treated. The strategy of pronouncing a special identity through the walls and corners of the house indicates that what appears outside the home is universal, while the inside of the house is a space of privacy. In a sense, the issue of religion is a private matter. While on the street or in the yard it becomes a humanitarian affair or a social affair.

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