Construction of the Jakarta International Stadium and Clientelism Practices Against the Jakmania By Anies Baswedan as Presidential Candidate for the 2024 Election

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ABSTRACT

Indonesian people on average have an interest in the world of sports, especially football, which is in the massive category. Even though the standard of football quality is below average, each club has a large number of fans. This article aims to analyze the Development of the Jakarta International Stadium and Clientelism Practices Toward The Jakmania by Anies Baswedan. The Jakarta International Stadium was a political promise made by Anies Baswedan during his candidacy for Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017, which was eventually realized in 2019. With the implementation of this development, it undoubtedly serves as Anies Baswedan's political capital in the democratic contest of 2024 as a presidential candidate. This study employs qualitative research methods with structured interviews conducted with officials and members of The Jakmania. The interviewed officials of The Jakmania include the Secretary-General and Treasurer-General, who stated that Anies Baswedan is the Governor closest to The Jakmania among his predecessors. This article also explores the impact of the Jakarta International Stadium development on Anies Baswedan's presidential candidacy. Findings indicate that the Jakarta International Stadium built by Anies Baswedan has had a positive impact in terms of The Jakmania's political perspective. The results of the research align with the theoretical framework underlying this study. This research can be used as material to evaluate the level of community participation in the decision-making process regarding stadium construction.

Keywords: Clientelism; the jakmania; Jakarta International Stadium; election.

INTRODUCTION

Simultaneous elections in 2024 will be a stage for political actors to show their capabilities in leading a state institution, both the President and Members of the People's Representatives (Irawatiningrum & Rohid, 2021; Putra et al., 2022). The election contest which will be carried out by all Indonesian people will encourage political actors to start organizing and implementing political strategies that they feel are sufficient to increase their respective popularity. In its development, the political constellation created by political actors has begun to be felt by the public a year before the democratic party in Indonesia. One of the things that sparked the escalation of the political constellation in Indonesia was the declaration of Anies Baswedan by the National Democratic Party or usually abbreviated as Nasdem as the 2024 Presidential Candidate. corruption against two Ministers who in fact were Nasdem party cadres. According to the general chairman of the Nasdem party, these two cases have indeed become quite troublesome problems. The reason is, Surya Paloh also believes that the entanglement of Nasdem cadres in corruption cases makes it difficult for the electability of the party and the presidential candidate they are promoting to increase because of public trust (Yudhy & Setiadiputra, 2017).

The practice of clientelism is very closely related to the process of socio-political phenomena, especially elections. In general, clientelism is a relationship power between political actors who act as "patrons" and the parties concerned as "clients" and is based on
giving in the form of loyalty by the recipient (Yudhy & Setiadiputra, 2017). The construction of the Jakarta International Stadium or JIS for short began in 2019, the construction of the stadium was Anies' promise to the Persija Jakarta football club. According to Misra, variations in clientelism in Indonesia are quite diverse, one of the characteristics is that candidates influence voters through imaging, providing programs or policies that are profitable for certain parties (Putra et al., 2022). This practice makes elections have their own characteristics in each contest, because there are new entities that are difficult to predict every time a democratic party is held. Indonesia has a historical record where the President from time to time has always been from the Javanese tribe, and this has created the perception that if one is not from Java then there is little chance of winning in presidential political contestations. A number of elites and political parties still use old methods to increase electability and gain massive votes in elections. These methods are ethnic approaches built on political mobilization, these variables are considered by elites to be still important to facilitate the process of approaching and gathering support for a party or candidate pair (Kelihu, 2023).

In line with the basic concept of clientelism which contains policy content, according to Gaetano Mosca, policy is the main capital for supporters. political actors or policy makers in legitimizing a person or public figure (Akib, 2014; Haerul, 2016; Mardikanto & Soebianto, 2015). With the policy output produced by policy makers, of course the policy is recorded as an achievement to strengthen political capital in contestation in any context. Not only that, Anies-Muhaimin also used JIS to carry out a big campaign on the last day of the campaign, namely February 10 2024. The stadium, which has a capacity of around 82,000, was the choice for Anies to take advantage of the opportunity on the last day of the campaign. Political communication analysts said that Anies' choice of location for the grand campaign was aimed at retaining his loyalists in Jakarta through his legacy when he served as governor of Jakarta, namely JIS (Abditumanggor, 2024).

The basic concepts of patronage and clientelism practices have actually begun to shift towards a more modern direction, considering that the needs of society also keep up with the times. The modus operandi that is often used is to take part in certain social, ethnic, group or community activities to gain a good political image in the general public with the aim of including the achievements that have been targeted at the beginning and included in the political strategy. Studies in Bangka Belitung show that patterns of patronage are transformed into gifts in the form of goods, and studies on clientelism in the city of Palembang also show that aspiration funds from incumbents are used to network clientelism with various projects and business assistance (Agus et al., 2016). If you look at existing studies, the steps taken by Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election use methods known as patron-client practices. As is known, before the campaign period began, Anies attended the Defending Palestine Action which had an action point at the National Monument. Not only that, Anies also had the opportunity to give a speech in front of the protest crowd and invite the entire community and religious leaders to take part in the action in order to defend Palestine as a form of humanitarian mission.

The practice of patron-client in this phenomenon is very clearly illustrated, because according to Scott, as quoted by, the patron-client relationship involves two parties who need each other, that is, there is one party who has a higher social position (the patron) so that he can mobilize all the resources he has. to provide protection or benefits to parties whose position is in a lower social status (clients) (Sinaga et al., 2015). With the practice of clientelism, clients who have been given protection and benefits will feel a sense of reciprocation, often by providing support and assistance from personal services to the party who provided the benefits in the first place, namely the patron. Moreover, the patron-client relationship in Indonesia is too deep-rooted since the era of colonialism in Indonesia. The relationship between patron-client is not only bound by economic aspects, but also social relations that influence one another. Patrons who are categorized as superiors have the
authority to take action in the form of policies to influence someone's actions and can potentially be suppressed therein. The social, political and cultural history of Indonesia shows that the development of this nation has always been surrounded by elements of feudalism, so that subordinately there is inequality in social stratification (Darwis, 2021). This research is important to analyze the relationship and connection between the construction of the Jakarta International Stadium, Anies Baswedan, and The Jakmania. Apart from fulfilling his political promises in 2017, the construction also served as political capital for Anies Baswedan in the democratic contest as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election.

METHODS

The object of this research is The Jakmania which specifically supports the football club in DKI Jakarta, namely, Persija Jakarta. Researchers chose The Jakmania as the research object because there is a very close connection between the construction of the Jakarta International Stadium carried out by Anies Baswedan as Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2017-2022 period and the clientelism practices carried out by Anies Baswedan as Presidential Candidate in the 2024 election. The aim of this research is to see how the relationship between the construction of the Jakarta International Stadium, the Persija Jakarta support group, namely The Jakmania, and the clientelism practices carried out by Anies Baswedan. This phenomenon is interesting to research because there is potential for patron-client practices between Anies Baswedan and The Jakmania.

The indicators in this study are the construction of the Jakarta International Stadium, The Jakmania, and Anies Baswedan. The development of the Jakarta International Stadium was one of Anies Baswedan's campaign promises in 2017, successfully realized in 2019. The stadium was specifically built for Persija and The Jakmania, who lacked a stadium after the displacement of Lebak Bulus Stadium, providing variables observable in the stadium's construction process until Anies Baswedan became a presidential candidate in the 2024 elections. In this research, The Jakmania serves as a key indicator and information source for the clientelism practices conducted by Anies Baswedan. Hence, this phenomenon is highly interesting to study due to its relevance to current socio-political conditions, often involving patron-client practices.

There are five informants in this study, including two officials and three members of The Jakmania. The officials interviewed were the Secretary General and the Treasurer General of The Jakmania. The relationship between Anies Baswedan and The Jakmania was very close, especially during Anies Baswedan's tenure as Governor of DKI Jakarta. Scott points out that the dependence between patrons and clients involves mutual needs: clients often have interests driven by concerns or their inability to achieve something beyond their capacity, while patrons bear the responsibility to meet the needs of clients or society. The status or trust can be lost if patrons fail to fulfill the interests of clients or society (Scott, 1972).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of an analysis in the field with the first source regarding the needs and interests of The Jakmania members, the informant said that The Jakmania cannot do politics, but as fans, especially supporters of football in general, apart from that, he also stated that in choosing a presidential candidate one of the considerations is who can accommodate the needs and interests of football supporters and the progress of Indonesian football. JIS is a stadium that The Jakmania missed after the Lebak Bulus stadium was demolished due to the MRT project, therefore JIS also plays a big role in influencing someone's political views or choices, especially members of The Jakmania, in determining presidential candidates. The considerations and factors that influenced his political choice of Anies Baswedan were because in terms of capacity and capability Anies Baswedan was suitable to become President as evidenced by the policies implemented by Anies Baswedan. Not only are the policies good, as a public official, Anies Baswedan is also willing to embrace and protect the mass supporter base, which has never been done before by any public
official. With what Anies did both in terms of policy and approach, of course this view influenced Arief's political choice of Anies Baswedan.

The second resource person, Zainal, has the view that the plan to build a stadium for Persija had been discussed by the Governor long before Anies Baswedan, but in the implementation process there was no bright spot in it. The 2017 regional elections became the stage for Anies to contest directly in the world of politics. In the midst of his journey to carry out the campaign at that time, one of Anies' promises was to build a football stadium for Persija and attracted quite the attention of football fans, especially The Jakmania who were concerned as supporters of Persija Jakarta. According to Zainal, while the previous Governor was unable to realize his promises, Anies was able to fulfill his promises, making Anies Baswedan get plus points as a public official. This plus point is motivated by the problem of Persija not having a stadium as a home for playing and always borrowing state stadiums or stadiums in other areas which incidentally are not in Jakarta. With the existence of the Jakarta International Stadium, Persija Jakarta has a home ground and makes Anies Baswedan's image as a public official who built JIS good among supporters of The Jakmania.

The source also revealed that the needs and interests of The Jakmania have actually been met with the existence of the JIS Stadium if it is related to the 2024 election, but problems such as permits and so on should be resolved immediately so that JIS can immediately be used by Persija Jakarta and The Jakmania. According to Zainal, as a presidential candidate, Anies Baswedan should also think about football clubs and football supporters in Indonesia as a whole because his current scope and goal is to occupy the highest position in the country. It would be unfair if all he was thinking about was Persija and The Jakmania. Other factors that influence Zainal's view of Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election are, when Anies Baswedan was Governor of DKI Jakarta at that time, DKI Jakarta Province received many awards. Apart from his membership as a member of The Jakmania and the presence of JIS which influences his political views and choices, Zainal considers that Anies Baswedan has sufficient capacity and capability compared to other presidential candidates. Emotionally, according to Zainal, Anies Baswedan also has the characteristics of a democratic leader, seen from his campaigning model in "Desak Anies" to conveying ideas in presidential candidate debates. According to Zainal, Anies Baswedan, judging from his track record, is also very good at organizing government structures from the lowest level to networking at the highest level. Of course, with all the considerations and factors that influence Zainal's view of Anies Baswedan, according to Zainal, his political choice was the right one because it was motivated by Anies Baswedan's good track record in politics and as an academic. An additional point that Zainal took into consideration was that Anies Baswedan had extensive knowledge regarding human resource development through the field of education. With all the degrees obtained by Anies Baswedan in the field of education, Anies Baswedan has sufficient experience in how human resource development should be carried out. According to Zainal, Anies Baswedan is relatively new to the realm of politics in Indonesia and is not a member of a political party.

The former General Chair of The Jakmania, Ferry Paulus, has also said that Persija and The Jakmania, from the sub-coordinator, regional coordinator, to the central management level, are not allowed to interfere in any political affairs or interests, whether elections or other democratic contestations. But what Tara saw in reality was that there were still The Jakmania administrators who were nominating themselves as members of parliament in Jakarta, and did not rule out their interests being infiltrated by the interests of the party concerned. The administrator that Tara is referring to is Bung Irlan, General Chair of The Jakmania Hardline. Bung Irlan himself is also a member of the Prosperous Justice Party and in the 2024 election is running as a legislative member of the Jakarta DPRD. According to Tara, of course there is a connection and influence between the candidacy of Bung Irlan and Anies Baswedan as presidential candidates on The Jakmania, especially the Prosperous Justice Party which is one of the parties supporting Anies Baswedan in the 2024 election. Tara also said that as far as she knows, the Hard Line which is supported by
The Jakmania and chaired by Bung Irlan had one vote to support Anies Baswedan as President. This was influenced by the decision of the General Chairperson of The Jakmania Hardline, namely Bung Irlan. Even though there is a General Chairperson of The Jakmania, the members of the Hardline Group more closely follow the political choices of the General Chairperson.

Typologically, Garis Keras is known to be more fanatical than the usual members of The Jakmania because, during the member recruitment stage, there is a supporter orientation period and in it there are activities whose aim is to create bonds between members. Therefore, when there is a view or choice, the Hardline members choose to adhere to an instruction or direction from the General Chairman of the Hardline himself. In contrast to the General Chair of The Jakmania, Diky Soemarno, he once said in his personal Instagram story that The Jakmania would not participate in political contestation in the 2024 election, and Diky also freed all its members to have any political views and vote for any presidential candidate. Tara said that why Diky made a statement like that was because until now the Jakarta International Stadium still had minimal impact on Persija and The Jakmania, especially problems regarding permits for use for matches. Finally, the researcher found findings in the form of various questions arising from members of The Jakmania regarding the construction of the Jakarta International Stadium, whether it was genuinely intended as a home for Persija and The Jakmania or solely for political purposes. Several cases demonstrate that since the construction of JIS until today, Persija has never played a match at JIS as their "home" stadium, and instead continues to use other stadiums. However, JIS has been used several times for concerts and even for campaign events during Anies Baswedan's tenure.

The next resource person interviewed was Muhammad Aditya Putra as General Secretary of The Jakmania. As General Secretary of The Jakmania, Adit stated that during the 2024 election contestation, the central management of The Jakmania had absolutely no closeness to Anies Baswedan. Different from previous years, of course The Jakmania's closeness to Anies Baswedan was very close because at that time Anies Baswedan was serving as Governor. According to Adit, this is very natural because this closeness is purely a relationship between the Regional Head and The Jakmania organization. When Anies Baswedan finished becoming Governor, namely in 2022, Adit said that there would no longer be any communication between The Jakmania and Anies Baswedan. According to Adit, this lack of communication is normal, because on the other hand, The Jakmania no longer has any business with Anies Baswedan, who was no longer serving as Governor of DKI Jakarta at that time, so The Jakmania's communication shifted to the next Regional Head concerned, namely, Heru Budi. According to Adit, the Jakarta International Stadium is not the main medium for closeness between Anies Baswedan and The Jakmania. Compared to previous Governors, Adit admitted that the communication between The Jakmania and the Regional Head concerned was one of the best communications. Apart from Anies Baswedan, according to Adit, good communication and relations between The Jakmania and regional heads also occurred during the Sutiyoso era as Governor. After Sutiyoso, at that time the Governor was Fauzi Bowo, during the Governor's era, however, it was not more intense with Sutiyoso who went directly to the children of The Jakmania, in the sense that he really paid attention and also watched Persija matches several times. Even though at that time Adit was not yet an administrator, Adit knew the differences in communication patterns and relationships between The Jakmania and the regional heads concerned in his time. Adit said that the closeness and relationship between Persija Jakarta supporters, namely The Jakmania, and the Regional Head was actually very intense in the era when Anies Baswedan served as Governor, because the management's communication with Anies Baswedan was very smooth. This was once again emphasized by Adit as General Secretary of The Jakmania that the main medium of closeness between The Jakmania and Anies Baswedan was not the Jakarta International Stadium but rather the communication pattern built by Anies Baswedan himself. Adit also said that The Jakmania is always open to whoever the Regional Head is, but the one who is very enthusiastic about it is Anies Baswedan.
According to Adit, as a manager his closeness to Anies Baswedan does not affect his political views towards Anies Baswedan, but personally Adit has more attention towards Anies Baswedan as a Presidential Candidate. According to Adit, this is because it is influenced by several factors, one of which is Anies Baswedan as the only presidential candidate who rejects the development of IKN. Adit, who currently also works as a State Civil Apparatus for the Central Government, emphasized that Adit is one of the ASNs who is not pro towards IKN development, and having a presidential candidate who brings this idea is in line with Adit's political views. According to Adit, as a State Civil Apparatus which is also an executive institution in a country, it must undergo change, and the one who brought the jargon "change" is Anies Baswedan. As the administrator of The Jakmania, Adit said that in the 2024 election contest, as a football supporter, Adit is interested in 3 candidate pairs. Adit said that whoever the President is elected, communication between football supporters, especially in this case The Jakmani, must be smooth. If The Jakmania in the 2024 election contestation sides with one of the candidates, it is feared that there will be sensitivity between The Jakmania and the other two candidate pairs. If, for example, a candidate pair supported by The Jakmania loses, they will potentially experience difficulties in licensing and so on. Therefore, The Jakmania as an organization in the sports sector, especially football, does not take this step of taking sides. Adit underlined that whoever the President is elected in the future, must be able to guarantee that Persija is safe in all conditions, both in terms of licensing and other matters relating to Persija Jakarta and The Jakmania. Adit also said that The Jakmania is not allowed to be mobilized for political purposes and is stated in the Articles of Association and Bylaws of The Jakmania itself. However, Adit explained that the political views and choices of each member are also free in democratic contestations.

The next resource person interviewed was Brian Adam as General Treasurer of The Jakmania. Brian served as General Treasurer of The Jakmania starting last year. Previously, Brian served as Regional Coordinator for Pondok Pinang but resigned on June 18 2023. Previously, when Brian was Regional Coordinator, Brian met Anies Baswedan too often, but he met and exchanged words several times. Who? This meeting was indeed caused by the relationship between The Jakmania management and the relevant provincial government officials and this was normal and was often carried out by The Jakmania as football supporters of DKI Jakarta Province at that time. After serving as General Treasurer starting last year, Brian has never met Anies Baswedan at all, because according to Brian, in 2023 Anies Baswedan will no longer serve as Governor so communication and coordination will no longer be with him. Especially during the year of contestation, namely 2024, Brian also never met or opened any communication with Anies Baswedan because he was busy being a Presidential Candidate, and according to Brian there was no correlation. The Jakmania's closeness to Anies Baswedan can of course be said to be partly influenced by the Jakarta International Stadium, because during the 2017 regional elections, Anies Baswedan promised to build a stadium for the DKI Jakarta Province football club, namely Persija Jakarta. With the background that Persija Jakarta does not have a stadium after the Lebak Bulus stadium was demolished, of course this was welcomed by fans and supporters of the DKI Jakarta football club. In particular, Anies Baswedan won the 2017 regional elections and 2 years later, namely in 2019, Anies Baswedan succeeded in realizing the construction of a stadium for Persija Jakarta. If Brian positions himself as an administrator, his political views towards Anies Baswedan are not influenced by his closeness because he never met or exchanged greetings during the 2024 election contestation or when Brian was General Treasurer of The Jakmania.

However, personally, Brian's political views lean towards presidential candidate Anies Baswedan. These political views are influenced by Anies Baswedan's track record while serving as Governor of DKI Jakarta and one of them is also influenced by the construction of the Jakarta International Stadium. Brian stated as General Treasurer of The Jakmania that if The Jakmania sides with one of the candidate pairs, there are several potentials that will harm Persija Jakarta and The Jakmania in the long term. Currently, it is difficult for Persija Jakarta to get permission to play in their own city, plus the Jakarta International Stadium cannot be used by Persija Jakarta.
until now because it conflicts with political agendas. When talking about the Jakarta International
Stadium, Brian described that the existence of this stadium was very welcomed by Persija Jakarta
and The Jakmania, because there was no longer a need to board other clubs' stadiums which were
actually outside of the Jakarta Province itself. According to Brian personally, the Jakarta
International Stadium influenced his political choices during the 2024 election contestation
because it was one of the factors considered in determining his political choices. Another factor
that was taken into consideration and according to Brian was a plus point for Anies Baswedan,
namely that communication with The Jakmania was very intense when he was Governor at that
time, then also when he was a presidential candidate Anies Baswedan was able to convey his
ideas to the public very well. Because according to Brian, public speaking is also the main key
for leaders to transfer their knowledge, ideas and concepts to the wider community.

Discussion

The 2024 election contestation which was held on February 14 illustrates how the role of each
existing interest group has quite a significant influence on the vote acquisition for each
presidential candidate. The Jakmania, which has a fairly close relationship with Anies Baswedan,
makes everyone's expectations assume that The Jakmania as a whole supports Anies Baswedan
as a presidential candidate, even going so far as to vote for him in the voting booth. The number
of members of The Jakmania at the last count in 2023 was 122 thousand and had 98 regional
coordinators or bureaus spread throughout Indonesia and even abroad. Indonesian people on
average have an interest in the world of sports, especially football, which is in the massive
category. Even though the standard of football quality is below average, each club has a large
number of fans. The Jakmania ranks first with the largest number of football supporters in
Indonesia and is followed by Bobotoh in second place (Esa Perdana, 2018). Thus, it is not
uncommon for football clubs and their fans to be politicized by political actors to achieve the
interests of these political actors and even gain votes for the political actors concerned. If it is
related to the real phenomenon in 2024, the public will look at what factors can be considered
when viewing the political actors in the contest so that it falls on the choice of one candidate pair.
The easiest thing is to look at what policies the three pairs of candidates have implemented in
government positions before they ran for President. Anies Baswedan as candidate pair number 1,
has a "legacy" in the form of an international standard stadium, namely the Jakarta International
Stadium or abbreviated as JIS. This stadium was Anies Baswedan's promise to Persija and The
Jakmania during the 2017 gubernatorial election campaign against Ahok. In fact, since Fauzi
Bowo's tenure as Governor of Jakarta there has been a plan related to the policy of building a
stadium for Persija called the BMW Stadium, but it has been hampered by land disputes
(Sukmawati, 2022). Seeing the development of stadium construction for Persija and The
Jakmania, this could only be realized in the era when Anies Baswedan became Governor because
of the urgency, Persija and The Jakmania did not have a "home" to play in after the Lebak Bulus
stadium was demolished for the construction of the MRT in 2012. This phenomenon became a
point It is an interesting discussion to be discussed and researched comprehensively because, after
a long wait, Persija and The Jakmania do not have a "home" but Anies took office and realized
this concern. This research discusses how The Jakmania members responded to the candidacy of
Anies Baswedan, who in fact is a public official who is capable and successful in realizing the
construction of a stadium for Persija and The Jakmania and advancing in the democratic
contestation as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election. According to Keith, theories
regarding patron-client relationships or clientelism practices are influenced by the backgrounds
of both patrons and clients. Patrons possess substantial resources and access across various
domains, which facilitates accommodating the interests of groups (Keith, 1983). Conversely,
clients lack sufficient resources to achieve their own interests independently and thus require
assistance from others to realize those interests.
Apart from having the largest mass base of supporters in Indonesia, in terms of organizational or community management, it can be said that The Jakmania is also one of the supporters with the most organized managerial organizational structure among the others (Aziz et al., 2022). In its organizational system, The Jakmania has a structure, namely, General Chairman, General Secretary, General Treasurer, Chairman I, Chairman II, and Chairman III. Chairman I oversees the Information and Communication Sector, Research and Development Sector, and the Legal Sector. Chairman II supervises the Regional Coordinator, Field Coordinator, Registration Division, Inventory Archives Division, and Ticketing Division. Meanwhile, Chairman III is in charge of the Events and Merchandise Division. Having structured management makes it easy for The Jakmania to carry out all its affairs, because the existing management already has their respective responsibilities and main functions. Every member of The Jakmania has an identity in the form of a Membership Identification Card which is registered with each relevant Regional Coordinator based on domicile. The Membership Identification Card legitimizes that every person who has this identity is the responsibility of The Jakmania management, whether in terms of behavior or anything related to supporter activities. However, Persija also has fans who do not have a Membership Card, but also have the same right to label themselves as The Jakmania and watch or support Persija when playing a match. With a large and structured mass base, The Jakmania represents a community of football enthusiasts who naturally have specific interests, particularly within the realm of football. Following the displacement of Lebak Bulus Stadium, The Jakmania and Persija certainly have an interest in having their own stadium as a home for the football club. This is a common scenario when viewed through the lens of patron-client theory or clientelism practices. In this research context, Anies Baswedan as the patron possesses sufficient resources to accommodate aspirations and realize the interests of a group like The Jakmania (Suprihatin, 2002).

At that time Jokowi-Ahok also wanted to continue the policy of building the stadium, and the area was named BMW Park, which stands for Clean, Human and Distinguished Park. The construction of the stadium has passed the groundbreaking or first stone laying stage. This is of course eagerly awaited by Persija and The Jakmania because the Lebak Bulus stadium has gone through the eviction process for the MRT project. The Jakmania members only felt the real impact of the policies of the Governor of DKI Jakarta during the Anies era, and JIS became one of the factors in the policies and actions related to Persija and The Jakmania. The Jakmania had a very close relationship with Anies Baswedan, especially during his tenure as Governor of DKI Jakarta. Anies Baswedan facilitated several permits for The Jakmania to use state-owned facilities, such as allowing them to use Gelora Bung Karno for the 2018 final match. The leaders of The Jakmania also stated that Anies Baswedan was the closest Governor they had interacted with. The intense relationship between patron and client indeed had a high intensity because both parties needed each other.

CONCLUSION

The practice of clientelism carried out by Anies Baswedan greatly affected The Jakmania's response during the 2024 election. The Jakarta International Stadium did not play a major role in The Jakmania's support for Anies Baswedan, despite the fact that The Jakmania's leadership allowed its members to freely choose their political preferences without any special direction. The political choices of The Jakmania members vary individually, so some members do not support Anies Baswedan. The intense relationship between Anies Baswedan and The Jakmania is
certainly a key factor considered by the Jakmania, especially since Anies Baswedan has helped several things or interests of the Jakmania. The Jakmania not only considers the intensity of the relationship with Anies Baswedan but also other factors in assessing him. Among them are Anies Baswedan's policies during his tenure as Governor, the achievements of DKI Jakarta at that time, and the urban planning initiatives implemented by Anies Baswedan. Jakmania, as an interest group, does not have enough resources to access the desired avenue, hence they are referred to as clients. Meanwhile, Anies Baswedan, with substantial access and networks, is able to help and accommodate the aspirations of interest groups that struggle with access, so he is referred to as a patron. Therefore, the relationship between patron and client is characterized as clientelism, a practice in which both parties have needs and interests that must be met.

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