

Friends or Foes? Fantasy Themes and Social Identity Theory in Intergroup Conflicts

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Abstract. This research was conducted based on frequent conflicts, manifested in intergroup brawls which took place in Johar Baru sub-district, Central Jakarta. The present study aims to explain and to analyze intergroup conflict based on fantasy themes and social identity theory. The study employed a qualitative approach and an instrumental case study design. The results indicate that fantasy themes became the basis for the street groups to build cohesiveness as well as to take group-based actions. Three fantasy themes found in this research are 'dare-to-die *jagoan* ('jagoan berani mati')', 'protecting the settlement (jaga kampung)', and 'dignity pays a price ('Harga diri harga mati')'. The street group fantasy themes also raise collective identity in the groups which triggers a collective action called a brawl. Furthermore, the shared fantasy themes discriminate one group to another. In a social identity perspective, this leads to intergroup conflict as marginalized groups make a great effort to fight against dominant group hegemony.

Keywords: intergroup conflict, brawls, street groups, fantasy themes, identity

1 Introduction

Conflict is a natural and significant element in society [1]. According to Bartos & Wehr, conflict is a situation in which actors use conflict behavior towards other parties to achieve inappropriate goals and/or to express hostility [2]. The actors referred to in this definition are not only individuals but they are also groups of people. Kinseng states that conflict is a social relationship between social factors characterized by conflict or strife and anger, whether expressed openly or not, to achieve each other's desires or goals [3]. A more comprehensive definition of conflict is proposed by Littlejohn & Domenici which revealed that conflict is a social situation or any process in which two or more social entities carry out antagonistic interactions [4].

The present study places greater emphasis on intergroup conflict. Takács defines intergroup conflict as a joint consequence of individual contributions to group-based actions that harm other group's interests[5]. What needs to be underlined is that the definition does not take into account a group as unitary actors, but rather as a cluster of individual decision-makers who have the authority to decide on their contributions. According to Hewstone & Greenland [6], most intergroup conflict possesses identifiable social-psychological components. This social-psychological component may exacerbate conflict, thereby eliminating the social-psychological component as part of intergroup conflict resolution. Fisher pointed out that intergroup conflict is reflected in many forms and many different situations in society[7]. Thus,

it is not only about a misunderstanding, but it is also because of clear-cut differences among groups in terms of social power, having access to resources, or life values, and worsened by how individuals subjectively view and interpret the world as well as how groups face differences and threats.

The study took place in Johar Baru Sub-district, Central Jakarta, which is one of the conflict-prone districts in Jakarta[8]. Tadie states that conflict has been 'a daily menu' for the residents living in the sub-district[9]. In addition to population density and crime, another factor that causes Johar Baru sub-district to be prone to conflict is its lack of community cohesion and social capital [10]. Population density and high poverty rates also trigger the conflict [11][12]. In the end, the conflict hampered development[13] as well as the eleventh point of the SDGs, namely sustainable cities and communities [14].

According to Wirutomo, intergroup conflict, manifested in brawls, which occur in the Johar Baru Sub-district, are resulted from the structural, cultural, and intertwined process[15]. The impact of poverty, unemployment, slums, population density, social exclusion, and structural factors, such as the limited space in the residence, trigger the emergence of street groups/gangs [12]. Mauliate, Nurlambang, and Ludiuro pointed out that the number of street groups who became embroiled in the brawls in Johar Baru sub-district reached 40[16]. Overpowered by their ego and their identity, these groups willingly strike out other groups. Fueled by trivial issues, such as scoffing at other groups in social media, miscommunication, rumors, group glorification, and looking down on other groups, the intergroup clash ensued. On a territorial basis, the existence of these groups indeed provokes tenseness and rivalry [17]. Along with the social process which occurs in it, violence and conflict become inevitable. This is in line with what Prihandono [18] and Aminah [19]discussed about territories in particular groups in urban areas and their relations to conflicts.

This study investigates intergroup conflicts which take place in cities based on a communication perspective. Sevilla-Buitrago underlined that instabilities and economic and environmental inequalities are the sources of conflicts of violence and crime[20]. In addition, the intergroup conflict has been an interesting subject to be examined as collective violence becomes frequent inhumanity which people ignore though there have been a lot of casualties due to the brawls, mass punishment, and beating[21]. Therefore, the present paper aims to explain and analyze intergroup conflict based on fantasy theme analysis and social identity theory.

Specific studies on the intergroup conflict in Johar Baru sub-district were carried out by Umar & Anom who investigated the causes of conflict in the sub-district[22]. Darmajanti looked into the anatomy of the conflict[12] while Sumarno worked on the aspects of resolutions[11], and Wirutomo studied the factors that triggered the conflict[15]. Munawar's research shows the link between conflict in Johar Baru sub-district and regional resilience[23] while Aji's research emphasized on the role of family social control and youth involvement in the conflict[24]. Darmajanti & Suleeman discussed the socio-cultural context [25] while Yasmine, in addition to successfully revealed the existence of groups as one of the main actors of the brawls, succeeded in unraveling the root of the problem that crushed young people in Johar Baru sub-district[26].

Referring to the previous studies above, it implies that research on intergroup conflict deploying social identity and symbolic convergence theory has never been conducted. For this reason, the present research seeks to fill in the gap. This is because social identity theory can be employed to analyze the grounds of intergroup conflict while symbolic convergence theory can be the theoretical framework of group cohesiveness through the spread of fantasy themes.

2 Method

The present study employed a qualitative approach. The research was designed by applying a single exploratory case study integrating instrumental case strategy[27]. According to Stake, an instrumental case strategy is used to investigate a particular case in order to provide a perspective on an issue or improvement of a theory[28].

The data of this study were collected by in-depth interviews [29]and non-participatory observation [30]. Research informants were HP, the leader of the street group who had been in jail twice; AL, the leader of the street group who had undergone social rehabilitation; and SA, the group member which became the target of police operations. The non-participatory observation was carried out by observing and recording the activities of the street groups when they were meeting at night. Of the 40 groups, three groups, which often got involved in the conflict, were selected. They were the Johtet group, the Gembrong group, and the Amunka group.

The data were analyzed by using a model developed by Huberman & Miles called data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion making (verification)[31]. Data reduction means simplification or data selection which includes summarizing, data coding, theme composing, classification, and story explication. Data presentation means providing information in order to conduct data interpretation.

3 Results and Discussion

Fantasy themes, according to symbolic convergence theory, consist of dramatized messages in which the characters experience an event or series of events when people are involved in the process of communication. Fantasy themes can sometimes be narrative which is about a living or historical figure or about imaginative future. Fantasy themes, introduced by street groups (Figure 1), will repeat and be described in another set so that they become part of the fantasy divided into larger communities.

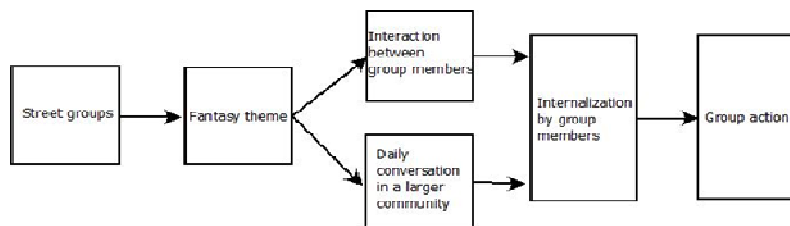


Fig.1. Dissemination of fantasy theme
Source: Research result (2019)

In this study, fantasy themes become a cohesiveness group igniter for hostility/to fight against other groups. The results of the observation of the three main groups in Johar Baru sub-district reveal that there are three fantasy themes used very often (Table 1) called 1) dare-to-die *jagoan*; 2) protecting the settlement; 3) dignity pays a price.

Table 1. Fantasy themes among street groups

Fantasy theme	Hero	Villain	Message
Dare-to-die <i>jagoan</i>	Johtet group	Kramjay group Bonawi group	Warnings for opponents / enemies and calls to take actions
Protecting the settlement	Gembrong group	Intan group Golday group Gang T group Bhengal group	Warnings for their own group
Dignity pays a price	Amunka group	Lepoy group Golday group	Warnings and calls to take actions for their own group

Source: Research result (2019)

The fantasy theme "dare-to-die-*jagoan*" corresponds to the characteristics of the street groups who are all set to face any enemies. *Jagoan* imply that if anyone becomes the member of the group, they must be set to exchange blows, get ready to be in the front line when grappling, be prepared to be arrested by the police, and be strong enough if they get a stone hit, firecracker bang, or even Molotov cocktail slap. That is why the term 'jagoan' is identical with 'dare to die'. Thus, the theme implies that the group members have to be the devoted ones of the street groups.

The fantasy theme of dare-to-die *jagoan* constantly conversed among the group members and its manifestation in the brawls make the theme more well-known among the members and in the surrounding/neighborhood. The theme identification makes the group more aware, more cohesive so that when the brawls occur, the group members immediately react to attack or to defend.

According to AL, besides friendship, the hallmark of the group is the number of *jagoan* appearance since it was founded. AL mentioned a number of particular persons who were once the *jagoan* though they are no longer *jagoan*; instead, they do something else, e.g. in Jakmania, or they even have become self-employed. Not to mention, a number of 'little jagoan' who have spread out and they are no longer the members of the groups. AL underlined that the essence of *jagoan*:

The existence of jagoan has been for ages, to be the member here, you must be jagoan, then people won't look you down. If you are not a jagoan, you will be scorned (Informant AL).

Brawling is the moment when the 'dare-to-die jagoan' theme is shared among the group members. They all together stand by in the front line as a band of *jagoan*, attacking the opponents with blunt objects (rocks), sharp objects (bottles and remnants), Molotov cocktail, firecrackers, and they go forward to fight. They will not stop to attack unless police officers come to break up the brawls, as told by AL below:

When fighting, all of them stand in a row. We have sharp swords with us. If we just have rackets, we die. Using weapons to balance, while we yell 'fuck off', 'bitch ' so that we keep fighting with vigor. If we win, no problem. If we lose, nothing to lose. We stop the brawls if there are a lot of police officers coming, tear gas tings our eyes then we disperse (Informant AL)

Identification of *jagoan* is a specific characteristic of Indonesian cultures. Wilson said that colloquially, *jagoan* describe strongmen in local standards, yet it has a bad connotation[32]. As a social figure, *jagoan* are a recurrent social and political actor in Indonesian history. Apart from being associated with crime, in popular culture, *jagoan* are occasionally romanticized as champions of the people and they are the embodiment of male and virtuous men, 'social bandits' whose acts of violence are motivated by a sense of justice, honor, and order. He further explained that *jagoan* identification is close to masculinity, respect, and virility that is bound to regions and parts of the body. *Jagoan* authority is largely judged by their level of monopolization on land/fields/territories or regions. The territorial power of the *jagoan* is affirmed through a combination of symbolic displays of violence and virility, instilling confidence in magical powers and physical skills in a battle.

Brown and Wilson pointed out that the phenomenon of intergroup violence initiated by 'local strongmen', called *jagoan*, is a widely-spread cultural product with an emphasis on masculinity, fight, and supernatural power[33]. The results of this study regarding the role of the 'jagoan' theme in intergroup brawls are at least in line with what Widyanto found in his research indicating that the groups commit violence in the form of brawls due to internalization of *jagoan* values, experiences of being 'marginalized' and limitations of economic capital, social, cultural, and politics[34]. The brawls eventually play their role as principles of thought driving and regulators of group life practices resulting in the degradation of positive values the *jagoan* used to have [32].

The fantasy theme "protecting the settlement" can be examined from the terminology of the settlement itself. It connotes a closed territorial group. It implies that the territory is only for the group members and the surrounding. The parties who are allowed to enter the 'settlement' are partners/groups having an alliance. If outsiders, particularly opponents, enter the settlement/territories, it would be deemed to be a provocative action. It poses a risk to be attacked by the group who conquers the territory. Therefore, the fantasy theme 'protecting the settlement' becomes the theme that is constantly echoed to maintain group solidarity.

The production of the fantasy theme 'protecting the settlement' is carried out by group leading actors that their settlement has often been attacked by other groups, either for spontaneous reasons or for revenge. For this reason, group members must be able to guard and protect the settlement from these attacks. If possible, they will not wait for the ambush, but they will carry out an assault first. If possible, don't wait to be attacked, but attack first.

This was confirmed by informant HP, a street group leading actor in Johar Baru sub-district. To watch over the settlement, he was willing to be a provocateur which led to fighting against opponent groups. HP says:

It happened in Kramat Jaya because we had a long grudge. I told my friends doing their jobs to stop. I was also frustrated at that time, I couldn't immediately go to bed and asked my men to get together to commit the brawl in the evening and indeed, we had a drink in the afternoon. So, we made the plans already. At night, we attacked Kramat Jaya gangs. It took almost an hour. After that, I told the residents that our settlement is safe, the next-door one was damaged (informant HP).

Fantasy sharing of protecting the settlement is firmly and simply modeled by HP, for example, as a brawl provocateur and attack the opponents earlier. The goal is the group members are aware of the essence of the group and are committed to protect and to defend the groups. The fantasy sharing process of the theme is carried out by direct modeling so that it creates a series of group fantasy. That way, group awareness can constantly be maintained.

According to Putra, protecting the settlement is a wide interpretation of 'the survival of the settlement' which is the settlement attempt to avoid identity and solidity weakening of the settlement [35]. The weakening might be from the process of development, urbanization, or conflict. 'Survival' of the settlement is developed from the values of togetherness, traditions, citizen ability, socio-cultural experiences, space interactions, and citizen activities. It is just that, if Putra views settlement survival in a positive tone, then the street groups perceive it negatively.

One of the aspects which made the fighting persistent in Johar Baru sub-district is dignity. The informants admitted that group dignity is irreplaceable. If it is undervalued, for instance through an insult, the fighting is unavoidable. Therefore, dignity becomes one of the fantasy themes shared by several street groups.

This dignity can be seen from the group's attributes. For example, the Amunka group whose territory is in Kampung Rawa Selatan has attributes as a group which is a big fan of the Persija football club, while its opponent, Lepoy whose territory is limited by footpaths, has contradictory attributes: not a big fan of football and they prefer music. According to informant SA, Persija's dignity was Amunka's dignity, too. Hence, if there is a group that humiliates Persija, it means they hurt Amunka's dignity. Thus, this trivial problem about Persija may lead to fighting between Amunka and Lepoy.

The fantasy theme dialogue about dignity takes place when the Amunka group is watching a match involving Persija. Dramatization took place when the group shouted slogans of support for Persija. This makes the group members comprehend the shared meaning of dignity. Below is Informant SA's explanation:

We've always felt that Persija is identical to us, it's our dignity. If Persija is annoyed, our dignity will hurt and therefore we should fight against it. (Informant SA)

A dignity that becomes a group fantasy is in line with what Schori-Eyal et al. underlined that during the intergroup conflict, group members practice glorification very often which views the group as more superior one than other groups are [36]. Dignity is a clear manifestation of glorification. Through glorification, the group always tries to respect the leader and the symbol of the group. Group glorification is driven by the need to enhance the group's positive image and self-confidence. Besides, De Figueiredo and Elkins consider dignity as one of the triggers of a group's prejudice against other groups, as the findings of this study [37].

Fantasy theme sharing in a street group occurs when the group is on the move in a roadblock, coffee shop, or place they usually gather. The rhetorical characteristics of the themes deal with how the group can win if they fight, how to keep the group in existence or how to increase group solidarity (Table 2).

Table 2. Rhetorical characteristic of fantasy theme

Fantasy theme	Rhetorical characteristics
Dare-to-die <i>jagoan</i>	Each group member is all set to confront any opponent/enemy. Hero identification connotes being the group member, you must be set to clash, be ready in the front line when fighting, be prepared to be arrested by the police, and ready to take the consequences of being hit by stones, firecrackers, or even Molotov cocktails.
Protecting the settlement	The production of the fantasy theme of 'protecting the settlement' is run by the group leaders that their settlement has often been attacked by other groups, either for spontaneous reasons or for

Dignity pays a price	<p>revenge. Therefore, group members must be able to protect and to defend the settlement from the raid. If possible, don't wait to be attacked, but attack first.</p> <p>This dignity can be seen from the group's attributes. Group dignity is irreplaceable. If it is undervalued, for example through an insult, the fighting is unavoidable. Therefore, dignity becomes one of the fantasy themes shared by a number of street groups.</p>
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Source: research result (2019)

This study found fantasy themes as symbolic realities created by street groups. Comrade-opponent rhetoric is formed by the rhetorical vision of the group and is shared with group members and surrounding communities. The rhetorical vision offers a fantasy theme as social capital which is seen by groups as fundamental values and beliefs.

A number of studies have succeeded in uncovering the relevance of fantasy themes to cohesiveness and intergroup conflict. Misner discussed the use of the fantasy theme 'LSD on The Phone' which was shared by street gang groups and found that the message conveyed was a warning about the dangers of using LSD used by street gang members[38]. Hallsworth found fantasy themes frequently used when discussing street gang groups[39]. Duffy examines the themes of fantasy and rhetorical vision employed by hatred groups in online media[40]. A number of fantasy themes discovered by Duffy are group efforts to marginalize/eliminate other groups so as to create a climate of hatred in the community. Prentice & Boange examined the fantasy of separatism in Tamil groups in Sri Lanka[41].

The above studies clearly illustrate how fantasy themes are formed in a group, then the fantasy themes become the basis for the spread of hatred in other groups. That was also found in this study. By developing and spreading fantasy themes, street groups in Johar Baru sub-district manage cohesiveness within the group. With maintained cohesiveness, it was easier for a one-door command from the group leader to the members. Armed with this cohesiveness, street groups then echo the theme of fantasy, to further justify attacks on other groups. The justification mainly uses trivial reasons, such as mutual ridicule, old grudges, the existence of rumors, miscommunication, or because of provocation from other parties. Another reason is the development of views from hostile groups to demean and marginalize the opposing groups. This corresponds to the main assumptions of social identity theory. The process involving fantasy themes, social identity theory, group cohesiveness, to the occurrence of conflict between groups is presented in Figure 2 below:

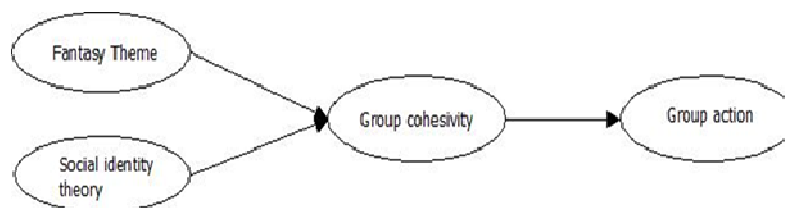


Fig.2. Models of a fantasy theme, social identity theory with group cohesiveness and conflicts

Source: research result (2019)

Sharing fantasy themes frequently expressed by groups develop group cohesiveness. By cohesiveness, group members increasingly feel attached to other group members so that it creates togetherness. Fantasy story sharing helps group members bring about social reality indicating whether or not the members are part of the group.

Group cohesiveness is formed so as to realize which groups are 'friends/buddies' and which groups are 'opponents' because fantasy themes are the result of chain reactions in the form of fantasy sequences and are shared among themselves in groups. Group members dramatize things, responding with interpretive fantasy sequences to build cohesiveness and mutual awareness within the group. In this context, fantasy theme sharing in street groups takes place when the group is on the move. The themes deal with how the group can win if there is a brawl, how to keep the group in existence or how to strengthen group solidarity.

The fantasy themes shared by the street groups in the present research are in line with Bormann's view of the dramatization of the message that illustrates the state of the group. Rhetorical vision through fantasy themes create togetherness to the groups and develop a sense of belonging through shared reality. In addition, the fantasy theme of street groups also raises group collective identity which fuels a collective action called intergroup conflict.

Such identity, based on the social identity theory proposed by Tajfel and Turner, is the source of pride and confidence [42]. Thus, social identity theory provides explanations of the causes of intergroup conflict which are the emergence of differences of interests with other groups [43]. According to social identity theory, the increase of group identity may lead to social competition--a group will put up its strong resistance to a dominant group and group strategic attempts to strengthen abilities to fight against dominant groups.

4 Conclusion

Fantasy themes are the basis for street groups to build cohesiveness while acting in groups. The three fantasy themes found in this study are 'dare-to-die jagoan' which is analogous with masculinity, 'protecting the settlement' which is equivalent to survival, and 'dignity pays a price' which is corresponding to glorification. The fantasy themes make ones group as heroes and the opponent groups as an enemy (villain). Rhetorical vision through fantasy themes leads to togetherness to the groups and a sense of belonging through shared reality. The shared fantasy themes make a group discriminate other groups. Based on social identity theory, this triggers intergroup conflict as marginalized groups attempt to fight against the hegemony of the dominant groups.

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