

Analysis of The Factors of Conflict Between Student Groups in Makassar City and The Impact on National Security

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Abstract

The research aims at finding factors contributing to conflicts between groups of university students, especially that of between the students from Luwu and Bone in 2021. The conflict occurred outside of campus and widely impacted the safety of the surrounding community. The theory employed in the research is The Tree Conflict Model, Conflict Escalation Model, prejudice and stereotype model, and the national security concept. The research applies qualitative method and case study as the research design. Data collection techniques implemented are interviews and literature reviews. The result of the research indicates that conflicts between two student groups are caused by three factors; the Structural, the Manifestation, and the Dynamic factors. The Structural factor is an emotional bonding that gives people sensations of solidarity and causes them to be easily provoked. It also contributes to organizational mishandling and ineffective punishment. In the Manifestation factor, it is the group solidarity that significantly contributes to the conflict. Lastly, it is the Dynamic factor that is reflected in the action of retaliation. More importantly, the impact of the conflict can excess and causes disruption against communal and social safety. In this regard not only is the government responsible for avoiding external threats but it is also mandated for the safety of people in their daily life.

Keywords: Conflict, Inter-Group University Student Conflict, Human Security, The Tree Conflict Model

INTRODUCTION

The objective of the Nation of The Republic of Indonesia is stated within the Preamble of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution and is described in four manifests which are to protect the whole nation and the people of Indonesia, to enable social prosperity, to provide education for all people, and to participate in the making of global peace. In attempts to accomplish the goals the state is obligated with at least two responsibilities; to ensure the safety and prosperity of the people (Eko, 2015, p.6). As the time progresses, threats against national security are not only within the form of external military advances but also, as they have erratically transformed, multidimensional conflicts between groups in society.

In addition, every individual has the right to obtain protection and a sense of security following Article 28 G paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which states that, "Everyone has the right to protection of themselves, their families, honor, dignity and property who are under his authority, and have the right to a sense of security and protection from the threat of fear of doing or not doing something which is a human right." Therefore, to ensure the realization and fulfillment of these rights in the context of threats arising from conflict in society, Law Number 7 of 2012 concerning Handling Social Conflict was established. This is based on the belief that conflict is an inseparable part of the social dynamics of society.

According to Santosa (2017, p.199) one of the major causes of social conflicts is diversity. Indonesia, as a country with great diversity including that of culture and ethnicity, views it as an important part of the national identity and is harmonized through the slogan of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* substantiating that diversity should not disrupt unity. However, it is worth mentioned that the diversity can become an obstruction element to maintaining national unity.

Therefore the awareness of multiculturalism in the national development is exceptionally important. Multiculturalism is an idea that emphasizes on the importance of a mutual respect among a number of groups with different cultures within the society, including those belonging to the minority group, in order for them to be able to express themselves without fears and prejudice from other groups (Zahrafani, Jamal, & Anwar, 2017, p.1587).

Adibah (2014) states that multiculturalism awareness can flourish if it is taught and properly informed to the young generation and students through education. This way they will be well-educated of the importance of respecting other people's cultures and to develop a set of positive characters towards others.

In this regard, education is truly important in creating a progressive society and in building national characters based on Pancasila (Rosada & Albertus, 2019, p.131). The unity and awareness of multiculturalism are two elements that are inspired by the implementation of Pancasila within the society. Yet, achieving a well-implemented education has still become a great challenge since mass conflicts between two groups of students are rising, according to the National Bureau of Statistics in 2020. The percentage of the conflict increased from 0,40% in 2014 to 0,65% in 2018. Among common mass conflicts in Indonesia, mob fights between student groups ranked third with a number of reasons. Even though conflict is inseparable from our social life and that it can be a contributing factor to social changes (Susan, 2019), many of them have become very aggressive and violent as what happened in Makassar recently. Conflicts generally occur between students from different structural institutions, or those from different regions or faculties.

Region-related conflicts between two different student groups in Makassar are strongly caused by the fact that they come from many different regions and places in South Sulawesi. As the center of developmental growth in South Sulawesi, Makassar has grown significantly in both economy and education. According to the Data of Reference from the Ministry of Culture and Education there are 22 registered universities with 4 of them are state-run and attract a great number of students. If counted with academies, community colleges, high schools, polytechnics, and institutes there are 161 state universities in Makassar out of 324 of the registered universities in South Sulawesi. This indicates that 50,3% of higher educational institutions are based in the city of Makassar. Several regions such as the Island of Selayar and the North Luwu don't even have a university located in them.

Due to this condition, in order to fulfill the need for higher education, students from different parts of South Sulawesi come to study in Makassar. Therefore, the city has a population consisting of people from different places and cultures even though they are still attached to a strong and intertwined history. This communal and social diversity gave birth to subculture groups based on their place of origins. These groups were established in campuses commonly referred to as regional organizations which accommodated students from the same place. These organizations allow them to express their cultural values and norms from their own regions. To those who came to Makassar by themselves, their families become their organization (based on the common place of origins, ethnicity, and culture) thus created a strong state of primordialism (Akbar and co, 2022, p.67). This sense of primordialism in return created a powerful communal bond, interdependency, and egocentrism.

When referring to the theory of the cause of conflicts, one will find that it is strongly motivated by the group identity which often leads to the creation of "them" and "us". This identification often produces labels that distinguish one group from the other (Reimer and co, 2020, p. 8). In a negative sense, this differentiation can cause a certain stereotype against a particular group (Malik, 2017, p.11) and that people are biased and tend to side with their own group (Liliweri, 2018, p.412). Stereotype is a belief that a certain group of people belong to specific characters or in other words, it is a "characteristical attribution towards a group of people

(Timer, 2014, p.108)". Stereotype is a belief system on a person's psychological character to attach a prejudice on other group's members indiscriminately. Social prejudice is also an attitude of certain group to those who belong to different races or cultures caused by a set of negative perspectives about them. The foundation of the prejudice is the stereotype which is a belief regarding other people from a certain community (which can be either positive or negative). Stereotypes serve to describe the reality that happens between two communities, define a community in its relation to interactions with other ethnic groups, and shape an image of another community (and of its' own) which then explains, rationalizes, and validates relationships between groups and how a society behaves in the past, recent and future time. Through the stereotype we behave based on what we believe is appropriate towards people of other groups (Mayopu & Diponegoro, 2016, p.375-376).

The research aims at finding contributing factors to conflicts between student groups and in particular, between students from Luwu and students from Bone that emerged in 2021. This case was chosen by researchers after considering the active responses of the government in mitigating the conflict. Another thing to put into account is that this conflict occurred outside of campus and impacted social safety in general. The research also attempts to relate the conflict to the issue of national security in a more general sense.

The research applies a number of theories in order to lay out the issue regarding the conflict. The theory of conflict employed in the research is focusing on the Tree Conflict Model to describe the contributing factors of the conflict. The conflict background is explained with the Conflict Escalation Model by Glasl. Furthermore, the research is also supported by the prejudice and stereotype theory and the concept of national security.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research implements the qualitative method with a study case design. The elected case is the conflict that occurred between the student organization of Bone and the student organization of Luwu in 2021. The data collection method applied is interviews and literature studies. The research has a number of sources of information such as the Department of National and Political Unity of Makassar, Regional Police Department of Makassar, and the students from both groups themselves. The data in the research is analyzed by using the Data Analysis of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) consisting of data condensation, data display, and conclusion. The objective of the data is for the stakeholders to take accurate actions and to properly understand the construction of conflicts between student groups in Makassar.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Picture of Conflict

Conflict escalation is understood as an intensification of a conflict with regard to the observed extent and the means used (Bösch, 2017). Conflict escalation model is a very useful as a means for sensitizing people to the mechanisms of conflict escalation. Such sensitizing may lead to a greater awareness of the steps one should take care to avoid if one wants to prevent a conflict from escalating out of control. Rather than seeking causes in the individuals, the model emphasizes how there is an internal logic to conflict relationships, stemming from the failure of "benign" ways of handling contradictory interests and standpoints (Jordan, 2000). This research explains conflict through this model in the following form.

The conflict began on the afternoon of November 26, 2021, in the room of Student Executive Organization (BEM) of the Agriculture Faculty of Makassar Islamic University. A number of students from IPMIL (the student organization of Luwu) requested the data of new students from the region of Luwu but denied since they were told to have an official letter of request first (Dailymakassar.id, 2021). This caused a debate and a dispute between the two groups. At this point, the conflict was still within the scale of disputes and disagreements between the two groups. The situation escalated and on the evening of November 26, 2021, at 21.00 local time, there was a mob attack at the office of the Student Executive Bureau (BEM) of the Agriculture Faculty in Makassar Islamic University. This attack targeted the chief of the BEM organization who was on site with some of his colleagues. A number of people were injured including the chief of BEM who suffered serious injury on his hands and his head. The conflict has now come to the scale of tension which intensified between the two groups because of the attack.

On November 28, 2021, the conflict entered the stage of crisis in which both sides attacked each other's base. The situation became out of control and violent attacks widened to the surrounding residents. In order to cease the conflict the police secure the premises and arrested a number of suspects. This particular riot has more extended impacts compared to other student mob fights because of how it affected local residents and how it was largely covered by the media. This prompted a number of figures such as influential and political people and the Department of National and Political Unity of Makassar to take part in attempt to reconcile the disputing groups. This caused the conflict to deescalate and until December 2021 it is officially declared to be dismissed through legal process and reconciliation agreement. This ceases the conflict yet the de-escalation does not necessarily mean it will permanently disappear.

Background of Conflict

In order to explain the background of the conflict the researcher begins by describing the existence of the region-based student organizations. A general picture of the city of Makassar will display us the disparity of educational opportunity causing a lot of people to come to Makassar for higher education. Naturally this prompted people – and students in particular – to establish groups based on their places of origins. This is caused by the fact that each place has their own cultures and values that are different from other groups. As stated by Taqwim, a student who is also a former member of the student organization of Bone in Hasanuddin University (interview, November 8 2022) that despite having been in Makassar for three years he is still unfamiliar with the local customs and culture of the local people in Makassar.

These cultural differences are generally related to how people talk, how they behave towards others and what kind of values they believe in. One of the major cultures that are maintained by people within the organization of students of Bone is how they talk to people. In the local accent of Makassar language people use the particle of “ko” to refer to the second person or “you” in casual style and “ki” for formal or polite style. People in Makassar tend to use “ko” when they speak unless it is to an older or a respectable person. People of Bone, who tend to have more polite way of communicating, would not use “ko” in most occasions and therefore causes a culture shock when they communicate with people of Makassar. Beside the use of casual and seemingly impolite particle of “ko”, the assertive and straightforward way of speaking by the Makassar people causes people from Bone to feel inconvenient in interacting and tend to be misunderstood as being impolite and aggressive. Therefore many of them choose to socialize within their own community and establish the sense of togetherness.

Beside cultural factors, the sense of attachment to the place of origin also supports the existence of region-based organizations. Makassar is the most developed city in South Sulawesi and many other cities around it are still behind in terms of social and economic progress. Region-based organizations contribute to the development of their own regions by becoming a melting

pot where young academicians meet and discuss how they can participate in the growth of the region.

These region-based student organizations, in turns, deviated off their initial noble motivations when they were not organized and managed by the right people. According to the Department of National and Political Unity of Makassar (interview, October 3 2022) conflicts between student organizations occurred simply because they just became carried away by what had already happened inside the organization. The more senior students utilized their influences as the organization's leaders to escalate conflicts or to initiate a dispute with another group. This is also supported by Basman, the former president of IPMIL at Unhas between 2020 – 2021 who confirmed that some of the senior students had played a great role in inciting sense of hate among the junior students through mentioning past conflicts with another group.

Moreover, the head of the Department of National Awareness and Social and Economic Sustainability added that the 'invitation' was also caused by ignorance that made the junior students manipulated easily. Another contributing factor is that there is the sense of pride that prompted them to be provoked. This pride has evolved in the negative sense among many people in South Sulawesi and, therefore, has always been associated with the lack of thought in taking actions. However, the researchers assume that the 'invitation' factor is not the single most contributing element to the conflict and that provocations were made based on the previous intrigues.

Based on the statement of Ilham, a Makassar Police Department Intel (interview, November 4 2022) the conflict between the student organization of Bone and the student organization of Luwu occurred due to exaggerated personal disputes and escalated to a conflict between two groups. Conflicts between two student groups normally begins with two individuals having altercations who then invited their friends from the same region to be involved. The fact that it is very easy to provoke others to participate into the conflict is the sign of the sense of having shared condition with their friends. This is what transforms personal issue into region-based group fights. The conflict between Luwu and Bone students in 2021 began from disagreements between the Student Executive Bureau (BEM) of Agriculture Faculty and students from Palopo (Luwu). The issue escalated when the students from Palopo provoked other students to attack the office of BEM. This caused retaliation by students from the opposite group. For more details, the conflict will be elaborated into the next subtopics regarding the causes of the conflict

Factors Contributing to the Conflict

The contributing factors to this conflict are described based on Tree Conflict Model theory which analysis a conflict from three major points namely Structural Factors, Manifestation Factors, and Dynamic Factors (Simon Mason and Sandra Rychard, Conflict Analysis Tools, 2005)

The first factor is called the structural factor which is related to potential structures that can produce a conflict. This factor plays a major role since it is the foundation on which a conflict emerges or reoccurs. When applied to the conflict between the students of Bone and the students of Luwu in 2021 it can be said that the conflict has been in place for as long as one can remember. This is also due to the stigma of conflict between the two groups. Basman, a student (interview, 8 November 2022), stated that the main reason of the conflict is unclear. When he tried to investigate himself, one of the older alumni only told him a story of a murder case of a person from Luwu without giving any detailed references as to the name of the victim or when it happened adding to the fact that it had no media coverage. However, this case is enough to incite tensions between the two groups. At this point, the researchers assume that the main structural factor in this conflict is that the sense of shared condition and situation can lead people to believe an information even before it is proven reliable. Another contributing factor to the conflict is the

stigma of an unfinished generation-long conflict between two most powerful past kingdoms in South Sulawesi namely the Kingdom of Luwu and the Kingdom of Bone. The history of the two great kingdoms produces a sense of pride in both of their people even after the kingdoms have ceased to exist. In fact, studies show that there was no strong tension between the two since there had been inter marriages between royal members of both kingdoms and one can assume that the conflict between the two have been long gone and that they have been brothers ever since. Beside the sense of shared condition another structural factor that causes the conflict is the disparity in educational opportunity.

Ilham, an security intel from Makassar Police Department (interview, November 4 2022) proposed an idea of establishing a prestigious university in Luwu and Bone in order for both groups to be separated from one another and to prevent potential conflicts from happening. On the other hand the Department of National and Political Unity of Makassar highlighted the organizational mismanagement in both student groups. The mishandling of organization contributes to the fact that it was very easy to provoke and to manipulate new students into the conflict even when they are unaware of the root of the problem.

Another structural factor is the ineffective consequences or punishment. The department of crime at Makassar police department (interview, November 16 2022) complains about not being able to take the student group violence cases to legal court due to the fact that they are always settled outside of the court room. Mob fights between two group of students often occur around the location of the campus. According to Taqwim and Basman, those involved in the mob fights are always suspended and not expelled because it can damage the reputation of the university.

The conflict resolution tends to put responsibility on the group instead of on the individuals, often causing long term contentment. Even though the issue of group solidarity becomes the casual element of why conflicts happen, the students are in different positions when it comes to the mapping of a conflict and those who are involved. Some might act as the provoking group while others take the role of the vulnerable party who are easily manipulated and driven by the group solidarity and shared identity without any comprehension of the ongoing situation of the conflict.

The second contributing factor is called the manifestation factor. The core of the conflict is the group solidarity. The sense of shared responsibility to structural factors has strongly developed since they have been together in one organization. This is also due to the strong communal identity that can be seen through the characteristics of the society. This identity is the social identity of the group (Rahmawati, 2018, p.79). In this case, they don't just share the responsibility in preserving the reputation and dignity of their place of origin but also a responsibility towards members of the same organization. As the consequence personal matters can transform into group issues.

The last factor is called the dynamic factor which is an element related to smaller conflicts and emerges from manifestation factor. Over time this factor accrues and can become a trigger to a conflict (Mason & Rychard, 2005, pp. 2). The researchers view the element of retaliation as a dynamic factor that is occasionally used to justify a dispute. According to Basman, retaliation is a method that people use to end tensions between two groups. However it can also create a conflict of stigma between the two parties since it is very difficult to release the past conflict from them. Retaliations also produce unrealistic changes of conflict dynamics which redirect it away from its original cause (Nursantari, 2018, p.2). Conflict within this stage is very susceptible to escalate towards the point of crisis.

The Impact of the Conflict

The dynamics of threats give birth to the paradigm of security. This discourse extends the definition of security beyond internal defense using military resource as the means of protection. What used to be a state-interest security has now become a community-oriented security (Wardoyo, 2015). With the influence of human right values, the community-oriented security has affected the transformation of security which has now included human security. This produces a consequence that national security is not only concerning the nation scale spectrum but also the public and human security. This idea has seven dimensions which cover the security of economy, food and supplies, health, and personal and environmental interests (Hara, Trihartono, & Indriastuti, 2023, page. xvii-xviii). This translates security into more extensive understanding related to the condition where community members are free from physical or psychological threats. They should also be granted safety in regards to their physical wellbeing, material possession from any kinds of harms and dangers.

In the context of human security, the definition of security becomes more specified as the relationship between a person with their community. This means that the state is mandated to protect their citizens from any threats and to free them from fears and to grant them with freedom of expressing what they aspire to (Susmoro & Siagian, 2022, p.30-32).

Conflicts between two groups of students occur due to personal matters and frequently receive less serious mitigating responses when in fact, they impact the security and safety of the city of Makassar. The impacts against security become more serious when they are related to the concept of public and human security in which the state must exercise their responsibility in protecting and providing security for the citizens in order not to be victimized by the conflict.

Arfan, the head of the Agency of National Awareness and Social and Economic Sustainability at the Department of National and Political Unity of Makassar views this conflict in its relation to the image of the security of Makassar as a city. The stigma of being a secure city is strongly associated with the guarantee that people have from fears of any threats. Therefore the impacts of an extended conflict can obstruct the stability of national security.

Even though the conflict between two student groups occasionally take place within the campus premises, other students and campus staffs who are not involved in the mob fights experience fears and threats against their activities and works. The fights also escalate and move towards student dormitories, local residents, and the student activity center.

Within the concept of human security, the state is responsible in providing the security and safety of its citizens in going through their daily activities. Apart from that, the obstruction of security has become more imminent because the horizontal conflict in Makassar tends to be motivated by region-based sentiments and fanaticism. These are two factors that can be utilized by certain parties to accomplish their own interests. Therefore, region-based solidarity can potentially cause clashes between two group of community from two different regions (Rochmawati, 2017, p.196).

CONCLUSION

Conflicts between two student groups can happen due to three factors namely the Structural Factor, the Manifestation Factor, and the Dynamic Factor. The structural factor describes a number of contributing causes to the conflict such as the sense of solidarity that can cause students to be easily provoked, the mismanagement of the organization, and ineffective consequences to every individual involved. In the manifestation factor, group solidarity is shaped by the disparity of educational opportunity. Lastly, it is the Dynamic factors that are reflected in the act of retaliation. The conflict was initially due to personal matters and intensified into group

fighters and motivated by the spirit of revenge. Therefore, the retaliation factor contributes significantly to the escalation of the conflict.

Conflict between two student groups are always caused by personal disputes and mostly occur inside the campus. This means that conflicts are always suppressed without trying to discover the essential causes of the matter. In fact, the impact of the fight can expand and causes threats against human security and become out of control. This type of conflict can happen anywhere. When it takes place inside the campus the staffs, other students and local residents can suffer from the effect. Within the context of people's security the state should be responsible not only for protection against external advances but also for safety and security of people in going through their daily life.

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