

Penghakiman massa : Studi psikologi sosial tentang kekerasan kolektif terhadap orang-orang yang dipersepsi sebagai pelaku kejahatan

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Abstrak

ABSTRAK

Meningkatnya kuantitas dan kualitas kasus penghakiman massa Paska Pemerintahan Orde Baru, telah mendorong peneliti untuk melakukan penelitian tentang kasus ini. Peneliti bermaksud (1) memahami karakteristik dan sifat dasar dari kasus penghakiman massa, (2) memahami pengalaman para pelaku sebelum, pada saat, dan sesudah menjadi pelaku dalam penghakiman massa, dan (3) membangun teori substantif atau framework tentang penghakiman massa.

Beberapa teori psikologi dan sosiologi tentang agresi dan kekerasan kolektif ditelusuri oleh peneliti untuk penjelasan awal dan sementara tentang kasus ini. Teori-teori tersebut di antaranya adalah social interactionist theory of coercive action (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994); social identity theory (Tajfel, 1984), self categorization theory (Turner & Giles, 1985), dan collective identification theory (Reicher, 1996, 2003; Hogg, 2003); frustration aggression theory (Dollard, 1961), relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1971; Muller, 1980); teori-teori tentang mob, lynching dan collective violence (LeBon, original 1895, 1995; Young, 1958; Milgram & Toch, 1969; Smelser, 1962); dan teori tentang peran penegakan hukum (Black, 1983). Berdasarkan pada penelusuran teoritis tersebut disusunlah sebuah tesis atau hipotesis kerja penelitian berikut ini: Terdapat beberapa faktor yang memungkinkan timbulnya penghakiman massa, yakni perceived norm violation, relative deprivation, mob identification, dan perceived law enforcement.

Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan case study. Praktek penelitiannya dilakukan melalui 2 tahap, yakni preliminary study dan field study. Penelitian dilakukan di daerah-daerah perkampungan di empat kecamatan yang semuanya berada di Kota (Kodya) Tangerang. Terdapat lima buah kasus yang diteliti dalam penelitian ini, yang masing-masing diberi nama Kasus-1, Kasus-2, Kasus-3, Kasus-4, dan Kasus-5. Pengambilan data dilakukan mulai bulan Februari sampai Oktober 2003. Data dianalisis melalui suatu proses pengkodean (coding) dengan menggunakan alur berpikir induktif (untuk menemukan faktor-faktor atau tema-tema baru di lapangan) dan deduktif (untuk mengetahui ada tidaknya faktor-faktor atau tema-tema dalam resis penelitian). Untuk menjaga kredibilitas penelitian digunakan langkah-langkah seperti triangulation, keeping a reflexive journal peer debriefing, prolonged engagement, dan intellectual sharing.

Hasil penelitian antara lain menunjukkan: (1) Sebagai suatu bentuk kekerasan kolektif penghakiman massa mungkin tidak bersifat unik, karena di negara-negara lain pun terdapat kasus-kasus serupa dengan sebutan yang berbeda-beda. Tetapi jika dilihat dari konteksnya, maka keunikan kasus ini tampak antara lain dari variasi kasusnya (spontan, semi-spontan, dan tidak spontan), jenis-jenis kekerasannya (pengeroyokan dan pembakaran), dan motif pelakunya. yang non-politis, non-etnis, non-mitis, non-agama, dan lain-lain. (2)

Sebelum terjadinya kasus penghakiman massa, para pelaku mengalami perasaan tidak aman yang disebabkan oleh semakin meningkatnya kualitas dan kuantitas kejahatan di lingkungan mereka. Perasaan tersebut menyebabkan mereka memiliki perceived norm violation yang negatif terhadap para penjahat, perceived law enforcement yang negatif terhadap polisi, social learning yang positif dari kasus-kasus penghakiman massa yang terjadi sebelumnya, perceived social support yang positif dari warga kampungnya, dan relative deprivation yang disebabkan oleh kesenjangan antara harapan akan terciptanya rasa aman dan semakin meningkatnya kejahatan. Setelah dipicu oleh munculnya penjahat di kampung mereka (triggering factor), dan para pelaku mengalami perceived social role yang sesuai dengan citra-dirinya, maka menyatulah mereka dalam massa dan merasa sebagai bagian dari massa (mob identification). Mob identification menyebabkan depersonalisasi, desensitisasi, dan dehumanisasi, sehingga tanpa rasa kasihan mereka menjadi pelaku penghakiman massa. (3) Berdasarkan temuan pada butir dua, maka disusunlah sebuah teori substantif atau framework tentang penghakiman massa berikut ini: "Penghakiman massa dapat terjadi jika ada beberapa faktor yang mendahuluinya (antecedent factors). Faktor-faktor tersebut adalah: (a) perceived norm violation, (b) perceived law enforcement, dan (c) relative deprivation, (d) perceived social support, dan (e) social learning. Setelah diperantarai oleh (f) triggering factor dan (g) perceived social control, maka terjadilah (g) mob identification. Tanpa triggering factor, mob identification, dan perceived social role, tidak mungkin ada penghakiman massa." Setelah terlibat dalam penghakiman massa pun, para pelaku masih mengalami suatu pengalaman yang disebut self defense mechanism. Kesadaran bahwa mereka telah melakukan pembunuhan terhadap "penjahat" menjadikan mereka merasa cemas dan was-was. Mereka kemudian berusaha melindungi diri mereka dari perasaan-perasaan yang tidak menyenangkan tersebut melalui berbagai argumentasi dan rasionalisasi untuk membenarkan (justifikasi) "pembunuhan" tersebut.

Hasil penelitian ini diharapkan dapat bermanfaat bagi; (a) Upaya pengendalian kasus-kasus penghakiman massa, (b) Pengembangan teori-teori kekerasan kolektif dalam psikologi sosial dan upaya memperkaya khasanah kepustakaan psikologi sosial di Indonesia tentang kasus-kasus kekerasan massa pada umumnya dan kasus-kasus penghakiman massa pada khususnya, (c) Pengembangan metode penelitian kualitatif dalam penelitian-penelitian psikologi, khususnya psikologi sosial.

The increased penghakiman massa cases, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, alter the fall down of the New Order regime had raised the researchers interest to do a study on this topic. This study was aimed to (1) understand the characteristics and the nature of penghakiman massa, (2) understand the experiences of the actors before, during, and after they were involved in a penghakiman massa, and (3) build up a theory or framework about penghakiman massa.

Some psychological and sociological theories about aggression and collective violent behavior were reviewed. Some of the theories are: Social interactionist theory of coercive action (Tedeschi & Felson, 1994), Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1984), Self-Categorization Theory (Turner & Giles, 1985), and Collective Identification Theory (Reicher, 1996, 2003, Hogg, 2003) Frustration Aggression Theory (Dollard et al., 1961), Relative Deprivation Theory (Gurr, 1971, Muller, 1980), Theories of Mob, Penghakiman massa, and Collective violence (LeBon, original 1895, 1995, Young, 1958, Milgram and Toch, 1969, Smelser, 1962), and theories of the role of Law Enforcement (Black, 1983). A thesis was generated from reviewing those theories: "Factors that triggered penghakiman massa include perceived norm violation, relative deprivation, mob identification, and perceived law enforcement".

Case study approach and qualitative method were used in this study. The research procedure consists of 2 stages: preliminary study and field study. This study was carried out in the village areas at 4 districts in the City of Tangerang. There were five cases in this study and they were called Case-1, Case-2, Case-3, Case-4, and Case-5. The length of data gathering was from February to October 2003. Data analysis was done by using coding technique. The inductive thinking (to find new factors or themes in the field) and deductive thinking (to discover new factors or themes in the research thesis) were used in the whole process of this study. To maintain the credibility of this research, some actions were done, such as triangulation, keeping a reflective journal, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement, and intellectual sharing.

The result of this research shows that (1) as a form of collective violent behavior, *penghakiman massa* is not unique to Indonesia because similar cases occur in other countries as well. However, in terms of its context, the uniqueness of these cases can be seen from the variety of the cases (spontaneous, semi spontaneous or not spontaneous), the types of violence involved (*pengeroyakan* and *bum*); (2) actors usually feel unsecured before a *penghakiman massa* happens that is caused by the increased crime rates in their neighborhood. This unsecured feeling shapes a negative perceived norm violation of the criminals, negative perceived law enforcement of policemen, positive social learning from previous *penghakiman massa* cases, positive perceived social support from members of their community, and relative deprivation caused by discrepancy between hope for secured feeling and the facts that criminals are in their neighborhood (triggering factor), and the actors have positive perceived social role. All of these factors form mob identification that causes depersonalization, desensitization, and dehumanization which trigger *penghakiman massa*. (3) Based on point (2), a substantive theory of *penghakiman massa* was built, that "the antecedent factors of *penghakiman massa* include (a) perceived norm violation, (b) perceived law enforcement, (c) relative deprivation, (d) perceived social support, and (e) social learning. After being mediated by (f) triggering factor and (g) perceived social control, then (h) mob identification is formed. Without triggering factor, perceived social control, and mob identification, *penghakiman massa* will never take place". After being involved or exposed to *penghakiman massa*, the actors felt anxious, wonky, and guilty as a consequence of being aware that they have killed a "criminal". Then they built a self defense mechanism to protect themselves from these unpleasant feelings in the form of argumentation and rationalization to justify "the killing".

The result of this research is expected to be beneficial for (a) the development of collective behavior theories in social psychology and to enhance references in social psychology, especially in Indonesia, about collective violent behavior in general and *penghakiman massa* in particular; (b) the development of qualitative research methods in research in psychology, especially social psychology; (c) law enforcement, to build a mechanism to deal with *penghakiman massa* cases; and (d) government and NGOs who are concerned with human rights issues, to put *penghakiman massa* as part of their work program.