

CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN STUDENT GROUPS FROM THE PALOPO (IPMIL) AND BONE (KEPMI) REGIONS IN MAKASSAR CITY

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Abstract: The conflict between regional student groups (Organda) between IPMIL Palopo and KEPMI Bone in Makassar City is a social phenomenon that cannot be understood as a single event, but rather as a process formed through a series of repeated and interrelated daily social interactions. This study aims to analyze the causes and escalation processes of the conflict between the two organizations using qualitative methods through a case study approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation of informants from both organizations. The results of the study indicate that the conflict was triggered by four interrelated patterns, namely: (1) small incidents in daily interactions such as bumps, jokes, and misunderstandings that developed into open conflict due to the failure of social interactions; (2) the activation of regional identity and organizational solidarity that transformed individual problems into collective conflicts; (3) the role of seniors, organizational doctrine, and collective memories of past conflicts that inherited accumulated emotions between generations; and (4) structural conditions such as campus political momentum, new student admission activities, slow institutional responses, and a large mass base that strengthened the escalation of the conflict. These findings indicate that conflict develops as a process of social interaction that occurs repeatedly and continuously, not solely as a result of a spontaneous, isolated event.

Keywords: Conflict between regional student groups; IPMIL Palopo; KEPMI Bone; Makassar.

1. Introduction

Conflict between regional student groups (Organda) is a frequent phenomenon in Makassar City, one of the centers of higher education in South Sulawesi (Hutagaol et al., (2022). The diversity of students' social and regional backgrounds creates a dynamic space for social interaction, but on the other hand, it also has the potential to give rise to intergroup competition that can lead to open conflict. This phenomenon was evident in the conflict between IPMIL Palopo and KEPMI Bone, which experienced tension and clashes between groups several times in Makassar City (Kompas Nusantara, (2021). This situation shows that Organda not only functions as a forum for regional student solidarity but can also become a space for the emergence of intergroup rivalries that trigger social conflict.

The conflict between these two regional student groups is motivated by various complex motives. Several previous studies have shown that conflict between student organizations is generally influenced by structural factors, such as power struggles, organizational political dynamics, group solidarity, and intergroup interests. Research by Sholikhah, (2017) also shows that differences in organizational ideology, cadre development strategies, and competition for influence are important factors behind conflicts between student organizations [11]. Furthermore, Syafitri & Warsono (2021) explain that social conflict within student organizations is influenced by primordialism, struggles for existence, unequal distribution of power, and group interests within campus democracy [13]. However, these studies generally focus on structural aspects and organizational interests, thus failing to fully explain how the process of social interaction between members can shape and sustain recurring conflict.



From Randall Collins' perspective, conflict is understood as part of the social interaction process that emerges through relationships between individuals and groups in everyday life. Collins emphasizes that conflict is not only caused by struggles for resources or power but is also influenced by group solidarity, identity symbols, and emotional involvement in social interaction rituals. Through ongoing interactions, group members build a sense of togetherness and establish social boundaries with other groups. This situation can create tension and intensify conflict when there is competition, symbolic insults, or threats to group identity (Collins, 2004) [3].

Research on interorganizational conflict is important because Recurrent conflicts not only impact social relations between regional students but also have the potential to create a culture of violence in the academic environment. In addition to disrupting the stability of campus life, these conflicts can strengthen primordial sentiments and widen social distances between student groups. Ongoing conflicts also have the potential to form negative stereotypes between groups and maintain patterns of hostility within student organizations (Hutagaol et al., 2022) [8].

Based on these conditions, this study uses Randall Collins' conflict theory with a micro-sociological approach to understand the dynamics of the conflict between IPMIL Palopo and KEPMI Bone in Makassar City. This approach is used to examine how interaction rituals, group solidarity, symbols, and emotional experiences in social interactions can shape and sustain the conflict between the two regional student organizations. Thus, this study is expected to provide a deeper understanding of inter-organizational conflict, not only as a clash of organizational interests, but also as a result of ongoing social interaction processes.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

2.1 Research Type and Approach

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach as the primary strategy for a deeper understanding of the phenomena being studied. A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates contemporary phenomena within a real-life context (Yin, 2009) [15]. According to Douglas (1976), qualitative data analysis allows researchers to explore in-depth the various social forms and processes that humans use to create and maintain their social realities [6]. A good qualitative case study is one that demonstrates a deep understanding of the case (Creswell, 2015) [5]. Bruce (2001) also adds that high-quality research is research that can be retested by other researchers examining the same phenomenon, using either similar or different methods [2]. Qualitative methods are efforts to open up dialectical space in the world of research, and allow for enrichment and exploration of previous research on similar or identical issues and studies. The research approach uses a case study, a research approach for studying a phenomenon in depth (Given, 2008). This research uses a qualitative case study to explore in-depth the conflict between regional student organizations in Makassar City, specifically the Organda IPMIL and KEPMI Bone [7].

2.2 Research Location

This research was conducted in Makassar City. The location was chosen based on several factors. First, tensions between the two organizations, IPMIL and KEPMI Bone, continue to occur in Makassar, with the risk of ongoing conflict. Second, this location was chosen to facilitate the researcher's access to the necessary data for the study.

2.3 Research Stages

The research was conducted through a series of systematic stages to ensure that each phase contributed effectively to achieving the research objectives. The first stage involved a preliminary observation, which was carried out to gain an initial understanding of the research setting and to identify the main issues surrounding the organizational conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI BONE. This initial exploration enabled the researcher to formulate the research assumptions, refine the research focus, and establish a strong foundation for the subsequent stages of the study. The second stage consisted of obtaining the necessary research permits from the relevant institutions to ensure that all research activities were conducted in accordance with administrative and legal requirements. The researcher first requested an official research permit from Hasanuddin University addressed to the Regional National Unity and Political Agency (Kesbangpol) of Makassar City. After receiving the university's recommendation letter, the required documents were submitted to the Makassar City Kesbangpol Office to obtain an official referral letter for the Integrated One Stop Service and Investment Office (DPMPTSP) of Makassar City. Finally, the research permit application was submitted to the DPMPTSP Office to obtain formal authorization before commencing fieldwork. Completing these administrative procedures ensured institutional approval and minimized potential administrative issues during the research process.

Following the completion of the administrative requirements, the researcher proceeded to the fieldwork stage. During this phase, data were collected directly from the research participants through various qualitative data collection techniques. The researcher gathered information, experiences, and factual evidence related to the organizational conflict and interaction between IPMIL and KEPMI BONE. This stage served as the primary source of empirical evidence for answering the research questions and understanding the dynamics underlying the conflict between the two regional student organizations. The final stage involved the preparation of the research report. At this stage, all collected data were carefully reviewed, evaluated, and verified to ensure their accuracy and credibility. Relevant and valid findings were then systematically organized, interpreted, and incorporated into the research report. The reporting process aimed to present a comprehensive explanation of the research findings while addressing the research objectives and providing evidence based conclusions regarding the organizational conflict examined in this study.

2.4 Types and Sources of Data

This study employed two categories of data, namely primary data and secondary data, to obtain comprehensive information regarding the organizational conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI BONE. The integration of these two data sources allowed the researcher to develop a deeper understanding of the phenomenon while enhancing the credibility and completeness of the research findings. Primary data constituted the main source of information in this study and were collected directly by the researcher through fieldwork. These data were obtained using participant observation, in depth interviews, and documentation. As the primary research instrument, the researcher interacted directly with the participants to explore their experiences, perceptions, and interpretations of the conflict between the two regional student organizations. This direct engagement enabled the researcher to capture contextual information and social realities that could not be obtained through secondary sources alone, thereby providing rich empirical evidence to answer the research questions. Secondary data were utilized to complement and strengthen the primary data collected during the fieldwork. These data were obtained through an extensive review of books, scientific journals, official documents, previous research, and other relevant academic publications related to organizational conflict, student organizations, and conflict studies. The incorporation of secondary data provided theoretical support, contextual background, and comparative perspectives that enriched the analysis and facilitated a more comprehensive interpretation of the research findings.

2.5 Research Informants

The selection of research informants was conducted using a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques. Initially, purposive sampling was employed to identify individuals who met specific criteria relevant to the objectives of the study. These informants were intentionally selected because they possessed substantial knowledge, direct experience, or active involvement in the organizational conflict and the interaction between IPMIL and KEPMI BONE. Their experiences provided valuable insights into the processes, causes, and consequences of the conflict, making them suitable sources of information for the study. After identifying the key informants, the researcher applied the snowball sampling technique to expand the network of participants. Through recommendations provided by the initial informants, additional individuals who had relevant experiences or direct involvement in the conflict were identified and recruited. This approach was particularly appropriate because the research investigated a sensitive social phenomenon involving complex interpersonal relationships and organizational dynamics. Snowball sampling enabled the researcher to access participants who might have been difficult to identify through conventional sampling methods, thereby ensuring a more comprehensive understanding of the conflict from multiple perspectives.

2.6 Data Collection Procedures

Data collection in this study was carried out using multiple qualitative techniques to obtain comprehensive and credible information concerning the conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI BONE. The use of multiple methods enabled the researcher to explore the phenomenon from different perspectives while increasing the depth and richness of the collected data. The primary method of data collection was in depth interviews. This technique was employed to explore the participants' experiences, perceptions, interpretations, and opinions regarding the organizational conflict. Semi structured interviews were adopted to provide sufficient flexibility during the interview process, allowing the researcher to ask follow up questions whenever important issues emerged. This approach facilitated a more detailed exploration of participants' viewpoints while maintaining consistency with the research objectives. Observation was also conducted to obtain direct evidence of the interactions occurring between members of the two organizations. Through direct observation, the researcher examined patterns of communication, symbolic expressions, emotional responses, and social interactions that emerged within the context of the conflict. Observing these phenomena in their

natural setting enabled the researcher to understand behavioral dynamics that might not have been fully expressed during interviews. In addition to primary data collection, a literature review was undertaken to strengthen the theoretical foundation of the study. Relevant books, journal articles, official publications, and previous studies concerning organizational conflict, student organizations, and conflict resolution were systematically examined. These sources provided conceptual frameworks and empirical evidence that supported the interpretation of the field findings and contributed to a more comprehensive discussion of the research topic.

2.7 Data Trustworthiness

Ensuring the trustworthiness of qualitative data is essential for producing credible and dependable research findings. In this study, the validity of the collected data was examined through triangulation, which served as the primary strategy for verifying the consistency and accuracy of the information obtained from the field. Triangulation allows researchers to minimize potential bias by comparing different constructions of reality that emerge from multiple sources of evidence, data collection methods, and theoretical perspectives. Following the principles of qualitative research, triangulation was applied by comparing information obtained from interviews, observations, and documentation, as well as by examining similarities and differences among the perspectives of various informants. The researcher also interpreted the findings in light of relevant theoretical frameworks to ensure analytical consistency. As suggested by Ummah (2019), triangulation enables researchers to continuously re-examine and validate research findings by comparing information across different sources, methods, and theoretical interpretations [14]. Through this process, the credibility, dependability, and confirmability of the research findings were substantially enhanced.

2.8 Data Analysis

The data analysis process in this study followed the interactive qualitative data analysis model proposed by Siyoto & Sodik (2015), in which data analysis is conducted continuously throughout the research process [12]. Rather than being performed only after all data had been collected, analysis occurred simultaneously with data collection, enabling the researcher to refine interpretations, identify emerging themes, and deepen the understanding of the organizational conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI BONE. The first stage of analysis involved data reduction. During this process, the researcher organized the raw data collected from interviews, observations, and documentation by selecting relevant information, summarizing important findings, and focusing on issues directly related to the research objectives. Field notes, interview transcripts, and supporting documents were carefully reviewed to identify recurring patterns and meaningful themes while excluding information that was not relevant to the study. This process allowed the researcher to manage a large volume of qualitative data more systematically and facilitated subsequent analysis. The second stage consisted of data display. After the data had been reduced, the researcher organized the information into a coherent and systematic narrative that illustrated the relationships among emerging themes and research findings. Presenting the data in a structured narrative enabled the researcher to better understand the dynamics of the conflict, identify patterns of interaction between the two organizations, and establish connections between empirical findings and the theoretical framework. This stage also facilitated the development of analytical interpretations and supported the overall reporting process. The final stage involved drawing conclusions and verification. Conclusions were developed based on the patterns and themes identified throughout the analysis while continuously comparing the emerging interpretations with the collected evidence. Since qualitative analysis is an iterative process, preliminary conclusions were repeatedly verified against additional data obtained during the research. Whenever new evidence emerged, the researcher refined or modified earlier interpretations to ensure that the final conclusions accurately reflected the realities observed in the field. This continuous verification process enhanced the credibility of the findings and ensured that the conclusions were firmly grounded in the empirical data collected throughout the study.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section will outline the research findings regarding the causes of the conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI Bone in Makassar City. This description is based on interviews, observations, and documentation related to the experiences of informants, patterns of intergroup interaction, and various social situations underlying the conflict between regional student organizations. Through these findings, this study seeks to explain how conflict forms, develops, and is maintained in the social life of regional student groups in Makassar City. The results indicate that the conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI Bone did not emerge suddenly, but rather developed through a series of ongoing social interactions in the students' daily lives. Conflicts generally begin with small situations that are initially considered normal, such as misunderstandings, teasing, symbolic competition, and actions perceived as demeaning to a particular group's identity. In these interactions, group symbols, solidarity, and the need for social recognition become important elements that influence how individuals and groups respond to a situation. When group identity and

symbols are perceived as disrespected, emotional tensions tend to escalate and lead to open conflict between regional student groups. Based on interviews and field observations, this study identified several interrelated patterns of conflict causes. Conflicts are not only triggered by spontaneous issues in daily interactions, but are also influenced by strong group solidarity, the role of seniors and organizational doctrine, collective memories of past conflicts, and structural conditions that increase the potential for intergroup clashes. These findings are further elaborated in the following sections.

3.1 Triggers of Minor Incidents in Daily Interactions

The first and most striking pattern from the data is that open conflicts between IPMIL and KEPMI almost always begin with minor incidents in everyday face-to-face interactions. By minor incidents, we mean incidents such as bumping into each other on the road, teasing each other, shouting from a motorcycle, jokes deemed offensive, or brief verbal disputes. Under normal circumstances, such incidents might simply end with mutual forgiveness or being ignored. However, in the context of interactions between members of different organizational units, these incidents quickly escalate into collective violence.

NR, an informant from IPMIL Luwu, explained this succinctly:

"Most of them start with small things. For example, misunderstandings during a conversation, bumping into each other on the road, or jokes deemed offensive. Because each carries the name of the organization, small things quickly escalate."

The statement above demonstrates two important points. First, substantively, the triggers of conflict are not major issues such as power struggles or ideological differences, but rather micro and situational issues. Second, the rapid escalation from "small" to "big" occurs because each party carries the identity of their organization. In other words, an individual is not representing themselves, but rather the entire organization they belong to, so that a small mistake by one member can be blamed on the entire group.

A similar statement was made by the UP from KEPMI Bone:

"The triggers for conflict are simply trivial matters, such as meeting on the street, bumping into each other, or simply revving up a motorcycle, which leads to offense, arousal, and ultimately to an argument and conflict."

From UP's statement, it appears that the process is a chain reaction: a minor physical incident (a bump or a motorcycle revving up) causes offense ("ketersinggung"), which then escalates into an emotional ("semosi"), which ultimately explodes into a physical altercation. Interestingly, there is no negotiation or clarification stage between the two; the process jumps directly from offense to open conflict.

RU, another IPMIL informant, provided a concrete example:

"Usually, these conflicts arise from minor issues like revving the engine, shouting on the motorbike, which then leads to verbal arguments and physical conflict."

RU's statement emphasized that the triggers can be very simple and spontaneous. "Rushing the engine" and "shouting" are common behaviors on big city streets, but in the context of competition between local government organizations, these behaviors are interpreted as provocations or challenges. This way of reading (interpreting others' actions) is important because it shows that conflict is not solely caused by objective actions, but also by the meanings attached to those actions. In addition to external factors such as bumping into or shouting, informants also mentioned that internal conditions such as mood and the influence of alcohol contribute to escalation. Nurdin admitted:

"Usually, emotions rise more quickly and people have difficulty controlling themselves, especially when the situation is crowded... with alcohol involved."

This statement indicates that conflict does not occur in a vacuum; there are situational factors that weaken a person's self-control. However, researchers noted that this factor was mentioned by only one informant and was not always a necessary condition for conflict. The most typical and recurring trigger mentioned by informants from both sides was a perceived violation of *siri'* (self-esteem). SA, from IPMIL, explained:

"The culture in South Sulawesi is called siri mapace, where men are not to be trampled on or their feelings hurt. This tradition often triggers conflict."

SA's explanation shows that *siri'* is not simply a simple feeling of shame, but a cultural obligation to defend one's dignity if one feels humiliated. The phrase "must not be trampled on" implies that silence or forgiveness can be

seen as weakness and shame. Thus, when someone feels their siri' has been trampled on, they are culturally "justified," even "obliged," to respond firmly, including with violence.

However, several informants recognized that the interpretation of siri' is often exaggerated or misinterpreted. RU criticized:

"The culture of siri is misinterpreted when there is a problem outside, one feels masiri, must fight back, must not remain silent."

This misinterpretation exacerbates the situation. Not all disputes or insults actually reach the level of true "trampling on dignity." However, because the Siri' culture has become a ready-to-use "cultural weapon," minor incidents are quickly framed as serious insults that must be avenged. In all the data, not a single informant mentioned that the conflict began with differences in organizational policy, a struggle for position, or competition over work programs. This fact suggests that the root cause of the conflict stems more from failed personal interactions, rather than from the organizational structure itself. However, these minor incidents would not have escalated without the activation mechanisms of group identity and solidarity, which will be discussed in the next subchapter.

3.2 The Role of Regional Identity and Group Solidarity in Exacerbating Conflict

The second pattern found is that personal issues quickly escalate into intergroup conflict due to strong regional identity and organizational solidarity. Regional identity here refers to a sense of pride and attachment to one's region of origin (Bone or Luwu), which is always "carried over" when one interacts with people from other regions. Meanwhile, organizational solidarity refers to the belief that members of the Organda are obligated to defend and protect one another, even over matters that are actually personal. All six informants cited these two factors as the primary causes of small conflicts escalating into major ones.

The UP from KEPMI Bone described this regional identity mechanism very clearly:

"Regional ego is always carried over. When we first arrive on campus, we're indoctrinated by our seniors in the local government organizations (Organda), and that motivation is indeed regional ego. So we feel, 'Wow, I'm from Bone, I'm great.' Especially in Makassar, where both organizations have a large base. So when there's minor friction, it feels like a stage."

UP's statement reveals several layers. First, regional ego isn't something that arises naturally, but is "indoctrinated" or systematically taught by seniors. Second, the belief that "I'm great" creates a sense of superiority that leads one to seek out opportunities to prove that superiority. Third, a large mass base makes every small friction feel like a "stage" to demonstrate the group's strength. In other words, conflict is not only seen as a disaster, but also as an opportunity to assert dominance.

SA from IPMIL Luwu explained how the process of activating group identity occurs in stages:

"The conflict begins with individuals, whether it's differences of opinion, arguments, or disagreements, and then spreads to group identity. For example, there's a personal matter... oh, where did this come from? What else is there that clashed? The person causing the problem also belongs to a group. Because in an organization, there's solidarity, and when that's disturbed, a collective movement emerges."

From SA's explanation, a typical sequence is evident: the conflict begins as a matter between two individuals. At that point, it could actually be resolved privately. However, as soon as one party learns about the other's region of origin, the question "oh, where did this come from?" is quickly followed by the identification "the person causing the problem also belongs to a group." In other words, the personal dispute is reframed as an intergroup conflict based on region of origin. The final step, organizational solidarity, then drives a "collective movement" involving many people.

The internal solidarity that should have been the unifying force of the organization, instead backfired. Nurdin from IPMIL said:

"Too strong solidarity. Initially, it might only be a matter for two people, but their friends intervene because they feel they have to defend them. From there, a personal problem turns into a group problem."

The NU quote emphasizes that the problem is that solidarity is "too strong." Normally, solidarity means supporting each other in positive activities or helping members in difficulty. However, in this case, solidarity is interpreted as an obligation to defend members in conflict, even when those members initiate it or when the issue is unclear.

UP added the metaphor of “organda becomes a shield”:

“Strong solidarity between members so that when they encounter problems... my organization becomes a shield.”

The term “shield” is important because it indicates that the organization provides more than just moral support but also provides physical and psychological protection. Members involved in conflict know that they will not be alone; the entire organization will “cover” or “protect” them. This assurance, ironically, makes members more willing to take risks and more easily provoked into conflict. In addition to defensive solidarity, informants also mentioned an offensive doctrine, namely, the belief that their organization is the best and cannot afford to lose to other organizations. RU stated:

“The doctrine in the secretariat is: we are the best – this is the momentum to prove the group's strength.”

AR from KEPMI Bone confirmed a similar sentiment:

“Seniors use history as a doctrine for their juniors... history is used as a great organization, so our existence cannot be subordinated to other organizations.”

AR's statement shows that this superiority doctrine is not merely empty praise, but is linked to history, believing that their organization is great because of its history, and therefore its existence cannot be subordinated to other organizations. In other words, every minor conflict is seen as a threat to the organization's reputation and position within the power landscape of organizations in Makassar. From the above description, it can be concluded that regional identity and group solidarity act as escalators that transform personal conflict into collective conflict. The mechanisms at work are: identity superiority, the belief in a tenacious defense, and collective mobilization.

3.3 The Role of Seniors, Organizational Doctrine, and Memories of Past Conflicts

The third pattern revealed by the data is that conflict is not simply triggered by momentary circumstances, but is systematically prepared for and inherited through senior roles, organizational doctrine, and collective memories of past conflicts. This means that readiness for conflict does not emerge spontaneously when an incident occurs; it is built through the cadre development process, senior guidance, and stories of past animosities. In other words, the organization does not simply react to conflict but actively shapes its members' disposition to respond aggressively.

RU from IPMIL Luwu explained the content of the doctrine taught to new members from the beginning:

“The doctrine of solidarity in Organda. As cadres in Organda, there is a doctrine of protection. If you join Organda and have problems outside, you tell me. And sometimes the doctrine instills the idea that you are the enemy, so when a trigger appears, it escalates.”

From this statement, two messages are simultaneously instilled. First, the message of protection: “If there is a problem, tell me.” This message creates a sense of security and dependency. New members feel that they are not alone and that the organization will act as a protector. Second, the message of enemy identification: “this is your enemy.” Interestingly, the phrase “this is your enemy” doesn't mention a specific name, but implicitly directs members to view other organizational units as adversaries. In other words, the enemy isn't discovered when a conflict occurs, but is predetermined.

In addition to the doctrine of protection and enemy identification, there's also a doctrine that mandates collective action if a peaceful resolution isn't found. RU continued:

“Senior doctrine, so for example, if a problem arises and we're gathered by seniors and instructed that if tomorrow there's no resolution, we'll search for all our enemies until we find them. This is actually very dangerous because perhaps our friends have no intention of engaging in conflict, so they get provoked.”

This statement is important because it shows that the escalation process doesn't always originate from the initiative of the members involved in the conflict. Instead, seniors often gather members and issue orders to hunt down “all enemies” if a resolution isn't reached within a certain time limit. As a result, members who initially had no intention of engaging in conflict become “provoked” and become involved. In other words, conflict isn't always natural (spontaneous from below), but can also be engineered or at least escalated in a planned manner from above.

AR from KEPMI Bone confirmed the role of seniors in utilizing history as a mobilization tool:

"Seniors use history as a doctrine to their juniors to instigate larger conflicts. History is used as a sign that if an organization is large, then our existence cannot be subordinated to another organda."

History here refers to previous conflicts between the two organda, even to the myth of the war between the Luwu and Bone kingdoms. By narrating history as a time of glory or suffering, seniors construct a narrative that their organization is great and therefore cannot be belittled by other organda. This narrative then justifies responding aggressively to any threat, no matter how small.

AR, another KEPMI informant, emphasized the role of cadre formation as a vehicle for fostering emotional bonds:

"The cadre formation process forms close emotional bonds, thus creating strong solidarity among cadres. When conflict arises, it naturally arises. The cadre formation process is what initially forms the solidarity and emotional well-being of the members."

AR's statement demonstrates that close emotional bonds are not always positive; the solidarity formed during cadre formation is not only for shared activities but also becomes "fuel" when conflict arises. Because the emotional connection is so strong, when a cadre has a problem with an outsider, the feeling of being emotionally "dragged" is very high. Other cadres feel hurt and humiliated, so the urge to defend them becomes very strong. In addition to doctrine and cadre formation, collective memory of past conflicts also plays a significant role. SA explained:

"There are previous cases that then become collective memories, so this reshapes and awakens collective emotional passion for previous conflicts that have occurred."

The terms "collective memory" and "collective emotional passion" used by SA indicate that conflicts are not only remembered cognitively but also experienced emotionally. When a new incident occurs, memories of past wounds, grudges, or "victories" are immediately reactivated. Previously suppressed emotional passions rise to the surface and amplify the response to what is actually a relatively minor incident.

The SA even mentions the historical grudge between the Luwu and Bone Kingdoms:

"Old grudges are one of the conflict's variables. There was indeed a war between the Luwu and Bone kingdoms, but there was a truce and peace, and there was an oath between the two kingdoms. Over time, it began with trivial matters, egos. The source of the conflict initially came from the conflicting individuals, then it was linked to previous hostilities, and ultimately, war broke out."

This SA quote demonstrates that layers of memory can run deep reaching centuries into the history of kingdoms. While rationally, past kingdom wars have no connection to the student clashes of 2021, emotionally, the narrative remains alive and is used to frame the current conflict. "Linked to previous hostilities" is a key phrase: a minor incident today is immediately linked to old grudges, escalating the scale from a mere matter between two individuals to a "Luwu vs. Bone" issue that has persisted for generations.

From the above data, it can be concluded that organizations are not neutral; It actively fosters conflict preparedness through the doctrine of protection, the doctrine of collective revenge, cadre formation that builds super-strong emotional bonds, and the preservation of collective memories of old enmities. This explains why the conflict between the two organizations is recurrent: even when one episode is successfully reconciled, the "fire" continues to burn beneath the surface because the doctrine, ties, and memories are never purged.

3.4 Exacerbating Structural Conditions

The fourth pattern found is that a number of structural conditions beyond the control of individuals contribute to increasing the likelihood, scale, and duration of conflict. Structural conditions here refer to institutional or situational factors that do not directly trigger conflict, but once they begin, these factors make it more difficult to control and more rapidly escalate.

Campus political momentum is one such factor mentioned by several informants. SA explained:

"One of the variables in the Organizational Conflict is also the presence of political momentum, such as changes in campus bureaucracy, which creates conflict."

SA's statement implies that during periods of Student Executive Board (BEM) elections or changes in campus management, competition between Organizational Organizations intensifies because they seek to demonstrate

influence or secure positions. Conflicts that might normally be mitigated are often exploited during political moments to undermine opponents or demonstrate dominance.

AR also made a similar point:

"Conflicts usually arise from campus political dynamics, such as during election periods, where each student tries to assert their power on campus."

From the two quotes above, it's clear that conflict is not merely a reaction to an incident, but also a tool to achieve political goals on campus. "Showing one's existence" and "having the most power" are motives that go beyond simply defending a friend in trouble.

The new student admissions period (MABA) is also a time prone to conflict. RU stated:

"These conflicts usually occur during the new student admission period, because the problems usually originate from their cadres." RU's explanation indicates that during the MABA period, older members (cadres) are on "alert" because they must accompany the new students. Furthermore, MABA also serves as a platform to demonstrate the organization's strength to new students, so any minor friction with other student organizations can be deliberately exaggerated to demonstrate that their organization is "strong" and "unbreakable."

AR added the function of conflict during the MABA period:

"Conflicts are designed to strengthen internal group solidarity. This is usually done during the new student admission period to demonstrate the existence of the organization, that you are safe in Makassar, joining this institution is a form of protection."

This statement is significant because it explicitly states that conflict can be "designed" (planned) for the organization's internal purposes. By demonstrating their courage to engage in conflict and "protect" their members, the organization attracts the sympathy of new students who feel they need protection in a city they are traveling from. In other words, conflict is not only destructive but also serves a recruitment and loyalty-building function.

The slow response of institutions (campuses and police) was also cited as a worsening factor. SA criticized:

"The slow handling of the conflict, both from the campus itself, which failed to take decisive action, and then from law enforcement, who were slow to resolve the conflict, causing it to escalate."

"The root of the problem is that the conflict spread and escalated because of the slow response, the local government and police were not proactive."

From SA's quote, it is clear that there was an opportunity to prevent escalation if the campus and police had acted quickly. However, because of the slow response, the conflict, which initially only involved a few individuals, had time to spread, mobilize the masses, and retaliate before the authorities arrived.

A large mass base was another structural factor mentioned by two informants. RU explained:

"One of the reasons why the IPMIL and Bone organizations tend to conflict is because they have a large mass base. The larger the number of members, the greater the level of conflict. They also believe that with more members, there are more people who can be directed."

UP also emphasized:

"Organda Bone and Palopo often conflict because they have a large base or a large number of people."

The logic behind this statement is that large numbers provide overconfidence ("we are many, we are strong") and also provide a ready-to-mobilize supply of manpower. In an Organda with a small number of members, conflict may stop at the verbal stage because they are aware of the risks. However, with thousands of members, there is a feeling that "never mind, we still have the advantage in numbers."

Of the four structural conditions above, the researcher emphasizes that these factors are exacerbating, not direct causes. Without a small trigger, without a readily activated identity and solidarity, and without a conflict doctrine and legacy, structural factors alone will not ignite a conflict. However, when these three internal patterns are present, political momentum, new students (MABA), slowness of the authorities, and a large mass base become the "fuel" that fuels the fire.

4. Discussion

4.1 Causes of the Conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI Bone

This section provides an in-depth discussion of the empirical findings on the causes of the conflict between IPMIL Palopo and KEPMI Bone, outlined in the previous section. This discussion utilizes a micro-sociological theoretical framework. Randall Collins serves as the primary analytical tool, while also comparing the findings with relevant previous research. The goal is to explain why the conflict occurred, how it unfolded, and what new contributions this research offers to existing studies. From Collins' perspective, conflict is understood as part of the dynamics of social interaction involving emotions, group solidarity, symbols, and the struggle for recognition in intergroup relations. Therefore, this discussion focuses on how these elements operate in shaping and sustaining the conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI Bone.

4.2 Triggers for Minor Incidents as Failures of Interaction Rituals

This study found that open conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI Bone always begins with micro-incidents in everyday face-to-face interactions, such as bumps in the road, motorcycle acceleration, shouting, or offensive jokes. These findings suggest that the root of conflict is not a clash of structural interests (struggle for office or ideological differences), but rather a failure of social interaction at the most fundamental level.

From Randall's perspective (Collins, 2004), every face-to-face interaction is a ritual that has the potential to generate solidarity and positive emotional energy, provided it meets four conditions: shared physical presence, boundaries between outsiders, a collective focus on a common object or activity, and a harmonious emotional atmosphere among participants. When these conditions are not met, the interaction fails (a failed interaction ritual) and instead generates negative emotional energy: frustration, anger, shame, or bitterness.

In the context of interactions between members of different organizational groups in Makassar's public spaces, these four conditions are often not met. The parties do not develop a shared focus of attention on constructive activities, but instead view each other as potential threats. The resulting emotional atmosphere is not one of togetherness, but rather one of suspicion and tension that has accumulated from previous conflicts and from the enemy-identification doctrine instilled during cadre formation. As a result, incidents as small as a nudge or a joke become triggers that release this accumulated negative emotional energy.

These findings align with research by Hutagaol et al., (2022), which also stated that conflicts between student organizations (Organda) in Makassar often begin with personal issues and minor friction. However, the research by Hutagaol et al., (2022) did not theoretically explain why these minor incidents could erupt. This study addresses this shortcoming by using Collins' concept of failed interaction rituals to explain the underlying mechanisms. Furthermore, these findings reinforce the argument (Ummah, 2019) that student conflicts can be incidental. However, this study adds that such incidentality is not mere coincidence, but rather the result of failed interaction rituals that occur repeatedly in everyday life.

Thus, theoretically, this study demonstrates that Collins' micro-sociological approach is highly relevant for explaining communal conflict in Indonesia, which has often been analyzed through a structural lens. Practically, these findings indicate that conflict prevention efforts must begin at the simplest level of interaction, namely training students to manage small incidents, creating positive cross-organizational interaction spaces, and developing early detection and mediation mechanisms for micro-incidents before they accumulate.

4.3 Activating Collective Identity and Solidarity as a Process of Ritual Domination

This study found that after a micro-incident occurred, regional identity and group solidarity were immediately activated, transforming personal issues into collective conflict. All informants agreed that regional ego ("I'm a Bone/Luwu person, I'm good") and strong organizational solidarity were the main factors escalating the conflict. This process was marked by the activation of group boundaries through questions like "oh, where did this come from?" and collective mobilization facilitated by seniors.

From Randall Collins' (2004) perspective, this phenomenon can be explained through the concept of ritual dominance and the consequences of successful internal rituals [3]. Internal interaction rituals within each organizational unit through cadre formation, regular meetings, or simply hanging out together have successfully created sacred solidarity and positive emotional energy within their respective groups. However, this high level of positive emotional energy toward the ingroup paradoxically facilitates the emergence of negative emotional energy toward the outgroup. The closer the bonds within a group, the more easily they perceive other groups as threats or enemies.

Collins (2004) distinguishes between power rituals and status rituals. In the context of the Organda conflict, the activation of group identity, marked by the question "oh, where did this come from?", is a status ritual [3]. It not only serves to foster internal solidarity but also reinforces the status hierarchy between groups by demeaning others. When a member reports a problem to a senior by identifying an opponent, they trigger a new ritual chain: mass gathering, directives, ultimatums, and collective mobilization. The senior who issues the command "all enemies will be sought" serves as an entrainment agent aligning the emotional rhythm of all members from hesitation to combat readiness.

This finding reinforces research by Syafitri & Warsono (2021), which found that primordialism (regional identity) is a crucial factor in student organization conflict [13]. However, this study goes beyond that finding by demonstrating that primordialism alone is not sufficient; it must be activated by micro-triggers and passed down through organizational doctrine. In other words, primordialism is not a fixed state, but rather a disposition actively nurtured by the organization. This research also aligns with the findings of Nur et al., (2024) regarding the importance of regional symbols in student conflict. However, their dramaturgical approach fails to capture the mechanisms of the internal ritual chains that occur during the cadre formation and consolidation of Organda [9]. Theoretically, this section reinforces Collins' argument that conflict is not simply a clash of rational interests, but rather the result of a continuous ritual process. Practically, these findings indicate that conflict prevention efforts must intervene in Organda's internal rituals, for example by encouraging cross-organda joint activities that can generate new positive emotional energy.

4.4 Transmission of Negative Emotional Energy through Cadre Formation and Seniority

This research reveals that readiness for conflict does not arise spontaneously, but is systematically inherited through the doctrine of seniors, the cadre formation process, and collective memories of past conflicts. The doctrine of "if there's a problem, tell me," early enemy identification, the mandate for collective revenge, and historical narratives of conflict (including the myth of the Luwu-Bone kingdom war) were found to be powerful transmission mechanisms.

Within Collins' (2004) framework, each individual brings cultural capital and chooses interactions that yield the best emotional energy output [3]. However, this research found that in the context of Organda, these individual choices are heavily influenced by the ritual chains designed by seniors and the organizational structure. The cadre formation process is a prime example of the success of internal rituals: all the conditions for a successful ritual are met (collective presence, external boundaries, shared focus, harmonious emotional atmosphere), and the result is positive emotional energy and a very high level of solidarity. This positive energy, when directed by seniors through the doctrine of enemy identification, quickly transforms into negative energy toward outgroups. Interestingly, this research also uncovers something that goes beyond Collins' framework: collective memory as a source of emotional energy across generations. In Collins's framework, direct participation in interactions is key to generating emotional energy. However, field findings indicate that stories about past conflicts, including myths about the kingdom war between Luwu and Bone, can evoke "collective emotional arousal" in those who never experienced the conflict directly. This occurs because these historical narratives are passed down through ritual chains: seniors routinely recount them, and in the process of telling them, rituals occur that generate emotional energy in the listeners.

This finding was not found in previous studies on the Organda conflict. Nur et al. (2023) mention the factors of "revenge" and "mental stress," but do not elaborate on the mechanisms by which these resentments are passed down through cadre formation and seniority [9]. This research fills this gap by demonstrating that conflict is not only triggered by momentary circumstances but is also prepared for by the organization through internal ritual chains that span generations. In other words, Organda equips its members not only with cultural capital but also with negative emotional capital: readily activated resentment, persistent suspicion, and a readiness to retaliate.

Practically, these findings indicate that conflict resolution efforts will be ineffective if they simply disperse physical clashes or mediate peace agreements among core administrators. These efforts must include reconstructing the internal ritual chains of the Organda itself: changing the content of doctrine (e.g., from "enemy" to "partner"), redefining identity, developing alternative rituals that generate positive emotional energy across groups, and gradually delegitimizing narratives of historical hostility.

4.5 Structural Factors as Exacerbating Conditions

This study found that campus political momentum, the new student admissions period (MABA), slow institutional responses (campus and police), and a large mass base significantly increased the scale and duration of the conflict. However, it is important to emphasize that these factors were not direct causes. They acted as aggravating

conditions that would only have an impact if other mechanisms of micro-triggers, identity activation, and the transmission of negative emotional energy were already in place.

Within Collins' (2008) theoretical framework, violence rarely occurs spontaneously [4]. It always requires situational preparation and the management of fear/tension, which must be overcome before violence can actually occur. In the context of the IPMIL and KEPMI conflicts, the momentum of campus politics and the MABA period provided a platform in which such tensions were more easily resolved. During these times, organizational identities were more prominent, competition was more open, and there was an audience (new students or voters) to witness. The presence of an audience lowered the barrier to aggressive action because violence became a spectacle aimed at proving the group's strength.

Collins (2008) also introduced the concept of forward panic, a violent outburst that occurs after a prolonged period of tension [4]. This research found that slow campus and police responses prolonged the confrontational tension phase, so that when violence finally broke out, it tended to be more destructive. A large mass base also had a dual effect: it engendered an overconfidence ("we are many, we are strong"), which lowered the threshold for initiating conflict, while also creating a diffusion of responsibility, where individuals felt less accountable for collective actions. These findings align with research by Agustang & Nur (2023), which identified weak regulatory enforcement as one of the causes of conflict, which in this study was referred to as slow institutional responses [1]. However, Agustang and Nur's research does not distinguish between structural factors as direct causes and exacerbating conditions. This research provides conceptual clarification that without micro-triggers and internal mechanisms, structural factors alone will not trigger conflict. In other words, the conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI was not solely determined by macrostructures, but rather the result of concrete interactions at a specific time and place.

These findings also expand on Pratama's (2017) research on conflicts between ethnic groups from Eastern Indonesia in Malang [10]. Pratama focused more on triggering factors (misunderstandings, taunts) and chronology, without analyzing the role of institutions (campuses, police) in exacerbating or mitigating the conflict. This research fills this gap by demonstrating that slow and indecisive institutional responses are crucial variables that differentiate small, quickly-abated conflicts from larger, escalating conflicts.

Practically, these findings have clear implications for policymakers. Because structural factors function as catalysts, preventing conflict means eliminating or mitigating those catalysts. Campus authorities must take decisive action as soon as indications of conflict emerge, not after it has escalated. They must actively monitor vulnerable periods (BEM and MABA elections) and prohibit any form of provocation that could lead to violence. The police must respond quickly to any reports of potential conflicts within the Organda (organda) in Makassar.

4.6 Conflict as a Failed Ritual Chain

The four patterns of conflict causation micro-triggers, identity activation, transmission of negative emotional energy, and structural factors are not isolated factors, but rather part of a unified process that Collins (2004) calls interaction ritual chains [3]. The conflict between IPMIL and KEPMI Bone occurred through a series of sequential ritual chains: internal rituals (cadre formation, indoctrination) built solidarity and positive emotional energy while simultaneously instilling enemy identification; interaction rituals between members of different Organda in public spaces failed to meet the requirements for ritual success, resulting in negative emotional energy; the accumulated negative energy, combined with pre-existing enemy identification, led to the micro-incidents exploding; mobilization rituals by seniors convert individual energy into collective action; and structural factors reinforce each stage.

This chain process is recursive: each conflict episode leaves behind residue, trauma, resentment, and new narratives of defeat or victory that are ingrained in the collective memory of Organda and passed down to the next generation through doctrine and cadre formation. This is how the conflict cycle continues. Compared to previous research, this study's main contribution lies in the use of Collins' micro-sociological approach, which has never been applied before to the case of conflict between regional student organizations in Indonesia. Previous studies, such as those by Agustang and Nur (2023), Nur et al. (2024), and Syafitri & Warsono (2021), tended to use structural approaches (power, interests, institutions) or dramaturgical approaches [1] [9] [13]. These approaches are able to identify the causal factors of conflict, but fail to explain the mechanisms by which these factors operate in concrete, everyday interactions.

Specifically, this study yields three findings not found in previous studies on Organda conflict. First, the role of cadre formation as a ritual chain that transmits negative emotional energy across generations. Sholikhah's (2017) research on conflicts of interest in Islamic student organizations does mention differences in ideology and recruitment

strategies, but does not analyze cadre formation as a vehicle for transmitting emotional dispositions [11]. Second, the accumulation of small, unresolved conflicts as a trigger for major explosions. Most research on student conflict (Pratama, 2017; Ummah, 2019) focuses more on the immediate triggering factors, rather than the temporal process of accumulation [10] [14]. Third, the weakness of the resolution system is reactive and ignores micro-conflicts. Research by Hutagaol et al. (2022) cites poor conflict management as a causal factor, but does not elaborate on the reasons for this poor management, namely, that it only responds to major conflicts and ignores the accumulation of smaller ones [8].

Thus, this research not only confirms previous findings on the importance of group identity, solidarity, and structural factors but also deepens understanding of the mechanisms behind these findings. He enriches the body of conflict studies in Indonesia by demonstrating the importance of analysis at the level of face-to-face interaction as a complement to structural and policy analysis. Breaking the cycle of conflict requires interventions that disrupt the ritual chain at each stage, particularly the first stage (changing doctrine and the content of cadre formation), the second stage (creating successful cross-group interaction rituals), and the fourth stage (replacing violent mobilization rituals with mediation rituals that generate positive energy).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the research results and discussion outlined above, it can be concluded that the cause of the conflict between IPMIL Palopo and KEPMI Bone in Makassar City is not a single entity, but rather the accumulation of a series of interconnected mechanisms. This research demonstrates four things. First, the conflict always begins with seemingly trivial micro-incidents in everyday face-to-face interactions, such as bumps in the road, motorcycle acceleration, shouting, offensive jokes, or verbal misunderstandings. From Randall Collins' perspective, this pattern represents a failed interaction ritual: the interaction fails to create shared focus and solidarity, resulting in negative emotional energy (frustration, anger, and shame). The local cultural value of *Siri* reinforces this reaction because violated dignity is considered obligatory to defend. These findings confirm that the root cause of the conflict is not structural issues such as power struggles or ideological differences, but rather a failure to manage social interactions at the micro level. Second, after a micro-incident occurs, regional identity and group solidarity are immediately activated, transforming personal issues into collective conflict. Regional egos ("I'm a Bone/Luwu person, I'm good"), activation of group boundaries ("oh, where does this come from"), the doctrine of unconditional protection, and claims of superiority ("we're the best") are the main escalation mechanisms. In Collins' framework, this is a process of ritual domination and hyper-bonding: high positive emotional energy within the group paradoxically facilitates the emergence of aggression against outgroups. These findings complement previous research on primordialism and solidarity by demonstrating the mechanisms by which identity is activated in concrete situations. Third, readiness for conflict does not arise spontaneously, but is systematically inherited through chains of cadre rituals, the doctrine of seniority, and collective memories of past conflicts. The doctrine of enemy identification, the imperative of collective revenge, and the historical narrative of the conflict (including the myth of the Luwu-Bone kingdom war) serve as transmissions of negative emotional energy across generations. These findings go beyond Collins' framework by demonstrating that collective memory can generate emotional energy without direct participation. This explains why conflict is recursive: even when one conflict episode is resolved, negative energy is still passed on to new members. Fourth, structural factors such as campus political momentum, the new student admissions period (MABA), slow institutional responses (campus and police), and a large mass base act as exacerbating conditions, not direct causes. Without micro-triggers, identity activation, and the transmission of negative energy, structural factors alone will not explode the conflict. However, their presence magnifies the scale, prolongs the duration, and complicates early termination. This finding provides a conceptual clarification that distinguishes between causes and exacerbating conditions, which have often been confused in previous research. Overall, these four causal patterns form a sequential chain of failed interaction rituals: latent conditions (collective memory, doctrine, cadre ties), micro-triggers (failed interaction rituals), identity activation and solidarity (ritual dominance, hyper-bonding), mobilization by seniors, escalation exacerbated by structural factors, and open conflict. This process is recursive because each conflict episode leaves a residue of negative emotional energy that is passed down to the next generation. The main contributions of this research to the study of organizational conflict are (1) the use of Collins's micro-sociological approach, which has never been applied before to the case of regional student organization conflict in Indonesia; (2) the identification of the mechanisms for the transmission of negative emotional energy through cadre formation and collective memory; and (3) the conceptual clarification that structural factors are exacerbating, not direct causes. Thus, this research not only confirms previous findings on the importance of identity, solidarity, and structural factors but also deepens our understanding of how these factors operate in concrete, everyday interactions.

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