



TECHNIUM
SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL

Vol. 8, 2020

**A new decade
for social changes**

www.techniumscience.com

ISSN 2668-7798



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Transformation Pattern Of Community Organization (Ormas) Into Group Violence in Jakarta

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Abstract. Community organizations (Organisasi Kemasyarakatan (Ormas)) in Jakarta are often involved in violence, such as conflict among them. The current study is a qualitative approach study with literature review and in-depth interviews as it is data collecting. Interviews were conducted at four organizations as a representative of the community organizations in Jakarta. They are Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR), Pemuda Pancasila, FORKABI, and Kembang Latar. Within the context of analysis, concepts such as sub-culture and conflict theory will be put to use. The result shows that community organizations transform into groups violence caused by three factors, which are group interests, disruption of group identity, and disruption of social organization.

Keywords. collective violence, theory of conflict, theory of subculture, transformation organizations

1. Introduction

Violent behavior is a typical phenomenon, like any other crime, which has linear evolution with society. Based on Kühnel (2003), there will be an enormous escalation of violation of in the 20th century, such as individuals, groups, or even state violations. Evolution happens in the same line with the desire to show their integrity, the expectation of peaceful life, the duties from the state to protect human life and maintain social order (Kühnel, 2003).

Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoedin explained that the unsafe condition of the social, economic and political are fertile lands for the explosion of social violations (Tadjoedin, 2002). While Jerome Tadie (2009) shown there are many groups who gave their influence to set the city. Their exclusive membership is divided by ethnicity, religion, or any other similarity, so it comes into primary condition to be their member. They are also linked with violent behavior, the domination of specific regions, and involvement in 'violation businesses' such as land guarding, night club and office guarding, debt collector, parking management, etc.

Some research proves it by academic researchers or mass media, which also gave a label to them. For instance, Tempo magazine has released the research of 'Preman' in 2010 and Kompas newspaper in 2012. In those explanations, the groups who always did violent behaviors were known as Community Organizations (Ormas). They are identical to the violation in their activities, even committed in long term conflicts that evoke many victims. (Tempo, 2010).

Based on a statistic of violent behaviors by community organizations gathered by Metro Jaya Regional Police (Polda Metro Jaya), there are 8 (eight) organizations committed in many

violent behaviors around 187 case in Jabodetabek over the range from early 2008 until August 2014.

Tabel I.1
Statistic of Violent Behaviours by Community Organizations in Jabodetabek
Period : 2008 - August 2014

Region	Community Organizations							
	F B R	P P	Amb on	FORKAB I	F PI	Kemban g Latar	B M B	Flor es
South Jakarta	60	30	3	3		5	3	1
West Jakarta	11	8	4	3	1			
North Jakarta								
Central Jakarta	5	2						1
East Jakarta	8	3						
Depok	5	3	2	1	2		1	
South Tangerang	3	3					1	
Tangerang	8	1	2	3				
Bekasi		2	1					
TOTAL	100	52	12	10	3	5	5	2

(Source: Metro Jaya Regional Police , 2008 - August 2014, retreated by author)

Based on Table 1.1, FBR dominates the violent behaviors in Jabodetabek. They are centralized in South Jakarta. Furthermore, Pemuda Pancasila (PP) is the other organization committed in a large number of cases in South Jakarta. Those organizations were made by government policy, intentionally or not. Loren Ryster (2000) concludes that in the Soeharto regime, they were facilitated by the government to support the party (Golkar), and it also part of their way to survive.

According to Gould (1999), a violent group is a group that jointly acts with the use of violence, conflict, and firmly bound among them before the violence was committed. Referring to Gould, that groups can be categorized as a violent group.

Violations by violent group, especially in social interaction, is a condition that is situational and not fixed. In essence, Ormas have a private such organization in general. Interaction between members of Ormas was frequent in everyday life. However, in certain situations, Ormas are also often involved in acts of violence or conflict groups. Changing conditions on Ormas during the conflict was the one who later attracted the attention of researchers to understand more deeply the process of change or transformation.

2. Research Method

The approach taken in an understanding group of Ormas in Jakarta is qualitative. Referring to the objectives and research questions that have been mentioned in previous chapters, this paper uses explanatory research to explain a phenomenon. Explanation research mostly used on the issues that have not been clear both conceptually and in a causal relation (Shields & Rangarjan, 2013).

In this research, subjects were raised quite diverse, and it comes from several Ormas such as Forum Rembug Betawi (FBR), Forum Komunikasi Betawi (Forkabi), Pemuda Pancasila (PP), and Kembang Latar. According to the research problem, the data-collection efforts depth interviews and observation as the primary data collection techniques (Arikunto, 2006). During the interview, the researcher is assisted by a gatekeeper that connects researchers with existing sources. Researchers know this gatekeeper since they served as South Jakarta police chief. Also, the researchers collected data is also supported by secondary data, the number of cases of the police institution, literature, internet, newspaper articles (Newman, 1997). To get a more comprehensive picture of the issues raised in this study, the researchers also conducted a method Focus Group Discussion.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Community Organization's Profile

3.1.1 Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR)

Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR) is a regional organization based on Betawi culture, which was officially established on July 29, 2001. FBR is expected to be a forum for the Betawi people in delivering their aspirations. This organization is driven by concerns of youth Betawi about their future who are structurally and culturally alienated and marginalized in Jakarta. FBR has pretty much members. Each month, FBR it earns up to 400 people in Jabodetabek. Their system was not shown exclusivity membership.

3.1.2 Pemuda Pancasila (PP)

Pemuda Pancasila (PP) was officially established on October 28, 1959, by an army of Indonesian National Armed Forces, namely Gen. Abdul Haris Nasution. Along with the era changed, they are also changing. If PP used as an extended arm to explore the world of politics at the beginning, it is different now. In conference VII (2001) in Bogor, they decided that PP will no longer be a political organization, but it turned into a non-political organization. They are focused on the social movement that directly touches the interests of society down to the lowest level.

Pemuda Pancasila consists of an assortment of tribes, religions, and races, where there is no dependence on a primordial religion and all sorts, which unite into a Kader Nasional. Kader is a member who is prepared to be the leader of the organization.

3.1.3 Forum Komunikasi Anak Betawi (Forkabi)

Forkabi officially established on April 18th, 2001, in Villa Damelung Megamendung, Puncak, West Java. The creation of Forkabi inspired by their desire to brick back their greatness in the past, where they were host in Jakarta, which is the homeland of Betawi. In addition, the establishment of Forkabi also intended to control the "wild ones" who can be harmful if they are not under control. The "wild ones" refers to Jawara (the influential people) Betawi. Through this organization, Jawara Betawi will control to spread its power into a positive vibe for people. Thus, the act of gangsterism and anarchy that has excellent potential carried out by jawara can be reduced, thus creating a conducive atmosphere to Jakarta. As a community organization that is upholding Betawi culture, Forkabi does not limit themselves to accept other ethnicities to join as their member.

3.1.4 Kembang Latar

Start from September 9, 1991, Kembang Latar preceded as the community of Jawara in Jabodetabek. Establishment of Kembang Latar motivated by the desire of their youth figures and public figures to unite when they face the disturbance, including the horizontal conflicts that led to the frequent occurrence of fusses and often ended with fights between groups then causing many victims among them. So Kembang Latar founded to be a medium for groups or regions in conflict to carry out a wide range of positive activities, such as holding sports games, artwork, social movements, etc. It is expected to create a society of peacetime. Kembang Latar established in Jakarta, especially in Rempoa, and has become the oldest social organization in Jakarta. Until today, as a social organization, Kembang Latar has established 40 sectors with 200-500 personnel in each sector.

3.2 *The Transformation Pattern of Ormas into Violent Group*

3.2.1 Ormas vs Ormas

Ormas transformed into crime groups caused by the disruption of their group identity, interests, and social organization. According to Jessie Feinstein and Nia Imani Kuumba (2006) states that "conflict between gangs is often rooted in the conflict between individuals. Over time the individuals who are locked in conflict involve those people who are close to them (Feinstein & Kuumba, 2006)." From these statements, the trigger of conflict between the two groups can be caused by a personal conflict between two persons from each group. It is as mentioned by one of the informants:

"We had a conflict that caused someone to impregnates the girl. So we stabbed him, but unfortunately, he carried his organizations in these conflicts.." (Interview with YYN, October 8, 2014)

In addition, the conflict between Ormas is often caused by the disruption and threat to the identity of those Ormas conducted by other Ormas. As expressed by one informant:

"The reason might be straightforward, usually the flag."(Interview with ISM, October 8, 2014)

"For example, there was a fire of substation in Gandaria. Those impacts will be hidden but shown in another event. When there is an event, it will be going to be chaotic. Yesterday, we were having an anniversary; usually, the chaos will happen. So chaos usually happens because there are regular activities. I told Chief of District Police, the problem will not be finished if it still happens. "(Interview with ISM, October 8, 2014)

Disruption to organization symbols identifies as a threat to the organization itself. As said by informants, the actions will never be finished and will continue to be repeated for each group. Every group would retaliate against the group that attacked Ormas attacking each other so the cycle will not be finished. As expressed by Feinstein and Kuumba (2006), The act of taking revenge results in a loss of power Because revenge has been taken once the control is given away. Revenge is tied up with issues of status and reputation Because taking revenge can not be considered a weakness. Groups can be encouraged to think about alternatives to revenge that will not result in giving up the status and reputation (Feinstein & Kuumba, 2006).

Identity, status, reputation become very important for the group. It would indicate the existence of the group itself both for its members and other rival groups. When a group is considered weak, the number of their members will fall, and they will no longer exist as the greatest. Sigmund Freud and Albert Dickson in *Civilization, Society and Religion* (1991) states that group conflict, or Hostilities between different groups, is a feature common to all forms of social organization (e.g., sports teams, ethnic groups, nations, religions, gangs).

This implies that the conflict between two different groups is a reasonable form in a social organization such as a sports team, ethnic group, nation, religion, and the gang. Although it has been mentioned before that there are factors that contribute to the transformation, Smith dan Mackie (2007) using the social psychology approach states that precisely the discontinuity effect of inter-group conflict, suggests that groups are generally even more competitive and aggressive than individuals. Two primary sources of intergroup conflict have been identified: competition for valued material resources, according to realistic conflict theory, or for social rewards like respect and esteem as described by relative deprivation theory (Freud & Dickson, 1991)

In the transformation pattern between Ormas, Ormas, who involved in many conflicts are Pemuda Pancasila and FBR. They dominate the total of conflicts between Ormas. According to Metro Jaya Regional Police, in 2013, there were seven conflict cases between FBR and Pemuda Pancasila from 13 conflict cases in Jakarta (Metro Jaya Regional Police, 2014). Besides conflict between Pemuda Pancasila, FBR also clashed with Forkabi and Kembang Latar.

In the aim to maintain the relationship between Ormas, Betawi Community Consultative Board (Bamus) is placed as a mediator and uphold meetings between them. Moreover, such events also often held by each Ormas. Unfortunately, FBR is known as a new mass organization that is a less active presence. This is shown by the representatives' presence of FBR in those meetings. Finally, it leads to the conclusion that FBR is arrogant, and they get disrespect from another.

On the other side, arrogance is also seen from how FBR goes into a particular area. This became a problem when the FBR entry into the territories included in the power region other mass organizations. When this problem occurs, any dispute can not be avoided. The arrogance of FBR in an organizations life and the arrogance to control the territory is still happening.

3.2.2 Ormas vs Collaboration of Ormas

This section will describe how one Ormas who engage in violence with another Ormas fight against another Ormas. To understand this subject, the author tries to describe the history of collaboration between Ormas and the driving factors. When an Ormas become violent groups, there are two patterns of the violation, violence between group against group and group with collaboration group.

According to Marinez-Moyano (2006), collaboration is working with others to do a task and to achieve shared goals. It is a recursive process where two or more people or organizations work together to realize shared goals (Marinez-Moyano, 2006). Group collaboration is a collaboration between two or more groups of community organizations with a specific purpose. In this paper, collaboration is Ormas teamwork that has been transformed into violent groups.

Not all interactions between the group will end up with conflict. On several occasions, The research found the collaboration between groups, although it occurred when several groups in conflict with other groups. According to Gould, in a clash, the people call their allies as a way to show solidarity with opponents. Efforts to show this solidarity is believed to be pushing back their opponents. This solidarity rally continues until the occurrence of physical conflict with a group of opponents in the form of the clash (Gould, 1999).

Things like this are found in Ormas life. There is a collaboration between several groups of Ormas as happened in the Pemuda Pancasila, Forkabi, and Kembang Latar. Although there are still conflict among them, sometimes the unity can happen.

3.2.I.C Violent Group by Ormas and Ormas Collaboration

Violence by Ormas that occurred on Saturday, July 31, 2010, in Jakarta indicated that the collaborations between Pemuda Pancasila and Kembang Latar had occurred when they

conflicted with FBR. The first action happened when FBR was throwing stones and Molotov to the people in PP and Kembang Latar's area. After 15 minutes, that conflict can be solved by troops of Brimob and fired tear gas so that the mass of FBR disbanded, the injury did not exist, and the car of FBR members belonging to burn.

Then on Sunday, August 1, 2010, at 4:30 am s.d. 5:50 pm at the Tee Box Cafe Jl. Wijaya, Kebayoran Baru, South Jakarta, meetings were held between the Chairman FBR South Jakarta, Lawyers FBR, representatives of the Pemuda Pancasila, a representative of the Forkabi, representatives of Kembang Latar facilitated by Chief of Metro South Jakarta District Police. In that meeting, the leaders of Ormas expressed that the problem occurs in Rempoa considered complete so that peace is not only happening at the high and low levels. The next meeting will discuss the relationship between the Ormas forum to avoid similar events.

On Wednesday, August 4, 2010, at 9:45 pm until 11.30 pm at FBR Substation 0253 RT 04/RW 05, Karet District, Setiabudi, South Jakarta, has been going to meet chairman/secretary substation FBR around Setiabudi, approximately 70 people and was attended by District Chief of FBR in South Jakarta, the agenda of the meeting was to consolidate and discuss further steps for the event clashes in Rempoa a few days ago did not reoccur.

3.3 Factors That Encourage Collaboration Organizations

These acts of violence between Ormas, like described before, sometimes led to the collaboration between Ormas to help one of the warring Ormas. Problems that occur between Ormas involving FBR, Pemuda Pancasila, Forkabi, and Kembang Latar led to collaborations between them. Especially in South Jakarta, Pemuda Pancasila, Forkabi, and Kembang Latar had a common enemy, which is FBR. The discussion on collaboration in this research refers to the collaborations that occur among Ormas in South Jakarta.

3.3.1 Common Enemy

Disputes involving collaboration caused by several factors. First, the arrogance of one Ormas that resulted in resentment from other Ormas. In this case, the process of a collaboration formed spontaneously. There is no formal agreement between them. The act of spontaneity arises because of the same feeling that is owned by members of Collaboration Ormas, which is their distaste of FBR exclusivity.

In some meetings that several Ormas, FBR often do not want to join and communicate with other Ormas who come at the same event. This not only happens in the underlying structure but also occurred in the elite structure of FBR. Conversely, when the FBR holds an event, they never invite another Ormas. This attitude is considered as an arrogant attitude of FBR then spawned resentment among other Ormas.

Distaste appears to FBR and then supported by the familiar story of Pemuda Pancasila, Forkabi, and Kembang Latar are often lost when they were fighting with FBR. For example, Pemuda Pancasila against FBR. Fights with FBR usually begins only with Pemuda Pancasila. When it begins, Pemuda Pancasila always pulls themselves out, so do Forkabi. After that, Pemuda Pancasila and Forkabi collaborate and fight against FBR. The incident occurred in Depok, and it is a massive clash.

That is similar to Forkabi and Kembang Latar. Moreover, the conflict between Ormas usually happens at the lower level, not at the elite level of Ormas itself. When Kembang Latar fought, Forkabi helps them, even by wore uniform and attribute Kembang Latar. This is certainly done without approval by the leader of Forkabi and Kembang Latar. In the end, FBR became the common enemy of the Kembang Latar, Pemuda Pancasila, and Forkabi who live in South Jakarta.

3.3.2 Emotional Relation

The emotional relationships between Pemuda Pancasila's member, Forkabi, and Kembang Latar has occurred. This relation is growing because of two things, dual membership among members of Ormas and their blood relations among the members of each Ormas.

Related to engagement between leaders of Forkabi, Pemuda Pancasila, and Kembang Latar, it is justified three of them. For example, PRS, who served as Chairman of the Pemuda Pancasila, also has a leadership position as an honorary board member at Kembang Latar. The history of the Kembang Latar proves that the forerunner is recognized by Pemuda Pancasila. Meanwhile, if FBR tries to make trouble with one of them, another Ormas will help.

The relation between Pemuda Pancasila, Forkabi, and Kembang Latar reinforced by Bamus. Bamus charges elite communication between Pemuda Pancasila, Forkabi, and Kembang Latar. Forkabi, Pemuda Pancasila, Kembang Latar, and another Ormas have also held a meeting between Ormas every three months. Along with this situation, the problems that often led to disputes can be compromised and suppressed; for example, the problem of territory partition. According to HSN, a compromise is useful to explain the division and restrictions regarding the area of power among them. Ormas who are already occupying an area should not be disturbed by the Kembang Latar and Pemuda Pancasila. These efforts enjoy mutual respect in order to maintain the existence of each Ormas. However, it is not for FBR. In Bamus or cross-Ormas meeting, FBR never present and uncooperative. Thus, the FBR is considered not wish to participate in collaboration with other community organizations who live in Jakarta.

3.3.3 Common Interest

Another factor that led to the emergence of collaboration among community organizations is their common interest. The common interest could be related to land tenure and projects. In this issue, Kembang Latar, Pemuda Pancasila, and Forkabi recognized to have cooperation and coordination have been good, so there is no competition for territory between Ormas.

Cooperation established among the three Ormas is a form of solidarity of the members of each of these Ormas.

"For example, when PP gets bothered whether Forkabi joins automatically? Because we also sometimes hear that "there is a clash between PP and FBR." We need to show our solidarity to help PP right! "(Interview with BU, October 8, 2014)

"However, still, if we talk about Ormas collaboration in South Jakarta, such as Kembang Latar, Forkabi, and Pemuda Pancasila, ... we believe that we need to be together, hand in hand based, work together to maintain a conducive in our territories. Yes like that, sir. "(Interview with BU, October 8, 2014)

Solidarity formed in acts of violence involve more members in the lower level, not the elite. In collaborating with violence, solidarity emerged when one group is fighting with FBR. The actions of these attacks appear even without the consent of the elite. In addition, the solidarity which forms such cooperation is not aimed at creating an atmosphere conducive to another for each region of Ormas. Therefore, although not supported, these actions are also not considered a problem for Ormas concerned. This indicates that the beginning of the collaboration was initiated with excellent contacts among the group. PP and Kembang Latar have a leader who encourages such contact between the two groups so as to members at a lower level also has good contact and communication.

3.3.4 Subculture Theory and Conflict Theory in the Pattern of Ormas Transformation

According to Robert K. Merton, the emergence of social groups who engage in activities that deviate or breaking the law is a reasonable response from the community who is under

pressure from the existing social structure. So the emergence of social groups is aimed to organize and maintain the existence of identity. In this phenomenon, a group of Ormas formed because of pressure from the social structure of society in economic and social sectors. As FBR stating the existence of identity as an ethnic Betawi was supposed to be a ruler in their own homes and not migrants, but it formed the basis Forkabi wants to enhance the dignity of the Betawi people, Pemuda Pancasila formed to help improve the welfare of small communities in Jakarta. Based on research data obtained based on how the formation of Ormas is essentially the same, namely, to improve the welfare of the community or its members. This is demonstrated that the formation of Ormas is a reaction to press the social structure, as expressed by Merton.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) said men of the lower classes who experience the uncertainty of their position in the economic structure of society so that they make efforts together, and it leads them into criminal charges. This is called as a sub-culture. Subculture is a rejection of social values in general that indeed these values are formed and adopted by the upper classes, when the lower classes cannot meet these values then eventually they formed their sub-culture and values of their own. In connection with what was stated by Merton, Cloward, and Ohlin, respectively, community organization (Ormas) have their values and norms. In terms of obtaining economic resources is done by running activities strictly related to acts of thuggery.

According to Metro Jaya Regional Police, over the 2011 - August 2014 recorded 6 (six) forms of violence in conflict cases involving Ormas, namely:

- Destructing substations,
- Beatings suspected members of a certain Ormas,
- The destruction of substations/post accompanied by beatings,
- Destruction of Ormas attributes,
- Fights between Ormas, and
- Fights involving collaboration among Ormas.

Conflicts between groups is a social phenomenon that occurs naturally in the community. It is mentioned by Sigmund Freud (1991) that group conflict, or hostilities between different groups, is a feature common to all forms of social organization (e.g., sports teams, ethnic groups, nations, religions, gangs) (Freud, 1991).

Besides, Ralf Dahrendorf (1959) states that conflict is an overview of the groups competing for power, influence, and domination. Completing the Vold Dahendorf statement also revealed that conflicts between groups might occur because of the interests and objectives of the group are overlapping, one group disturbing other groups, and the groups competing. Conflicts between groups tend to increase the loyalty of the group members to their group. While Gould saw that the sectarian violence comes as the group met with the tension between the interests of the collective and individual interests (Gould, 1999).

Gould started a discussion of the conflict between groups focused on three factors, interest, group identity, and social organization (Gould, 1999). Those are consistent with the factors that trigger the transformation of Ormas become violent groups.

The first factor is interest. This factor shows that sectarian conflict triggered by competition to control high-value resources, such as territory, capital, and access to markets. It occurs among Ormas and often the attacks carried out by Ormas (e.g., FBR attack against PP caused by their seizure of territory or project). Seizing the territory is essential for each Ormas because these areas can be a potential source for their funding. Therefore, when there is the acquisition of a particular area by a specific group of Ormas when it is believed that the region has belonged to the other Ormas, then, of course, there will be a clash between the two mass organizations. Other attacks between Ormas has been described in the previous section.

The second factor is the factor of group identity. Ormas hold identities that can lead them into misunderstandings with others who have a distinct identity. In terms of identity, it creates conflicts caused by insult—for instance, the reduction or removal of the Ormas flag that has been installed. Organizations flag is considered as a symbol for their group, so when there is another group that make the flag or emblem flag, treat these Ormas to be distaste. Then, it will be considered an act of insulting the Ormas group. Therefore clashes triggered by the destruction, decline, and removal of the flag Ormas often occur. Besides the problem of group identity, clashes can also arise because Ormas A who moved to Ormas B. Automatically, it makes the abandoned Ormas irritable and angry. This action is considered as a form of action that showed that members loyal to the group. Therefore, it is usually an attack or a mob.

The third factor is the factor of social organization. Meanwhile, social organizations assess factors conflicts occur due to specific group members perceive that violations committed by individual members of the other group as a violation committed collectively. As a result, the group would avenge the wounded from groups considered to have hurt their members (Gould, 1999). This factor may trigger clashes between Ormas, despite this is the most rarely occurs among other factors. Usually, it triggered by a girl who chased by a conflicted member. It also can be a problem displacement group membership. After the group members who move beaten or attacked by an Ormas who abandoned, it will provoke another Ormas. It will be forwarded to the attacks carried out by new Ormas to older Ormas. Member of new Ormas feel disappointed then revenge to the older one.

These three factors are considered to explain the factors that contribute to triggering the onset of conflict and clashes between Ormas. Although other triggers can lead to conflict, in general, these factors have been able to explain what is happening in Ormas, which researched.

It is linear with Sherif in a realistic group conflict that the situation determines actual human behavior. Some of the violent conflict between organizations because the situation which is considered inferior, such as discharge or burning flags organizations substation. This is a situation where one Ormas considers to harass their group, and eventually, the group will respond. It is also provided Brewer's statement, which related to social identity. The group will surely have an awareness of its membership so that it will create in-group and out-group. The out-group has many inconsistencies and even contrary to what is believed by the group.

Conflicts that are described in this study are not only related to conventional group conflict but also conflict between Ormas and Ormas collaboration. Referring to Karl Marx, a consensus would be born after the conflict. So the evidence suggests that the different results that consensus was born and became grip between some Ormas to respect each other. In the end, there is no conflict between Ormas. Lewis Coser also said it could be established cooperation between the parties in the conflict, but the data told differently. Cooperation or collaboration happened among Ormas, who had never involved in conflict previously. Cooperation among Ormas is built by respect in these groups. The data reveals that the Pemuda Pancasila chairman is also a member of the Honorary Board in Kembang Latar; besides leaders, Forkabi also appointed as the board of supervisors in Pemuda Pancasila then among the three Ormas have an emotional connection that was created by the leaders of their organizations.

Based on the previous explanation, it is known that the phenomenon of conflict found in the field can be explained using the theory of the conflict presented by Vold, Gould, and Dahendroff. They mentioned that conflicts between groups occur when did appear a competition for resources that are part of the conflicting interest between two or more groups. However, in the theory of conflict, Coser and Marx failed to give an overview and explanation of how cooperation or collaboration can be formed. Both explained that the cooperation or collaboration happened after the conflict until finally created a consensus and then was born the collaboration. The picture of this phenomenon is not like that, collaboration, or occur

because of the three factors, which are the emotional relationship among members and leaders of the organization, common enemy, and common interest between Ormas.

4. Conclusion

According to data, several factors led to collaboration among groups of Ormas, which are the same interests, emotional relations, and a common enemy. Areas of common interest are the same goals among groups that collaborate Ormas. For instance, the same purpose in creating a conducive atmosphere in Jakarta. The next factor is the emotional connection. In the groups of Ormas who did a collaboration, there is a kinship between the leader or senior groups of Ormas. For example, officials PP still have any family relationship with officials Forkabi so that when there are events that invite each group of community organizations and have an emotional involvement.

The third factor is a common enemy. This factor is the most influential in the formation of the Ormas collaboration. In this phenomenon, which is becoming a common enemy is FBR. FBR became a common enemy for all three groups, such as PP, Forkabi, and Kembang Latar. FBR is considered as a group of Ormas who are provoking the riots also with another Ormas.

Something unique in this study was found that continuous transformation groups of Ormas become violent groups, and collaboration among groups of Ormas occurs. Nature of fluidity or fluctuating uncertain. It depends on the trigger of conflict that will determine the response given by the group of other Ormas. When groups of Ormas are not transformed into violent groups, then they will only have a role as a regular Ormas that perform social activities. However, when there is a trigger, they will transform into violent groups and even collaborate with a group of other Ormas.

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