



Volume 8 (1) (2025): 23-30

The Indonesian Journal of Social Studies

Available at <https://journal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/jpips/index>

SOCIAL COHESION AND CONFLICT AS SHAPERS OF SOLIDARITY AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY OF PERSIS SOLO SUPPORTERS ORGANIZATION/COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This research aims to understand the supporter group, the forms of solidarity, and the efforts in conflict mediation within the PERSIS Solo supporter group. This study uses Ferdinand Tönnies' organizational theory, Emile Durkheim's social solidarity theory, and Ralf Dahrendorf's conflict theory. The method in this research is qualitative interpretative. The primary data sources come from figures within the supporter groups, and the secondary data sources come from literature studies. The results of this research show that the solidarity formed between the two PERSIS Solo supporter groups includes (1) Away, (2) Criticism of the club, (3) Celebrating PERSIS's victory, (4) Podo-podo supporting PERSIS, ngopo ndadak gelutan, (5) Bhinneka Tunggal PERSIS, and (6) I'm happy with PERSIS, Kowe happy with PERSIS, krudewe sedulur. Meanwhile, the conflicts that arise between the two PERSIS Solo supporter groups are (1) conflicts inside the stadium, such as the conflict between Pasoepati in the B7 stand and Surakartans 1923 in the B6 stand, and (2) conflicts outside the stadium, such as confrontations outside. As for the mediation efforts within the PERSIS Solo supporter groups, they include (1) bringing the conflicting parties together, (2) assistance from the police, (3) maintaining the conducive atmosphere of Solo City, and (4) Legowo.

Keywords: Supporters, Organizations, Communities, Solidarity, Conflict

How to Cite : Wicaksono, R., F. (2024). Social Cohesion and Conflict as Shapers of Solidarity and Collective Identity of PERSIS Solo Supporters Organization/Community. *The Indonesian Journal of Social Studies*, Vol.8 (1): 23-30

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e-ISSN 2615-5966 (Online)

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INTRODUCTION

The presence of supporters is an important element in a football match. (Welianto, 2020). In its development, supporters of certain football clubs were then institutionalized as supporter organizations. (Junaedi, 2017). In the world of football in Solo City, Pasoepati was founded in 2000, initially to support the Pelita Solo club, which at that time made Solo City the club's headquarters. (Sufiyanto, 2015). However, Pasoepati has now established itself as a fanatical supporter of the Persis Solo club. Ultimately, Pasoepati is no longer merely a supporter who comes to the match, because its existence has transformed into a specific social community filled with values, norms, and even certain rules that make Pasoepati a new, communal identity for social actors.

Over time, organizations supporting specific football clubs have evolved beyond a single organization. Today, Pasoepati is no longer the sole supporter group supporting Persis Solo. In this regard, Surakartans 1923 has emerged as a supporter group that also supports Persis Solo. As a supporter group with a common goal: supporting Persis Solo, (Trisetiyo, 2019). Thus, normative aspects emerged to foster cross-organizational solidarity among fellow Persis Solo supporter organizations. However, the natural interaction between social actors means that relationships between football supporter groups are not always conflict-free. Internal conflict within the Persis Solo supporter group has also occurred, specifically between Pasoepati and Surakartans 1923.

The ability to cultivate and maintain solidarity and manage conflict is crucial for the Persis Solo supporter group. Without these skills, conflict will escalate, leading to negative consequences and harming the club itself. This can be described as a dynamic, even an art, for the Persis Solo supporter group in achieving and generating social cohesion. Therefore, the author is interested in conducting a thesis research entitled "Solidarity and Collective Identity: A Qualitative Interpretive Study of the Persis Solo Supporter Organization/Community in the Aspects of Conflict Mediation and Social Cohesion ."

In this study, the researcher used several theories or approaches deemed relevant to the research being studied to help analyze the phenomena that occurred. These theoretical approaches include the organizational theory of social groups, namely *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* by Ferdinand Tönnies, the solidarity theory proposed by Emile Durkheim, and the conflict theory by Ralf Dahrendorf. Ferdinand Tönnies' thoughts on *gemeinschaft* (community) and *gesellschaft* (community) are used to understand the type of social group that is the subject of the research being studied. (Soekanto, 2007) . This is useful for examining the relationships that occur within a social group. Emile Durkheim's solidarity theory is used to analyze the forms of solidarity that exist among Persis Solo supporter groups (Johnson, 1994) . Meanwhile, Ralf Dahrendorf's conflict theory is used as an analytical tool to determine the forms of conflict that occur among Persis Solo supporter groups (Turner, 1974)

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study uses several theories or approaches that are considered relevant to the research being studied. These theoretical approaches include organizational theory regarding social groups, namely *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* from Ferdinand Tönnies, solidarity theory proposed by Emile Durkheim, and conflict theory from Ralf Dahrendorf. To understand the type of social group that is the subject of the research being studied, the researcher uses organizational theory, one of which includes Ferdinand Tönnies' thoughts on *gemeinschaft* (community) and *gesellschaft* (community) (Soekanto, 2007) . This aims to determine the characteristics or types of Persis Solo supporter groups.

The issue of social solidarity is also at the heart of Durkheim's overall discussion. Durkheim's strong interest in solidarity and integration stemmed from his growing awareness of the diminishing influence of traditional religion, which had undermined one of the most important aspects of traditional moral teachings, which in the past had been able to unite society (Johnson, 1994). Due to his interest in the changing ways in which social solidarity can be formed and how members see themselves as part of a whole, Durkheim divided solidarity into two types, namely mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity (Veeger, 1992).

The final aspect of focus in this research, seen through Ralf Dahrendorf's perspective, is the relationship between conflict and social change. According to him, conflict will lead to changes in the social structure. After the emergence of conflicting groups, these groups will take actions that can lead to change. If the conflict is large-scale, change will be radical. Conversely, if the conflict is accompanied by violence, change will be rapid and effective (Izza, 2020).

RESEARCH METHOD

Research uses qualitative research, according to Denzin and Lincoln, in Moleong (2007) stated that qualitative research is research that uses a natural setting, with the intention of interpreting the phenomena that occur and is carried out by involving various existing methods. Interpretive qualitative sociological studies that emphasize aspects of organizational studies, solidarity, and conflict. Interpretive research focuses on the subjective nature of the social world and attempts to understand the framework of thinking of the object being studied (Sugiono, 2010). Data sources are obtained through primary and secondary data sources. Primary data is the main data in a study obtained directly by researchers from the first source or those involved in accordance with the topic of this research such as central figures from two Persis Solo supporter organizations namely Pasoepati and Surakartans 1923 and other important informant sources who have important and significant roles or knowledge related to football, especially Surakarta football. Secondary data is secondary data that supports primary data, such as books, journals, theses, dissertations, scientific articles, and other supporting data collected from internet sources. This research took place in Surakarta City or Solo City. Solo was chosen as the research location based on Solo City, which is home to the historic football club, Persis Solo. This research can be conducted outside of Solo City, because Persis Solo supporters do not only live or reside in Solo City. The informant selection technique used in this study was *purposive sampling*, namely the selection of informants or samples based on certain considerations made by researchers based on research objectives (Idrus, 2009). Data collection techniques in this study use several techniques, namely observation, interviews, documentation, and literature studies. The validity of the data that will be used in this study is data triangulation. Data triangulation is to explore the truth of certain informants with various methods and sources of data processing. The results of interviews conducted with informants then undergo an analysis process, namely categorization, classification, specification, and reduction.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Pasoepati, which was initially the only supporter group that gave full support to Persis Solo (Laily, D, F., & Akhmad, R., 2016), along with the development of the times with the increasingly massive technology entering people's lives, Pasoepati is no longer the only supporter group that provides support to Persis Solo. Then, along with the development of the times, a new community emerged that labeled itself as an ordinary general audience who provided support to Persis Solo took place in one of the stands of the Manahan Solo Stadium which at that time was called the B6 stand. Until now, there are several name labels for the community such as B6, Persis Fans B6, and Surakartans 1923. With the presence of Surakartans 1923 which began to develop and the increasing number of its members, Pasoepati is no longer the only supporter group that provides support to Persis Solo. The challenge of presenting a sense of solidarity is a real aspect that must be strengthened between the two as fellow Persis Solo supporters.

Based on the findings of the field, the researcher divided the forms of solidarity that existed between Pasoepati and Surakartans 1923 into several points, as follows: (1) *Away*, this is shown by the form of mutual assistance if fellow Persis Solo supporters are involved in a conflict with other supporters, uniting into one unit, and leaving together. (2) Criticism of the club, this is shown by even without coordination, Persis Solo supporters can simultaneously launch an action of criticism against the club when the club is unable to show maximum results and carry out criticism in their own way. (3) Celebrating Persis Solo Champion. (4) *Podo-podo support Persis Solo, ngopo ndadak wrestle*. (5) Bhinneka Tunggal Persis. (6) *I like Persis, you like Persis, you are my own brother*.

As a unified group of Persis Solo supporters, the two groups, Pasoepati and Surakartans 1923, foster interactions among the various social actors within them. These interactions can take the form of shared agendas, coordination, cooperation, or collaboration. These ongoing relationships and communications are expected to raise the collective awareness of the supporters as a unified Persis Solo supporter group and serve as a first step toward mitigating potential conflicts. The interactions and relationships established by these social groups, of course, are not always conflict-free. Differences in perspective, goals, and interests can trigger conflict. Pasoepati and Surakartans 1923 have been involved in conflict on several occasions. Conflicts have occurred not only inside the stadium but also outside it. Conflicts that have occurred inside the stadium include the clash between Pasoepati in stand B7 and Surakartans 1923 in stand B6, which resulted in injuries and several supporters being held accountable for their actions in prison. The conflict arose due to cultural differences. Meanwhile, conflicts that have occurred outside the stadium include street *fights*.

Solidarity and conflict are unavoidable dynamics within an organization. Therefore, conflict management and mediation processes related to conflict are crucial to the running of an organization. Mediation efforts in dealing with conflict between Persis Solo supporter groups, such as those found between the conflicting parties, include reducing egos and bridging each other, providing assistance from the police, awareness of mutual recognition and greetings to maintain the conducive environment of Solo City, and *acceptance* of differences in culture and support. The underlying factor behind both groups' acceptance or *acceptance* of differences is a form of freedom protected by law. For supporters, supporting their favorite club provides a platform for channeling their freedom of expression. Therefore, differing in expression is normal because it is highly valued by law. On the other hand, differences can actually provide variation or color in providing support for Persis Solo.

Discussion

Durkheim explained that solidarity is a state of relationship between individuals or groups that is based on moral equality or beliefs that are then shared and strengthened by shared experiences. In looking at solidarity in a society, Durkheim divided solidarity into two types: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is characterized by the presence of collective consciousness, low division of labor, low individuality, lack of interdependence, and punishment tends to be collective. Meanwhile, organic solidarity is characterized by weak collective consciousness, high division of labor, high individuality, interdependence, and the involvement of social control bodies in punishing deviant individuals (Veeger, 1992).

In this study, the researcher focuses on the solidarity formed between the two groups of Persis Solo supporters, namely Pasoepati and Surakartans 1923. The mechanical solidarity of Emile Durkheim, the researcher feels is suitable for analyzing the social solidarity formed between the Persis Solo supporter groups. Where, the relationship or unification that occurs is based on cultural values, so that the social bonds owned by the community are very strong. In addition, the behavior shown by the Persis Solo supporter group shows that the solidarity formed within the group is in accordance with the mechanical solidarity intended by Durkheim. This suitability is measured using predetermined indicators to classify the type of solidarity from Emile Durkheim.

The first indicator used is collective awareness. The relationships between Persis Solo supporter groups demonstrate a shared awareness of being a single unit. This awareness can further strengthen the relationship between them. This awareness of being a Persis Solo supporter is also fostered through *idioms* such as "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" (Unity in Diversity) or "I like Persis, you like Persis, and you are my friends." A low division of labor is the second indicator of mechanical solidarity. Based on the solidarity relationships established between Persis Solo supporter groups, there is no specific division of labor. If there are matters related to the two groups, coordination and cooperation will be made between the two groups. Examples include coordination of departures during *away trips* and security coordination when Solo City, specifically Manahan Stadium, is used as a venue for a football competition.

A high level of collective awareness will naturally impact the level of individuality. The relationship demonstrated by the two groups of Persis Solo supporters indicates a low level of individuality. This is evident in their mutual assistance during *away matches*. *Away matches* are highly potential for conflict with opposing supporters. They work together when faced with conflict situations with opposing supporters. During *away matches*, it's no longer about which group they belong to; instead, they form a unified whole as Persis Solo supporters, supporting their beloved club. The fourth indicator used to determine the type of mechanical solidarity within the solidarity established between Persis Solo supporters is their lack of interdependence. This is because matters or agendas related to the two groups are handled collectively or *together*. Both groups of supporters have their own involvement or contribution to the club.

Collective punishment is the final indicator used to analyze the solidarity between Persis Solo supporter groups. This indicator examines the efforts made by both supporter groups when they are involved in a conflict. These efforts involve bringing the parties involved together. In addition to the parties involved, the meetings also include "leaders" from each group. Thus, intergroup conflicts are also resolved within the groups. Collective involvement contributes to joint resolution efforts.

Based on the analysis and explanation above, which is examined using Emile Durkheim's theory of social solidarity, it shows that the solidarity formed between Persis Solo supporter groups is mechanical solidarity. This is indicated by the presence of collective consciousness, low

division of labor, moderate individuality, lack of interdependence, and punishment tends to be collective in the solidarity relationships formed between Persis Solo supporter groups.

In his analysis of the conflict between the two Persis Solo supporter groups based on conflict theory, Dahrendorf explains that in social reality, there are always two sides to society: conflict and consensus. Conflict and consensus are always intertwined. Conflict is viewed through the conflict of interests that arises from differences in the distribution of power. Consensus, on the other hand, refers to the value of integration that unites society. Dahrendorf emphasizes that conflict is more about the domination carried out by certain groups over other groups, a *social order* that results from manipulation and control by the more dominant group. Groups that have authority or power are referred to as superordinate. Meanwhile, groups that do not have authority or are controlled are referred to as subordinate. The authority in question lies in position, not in individuals or groups (Ritzer & Douglas, 2008). In relation to the form of conflict that occurs between Persis Solo supporter groups, Pasoepati is in the superordinate position, while Surakartans 1923 is in the subordinate position.

In this case, Pasoepati became the dominant group, namely the superordinate. This is based on Pasoepati's position as the official supporter organization of Persis Solo. Pasoepati became a more existing supporter group, when compared to Surakartans 1923. At the beginning of the Surakartans 1923, the number of Pasoepati members was very dominant in various corners of the stadium. Pasoepati was truly one of the large groups with a large number in Indonesia at that time. Then, Surakartans 1923 began to show its presence in the B6 stand of Manahan Stadium. In this case, Surakartans 1923 became a dominant group, namely the subordinate. The emergence of Surakartans 1923, which at that time the community called it B6, only numbered 20-30 people. Of course, this number is a stark contrast when compared to Pasoepati. Besides mass numbers, Pasoepati's dominance is also demonstrated by its authority or power as the official supporter organization of Persis Solo and as an organization that had existed before. It was from the dominance of Pasoepati that pressure was put on the 1923 Surakartans group, causing friction between the two.

Dahrendorf also argued that conflict arises as a social reality caused by conflicting differences within the social structure. Based on research findings, the conflict between Persis Solo supporter groups stemmed from differing interests. Initially, the Pasoepati supporter group insisted on a unified stance in supporting Persis Solo. Despite their differences, they remained united under the umbrella of Pasoepati itself. Meanwhile, the Surakartans 1923 group also maintained their original goal of freedom of expression in support. They believed that celebrating football was about independence. These differing interests were the underlying cause of the conflict between the two Persis Solo supporter groups.

As explained earlier, Dahrendorf argued that the social reality that occurs in society consists of two faces: conflict and consensus. Between the two, there is a reciprocal relationship: conflict will not exist if there is no consensus, and consensus will not exist if there is no conflict. With the existing conflict between Pasoepati and Surakartans 1923, then after the conflict, efforts were made to integrate the two groups. Various efforts were made by both groups of Persis Solo supporters to reach this consensus, such as mediation efforts that brought together the conflicting parties from both groups, mediation assistance from the police, efforts to build awareness to get to know each other and to maintain the conduciveness of Solo City, and efforts to build awareness to accept the differences that exist in each group. From these efforts, then led to the achievement of integration among the Persis Solo supporter groups. The integration that occurred created a condition of unity to cohesion or solidarity or what is called social cohesion among the Persis Solo supporter groups.

CONCLUSION

Football has become a popular sport among the global community. Especially in Indonesia, football has emerged as the number one sport widely loved by the public. Football has grown to create sentiment and a strong psychological bond between the community or supporters towards their favorite club. This sentiment of love for their favorite club is represented in the relationship between Persis Solo supporters and Persis Solo. Persis Solo supporters, who were initially only Pasoepati, are a manifestation of the institutionalization of the sentiment of supporter love for their favorite club, in this case Persis Solo. Although, in fact, the formation of Pasoepati itself was not motivated by support for Persis Solo. However, over time Pasoepati has consecrated itself to a supporter group with loyalty in supporting Persis Solo. This sentiment of love arose for the advancement of football in the city of Solo. The supporter organization, Pasoepati, is an institutional manifestation formed by the increasing number of individuals who began attending the stadium. The large number of people was one of the reasons for the initiation to form a supporter organization.

The football club supporters' organization then developed into no longer a single organization. In this case, Surakartans 1923 emerged as a social group that also watched and supported Persis Solo. Surakartans 1923 emerged with the British *casual culture* it brought. Freedom of expression in providing support for Persis Solo became the initial foundation for them to gather together with a common vision and mission. Therefore, a new social reality emerged where solidarity related to other supporter organizations that support the same club. Therefore, the challenge then became whether solidarity could develop into solidarity among members of different supporter organizations, but supporting the same football club. In this case, solidarity between Persis Solo supporter groups was realized by cultivating and maintaining awareness of the common interest, namely Supporting Persis Solo is the unifying *force*. A shared goal is one of the factors that fosters solidarity between them. Furthermore, other aspects contribute to solidarity between the two groups of supporters, such as criticizing the club during *away games*, *celebrating Persis Solo's victory*, *a sense of belonging as fellow Persis Solo supporters*, and idioms like *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) and *Aku Seneng Persis* (I Love Persis), *Kowe Seneng Persis* (You Love Persis), *Awak dewe Sedulur* (You Are My Sedulur).

The relationship between Persis Solo supporters is reflected in the interactions between the two groups. These interactions include *fun football events*, *hanging out together*, inviting each other to events, and coordinating and collaborating. Through this collaboration, Pagar Hijau Manahan hopes that each supporter group can develop their individual potential and collaborate together. However, it cannot be denied that these interactions are not always conflict-free. Differences and misunderstandings can trigger conflict in relationships. Conflicts between Persis Solo supporters have drawn public attention, resulting in riots. These conflicts have resulted in numerous injuries and imprisonment. Therefore, coordination, mediation, and conflict management are needed to resolve conflicts and potential future conflicts.

Efforts to foster solidarity are also carried out by establishing a fair and open mechanism for resolving conflicts that may arise, particularly between supporters, particularly those from different Persis Solo supporter organizations. Mediation efforts as a form of conflict resolution are also undertaken by both Persis Solo supporter groups when conflicts arise between them. These mediation efforts include finding a compromise between the conflicting parties and assistance from the police. On the other hand, efforts in conflict management that can be a first step to minimize future conflicts include an attitude of awareness and mutual understanding between the two groups to maintain the conduciveness of Solo City and mutual acceptance or *tolerance* with all differences in terms of how to provide support for Persis Solo.

The ability to bring solidarity, interaction, organize and Resolving conflicts that may arise between members of the Persis Solo supporter organization, especially those from different organizations, is key to generating and maintaining the solidarity of Persis Solo supporters, preventing them from becoming divided and leading to large-scale conflict. This ability will create social cohesion among Persis Solo supporter groups, namely Pasoepati and Surakartans 1923.

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