

Collaborative Communication of Jakmania in Mediating Intergroup Conflict

Muhamad Isnaini^{1*}, Rafif Azmi², Pieter Wilson Loho³

^{1,2,3}Universitas Bunda Mulia

¹Kampus Ancol, Jalan Lodan Raya No. 2, Ancol, Jakarta Utara, 14430, Indonesia

^{2,3}Kampus Serpong, Jalan Jalur Sutera Barat. No.7-9, Kota Tangerang, Banten 15143, Indonesia

¹emisnaini@gmail.com, ²m83220023@student.ubm.ac.id, ³m83220022@student.ubm.ac.id

Abstrak

Konflik antar geng jalanan dengan manifestasi tawuran merupakan kejadian rutin di Kecamatan Johar Baru. Upaya untuk mendamaikan pihak-pihak yang bertikai kerap menemui kegagalan. Mediasi alternatif justru berasal dari Jakmania yang menawarkan narasi baru untuk menciptakan perdamaian melalui kolaborasi dengan pihak yang berkonflik. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis praktik komunikasi kolaboratif dalam memediasi konflik antar geng jalanan di Kecamatan Johar Baru. Untuk menjawab tujuan penelitian tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan sejumlah informan yang peduli dengan perdamaian di Kecamatan Johar Baru. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, aktor yang berperan dalam mediasi konflik beragam, antara lain aparat keamanan, aparat pemerintah, forum warga, dan Jakmania. Jalan buntu mediasi oleh polisi, ketua RW dan pemuka opini membuka ruang bagi aktor 'pinggiran', yakni Jakmania untuk menjadi penengah, dan berhasil karena perdamaian menjadi lebih langgeng/terjaga. Kunci keberhasilan Jakmania adalah penggunaan kolaborasi, bukan kontestasi. Praktik komunikasi kolaborasi oleh Jakmania diimplementasikan melalui tahapan persuasi, dialog, dan komunikasi kolaboratif sekaligus. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa aktor pinggiran semacam kelompok pendukung klub sepakbola dapat menjadi mediator alternatif dalam menyelesaikan konflik. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada: Pertama, pemanfaatan komunikasi kolaboratif sebagai bagian komunikasi strategis dalam ilmu komunikasi. Kedua, kemunculan aktor alternatif dan pola-pola mediasinya dalam menengahi dan menyelesaikan konflik sejenis di tempat lain.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Jakmania; mediasi; Komunikasi kolaboratif; Tawuran; Geng jalanan*

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Komunikasi Kolaboratif Jakmania dalam Mediasi Konflik Antarkelompok

Abstract

Intergroup conflict with the manifestation of brawls are a routine occurrence in Johar Baru Sub-District. Efforts to reconcile the warring parties often fail. Alternative mediation actually comes from Jakmania which offers a new narrative to create peace through collaboration with conflicting parties. This study aims to analyze collaborative communication practices in mediating conflicts between street gangs in Johar Baru Sub-District. To answer the research objectives, this study used a qualitative approach with the

case study method. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with several informants concerned with peace in Johar Baru Sub-District. The results show that the actors involved in conflict mediation are diverse, including security forces, government officials, community forums, and Jakmania. The deadlock in mediation by the police, RW heads and opinion leaders opened up space for 'fringe' actors, namely Jakmania to mediate, and succeed because peace became more lasting/ maintained. The key to Jakmania's success was the use of collaboration, not contestation. Collaborative communication practices by Jakmania are implemented through the stages of persuasion, dialogue and collaborative communication at the same time. This study concludes that fringe actors such as football club supporter can be alternative mediators in resolving conflicts. This research contributes to: First, the use of collaborative communication as part of strategic communication in communication science. Second, the emergence of alternative actors and their mediation patterns in mediating and resolving similar conflicts elsewhere.

Keywords: *Jakmania; Mediation; Collaborative communication; Mass brawls; Street gangs*

INTRODUCTION

Jakarta, as the centre of government and business, has various problems, ranging from population density, poverty, unemployment, and social vulnerability, leading to conflict (Saputra, 2011; Tadjoeeddin, Chowdhury, & Murshed, 2012). The results of the mapping of the Jakarta National Unity and Politics Agency Jakarta (BKBP, 2015) show that 16 sub-districts in Jakarta are prone to conflict. Johar Baru Sub-District in Central Jakarta is one of them.

Tadie (2009) explained that conflict had become a recurring event for residents in Johar Baru. In one urban village called Tanah Tinggi, the conflict is apparent such as brawls between villages every day. Simone & Fauzan (2012) mention Tanah Tinggi Village in Johar Baru Sub-District as the most populous urban village in Jakarta and with most mass brawls. With its obvious ethnic diversity and aging infrastructure, Tanah Tinggi is Jakarta's poorest and most dangerous urban village. Two other sub-districts in the Johar Baru Sub-District, namely Galur and Kampung Rawa, have the same circumstance, which

is well-known as the most conflict-prone urban village in Jakarta (BKBP, 2015).

The conflicts that arise in Johar Baru Sub-District can be categorized as minor rural-urban social conflicts (Soeharto, 2013), which can also be classified as local conflicts (Barron, Kaiser, & Pradhan, 2009). Tadjoeeddin (2002) and Darmajanti, (2013) mention conflicts that often occur in Johar Baru Sub-District are included in collective violence with a sub-category of *civil commotion/ brawls*, namely clashes between villages, residents, or groups.

Wirutomo (2016) explained brawls in Johar Baru Sub-District occurred due to structural factors, culture, and intertwined processes (processual). Structural problems are caused by overpopulation. The lack of land makes poor housing conditions so that the residents live in overcrowded, as stated by Girsang (2020). The cultural factor is triggered by the fact that social life in the sub-district is a "culture of poverty" due to the structural poverty adaptation process that has existed for a long time. Structural poverty, according to Riza (2018), one of which caused by low household consumption expenditure. The fluid, flexible, and negotiable dynamics

of everyday interactions, for example the uses of social media (Fensi, 2020) ultimately create a processual arena.

The emergence of street gangs as results from poverty, unemployment, slums, population density, social exclusion, and limited space for living in the area of residence adds to the complexity of the problem in Johar Baru (Darmajanti, 2013). 40 street gangs often start brawls (Mauliate, Nurlambang, & Ludiro, 2014). They can even attack other groups with their ego (Garvin, 2018) and identity (Lesmana, 2020) anytime. The cause is an old unresolved grudge. In densely populated areas such as Johar Baru Sub-District, resentment easily occur, internalize due to low horizontal mobility quickly. Trivial issues, such as mocking each other on social media, miscommunication, rumours, or provocations, often trigger brawls among groups.

The persistence of brawls between the groups has led to apathy towards efforts to resolve conflicts and peace, which has been mobilized by some parties, including government officials, security forces, religious leaders, and the community. Ruwaida (2017) said that efforts to build social harmony in Johar Baru District are prevention and resolution of the conflict. Prevention means preventing the onset of the conflict, while the resolution aims to end the conflict through a peace agreement between the conflicting parties.

The model of conflict resolution in Johar Baru Sub-District relies on a coercive approach with the police and government officials as actors (Sumarno, 2014). The recent model of conflict resolution uses a participatory approach with dialogue

mediated by citizen forums and local government (Oktavia, I Gede Sumerta KY, & Hidayat, 2019). However, this formal legal approach did not create long-term peace. For this reason, 'The outsider' actors came up with an informal and humanist approach to mediate conflicts. The actor is a supporter group of Jakarta football club or Jakmania.

Several studies have succeeded in capturing the role of mediators in resolving inter-group conflicts such as Lumi (2015), Zakimbo (2018), and Huda & Key (2016) researching the government and security forces as mediators. Kurniawan & Syani, (2012) researched arbitration strategies by involving third parties as mediators. Yuliyanto (2016) examined community leaders as mediators in resolving brawls between residents. In contrast with previous studies, this study seeks to analyze the actors' mediating inter-groups conflict from third parties, namely Jakmania, the supporter groups of Jakarta Football Club.

Based on the background previously stated, the research question is how *Jakmania* proposed collaborative communication in mediating inter-group conflicts in Johar Baru. Referring to the research question, the purpose of this study was to analyze *Jakmania's* collaborative communication in mediating inter-group conflicts in Johar Baru Sub-District.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research focuses on intergroup conflicts. Takács (2003) defines intergroup conflict as action of one groups against other groups. Fisher (2006) states that intergroup conflict is reflected in many forms and

situations in society. Brawl is one of them. Kotarumalos (2004) identifies brawls as a form of conflict that has elements of gang fights and social unrest. Besides the community as the target, other elements of brawls include: 1) the actors know each other; 2) the activities of the perpetrators are generally students, school dropouts or unemployed; 3) the number of actors is relatively large; 4) nature of winning or losing; 5) direct confrontation; 6) short duration; 7) small numbers of victims; 8) focus on fixed area; 9) routine event. Elements as stated by Kotarumalos are also found in inter-group conflict in Johar Baru Sub-District with slight differences: 1) the duration is short, 30 minutes-1 hour, but it tend to recur after a pause. For example, brawls during the day will be repeated two or three times on the same day; 2) the focus area is not only fixed, but sometimes it extends to other places. For example, brawls between the Kopar and Bhengal groups on Jalan Mardani, Cempaka Putih. In fact, the focus area of the two groups is around the bridge between Tanah Tinggi and Kampung Rawa.

According to Hagedorn (2008), the emergence of gangs in urban areas caused by population migration, poverty and the failure of formal institutions to overcome these problems. Vigil (2003) states that gangs are synonymous with violence for three reasons: 1) members of the gang have dysfunctional families; 2) joining a gang that has a culture of violence; 3) need money. Gravel, Allison, West-Fagan, McBride, & Tita (2016) argued that gangs tend to be formed from the same ethnicity,

even though they are in a multi-ethnic environment, while violence perpetrated by these gangs tends to occur intraracially.

Inter-group conflicts in Johar Baru Sub-District are often triggered by small issues, for example mutual ridicule or arguments when certain group members cross the territory of the others, rumors about something of another particular group, miscommunication, or provocation by outsiders. On the other hand, the group has a high ego, so it always looks down on the enemy group.

To explain the phenomenon above, this study uses social identity theory as an analytical tool in explaining inter-group conflict. Fajar (2016) suggests that the basic assumption of social identity theory is an understanding of social groups and their relationship to conflict. Gallois, McKay, & Pittam (2005) explained that social identity theory assumes a discriminatory process that arises because a group tries to increase forms of similarities between members of one group, while at the same time the group seeks differences from other groups. A number of studies have succeeded in uncovering intergroup conflict through the perspective of social identity theory. For example, Fadila (2014) examines aggressive behavior in motorcycle gangs, or Ralahallo (2009) research on peace between community groups.

Every conflict requires resolution and settlement so that the conflicting parties return to a peaceful situation. Communication, as stated by Hoffmann (2014) and Nomleni, Sumartias, & Setiawan (2019) is a source of peace which is conceptualized as a form of transferring knowledge and ideas to maintain the

expected results. The result can be peace, which at the structural level is manifested in the form of symmetrical, symbiotic and just social relations (Viso, 2014). According to Löhr, Weinhardt, Graef, & Sieber (2018) collaborative communication is a crucial factor in conflict resolution management. Collaborative communication, according to Joshi (2022), is one of the cornerstones in strategic communication. Viso (2014) states that there is a close relationship between conflict resolution communication, conflict transformation, peace, and social change. All of which are in the realm of collaborative communication.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study applied a qualitative approach with case study design (Yin,

2009). According to Stake (2009) case study is employed to examine a particular case to find a perspective on an issue or improvement of a theory presented. In instrumental type of case study, the researcher intends to show something unique that can be learned from a case, which is different from the explanations obtained from other objects. The data collection technique for this research was in-depth interviews. Sources of data for in-depth interviews are purposively-selected informants and snowball sampling. The informants (Table 1) consist of street gang actors, citizen forums, Jakmania, and opinion leaders.

Table 1. Research informant

No	Informant	Category	Explanation
1	LK	Opinion Leader	Head of Citizens Association (RW)
2	DD	Opinion Leader	Citizen forum
3	HR	Opinion Leader	Head of RW and Citizen forum
4	AL	Actor	Had undergone behavioral rehabilitation
5	IK	Actor	Longest street gangs member
6	GO	Jakmania	Founder of Jakmania Tanah Tinggi
7	ER	Jakmania	Former street gangs member and activist of Jakmania
8	MF	Jakmania	Kampung Rawa Jakmania Johar Baru

Source: research result (2022)

Analysis of the research data used the model of Miles, Huberman, & Saldana (2014): reduction, presentation, and conclusion. Data reduction includes summarizing data, coding, tracing themes, and creating clusters. The aim is to sharpen, classify, remove unnecessary, so that final conclusions can be drawn. The presentation of data includes narration and visualization

of data, for example through graphs and charts, while researchers draw conclusions continuously while in the field.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Mapping the Mediator

Several mediators are involved in efforts to resolve inter-group conflicts in the Johar Baru Sub-District, including

security forces, government officials, citizen forums, and community organizations. The identification of the typology of mediators refers to Moore (2004) view: (1) social network mediators; (2) authoritative mediators; (3) independent mediators. A social network mediator is those chosen because of the existence of a social network or relationship. An authoritative mediator is chosen because the person concerned has the competency or authority. An independent mediator is chosen for professional considerations.

The security officers are mediator of social relations, which means they can use their influence and authority to pressure the parties to encourage to come to an agreement (Moore, 2004). Informant with initial IK also acknowledged the role of the security officers. According to him, when a brawl broke out, the chief of sector police of Johar Baru played a conciliatory role, though the next day, the brawl broke out again.

Informant LK said a particular approach was chosen to mediate brawls between groups. It is used because inter-groups fighting in the Johar Baru were unique in which they appeared with unclear problems. Therefore, the usual approach is unlikely to work. He says:

"...If the problem is clear and the group can take care of it. For example, the battle between FBR and PP, is structurally clear. If they have a leader from each group (let's say A and C), we will mediate. But what if it's like this, they've disbanded, and it's not clear who is responsible, even though each one acts on behalf of the group. If that's the case, the next day there could be

another fight." (Informant LK, interview on August 19, 2022).

Facing such things, said informant LK, the police must intensively provide counseling. In addition, special patrols every particular night like Sunday nights, are also conducted. The police must also have the courage to act with coercion to settle the brawl. Furthermore, LK stated:

"Indeed, that approach is not possible. We also have to look at the conditions. If it's conducive, we'll just have a chat, but if it's hot, we're coercive, they'll be afraid. Then if a special approach is open, the situation is still good." (Informant LK, interview on August 19, 2022).

One of the extraordinary efforts of the police in resolving the brawl in the Johar Baru sub-district was by issuing a peace declaration. According to the informant HR, the five pledges of will has been signed by Johar Baru residents along with the Central Jakarta City Government and National Armed Forces (TNI), on May 29, 2016, containing: 1) legal proceedings against the perpetrators of riots/ brawls/ drugs/ liquor/ sharp weapons and firecrackers; 2) The operating hours of internet cafes and PlayStation (PS) rental limit until 10.30 p.m.; 3) Residents are prohibited from gathering more than 11:00 p.m., with considerable potential to cause disturbance to the National Security and Security Council; 4) Place patrol cars at vulnerable points and conducting raids on motorized vehicles; and 5) All elements of society and the Three Pillars (Police, Army, City Government) are obliged to monitor the residents' will of the Johar Baru sub-district.

The consequence of the declaration is that the brawlers are considered criminals. Therefore, imprisonment or behavioral rehabilitation awaits the perpetrators, who are proven to be brawl actors. The declaration also cut off the communication process in conflict resolution.

The exclusion of street gangs as 'parties' in the pledge of the will of the citizens made the declaration not strong. They were being positioned as 'stepchildren,' and the coercive approach of the police force the rebellious spirit of the group to be stronger. As a result, the expected peace did not occur. Fights between groups continued.

Another mediator is government officials. The heads of the citizens association (RW) were the government's partner in handling conflicts. They are usually social relations mediators which means that apart from using influence and authority to pressure the parties to agree. They generally also have a relationship with the conflicting parties.

Informant HR said that frequent brawls made him and other community leaders try to find a solution, for example, face-to-face with the perpetrators by giving advices to avoid conflicts and other efforts. However, the brawl kept on repeating. He said

" Our experienced, for example, if the conflicts occurred between the neighbourhood's member. We made meeting and discussion with the parties involved conflicts, their parents and the head of the RW. The problem is that there is no law, sir, the conflicts solved, Alhamdulillah I can handle it. But now, if the conflicts among RW members, it's

difficult because people are running away so it's not finished."(Informant HR, interview on September 27, 2022)

Furthermore, according to HR, the communication efforts carried out were talking face-to-face with the actors, especially at the RT level, because interpersonal communication would be difficult if it is RW level because it has a broader scope. He explained that the teenagers who were the perpetrators of the brawl were called, accompanied by their parents to reconcile. HR says:

"We always tell them that prisoners are detrimental to everyone, destroying people's homes. We say that if the student is a student, we will revoke his KJP. If he is admitted to the hospital, we will not give him the KIS letter, we will not give it to him, sir. We always say that. So now, everybody knows each other, why do we fight? we must keep the harmony between young people."(Informant HR, interview on September 27, 2022).

Persuasive communication is carried out by the Head of RW in conflict mediation. Informant DD stated they are persuasive to deal with brawls, and they do it together with the Head of RT because he is the one who overshadows the residents. He explains:

"Unless a minor has been detained by the police, like it or not, we will take care of him. The head of RW sometimes arrives at 3 a.m. to join the crime scene. If it's an adult who has anything to do with the law and has to be arrested, I've never held anyone back; I've never defended our members. If they are guilty, please arrest them. We are always persuasive so that

residents and teenagers are responsible as much as possible for stopping the fighting.”(Informant DD, interview on August 15, 2022).

Informants LK did the same thing. The persuasive effort that was done was advising young people not to hang out or consume a liquor. He understood that the condition of Johar Baru required the young man to leave the house at night because the state of the house was not conducive to occupancy. After all, it was narrow, or there were too many occupants.

Although preventive and persuasive measures have been carried out, in fact, the brawls hasn't stop yet. There are always provocations from another group. In addition, peace efforts are also increasingly tricky because some society members become defenders of the group. The following DD informant stated this:

“The brawl is not an RW activity. If there are teenagers who fight, please bear the consequences respectively. But sometimes there are other RWs who defend things like that, which makes the fights appear as if they have the support of their RW.”(Informant DD, interview on August 15, 2022).

The statement from the informant DD above that there are always parties who take advantage of the ongoing brawl in the Johar Baru sub-District. These parties deliberately protect the 'actors' without understanding that brawls are detrimental to actors and other citizens. The persuasion and dialogue that have been carried out become meaningless, and the actors will act again.

In addition to security forces and

government officials, the community forum is one of the parties contributing to being a mediator. Based on the type of mediator, the citizen forum is an authoritative, benevolent mediator. The citizen forum may or may not have a relationship with the parties but still seek the best solution for the disputants. In addition, it is impartial and has the resources to assist the monitoring and implementation of the agreement.

Sumarno's research (2014) found that for conflict resolution in Johar Baru Sub-District, it is necessary to optimize the existence of citizen forums. These citizen forums include the Community Early Awareness Forum (FKDM), Community Awareness Groups (Pokdarmas), Anti-Violence and Fighting Forum (FAKTA), Citizen Anti-Fighting Forum (FATWA), and Safe Village Community (KKA), and others.

Diding (2003) stated that developing the basic idea to resolve conflict creates an interactive process in a particular social context. The interactive process space can take the form of an inclusive community characterized by three principles, namely cooperation in the formulation of ideas, shared responsibility, and participation. The form of an inclusive community, one of which is a citizen forum. According to Malik (2017), efforts to institutionalize community groups concerned with conflict, in this case through community forums, will encourage broader community participation.

Informant DD stated that the FKDM in his village is obliged to detect and anticipate brawls. Therefore, he patrols every night, detects the presence of dependent children hanging out on the roadside, invites them

to chat, listens to their complaints, and anticipates the worst possibility, namely the emergence of provocations from other groups. DD said:

“That goes on every night. But there’s also a downside. There are only six of us, patrolling each alley is often not enough.”(Informant DD, interview on August 15, 2022).

Nevertheless, DD admitted that he always makes dialogues and persuades his dependents. So, when having a talk with them in coffee shop, he does not position himself as a member of FKDM but as a friend, a chat buddy, a chess partner, and a partner when singing. He persuades them by trying to touch the feelings of the child. Sentences like, “Yesterday, the village was ransacked by the police, what are you going to do now? and “Then let’s just end grumpy style, the poor village and our parents.”

With such language, DD was sure to increase intimacy with them. Starting from that intimacy and persuasive message, at least it reduce those who like to fight with other groups. He also admitted that the this way was not very effective because not long after, brawls could reappear.

Concern over the rise of brawls in RW 08 Johar Baru Village was also the reason for the establishment of FAJAR 08 on 19 July 2016. This forum was founded by community leaders and opinion leaders around Kawi-Kawi and Jotet. The forum has full support of the Johar Baru Police and the Johar Baru Village Head.

According to informant HR, the focus of FAJAR 08 activities is preventing brawls. He said that if it happened or the teenagers wanted to fight, the forum will immediately

deal with them by approaching them. Because if a brawl occurs, forum members cannot intervene, so anticipating before it happens is a priority. Furthermore, HR said:

“Our approach is to mix with the teenagers that we explain that brawls are not good in nature, because they are detrimental to society, all of which is moral and material, so we often approach children to give their views and thank God that’s how they respond.”(Informant HR, interview on September 27, 2022)

The approaching model, as stated above, is dialogical, which emphasizes the similarity of perception between opinion leaders and many brawling actors. What they are looking for in common is an effort to avoid brawls by emphasizing the lousy impact of brawls that will befall the community.

The dialogical model is also balanced with a persuasive communication approach. So, when informant HR met the brawl actors, what was revealed was not patronizing words but persuasive words adapted to the condition of teenagers. Informant HR explained as follows:

“We approach it in a conscientious way, we give direction to the view that a brawl conflict is not good because detrimental to all. They are happy to it, we come, we give this view, why there is a brawl, fortunately, is that so.”(Informant HR, interview on September 27, 2022).

Something becoming a problem for the forum is the lack of support. According to FJ, people do not seem to care about the environment. So, sometimes the forum moves on its own. What is needed is the cooperation of all parties. Fortunately,

the forum still is supported by the police and urban village official and often gets directions so that brawl prevention activities can be more optimal.

Several studies reveal the role of citizen forums in conflict resolution. Listyawati (2019) examines the role of social harmony forums in reducing social conflict in Ambon city. The study results show that the activities of social harmony forums through work programs carrying out church bell repair activities and making footpaths impact community conditions to be conducive, although it is not optimal. Such conditions can occur because of local wisdom, including local values, the role of figures, traditions, and the value of community togetherness. Harsanto (2017) examined strengthening the capacity of the citizen communication forum (FKW) of Ciburial Village in handling social conflicts. The results of the study showed that the capacity of FKWs is getting more decisive in making program plans, management and administration, building networks with social conflict handling institutions, as well as conflict management and social advocacy, which has an impact on the lack of social conflict in the Ciburial Village area. Nurdin (2008) examines the role of agents of change, for example, a citizen forum in handling conflict in Sambas, West Kalimantan. The study showed that the community forum functions to hold regular meetings, formulate joint programs and actions, maintain conflict resolution that has been achieved, monitor and evaluate ongoing activities and improve activities in conflict management.

The Role of Jakmania

The emergence of Jakmania as a conflict mediator hasn't happen yet. Although as a support organization for the Jakarta football club (Persija), Jakmania, especially in Tanah Tinggi and Kampung Rawa, has been presented in the area for a decade, its contribution to peace efforts has only been felt in the last two years. The anxiety of the Regional Coordinators (Korwil) made Jakmania intervene to reconcile the opposing groups. The reason is the bad name that the Johar Baru District bears as a hotbed for brawls. This anxiety met the wishes of most of the gangs members who were already bored and tired of fighting. Moreover, the fact shows that most of the street gangs in Johar Baru are Persija supporters, which means they also have an inner bond with Jakmania. As stated by the following AL informant:

"Because we like soccer, so we watch and support soccer club from Jakarta. Jakmania is also what makes us want to watch with the group that is our opponent." (Informant AL, interview on October 10, 2022).

The informant IK also stated the same thing. According to him, the presence of Jakmania as a community brought a new colour to the condition of Johar Baru, especially Tanah Tinggi, which was previously full of tension and became calmer. The faces of revenge when travelling or just passing through groups have been considered opponents, since Jakmania does not make promises about harmony and peace between groups but it implements them explicitly. As stated by IK below:

So, there is a community that wants all of Johar Baru to be between sections. I do not have to be prestigious. I do not have the prestige of a former enemy. You cannot do it if you want to join the Persija community. You have to get along with each other. Like it or not, it is better if you bring Jakarta instead of carrying around essential parts of one Jakarta. If you want to join, aren't you happy, because the Velbak people also joined here, if you want to think about it again, we people. After all, this is to unite the name community, so the community does not fight at all.”(Informant IK, interview on October 25, 2022).

The informant, namely GO, talked about how Jakmania Tanah Tinggi acts as a mediator and maintains peace between gangs that often fight in Tanah Tinggi and its surroundings. The methods used are unique because they combine a coercive approach with a clear communication style and dialogue. It is said to be forced because the stakes are that if a group member joins a brawl, the police will pick him up. If he has been arrested, there is no defence from Jakmania because it has entered the realm of law. The firm communication style tends to be authoritarian and has a loud, booming voice, making GO unite groups that often fight in Johar Baru. GO explains:

“If any of my members are involved in a brawl between villages, I don't want to think of him as a member, I think of him as a provocateur, so I might break his hand. So if they don't like me, I finish them outside. I have an agreement with the police chief when I wanted to build this organization, if a group of people beat

my members, don't attack the village in droves, report to us later, we will be the police who will follow up. Thank God, as long as I'm in this village, there's never been a fight, let alone a brawl, because if there's a fight, whatever the problem, I'll be stuck.”(Informant GO, interview on October 2, 2022).

Efforts to approach the group were carried out by GO which diligently goes to certain places, visits group members directly, and persuades them to stop the brawl. These efforts paid off because, in the past year, the frequency of brawls was getting decrease. One more thing that became GO's best strategy to unite group members in Johar Baru is conducting meet up). The aim is to establish more unity and brotherhood among the members of the street gangs.

Guerrilla of GO bringing peace is not alone. Informant ER also took a similar step, who became the Regional Coordinator for Jakmania Kampung Rawa. He told about the early stages of efforts to build peace and brotherhood in Kampung Rawa. Gently, ER went one by one with the gang's leader in Kampung Rawa. According to ER, gangs leader was chosen to be contacted because he has a slang character. Because, working with slang people is more manageable. Next, ER went to another group to offer an invitation to meet up with Persija supporters. The invitation for meeting paid off because more and more gang's leaders and members were interested in joining Jakmania Kampung Rawa and throwing away the group's ego. ER's principle is that if there is goodness programmed by Jakmania, more and more other groups will participate. ER says:

“Initially, we wanted other street gangs to have the same mission, have the same hobbies, and support Persija. Now from this hobby, we have an important point in forming a committee, forming a management, from there we go around Kampung Rawa. It’s true that since 2008 Jakmania of Kampung Rawa has been around, he doesn’t put it all together. Alhamdulillah, from 2018 it finally developed, I wanted to join.”(Informant ER, interview on interview on October 2, 2022).

ER believes that when he has succeeded in holding gang’s leaders, his henchmen will follow. However, these efforts do not always success. Because there are many street gangs refusing to join, he also realized that this was a consequence of Jakmania’s efforts to bring peace and brotherhood to Rawa village.

In Johar Baru sub-district, the duty of mediation is held by the informant MF. The first attempt he made was to bring Jakmania’s mission, namely peace. He conveyed the mission, among others, to the chairman of Jotet. He conveyed a similar mission to Gemvals and Kramat Jaya. He actively communicated with the head of Jotet, to unite. MF says:

“Kramat Jaya and Jotet have a problem, yes, the model is the same as Gemval’s old and I am here to embrace them so that there will be no longer grudges. With the existence of Jakmania, finally

we are united because there are no hostile supporters in Jakmania. Because the old founders also taught fellow of Jakmania there is no racism, fighting or other problems.”(Informant MF, interview on October 2, 2022).

Referring to the view of Moore (2004), Jakmania is an authoritative mediator of vested interests. The reason that Jakmania has a relationship with the parties has a strong interest in the outcome, seeks a solution that can meet the interests of the mediator and the parties. In addition, Jakmania has the resources to assist monitoring the agreement and occasionally pressuring parties to reach an agreement.

Based on the explanations of the mediating actors, Jakmania’s first attempt to reconcile the street gangs was visiting and meeting to the gangs leaders, then the results of the discussion were conveyed to other street-gang members. Another thing to do is to establish friendship and social activities, either in the context of Persija’s birthday or in commemoration of holy days.

The discussion between Jakmania and the gangs’ leader mediators is undoubtedly as easy as we think. There are some paths, including rejection when the Jakmania mediator offers a narrative of peace. It is the counter-narrative that makes negotiations towards peace mediation difficult.

Table 2. The Narrative of Jakmania vs. the counter-narrative of the street gangs

Narrative of Jakmania	Counter Narrative	Negotiation for Mediation
The name Jakmania in Johor Baru is also bad. Stop fighting	You can make peace, but we are in Johar Baru so that no one is pretentious. We are all the same.	The rioters and provocateurs were reported to the police, the Jakmania Membership Card (KTA) was revoked.

We all have to unite, no group frills.	It's nice of you to say, that's the name of my group before Jakmania where to go. I just want to join if the condition for the group name doesn't disappear.	Flags, logos and group identities may still be present but must include the Sub district coordinator, for example, Jakmania City of Paris, Sub district coordinator of Tanah Tinggi.
If it is peaceful, the ticket quota will be divided equally.	From the start it is difficult. The management is like that, if you do not follow, it is hard to get a ticket.	The ticket allocation is recorded for those who have given a down payment but will give it when it is paid off

Source: Research Result (2022)

After there has been an agreement for peace under the Jakmania, they began to mediate. The mediation consists of two parts, namely initialization, and finalization. The initialization stage consists of persuasive communication and dialogue, while the finalization stage consists of peace and collaborative communication.

Persuasive communication is carried out by inviting gangs leaders to meet, 'heart to heart' to discuss the peace process with other groups. After receiving a signal of agreement, then a dialogue is carried out by

taking certain moments. The peace that has occurred is then maintained by preventing the possibility of friction. Collaborative communication is the impact of the peace that has been achieved, namely by inviting groups to do social activities together and watch together when Persija is competing in hometown.

Based on the mediation described earlier, a resume regarding the position of the mediator, the actors involved, communication practices, and the results of the mediation can be made as follows:

Table 3. Typology of mediators and their communication practices

Mediator	Type of Mediator	Actors	Mediation Characteristic	Communication Practice	Result
Security Officers	Social Relation	Police	Sporadic	coercive More towards counselling	-Incidental, -conflicts tend to reappear, -Peace declaration Rehabilitation for actors

Government Official	Social Relation	The Head of RW	Sporadic	Coercive Interpersonal Communication	Tend to reappear, especially the fact that there are RW members who actually take sides
Citizen Forum	Authoritative benevolent	Opinion Leader	Sustainable	Dialogue Persuasive communication	Tend to reappear
Jakmania	Vested Interest	Jakmania Regional Coordinators	Sustainable	Meet Up Dialogue Persuasive communication Collaborative communications	Peace is more lasting

Source: Research result (2022)

Table 3 shows that mediation carried out by security officers, government officials, and community forums has not brought satisfied result because brawls still occur more and more. The Jakmania mediation is different. With a collaborative communication approach, as Monk (2008) proposed, the peace that builds between

fighting groups tends to last longer. During observations and post-research, almost no significant brawls is found during this period. According to the Johar Baru Sub-District Sector Police (KSJB, 2018) in Table 4, there is a tendency to decrease the number of brawls from 2016 to 2018.

Table. 4. Number and Fatality of Conflicts in The Johar Baru Sub-District, Central Jakarta

Year	Number of conflicts (times)	Fatality		
		Died	Injuries	damaged buildings/ vehicles
2016	33	2	2	2
2017	31	-	4	5
2018	6 (until April)	na	na	na

Source: The Johar Baru Sub-District Sector Police (KSJB, 2018)

In addition to mediation results, differences can also be seen in communication practices between mediators where the government chose mass gathering strategies, face to face and the use of conventional media, such as posters, banners and leaflets, as well as persuasive communication. The citizen forum applied

interpersonal communication and new media, especially WhatsApp, while the Jakmania used new media, especially social media, social networking, and face-to-face through meeting up. Another difference lies in the motivators for changing conflict behaviour. Government and security officers used opinion leaders as motivators,

while citizen forums used family as their immediate environment to motivate them. The Jakmania mediator used the invitation to cooperate in community activities

The presence of Jakmania as a local conflict mediator is in line with Mutisi's (2011) research on the role of grassroots groups as mediators of local conflict after the bloody conflict in Rwanda. Shea (2016) also stated the same thing who stated that organizations/ groups outside the government played a vital role as conflict mediators. So far, the role of football supporter groups as mediators of local conflicts has only been found in Jakmania in Johar Baru sub-district, as the findings of this study.

In a broader perspective, if there is a conflict between groups because one group discriminates against another group as assumed in social identity theory, then the conflict resolution does not require a formal-legal approach, but rather by looking for another group figure who is not part of the conflicting group but has an understanding over the conflicting groups as played by Jakmania.

CONCLUSION

Identification of the mediators found four actors who played a significant role in the peace settlement process: the police, the head of society association, opinion leaders, and the Jakmania Regional Coordinator. The deadlock in mediation by the police, heads of society, and opinion leaders has opened up space for the 'peripheral' actor, namely Jakmania, to mediate and then has succeeded because the peace became more maintained. Jakmania carries

out some communication practices as a mediator. Persuasive communication is carried out by inviting group leaders to meet and discuss the peace process with other groups. Dialogue is done by taking certain moments. The peace that is built is maintained by preventing the possibility of friction. Collaborative communication is carried out by inviting groups to do social activities and watch together when Persija competing at hometown.

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