

Configuration of Civil-Militarian Relations (Study of Military Sociology In The Morosi Smelter Industry Area)

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Abstract. The purpose of this study seeks to describe the pattern of civil-military relations in handling conflicts in the smelter industrial area in Morosi. The method used in this research is qualitative method. This study finds that the configuration of civil-military relations has 3 (three) forms; 1) Relations between the Territorial Apparatus and Government Officials show a more constructive and stable relationship. Both of them work hand in hand to create a conducive atmosphere not only in the internal industrial area, but also more broadly in the community around the mine. 2) The relationship between the Territorial Apparatus and the community tends to be less stable and constructive than that of the Government Apparatus. 3) The relationship between the Territorial-Company Apparatus is unstable. This study finds a new alternative category in the midst of the conflict between military realism and civil liberalism as mentioned by Huntington. The new category is Transformative Pragmatism. The theoretical implications of the research are 2 (two): 1) Transformative pragmatism opposes the view of structural-deterministic sociology 2) In military sociology, Transformative Pragmatism provides a conceptual contribution in the form of a new typology that bridges the rivalry of military realism with civil liberalism.

Keywords: Civil-Military Relations, Territorial Development, Military Realism

1 Introduction

Every country has historical roots related to their military development. Two contradictory faces are presented in the conflict between civilian versus military authoritarianism. Civil authoritarianism is expressed in the form of subjective civil control while military authoritarianism is manifested in military dictatorships [1].

Two contradicting faces of course produce a contestation that has the potential to disrupt the stability of a country. Under the umbrella of civil authoritarianism (subjective civil control), the military can at any time take power by means of a coup mechanism. The military coup is the antithesis of democracy which is the most frightening specter for civilians.

Civil-military relations are not only in the form of contestation in the state management order, but traces of it can also be found at lower levels of life. Civil-military relations can also be found in contested spaces in the industrial realm, as described in this study. This study attempts to describe the pattern of civil-military relations in the arena of the smelter industrial area in Morosi, Konawe Regency, Southeast Sulawesi. In the world of large-scale mining industry involving foreign

investment, civil-military relations show a very dynamic pattern. In this social research, the TNI as the subject of further research is called the Territorial Apparatus [2].

Civil-military relations should create harmonization, but sometimes what happens is a conflictual relationship caused by different interests. Territorial officials are involved with the background of the task of Territorial Development. Meanwhile, at the civilian level, it is sometimes not in line with the military's efforts to realize the goals of the Universal Defense System through Territorial Development. The problem of civil-military relations in the Morosi smelter industrial area resulted in unstable relations between civilian and military stakeholders, in preventing social conflicts in the area surrounding the Morosi mine [3]. Initial research shows that since the establishment of the Morosi smelter industrial area, the intensity of conflict is relatively frequent. The data found in the field can be shown in the table below:

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Table 1 Conflict in Morosi Smelter Industrial Area

No	Occurrence Time	Action Form	Security Involvement from TNI/Babinsa
1	7 - 3 - 2017	Hundreds of foreign workers (TKA) from China got into fights with dozens of local workers, caused by miscommunication.	Not involved
2	11 - 5 - 2018	The community blocked the PT VDNI hauling road from the factory to the port, due to demands for compensation for land owned by the community.	Not involved
3	8 - 11 - 2018	Demonstrations took to the streets by the community against PT. VDNI demand the realization of 12 agreements in 2016	Not involved
4	20 - 1 - 2020	PT ABE mobilized the masses and their workers to urge PT KPP to pay off debt arrears of Rp. 14 billion for the construction of the 18-kilometer road to PT. VDNI jetty	involved
5	29-1- 2020	Based on the debt problem between the Chinese company PT. KPP and local entrepreneur, PT ABE. The result was the closure of the holding road by the protesters, resulting in clashes between the demonstrators and the work of PT VDNI. The two of them threw stones, bows and firecrackers at each other.	involved
6	8 -2- 2020	Action of blocking the road by a group of people. The stabbing of the PR of PT. VDNI conducted by one of the communities. Due to land compensation claims	involved
7	June 4, 2020	The demonstration by the United Student and Community Alliance together with the people of Paku Jaya Village, asked PT OSS to stop landfilling activities. before a solution is agreed upon	Not involved
8	16-18 June 2020	Dozens of residents took action to block the road that became access to and from the VDNI company. With the aim of demanding PT. VDNI employs 30 people	Not involved

9	23 Jun e2020	Demonstrations by various elements of society conveyed their disappointment to the Southeast Sulawesi Governor and the Chair of the Southeast Sulawesi DPRD who had allowed foreign workers to work at PT VDNI and PT OSS Morosi.	Not involved
10	25 and 27 July 2020	A group of people who are also employees of PT. VDNI and PT. OSS blocks the company's vital objects. As an act of rejection of the process of recruiting Local Workers (TKL) by the Konawe Regional Government	Not involved
11	27-30 November 2020	Hundreds of local employees of PT. VDNI went on strike. Employee demands against PT. VDNI concerning the realization of a Specific Time Work Agreement (PKWT)	Not involved
12	14-16 December 2020	The Konawe Regency Labor Union and Protection (SPTK) and its affiliates, the Regional Management Council of the Federation of National Trade Union Units (DPW F-KSPN) of Southeast Sulawesi and several community groups, held a demonstration for three days. It ended in riots and anarchy, namely the destruction and burning of company property. With a loss of 200 billion.	Not involved
13	April 5, 2021	The demonstration on the PT VDNI hauling road is an entry for residents or workers at PT VDNI and OSS. This action ended in riots and anarchy. This relates to the assumption that there is an intervention by officials in the employee recruitment process.	Not involved

The facts above show that the conflict that occurred involved many parties, not only the community and the company, but also all stakeholders involved, including the Territorial Apparatus. The involvement of the Territorial Apparatus in the conflict space is not only related to securing strategic state projects, it is also tasked with maintaining the integrity of all stakeholders and seeking to reduce the escalation of conflict. This involvement certainly raises suspicion for some communities around the mine. Whether when there is a conflict, the Territorial Apparatus sided with the people or sided with the company. Describing the problematic pattern of civil-military relations in an effort to prevent conflict is the focus of this research [4].

2 Research Method

The method used in this study is a qualitative research method. The focus of this research is to describe civil-military relations in dealing with conflicts in the smelter industrial area in Morosi. This research was conducted in the area around the Morosi mine. Consideration for choosing the research location, because the Morosi mining area is a plurality area full of diversity and as a vulnerable society (community prone to conflict) which is one of the focuses of Territorial Development activities carried out by TNI soldiers in the area, namely the Territorial Apparatus (Babinsa). Data collection techniques were carried out by observation, in-depth interviews and documentation. The technique of determining the informants was done by purposive sampling method.

The number of informants is 16 informants consisting of: 1) Territorial Apparatus consisting of Sa, Sy, Su and He; 2) Representing companies consisting of Yi, GH, APL & RAG; 3) Representing government officials consisting of RR, BS, AB, AA and KS and 4) Representing the community consisting of Ha, Is and Ba. Data analysis in qualitative research is basically developed with the intention of giving meaning (making sense) to the data, interpreting (interpreting), or transforming (transforming) data into narrative forms which then lead to findings that are nuanced scientific propositions that ultimately come to final conclusions. According to Miles and Huberman qualitative data analysis, namely data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. [5]

3 Results And Discussion

There are 3 civilian groups that maintain reciprocal relations with the military in Morosi, namely the smelter company, government officials and the community. The results of in-depth interviews found 3 forms of relations between civilian groups and the military as follows:

3.1 Territorial Apparatus Relations - Smelter Company

Territorial Apparatus Relations - The company shows the dynamics of the ups and downs of the relationship

between the military and the company. The relationship is unstable. This can be shown from the results of interviews with informants, as follows:

Table 2. Territorial Apparatus Relations - Smelter Company

Informant	Interview result
Yi	"In the Southeast Sulawesi area, especially in the area surrounding the Morosi mine, the Territorial/Babinsa Apparatus has the ability to prevent security disturbances. Likewise, the community around the smelter accepts the existence of the Territorial Apparatus/Babinsa. They are reluctant if the Territorial/Babinsa Apparatus maintains security and can also raise the morale of company security. Territorial/Babinsa officers on duty in the smelter area need to be armed with firearms (Long-barreled Weapons or pistols). However, the results of our coordination with the TNI leadership in Kendari were not permitted. The reason is that the presence of TNI Soldiers in the smelter area is the task of Territorial Development which considers the community as "brothers". So there's no need to be armed."
GH	"It is very beneficial, because with the presence of TNI soldiers and Polri personnel, the smelter area becomes safe, so that the refining/vero nickel production activity becomes smooth"
APL	"Because of the trust problem, when the management no longer believes in the ability of the Territorial Apparatus/Babinsa to anticipate or resolve conflicts, the company's management will return the Territorial Apparatus/Babinsa who carry out security duties to their unit. As happened after the dispute / stabbing that occurred against one of the Public Relations of PT. VDNI (in the area around the Morosi mine on February 8, 2020). Physically they are always together guarding the security post and conducting patrols in the smelter area, but behind that, there is still not good competition between security elements. Where each element wants to get more trust from the management of the company, so that their personnel are always used in the security system".
RAG	"As the company's public relations officer, I am very happy and feel confident, because with the presence of Babinsa, it is always helpful / backed up when there is a task to solve company problems with the community. The community is very happy and sympathized with the presence of the

3.2 Territorial Apparatus - Community Relations

The relationship between the Territorial Apparatus/Babinsa with the community is relatively

more stable. Various conflicts that occur in the company that involve the community versus the company tend to be controlled thanks to the help of the Territorial Apparatus [6].

Table 3. Territorial Apparatus Relations with the Community

Informant	Interview result
BS	<p>“If there is an open conflict between the community and the company, as well as between workers, Babinsa and other TNI AD officers play an important role in reducing the escalation of the open conflict. Prior to June 2019, the Territorial Apparatus/Babinsa personnel had not been involved in maintaining the security of the smelter area, there were various public demonstrations that disrupted production and the theft of smelter equipment. From June 2019 to March 2020, 40 soldiers from Kodim 1417/Kendari were involved with the Konawe Police to maintain the security of the smelter area properly. Since April 2020, the involvement of Kodim 1417/Kendari soldiers has been eliminated. It was during this period that various employee fluctuations in the smelter area could not be detected, so they became large. The accumulation of various employee problems, finally on 15 and 16 December 2020, became a large anarchic/destructive demonstration. Territorial/Babinsa officials take a persuasive approach and mediate conflicting community groups, without using violence/weapons.</p> <p>Handling like this can also be seen, among others: 1) The incident on January 20, 2020, where two mass groups clashed in the PT Virtue Dragon Nickel Industry (VDNI) smelter area. The two sides attacked each other using wood and sharp weapons. Larger conflicts can be suppressed when the Dandim 1417/Kendari and the Konawe Police Chief can make the leaders of the two parties aware.</p> <p>2) The incident on December 15, 2020, when there was a social conflict between employees and the company which led to the destructive action of burning some smelter units and vehicles (loss reached 200 billion). With the arrival of Danrem 143/Ho, Dandim 1417/Kendari accompanied by the local Babinsa and personnel from Battalion 725/Woroagi as many as 75 people, the anarchic mass demonstrations can be stopped”.</p>
AB	<p>“Territorial/Babinsa officials in overcoming conflicts that occur, use a family approach. Representatives from conflicting groups are facilitated to consult to find a solution, without harming both parties.”</p>
AA	<p>“Especially in Porara Village, there has never been a social conflict, only a dispute due to personal problems. The principle is that the village head, Babinsa and Babinkamtibmas jointly address the social problems of the community. Ensuring the condition of the area and the proper implementation of village governance”.</p>

Is	<p>“The relationship between the Territorial Apparatus/Babinsa and the community is closely intertwined. Every arrival of Babinsa to the community is welcomed. The relationship between the territorial apparatus/Babinsa and the company is also good, and there are ties of cooperation in the field of smelter security”.</p>
Ha	<p>“I see that the TNI and Polri officers cannot anticipate potential conflicts, so sometimes security problems have become big before they want to be overcome. This is due to the lack of TNI and Polri officers on duty in this area which are very dynamic and complex. However, with the Territorial/Babinsa Apparatus on duty in the smelter area, apart from employees, the surrounding</p>

In general, the existence of the Territorial Apparatus in the midst of a constructive society, although there are criticisms of the role of the Territorial Apparatus. Ha's criticism about the unpredictability of the Territorial Apparatus in the conflict does not make the existence of the Territorial Apparatus destructive to society. On the other hand, the presence of the Territorial Apparatus increases the sense of security for the community around the mine area [7].

3.3 TNI-Government Apparatus Relations

Relations between the military and government officials are relatively better. Through the forum for the District Leadership Deliberation (Muspika). In the Muspika, all stakeholders are gathered, especially government officials with territorial officials to discuss and implement efforts to maintain security stability and development activities in all aspects of the Morosi smelter industrial area [8].

Table 4. Territorial Apparatus Relations with Regional Government Officials

Informant	Interview result
RR	<p>“Knowing about the Territorial Development activities carried out by the Koramil and Babinsa. Whenever needed, Babinsa is always present and ready to assist the activities of the District Government and the Morosi community, such as village competitions, mosque cleaning, covid 19 activities.</p> <p>The support carried out by the District Government as one of the stakeholders in this region, are: (1) If there are Regional Government activities or similar activities with Territorial Development, then they are carried out together so that they are maximized, (2) Supporting personnel, by deploying equipment villages and their communities, (3) Helping to socialize Binter activities to the community, for example the Covid 19 Vaccine Activities carried out by Territorial Officials in the regions.”.</p> <p>The District Government always together with the Sampara Koramil Commander and the Sector Police Chief channel aspirations or</p>

	communicate community problems with the company PT. VDNI and PT. OSS
KS	“If there is a conflict between the community and the company as well as between miningworkers, Babinsa is very proactive in helping the Police to reduce the turmoil that occurs in the community. Likewise, if there is an open conflict, Babinsa actively participates in making people aware so that they are not provoked and stop destructive actions or acts against the law.”
BS	“Through my authority as Village Head, I direct the community to follow Babinsa's instructions or invitations to create a safe situation in the Morosi area and participate in community service activities or social services carried out in the village. Likewise, helping provide facilities and materials to assist Babinsa activities”.
AB	"Babinsa backs up the village head in fostering community life and empowerment as well as village development. Babinsa also participates in developing the social life of the village community"
AA	“Village Heads, Babinsa and Babinkamtibmas jointly address the social problems of the community. Ensuring the conduciveness of the region and the proper implementation of village government”

The data above shows that the relationship between the Territorial Apparatus and the Regional Government Apparatus is relatively much better. Although some informants said that in carrying out their duties in the field, sometimes there were misunderstandings between the security forces

Table 5 Misunderstanding Between Security Forces

BA	“Usually there are misunderstandings between Babinsa and Public Relations in the field, for example: When TNI/Babinsa officers are unable to cope with demonstrations from a community group (in one case). However, when the company's PR was able to deal with the action, the officers were offended. However, this condition did not last long, it was immediately resolved with a family approach that has been developed at this time. Likewise, this sometimes happens between elements of the TNI and the police.”
APL	“Physically they are always together guarding the security post and conducting patrols in the smelter area, but behind that, there is still unhealthy competition between security elements. Where each element wants to get more trust from the management of the company, so that their personnel are always used in the security system.”

If we look at the civil-military relations in the research, it is found that the ideal social cohesion has not been fully realized. The fluctuating relationship with the company causes the relationship between the Territorial

Apparatus - the company to have the weakest social cohesion. With the Government Apparatus, the relationship is classified as more stable so that the social cohesion of the Territorial Apparatus Government Apparatus is high. As for the community, the relationship is moderate. Territorial Apparatus' social cohesion - Society is more stable than the Territorial Apparatus' relationship with the company [9] [10]. However, it is not as stable as the relationship between the Territorial Apparatus and the Government Apparatus. The configuration of the pattern of relations between the Territorial Apparatus and civil groups can be seen in the table below:

Table 6. Civil-military Social Relations Character in Morosi

Military	Social Relations Character	Civil Group	Social Cohesion
	Fluctuating	Company	Low
	Tend to be Stable	Public	Moderate
	Stable	Government Officials	Tall

Abstraction of the findings of this study indicates that there is another category of separation of military realism versus civil liberalism. This research finds a new novelty, in the form of a new category of mapping civil-military relations that Huntington offers. Huntington contains two categories that go hand in hand, namely military realism and civil liberalism. Researchers offer a new category, namely "Transformative Pragmatism" [11], [12].

4 Conclusion

The conclusion of the configuration of the pattern of civil-military relations in the context of the mining industry in Morosi shows differences, both in the nature of social relations and the level of social cohesion. With companies, the nature of the Territorial Apparatus' social relations is more volatile and social cohesion is sometimes disturbed. With society, the nature of the social relations of the Territorial Apparatus tends to be stable and social cohesion is relatively strong. With the Government Apparatus, the social relations of the Territorial Apparatus are stable and social cohesion is very strong.

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