



The Representation Ahok's Leadership Style in *The Jakarta Post* News: Critical Discourse Analysis

Novia Resti Junaidi^{a1}, Endry Boeriswati^{b2}, Liliana Muliastuti^{b3}

^aSTKIP PGRI Ngawi, Indonesia

^bUniversitas Negeri Jakarta, Indonesia

¹novia.resti@yahoo.com; ²endry.boeriswati@unj.ac.id; ³liliana.muliastuti@unj.ac.id

Article info

A B S T R A C T

Article history:

Received: 31-01-2018

Revised : 18-06-2018

Accepted: 28-06-2018

This study aims to determine Ahok's leadership style in *The Jakarta Post* news of 2014-2015 editions. This is a qualitative research using a critical discourse analysis based on the Norman Fairclough's model. In this research the ideology is analyzed in terms of discursive and socio-cultural practices in the news. The research was analysed by finding out ideologies in discourse practices including texts production, ideologies, socio-cultural practices and attention to social cultural aspects. Leadership theories used in this research range from autocratic, democratic, liberal, bureaucratic to situational leadership styles. The research results show Ahok's dominant autocratic leadership style in *The Jakarta Post* news of 2014-2015 editions. As *The Jakarta Post* was not neutral in fostering the ideology, many authors supported Ahok's leadership ideology in the news. The socio-cultural practices delineate that Ahok's autocratic leadership style and policies as a governor are unsuitable with socio-cultural spheres in Indonesia. Therefore, his leadership style got more contrast than pros from the public. This research is expectedly useful for learners and readers in understanding and analyzing hidden intentions in a discourse, especially to open up the ideology of a leader.

Keywords:

hermeneutic

heuristic

matrix

semiotic

poetry

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menentukan gaya kepemimpinan Ahok dalam berita *The Jakarta Post* edisi 2014-2015. Penelitian kualitatif ini menggunakan analisis wacana kritis berdasarkan model Norman Fairclough. Dalam penelitian ini ideologi dianalisis dalam bentuk praktik diskursif dan sosial budaya yang terdapat dalam berita. Penelitian ini dianalisis dengan mencari ideologi yang dalam praktik diskursus termasuk produksi teks, ideologi, praktik sosial budaya, dan perhatian terhadap aspek sosial budaya. Teori kepemimpinan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini terdiri atas gaya kepemimpinan otokratis, demokratis, liberal, birokratis dan situasional. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan gaya kepemimpinan otokratik Ahok yang dominan dalam berita *The Jakarta Post* edisi 2014-2015. Karena *The Jakarta Post* tidak netral dalam mengembangkan ide-ide ideologis, banyak penulis yang mendukung ideologi kepemimpinan Ahok yang tertuang dalam berita. Praktik-praktik sosial budaya menunjukkan bahwa gaya kepemimpinan dan kebijakan Ahok yang otokratis tidak sesuai dengan lingkup sosial budaya di Indonesia. Karena itu, gaya kepemimpinannya mendapat lebih banyak kontradiksi daripada penerimaan di kalangan masyarakat. Penelitian ini diharapkan bermanfaat bagi para peserta didik dan pembaca dalam memahami dan menganalisis niat terselubung dalam suatu wacana, terutama untuk membuka tabir ideologi seorang pemimpin.

Copyright © 2018 Institut Agama Islam Negeri Syekh Nurjati Cirebon.

All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

Leadership is an interesting topic to study because it has significant impacts on a person's leadership experience toward his or her subordinates, people around him or her, wider community, and general public. Leadership reflects a leader's attitudes, behaviors, words, ideologies and thoughts that spread or distribute through various media, whether spoken or written discourses, printed or online media.



Associated with the ideology of a leader spread in various media, this research intends to examine the ideology of Ahok's leadership style in a written discourse (news). The data of research contain Ahok's leadership style. Ahok is the object of this research because he got many pros and cons in issuing policies and playing a role as a governor. Many people think that Ahok's leadership style is too harsh and does not represent the majority of Jakarta citizens. Conversely, people support him because of his discipline and assertiveness in carrying out duties.

Ahok's leadership style is inseparable from the publication of his job-related activities in various mass media in the form of printed and online media platforms. A wide variety of mass media plays an important role in disseminating emerging issues, one of which is the news about Ahok on the online media of *The Jakarta Post* of 2014-2015 editions.

This study outlines Ahok's leadership ideology in the news using Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis to examine Ahok's leadership ideology thoroughly. Fairclough's model focuses greatly on the language as a power practice to see how language users foster certain ideological values within a thorough analysis. This discourse analysis emphasizes how the language is formed and shaped by social relations and specific social contexts (Budiwati, 2011). Fairclough shares a discourse analysis in three dimensions, namely text structure, discourse practice, and social practice (Fairclough, 1995). However, from these three dimensions, this research only uses discourse and socio-cultural practices. In conclusion, this research attempts to investigate and criticize news on the ideology of Ahok's leadership as the Governor of the Special Capital Region (DKI) of Jakarta published by *The Jakarta Post* of 2014-2015 editions using a critical discourse analysis.

News

News is a type of discourse that contains a variety of information concerning education, politics, religion, economy, and other related fields. News also describes actual events and hot issues that happen in the real world. "A news item or news report is a text or discourse on radio, on TV or in the newspaper, in which new information is given about recent events" (van Dijk, 1988).

Although news contains information about the latest actual events, the truth about the actuality of the event is still in doubt. That is why the written news is usually influenced by



certain things. One of them is the author's subjectivity of the news itself. It makes the author less objective in constructing the news.

"News is not a reflection of actual events; it is construction by news workers who are subjected to many influences and constraints. News workers cannot be objective so they try for the goal of being balanced. However, careful analyses of the news indicate that most stories are not balanced (Lado, 2014). In addition, in a particular event, the author can manipulate the reader/public about an event (Sobur, 2012). Thus, the writer's manipulation of the reader may result in the readers' misinterpretation of the news that they read. Readers will be easily affected and they assume that the news they read is true.

In this sense, the news is evidently a discourse that contains information about the events that have just happened. The facts-enriched information behind this truism is still in doubt because of the element of the author's subjectivity in constructing the news. To overcome this, the reader should be critical in responding to the information in the news (Maghvira, 2017).

Ideology of Leadership

An ideology is a specific set of beliefs and assumptions people have about things such as what is good and bad, what is right and wrong, and what is normal and abnormal. In some respects, ideologies help to create a shared worldview and sense of purpose among people in a particular group (Jones, 2012). Therefore, ideology is rich in assumption, view, or belief of people about good or bad things. An ideology is also the result of ideas that have been organized to inculcate certain values and goals.

Leaders as holders of power have various purposes and certain leadership ideologies. According to Khan et al., in their article entitled "The Styles of Leadership: A Critical Review", there are 5 leadership styles, namely autocratic, democratic, laissez faire (liberal), bureaucratic and situational (Khan et al., 2015). In fact, a leadership style is the idea or the outcome of an organized leader who has certain values and purposes. The ideology is generally used to influence society. The ideology of leadership can be autocratic, democratic, liberal, bureaucratic, and situational depending on how the leadership ideology is spread in different discourses and distributed to the public in order to influence the community as the object of the process of spreading the discourse.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Some experts define critical discourse analysis differently. According to van Dijk, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily



studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (van Dijk, 2008). Meanwhile, Lock point out that critical discourse analysis (CDA) is concerned with the ways in which the power relations produced by discourse are maintained and/or challenged through texts and the practices which affect their production, reception and dissemination (Locke, 2004).

Several models of critical discourse analysis are classified as critical discourse analysis models of Norman Fairclough, Teun A. Van Dijk, Roger Fowler et al., Theo Van Leeuwen, and Sara Mills. This research uses Norman Fairclough’s model which analyzes discourse through three dimensions, namely: 1) text, 2) the practice of discourse, 3) socio-cultural practice (Fairclough, 1995). In this study, the dimension used is only discursive and sociocultural practices.

METHODE

As a qualitative research of content analysis type, a critical discourse analysis was used to scrutinize the data. In terms of the data collection technique, documentation has played an important role in collecting the news that contain Ahok’s leadership style. The data were taken from 32 news related to Ahok’s leadership style from November 2014 to December 2015 published in *The Jakarta Post* website. Discursive and socio-cultural practices were used to investigate the data that have related the findings and ideological leadership theories.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section elaborates the findings and discussions that represent the ideology of Ahok’s leadership in the news published by *The Jakarta Post* of 2014-2015 editions. This ideological representation is based significantly on the discursive and socio-cultural practices, as follows:

Ideology based on Discursive Practices

This section contains findings based on discursive practices of the news in *The Jakarta Post* website. The dimension of discourse practices is a process of producing, distributing, and consuming text. Therefore, this study only discusses the production of Ahok’s leadership news on *The Jakarta Post* website of 2014-2015 editions. In this case, there is a relationship between the process of discourse and news.



The production of the news shows the authors' background and the relationship between the media and their positions in the media, how they got the news (whether by interview, intertextual data from various sources, or based on their own/personal assumption/opinion), and how the authors' ideology on the news can be categorized considerably (whether supportive, opposite, or neutral). The following is a table of findings about the authors' backgrounds and positions in the media:

Table 1: The Authors' Backgrounds and Positions in The Media

No	Authors' Names	Identities of Authors	News	Total News
1	Corry Elyda	Journalist at PT Bina Media Tenggara, the publisher of <i>The Jakarta Post</i> . Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Indonesia	1, 5, 17, 23, 26, 27	6
2	Dewanti A. Wardhani	M.Sc. Candidate at Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands Informing the public of the city's current issues through a comprehensive writing.	2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17, 20, 21, 27	10
3	Indra Budiyari	Job Desc: -Collect, verify and analyze information and data -Follow current event and always look for newsworthy news -Write and deliver stories to improve the readers' understanding -Cooperate with other reporters and editors in the newsroom Experiences: - a reporter of City desk at <i>The Jakarta Post</i> and cover various issues related to Greater Jakarta. - involved in investigative reporting on eviction and relocation in Jakarta and had been given the trust to cover important issues based on my news judgement. - online desk reporter in which I was in charge of making news judgement that would get published in <i>The Jakarta Post</i> online site. Reporter at <i>The Jakarta Post</i> Universitas Indonesia (UI), Indonesia	4, 25	2
4	Andina Dwi Fatma	The writer is a lecturer in the School of Communication, Atma Jaya Catholic University, Jakarta. She co-founded a long-formed journalism website, panajournal.com Managing Editor at PanaJournal.com Universitas Indonesia (UI), Indonesia	6	1
5	Julia Surya Kusuma	Columnist, contributor at <i>The Jakarta Post</i> Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands	8	1
6	Enggar Ferry Wibowo Sugiharto	The writer is an alumnus of the 2014 American Council of Young Political Leaders Exchange Program in Washington DC, Alabama and Minnesota. The above views are personal.	13	1
7	Evi Mariani Sofian	Editor of <i>The Jakarta Post</i> A scholar in political science and mass communication (UGM), Indonesia She constructed the news with other authors. They are Ratna A. Dewanti dan Corry Elyda about the interview results with Ahok.	27	1
8	Edna Tarigan	Reporter for Mainichi Shimbun Jakarta Bureau and Travel Blogger at edededan.com Gathering news and writing the articles, then doing the networking things related to the news sources.	31	1
9	<i>The Jakarta Post</i>	<i>The Jakarta Post</i> institution There is no specific information about the author	12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32	12
Total				32



Table 1 shows that the news in *The Jakarta Post* was written and constructed by various journalists. From 32 news that became the research data, 8-9 authors have different backgrounds, but 1 author from the institution of *The Jakarta Post* itself has no specific information about his or her background. The most widely published news is from *The Jakarta Post* agency, which is not accompanied by the specific identity of the author.

Ratna A. Dewanti as a journalist of *The Jakarta Post* reported 10 news consisting of 8 news constructed by herself and the other 2 news constructed with other writers. Corry Elyda as a media journalist of PT Bina Media Southeast, a publisher of *The Jakarta Post* reported 6 news consisting of 4 news constructed by herself and the other 2 news constructed with other writers. Indra Budiari as a reporter of *The Jakarta Post* reported 2 news. Andina Dwi Fatma as a lecturer at Atma Jaya Catholic University's communication school and PanaJournal.com's Editor's Editor published 1 news. Julia Suryakusuma as a columnist and contributor at *The Jakarta Post* reported 1 news. Enggar Ferry Wibowo Sugiharto as an alumnus of the American Council of Young Political Leaders Exchange Program in Washington, DC, Alabama and Minnesota in 2014 reported a new that contains his personal views on Ahok. Evi Mariani Sofian as an editor of *The Jakarta Post* and alumni of Political Science and Mass Communication (UGM) published 1 news together with other writers, Ratna A. Dewanti and Corry Elyda about the result of interview with Ahok. Edna Tarigan as reporter for Mainichi Shimbun Jakarta Bureau and Travel Blogger at edededan.com reported 1 news.

The following table is concerned with the ways the authors get and construct the news:

Table 2: How The Authors Get and Construct The News

The ways of getting and constructions the news	News	Total	Percentage
Based on intertextualities from various sources	1,2,3,4,5,7,8,10,11,14,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,28, 29,30,31,32	26	81.25%
Based on the result of interview	27	1	3.12%
Based on the personal views, thoughts, opinions, or assumptions of the authors themselves	6, 9, 12, 13, 15,	5	15.63
Total		32	100%

Table 2 evidently denotes the ways the authors get the news. In general, the authors get news based on intertextualities of the information from various sources. The information related to Ahok in the news construction is about 81.25%. Around 15.63% of the news is also constructed based on the author's personal thoughts, assumptions, and



points of view in line with the characters or events reported. News obtained through the results of direct interviews with Ahok is approximately 3.12%. Thus, the news is dominantly obtained and constructed based on the information from various sources. This fact shows that, generally speaking, the coverage of Ahok in *The Jakarta Post* webpage is rich in information and ideology because of the large amount of information from various sources involved in the construction of news.

The authors' personal ideologies in the news about Ahok leadership also are important in the production of news whether or not the authors' positions are supportive, neutral, or oppose to Ahok. Here is a table of the authors' ideologies toward Ahok's leadership style:

Table 3: Authors' Ideologies toward Ahok's Leadership Style

Authors' Ideologies	News	Total	Percentage
Supportive	2,5,6,8,9,11,12,13, 14,18,20,22,24,25,26, 27, 28,30,31,32	20	62.5%
Neutral	1,3,4,10,17	5	15.6%
Opposite	7,15,16,19, 21,23,29	7	21.9%
Total		32	100

Table 3 shows the authors' ideologies toward Ahok's leadership style. The highest percentage of the ideological side that supports Ahok's leadership style is about 62.5%. The ideology opposite to Ahok's leadership style is about 21.9%. A neutral ideology is about 15.6%. From these findings, it is clear that the authors' ideologies on the discourse practice tend to support Ahok's leadership style evidently indicated by the highest percentage of ideology among the others.

The findings highlight an ideological representation of discourse practices that can only be seen from production points of view. The ideology can be represented differently because the news construction for Ahok's leadership style in *The Jakarta Post* website involves various authors/writers who have their own backgrounds, ideologies and ways of producing or constructing the news. Each author constructs news about the pros and cons that occurred during his tenure of leadership since he was first inaugurated as a governor from November 2014 to 2015. The ideology depicted in the news is rich in information because, in general, the authors involve various kinds of resources in constructing the news. Mostly, the authors' ideologies support Ahok's leadership style. This is evidenced by the percentage of ideology that supports the highest percentage of 62.5% among the other percentages. As a result, the ideology in *The Jakarta Post* editions toward Ahok's



leadership style is not neutral because the news in the media is not only a representation of events in reality, but also contains values of the media institutions that make it (Darma, 2009:10).

Ideology based on Socio-cultural Practices

This section contains contexts outside the internal elements in constructing news from various events. This is in accordance with Fairclough's opinion which describes three different levels of a social organization, namely the context of situations, institutions, and larger social contexts (Fairclough, 1995:134). However, this study only discusses the ideological representation in Ahok's leadership style news seen from the socio-cultural context. The ideological findings in the socio-cultural practices of the 32 Ahok-related news are elaborated further, as follows:

Ideology against controversial minimum wage increases

The ideology in the first news is mainly concerned with minimum wages of workers. This issue is chosen by the author because the increase in the minimum wage of workers is a very influential thing for both the workers and the company. It was an initial decision made by Ahok when he was newly appointed as a governor. The reporting of the decision-making was based on the situation in Indonesia at that time whereas there was a reduction in fuel subsidy which would certainly affect other sectors so that the minimum wage set at that time would not be enough to meet the needs of the people. The increase in wages is expected to anticipate the bad conditions in the next year (2015). The decision on the wage increase poses difficulties for companies facing financial problems. On the other hand, it also received protests from workers who considered that the wage increase was insufficient and would not be able to meet substantial costs or needs in the upcoming years.

Ideology on urban budget case

News that has an association with this ideology is the second, third, fourth, and fifth news. This news based on the worst situation happened between the Ahok and the city council. The existence of a dispute over the corruption case of Jakarta's budget was marked by a riot at the meeting between Ahok and city council, a situation in which both parties accused each other and attacked, and reported each other to pursue legal processes between both parties. The case of the budget also raised Ahok's popularity in society. This case is related to the state of Indonesia which has a high level of corruption, which mainly occurs among officials and the system of government



Ideology about Ahok's personality as a new leader and hope for Indonesia

This ideology in the sixth news is motivated by the author's opinion that openly supports Ahok's leadership style. The author constructs the news based on his perception of the warming-up situation at the time, namely the case of the saga budget. Ahok considered transparent, assertive, bluntly, and dare to eradicate corruption. The author compares Ahok's leadership style with Jokowi's as a former governor. The news expressing Jokowi's humility is the best quality and incomparable in the lead. Ahok's character is inversely proportional to Jokowi's, but he is still popular in the society because of his commitment to eradicate corruption. The writer who is a lecturer at Atma Jaya Catholic University presents the facts about Ahok's controversial leadership with his harsh nature, but as one of Ahok's supporters, he also shows his allegiance to Ahok at the end of the news by praising Ahok's commitment to combat corruption.

The ideology of urban council resistance against Ahok

The ideology depicted in the seventh news is based on the dissatisfaction of the council members on Ahok's allegations regarding the corruption of the city budget to them. The situation is getting heated up the legal path. Council members attacked Ahok by giving the results of their investigation and found that Ahok had violated several rules on state finances, local government, government regulations, local financial management, ethics and norms as regional leaders.

Ideology about Ahok's rude behavior, temperament, and likes to say dirty words, and controversy

This ideology is depicted in the eighth news. The nature of Ahok who likes to use dirty or rough language is described as words of potty mouth (a *toilet* language). It is based on the fact happening in the field where Ahok is temperamental. When he is angry, he likes to say harshly and wearing words of curses that should not be issued by a leader. Attitudes and behaviors of roughly assessed leaders are not in accordance with the leadership style in Indonesia that embraces a fair and civilized ideology of *Pancasila*, whereas Indonesia highly upholds values of decency, civilization, good behaviors and politeness.

Conversely, there is an author who ignores the nature and behavior of Ahok in the news. He lends to support Ahok who dares to fight against corruption. This associated fact happened when Ahok openly declared the city budget corruption by the council members. In this case, the authors of *The Jakarta Post* are more supportive toward the nature of Ahok in facing anti-corruption and ignorance of ethics.



The news presents the opinions of speakers that support Ahok. The informant states that Ahok's main opposition to ethnicity and his religion is just another factor of harsh nature. Religion becomes the main element of rejection toward Ahok in the news because the existence of opposition is from the Indonesian Muslims, especially the hard-line Islam Defenders Front (FPI) organizations that require Muslim leaders to lead the capital city, Jakarta. The speakers also compared Ahok with the former governor who also had a personality like Ahok who likely said dirty words when angry and had a controversial policy, but he was popular for his efforts to overcome problems in Jakarta. At the end of the news, the author continues to support Ahok by inviting readers to assess or criticize Ahok based on his performance rather than aspects of his behaviors.

Ahok's ideology of prostitution and plans to legalize it

The ideology is depicted in the ninth and tenth news. The inevitable prostitution mushrooming all over the place became the hot news at the time. It was based on an online prostitution case that revealed the controversy at the time. In this news, Ahok's advice to legalize prostitution in certain places of course gets a lot of disagreements, especially Ahok's suggestion to legalize the prostitution in certain places meaning that the governor validated and allowed something negative. In Indonesia, the majority of people are Muslims so that the prostitution is "haram". The news becomes sensitive and controversial among Indonesians because prostitution is negative and contrary to religions.

Ideology of road charges and tender fees

The eleventh news is related to the enterprise resource planning (ERP) tender or roadway pricing system. The enterprise resource planning (ERP) is one of the government programs to restrict private vehicles in the capital that are stalled due to certain matters of legal, technological and lack of public transport. The enterprise resource planning (ERP) systems impose charges on motorists who own private vehicles and are controversial because these charges will be greater if the vehicle riders pass the enterprise resource planning (ERP) gantry more and more. The enterprise resource planning (ERP) aims at suppressing motorists who use private vehicles so much that they switch to the public transport. The implementation of the enterprise resource planning (ERP) tenders is motivated by the fact that congestion is one of the main problems in the capital.



The ideology of immigrant criteria allowed to settle in Jakarta

The twelfth news is related to people who are not native residents of Jakarta but are allowed to live in the capital city. This news is motivated by a number of immigrants who live in Jakarta every year especially after *Idul Fitri*. The only people Ahok allowed to stay in Jakarta were the rich and the housemaid. This is motivated by Ahok who wants to promote Jakarta by accepting people who can give benefits to Jakarta in terms of a person's materials or performances. He does not want to accept immigrants who are just a burden that will not benefit the area he leads.

Ideology about Ahok's character and leadership and hope for the future

The ideology in the thirteenth news mainly delineates the nature and leadership style of Ahok and the author's prediction about the lunge that will be done by Ahok for the next few years. This news is related to the writer's personal view of Ahok's controversy both from the nature, attitude, leadership, religion, ethnicity, and performance. This news is also motivated by the support and hope of the author on Ahok in which the author supports Ahok's leadership style and hopes that Ahok can be elected as the governor again or can serve as a president.

Ideology about cases of evictions and protests of Kampung Susun residents

The ideology is in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth news. The existence of forced evictions tainted by riots, the lack of compensation for evicted citizens, and citizens' protests against evictions made Ahok rough. It is based on an eviction situation in several places in Jakarta, especially flood-prone areas. One of these areas is Kampung Susun. The evictions occurring mainly in certain areas of the capital are often chaotic and colored by violence and opposition. The deployment of large numbers of officers and abusive evictions resulted in numerous protests from the people or victims of the evictions.

Ideology on the case of "Sumber Waras" land purchase disputes

This ideology is in the seventeenth news. The existence of corruption cases in terms of purchasing the urban land deals with Ahok who plans to build a cancer hospital. The appointment of land purchase dispute case is based on socio-cultural situation in Indonesian society which tends to corrupt. Acts of corruption done by the ruling party or high-ranking officers are in the spotlight publicly.



Ideology of monorail project cancellation

This ideology has been in the eighteenth news of the cancellation of the troubled monorail project since 2004. The inability of the company to meet the requirements of the city government was one reason for the cancellation of the monorail project.

Ideology about the controversy over the reclamation project

This ideology is in the nineteenth news based on Ahok's desire to implement the reclamation project, but it is opposed to many parties. Not only the marine minister, the fishermen union is also opposed to the project. Reclamation has more negative impacts on the environment and the search for or catch of fish. However, Ahok insists on his policy and feels that he cannot participate in interfering with his decision on the territory he leads because he has the same authority with the marine minister. Ahok only cares about the reclamation benefits to the Jakarta government without paying attention to other parties who get negative impacts from the reclamation

Ideology on the development of Kampung Arrang

The ideology in the twentieth news contains the follow-up of problemsolving of Kampung Arrang. Ahok's party re-opens the dialogue with Kampung Susun's facilitators to discuss the idea of developing the village based on Ahok's response to the forced evictions he did in the previous month.

Ideology about workers' worries about Ahok's hard leadership style

The ideology in the twenty-first news is related to Ahok's works and employees' appraisal of how it works. Ahok is said to be iron-handed as he shows how to work hard against his subordinates. This is based on Ahok's works from the beginning as a governor. He often replaces his employees who are considered normal but perform poorly. It creates inconvenience among employees. Events such as the fear of employees in expressing complaints and opinions in the manner and nature of the leader to conceal his identity have become a public secret in society. In the world of work, employees are afraid of and worry about their careers. If the leader does not like the results of his work or can not meet the standards of work, he or she expects that the leader's character is hard and autocratic.

Ideology about Ahok's challenge to prove allegations of Sumber Waras corruption against him

This ideology is in the twenty-second news on Ahok's challenge to the corruption eradication commission (KPK) and the Attorney General's Office to investigate the municipal land acquisition procurement case. The challenge is based on Ahok's response to



the corruption alleged by supreme audit agency (BPK) to him. Ahok's challenge is to prove that he does not corrupt and has purchased the land through proper procedures and by the tax object sale value (NJOP) rules in 2014. Ahok also insists on continuing the plan to inflate Sumber Waras's cancer hospital even though the status of the land is still under dispute.

Ideology of restrictions on freedom of expression

This ideology is in the twenty-third to twenty-fifth news relating to the restriction of freedom of expressions in the public opinions. The existence of certain rules is applied in demonstrations such as the location allowed for the demo and the amount of votes allowed. Although the rule aims to curb demonstrations and avoid congestion caused by demonstrations, the rules seek to violate the human rights of people who want to call for their opinions. The rules are too restrictive of their rights to say hello and voice their thoughts in the public places. It is not compatible with the democratic system applied in Indonesia.

Idea about Ahok's cashier style as a defense mechanism

This ideology is in the twenty-sixth news of Ahok's abusive style which is considered a defense mechanism when he feels attacked by others. Ahok's leadership style is controversial in the eyes of people so that the people are divided into pro and contra parties against him. Many support him to daringly eradicate corruption and many also oppose him because of his religion, nature and policies during his tenure as leader of Jakarta. The existence of a statement from the expert/resource person about Ahok's leadership style will not be influential as long as he can prove the progress of Jakarta that shows the support of resource persons on Ahok's leadership. Ahok's refutation of accusations that do not listen to the aspirations and criticism of society shows his self-pleading not to accept/hear all the criticisms against him. It is based on the difficulty of meeting and serving the thoughts of all the people of Jakarta who are large in number and have different desires.

Ideology on Ahok's way of conducting a bureaucratic reform

This ideology is in the twenty-seventh news of Ahok's way of reforming the bureaucracy. This news, which is the result of a journalist interview with Ahok, shows Ahok's vision and mission in leading Jakarta; an assessment of Ahok's performance results in the previous year and how Ahok works to implement bureaucratic reforms that are like playing a ball whereas he will replace people whose performance does not meet the



standards of work he expects. It is in accordance with the social reality in which Ahok often replaces and dismisses officials or subordinates.

Ideology about Jakarta as an unsafe city

This ideology is in the twenty-eighth news regarding the unsafe situation of Jakarta. This is in accordance with the high crime that often happens in Jakarta society. The existence of criminal actions such as robberies, rape, and so forth made the government improve security by installing CCTV in some places and providing applications for reporting criminal acts. People are vigilant to participate in reporting criminal acts on sites or applications that have been provided by the government.

Ideology on the implementation of reclamation projects

This ideology is in the twenty-ninth news related to the reclamation project. Ahok continues and allows the implementation of reclamation projects even though it has been opposed by various parties, especially from the parties of fishermen and environmental activists. Ahok insists that reclamation will provide benefits and opposition by the fishermen as a politicization from other parties that oppose it. In fact, the opposition is not based on the politicization of certain parties, but the reclamation has a negative impact on the environment and the livelihood of the people who work as fishermen.

Ideology of railway elevation for the progress and safety of traffic

This ideology is in the thirtieth news of railroad or railroad elevation. This is based on the habits of people who are less disciplined and obedient to traffic rules whereas they often cross the railroads arbitrarily resulting in accidents. The high cases of accidents in railways and the number of congestion are the main reasons for the railway elevation.

Ideology of punishment for misuse of the Jakarta Smart Card (KJP)

This ideology is in the thirty-first news relating to sanctions in the form of punishment for misuse of the Jakarta Smart Card (KJP). This was partly newsworthy due to the abundance of cases of the Jakarta Smart Card (KJP) misuse in the field. The large number of the Jakarta Smart Card (KJP) users withdraws cash from the card and spend it for purposes beyond the school's needs.

Ideology about people's satisfaction with Ahok's performance

The ideology containing the latest news is related the satisfaction of some citizens of Jakarta against the work of Ahok. It was evidenced by the citizens' chats that will improve the quality of public services. It can be seen that the social realities of people of Jakarta are beginning to feel comfortable with the public services.



To conclude, the author or journalist of *The Jakarta Post* page describes Ahok as a firm and hard leader because of his controversial and impartial decisions and rules for citizens. He also provides a strict supervision and gives more criticisms to his subordinates. Ahok's language issued many curses and dirty words. When getting furious, he showed his temperamental personality. All these ideologies are the characteristics of an autocratic leadership style: the leader is authoritarian; all things done according to his will; decisions are independent; no trust to subordinates and do not want to receive input, use threats and punishment to influence subordinates (Khan et al., 2015).

Generally speaking, personality traits derived from news quotes show Ahok's autocratic leadership style. The number of protests and oppositions against Ahok is the impact of his autocratic leadership style. On the other hand, *The Jakarta Post* also supports Ahok's leadership style by praising how it closely related to the corruption eradication in the social environment of society resulting in the increased quality of public services in Jakarta.

Ahok's ideology and his policy pertain to the socio-cultural context of Indonesian society and various macro-issues such as economy, religion, civilization and leadership attitude, politics and other things. There is a controversy over wage increases in which Indonesians are troubled by financial factors. Ahok's ideology of legalizing prostitution is extremely contrary to religious values. His autocratic leadership style is characterized by forced evictions and public protests against the government. Governments merely pay much attention to their own benefits from the application of reclamation although it has a negative impact on the environment and citizens and the political war between officials. Cases of corruption that occurred among officials, rules and restrictions of public opinions are contrary to the ideology of democracy adopted in Indonesia, and so forth.

CONCLUSION

Thirty-two news reports published online by *The Jakarta Post* of 2014-2015 editions are closely linked to Ahok's leadership style. The news reports are thoroughly analyzed by using a critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough's model that consists of discursive and socio-cultural practices. In terms of discursive practices, the ideology supports Ahok's leadership style. In the context of socio-cultural practices, many news ideologies about Ahok's leadership style draw heavily on the socio-cultural reality in Indonesia. Consequently, the text production, the information, the content of news and



ideologies has a close connection to social and cultural realities and a series of events in the political arena. On the other hand, Ahok's autocratic leadership style and his policies significantly oppose to emerging values and are against Pancasila ideology in a long-standing democratic system.

REFERENCES

- Budiwati, T. R. (2011). Representasi Wacana Gender dalam Ungkapan Berbahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Inggris: Analisis Wacana Kritis. *Kawistara*, 1(3), 213- 320.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.
- Jones, H. R. (2012). *Discourse Analysis: A Resource Book for Students* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Khan, M. S., et. al. (2015). The Styles of Leadership: A Critical Review. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 5(3), 87–92.
- Locke, T. (2004). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Lado, C. R. (2014). Analisis Wacana Kritis Program Mata Najwa “Balada Perda” di Metro TV. *E-Komunikasi*, 2(2), 1-12.
- Maghvira, G. (2017). Analisis Wacana Kritis Pada Pemberitaan *Tempo.co* tentang Kematian Taruna STIP Jakarta. *The Messenger*, 9(2), 120-130.
- Sobur, A. (2012). *Analisis Teks Media: Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, dan Analisis Framing* (6th ed.). Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1988). *News as Discourse*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and power*. New York: Palgrave macmilan.