Article

Relationship Between Social Identity of Football Supporters and Conflicts (Study of The Jakmania Depok City)

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Abstract
This study examined the relationship of The Jakmania’s social identity with the conflict of supporters. The Jakmania members who come from various ethnic and regions sought identity as “Jakarta youth” which means “Metropolitan youth”. This study used a convergent parallel mixed method. The survey population was members of The Jakmania Depok City who, although not living in Jakarta, supported Persija as a Jakarta football club. Semi-structured interviews were carried out to key informants involved in forming The Jakmania’s social identity since the organization was founded and organizational decision makers. After being analyzed separately, the results are compared to see how far quantitative and qualitative findings confirm each other. The results of this study indicated that the members of The Jakmania, whose background is in the socio-economic status of the lower middle class, have a mixture of group pride and cathartic pressure on life. The effort to build the social identity of The Jakmania supporters gave birth to positive energy in the form of solidarity and member participation without being based on ethnicity. Likewise, the respondents from The Jakmania Depok who have Betawi parents, their identification with The Jakmania as an in-group is cross-ethnicity and regional. On the other hand, negative energy creates a supporter conflict from some members and at the same time raises corrections from within the organization to improve it.

Keywords:
soccer; social identity; supporter conflict; the Jakmania

INTRODUCTION

Football clubs and their supporters are like fish and water. The football clubs cannot live without the stake of their supporters. To a certain degree, fanaticism of supporters is required to bring about soccer competition. The fanaticism cannot be generalized with hooliganism. Bahadir explained, “Fanaticism is an act of love, and hooliganism is the aggressiveness that creates extreme fanaticism.” (Altungul & Karahüseyinoğlu, 2017: 172)

The Jakmania established on December 19, 1997 is also known as real fanatic supporters of a football club. Based on the data of PT Liga Indonesia Baru as the football competition operator in Indonesia, Persija matches always have a large number of spectators in the League 1 2018. Four of the five matches involving Persija club were the most watched matches throughout the season. The match Persija vs Mitra Kukar held the highest record number of 68,873 spectators at the Bung Karno Main Stadium (SUG-
For some cases, however, the fanaticism of The Jakmania also has a negative image. Three supporters were killed after they watched the match Persija vs Persib Bandung on May 27, 2012. A riot also occurred in the match Persija vs Sriwijaya FC at the Bung Karno Main Stadium (SUGBK) on June 24, 2016. After the Persija goalkeeper conceded, the supporters broke into the field. They threw objects to the police and the match was stopped in the 80th minute. The police arrested 155 members of Jakmania, and they were taken to Metro Jaya Police Headquarters (Prasetya, M.H., tribunnews.com, 2016)

After the 2016 riot, The Jakmania began to improve its internal organization. It carried out the Extraordinary Consultation on January 22, 2017 for the management change and the curbing campaign to its members. However, The Jakmania returned to public attention at the final match of the Presidents Cup between Persija and Bali United on February 17, 2018. At that time The Jakmania members damaged the guardrail and spectator seats in one sector of the stadium. Despite the scale of the incident was not large but public gave a negative spotlight. The stadium was for the first time uses after it was renovated for the preparation of the 2018 Asian Games scheduled in the next six months.

In running the organization, The Jakmania has the organizational structure from the central board to Regional Coordinators (Kordinator Wilayah or Korwil). The central board oversees 66 Regional Coordinators (Korwil), and the Regional Coordinators have the membership coordinator responsibilities. The Jakmania Chairperson Ferry Indrasjarief said, as of November 2018 the Jakmania had 45 thousand members. The regional coordinators (Korwil) are not only in Greater Jakarta, but also in Depok, Tangerang, Bogor, Bekasi and Tegal. Average regional coordinator carries the name of Village Administration Office (kelurahan). There are some regional coordinators (Korwil) in the level of sub-districts and districts / cities (Regional Coordinator of Bogor District, Regional Coordinator of Depok City, and Regional Korwil of Tegal District). (The Interview of Ferry Indrasjarief).

The majority distribution of The Jakmania members generally locates in Greater Jakarta and its surroundings (Jabodetabek) as the metropolitan area where various tribes live and make the identity of Jakmania better known as “children of Jakarta” as distinguished from the Betawi ethnic identity. This condition differs from, for example, the supporters of Persib Bandung (Viking) as “the mortal enemy” of The Jakmania which are frequently identified with the Sundanese people. The term bobotoh attached to Persib supporters comes from Sundanese language which means “people”. The supporters of Persija prefer to call themselves “The Jak”, and it is the acronym for “The Jakmania” which uses “the mixed English” without any Betawi ethnic terms.

Social identity is a way of grouping members based on shared labels. It is interesting to study the social identity of members of The Jakmania who want to be part of the label “children of Jakarta”. Based on this background, the formulation of the research problem is how is the relationship between the social identity of The Jakmania and conflict? The research was conducted to members of The Jakmania in the City of Depok to see self-motivation and self-identification of its members as “children of Jakarta” or “Metropolitan children”, who do not living in Greater Jakarta but they support Persija as their Jakarta football club.

**SOCIAL IDENTITY**


“Identity, by itself, is a key element of subjective reality and, like all subjective realities, deals dialectically with society. Identity is formed in social processes. Once it gets its form, it is nurtured, modified, or even reshaped by social relations.”

Humans normally live in various social environments and they have a number of social identities. However, through social processes as explained by Berger & Luckmann,
humans emphasize certain aspects of their social identities when they carry out their daily activities and channel their existence labeled as the social identity. Prominence of the social identity can come from the backgrounds of religion, ethnicity, profession and the support of sports clubs.

Hogg & Vaughan (2010: 215) state that social identity not only describes attributes, but also determines what must be thought and how one should behave as a member. Social identity is part of the self-concept that develops from group membership. Individuals will conform to ingroup norms and show ingroup solidarity, and ingroup favoritism. When they think about themselves, fellow ingroupers and outgroupers will use relevant group stereotypes.

In the formation of a social identity of individuals there is a process of motivation. According to Hogg & Vaughan (2010: 216), individuals have motivation, where the individual social identity serves two important functions, including:

1) Self-enhancement. Groups stand in status and prestige relations with one another, and we recognize this. Groups compete to be different and provide positive social identity for their individual members, including the belief that “our group” is better than “their group”. Positive thinking is frequently motivated by the self-esteem of the group members, trying to maintain the dignity, status, and attachment of the groups.

2) Subjective Uncertainty Reduction. In life, we want to know who we are. We also want to know how to relate to who and what is the expectation of others, how to make it predictable and to plan effective actions. By identifying with the groups we reduce uncertainty and overcome this problem.

As Feitosa et al. (2012: 529-31) explains that people are looking for meetings with individuals who have similarities because they are considered more predictable, as a basis for the formation of ingroups and outgroups. Moreover, they summarize and identify three dimensions of social identity: (a) categorization, (b) ownership, and (c) positive attitude.

**CONFLICT DIMENSION MODEL**

Mayer (2012:3) said:

“Conflict may be viewed as occurring along cognitive (perception), emotional (feeling), and behavioral (action) dimensions. This three-dimensional perspective

- **Social Identity**
  - How much do you identify with the ingroup?

  - **Categorization**
    - I see myself as a member of this group (Hobman & Bordia, 2006)
    - My group is a good reflection of who I am (Cameron, 2004)
    - I prefer to see people from other outgroup(s) as being different from ingroup (Bond & Hewstone, 1988)
    - The group success is my success (Mael & Tetrick, 1992)
  
  - **Sense of Belonging**
    - I feel involved in what is happening in my group (Evans & Jarvis, 1980)
    - When someone criticizes this group, it feels like a personal insult to me (Mael & Tetrick, 1992)
    - What matches the relationship (1=very distant, 6=very close) with your group as a whole? (Hinds & Mortensen, 2005)
  
  - **Positive Attitudes**
    - I am happy I am an ingroup member (Sellers, et al., 1998)
    - I think my group has little to be proud of (Ellemers et al., 1999)
    - There are many people in this group that I like as individuals (Stokes, 1983)
    - Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a(n) ingroup member (Cameron, 2004)

**Figure 1. Social Identity Dimension (Feitosa et al., 2012: 531)**
can help us understand the complexities of conflict and why a conflict sometimes seems to proceed in contradictory directions.

From these three dimensional perspectives, Mayer (2012: 4-5) describes as follows: 1) Conflict as Perception: As a set of perceptions, conflict is a belief or understanding of one’s own needs, interests, desires, or values that are not in accordance with the property of others. There are objective and subjective elements in this cognitive dimension. If I want to develop land into a shopping center, and you want to preserve it as an open space, then there is a mismatch of goals in our desires (the objective element). If I believe that the way you want to guide our child is not in accordance with the philosophy of caring for my child, then there is a significant subjective component; 2) Conflict as Feeling: The conflict also involves an emotional reaction to a situation or interaction that indicates a disagreement. The emotions that the individual feel may be fear, sadness, bitterness, anger, or despair, or some of its variants. If we experience these feelings regarding other people or situations, we feel that we are in conflict — and because of us; 3) Conflict as action: The conflict also consists of actions we take to express our feelings, articulate our perceptions, and get our needs met in ways that have the potential to interfere in the ability of others to meet their needs. This conflict behavior may involve direct efforts to make something happen at the expense of others. This might be a strength test. Maybe it uses violent and destructive methods. On the contrary, this behavior may be peaceful, constructive, and friendly ones. Whatever it appears, however, the purpose of conflict behavior is to express conflict or meet someone’s needs.

Mayer’s Conflict Dimension Model is one of eight models that Furlong (2005) has combined by summarizing many researches on conflict. Fajar (2016: 206) assessed that the Conflict Dimension Model was able to simplify the actual conditions by presenting all factors that influence the conflict process. All of these factors provide us with a better potential for understanding how conflict works so that the model has great potential to reduce the potential for conflict escalation and it is expected to lead to the conflict resolution process.

METHODS
Research Approaches and Types
This research used parallel convergent mixed methods. After quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed separately, the researchers described the research findings and the two were compared. Creswell (2017: 296) explains that this approach assumes that qualitative and quantitative data provide different types of information and together they provide the same results.

Variable Definition
The definitions of this research variables are as follows:
X1: Individual Motivation in the Formation of Social Identity: the search for individual social identity includes self-improvement and subjective uncertainty reduction by joining and becoming members of The Jakmania.
X2: Individual Identification at The Jakmania: meetings with individuals who have similarities in the organization of The Jakmania as in-groups based on categorization, ownership, and positive attitudes.
Y: Supporter Conflicts: Social processes occur when members of The Jakmania and other football club supporters face each other in the dimensions of cognition (perception), emotions (feelings), and behavior (actions).

In addition to the three variables at above, this research makes the profile of the respondents about “Having lived in Jakarta” and “Betawi Descent from Father Side” and “Betawi Descent from Mother Side” as the antecedent variables to examine the relationship between the variable of Individual Motivation in the Formation of Social Identity and the variable of Individual identification as the Members of The Jakmania. The reason is that the researcher wants to know
the relationship of the origin of the respondents with their existence as the members of The Jakmania. In testing the relationship with these other variables, the variable of “Ever having lived in Jakarta”, the variable of “Betawi Descent from Father Side”, and the variable of “Betawi Descent from Mother Side” are changed to be the dummy variables.

Operational Definition
In the variable of Individual Motivation in the Formation of Social Identity there are dimensions of Self-Improvement and Subjective Uncertainty Reduction. The dimension of self-improvement has some indicators: Considering The Jakmania is better than other football supporters organizations, considering The Jakmania is better than any other organizations, and being active in The Jakmania for wanting to be proud of their environment. Moreover, the dimension of subjective uncertainty reduction has the indicators: being active in The Jakmania to fill leisure time, channeling hobbies and talents, gaining a lot of fellow football fans, and for the future.

Moreover, the variable of Individual Identification in The Jakmania has the dimension of categorization, the dimension of a sense of belonging and the dimension of positive attitude. For the dimension of categorization there are indicators: The Jakmania reflects self character, considering fellow Jakmania as one’s own family, regarding others who are not the members of The Jakmania as outsiders, and Jakmania’s progress as self-improvement. Moreover, the dimension of a sense of belonging is some indicators: being always enthusiastic about following information of The Jakmania, feeling angry when someone is bad mouthing The Jakmania, being ready to argue when someone criticizes The Jakmania, and being enthusiastic in various Jakmania activities, such as watching or gathering together. Finally, the dimension of positive attitude have indicators: feeling happy to have activities in The Jakmania, having pride as members of The Jakmania, there are many people in The Jakmania we like and match, having a sense of pride as a member of The Jakmania who does not diminish when Persija loses in the match, and having a sense of pride that does not diminish when The Jakmania is having a problem.

In the variable of Supporters Conflict there are the dimension of conflict as perception, the dimension of conflict as emotions, and the dimension of conflict as actions. The dimension of conflict as perceptions have the indicators: considering other football club supporters groups as fans of Indonesian football lovers, regarding other fans of football club supporters groups as rivals, and considering other fans of football club supporters groups as enemies. Moreover, the dimension of conflict as emotions have the indicators: considering other football club fans as the fans of Indonesian football lovers, having feelings of dislike to other football club fans, and have feelings of hatred for other football club fans. The dimension of conflict as action has the indicators: treating other football club fans as the fans of Indonesian football lovers, treating other football club fans as rivals, and treating other fans of football club supporters groups as enemies.

Population, Samples and Sampling Techniques
The research population was the members of The Jakmania Depok City. It is because they live in a small town in the southern of Greater Jakarta, but they support Persija as the Jakarta football club. What members mean is those who have membership cards which is renewed every 3 years to control their presence (the interviews of Ferry Indrasjarief). Based on the official data collection as of the end of November 2018, the members of The Jakmania Depok City totaled 1674 people. The distribution of the questionnaire lasted for 2 months (from October to November 2018) with the initial target of at least 15% of the population. By using accidental sampling technique, the distribution of questionnaires was carried out in places where the members of The Jakmania Depok City gathered in The City of Depok and its surroundings. As a result, total sample of
256 respondents from the members of The Jakmania Depok City was achieved. The unit of analysis as the individual members of The Jakmania Depok City.

Data Collection Technique
The collection techniques used semi-structured surveys and interviews. The key informants of this research were Ferry Indrasjarief, one of the founders and Chairperson of The Jakmania in the period of 2017-2020 (The interview held on November 6, 2018) and Dwi Rio Sambodo, one of the Jakmania advisers who were also members of the Greater Jakarta Regional People’s Representative Council Commission E (the interview held October 31, 2018).

Research Instruments
The quantitative research instrument was the closed questionnaire distributed to the members of The Depok City. Likert scale was used to measure attitudes, opinions, and perceptions of individuals about social phenomena, in this case the individual motivation in the formation of social identity, individual identification as in-groups, and conflict. The value used in the research was Strongly Disagree (1); Disagree (2); Neutral (3); Agree (4), and Strongly Agree (5). As for the qualitative research instruments, the researchers conducted direct interviews to explore and interpret the data.

Data Analysis Technique
The research data analysis was taken from the questionnaire as a research instrument disseminated and processed by using the Windows-based SPSS 22.0 program. The quantitative descriptive assessment criteria used the rating scale method divided by five parts of the interval scale, i.e.: very low, low, medium, high and very high, by:

1) Search number of the highest and lowest criterion scores of the questionnaire.
2) Find the distance between intervals with the formula: (the highest score - the lowest score) divided by 5

The quantitative research correlation analysis technique used Pearson correlation analysis to test the hypothesis of the relationship between the identity of The Jakmania Depok City and conflicts. The Correlation Coefficient Interpretation Table of D.A. de Vaus was used to see the power of relationships. Separately the researchers also used the interview results to be analyzed. Finally, the quantitative and qualitative findings were compared to see the extent of mutual confirmation and to draw conclusion.

Validity and Reliability Test
The validity test of the items was used, ie a key item question can be said to be valid if it has strong support to total scores. By using the Pearson correlation statistics calculation, the decision making for the validity test of the items is made if there are r results (+) and r results> r table then the statement of the item is valid. The number of respondents (N) = 256, then df = (N-2) = 256 - 2 = 254. With df = 254 and α = 0.05, the r table is 0.123.

From the calculation results of the data validity for the variable of Individual Motivation, seven items are used valid because all r count values are above the r table, which ranges from 0.603 to 0.809. Moreover, the calculation results of of the data validity for 13 items of the variable of Individual Identification, almost all items are valid, i.e. items 1 to item 12 ranging from 0.484 to 0.794, but for item 13 (Positive Attitude: pride does not decrease when the Jakmania is having problems) found r count of 0.100 < r table so this item is invalid and cannot be used. Furthermore, the calculation results of the data validity for nine items of the variable of Conflict for all indicators is valid because the value of r arithmetic is above the r table, which ranges from: 0.140 to 0.825.

Finally, the reliability test will see the consistency of the measurement. The reliability shows that the same thing is repeated or repeated under identical or very similar conditions (Neuman, 2014: 212). Based on De Vellis’s formulation, the research instrument is stated to have a fairly good reliability if it has a Cronbach Alpha> 0.7 (Amir, 2017: 115-6). The reliability test was carried out af-
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Quantitative Data Results

Profile of Respondents
The respondents in this research constituted 256 members of The Jakmania Depok City. The majority of them were men totaling 92.2% and the remaining number were women (7.8%). For their age, the largest range of age was 20 years or less and it amounted to 34.0%. The older the respondent’s age, the smaller the number of the respondents, i.e. consecutively the age range of 21-25 years as many as 26.65%, 26-30 years by 18.0%, 31-35 years as many as 12.1%, 36-40 years by 6.6%, and the age range of 41 years or more totaling 2.7%. In terms of education, the majority of the respondents had high school education (59.4%) and there were 14.1% with junior high school education. Moreover, there were 11.7% with diploma/college education, and 9.8% with undergraduate degrees consecutively. The remaining of 7 respondents (2.7%) had postgraduate education and 2.3% had elementary school education. In line with the characteristics of the respondents who were predominantly young, the occupation or status of the majority of the respondents were students (32.8%). Private employees occupied the second with 28.9%. However, there were 19.1% who were unemployed or looking for work opportunities. Finally, there were 12.9% with the self-employed status and 6.3% of the respondents became civil servants / employees of state-owned companies (BUMN).

For the length of stay, the respondents who lived in the City of Depok for 2-5 years occupied the second row with total number of 20.7%. Moreover, the respondents who lived in the City of Depok for 1 year or less were as many as 49 people (19.1%), those who lived in Depok for 16-20 years were around 15.2%, those who lived in the City of Depok for 6-10 years were by 11.7%, and those who lived in the City of Depok for 11-15 years amounted to 8.2% respectively. With the characteristics of the respondents who were mostly young age, average respondent from birth or at least since childhood had lived in Depok. Moreover, the number of the respondents who had lived in the territory of the Greater Jakarta amounted to 52.7%, and 47.3% of the respondents stated that they had never lived in the Greater Jakarta. This number and percentage show that the respondents who have lived and never have lived in Jakarta tend to be balanced.

Most of the respondents became the members of The Jakmania for 5 years or less consisting of the respondents who became the members for 2-5 years totaling as many as 39.5% and those who just became the members of The Jakmania for 1 year or less by 36.3%. The respondents who were the members of The Jakmania for 6-10 years amounted 10.2%, for 11-15 years totaled 5.1%, for 16-20 years were 4.3%, and 21 years or since the beginning of the establishment of The Jakmania was 4.7% consecutively. The majority of the respondents had Betawi blood from their father side totaling 67.6%. The majority of the respondents also had Betawi blood from their mother side amounting to 62.9%. It means that the majority of the respondents have one or both parents who come from Betawi tribe.

Description of Variables
Description of Variable for Individual Motivation
In the variable of Individual Motivation, with the highest value of 5 per answer item and there are seven numbers of the questions, the highest number of the criterion scores = 5x7 = 35. As for the lowest value 1 per answer item and the number of questi-
ons amounts 7 for the variable of Individual Motivation, and total lowest number of the criterion score = 7. Therefore, the distance between intervals: (35-7): 5 = 5.6, rounded up to 6. It will be described further in Table 1.

Table 1. Assessment Criteria for Variable of Self Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>Lowest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>19-24</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>Highest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the SPSS calculation results it is shown that the respondents’ answers contains minimum value of 7 and maximum value of 35, while average score of the respondents’ answers on the variable of Individual Motivation is 27.32 (Table 2). Therefore, based on the research criteria in Table 1, average individual motivation of the respondents in the formation of the social identity as members of The Jakmania amounts to 27.32 and it is definitely high.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Individual Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total_Individual_Motivation</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid N (list-wise)</td>
<td>256</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Source: Processed Research Results |

Description for Variable of Individual Identification in The Jakmania as In Group

In the variable of Self-Identification, with the highest value of 5 per answer item and seven number of the questions, the highest number of criterion scores = 5x7 = 35. As for the lowest scores 1 and 12 number of questions on the variable of Individual Identification, the lowest number of criterion scores = 12. Therefore, the distance between intervals is: (60-12): 5 = 9.6, rounded up to 10, which is spelled out in Table 3.

Table 3. Assessment Criteria for Variable of Individual Identification as In-Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12-21</td>
<td>Lowest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>22-31</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>32-41</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>42-51</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>52-60</td>
<td>Highest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SPSS calculation results for the variable of Individual Identification in The Jakmania as In-Group show that minimum and maximum values of the respondents’ answers amounts 16 and 60, while average score of respondents’ answers was 46.52 (Table 4). Therefore, average Individual Identification of the respondents as In-Group is high.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics for Individual Identification as In-Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total_Individual_Identification</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid N (list-wise)</td>
<td>256</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Source: Processed Research Results |

Description for Variable of Football Supporter Conflict

The variable of supporter conflicts is the respondents’ attitude about conflict in terms of perception, emotions, and actions, particularly before serious the internal efforts to control the supporters. In this variable, with the highest value of 5 per answer item and 9 number of questions, then the highest number of criterion scores = 5x9 = 45. As for the lowest value of 1 and 12 the number of questions, then the lowest number of criterion scores = 9. Thus the distance between the variable of intervals Supporter Conflicts are: (45-9): 5 = 7.2, rounded to 7 outlined in Table 5.
Table 5. Assessment Criteria for Variable of Supporter Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9-15</td>
<td>Very Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>23-29</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>30-36</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>37-45</td>
<td>Very High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics of Supporter Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Conflicts</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>32.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid N (listwise)</td>
<td>256</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Processed Research Results

Based on SPSS calculations, minimum and maximum values of the respondents’ answers are 19 and 45. Average score of the respondents’ answers for the variable of Supporter Conflict is 32.85 (see Table 6). Therefore, average respondent states that the conflict is high.

Relationship Test

Correlation Test Between Having Ever Lived in Greater Jakarta and Individual Motivation

From the results of the correlation test based on Table 7, it can be shown that the significance occurs at the 0.05 level with total value of 0.048. This shows that H₀ is rejected and H₁ is accepted. It means that there is a relationship between having ever lived in Greater Jakarta and individual motivation in the social formation as members of The Jakmania. The results of the correlation coefficient is 0.124 and based on the Correlation Coefficient Interpretation Table of D.A. de Vaus it shows that the relationship is weak because it is between 0.10-0.29.

Table 7. Correlation Test Between Having Ever Lived in Greater Jakarta and Individual Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Having_Ever_Lived_inGreater_Jakarta</th>
<th>Total_Individual_Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Processed Research Results

Table 8. Correlation Test Between Having Ever Lived in Greater Jakarta and Individual Identification in The Jakmania

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Having_Ever_Lived_inGreater_Jakarta</th>
<th>Total_Individual_Identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.133’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Processed Research Results
Correlation Test Between Having Ever Lived in Greater Jakarta and Individual Identification in The Jakmania

From Table 8 it can be shown that the significance occurs at the 0.05 level with a value of 0.034. Therefore, it is stated that Ho is rejected and H1 is accepted, and it means that there is a relationship between having ever lived in Jakarta and individuals identification in The Jakmania. The results of the correlation coefficient of 0.133 indicate that the relationship is weak.

Multiple Correlation Test Between Betawi Descent from Father and Mother Side and Individual Motivation

Based on Table 9 it is known that the relationship between Betawi Descent from Father and Mother Side (simultaneously) and individual motivation calculated by the correlation coefficient amounts to 0.251 or the relationship is weak. Moreover, it will determine the level of significance of the multiple correlation coefficient tested as a whole. Based on the Summary Model Table, the probability value (sig. F Change) = 0.000. Because the value of sig. F Change 0.000 <0.05, then Ho is rejected and H1 is accepted. Therefore, Betawi Descent from Father and Mother Side does not simultaneously and significantly relate to individual motivation.

Correlation Test Between Individual Motivation and Individual Identification in The Jakmania

Based on Table 11 it can be shown that the significance value is 0.000 <0.05. Therefore, it is stated that Ho is rejected and H1 is accepted, and it means that the higher the individual motivation in the social formation as the members of The Jakmania, the higher the individual identification in The Jakmania. Furthermore, the results of the correlation coefficient is 0.776 and based on the Correlation Coefficient Interpretation Table

### Table 9. Multiple Correlation Test Between Betawi Descent from Father and Mother Side and Individual Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
<th>Change Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R Square Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>df1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.251</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>3.961</td>
<td>.063</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Betawi Descent from Mother Side, Betawi Descent From Father Side

Source: Processed Research Results

### Table 10. Multiple Correlation Test Between Betawi Descent from Father and Mother Side and Individual Identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
<th>Change Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R Square Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>df1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>6.865</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Betawi Descent from Mother Side, Betawi Blood from Ayah Side

Source: Processed Research Results
of D.A. de Vau it is between 0.70-0.89, it can be concluded that the strength of the relationship between variables is very strong.

Multiple Correlation Test Between Individual Motivation and Individual Identification and Supporter Conflicts

Based on Table 12 it is known that the magnitude of the relationship between individual motivation and individual identification (simultaneously) and supporter conflicts calculated by the correlation coefficient is 0.592. It means that the relationship is strong because based on the Correlation Coefficient Interpretation Table of D.A. de Vau it is between 0.50-0.69. Moreover, when determining the level of significance of the multiple correlation coefficient tested as a whole, based on the Summary Model Table, the probability value (sig. F Change) = 0.000. Because the value of sig. F Change 0.000 <0.05, then H0 is rejected and H1 is accepted. It meant that individual motivation and individual identification relate simultaneously and significantly to supporter conflicts.

Qualitative Data Results

The support of The Jakmania members for Persija Jakarta is not built on the basis of ethnic fanaticism. Chairperson Ferry Indrasjarief said that the members of The Jakmania mostly does not come from the Betawi people. Moreover, in the ranks of the central board there was only one person who had Betawi blood. He explained:

“I build The Jakmania as what I have said,"We don't have a Betawi identity, but our identity is from Jakarta. We live here. We are looking for food here. Here there is a team called Persija. that's what we support. Alhamdulillah (praise Allah), children are all united into one.”

For Ferry, The Jakmania is a miniature of Indonesia. There are Papuans, Acehnese, and Sangir Talaud who become the members. Ferry claimed that the members of The Jakmania who lived in West Java frequently got intimidation from members of the Viking (Persib football club supporters community). In the minds of Sundanese people they must support Persib. He added:

"Nonetheless, I have campaigned back and forth that football matches are not tribal wars. Football in the term of supporters is a soul calling. If there is no soul calling, we will not be fanatic. When we truly love, there is connecting like the Avatar film series. Love how the rider's hair and the horse’s tail are. It will go on. “

Table 11. Correlation Test Between Individual Motivation and Individual Identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total_Individual_Motivation</th>
<th>Pearson Correlation</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Total_Individual_Identification</th>
<th>Pearson Correlation</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.776**</td>
<td>256</td>
<td></td>
<td>.776**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Processed Research Results

Table 12. Multiple Correlation Test Between Individual Motivation and Individual Identification and Supporter Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
<th>R Square Change</th>
<th>F Change</th>
<th>df1</th>
<th>df2</th>
<th>Sig. F Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.592*</td>
<td>.351</td>
<td>.346</td>
<td>4.662</td>
<td>.351</td>
<td>68.403</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Total_Identifikasi_Individu, Total_Motivasi_Individu

Source: Processed Research Results
In line with Ferry, Dwi Rio Sambodo explained that from the beginning of the establishment of The Jakmania, there was a motto of “Children of Jakarta” and why it was not “Children of Betawi.” Although living around Greater Jakarta, such as Depok, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi, the motto of “Children of Jakarta” covers all backgrounds and aspects. They come from various tribes and regions, Dwi Rio saw that many Jakmania members were originally members of other football clubs, such as Persib, Persebaya and PSIS. Moreover, The Jakmania members who became the members in the early of 2000s were also still supporting other football clubs. However, according to Dwi Rio, when Persija is in Jakarta, there is an awareness that “Persija is us”. This awareness makes people from various ethnic and regional backgrounds find their new social identity as “Children of Jakarta” channeled through their support to the capital city’s football club, Persija.

Ferry also emphasized the importance of forming this new social identity:

“It’s funny when someone from Jakarta returns home in Surabaya. In Surabaya it was said, ‘Uh, a person from Jakarta came …’. However, when he returns to Jakarta, it was said, ‘A person from Surabaya come back again…’. Those people do not have real identities. “

Meanwhile, Dwi Rio highlighted majority of the members of The Jakmania who had middle to lower class socioeconomic status who needed entertainment and a means of expression. They cannot achieve the fashionable and luxurious lifestyle of the metropolis. They, as children of Jakarta, cannot access entertainment venues which are the identity of metropolitan young people. It is because they are expensive. As members of The Jakmania, however, they can go on a joint venture to pay for tickets and rent a bus to watch Persija matches. By becoming the members of The Jakmania they get pride as children of Jakarta. For Dwi Rio, being a member of The Jakmania has a mixture of group pride and the catharsis of life pressure. He explained:

“When we are on the field to the stadium, everything is loose. The economy problems at home are loose, casual school problems are loose. If those who are not already unemployed and not school again is also loose. Many of them become 3 in 1 jockeys, they earn money to watch Persija matches. They are also busking for watch Persija matches. They try hard.”

Dwi Rio also added that members of The Jakmania were mostly teenagers who frequently only had jointly rented bus for Rp10-15,000 each when they want to go to the stadium. “Without watching (entering the stadium) they are already happy. Togetherness becomes important for them. They are singing along the streets,” he said. If they tour for watching the matches out of town, for example, to Solo. When the costs amount to Rp. 350 thousand, the members can get a discount. They are trying hard to raise money to participate because it has been planned long time ago. “So for those who watch the Persija matches it is their ideology,” Dwi Rio added.

As Ferry reviewed the role of the organization’s network from the central board to Regional Coordinators in channeling the enthusiasm of its members. If Persija is the host, the class 3 tickets are only for members of The Jakmania and the central board will distribute the tickets through the Regional Coordinators. In the case of the watching program when the matches of Persija Jakarta are away, he explained:

“If you want to watch the matches of Persija Jakarta in Bali, every Regional Coordinator has opened the registration costs of Rp800,000. We have a travel permit from the police, so they also give the permits. There they coordinate with West Java Police. Moreover, West Java Police will coordinate with Central Java Police, and so on. When the tour is coordinated from Greater Jakarta, we provide food. During the trip, we have 2 meals. However, we select restaurants that could be coordinated with The Jaks, each meal cost is Rp20,000. It is a supporter menu. The kids (members of The Jakmania) will eat anything. The important thing is they do it together. If you go to Yogya, there is Candi Sari Restaurant
that put a banner “Welcome to Jakarta.”

In building communication outside and inside the organization, according to Ferry, The Jakmania optimally used social media. The Jakmania Center Management had the Information and Communication Section and it would manage Instagram, Twitter, websites and Facebook. However, due to the rising trend of Instagram users among young people, members of The Jakmania was more active in using Instagram. The Jakmania had an official Instagram account @infokomjakmania which reached exactly 400,000 followers as of December 28, 2018 as announced through the account. Ferry added, through this account various announcements could be delivered effectively and efficiently. “We have ever watched together with Persija Jakarta. It is only announced 2 days on Instagram, 10,000 people come,” he said.

The Jakmania central board (Korwil) also utilized the mechanism of direct meetings with Regional Coordinators and the whatsapp media can reach out its members. According to Ferry, the central management periodically held a briefing with Regional Coordinators (Korwil) at the Jakmania Central Secretariat in Kuningan, South Jakarta. From the briefing results, they were asked to coordinate with their members. He explained:

“Each Regional Coordinators has a whatsapp group. Under Regional Coordinators (Korwil), there are Sub-Regional Coordinators. If we have a new song, don’t imagine how to teach tens of thousands of the members of The Jakmania. It is easy because we used to do it. We have the conductors. When the conductors are told to know, they immediately memorize it, particularly if they are given a paper. When the chairman says this or that, it will be spread to regional coordinators, and the regional coordinators will be sent to sub-regional coordinator, and the sub-regional coordinators will be disseminated to the members of The Jakmania. It goes on fast.”

Dwi Rio explained that the efforts to build fanaticism raise positive energy in a kind of solidarity and participation of the members. On the other hand, there are destructive actions coming from some members, corrections will come from internal of the organization. Regarding the conflict with other supporters, Dwi Rio saw the big conflict with Viking and Bonek (the football supporters of Persebaya Surabaya) because both of them were considered big football supporters. With supporters of other clubs there were also any conflicts, such as the supporters of Persita Tangerang. However, it was not considered a rival because it was not balanced. With the Vikings, aside from being a fellow big supporter, Dwi Rio also considered the distance between Jakarta and Bandung to be quite close, then there was competition. “If there is someone who wants to compete there is usually a psychological demand. If you want to be big there must be a big opponent too,” he explained.

In order to bring order to the members of The Jakmania and minimize conflicts, according to Ferry, The Jakmania disseminate the guidelines that every member of The Jakmania must carry out, including the rules set by the police. The socialization and briefing is sent on Instagram @infokomjakmania and whatsapp. However, Ferry stressed the need to be distinguished between the members of The Jakmania and supporters of Persija Jakarta outside the members of The Jakmania. According to Ferry:

“Whoever are called The Jakmania is all people who have the membership card of The Jakmania. If he does not have the membership card, I do not consider him The Jakmania. He is just an sympathizer. Why should I say that? Because I have to be decisive. If a person wants be a part of us “Come on!” And when he is new member I just told him how to become a true supporter. How I want to educate them is “punish and reward” as long as they become the members of The jakmania. If they are outsiders, I cannot punish them because they are not our members.”

Regarding sanctions or punishment, each Regional Coordinator has responsibility if its members are guilty. Ferry said that sanctions were imposed for the members who were proved to have violated the rules
starting from verbal sanctions (reprimands) or called to the secretariat of the central board for apology. “If here in the secretariat he does not want to make apology, one Regional Coordinator will be punished. If he expresses his apology here, it’s over.” He explained:

“I cut the ticket ration to Regional Coordinators before the troublemaker child come and apologize. As long as he does not want to come and apologize in front of hundreds of the administrators, the ticket ration of the Regional Coordinator will be cut. For example, it will be cut around 50 tickets. It is usually effective. The sanctions to a supporter are little beaten up. If imprisoned, it is only short time. The sanctions to a supporter is when he cannot watch Persija matches again, it is the most severe one. Because I has said once again that watching Persija Jakarta is a call of soul, love. As he no longer meets a person he loves, it hurts him a lot, and it works.”

Therefore, for Ferry, the most severe punishment is the revocation of the membership card. Sanctions are imposed for the members who do not want to be regulated so that they make mistakes repeatedly. He claimed to frequently revoke the membership card, and it aims to bring order to the members. “I cut the card in front of him,” he said. “It never happened before a person whose member card is cut asks a membership card again.”

**Discussion**

Despite having a number of social identities, humans tend to show certain social identities when they carry out their daily activities and distribute their existence to the social identities. The Jakmania members prefer the social identity of supporters of the Jakarta Persija Football Club to distribute their existence beyond ethnic and regional factors.

From the aspects of the Individual Motivation variable there were the dimension of self-improvement and subjective uncertainty reduction. From the research results of descriptive quantitative data, average motivation of the individual respondents in the formation of social identity as members of The Jakmania was high. Moreover, for the Individual Identification variable in The Jakmania, there were the dimensions of categorization, ownership, and positive attitude as well. Average respondents in identifying individuals at The Jakmania were high.

Statistical test results show there was the relationship between having lived in Jakarta and individual motivation in the social formation of The Jakmania as its members. However, the relationship was weak. Moreover, there was the relationship between having lived in Jakarta and the identification of individuals in The Jakmania, and the relationship was also weak.

In terms of Betawi descent from father and mother’s side, moreover, although simultaneously and significantly with reference to individual motivation in the formation of social identity as members of The Jakmania, it does not simultaneously and significantly relate to individual identification in The Jakmania. It means that as they just enter The Jakmania they still consider ethnic factors. However, after the activities in the football supporter organization, their identification with The Jakmania as an in-group no longer considers the ethnic factors. The Jakmania Depok respondents interpreted themselves as part of children of Jakarta. Despite majority of the respondents have one or both parents come from the Betawi tribe, but cross-ethnic and regional slogans much more guide them. This is in accordance with the social identity that has been built since the beginning of The Jakmania stands as “children of Jakarta” which means “metropolitan children”. On the other words, it does not base on the ethnic identity of “Betawi children.”

Individual motivation in the social formation as members of The Jakmania with the dimension of self-improvement and subjective uncertainty reduction actually have a significant relationship with individual identification in The Jakmania, where the strength of the relationship is very strong. This is in accordance with the opinion of Feitosa et al. (2012: 529-31) that people are looking for meetings with individuals who
have similarities because they are considered more predictable, as a basis for the formation of ingroups and outgroups. The majority of members of The Jakmania comes from middle-to-lower socio-economic status who need entertainment and expression facilities but cannot access expensive entertainment venues which are the identity of young Jakartans. Being a member of The Jakmania has a mixture of group pride and the catharsis of life pressure. This is also in line with the opinion of Hogg & Vaughan (2010: 216) that individuals have motivation, where the individual social identity serves two important functions including self-improvement and subjective uncertainty reduction.

The Jakmania organization from the central board to Regional Coordinators (Korwil) definitely had role in channeling the enthusiasm of its members in a more orderly manner and minimizing conflicts with other parties, particularly towards other football club supporters and security forces. The central board through Regional Coordinators managed the purchasing of the third-class tickets for members of The Jakmania. The together watching programs were held when Persija matched away to other city. It also used the regional coordinator organization network to reach the members.

In building communication outside and inside the organization, The Jakmania used social media, particularly Instagram, and therefore various announcements could be delivered quickly and simultaneously. Through the organization’s official Instagram The Jakmania could campaign signs that every member of The Jakmania must obey, including the rules set by the police. Socialization was also carried out the mechanisms of the organization through social media and briefings.

Moreover, in the variable of Supporters’ Conflict, it consists of the dimensions of conflict as perception, emotions, and actions. On average, the respondents stated that the conflicts were high. The hypothesis test results showed that individual motivation and identification of The Jakmania Depok simultaneously and significantly related to supporters conflict, and the relationship was strong. It meant that the formation of the social identity of The Jakmania Depok supporters related to the potential conflicts. Therefore, efforts to overcome the conflicts must be carried out through social processes around the formation of the social identity itself.

In this matter, The Jakmania seriously brought order to the organization. Conflict or destructive actions of Persija supporters definitely still existed in the period of the last two years (2017-2018). However, when it brought order to the organization, the intensity had decreased if compared to the previous four years (2012-2016) and the scale was smaller than the riots at the Stadium SUGBK on June 24, 2016. The organizational sanctions, particularly the revocation of membership cards, were considered effective enough to bring order to its members. It would make them lose their communities and did not have the opportunity to watch with their proud clubs. It is in accordance with the research of Cargile et al. (2006: 11) that the social identity is a means of increasing the self-esteem of group members, while communication is seen to play a role in shaping and expressing values and beliefs where conflicts is centered.

Furthermore, not all Persija supporters involved in the destructive actions are the members of The Jakmania. Persija supporters outside the Jakmania members do not have any membership card. It is known that the Jakmania members have the membership card and should be renewed periodically. When they watch each match it should be under the coordination of their respective regional coordinators. The Jakmania organization is not responsible for the actions of Persija supporters who are not the members.

Finally, fanaticism of football club supporters should not be viewed negatively. Efforts to build the social identity of football supporters can raise positive energy in a kind of member solidarity and participation. On the other hand, as the negative energy stimulate supporters conflicts from some members, it makes corrections from within the organization. Borrowing the term Ba-
hadir in Altungul & Karahüseyinoğlu (2017: 172), the conflict of football supporters is "extreme fanaticism", and the correction from within is "an act of love", as a form of concern for the future of their organization.

CONCLUSION
Since its early establishment, The Jakmania has built the social identity of its members as "children of Jakarta." The term has the meaning of “metropolitan children" which is not based on ethnic identity. The social identity of cross ethnicity and regionality are in accordance with the characteristics of the very heterogeneous population of Jakarta and its surroundings. The respondents of The Jakmania members in the City of Depok also had an awareness that “Persija is us" because they interpreted themselves as part of children of Jakarta without being based on ethnic identity. Betawi descent from the side of the father and mother indeed simultaneously and significantly relates to individual motivation but there is simultaneously and significantly no relationships to individual identification of The Jakmania. It means that when the respondents of the Jakmania in the City of Depok became the members of the football supporters, the ethnic factors were not considered. Therefore, after they are active in the organization, The Jakmania as the in-group identification no longer considers ethnic factors. The cross-ethnic and regional slogans definitely guide them.

The majority of members of The Jakmania from middle-to-lower socio-economic status needs entertainment and expression facilities. As members of The Jakmania they get pride as children of Jakarta. As members of The Jakmania they have a mixture of group pride and the catharsis of life pressure. Individual motivation and identification of the respondents of The Jakmania in the City of Depok simultaneously and significantly related to supporter conflict, and the relationship was strong. Finally, The Jakmania’s fanaticism have positive and negative energy, and the destructive actions also cause self-correction reactions within the organization to correct them.

In the formation of social identity of individuals there is a process of motivation, as in the explanation of Hogg & Vaughan (2010: 216) including the self-improvement and subjective uncertainty reduction. However, this category does not measure individual origins as part of the formation of social identity. For the purpose, the research on the social identity of football supporters requires the measurement of antecedent variables as the background of individual motivation, such as ethnic and regional factors. The research results indicate that the social identity of The Jakmania is cross ethnic and regionality, and therefore, for a comparison, further researches are needed to examine the formation of social identity of other football club supporters built on the basis of ethnic fanaticism. Furthermore, the cross-ethnic and regional identity that The Jakmania has built not only matches the pluralistic characteristics of the capital's population but also the diversity of Indonesian society. Therefore, the positive aspects of shaping the social identity of The Jakmania can be one of the bases to build a positive fanaticism of its football supporters for the Indonesian national football team, and it also strengthens the basis of Indonesian identity.

Finally, the organization of The Jakmania plays a role in controlling members and minimizing the conflicts of supporters. However, the current steps the organization has taken are punishment. For this reason, the Jakmania Central Board needs to implement rewards for lower levels of the hierarchy, particularly to Regional Coordinators (Korwil) as the spearhead of the organization. For example, it gives rewards to Regional Coordinators (Korwil) that have no problematic members and those with innovative programs as a channel for the creativity of the majority members, young people from the lower middle class.
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