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**The framing of an Indonesian leader: *The Jakarta Post* and the
Jakarta floods**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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Betti Indira Sari Siagian

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how *The Jakarta Post* frames Joko Widodo through the issue of annual Jakarta floods. Chapter *Background* describes the conditions of Jakarta through its socio-political situation, including the discussion of Jakarta annual floods. Here, this study presents the fact that Jakarta has a long history of flood recurrences, which means, that Jakarta is a flood-prone city.

This study gathers its sample (86 stories) from a one-year news coverage starting from the date that marked the beginning of the campaign for Governor of Jakarta in early March 2012 until the period that marked the end of the Jakarta floods (end of February 2013). The position of governor is important in Indonesia primarily because Indonesia had just implemented decentralisation in 2001, and the direct election of Jakarta governor was firstly implemented in 2007. Thus, Joko Widodo was the second Jakarta governor that won the direct election. In addition, Joko Widodo was a candidate from outside Jakarta, which means he had never experienced the Jakarta floods. However, this study finds that *The Jakarta Post* deliberately changed its way of reporting Jakarta flood issues after Joko Widodo won the 2012 Jakarta governor election.

Using content analysis, this study finds that although Joko Widodo had held office for only a couple of months when the Jakarta floods occurred, Joko Widodo was framed positively. Thirty six out of 86 stories assessed him positively, compared to 12 negative comments. In relation to the leadership characteristic, which is also one of the research questions in this study, the Chapter *Findings* outlines that most of the stories used in this research reflect Joko Widodo as a caring leader. Furthermore, in the Chapter *Discussion*, through the framing analysis that operationalises the sociological concept, this study argues that *The Jakarta Post* framed Joko Widodo positively by depoliticising the Jakarta flood issues. Finally, the Conclusion chapter outlines the need for the Indonesian media and/or journalists to apply the concept of critical thinking in their writings to contribute to the process of democratisation in Indonesia.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOLWEDGEMENT.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2.0 HISTORY OF JAKARTA.....	2
2.1 JAKARTA's GEOGRAPHIC CONDITION	2
2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS.....	5
2.2.1 SQUATTERS.....	6
3.0 FLOODS IN JAKARTA.....	8
4.0 THE 2012 JAKARTA GOVERNOR ELECTION.....	12
5.0 <i>THE JAKARTA POST</i> NEWSPAPER.....	15
5.1 POLITICAL LEANINGS OF <i>THE JAKARTA POST</i>	16
6.0 CONCLUSION.....	17
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	19
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	19
1.1 THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION.....	19
1.2 THE PRESS IN INDONESIA FROM NEW ORDER TO REFORM ERA.....	21
2.0 THEORIES OF AGENDA-SETTING AND FRAMING.....	22
2.1 DEFINITION OF AGENDA-SETTING THEORY.....	22
2.2 LEVELS OF AGENDA-SETTING.....	23
2.2.1 BASIC AGENDA-SETTING.....	24
2.2.2 ATTRIBUTE AGENDA-SETTING.....	24

2.3	FRAMING.....	26
2.4	AGENDA-SETTING AND FRAMING IN THE INDONESIAN CONTEXT.....	28
3.0	INDONESIAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.....	31
4.0	INFLUENCE OF ISLAM IN INDONESIAN NEWS REPORTING.....	36
5.0	CONCLUSION.....	38
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....		40
1.0	INTRODUCTION.....	40
2.0	CONTENT ANALYSIS.....	41
2.1	DEFINITION OF CONTENT ANALYSIS.....	41
2.2	WHY CONTENT ANALYSIS.....	44
2.3	LIMITATIONS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS.....	46
2.4	HOW CONTENT ANALYSIS IS USED IN THIS STUDY.....	47
2.4.1	SELECTION OF MEDIA AND SAMPLE.....	47
2.4.1.1	SAMPLING MEDIA FORMS.....	48
2.4.1.2	SAMPLE DATES.....	49
2.4.1.3	UNIT OF ANALYSIS.....	49
2.4.2	CONSTRUCTING A CODING SCHEME.....	50
2.4.2.1	STORY-BASED CATEGORY.....	50
2.4.2.2	NEWS SUBJECTS AND SOURCES.....	51
2.4.3	KEY CODING DECISIONS.....	53
2.4.4	TESTING CODING SCHEME.....	53
3.0	CONCLUSION.....	54
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS.....		55
1.0	INTRODUCTION.....	55
2.0	FOCUSES OF THE STORIES.....	56
2.1	CATEGORISATION OF THE STORIES CLASSIFIED AS 'OTHER'.....	57
3.0	DISTRIBUTION OF THE WRITERS.....	59
4.0	ASPECTS OF FLOODS COVERED IN THE STORIES.....	61

4.1	FREQUENCIES OF THE FLOOD ISSUES COVERED.....	62
4.2	FLOOD ISSUES COVERED BASED ON THE FOCUSES AND WINDOWS OF TIME OF THE STORIES.....	65
5.0	CHANGES ARTICULATED IN THE STORIES.....	71
5.1	NUMBERS OF MENTIONS OF CHANGES ARTICULATED IN THE STORIES.....	71
5.1.1	CHANGES CLASSIFIED AS ‘OTHER’	72
5.2	NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO MENTIONED CHANGE.....	74
5.2.1	GROUPS WHO MENTIONED CHANGE AND ARE CLASSIFIED AS ‘OTHER’	76
6.0	FRAMING.....	77
6.1	COVERAGE OF JOKO WIDODO IN RELATION TO THE FLOOD.....	77
6.2	THE MOST POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE QUOTES ON JOKO WIDODO.....	78
6.3	COMPARISON OF JOKO WIDODO TO OTHER POLITICIANS.....	80
6.3.1	POLITICIANS MENTIONED.....	83
6.3.2	POLITICIANS QUOTED	85
7.0	LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS IDENTIFIED.....	86
7.1	LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS OF JOKO WIDODO.....	87
8.0	CONCLUSION.....	88
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION.....		90
1.0	INTRODUCTION.....	90
2.0	<i>THE JAKARTA POST</i> COVERAGE IS MERELY DEVELOPING ‘A LIST OF JOKO WIDODO’S ACTIONS’.....	90
3.0	FRAMING OF JOKO WIDODO THROUGH THE ISSUE OF FLOODS.....	97
3.1	MACRO LEVEL INFLUENCE OF ANALYSIS.....	97
3.1.1	PUTTING THE BLAME ON SQUATTERS.....	101
3.2	MESO LEVEL INFLUENCE OF ANALYSIS.....	103
3.3	MICRO LEVEL INFLUENCE OF ANALYSIS.....	108
4.0	LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS OF JOKO WIDODO.....	112
5.0	SUMMARY.....	116
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION.....		117

1.0	INTRODUCTION.....	117
2.0	CONCLUSIONS.....	118
3.0	IMPLICATIONS.....	121
4.0	FURTHER RESEARCH.....	123
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	126
	APPENDIX A.....	136

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Focuses of the stories.....	56
Table 2: Categorisation of stories classified as ‘Other’	57
Table 3: Distribution of the writers of the stories.....	59
Table 4: Stories written by the academics and expert.....	60
Table 5: Frequencies of flood issues covered.....	63
Table 6: Flood issues covered in campaign-focused stories.....	66
Table 7: Flood issues covered after the election.....	66
Table 8: Flood issues covered before the flood event.....	67
Table 9: Flood issues covered in flood-focused stories.....	68
Table 10: Flood issues covered after the flood event.....	69
Table 11: Desired changes articulated in the stories.....	72
Table 12: Kinds of change classified as ‘other’	73
Table 13: Frequencies of the groups or people that articulated change.....	75
Table 14: People who articulated change and classified as ‘other’.....	76
Table 18: Stories’ assessment on Joko Widodo in relation to flood.....	78
Table 19: Sources of positive comments on Joko Widodo in relation to flood.....	79
Table 20: Sources of negative comments.....	80
Table 21: Politicians mentioned/quoted in the stories.....	81
Table 22: Politicians classified as ‘other’	82
Table 23: Politicians appearing to a moderate extent.....	84
Table 24: Politicians who dominate a story.....	84
Table 25: Politicians cited and/or quoted in a story.....	85
Table 26: Politicians not cited and/or quoted.....	86
Table 27: Leadership characteristic articulated when Joko Widodo was covered positively compared to other politicians.....	87

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of DKI Jakarta.....	4
Figure 2: Map of River Flowing Areas in Jakarta and other areas surround it.....	5
Figure 3: Flooded Areas in 1996, 2002, and 2007.....	11
Figure 4: Javanese Paternalistic Leadership.....	35

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The media does not only play an important role in creating the image of a particular political actor, but also in framing the issues that related to the person, including the issues which may seem not contain to political issues. This study assesses the framing by *The Jakarta Post* of Joko Widodo, the Jakarta governor in relation to the 2012 Jakarta floods. Joko Widodo was only elected on September 2012. With almost 20 million people living and working or commuting in Jakarta and from its surrounding areas, Jakarta is the busiest city in Indonesia (Firman, 2008), “the eleventh largest city in the world” (Peresthu, 2002, p. 49), and the biggest city in Southeast Asia (Cybriwsky & Ford, 2001). Many businesses are conducted in Jakarta. On the other hand, Jakarta has experienced mismanagement in social, economic and environmental aspects (Steinberg, 2007). The reason why the election of Jakarta governor becomes important is because Indonesia was just implemented the decentralisation since 2001, while at the same time, the economic and political situation in Indonesia was still driven by the power from Jakarta. Thus, the decentralisation gives way to Jakarta governor to gain ultimate control of Jakarta, such as to connect the development of Jakarta with its neighboring cities, as Sutiyoso, previous Jakarta governor, did. Meanwhile, compare to other cities, Jakarta gets one-third of the total national income-tax revenue sharing for both provincial and local governments in Indonesia in 2001 (Bunnell & Miller, 2011).

This chapter will be divided into four sections. Firstly, the history of Jakarta and its geographic and demographic conditions will be explained. The demographic element has changed a great deal, including the arrival of old and new migrants. The second section discusses the annual flood event in Jakarta, a man-made disaster. As the focus of the study is to investigate the frame of *The Jakarta Post* news coverage on Joko Widodo, the third section explains the new direct governor election in 2012 and its impact in Jakarta after the May 1998 chaos. Lastly, to comprehend the context of the

news texts of *The Jakarta Post*, the final section of the chapter also examines its ownership and its political leanings.

2.0 HISTORY OF JAKARTA

The Indonesian archipelago has consisted of many kingdoms since the 4th century. Indonesia as a state did not exist until much later. Jakarta was one of the busiest ports in the archipelago. Cybriwsky & Ford (2001) described that the port has been a trading place for “traders from Arabia, India and China, as well as from nearby Malacca and other Southeast Asian trade centres. After 1511 the city also traded with the Portuguese” (p. 201). At that time, Jakarta was named *Kalapa* (which means coconut) and was part of a Hindu kingdom called *Sunda*, which was based in nearby Jakarta, now called Bogor. Later, Bogor became one of the areas where the Jakarta’s commuters come from. On 22 June 1527, the Muslim Sultanate of Banten, Fatahillah, conquered the city and named it *Jayakarta*. That date is still used to celebrate the founding of Jakarta. The Netherlands first arrived at Jakarta in 1596 in search of spices through its chamber of commerce, VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* / Dutch East India Company) Later, in 1678 VOC intervened in the kingdoms in Java and attempted to conquer each kingdom in the archipelago, but were most successful in the island of Java. As the Netherlands established themselves more deeply, they renamed the archipelago *Hindia Belanda* (Dutch East Indies), and changed the name *Jayakarta* into *Batavia*. When the Japanese came and defeated the Netherlands in 1942, the name of *Batavia* was changed to Jakarta. The declaration of Indonesian independence as a state was declared from Jakarta on 17 August 1945.

2.1 Jakarta’s Geographic Condition

Jakarta is located in the western part of the island of Java, the most populous island of over 7000s islands in Indonesia. Jakarta consists of five municipalities and one district administrative area: Central Jakarta, North Jakarta, West Jakarta, South Jakarta, East Jakarta and the Thousand Islands. Each municipality is led by a mayor, and Jakarta is

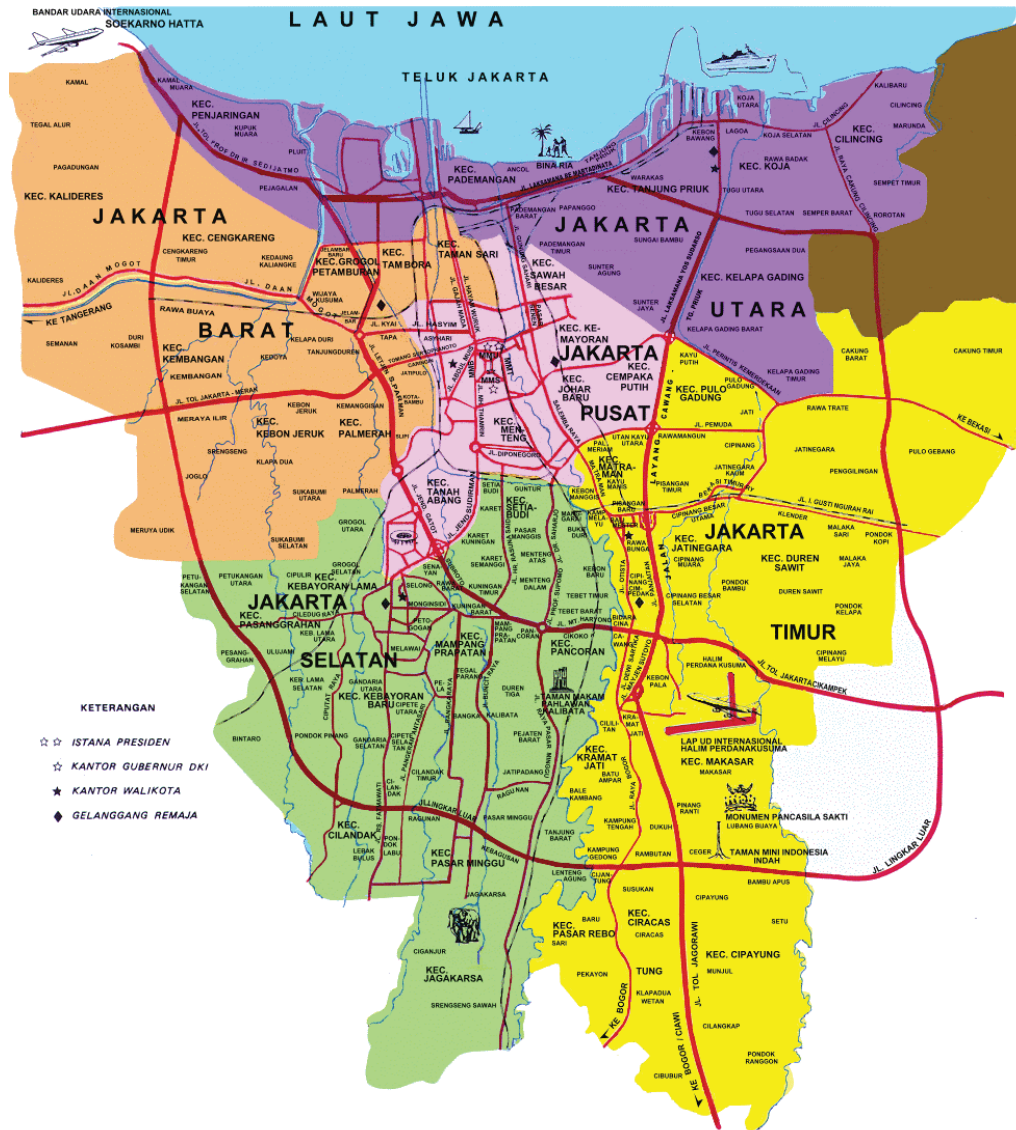
led by a governor. The official name of Jakarta as the capital city is *DKI (Daerah Khusus Ibukota* or Capital City Special Region) Jakarta.

Cybriwsky and Ford (2001) write that “Jakarta is on the island’s north coast, facing the busy shipping lanes of the Java Sea, where the Ciliwung River, one of the many short rivers in the area, works its way across a narrow coastal plain and empties into Jakarta Bay” (p. 199). To the north extends a 35 km coastline along which thirteen rivers and two canals discharge. To the south and east are Depok City, Bogor District, Bekasi City, and Bekasi District; to the west Tangerang City and Tangerang District; and to the north the Java Sea.

The original settlement in the Dutch colonial era was at the waterfront near the mouth of the Ciliwung River. The warehouses and fortifications to protect the city from English and Bantenese threats were built there. The Asian neighborhoods were sited near the city’s wharves, while the Europeans chose toward inland hills. Between 1877 and 1886 a new harbour was built at Tanjung Priok because the original one “had been hampered for years by silt buildup from the Ciliwung and was expensive to dredge and maintain” (Cybriwsky & Ford, 2001, p. 201). Tanjung Priok was some 10 km to the east of the city’s core. Later, Tanjung Priok grew as the location of Jakarta’s industrial districts.

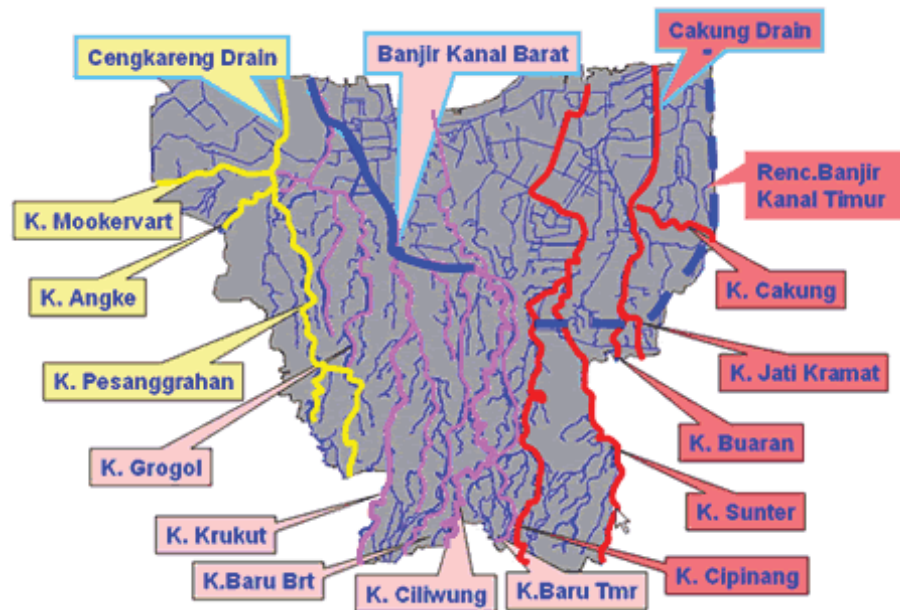
After independence in 1945, Soekarno, the first president, built new government buildings, malls, hotels and sport facilities which later hosted the 1962 Asian Games. Jakarta also expanded its territories more to the south of the city, away from the original settlement at the harbour. To connect these two settlements, a circle was built with the National Monument (*Monumen Nasional / Monas*) square at the centre. The present look of Jakarta, can be seen from the observation deck at the top of Monas. It is predominantly high-rise buildings with busy roadways or traffic congestion.

Figure 1: Map of DKI Jakarta



Source: Website of BAPPEDA DKI Jakarta (Regional Development Planning Board of DKI Jakarta)

Figure 2: Map of River Flowing Areas in Jakarta and other areas surround it (Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi)



Source: Website of BAPPEDA DKI Jakarta (Regional Development Planning Board of DKI Jakarta)

2.2 Demographic Conditions

The booming of Jakarta's population has been discussed as a problem in most of the research about Jakarta (Papanek, 1975, Temple, 1975, Jellinek, 1991, and Firman, 2011). In 2010, the population of DKI Jakarta was 9.6 million, but in working hours the population was 12.1 million. The additional 2.5 million include the commuters who live in the regencies or city administrations that border with Jakarta: Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi. In total, the population of DKI Jakarta and those four areas is 18.354.756 people (RPJMD, 2013). The employment opportunities are the main reason for people living and working in Jakarta. Employment opportunities in Jakarta have corresponded with its economic growth, that represented by the Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP). The RPJMD (2013) data showed that the Jakarta GRDP in 2007 and 2011 were IDR 566.44 and IDR 982.5 trillion respectively, while the 2012 GRDP was IDR 1.103 trillion.

Examining the situation of the unofficial Jakarta's inhabitants, huge economic disparity emerges. In the process of finding a credible number of Jakarta's population, it was recognized that the data concerning migrants or particularly squatters are very limited. Temple (1975) identified that in 1968 there had been a census of migrants in Jakarta. In his research, migrants were identified "as persons over age 14 who had arrived in Jakarta on or after 1 January 1968" (p. 77). However, since this definition was restricted to the official citizens of Jakarta, Temple also conducted a census based on occupations. Based on those two different kinds of census, he found that "most migrants – 63 per cent of those in the official sample and 80 per cent of those in 'occupational' sample – come from rural areas" (p. 78). The similar two versions of survey was also undertaken by Papanek (1975), who concluded that "the poor inhabitants in Jakarta are poor indeed and in relation to the rural poor, the low-income groups in Jakarta are substantially better off and some are, in comparison, almost rich" (p. 3). In other words, poor migrants in Jakarta have a better life than people live in rural Jakarta. In 1975, Papanek mentioned that there were approximately "5 million inhabitants in Jakarta, with population increasing 6 per cent a year" (p. 1).

2.2.1 Squatters

The phenomena of squatters existed before the independence era. The underlying cause of squatters is migration. Squatters are the migrants who are not native to Jakarta and not able to make a proper living in Jakarta. Cybriwsky and Ford (2001) noted that less information can be found about migrants around the colonial era. But they were sure that there were already Javanese and Malays, Chinese, "Moors" from Moslem areas of the Indian coast, several thousand Mardijkers, Ambonese, Balinese, Buginese, and Macassarese from different islands of the Indonesian archipelago, as well as other Asian people" in 1673 (p. 201). The main reason for the arrivals of was because more people were needed to establish the Sunda Kalapa port.

Even later in 1920s, the arrival of migrants was caused by “the decline of employment opportunities in rural areas” (Jellinek, 1991, p. 4). Jellinek used the term squatters for those people because they were illegal. Squatters were not allowed to build houses, while they were allowed to cultivate the land and had to pay taxes to the Dutch government. Consequently, the squatters’ families had to sleep in sheds. However, after the independence era, the numbers of squatters arriving to Jakarta exploded (Cybriwsky & Ford, 2001). Their occupations were mostly in the casual sector such as “pedicabs drivers, petty traders, scavengers, construction laborers, bus recruiters, shoe shiners, kerosene sellers, prostitutes, wastepaper collectors”, etc (Papanek, 1975, p. 11).

To manage the population of Jakarta, the governor of Jakarta, in the late 1960s, applied a policy where outsiders should pay a certain fee to gain a permission card to live in Jakarta (Papanek, 1975). But the policy was not very successful because some high-income urban squatters were able to pay the fee, while the lower-income chose to avoid contact with government so they could not be questioned about their permission. Temple (1975) noted that pedicabs’ drivers and petty-traders were the two occupations that gained the highest income amongst squatters. It was also these types of squatters who had access to radio and newspapers and were very concerned about their life in Jakarta, including when the programme of *kampung* (neighbourhood) improvement (Papanek, 1975; Jellinek, 1991) would be implemented. However, not all squatters were covered by the programme. Those who were not were forced to remove from their neighborhood or were moved to government-funded flats. But most of the squatters are not able to buy those flats because they were poor.

In 1988, another policy prevailed (Cybriwsky & Ford, 2001) and hit pedicabs drivers and petty-traders, even though they had permission cards. This authoritarian policy was founded on the desire to create a beautiful and modern Jakarta. Through this ambition, the poor communities were seen as “unsightly anomalies” (Jellinek, 1991, p.

xviii). Pedicabs' drivers were thus banned from all parts of Jakarta until in 1999 President Abdurrahman Wahid allowed them to operate in residential neighborhoods. For the petty traders, the government provided the spaces but they were required to pay rents.

Despite these difficulties, the high amount of migrants to Jakarta is unabated because there are more opportunities in Jakarta (Jellinek, 1991; Peresthu, 2002; Cybriwsky & Ford, 2001 and Texier, 2008). The old squatters who were removed from their places in the name of development, and new squatters both continue to live in the poorer sites of Jakarta, which is "on undeveloped land prone to flooding" (Cybriwsky & Ford, 2001, p. 208).

3.0 FLOODS IN JAKARTA

Floods have been identified as an ongoing problem for Jakarta since the 18th century (Steinberg, 2007). By its nature, Jakarta is a flood-prone area. Cybriwsky and Ford (2001) stated that in the era of Dutch colonisation, this disaster created a polluted environment and environmental-caused diseases, such as dysentery, typhoid and malaria, and led people to leave the city. But at that time, the flood only occurred in the low-lying site of the city. "To prevent flooding, as well as to enhance transportation, the Dutch dug a network of canals reminiscent of cities back home and straightened the river itself, converting it to a large canal" (p. 201). In short, the primary action of digging and connecting small canals to a large canal had taken place before the independence era. However, since 2007 the floods are getting worse due to the more intense development in Jakarta neighboring areas (upstream) and in Jakarta city itself (downstream) (Texier, 2008). Thus, Steinberg argues that the Dutch-built canal system was not sufficient anymore. The cause of the severe flood was mostly because of the greedy actions of the national or local government, which also meant that it had nothing to do with the geographical issues of Jakarta. "The main causes of the 2007 flood were: (i) lack of carrying capacity of flood control in infrastructure; (ii) reduction

of capacity of existing systems, due to uncontrolled garbage dumping; and (iii) reduction of rainwater absorption due to urbanization and deforestation” (p. 360). One of the evidences of the worsening flood in 2007 was the increasing numbers of people killed and displaced. In 2007, 80 people died and over 430,000 were made homeless; compare to the 2002 floods where 30 people died and around 300,000 homeless.

Texier (2008), in investigating the causes of the Jakarta flood, compared the effect of climate change and man-made actions in relation to the Jakarta floods of 1996, 2002 and 2007. His argument supports Steinberg’s, that although there was a difference in terms of the times and intensity of the rainfall, the climate change would not generate the severe floods. Rather, it was the “uncontrolled growth of the urban areas” (p. 362) that he saw as the underlying cause of massive encroachment to Jakarta environment and community. In other words, the natural characters of Jakarta’s geographical area, including its low-lying position, should not be blamed as the sole cause of the flooding. Two different areas of uncontrolled urban growth were taking place both upstream and downstream. On one hand, the constructions of villas in the past 50 years by the upper classes, and on the other hand, the constructions of the high-rise buildings such as “large shopping centres and residences” in the city centre (p. 362) also worsen the condition of flood. Both of these constructions have prevented water absorption during the rainy season and consequently, generated severe flooding.

As mentioned in the previous section, the other side of rampant growth and construction in Jakarta brings not only natural disaster but also the emergence of squatters, particularly squatters who live at the riverbanks. These squatters choose to live there because that is the only place where they can live as the land price in Jakarta is very high, while their incomes are amongst the lowest in Jakarta. This forces them to live at the places prone to flood. The fact that they are not registered as official citizens of Jakarta makes them the most vulnerable community in Jakarta (Firman, 2008,

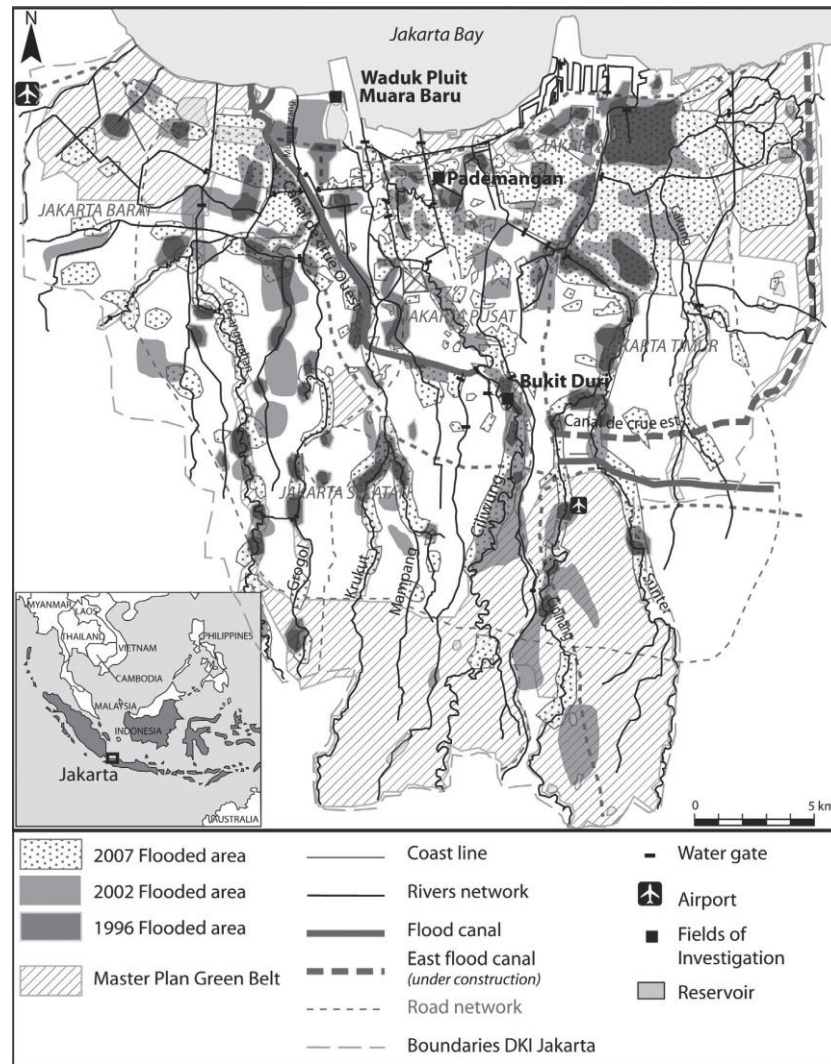
Wilhelm 2011). In this case, squatters and people outside its community have a different perspective of vulnerability. Squatters perceive their main vulnerability as the economic element. The flood only comes once in a year or even two years, but their daily needs have to be fulfilled every day. Therefore, squatters tend to stay in their properties until the next flood arrives (Texier, 2008), because even to buy one piece of property such as a modest wardrobe, requires them to save their income for a long time.

The local government should coordinate with all of the elements of society to alleviate the impact of a flood, including treating squatters (Texier, 2008) or urban poor (Wilhelm, 2011) in a positive way. Texier argues that the squatters have gained knowledge on what they should do in the case of flood from their relatives or friends that brought them to those areas. The knowledge of the possibility of flood, flood warning system, evacuation areas, and who will be responsible for the properties, is already there. Therefore, the top-down approach of urban planning should be replaced instead with “mitigation and adaptation strategies that are based on citizen perspective” (Wilhelm, 2011, p. 52).

On the other hand, Firman (2011) identified that there is a gap between the knowledge at a national and local government level in relation to flood mitigation and adaptation efforts. The knowledge is more distributed amongst the central government, because the issue of floods mitigation and adaptation efforts were seen as part of the climate change issues, which perceived should be overcome nationally. The Jakarta government agencies were only involved when Jakarta’s problems become the study case of research and action programs, but their positions were mostly restricted as the informants and/or participants. Thus, the contributions of the local government are only by giving recommendations, but the decisions are in the hands of national government. Moreover, Firman stated that in tackling climate-change impact on Jakarta, its surrounding areas, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi (Bodetabek),

should be involved, because the urban development in Jakarta cannot be separated from the development of those areas (p. 377).

Fig. 4 Flooded Areas in 1996, 2002 and 2007 (Texier, 2008, p. 359)



Sources: *Tempo* (2007); Departemen Permukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah, 25 February 2002; *Kompas Journal*, 10 February 2007; Dinas PU DKI, 9 February 2007; Ciliwung Cisadane Project, 1996

4.0 THE 2012 JAKARTA GOVERNOR ELECTION

As mentioned in the introduction section of this chapter, the current situation of decentralisation in Indonesia has an important role in the democratic transition in Indonesia, but also has some weaknesses, such as the unfulfilled expectation of the citizens' participation in local politics, which lead to the arbitrary use of power by the local leaders. According to Firman (2008), the shortcomings in management of Jakarta might due to the patchy decentralisation policy in Indonesia, that applied since 2001. Hadiz (2004) argues that "the decentralization was hijacked by the rise of political gangsters and thugs – perhaps the ultimate predators – in the leadership of parties, parliaments and executive bodies at the local level" (p. 716). Jakarta is one of the areas where the local government seemed to behave irrational in managing the area. On the other hand, Jakarta is also the place where the national decision-making made by the national government. This means that the Jakarta governor is the closest local leader to the Indonesian president because they are present in the same area. That is why Jakarta governor is an important position both in the context of local and national politics.

The year 2012 marked only the second time of the Jakarta governor was directly elected by the people. Before 2007, the governor was elected by the president. The 2012 election brought some new elements for Jakartans such as the participation of candidates from outside of Jakarta, new personal background factors of the candidate, a new way of campaigning and the rise of an understanding of democracy. It was an exciting time.

However, it is necessary to briefly explain the history of Indonesia as a nation in relation to the euphoria of the 2012 election of the Jakarta governor. Shiraishi (1989) mentioned that the idea of treating the nation as family was forced by the New Order regime under the tenure of President Soeharto, the second president of Indonesia. Since 1966-1998, the idea of Indonesia as a big family of nation was believed to be the

best choice for Indonesians. When the 1998 reform movement ordered Soeharto to step down, chaos, including kidnapping, killings and mass rapings, were occurring in Jakarta and Solo at the same time. Most of the victims were Chinese - Indonesians. Therefore, the idea of Indonesia as a family was broken down. To be saved from riots in 1998, most of the people wrote these two words on the front of their houses: *Pribumi* (means native or originally Indonesian) and/or Islam.

In 2012, the participation of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (or Ahok) as the Deputy Governor for Governor candidate Joko Widodo to challenge the incumbent governor, Fauzi Bowo, was a surprise for Jakartans. Ahok's personal background represents the "so-called" minority of Indonesian society: Chinese-Indonesian and Christian. The current political system made it possible for Ahok to run for 2012 Jakarta governor election. The system is that the party is allowed to choose their own candidate(s) to compete in the election. Ahok was just finishing his tenure as the Mayor of Belitung District before joining the election in Jakarta. Belitung District itself is mostly populated by Moslem citizens. Meanwhile, his running mate, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) was the Mayor of the Solo District that was backed up by one of the strongest opposition party, PDI-P (Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle). In other words, both Jokowi and Ahok were out-of-towners for Jakartans, and they suggested they would bring new thinking for the political situation in Jakarta.

Along with that, was the rise of different approaches to political campaigning by some of the candidates. The Jokowi – Ahok campaign used the strategy of direct campaigning. They visited the residents and talked to them. The Jakartans could see their candidates face to face and even shake their hands. This was new for Jakartans as most of the political candidates usually used the extensive approach such as giving speeches in a stadium or waving to Jakartans from their own expensive cars. Another approach was the use of online campaigning. Jakarta as the most developed city in Indonesia, has the majority of the internet users. Jokowi – Ahok were the most active of the candidates who used social media as part of their campaign. Their Facebook

page was updated almost every day to share their thoughts with their supporters. Jokowi – Ahok gained much more supports than the incumbent governor, Fauzi Bowo. Moreover, the use of Facebook gained lots of attentions from young voters. Some of the young voters even made a theme song for the Jokowi – Ahok campaign and uploaded it on YouTube video.

On the other hand, people were highly aware of the corruption cases which filled the news in every form of communication media, including social media. Most of the corruption cases related to the ruling political party, Democrat. The incumbent Jakarta governor was also a member of the Democrat party. The Jakartans, as did other Indonesians, who had been depoliticised for 32 years by the dictatorship of President Soeharto, now found their freedom of speech. They now dared to criticise the government officers and their policies. In the Soeharto era, it was prohibited for anybody to form a political group and to discuss any political-related issues. This never-ending issue of corruption led Jakartans to seek a 'clean' government officer. Jokowi, who was known to have a clean track record by the media was one of few choices.

Based on *The Jakarta Post* articles, apparently the percentage of citizens who used their votes in the first round of 2012 Jakarta governor election was high. However, the percentage reduced in the second round of the election. The election was conducted in two rounds because there were no candidates gained fifty percent plus one (50% + 1) votes in the first round. *The Jakarta Post* noted that the issues of religion and ethnicity were raised more frequently toward the second round of the election, even in the live debate on television.

5.0 THE JAKARTA POST NEWSPAPER

There are six nation-wide newspapers in Indonesia: *KOMPAS*, *KORAN TEMPO*, *MEDIA INDONESIA*, *REPUBLIKA*, *THE JAKARTA POST*, and *SUARA PEMBARUAN*. Among those, *KOMPAS* is the one that gained most readers. *The Jakarta Post* is the partner of *KOMPAS* in terms of its operational management.

The Jakarta Post was first published in 25 April 1983. Minister of Information, Ali Moertopo, conveyed the need to have an Indonesian-perspective English newspaper to Jusuf Wanandi in mid-1982. Both Ali Moertopo and Jusuf Wanandi were active members of Golkar political party, but from different generations. Prior to leading the emergence of *The Jakarta Post*, Jusuf Wanandi who to date serves as one of the Board of Directors of it, established the Golkar-backed newspaper, *Suara Karya*. Jusuf Wanandi was an anti-communist activist who strongly recommended Indonesia to make partnership with United States, instead of China.

The reason to have an Indonesian-based English media, according to Ali Moertopo, was because opinion about Indonesia was predominantly published by the Western media, and consequently, Indonesia is portrayed based on the Western socio-political thought. Further, Ali Moertopo argued that it is crucial that Indonesians have its own English-language newspaper to represent the characteristic pluralistic aspect of Indonesia's socio-political environment. In other words, this could mean that *The Jakarta Post* is a kind of propaganda tool. Thus, the owner of four major media outlets, *Kompas*, *Sinar Harapan* (later *Suara Pembaruan*), *Suara Karya* daily newspapers and *Tempo* weekly magazine, met and decided to share the capital and managerial skills for establishing the newspaper. In its History page, it is mentioned that though *The Jakarta Post* was a shared product of those four competing media, it tries to be independent. The first publication was around 5,000 copies.

Azmi (2012) states that Jusuf Wanandi was also the biggest funding individual for CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies), a research institution that was trusted by the New Order regime for its advices on Indonesian strategic plans. Additionally, Jusuf Wanandi is also the only brother of Sofjan Wanandi, the prominent businessman of Indonesian business circles who has chaired the Indonesian Employers Association (*Assosiasi Pengusaha Indonesia / Apindo*) since 2003 until present.

5.1 Political Leanings of *The Jakarta Post*

As the initiative came from the Golkar-party politicians, it is obvious that Golkar ideology was also shared by Jusuf Wanandi in establishing *The Jakarta Post*. Golkar was the party that won the election votes over 32 years of President Soeharto regime (1966-1998). However, as other media that joined the collaborative founding of the *Post* have different ideologies, *The Jakarta Post* has had to cater those contending perspectives too. Hamad (in Azmi, 2012), in developing a categorisation of Indonesian-based media, argued that *Suara Karya* and *Tempo*, are mostly dominated by nationalist-secular ideology, while *Sinar Harapan* reflects more the Christian-based ideology and *Kompas* is in between. Based on this categorisation, Hamad concluded that *The Jakarta Post* reflects more the nationalist-secular ideology. It is also worth noting, that during the New Order regime, *The Jakarta Post* was not supervised as strictly as other Indonesian-language media, precisely because it is written in English.

The nationalist-secular perspective of *The Jakarta Post*, which leans to a pluralist – liberal view, was examined by both Prayudi (2011) and Azmi (2012) in their research on terrorism and Shari'a Law respectively. Both analysts argued that the Reform (1998 - present) era has brought the freedom of press to be enjoyed by most of the media. Prayudi (2011) found that *The Jakarta Post* was more balanced than Western-based media in covering terrorism movement in Indonesia. *The Jakarta Post* also criticises the work of Indonesian intelligence who were seen as not capable of finding out the steps of terrorist organisations. On the other hand, Azmi argued that *The Jakarta Post*

omitted to acknowledge the existing condition where Indonesians still apply the religion as part of the public life. Azmi, who investigated the media on its coverage of Shari'a Law enforcement in Indonesia, found that *The Jakarta Post* attempted to construct and popularise the view that equates Indonesia with other Western-based countries where religion is internalised in private. One of *The Jakarta Post* efforts was through the selection of news sources, such as interviewing a liberal intellectual Moslem. Azmi argued that the position of religion in Indonesia has been involved in many aspects of life, even in public life. Therefore, to separate religion from public life into a private one, diminishes the character of Indonesians themselves.

6.0 CONCLUSION

The description of Jakarta as a city and a capital has been discussed. Through its historical background, it is clear that the Jakarta's harbours, both Kalapa and Tanjung Priok played an important role in the development of Jakarta as a business city. Further, the geographic condition of Jakarta, which is traversed by 13 rivers, contributes to flooding, but not to severe flooding. It is the demographic and infrastructural conditions that apparently greatly contributed to the severe flood. However, the deeper analysis of the migrants, who have been blamed for the cause of the relentless flood, reveals other causes which are the uneven distribution of employment opportunities in Indonesia and the greediness of a local government. In relation to this issue, the discussion of the political situation is important because the development of a city should be authorized and led by a governor. The 2012 direct election of Jakarta governor brought new hope for Jakartans because the new-elected governor, Joko Widodo, had never been connected to any rampant corruption cases in Indonesia. His actions before and after the governor election were frequently covered by media, including *The Jakarta Post*.

Thus, this research seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the primary points of focus of *The Jakarta Post* coverage of the Jakarta floods?
2. Does *The Jakarta Post* present a balanced analysis of the causes and effects of the annual Jakarta floods?
3. Does *The Jakarta Post* frame Joko Widodo through the issue of the floods? If so, is the framing positive or negative?
4. How does *The Jakarta Post's* presentation of Joko Widodo connect with leadership characteristics that are important in Indonesian culture?

This chapter has provided an overview of Jakarta's socio-political situation, in particular Jakarta floods conditions surrounding the Jakarta floods, as a ground to conduct this current research. The Chapter *Literature Review* outlines the theoretical approaches to media studies that are used in this study. Besides the applications of those approaches in international studies, the Literature Review also explores the application of agenda-setting and framing theories in Indonesian literature. In addition, this chapter also discusses the Indonesian political leadership that would be useful in assessing Joko Widodo's leadership characteristics. The Methodology chapter explains the rationale of the use of content analysis research method in this study. An outline is provided to show how this method is able to analyse the way *The Jakarta Post* frames Joko Widodo in its coverage of the Jakarta floods. The Chapter *Findings* reveals the frequencies of the flood issues mentioned in 86 stories that are used as the sample in this study. This chapter also outlines the positive and negative comments made about Joko Widodo, and the leadership characteristics that emerged in the stories. The Chapter *Discussion* analyses the findings through the Indonesian socio-political context. Finally, the Chapter *Conclusions* points to the need for further research that focuses on the transition to a more democratic Indonesia.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Media has the power to influence people, especially in presidential election times, when people are not well informed about the capability or personality of the candidates (Weaver, Graber, McCombs & Eyal, 1981). However, in promoting its influence, the media enhances its own agenda (McCombs, 2004). An example of this has occurred in Indonesia, where freedom of the press has been given to media by the government (Romano, 2003). It has been suggested that media-civil society interaction still needs improvement (Kitley, 2008). This research discusses the extent that *The Jakarta Post* frames the political actor, Joko Widodo, the new elected Governor of Jakarta, using the events of the Jakarta flood that have become an unresolved issue years before Joko Widodo was elected.

This chapter will provide a detailed literature review to explore the role media plays in political communication. It will take a close look at the Indonesian context to discuss the significant distinction between the work of journalism in the New Order and in the Reformation era. The theories of agenda setting and framing are explained to give a foundation for the content analysis research method. This will be followed by articles that examine agenda-setting in Indonesian media and framing in *The Jakarta Post*. The literature on political leadership will be reviewed to develop the picture of the political leader in the international and Indonesian context, to define the influence of Islam in Indonesian society and show how the perceptions of Indonesian news reporting affect the position of Islamic values in Indonesia, the democratic country that has the biggest Moslem population in the world.

1.1 The Role of Media in Political Communication

Within a modern democracy, communication is essential, because one of the ways to be democratic is to give people an opportunity to communicate their ideas. Political communication aims to reach a democratic society that is marked by dialogue (Lilleker,

2006). Dialogue is at the heart of modern democracies as signified by the presence of media who mediate the “world outside” and “the pictures in our head” (Lippman, 1922). Three players are identified in political communication:

These are, firstly, the political sphere itself: the state and its attendant political actors. Secondly, there are the non-state actors, where we would include a range of organizations with political motivations as well as corporate bodies and, of course, the voters. Finally there are the media outlets, the media communicates about politics, influencing the public as well as the political spheres (Lilleker, 2006, p. 1).

This study focuses on media outlets, particularly the extent to which the media communicates and influences the public, and subsequently the political spheres. Ideally, a democratic society elects its leader based on the interactions between the candidates and the voters. But, political communication does not only occur during election moments, but also in non-election time. Political communication could take its form based on the existing socio-economic and political situations in each country. Thus, the political communication context in the established democracy countries is different from that which still new in democracy (Votmer, 2013). However, in this interaction, the media do not simply mediate the message between the state and the people, but the media also conveys its own message. The way the media articulates its message in the interactions amongst political communication actors mentioned in Lilleker’s definition may influence the direction of the democracy.

Romano (2003) argues that Indonesian journalists are not actors that shape the interaction between state and society, but that journalists are shaped by those relationships. This view results in voters being treated more as consumers, rather than as citizens (Stanyer, 2007). Media’s tendency to look at society as a singular entity, regardless of its socio-economic divisions (especially in the industrial era where class cleavages are obvious) would contribute to the case that some people are being excluded by politics. Consequently, citizens “are split between an engaged majority

who are interested in and consume coverage of conventional politics and a politically disengaged minority who avoid such coverage” (Stanyer, 2007, p. 12).

In the Indonesian context, citizens were depoliticised for 32 years from 1966 during the New Order era (Lev, 2005). Consequently, this left a huge gap between the few people who are politically literate and engaged in politics and those who are not. The small amount of studies on the intersection between media and civil society shows that the Indonesian scholars “underestimated the significance of the media-civil society relationship” (Kitley, 2008, p. 212). This study attempts to enrich the literature in the field of media-civil society relationship in Indonesian.

1.2 The Press in Indonesia from New Order to Reform era

The work of the current Indonesian press is closely related to the condition of Indonesia in New Order era (1966 – 1998). At that time, Indonesia was led by the authoritarian military regime (Menayang, Nugroho & Listiorini, 2002), and the press was “treated as a state ideological apparatus” (Gazali, 2002, p. 121), where the media does not work as watchdogs, but instead promotes and guards the government’s agenda (Romano, 2003).

The pressure on the press involved the shutdowns of three investigative media outlets (*Detik*, *Tempo* and *Editor*). This incident, occurred in 1994, induced the emergence of alternative and underground media published by activists and students, which respectively contributed to resistance and the students’ movement (Menayang et al., 2002). Their ultimate agenda was to oust the regime of President Soeharto through the spread of the uncensored news of the actions of the regime. After President Soeharto was overthrown in May 1998, the freedom of the press was allowed.

Freedom of the press on the other hand, placed the press in a quandary. The local-level media, such as provincial-level radio stations, addressed lack of experience, education and knowledge of how to use Internet sources (Gazali, 2002). The biggest challenge in the current free press situation comes not from internal, but external forces. These are the violent mass action and physical violence to the journalists and their places of work (Romano, 2003) that still occur until now.

2.0 THEORIES OF AGENDA-SETTING & FRAMING

2.1 Definition of Agenda-setting Theory

Following Lippman's (1922) argument that media is capable of mediating the comprehension of political process, conducted by political actors, to the people, scholars have argued that the public tends to follow the information provided by media. This idea of influence is sharpened by Cohen (1963) who argues that "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*" (cited in Beal, 1983, p. 14). That is, the media has a distinct influence over public opinion, in regard to the recognition of issues.

McCombs and Shaw tested Cohen's statement, comparing the public agenda and media agenda amongst the undecided voters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, during the United States presidential election in 1968 (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). They found that the issues perceived important by the voters were in the same ranking order of issues in news stories: "foreign policy, law and order, economics, public welfare and civil rights" (p. 180). Based on this finding, McCombs and Shaw constructed the agenda-setting theory.

Agenda-setting is a theory that assumes that the media agenda can *tell* the public *what to think about* the political reality, and finally *how to think about it* (McCombs, 2004). Central to the theory is the idea that "by influencing the salience of issues" (p. 4),

media agenda sets public agenda. There are four suppositions underlying the theory, specifically: the recognition of the existence of public agenda setting as an important element; the assumption of the separation of political reality and public life; the perception of the capability of media in interpreting the political reality; and the acceptance of the possibility that public agenda-setting on political reality is subject to the media agenda-setting.

Developing our understanding of this theory, Behr and Iyengar (1985) in researching the influence of television news and real-world cues in public agenda, found that real-world cues have contributed to how the citizens perceived their issues. Thus, they argued that even though “television news set the public agenda”, media agenda is not the sole source for citizens’ in perceiving nation’s problems, especially with “issues with tangible consequences” (p. 51). For issues with tangible consequences, citizens rely on their own experiences and through sharing with other citizens’ members.

This position correlates with the argument conveyed by Neuman, Just and Crigler (1972), that audiences, in receiving information from mass media, are only partially, *not fully* influenced by mass media, as they are also able to construct their own perception of the “world outside”. In brief, audiences are seen as “constructing meaning” (p. 7) human beings. This point of view produces a constructionist approach of analysing the interconnection between mass media and audience. Constructionism considers how audiences actively interpret the world outside them and hence, seeks to moderate the claim of media influence over the public agenda.

2.2 Levels of Agenda-setting

Agenda-setting theory develops into two levels, basic agenda-setting and attribute agenda-setting. Furthermore, McCombs argues that attribute agenda-setting not only focuses on the attributes’ salience, but also has been developed into framing. These developments will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1 Basic Agenda-setting

Basic agenda-setting is also called first-level of agenda setting theory. Basic agenda-setting concerns the media's capability in directing the public's attention to the same selected objects on which the media has focused. "Object is that thing towards which our attention is directed or the thing about which we have an attitude or opinion" (McCombs, 2004, p. 69). Succinctly, basic agenda-setting is the transfer of the objects' salience from media agenda to public agenda. Salience in this context comprises the elements of the news that were made more noticeable than others in order to leave impressions on people that might lead them to recall, or even cling to again, in other times, when they were exposed to a similar impression by other news. Weaver, Graber, McCombs and Eyal (1981) argue that in the context of gaining knowledge from the agenda-setting process, basic agenda-setting deals more with the "awareness of issues" (p. 21). By particularly mentioning awareness, they indicate the scope of the application of basic agenda-setting theory, such as naming the issues or the figures mentioned in the media, but not providing more detailed facts about these.

2.2.2 Attribute Agenda-setting

Attribute agenda-setting is also called second-level of agenda-setting theory. Attributes are the features or qualities used to portray or categorise the object that makes it unique from other objects (McCombs, 2004). If first-level of agenda-setting theory concerns *what to think about*, then second-level of agenda setting theory concerns *how to think about it* (the objects or issues or events). Kiousis and McCombs (2004) argue that in the second-level of agenda-setting theory, the media adds the attributes of the objects or issues or events, and makes them salient in order to shape public's attitude or perspective to those objects or issues or events. Hence, the second-level of agenda-setting is defined as the process of transferring the salient features of the objects or issues from the media to the people in order to influence people on *how to think* about those objects or issues.

For example, Benton and Frazier (1976) measure the relations between agenda setting function of mass media and audience's three levels of 'information holding'. Three distinct levels are constructed to analyse the relationship: level one is the information that includes "general issue names"; level two is the information that consists of sub-issues, including "problems, causes and proposed solutions"; and level three is the information that "contains specific information about sub-issues", including "pro and con rationales for proposed solutions" (p. 263). In each level, the researchers try to analyse a connection between the media works and the audience reception of the information. The media works of attribute agenda-setting are represented in levels two and three. The focus on the media works are on the kinds of information available to the public, the correlations between the salient elements in the news texts and the public's awareness of the specific information, and the use of the medium. While the analysis of the audience is on the levels of the audience's comprehension of the news, and the characteristics of the audience. Based on this description of levels, the distinction between *what to think about or basic agenda-setting* and *how to think about it or attribute agenda-setting* depends upon the depth of information available to the public and how knowledgeable people are about issues. Their study concludes that in all levels, media was successful in setting the public agenda.

According to McCombs (1997, quoted in Griffin, 2003), in attribute agenda-setting, there are evidences of framing, such as selection and attribution of the capability of the media as objective and impartial in constructing an object or issue. However, Griffin (2003) contends that McCombs' definition of framing, limited only to the technical matters such as selection and attribution, lacks of the "emotional connotation" (p. 400) or the analytic potential of framing that generates the construction of meaning of the messages or news texts. Framing, according to Griffin, has a power to create a newly different comprehension of the world that is grounded by totally different point of view. The next section will discuss framing in the context of media effects separate from agenda-setting theory development.

2.3 Framing

This section will discuss the extent to which the media works to frame issues, and the identification of the frames in the news stories. Since the attempts to formulate the definition of frames (conveyed by Entman, 1993)), there has been no agreement on one conceptual measurement and one definition that can be applied to all studies of framing (Entman, Matthes & Pellicano, 2009; Vreese, 2005; Vliegthart & van Zoonen, 2011).

Scheufele (1999) argues framing is where the media actively construct reality through emphasising particular issues that are parallel to the media agenda. In this manner, framing is totally distinct from second-level or the attributes' salience of agenda setting theory, because framing actively selects and constructs the issues, not merely reflecting the available issues (Kosicki, 1993).

Reese (2001) identifies framing as "the way events and issues are organised and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals, and their audiences" (quoted in Fountaine, 2002, p. 126). For example, Sayers and Brunton (2011) found that media played an important role in framing the New Zealand 2006 doctors' strike as the "classic drama narrative of victor-villain-victim" through the "metaphor of war", selecting "emotional stories focusing on vulnerable people" and made them salient through the "readily available language usually applied in interpreting industrial action" (p. 10). By operating in the available frames that people have been familiar with, the media make sense of the event.

A similar concept is shared by Entman, Matthes and Pellicano (2009) who argue that media are also capable of fueling citizens with frames, by repeating words in multiple texts over time through their news stories. Those frames that are nourished by the media can arise spontaneously in the future when an event occurs, and citizens can summon the widely stored relevant frames. Mahony's (2010) study on Australian

newspapers after the 2002 and 2005 Bali bombings is a useful example of how the media's frame reiterated the public's frame. She explains that there is a connection between the discourses used in the past, before the Bali bomb tragedy, to the frames the journalists applied after that event. The catchphrases such as 'the Asian invasion' or 'in danger of being swamped by Asians' can be found in the Pauline Hanson and John Howard political campaigns for the Australian Prime Minister seat in the late 1990s *before* the Bali bombing had even occurred. Moreover, the conflicts such as the 9/11 tragedy and the asylum seeker debates placed the Muslim community as a marginalised group. When the Bali bombings happened, these catchphrases that had built frames in the minds of people and been stored over time, were recalled to frame the tragedy as Muslim terrorist.

Vliegthart and van Zoonen (2011) challenged the view that defines frames as solely a product that results from separate processes in news media and audience. The connections of elements of "macro level power (media system and political system), meso level (the influence of market and target group features) and micro level (source relations)" (p. 107) contribute to the way frames are produced, and finally, the frames themselves. Therefore, they argue that the study of frames should include the sociological approach to frames because the "the production and reception (of frames) are not only affected by individual differences, but also by social and cultural contexts, structural divisions and power constellations" (p. 112). In a more abstract term, Entman (1993) states that Vliegthart and van Zoonen's argument is covered in culture. Culture enables the inception of frames, because culture consists of the shared values that facilitate the production of the common frames.

Consequently, there are two distinct attitudes toward the way to research frames in news texts. The sociological or inductive approach suggests the analyses of all elements that enable the presence of the frames. In other words, to identify a frame, even a single word should be analysed in the idea that framing is the result of the

process that involves the power of macro, meso and micro level. There is no single text that can represent itself without its connection to the context.

The second approach to researching framing is deductive (Vreese, 2005). The deductive approach tries to answer the empirical question of “what (which component) in a news story constitutes a frame?” (p. 54). In short, the deductive approach concentrates on the devices that shape frames in news texts. It can be concluded that it is in the operationalisation of framing devices that the inductive and deductive attitudes are different. The inductive approach treats framing devices as clues to reconstruct meaning (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011), while the deductive approach treats framing devices as the frames itself.

Supporting the deductive approach, Entman (1993) suggests that to research frames is to look at the “presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments” (p. 52). On the other hand, Tankard (2001) offers a very specific measurement: “headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, and concluding statements and paragraphs” (quoted in Vreese, 2005, p. 54). Both the sociological and deductive approach complement each other. The sociological approach helps the researcher to understand the existing culture in society that contributes to the entrenched terms or devices (reflected in catchphrases, sentences, words, and texts) used in them.

2.4 Agenda-setting and Framing in the Indonesian context

It is challenging to find literature in English on mass media agenda setting and framing in the Indonesian media. This gap shows the necessity of developing this present study, particularly because Indonesia is categorised as a new democratic country (Lev, 2005) and therefore, its media operations needs careful analysis. The following discussion

investigates the works of media agenda-setting in Indonesian mass media and particularly reviews some prevailing news frames in *The Jakarta Post*.

Based on the sparse literature, basic agenda-setting theory does occur in Indonesia. Samosir's (2013) study of the issue of corruption, shows that the intensive coverage of national and local newspapers influence the public agenda and attitudes toward the members of local parliament. Similarly, Mirawati's (2011) investigation on the effect of television news on the health system in Indonesia indicates that media agenda and public agenda influence each other. Based on her analysis, she argues that the media uses the issue that was most discussed in the social media - in this case, Facebook – as part of their agenda.

In relation to this study, the examination of the news placement, catchphrases, news sources, terminologies and labels used in *The Jakarta Post* news stories will be useful to look at. Scholars found that the following media frames were present in some of *The Jakarta Post* news stories: secularity, objectivity, impartiality, and war and peace journalism. For example, Azmi (2012) argues that *The Jakarta Post* frames the contentious topic of the enforcement of Shari'a law through secular perspective, while Mahony (2010) and Sasangka (2006) contend that *The Jakarta Post* discusses the tragedy of 2002 and 2005 Bali bombing and the attempts to bring to trial the leader of the suspected terrorist group in Indonesia, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, through the frames of impartiality and objectivity.

The objective frame can be seen in the terminology used when labeling the bombers. Indonesian newspapers, including *The Jakarta Post*, rarely connect the bombers with the word Islam, applying the terms "hardline groups or radicals" (Mahony, 2010, p. 748). Similar to the objective frame is the impartial news frame found in Sasangka's (2006) study. He argued that when discussing terrorism, *The Jakarta Post* involved the Australian government as a news source as much as the involvement of Indonesian

government and Ba'asyir and his lawyer's engagement. In short, *The Jakarta Post* tried to accommodate the interests of all parties.

On the other hand, *The Jakarta Post* covered local and international conflicts through the frame of war and peace journalism (Lee, Maslog & Kim, 2006). According to Johan Galtung, peace journalism frames conflicts or war through the point of view of peace building, such as "promoting conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation" while Philip Knightley argued that war journalism frames conflicts through the perspective of competition, "military triumphalist language" (in Lee, Maslog & Kim, 2006, p. 500). Based on their analysis, Lee, Maslog & Kim (2006) found that in covering local or national conflicts, *The Jakarta Post* tends to discuss them through a war journalism frame, but on the contrary, the post covers the international conflicts through peace journalism. Their study showed that *The Jakarta Post's* investigation of national conflicts in the Aceh and Maluku regions supports the government's statement and almost no coverage was given to those who were opposing government. But, in the investigation of the Iraq war, *The Jakarta Post* leans to the desire of the Asian government who want "to see a more peaceful resolution in Iraq" (p. 511). Based on this frame of war and peace journalism, this study argues that *The Jakarta Post* tends to locate itself in support of the ruling class.

Based on the aforementioned review of media agenda-setting in Indonesian media, it can be stated that the media in Indonesia try to influence the public agenda through intensive coverage of an issue and picks up the concerns aired in social media as one of the source to address citizens' concerns. However, the particular news frames that are applied in some of the news stories in *The Jakarta Post* show that the post try to be cautious in discussing sensitive issues, such as terrorism, conflict, and critical, e.g. Shari'a law.

3.0 INDONESIAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

A political leader is a person who is elected by the people because she/he is assumed to be able to guide a country in a particular direction that will bring progress to her/his people (Kane & Patapan, 2010). Being elected by the people, the political leader endures the burden of representing the people and their needs.

To understand leadership in Indonesia, we should assess the types of leadership that have prevailed in Indonesia since its independence in 1945. Before the current president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono or SBY (2004-present), there were five presidents of the Republic of Indonesia, Soekarno (1945-1966), Soeharto (1966-1998), Habibie (1998-1999), Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), and Megawati Soekarnoputri (2001-2004). This section will only discuss the leadership style of Soekarno, Soeharto, and SBY, because their government periods are the longest. This comparison will enable us to gain an image of the leadership that has been most preferred by Indonesians to date.

Pausacker (2004) argues that the spirit of harmony is a part of Javanese culture applied by Soekarno, and later by other Indonesian presidents, as essential to their leadership style. She also finds that Soekarno's character represents the "combination of masculine, blunt in his manner, unhesitating, uncritical loyalty and patriotism" (p. 213, 217). One of Soekarno's efforts is on harmonising different political affiliates through the concept of *Panca Sila*, the five principles of the nation, which prevails in Indonesia until now. Hering (1992) argues that Soekarno has the characters of a visionary leader and a thinker. However, Liddle (1996) contends that after 1959, Soekarno became an authoritarian leader by bringing the nation under the Guided Democracy.

The second president, Soeharto, is pictured in the literature mostly as the leader of an authoritarian regime due to the high violation of human rights, and the obvious practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism under his leadership (Gazali, 2002;

Irawanto, 2011; Pausacker, 2004; Romano, 2003; Siraishi, 2001). Under his order, around 500,000 to 2 million members and alleged-members of PKI (Indonesian Communist Party / *Partai Komunis Indonesia*) were killed. Besides the prominence of Soeharto's authoritarianism, Siraishi (2001) argues that Soeharto placed himself as the father of the nation, and consequently, the people was treated as family. Similar to Siraishi, Romano (2003) argues that the New Order era (1966-1998) interpreted the 1945 Constitution through the paternalistic concept of being the guardian of the masses. As a result, family-ism and father-ism engendered the rampant cases of nepotism and the corruption that have persisted until now. These two terms are important for Indonesians because they were labelled as Indonesians characteristics that have been conceptualised since Indonesia seized its independence where Indonesians tried to identify its own character as a nation (Romano, 2003, p. 1-2). These two terms will be discussed more fully below.

The last president to be discussed is Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono or SBY. Liddle and Mujani (2004) argue that when SBY participated for the first time in the 2004 presidential election, the voters appraised him as "decisive, charismatic, inspiring, caring, honest, likable and smart" (p. 123). However, Liddle (2007) further argues that in the first period of his presidency, SBY was revealed more as an "indecisive, cautious and slow to decide leader" (p. 330) compared to his vice president.

Mujani and Liddle (2010) argue that more rational voters have emerged since the 2009 election. The factor of rational voters and their particular interests will eventually determine the type of leader elect, argue Mujani and Liddle, particularly a candidate "who can grow the economy, promote general prosperity, defend national unity, fight corruption, improve the quality of education and health care" (p. 48).

The present research is significant because of at least two reasons. Firstly, Indonesians need a new president but have to find the right new person, as SBY cannot be elected

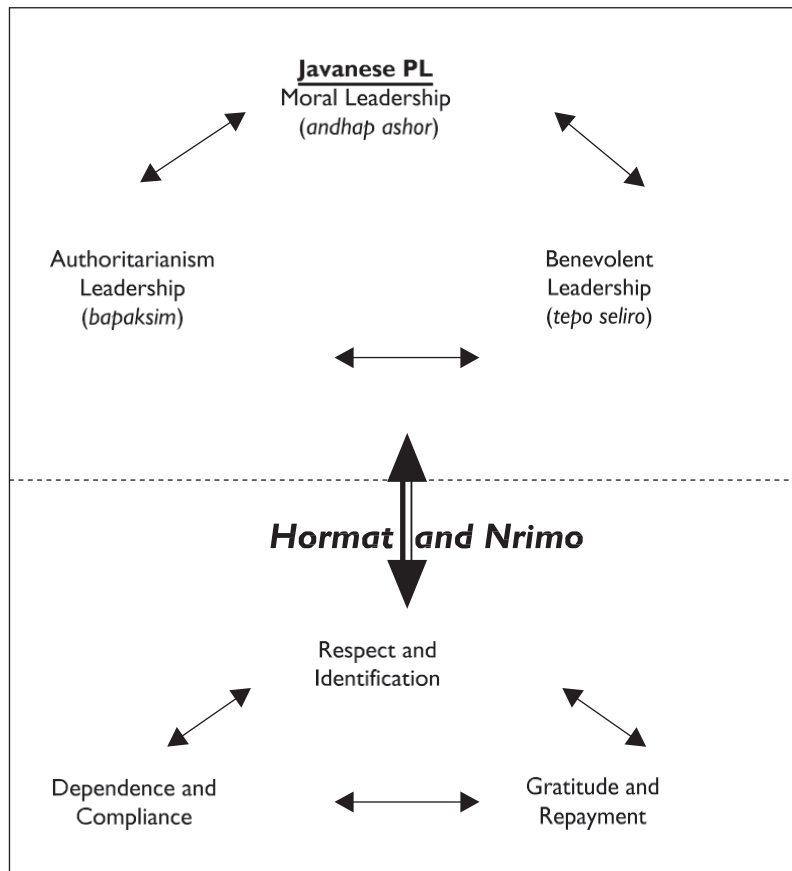
again as he has been elected for two consecutive terms. Secondly, the rational voters tend to choose the candidates who have proven achievements in economy, law and welfare programs. These observations in the news media and social media, are often connected to Joko Widodo's achievement as Solo's city mayor and present Jakarta's governor.

According to Irawanto et al. (2011), paternalistic leadership is considered as the more appropriate concept to be applied to Indonesia. This view is in common with the conceptual history of family-ism and father-ism in Indonesia that argued by Supomo. Supomo was one of the students of Cornelis van Vollenhoven. Vollenhoven (in Romano, 2003) found "that there was a coherent and consistent familial culture of ethnic groups across the Indonesian archipelago that prioritised (i) communal over individual interest, (ii) strong links between man and nature and, (iii) dispute resolution through conciliation and consensus" (p. 1). Supomo, who was also heavily influenced by Hegel's philosophy, then added the idea of unity in Indonesians' character, by saying that "Indonesia was characterised by a 'unity of life, unity of servant and master, that is between the external and the internal, spiritual world, between microcosmos and the macrocosmos, [and] between the people and their leaders" (p. 3). According to Hegel, women are dominated by feelings, which, it is assumed, make them less rationale than men, while men are assumed able to be more distant from their emotions. This concept places men as being more capable dealing with public issues, while women are more capable where domestic matters are concerned. Men, thus, in short, own the character of protectors. It is worth noting that Supomo's argument was challenged through the perspective of totalitarianism, which emerged in Supomo's speech in BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence) meeting in 1945: "his [Supomo] speech reproduces the wording, rhetoric and discourses of texts by key Nazi German and totalitarian Japanese ideologues on law, society and the state" (Romano, 2003, p. 6).

Paternalistic leadership is constructed based on Confucianism values that “encourage the family-ism in the society and in organizations” (p. 359). In Confucianism-based paternalistic leadership, the relation between leaders and followers is just like in the traditional family. Chinese paternalistic leadership demands the leader be capable of inspiring the followers (which is categorised as authoritarian leadership) and able to give support to followers’ well-being or having the character of benevolent leadership. However, only those who are able to show moral leadership, particularly demonstrating herself/himself as a good example of the values that are accepted by the majority of the followers, will receive ultimate respect. In other words, the paternalistic leadership assumes that leaders are always right and true in their actions as long as they can show good deeds to the majority of the people.

This model of paternalistic leadership is perceived appropriate to understand Javanese leadership (Irawanto et al. 2011), the dominant culture in Indonesia. In their study, Irawanto et al. argue that the values of Javanese culture such as *andhap ashor* (low profile/moral leadership), *tepo seliro* (sympathy/benevolent leadership) and *bapak-ism* (father-ism/authoritarian leadership) show similarities to the Confucianism-based values applied in Chinese paternalistic leadership because both of the cultures value collectivism.

Figure 4: Javanese Paternalistic Leadership



Source: Tailoring Leadership Theory to Indonesian Culture (Irawanto, Ramsey, & Ryan, 2011, p. 361)

Furthermore, criticising Javanese-culture based benevolent leadership, Liddle (1996) argues that benevolent leadership produces “benevolence-obedience “ (p. 80) that encourages the “statism, centralization and uniformity” (p. 80) of the New Order era. Similar to Irawanto et al. (2011), Liddle concludes that benevolent leadership generates a paternalistic leadership, which brings problems with it. Two ultimate problems are the claim that the leader can do no wrong, and “the extent of its acceptance by the common people of Java” (p. 82). It means that even though most of the people are aware of the mistakes made by a leader, they would accept it as a risk that should be borne.

Pekerti & Sendjaya (2010) offered the concept of servant leadership. Servant leadership means the leader serves the people. In this model, one is considered as a leader if she/he owns the character of servant. The characteristics of servant in this leadership style are “follower-centric, altruistic, moral/ethical, and spiritual values” (p. 755). Therefore, the agenda of a servant leader is to empower or develop the followers to the point where they can reach the servant leadership character and become servants. In short, to lead is to serve.

By studying the history of the leadership style by the presidents of Indonesia, it can be concluded that both the leadership concepts of Javanese Paternalistic Leadership and Servant Leadership could still be preferred by Indonesians because of the cultural element that underlies the concepts. However, the rational voter might demand the proof of concrete achievement.

4.0 INFLUENCE OF ISLAM IN INDONESIAN NEWS REPORTING

Maintaining national unity is one of many qualifications that rational voters seek in a leader. A political leader in Indonesia requires an understanding of the pluralism of Indonesia. Patapan (2008) argues that Indonesia has successfully accommodated the diverse elements of its society in its transition to democracy. Indonesia is the fourth largest population in the world (Lim, 2008), and 88% of the population is Moslem (p. 269). This places Indonesia as “the world’s largest Muslim democracy” (Baswedan, 2004, p. 669). The uniqueness of Indonesia is that although Islam is the majority religion, Indonesia is a democratic country, not an Islamic state (Azra & Hudson, 2008). However, the influence of Islam is everywhere. The influence of Islam will be briefly examined in two separate parts: firstly, in the daily life in Indonesia, particularly through education, and an emerging fundamentalist group of FPI (Islam Defenders Front / *Front Pembela Islam*), and secondly, in the news media.

The subject of Religion is crucial in the education process in Indonesia. Its prominent role is reflected in the situation that when a student gets a low score in Religion, they may get no grade. In government-funded schools, the systems tend to teach and practice only one religion, which is the religion that is embraced by the majority students. For example, if most of the students are Christians, the schools will start and end the study process in Christian prayer and teach Christian values only. In this case, the minority is forced to adapt themselves to the majority. Students may study in religion-based schools, such as Catholic or Moslem schools, but the fee is very high for the majority of the population in Indonesia who live in poverty.

The current emerging situation in Indonesia in association with the influence of Islam, particularly in Jakarta and some cities in Java, is the increase in violence by fundamentalist activists. Priyono (2011) argues that religious fundamentalism in Indonesia appears to have coincided with the market economy. The typical Indonesian problem in association with fundamentalism acts is the incapability of the government to establish the feeling of citizenship. That is, the class system in Indonesia affects fragmentation in society (Hadiz & Robison, 2012). This means that people's identity is primarily based on economic class or religion. Consequently, this generates the view of identity such as poor Indonesians or rich Indonesians and Moslem Indonesians or Christian Indonesians. In short, unity amongst the citizens is not a reality.

The most discussed religious fundamentalist group is FPI (Islam Defenders Front). Porter (2002) notes that FPI was a prominent radical Islamic group that mobilised supporters on the streets to protest the soft statement of Megawati Soekarnoputri, the 5th President of Indonesia, when addressing the US military strikes against al-Qaida terrorist group in Afghanistan. Presently, because of the "weak law enforcement agencies" (Wanandi, 2002, p. 111), FPI's fundamentalist actions are getting stronger in Indonesia, including churches shutdowns and demolitions. However, FPI's fundamental point of view is not shared by all Indonesian Islam (Hefner, 1997). In short, Islam in Indonesia cannot be reduced into one alignment.

In relation to the influence of Islam in news reporting, Hefner (1997) argues that the influence of Islamic teaching in Indonesian news reporting only occurs in the Islamic news, not in all media. For example, examination of *Media Dakwah*, a magazine owned and operated by DDII (Indonesian Counsel for Islamic Predication), shows that though the content “reports on current events [it] invariably return to basic themes from the Qur’an and Islamic history” (Hefner, 1997, p. 89). *Media Dakwah* is only popular in the low economy class society. On the other hand, *Tempo* newsweekly, the prominent investigative media in Indonesia which is “owned and operated by a predominantly Muslim-Indonesian staff” (p. 88), prefers to reflect independent and pluralist values. However, Ariyanto, Homsey, Morton and Gallois (2008) argue that media bias exists in Indonesian news coverage of Christian – Moslem conflict. That is to say that Moslem-owned media tend to attack Christians as perpetrators of conflict, and vice versa. To conclude, poverty is the first cause that leads people to fragmentation, and this condition is nourished by the Islamic fundamentalist group, partly because of the government’s indecision, that is being picked up by some media to justify their actions given the fact that Islam is in the majority in Indonesia.

5.0 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explained four big issues that shaped the central context of this study. They are the role of media in civil society-state interaction, the theory of agenda-setting and framing, the trend of political leadership in Indonesia, and the influence of Islam in Indonesia. In all sections, the issues are narrowed to a specific Indonesian context.

Based on the discussion of the history of Indonesian media, it is found that the media in Indonesia had previously experienced the authoritarian control of the government. However, even now as the freedom of the press is gained, it has been given by the government. Therefore, the threat to journalism work still occurs now. The

applications of agenda-setting and framing in Indonesian media showed that the media try to mediate between events and people's interpretation of those events, even though in a cautious way. On the other hand, the studies on Indonesian political leadership showed an increase in rational voters, while the influence of Islam section demonstrates the rise of fundamentalist acts.

This research contributes to three major areas. Firstly, it will enrich the study of media in Indonesian context, specifically in English literature. Secondly, it will investigate the frames of Indonesian leadership that promotes by *The Jakarta Post*, which is one the credible sources in Indonesia, and the only English-language sources available for people outside Indonesians. Thirdly, it will identify the work of Indonesian media in the middle of the Indonesian process to become a more democratic country.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Having identified gaps in the research of media's role in the state–civil society interaction in Indonesian (Kitley, 2008), this study aims to contribute to that field. Specifically, this research investigates how *The Jakarta Post* frames Joko Widodo through flood events management in Jakarta and through leadership markings. Joko Widodo is the current Governor of DKI Jakarta, the capital city, of Indonesia. Prior to his entry to the office in 2012, Joko Widodo was known for his reputation as a clean leader, with no record of corruption. As Indonesia moves towards the presidential campaign in March 2014, Joko Widodo is discussed and favored by many people as a potential candidate although his tenure as governor still has four more years to go.

As previously stated, these are the following research questions of this study:

1. What are the primary points of focus of *The Jakarta Post* coverage of the Jakarta floods?
2. Does *The Jakarta Post* present a balanced analysis of the causes and effects of the annual Jakarta floods?
3. Does *The Jakarta Post* frame Joko Widodo through the issue of the floods? If so, is the framing positive or negative?
4. How does *The Jakarta Post's* presentation of Joko Widodo connect with leadership characteristics that are important in Indonesian culture?

The researcher finds that quantitative content analysis can answer the research questions of this study because its primary goal is “to describe and count the characteristics of messages embedded in public and mediated texts” (Frey, Botan &

Kreps, 2000, p. 238). However, this study employs qualitative content analysis to capture the important elements of the relationship between political and media systems in Indonesia. Research question number three is explored through combining content analysis and frame analysis. The rationale for using content analysis is advanced in this chapter, along with its procedure as a methodology.

2.0 CONTENT ANALYSIS

Quantitative content analysis has been used in 18-century to investigate the content, including texts and symbols, of a songbook (Krippendorff, 1980). Further, content analysis is particularly useful for studies of media operations. Janowitz (1976) found that content analysis was a better research method than survey research to examine socio-political change. Similar to Janowitz's (1976) argument was Insch, Moore and Murphy (1997) that stated it was the "mass production of newsprint" (p. 3) that caused the popularity of the use of content analysis. In addition to that condition was the requirements of objectivity developed by scholars from journalism schools. Until now, content analysis research method still shows its ability to investigate the messages in other media, such as computer mediated communication (CMC) or social media, and has been widely used in political communication field besides mass communication research (Frey et al., 2000).

2.1 Definition of Content Analysis

Content analysis involves collecting stories based on keywords, constructing the coding scheme based on the context of the study, and counting the keywords that help the researcher answer the research questions. The oft-quoted quantitative view of content analysis is Berelson's (1952) definition: "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). However, the three elements of objective, quantitative and manifest content are challenged by other scholars. Berger and Luckman (1966) contend that it is hard to imagine the total objective interpretations of news, primarily because the text, by its

nature, is open to any possible interpretation. To this end, as Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newbold (1998) explain that in its operationalisation, the content analysts choose the aspects to be researched and justify their reasons why those aspects are selected. This process is conducted based on the values-based subjectivity of the content analysts. Consequently, the meaning of objectivity in content analysis should be acknowledged as limited, such as through the recognition of subjectivity (Fountaine, 2002). As Molotch and Lester (1974) suggest:

Our coders are competent social members, each of whom has a world as valid as any other. The intervention of such coders' worlds into the coding process is a fact which must be acknowledged, not obscured through assertions of objective inter-coder reliability (quoted in McGregor, 1995, p. 315).

The quantification element of content analysis is also controversial. Kaid and Wadsworth (1989) contend that the more frequently some aspects appear does not correlate to the importance of those aspects. Numbers do not equate to importance. Further, ignoring the qualitative process of content analysis can be labelled "reductionist" (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 1998, p. 19) because the process of "reading between the lines" (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 26) is qualitative and cannot be reduced to numbers. However, Neuendorf (2002) argues that content analysis is primarily a quantitative research as provided in her concept:

Content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented (p. 10).

Neuendorff's (2002) definition rejects the argument that quantitative application will reduce any meaning in message, because in her opinion, the difference is only in the depth of the result, but depth is a relative measure and moreover, the quantitative approach is also able to generate a deep result. Macnamara (2005) concludes that to get an ideal result, qualitative and quantitative aspects should be combined, because

each of the approaches has its own advantage. The quantitative application of content analysis yields a “reliable” result, while qualitative produces a deeper meaning beyond texts (p. 5).

The element of manifest content is also much discussed. Kerlinger (1973, quoted in Riffe et al., 1998) points out that by investigating visible texts only, content analysis ignores the context that contributes to the presence of text. Krippendorff’s (2013) main critique is that the term ‘manifest content’ deliberately restricts the potential of messages to be interpreted differently, and consequently, dismisses the internal process from understanding texts to making conclusions or constructing meaning (p. 26). By contrast, Riffe et al. (1998) view that manifest content was the most reliable for quantitative analysis because manifest content has an element of time. Since time is relative, which means that what manifests now, may not have manifested years ago, therefore the manifest content gives the researcher the most proximity to the meaning.

Although there is dissent concerning issues of objective, quantitative and manifest content, there is agreement on the element of systematic content analysis. Systematic analysis emphasises the importance of fixed procedures in operationalising categories that are relevant to the research to answer the research questions (Stempel, 1989). Krippendorff (2013) categorises systematic as validity, because validity “demands the researcher’s processes of sampling, reading and analysing messages ultimately satisfy external criteria” (p. 25). As for this study, it applies all elements of content analysis method but limits itself to the manifest content because the sample is the contents of *The Jakarta Post* newspaper.

2.2 Why Content Analysis?

Hansen et al. (1998) argue that to let some social and cultural issues be inferred based on unreliable opinion might result in a misleading conclusion. Content analysis enables

researchers to provide a valid and reliable conclusion regarding media text through a careful assessment, instead of simply watching the texts (Stempel, 1989). For example, Keshishian (1997) used content analysis to investigate the non-political news in *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post* in covering Armenian and Iranian earthquake, in the light of politico-economic theory. She finds that the amount of the news reports and language used in both of the newspapers showed preference to the Armenian earthquake rather than Iranian. Another example is Radiastra and Muktiyo's (2013) use of content analysis in studying the coverage of Joko Widodo in *Kompas* newspaper before he was elected as Jakarta governor. Radiastra and Muktiyo conducted a cross tabulation of the categories they developed in their coding scheme to get a comprehensive picture of news texts and discovered that Joko Widodo was framed positively by Kompas.

In relation to media content analysis, Janowitz (1976) explains that the use of media texts as samples in content analysis helps researchers to study socio-political change, because according to him, the media always captures two different situations: the pros and cons, which represents the "popular expectations" (p. 16). In other words, he is confident with the capacity of media as mediator between state and society. Moreover, he argues that in times of crisis, the careful investigation of media content gives researchers direction to find the trend in public opinion at that time, and the low cost of content analysis is an advantage for researchers examining socio-political change. Kaid and Wadsworth (1989) stated a similar argument in that content analysis enables researchers to scrutinise large amounts of data "in a quick and unobtrusive manner and with a minimum of resources" (in Hopkins, 2009, p.87).

Content analysis in leadership research (leadership is one of the focus points of this study) helps researchers to identify the interaction of leadership-followers (Insch et al., 1997; Klenke, 2008). Insch et al. identify the role of content analysis in leadership research; in leader level, content analysis allows the examination of the leaderships' acts and oral communications, while in follower level, content analysis helps the

researchers to investigate to what extent followers react to leaders' communication and identify attributions of a leader. Finally, content analysis in qualitative approach permits the researchers to study the context of leader-follower's interaction. This is therefore, closely connected to the central issue of political communication, that is to scrutinise the presence of dialogue in democratic society.

Moreover, as the research method that has been applied in conjunction with frame analysis, content analysis is very useful, specifically because frame analysis is operationalised based on the communicated issues or objects or events. For example, Matthes and Kohring (2008) used content analysis to examine the reliability and validity of media frames. They mixed the research procedure in content analysis with the frame analysis definition developed by Entman (1993). They then, studied each single frame in the unit of analysis, which were the articles in *The New York Times* regarding the topic of biotechnology from 1992-1996 and 1997-2001. Finally, they argued that the combination of two methodologies is reliable and valid. It is reliable because by identifying a single frame in each news articles they avoid "a risk that researchers differ in how they set all parts together" (p. 274) and consequently, the foundation to build holistic frames is more achievable since a holistic frame is a sum of single frame elements. And it is valid, because the two different periods of samples are analysed through the same approach that is the use of manual application for coding frame elements and computerised application for identifying abstracts.

2.3 Limitations of Content Analysis

There are limitations of content analysis. First, content analysis only deals with the published data, which means that it cannot access the intention of the communicators or sources. In relation to the study of media, content analysis is not able to investigate the works of media, such as the gatekeepers. The problem with this inability is that the media are considered by the people to be objective, e.g. Janowitz's (1976) study, while the development of study on agenda-setting has revealed that media has its own

agenda. Hence, to have a sufficient source on reviewing the work of media or media effects, researchers cannot rely solely on content analysis, but should also use other research method.

The second limitation is specific to quantitative analysis. By using quantitative means the analysis is based on the measurable aspects or number of times a topic appears in the texts. The main weakness of counting words is that the researchers necessarily rely on inadequate data that does not represent the richness of the context. Categories developed in the quantitative analysis should not be separated from the context. Consequently, quantitative analysis cannot fully represent unstated statement, non-verbal cues and potential emotional expression (Insch et al, 1997). Hence, quantitative analysis simplifies the issues because important dimensions may not emerge in the form of texts (Ericson, Baranek & Chan, 1991). Finally, quantitative analysis can only generate partial meanings.

Another limitation of content analysis is the subjectivity of the researcher or coder. Although subjectivity has been suggested as the aspect that made content analysis more possible to be conducted as a research method, yet subjectivity does have limitations, that is the preference to see texts based on its own point of view, without considering the totally distinct understandings other people have. Carney (1972) states “the same document can mean wholly different things to different users” (p. 15). However, to decide which opinion is more precise than others, also involves preference or subjectivity. To overcome this issue, McGregor (1995) suggested the “careful selection of coders with thorough explanation by the researcher of what understandings inform the analysis” (p. 320).

2.4 How Content Analysis is Used in This Study

The relationship between content analysis and the media coverage of politics and politicians is well established. Importantly for this study, Klenke (2008) identifies

various kinds of leadership research that have used content analysis for data collection. Based on his examination of these studies, he concludes that content analysis is very useful in researching leadership because “leadership research highlights the importance of language which is the fundamental aspect of leadership process” (p. 89).

This study uses both qualitative and quantitative content analysis. The use of quantitative analysis, as mentioned in the Introduction of this chapter, is needed to answer the frequency of news coverage given to Joko Widodo and the Jakarta flood event. Meanwhile, the qualitative content analysis is needed to interpret the meaning of the content within the Indonesian context. The more comprehensive explanation of content analysis in this study is justified in the following sections.

2.4.1 Selection of Media and Sample

In choosing the sample, the researcher needs to consider the amount needed for a representative sample (Frey et al., 2000) within the confines of time available for the research. An insufficient number of stories can lead to inaccurate results. In relation to this study, the sample is new coverage of flood events that mention Joko Widodo. This is because this research is interested in analysing how Joko Widodo was framed through the non-political moments, particularly because much of the research into political leaders is conducted during an election period. As discussed in Chapter *Background* (section 3.0), flooding is a crucial problem in Jakarta, particularly because it always brings victims, resulting in hundreds of people being displaced for days, and a huge budget is allocated to address this issue. Meanwhile, Joko Widodo was the current governor of DKI Jakarta that was elected only a few months before the Jakarta flood occurred. In addition, Joko Widodo was also a governor whose origins were not from Jakarta, but from Solo, a small town in central Java, which means Joko Widodo does not have prior experience of the Jakarta floods. Thus, this research argues that how *The Jakarta Post* framed Joko Widodo in the Jakarta flood news coverage is

important because it will contribute to the body of literature on the significance of the relationship between the Indonesian media and civil society (Kitley, 2003, p. 212).

2.4.1.1 Sampling Media Forms

A trustworthy source is a prominent consideration when analysing the reliability of information (Insch et al., 1997). To ensure the selected source is reliable, it is necessary to gather the information about the credibility of the source (Neuendorf, 2002). In relation to this study, the researcher chose media that have been examined widely by Indonesian scholars (mostly in Indonesian language), consumed by educated Indonesians, written in English and can be accessed through the internet (due to the study being undertaken outside Indonesia and specifically, in an English-speaking country). Hence, *The Jakarta Post* newspaper is chosen as the sample because it has been running for 26 years (Azmi, 2012, p. 24), is commented on by many Indonesians who are keen to speak English, provides online news (updated based on the development of the issues, not daily) and print (updated daily) news and moreover, it is the only English-language newspaper owned and operated by and in Indonesia. Further, *The Jakarta Post* has a special section that focuses on Jakarta's problems or events, named *Jakarta*.

2.4.1.2 Sample Dates

The sample dates should be correlated to research questions in order to provide answers meaningful for those questions. According to the research questions mentioned in the Introduction, the relevant dates of the news gathered are between the days when Joko Widodo became involved in the campaign to become Governor of Jakarta and the days (after his election) when the Jakarta flood began and ended. The fundamental reason to choose those dates is to connect the promises made during the campaign period to find solutions to flood issues with the efforts that Joko Widodo made during the flood events. Therefore, the sample period for this study is February 1,

2012, to March 1, 2013. The news stories in those days covered the preparation of Jakarta governor's election, the preparation for flood events, and the aftermath.

2.4.1.3 Unit of Analysis

Krippendorff (2013) defines the unit of analysis as the unit to be selected and measured by researchers. It can be a single word, sentence, phrase, paragraph or an article that reflects an entire story. Thus, it depends on the allocation of the time in conducting the study and the purpose of the research. The bigger amount unit of analysis to be analysed, the longer the time it takes. In this research, the element of time is a prominent consideration, and hence, the unit of analysis of this study is limited to the news article, not paragraphs or phrases. Furthermore, Neuendorf (2002) argues that researchers may discover the units of analysis if they have comprehended the meaning of the messages beforehand. In relation to this study, the researcher's comprehension of the context of news texts is not only derived from self-immersion in the news texts, but also is based on the experience of the researcher as a member of the Jakarta population that had experience in assisting flood victims. Thus, the unit of analysis in this study is the stories that mention floods and/or Joko Widodo that written between March 1, 2012 to February 28, 2013. The stories may not mention Joko Widodo, but refer him as "Jakarta governor" or "Jakarta administration". These stories are included in the unit of analysis because Joko Widodo as Jakarta governor is also the Head of Jakarta administration. In addition, some stories may not articulate 'floods', but as long as those stories reflect the condition that resulted from floods events, such as river dredging, plans on implementing rules in percolation pit in Jakarta business district, and constructions of giant tunnels, they are considered as part of the unit of analysis.

2.4.2 Constructing a Coding Scheme

Coding is the process of transforming the research questions into an array of categories that enables the analysts to answer the questions or prove the hypothesis. In this process, the observation of news stories, understanding of theories and knowledge on the current political context is important to contextualise the establishment of categories. For example, this current study focuses on analysing how *The Jakarta Post* frames Joko Widodo as a leader for Indonesia, it is important to examine the extent to which leadership markings were employed in the news articles, as suggested by Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011), in Indonesia that had a strong authoritarian leadership background. The coding schedule for this research was divided into two sections. The first section was concerned with the story, and the second with the individuals.

2.4.2.1 Story-based Category

The story-based section of the analysis applies agenda-setting theory where news writers tell people what to think about and how to think about it. In operationalising the theory into story-based categories in this study, the analyst scrutinised the technical elements of the news, that are the focus of the article, the salient element of the flood that was covered, the other issues in Jakarta besides flood mentioned, and the articulation of change. The story-based section also includes administration-based categories such as the date, page numbers, types of articles, position of articles in *The Jakarta Post* and whether it is published in printed or online news. The administration-based identification covered certain unique issues for printed media, because of the physical aspect of the newspaper, i.e. the limited space available in the first page resulted in the highly selective articles in front page. Only the articles that were deemed most influential on that day will appear in the front page of newspapers. Clearly, the issue of page numbers or position of articles is not an issue in online news.

2.4.2.2 News Subjects and Sources

The categorisation of news subjects and news sources in this study follows the categories developed by Fountaine (2002). The category of the news subject is based on the extent to which a politician was mentioned in a news story; they are “mentioned only, appears to a limited extent, appears to a moderate extent, and dominates the story” (p. 83). Further explanation is shown in Table One.

Table 1

Categories of Politicians as News Subjects in this study

Politician is “mentioned only”	Politician does not speak, directly or indirectly
Politician “appears to a limited extent”	May be briefly cited and/or quoted, and may be visually depicted.
Politician “appears to a moderate extent”	May be discussed in some depth and/or cited/quoted
Politician “dominates the story”	A central player in the story.

For the politicians that were “mentioned only”, no further questions were asked. But for the politicians that were not merely mentioned, deeper investigations are required, which means, the politicians were not only treated as news subjects, but also as news sources. Thus, in the coding sheet, the news subject that “appear(s) to a moderate extent”, for instance, will be analysed in the next question of news sources. A fuller explanation of news sources is discussed below.

Table 2

Categories of Politicians as News Sources Used in this study

Cited and/or quoted first	Politician is the first to speak in the news story, either directly or indirectly.
Cited and/or quoted along with others	Politician speaks, but is neither the first nor the only person to speak in the story
Nor cited or quoted	Politician is more than just mentioned in the news story, but does not get the opportunity to speak, directly or indirectly

Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011) argued that source relations influence frames building. Different selections of sources generate different frames. Moreover, the selection of politicians as news sources cannot be separated from the political context. In this study, considering the current political context in Indonesia, the selection of quoted and mentioned politicians as news sources may influence people concerning the image of Joko Widodo either as part of corruption-related gang or as 'seemingly' pro-people leader. The categories of news sources also follow Fountaine's (2006) concept that is based on "the way the politician speaks in the story" (p. 324). Table 2 shows a more detailed description of the categories. By analysing the politicians mentioned as news subjects, and the politicians that are treated as news sources in the news, this study aims to find how *The Jakarta Post*, through the comparison with other politicians, frames Joko Widodo.

2.4.3 Key Coding Decisions

The purpose of this section is to explain the analysis of the news stories through framing theory. The sociological approach of the theory was applied by considering the macro, meso and micro level of influences to the news texts. The macro level of influence analyses the contribution of the political and media systems in the frame building, the meso level analyses the role of market and target audience, and the last level, micro level of influence, analyses the source relations that have been identified through the operationalisation of the news subjects and news sources categorisation (as mentioned in section 2.4.2.2 of this chapter). Thus, the categories built in response to this section aim primarily to analyse the way *The Jakarta Post* covers Joko Widodo's actions including whether the paper covering him in negative or positive or neutral fashion, and on determining the leadership markings represented in the news stories.

2.4.4 Testing Coding Scheme

Consistency is the main concern in testing coding scheme. Consistency in meaning should be shown in two different situations. First, consistency is central when different coders test the categories developed by researcher (inter-coder). If, say, coder A finds that one of the leadership markings does not represent the category of leadership, then this category should be discussed with other coder. The need to ensure that the categories used are acceptable to other coders is because people might interpret texts differently. If the category used in the research demonstrates a totally different meaning to what people usually understand, it could generate a misleading claim.

Secondly, consistency should be achieved when one coder applies different categories in different unit of analysis, which in this study, is news stories. This process is also called intra-coder. For example, when applying category of leadership in different news stories, this particular category encompasses all news stories, not only some of the news stories. If only some of the news stories that can be included in a category,

then the category is not consistent. The coding schedule needs to be above 90% reliable if it is to be acceptable.

This study implements both of inter-coder and intra-coder consistency. The inter-coder reliability was tested by inviting some communications students to discuss the categories developed by the researcher. On the other hand, the intra-coder reliability is tested on the stories beforehand by the researcher to ensure the comprehension of the issue and connect the categories to the research questions.

3.0 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the rationale of using content analysis in this study, that is through identifying the news texts that contain keywords of 'floods' and 'Joko Widodo', and by operationalising it along with frame analysis, the findings of this study will produce a more reliable and valid result. Previous research has demonstrated the use of content analysis, as a quantitative and qualitative data collection method, is an acceptable methodology for inductive (sociological approach) and deductive approaches of frame analysis mentioned in Chapter *Background* of this thesis. Specifically, in qualitative content analysis, the approach that emphasises the context of texts is closely related to the inductive concept of framing, which emphasises culture. Therefore, it can be concluded that content analysis is the right choice of methodology to be implemented in answering the research questions of this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of content and frame analyses carried out on *The Jakarta Post* coverage of the 2012 Jakarta governor's election and Jakarta flood. Using a coding schedule developed based on the stories dated from 1 March 2012 to 31 March 2013, 86 stories were analysed. Please see Appendix A for a copy of the coding schedule. The aim of this research is to investigate how *The Jakarta Post* framed Joko Widodo through the Jakarta severe flood at the end of 2012. To get more detailed answers, cross tabulations have been generated by crossing the answers of key questions, with supporting questions as deemed necessary.

Five major topics are covered in this chapter: the writers of the stories; the aspects of the flood that are most frequently covered; the nature of the change mentioned in the stories; the implementation of framing analysis; and the leadership characteristics identified in the story. Writer identity is important to connect to the research questions of this study because journalists play an important role in shaping Joko Widodo's image. Meanwhile, the second topic, that is the aspects of flood is the locus of this study to investigate the news framing of Joko Widodo. The third topic, which is change, needs to be discussed since the election of 2012 Jakarta's governor involved some significant changes concerning the transition to a democratic country in Indonesia. Therefore, the fourth section, scrutiny of the involvement of journalists in portraying Joko Widodo in relation to floods, is important because Joko Widodo was only less than 3 months elected as the Jakarta governor when the flood hit. Finally, the articulation of leadership characteristics is reported, along with the groups who articulated them.

2.0 FOCUSES OF THE STORIES

It is necessary to describe the focuses of the stories in this study separately because first, some stories were obviously distinct to other stories, hence, they can not all be classified as one. Secondly, there might be different frames applied in relation to the different focuses of the stories. The sample of this study is gathered from stories that have one or both of these keywords 'flood' and 'Joko Widodo'. Analysis of these stories reveals that although all of the stories have a connection to flood, not all of them were centralised on flood. The stories were then divided into three categories based on their focuses. The first category contains stories that focused on the Jakarta governor campaign, which have been called campaign-focused stories. Table One shows that this category encompassed 19 stories (22.09%) of the whole sample. Second, stories that focused on flood were thus categorised as flood-focused stories. Forty-six stories (53.49%) were classified as flood-focused stories.

Table 1: Focuses of the stories

Focuses of the stories	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Campaign	19	22.09%
Flood	46	53.49%
Other	21	24.42%
Total	86	100%

Thirdly, stories were that not included in flood-focused or campaign-focused categories, are classified as 'others'. This type of story contributes 24.42% of the whole sample. The focuses of these stories vary, including among others the prediction of Jakarta political situation that Joko Widodo would face, the use of budget, and Joko

Widodo’s plan to improve the education and health facilities in Jakarta. In these stories, flood was mentioned in passing only. Section 2.1 explains more fully the stories focused on other issues than campaign or flood.

2.1 Categorisation of the stories classified as ‘Other’

Some of the stories categorized as ‘other’ were written in the period between the moment when the election result was officially announced on September 2012 and the flood event that occurred at the end of November 2012. There were more or less two months in between. Consequently, the stories written in that period are dominated by opinions on the victory of the Joko Widodo – Basuki T. Purnama campaign and the awareness of the Jakarta flood that usually occurs between end and early of year. It could be said that the awareness of the Jakarta flood has been internalised in Jakartans’ life because of its annual occurrence.

Table 2: Categorisation of stories classified as 'Other'

Categorisation of stories classified as ‘Other’	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Written before or after the official announcement of 2012 Jakarta governor election	6	28.57%
Written before the flood	4	19.05%
Written after the flood	11	52.38%
Total	21	100%

The focus of stories classified as others varied based on the window of time the stories were written. There are three different moments identified. First window of time

includes the stories written between the time when some polling centers started counting the votes and published their predictions through televisions, and the time when the pair of Joko Widodo – Basuki Purnama was officially announced as the new-elected Jakarta governor and deputy governor by the Local Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah / KPUD*).

In that time period, most of the stories focused on forecasting the situation Joko Widodo, as the new-elected Jakarta governor, would face in Jakarta, since his political career had never been exercised in Jakarta. Thus, the flood as an issue was only articulated in passing, for example, “while Jakartans usually like quick fixes to their everyday problems, they are refreshingly realistic when it comes to the solving of the city’s major problems, such as traffic congestion, flooding and environmental issues” (*The Jakarta Post*, Sept. 22, 2012, p. 1).

The second window of time was when Joko Widodo officially started working as the Jakarta governor before the flood occurred. The stories’ focuses were more on his plans on solving problems in Jakarta, but did not specifically discuss the flood. The mention of flood in these stories was only passing too, often in the context of preparation for flood and the urgent need of infrastructure construction for Jakarta. For example, in a story that focused on elevated village construction that will affect the lives of squatters, the flood was only mentioned in passing, such as “more of the slums that Jokowi visited were located in flood-prone areas, such as riverbanks” (*The Jakarta Post*, Nov. 03, 2012, p. 9).

The third window of time involves the stories written after the floods finished altogether. The focuses of these stories were mostly on the works undertaken by Joko Widodo as Jakarta governor in relation to preventing floods in the future, among which are relocating squatters for river dredging projects, the commencement of dredging project, the approval of Jakarta city budget and its increase compared to the

previous year, the procurement of new public transportations, the newly appointed 20 officials in Jakarta city administration, and the possibility of foreign investment on river restoration. The flood was also only mentioned in passing.

The explanation above shows it was necessary to group the stories classified as 'others' separately because the windows of time when the stories written were different from the campaign-focused and flood-focused stories. As the issues of flood developed in those different periods, there is a possibility that the frames applied to Joko Widodo by *The Jakarta Post* also developed. This study needs to consider this possibility.

3.0 DISTRIBUTION OF THE WRITERS

It is necessary to consider the identity of the writers to understand the amount of the contributions of the media in shaping the news texts. Gajevic (2012) argues that the culture that exist in a wider society has an impact in the work of journalism. Thus, as the centre of this study is to analyse the framing by *The Jakarta Post* of Joko Widodo through the flood stories, it needs to know the distribution of the writers whose stories may influence the public opinion.

Table 3: Distribution of the writers of the stories

Writers' identity	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Academics	4	4.65%
Experts	1	1.16%
Journalists	81	94.19%
Total	86	100%

As Table Three displays, of the whole sample, journalists wrote 81 (94.19%) stories. In contrast, academics only wrote 4 stories (4.65%), and expert only 1 (1.16%). Since there is a rise of rational voters in Indonesia (Mujani & Liddle, 2010), it is necessary to scrutinise the stories written by the academics and expert. Table Four shows the time frame and focuses of the stories written by the academics and expert. Academics were involved in the campaign period, after the election and before the flood, while the expert's writing only appeared after Joko Widodo and Basuki Purnama were officially announced as the governing team.

Table 4: Stories written by the academics and expert

Time frame	Focus of the stories	Writers	Coverage on Joko Widodo
Campaign period	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Joko Widodo is capable to solve problems in Jakarta 2. The soil and water of Jakarta is at critical level. 	<p>Academics</p> <p>Academics</p>	<p>Positive toward Joko Widodo</p> <p>Neutral</p>
After the election day	<p>New hopes for Jakartans and new challenges for Joko Widodo</p> <p>The victory of Joko Widodo and his deputy governor had a positive impact on market</p>	<p>Academics</p> <p>Expert</p>	<p>Positive toward Joko Widodo</p> <p>Positive toward Joko Widodo</p>
Before flood	The opinion on the Jakarta local government plan to build elevated village (<i>kampung susun</i>).	Academics	Neutral

4.0 ASPECT OF FLOODS COVERED IN THE STORIES

Since this study identifies the issue of floods as the locus to scrutinise how *The Jakarta Post* framed Joko Widodo, it is crucial to identify the salient issues of floods covered in the stories. In other words, this section deals with the first agenda-setting theory of “what to think about floods”. Of the floods issues covered, there are a number of key issues that are presented as crucial, particularly in relation to the history and current occurrence of floods in Jakarta, which has been explained in *Chapter Background*.

The key issues concerning Jakarta floods are: development programme, dredging, floods as a problem for Jakarta, housing, Joko Widodo’s actions, ongoing flooding, people’s opinions of floods, people’s view of Joko Widodo regarding the floods event, policy, promises to handle floods, and squatters. There are four reasons why those issues are identified as key issues. First, by considering the Jakarta context that has been discussed in section 3.0 of the Background chapter, it is necessary to identify the possibility of re-inventing similar programs that had been conducted in the past, which might lead to corruption as argued by Steinberg (2007). This reason is especially connected to issues on “development programme”, “dredging”, “housing”, and “policy”. For example, in relation to the dredging issue, Cybriwsky & Ford (2001) have shown in their research on Jakarta that dredging had been conducted since Dutch colonialism era. In other words, dredging is not a new issue for handling Jakarta floods. Second, in the campaign period, there is a possibility of building image through persuasion. This reason is especially related to the following key issues: “floods as a problem for Jakarta”, “people’s opinions of floods”, “people’s view of Joko Widodo regarding the floods event”, “promises to handle floods”, and the coverage of Joko Widodo and his steps. These key issues are seen to be able to persuade an image building because first, some of these issues only mentioned floods in passing, which means they do not discuss floods in depth and thus, do not add any information to people; second, most people’s opinions of floods and of Joko Widodo in relation to the floods that were covered by *The Jakarta Post*, were positive, which may influence people to follow those opinions because they do not have enough information on the

cause of the floods; lastly, because if the coverage of Joko Widodo and his steps are positive too, then it may also influence people to follow suit.

The third reason is particularly related to the issue of squatters. On one hand, squatters were blamed as the cause of Jakarta flood by the media, but on the other hand, the cause of Jakarta flood are also rooted in the rampant constructions of malls, hotels and villas in and around Jakarta. Consequently, squatters are not the *sole* contributor of Jakarta flood. Therefore, this argument should also be considered when analysing the issue of squatters in the stories. The last reason for identifying certain issues as key issues is only related to ongoing flooding. Ongoing flooding is the floods occurring when the news was written. Thus, the coverage of the ongoing flood is important to analyse because of its ability to attract higher attention from the public due to its damages and impacts. Hence, steps made by Joko Widodo that were covered in the media very possibly attracted comments of like and dislike of him. The next subsections will outline the frequencies of the flood issues in general, and the flood issues covered based on focuses of the stories and the window of time when the stories written.

4.1 Frequencies of the flood issues covered

This section outlines the frequencies of all the flood issues covered in the stories. Table Five illustrates that in total there were 35 different flood issues identified in 86 stories. Further, those issues were discussed 346 times, which means there was more than one issue related to the flood mentioned in most stories. For example, in the story about changing slums into elevated villages along the Ciliwung riverbank, there were four issues about flood mentioned: housing, loans, river restoration and squatters.

The most salient flood issue discussed is 'flood as a problem for Jakarta'. This issue was mentioned in 24 stories (6.94% of total mentions). 'Flood as a problem for Jakarta' refers to the stories that may have mentioned flood only in passing. For example, in

the story written one week before the second round of the 2012 Jakarta governor election, *The Jakarta Post* published an Editorial focused on “final scrutiny” of the two competing pairs; in this story the flood was mentioned in passing: “Fauzi holds the advantage of having experience in leading the capital city with all its complex problems, especially traffic gridlock, flooding, economic disparity, sanitation woes, pollution and security threats”. (*The Jakarta Post*, Sept. 14, 2012).

Table 5: Frequencies of floods issues covered

Flood issues covered in stories	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Allocated funds for floods response	9	2.60%
2. Clean water supply	5	1.45%
3. Development programme	16	4.62%
4. Damaged infrastructure	8	2.31%
5. Displaced people	7	2.02%
6. Dredging	16	4.62%
7. Evacuees	7	2.02%
8. Flood as a problem for Jakarta	24	6.94%
9. Flood mitigation	20	5.78%
10. Future floods	10	2.89%
11. Future infrastructure constructions	20	5.78%
12. Housing	18	5.20%
13. Health issue	7	2.02%

14. Inter-department coordination	2	0.58%
15. Joko Widodo's actions	21	6.07%
16. Loans	5	1.45%
17. Ongoing flooding	15	4.34%
18. Past flood events	8	2.31%
19. Past flood management	6	1.73%
20. People's opinion of flood	3	0.87%
21. People's view of Joko Widodo's actions regarding the flood event	7	2.02%
22. Poor budget distribution	1	0.29%
23. Poor improvement of flood management	3	0.87%
24. Policy	4	1.16%
25. Preparation for floods	19	5.49%
26. Promises to handle flood	15	4.34%
27. Response to flood survivors	7	2.02%
28. River restoration	13	3.76%
29. Sanitation	7	2.02%
30. Squatters	16	4.62%
31. Survivors	7	2.02%
32. Temporary shelter	5	1.45%
33. Victims	4	1.16%
34. Waste management	8	2.31%
35. Water reservoir	3	0.87%
Total	346	100%

4.2 Flood issues covered based on the focuses and windows of time of the stories

To further investigate the development of the flood issues discussed in this study, it is worthwhile to split the scrutiny of the issues based on timeframe. The findings reveal that different priorities appeared based on the different focuses of the stories.

Table Six illustrates floods issues covered in campaign-focused stories. Similar to the result shown when the whole sample was analysed, campaign-focused stories also discussed flood issues mostly in passing (72.22% of 19 stories, the whole sample of campaign-focused stories). For example, in a story published a few days before the first-round of 2012 Jakarta governor campaign, a journalist wrote a short story titled “Your call, Jakarta”; in this story flood was mentioned only in passing, such as “Jakartans have long complained about the city’s notorious traffic congestion, annual floods and rising crime rates.” (*The Jakarta Post*, 7 July 2012, p. 21).

The same result is shown in Table Seven (Flood issues covered after the election) where the flood was also mentioned in passing only after the election. Thus, even after the pair of Joko Widodo – Basuki Purnama won the election, none of the stories published in Headlines, Business, Editorial, or Opinion, examined flood issues more specifically than “flood as a problem for Jakarta”. For example, in the story written in Business section, the articulation of flood appeared after the discussion of traffic congestion, such as “beyond traffic and transportation, the city’s other ailments crying out for the new team’s attention include sanitation, flood control and waste management.” (*The Jakarta Post*, Sept. 25, 2012, p. 14). In the periods of campaign and after the election, the news coverage provided by *The Jakarta Post* merely shared the common knowledge that has been familiar to the Jakartans (Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992). In other words, there was nothing new in their coverage of flood in campaign news stories.

Table 6: Floods issues covered in campaign-focused stories

	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Flood issues covered in campaign-focused stories		
1. Development programme	1	5.55%
2. Damaged infrastructure	1	5.55%
3. Flood as a problem for Jakarta	13	72.22%
4. Flood mitigation	1	5.55%
5. Past flood management	2	11.11%
Total	18	100%

Table 7: Flood issues covered after the election

Flood issues	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Dredging	1	8.33%
2. Flood as a problem for Jakarta	5	41.67%
3. Future floods	1	8.33%
4. Housing	2	16.68%
5. River restoration	1	8.33%
6. Squatters	1	8.33%
7. Survivors	1	8.33%
Total	12	100%

However, the stories written in the period after the election but before the flood event demonstrate a different result. As mentioned in section 2.1, the articulation of flood in the stories written in this period was often only in passing too, but has moved from the general context of “flood as a problem for Jakarta” to the urgency of infrastructure construction. Table Eight exhibits that housing was the most frequently mentioned issue in this period, appearing three times (33.33%) in the seven issues covered in this timeframe. Housing construction was discussed in two out of four stories written in this time frame. Interestingly, compared to flood issues covered previously, “Joko Widodo’s actions” as a category only emerged in this period. It was mentioned in a story about the plan to resurrect a monorail, and Joko Widodo’s actions were covered in the second half of the story, where the journalists reported the visits of Joko Widodo to flood-prone areas.

Table 8: Flood issues covered before the flood event

Flood issues covered before flood event	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Development programme	1	11.11%
2. Flood as a problem for Jakarta	1	11.11%
3. Housing	3	33.33%
4. Joko Widodo’s actions	1	11.11%
5. Preparation for flood	1	11.11%
6. Squatters	1	11.11%
7. Waste management	1	11.11%
Total	9	100%

In comparison, in the flood-focused stories, the general issue of “flood as a problem in Jakarta” only contributed 3 (6.52%) of the 46 mentions of issues in this type of story. The most frequently mentioned issue, as displayed in Table Nine, was the “ongoing flood” which was mentioned six times (13.04%). Central to the coverage of the “ongoing flood” issue was in informing readers on the inundated places and the number of people died and displaced. Further, Table Ten shows that there were 48 articulations of floods issues made after the inundation. Of those articulations, these following issues were covered the most frequently, that is four times (8.33%): allocated funds for floods response, Joko Widodo’s actions, and squatters. The patterns shown in Table Five to Ten complete the wider description of the coverage of issues related to the floods in the year covered in this study: from the promises to handle flood, the inundation itself, and the actions taken after the floods.

Table 9: Floods issues covered in flood-focused stories

Floods issues covered in flood-focused stories	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Allocated funds for floods response	4	8.70%
2. Clean water supply	3	6.52%
3. Development programme	5	10.87%
4. Damaged infrastructure	4	8.70%
5. Displaced people	4	8.70%
6. Dredging	4	8.70%
7. Evacuees	2	4.35%
8. Flood as a problem for Jakarta	3	6.52%

9. Flood mitigation	4	8.70%
10. Future infrastructure construction	1	2.17%
11. Housing	3	6.52%
12. Health issues	1	2.17%
13. Joko Widodo's actions	1	2.17%
14. Ongoing flood	6	13.04%
15. Preparation for flood	1	2.17%
Total	46	100%

Table 10: Flood issues covered after the flood event

Flood issues covered after the flood event	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Allocated funds for floods response	4	8.33
2. Clean water supply	1	2.08
3. Development programme	3	6.25
4. Damaged infrastructure	1	2.08
5. Displaced people	2	4.17
6. Dredging	3	6.25
7. Flood as a problem for Jakarta	3	6.25
8. Flood mitigation	3	6.25
9. Future floods	1	2.08
11. Future infrastructure construction	3	6.25

12. Housing	1	2.08
13. Health issues	1	2.08
14. Joko Widodo's actions	4	8.33
15. Loan	1	2.08
16. Ongoing flood	1	2.08
17. Past flood events	1	2.08
18. People's opinions on Joko Widodo's action regarding the flood event	1	2.08
19. Policy	1	2.08
20. Preparation for flood	1	2.08
21. Promises to handle flood	1	2.08
22. Response to flood survivors	1	2.08
23. River restoration	2	4.17
24. Sanitation	1	2.08
25. Squatters	4	8.33
26. Waste management	2	4.17
27. Water reservoir	1	2.08
Total	48	100%

5.0 CHANGES ARTICULATED IN THE STORIES

This section reports what desired changes were mentioned in the stories and who articulated the changes needed. There are eight main desired changes that were reflected in the whole sample: changes in economy, infrastructure, transportation, traffic, and security conditions, and changes in management, political leader and public services.

Change is a focus for analysis in this study because change was found articulated in many stories in the sample, such as the statement of the youth who wanted a real solution for annual flooding problem and traffic congestion; the articulation of the need for Indonesians to realise their pluralist background as a nation; and the accentuation of the new way Joko Widodo chose to approach the marginalised people living along the riverbanks. Moreover, Joko Widodo – Basuki Purnama used the slogan of “the new Jakarta” in their campaign, invoking the need for change.

5.1 Numbers of mentions of changes articulated in the stories

This section reports frequencies and the kinds of changes mentioned in the stories. Table Eleven reveals 163 mentions of changes in 86 stories. These responses are categorised into 22 types of changes: eight categories of changes were originally developed by the analyst based on the observation of the stories, while the 14 additional types of changes were found when the stories were analysed using coding schedule. Of all the changes identified, the desired change most frequent articulated was change in infrastructure condition. It was mentioned 27 times (16.56%) out of a total of 163 mentions.

Table 11: Desired changes articulated in the stories

Changes articulated in the stories	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. None	14	8.59%
2. Economic conditions	6	3.68%
3. Infrastructure conditions	27	16.56%
4. Management	19	11.66%
5. Political leader	16	9.82%
6. Public services	18	11.04%
7. Transportation conditions	14	8.59%
8. Traffic conditions	19	11.66%
9. Security conditions	3	1.84%
10. Others	27	16.56%
Total	163	100%

5.1.1 Changes classified as 'other'

This section examines the 14 types of changes that were classified as 'other'. Table Twelve shows that these changes are articulated 27 times. Of the 27 'other' changes mentioned, two changes were expressed the most frequently: change of the condition that resulted in the annual flood, and change in the condition of the housing along the riverbanks. Each of these most frequently mentioned changes were articulated 5 times.

Table 12: Kinds of change classified as 'other'

Kinds of changes mentioned	Responses	
	N	Focuses of the news written
1. Political approach to campaign	2	Campaign
2. Political programmes	1	Campaign
3. Lessen the impact of flood	5	Campaign Flood
4. Attitude toward ethnic and religious backgrounds	2	Campaign
5. Ways of campaigning	1	Campaign
6. Environmental condition	2	Campaign After flood
7. The approach to public	1	After the election
8. Housing condition for people living in flood-prone areas	5	After the election Flood
9. Governor inauguration budget	1	After the election
10. Responsibility in handling flood	2	Flood
11. Distributing aid for floods survivors	1	Flood
12. Attitude of begging by flood's evacuees	1	Flood
13. Rivers' condition	2	Flood After flood
14. Gubernatorial regulation of percolation pits	1	After flood
Total	27	

The articulations of desired change were made in different periods. The desired change in relation to the condition of annual floods was expressed in the campaign-focused and flood-focused stories. In those two different focuses of stories, journalists changed position toward the politicians (who joined the Jakarta governor campaign) and the public. In the campaign-focused stories, the journalists criticised the candidates that had not informed people clearly about their programs (*The Jakarta Post*, Sept. 10, 2012), but during the flood, the journalists were pro government by placing the responsibility on the people, as written in the story written November 22: “the recent flooding in Kampung Pulo underlines, however, that no matter how ready the administration might be to lend a hand, it is Jakarta’s plucky and persistent public that determine whether their neighbourhoods sink or swim” (p. 6).

Meanwhile, change in housing condition for people living in flood-prone areas was also mentioned in two different time periods: stories written after the election and during the flood. In the stories written after the election, Joko Widodo articulated his plan to build the elevated villages, while in the flood-focused stories, the plan was being put into action. Journalists in both types of stories supported government plan and action. Interestingly, the involvement of the residents was only covered in flood-focused stories, but not in the stories written after the election. Two stories reflected residents’ hope in relation to change in the condition of residential areas along the riverbanks, supporting government’s plan.

5.2 Numbers of people who mentioned change

Knowing who mentioned change in this study is important because it might help reveal the frame of Joko Widodo, and how *The Jakarta Post* worked on framing Joko Widodo and the flood issue. Within the stories, there were five groups initially identified who mentioned change: academics, journalists, politicians, residents and workers.

After the stories were examined through the questions developed in the coding schedule, seven other groups also expressed a need for change. In total, there were 12 groups who articulated a desire for change. Out of 86 stories, these groups were quoted 111 times, as displayed in Table Thirteen. By looking at the results in the previous section, where there are 163 articulations of change (as shown in Table Eleven), it could be concluded that each group may articulate more than one change. Further, the result shows that the politicians were quoted 34 times (30.63%), which makes them the group that expressed the need for change the most frequently. Journalists contributed 28 stories (25.23%) mentioning change. The result also shows that residents and academics were quoted 12 (10.81%) and 11 (9.91%) times respectively, not even half of the amount of change mentions by journalists and politicians.

Table 13: Frequencies of the groups or people that articulated change

Who articulated change?	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. None	14	12.61%
2. Academics	11	9.91%
3. Journalists	28	25.23%
4. Politicians	34	30.63%
5. Residents	12	10.81%
6. Workers	1	0.90%
7. Others	11	9.91%
Total	111	100%

5.2.1 Groups who mentioned change and are classified as 'other'

Table Fourteen illustrates the groups that are classified as 'other', the number of times those groups were quoted, and the types of stories they appeared in. The groups consisted of political observer, activist, experts, researchers, government officials, hospital staff and tycoons. Based on the result, experts were the most frequently cited 'other' group mentioning change: 3 times out of 11.

Table 14: People who articulated change and classified as 'other'

People who articulated change and classified as 'other'	Responses	
	N	Focuses of the news written
1. Political observer	1	Campaign
2. Activist	1	Campaign
3. Experts	3	Campaign After the election
4. Researcher	2	After the election After the flood
5. Government officials	2	Before flood
6. Hospital staff	1	Flood-focused stories
7. Tycoons	1	After the flood
Total	11	

6.0 FRAMING

Based on the discussion on framing analysis in Chapter Two, there are two distinct approaches that may be applied to comprehend the frame of Joko Widodo through the issue of flood: inductive and deductive. The inductive approach underlines the connection between the manifest content and the context that generates it. The deductive attitude puts more weight on the presence of framing devices that appear in the manifest content of the text. Both of these approaches were applied in this section. For example, the categorisation of negative or positive comments was developed based on the inductive approach, because the interpretation of negative or positive comments was grounded on the context of Indonesian culture.

6.1 Coverage of Joko Widodo in relation to the flood

The Jakarta Post's coverage of Joko Widodo in relation to flood is the central focus of this study. The result reveals the way the media cover him that encompasses the description of how to think about an object or issue. This section covers two distinct findings on *The Jakarta Post's* assessments of Joko Widodo. The first concerns the assessment of Joko Widodo in relation to the flood, including the groups of society who made positive and negative comments on him and the issues covered in those comments. In the second sub-section, Joko Widodo is assessed in comparison to other politicians mentioned and/or quoted or cited in the whole sample used in this study.

The first assessment was at general appraisal where categorisations of stories were made based on four categories of attitude: positive, negative, both, and neutral. Indications of attitude may appear in the news title, such as “Kampung Melayu residents pin high hopes on Jokowi” (*The Jakarta Post*, Oct. 24, 2012, p. 9), or in the news text by means of quotes, for instance, “We cannot be late in responding should floods hit anywhere in the city” (*The Jakarta Post*, Nov. 7, 2012, p. 9). Attitude may also be conveyed in the context of a story, such as the flood-focused story written on January 18, 2013 where the story was about the death toll in the Jakarta floods and

contributed to the negative assessment on Joko Widodo. Stories that included positive and negative comments or statements on Joko Widodo were categorised as both.

Out of the 86 stories, Table Eighteen shows that 36 stories (41.86%) covered Joko Widodo positively in relation to floods and only 10 stories (11.63%) covered him negatively. Stories that covered Joko Widodo both negatively and positively appeared nine times (10.46%) of the whole sample.

Table 18: Stories’ assessment on Joko Widodo in relation to flood

Assessment on Joko Widodo in relation to flood	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Positive	36	41.86%
Negative	10	11.63%
Both	9	10.46%
Neutral	19	22.10%
Not available	12	13.95%
Total	86	100%

6.2 The most positive and negative quotes on Joko Widodo

This section further analyses the positive coverage on Joko Widodo in relation to the flood. Table Nineteen reveals that of the 36 positive stories on Joko Widodo in relation to flood, there were 83 positive articulations made, which means one story may include more than one positive comment. Most of them were expressed by the journalists (33.73%), followed by politicians (22.89%), and government officials

(15.66%). Other smaller numbers of positive expressions came from residents (7.23%), and academics and foreign partners, who contributed 6.02% each to the total of positive comments made. There were also positive comments made by the group that classified as 'others' (3.61%) which include the polling center researcher and Indonesian tycoons.

Table 19: Sources of positive comments on Joko Widodo in relation to flood

Sources of positive comments on Joko Widodo in relation to flood	Responses	
	N	Percentage
Academics	5	6.02%
Industrial / commercial experts	1	1.20%
Activist	1	1.20%
Foreign partners	5	6.02%
Government officials	13	15.66%
Journalists	28	33.73%
State Minister	1	1.20%
Politician	19	22.89%
Residents	6	7.23%
Workers	1	1.20%
Others	3	3.61%
Total	83	100%

Table Twenty demonstrates that in ten stories, as displayed in Table Eighteen where Joko Widodo was covered negatively, there were 12 negative comments in total; seven of them (58.33%) were made by journalists, and three (25%) by academics.

Table 20: Sources of negative comments

People who made negative comments	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Academics	3	25%
2. Government official	1	8.33%
3. Journalists	7	58.33%
4. Residents	1	8.33%
Total	12	100%

6.3 Comparison of Joko Widodo to other politicians

As Chapter Two of this study has shown, the shifting position that Indonesian journalists have taken, such as the different frames applied between the stories on terrorism and Shari'a law, means it is important to look at the position *The Jakarta Post* the journalists take in discussing Joko Widodo in relation to the flood issue. This section presents three prominent findings that influence the frame of Joko Widodo: the politicians (other than Joko Widodo) who are mentioned and/or quoted, and the frequencies of mention or quote of Joko Widodo when compared to other politicians.

Table Twenty-one shows that there were 39 politicians mentioned or quoted in the sample, and these politicians were mentioned 192 times, which means that in one story there may be more than one politician mentioned and/or quoted. Joko Widodo was the most frequently mentioned politician, 70 times (36.46%). The key politicians also considered in this study, are the incumbent governor, Fauzi Bowo, and the deputy

governor of Joko Widodo, Basuki T. Purnama. Of these two politicians, Table Twenty-one demonstrates that Fauzi Bowo was mentioned and/or quoted 29 times (15.10%), and the deputy governor 23 times (11.98%). Thus, Joko Widodo was mentioned twice as many times as either of them.

Table 21: Politicians mentioned/quoted in the stories

Politicians names	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. None	3	1.56%
2. Alex Noerdin	6	3.13%
3. Basuki T. Purnama (Ahok)	23	11.98%
4. Biem Benyamin	3	1.56%
5. Didik J. Rachbini	1	0.52%
6. Faisal Basri	6	3.13%
7. Fauzi Bowo	29	15.10%
8. Hendarji Soepandji	6	3.13%
9. Hidayat Nur Wahid	2	1.04%
10. Joko Widodo (Jokowi)	70	36.46%
11. Megawati Soekarnoputri	4	2.08%
12. Nachrowi Ramli	6	3.13%
13. Nono Sampono	1	0.52%
14. Prabowo Subianto	2	1.04%
15. Riza Patria	4	2.08%
16. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)	1	0.52%
17. Sutiyoso	2	1.04%
18. Member of Great Indonesia Movement (Gerindra) Party	1	0.52%
19. Member of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)	2	1.04%
20. Member of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)	1	0.52%
21. Other	19	9.90%
Total	192	100%

For the 19 politicians classified as ‘other’, Table Twenty-two shows that there were five state ministers and one former minister mentioned and/or quoted. Amongst the names that dominated, were names prominent in Indonesian history: Soekarno, Soeharto, HOS Tjokroaminoto, and Tan Malaka. Soekarno and Soeharto were the first and second presidents of Republic of Indonesia, while HOS Tjokroaminoto was the founding father of the first Indonesian Islamic trade union, and Tan Malaka was an Indonesian Marxist philosopher. The identity of these ‘other’ politicians is valuable to recognise since association with them may affect the frame of Joko Widodo.

Table 22: Politicians classified as 'other'

Names	Positions
1. Agung Laksono	Current Coordinating People’s Welfare Minister of Republic of Indonesia
2. Dahlan Iskan	Current State Enterprises Minister of Republic of Indonesia
3. Balthasar Kambuaya	Current Environment Minister of Republic of Indonesia
4. Djoko Kirmanto	Current Public Work Minister of Republic of Indonesia
5. Gamawan Fauzi	Current Home Minister of Republic of Indonesia
6. Erna Witoelar	Former Minister of Human Settlements and Regional Development
7. Kim Young-Sun	Current South Korean Ambassador
8. Ratu Atut	Current Governor of Banten
9. Ahmad Heryawan	Current Governor of West Java
10. Prijanto	Former Deputy Governor of Fauzi Bowo (2007 – 2011)
11. Soekarno	First President of Republic of Indonesia

12. HOS Tjokroaminoto	Founding father of Islam Trade Union (<i>Sarekat Dagang Islam/SDI</i>) in Indonesia
13. Tan Malaka	Former Chairman of Indonesian Communist Party (<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia/PKI</i>)
14. Soeharto	Second President of Republic of Indonesia
15. Bill Clinton	Former President of the United States of America
16. Barack Obama	Current President of the United States of America
17. Kwame Nkrumah	Former Leader of Republic of Ghana
18. Deng Xiao-Ping	Former Leader of People's Republic of China
19. Adolf Hitler	Former Leader of Nazi Party of Republic of Germany

6.3.1 Politicians mentioned

This section compares Joko Widodo and other politicians in the Mentioned category. There were two categories of mention: 'appearing to a moderate extent' and 'dominated the story'. "Appearing to a moderate extent category" is when the politician "makes a substantial contribution to the story", while "dominated the story" means when "the politician was central in the story" (Fountaine, 2002, p. 83).

Table Twenty-three presents the politicians in the category of "appearing to a moderate extent". Joko Widodo appeared 20 times (64.52%), while in contrast, Basuki T. Purnama and Fauzi Bowo appeared only five times (16.13%) and one time (3.23%) respectively. Table 24 exhibits that of 39 politicians identified in the whole sample, only three politicians dominated the stories, and they dominated the stories 29 times. These three politicians were Joko Widodo, Basuki T. Purnama (deputy governor) and Fauzi Bowo (incumbent governor in 2012 Jakarta governor election). Of these three,

Joko Widodo dominated the stories 26 times, while Fauzi Bowo only two times (6.90%), and Basuki T. Purnama one time (3.45%).

Table 23: Politicians appearing to a moderate extent

Names	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Basuki T. Purnama	5	16.13%
2. Fauzi Bowo	1	3.23%
3. Joko Widodo	20	64.52%
4. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)	1	3.23%
5. Sutiyoso	1	3.23%
6. Member of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle	1	3.23%
7. Other	2	6.45%
Total	31	100%

Table 24: Politicians who dominate a story

Names	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Basuki T. Purnama	1	3.45%
2. Fauzi Bowo	2	6.90%
3. Joko Widodo	26	89.66%
Total	29	100%

6.3.2 Politicians quoted

The categories of news source (Fountaine, 2002) should also be taken into account in assessing the comparison between Joko Widodo to other politicians. Two categories are demonstrated in the following two tables. First, “politicians cited and/or quoted first”, which means that “the politicians is the first to speak in the news story, either directly or indirectly” (p. 324). Second, “politicians not cited or quoted”, which means that “the politician is more than just mentioned in the news story, but does not get the opportunity to speak, directly or indirectly” (p. 324).

Table Twenty-five shows three politicians were cited and/or quoted first in a story 38 times: Joko Widodo, Fauzi Bowo and Basuki Purnama. Of these politicians, Joko Widodo was cited and/or quoted 34 times (89.47%), and Fauzi Bowo and Basuki Purnama were cited and/or quoted first two times respectively. Interestingly, the category of the politicians that were not cited and/or quoted exhibited in Table Twenty-six shows exactly the same frequencies and order of the politicians’ names as in Table Twenty-five.

Table 25: Politicians cited and/or quoted first in a story

Names	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Basuki T. Purnama	2	5.26%
2. Fauzi Bowo	2	5.26%
3. Joko Widodo	34	89.47%
Total	38	100%

Table 26: Politicians not cited and/or quoted in a story

Names	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Basuki T. Purnama	2	5.26%
2. Fauzi Bowo	2	5.26%
3. Joko Widodo	34	89.47%
Total	38	100%

7.0 LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS IDENTIFIED

Leadership characteristics require investigation because firstly, the 2012 Jakarta governor election brought a new atmosphere in Indonesia in terms of a more democratic election, and secondly, the articulations of leadership characteristics occur frequently in the stories that used as sample in this study. These rationales for specific leadership characteristics have been discussed in Chapter *Literature Review* and developed in the coding schedule. Thus, this section will exhibit what leadership characteristics were found in the stories.

There were 23 leadership characteristics developed in the coding schedule, based on the investigation of literature on Indonesian leaders, plus one additional characteristic appeared as the stories were analysed individually: leader as a hero. Hence, in total there were 24 leadership characteristics that were mentioned a total of 214 times. “Decisive” was the most frequently mentioned characteristics (34 times / 15.89%).

7.1 Leadership characteristics of Joko Widodo

Based on the observation of the stories, it was found that articulations of the leadership characteristics made about Joko Widodo were not always directly associated with him. But the sample used in this study show the recurrences of the supporting statements, either directly or indirectly, rather than the competing ones. Table Twenty-seven shows that there were 121 articulations of leadership characteristics in the stories favorable to Joko Widodo when he was compared to other politicians. Further, of the 121 articulations, caring was articulated the most frequently: 16 times (13.22%).

Table 27: Leadership characteristic articulated when Joko Widodo was covered positively compared to other politicians

Leadership Characteristics	Responses	
	N	Percentage
1. Altruistic or Unselfish	4	3.31%
2. Authoritarian	1	0.83%
3. Benevolent	6	4.96%
4. Caring	16	13.22%
5. Charismatic	9	7.44%
6. Decisive	14	11.57%
7. Father-ism	1	0.83%
8. Follower-centric	3	2.48%
9. Honest	9	7.44%
10. Inspiring	13	10.74%
11. Intelligent	5	4.13%
12. Likable	11	9.09%

13. Moral leadership	8	6.61%
14. Can grow the economy	1	0.83%
15. Defend national unity	1	0.83%
16. Fight corruption	3	2.48%
17. Have a vision for the nation	2	1.65%
18. Improve quality of education	3	2.48%
19. Improve quality of health care	6	4.96%
20. Promote general prosperity	5	4.13%
Total	121	100

8.0 CONCLUSION

The results show *The Jakarta Post* covered Joko Widodo very positively in 2012 flood issue. Analysis of the following data support this conclusion: issues of floods that were covered most frequently, assessment of Joko Widodo in relation to flood, groups of society who made positive comments about Joko Widodo, the comparison of Joko Widodo to other politician, and the numbers of articulations of leadership characteristics. From the entire range of floods issues articulated in the sample, the two issues that were mentioned most frequently were floods as a problem for Jakarta, and Joko Widodo's actions. The second issue tells readers that Joko Widodo tried to do something for Jakartans. The first issue did not add any new knowledge for Jakartans, but the second issue, when combined with the euphoria of the rising of new democratic election in Indonesia, may contribute to the positive frames on Joko Widodo.

Second positive coverage of Joko Widodo was exhibited in 36 positive comments made in relation to flood. This is a very interesting result because even if Joko Widodo was excused due to his newly appointed role as Jakarta governor when the floods hit, the stories may not necessarily cover him positively, which means *The Jakarta Post* could cover him neutrally instead. But, the high numbers of stories that demonstrate positive assessments on Joko Widodo in relation to flood issues, lead to the conclusion that *The Jakarta Post* deliberately support Joko Widodo's actions and statements in regard to floods issues. This conclusion is supported by the third piece of data analysed: journalists were the group that made most of positive comments (28 times) about Joko Widodo in relation to flood (Table 19). Meanwhile, the comparison of Joko Widodo to other politicians reveals a striking number. Joko Widodo was described in terms of leadership characteristics at least two times more often than all the politicians mentioned and/or quoted in the stories. Moreover, when this number were crossed with the range of leadership characteristics reflected in the whole sample of the stories, Joko Widodo was associated with most (20) of the leadership characteristics that were developed based on the Indonesian socio-politico context.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the findings outlined in Chapter *Findings* in the light of the literature review explored in Chapter *Literature Review*. This chapter consists of three major sections. Second section discusses the primary points of focus of *The Jakarta Post* of the issue of Jakarta floods. Section three applies the concept of macro, meso and micro level of influence as developed by Vliegthart and van Zoonen (2011) to identify the framing of Joko Widodo. In addition, in the macro levels, the investigation of cause of the floods is also included. The last section, leadership characteristics, is discussed based on the Indonesian political leadership that has been broadly explored in Chapter *Literature Review*, and by considering the results found in the previous sections of this chapter.

2.0 THE JAKARTA POST COVERAGE IS MERELY DEVELOPING 'A LIST OF JOKO WIDODO'S ACTIONS'

The aim of this section is to answer the first research question: what are the primary points of focus of *The Jakarta Post* coverage of the Jakarta floods. Findings chapter has shown that the most salient issue of the Jakarta floods covered by *The Jakarta Post* is 'flood as a problem for Jakarta'. Since this findings "merely reflect[s] (Kosicki, 1993) the real life" (Kosicki, 1993), it is necessary to analyse what the primary point of focus of *The Jakarta Post* coverage on Joko Widodo in relation to floods, precisely because news text should be treated as "the end product of the complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories" (Hall et al., 1978). In other words, it is an incorrect posture to stop at the point of observing that media is merely reflecting the real life, because even in that mere activity, the media's role in political communication should not be disregarded (Phelan, 2012).

This section finds that in its coverage over the steps taken by Joko Widodo to handle floods, *The Jakarta Post* merely presents Joko Widodo's actions without a critical analysis on those actions. This study argues that by taking this position, *The Jakarta Post* is sympathetic of Joko Widodo's actions and in the end, *The Jakarta Post* may influence people by constructing what this study called as a 'list of Joko Widodo's actions'. A slightly different perspective may be available in its coverage, but did not emerge very often. It is also found that the stories' titles play an important role in directing people to think about what Joko Widodo has done or is doing when the flood issues were being addressed. Further, by bombarding people with stories that full of the descriptions of Joko Widodo's daily actions, *The Jakarta Post* did not give people a chance to think about anything other than the facts they represented. This discussion shows that the media may not necessarily articulate its agreement or disagreement with the political actor's moves or statements, but by choosing the attitude of simply reporting the political actor's actions, the media displayed only one-side of the story.

The investigation excludes the campaign-focused stories because the flood issues mentioned there were merely in passing. The process of presenting 'a list of Joko Widodo's actions' has appeared since the day after he was officially announced as a Jakarta governor as shown by the date the story written:

Story 1:

[Title] Jokowi prepares game plan

Moreover, Jokowi said recently that he aimed to *relocate* 870 families living on the banks of the Ciliwung River in Bukit Duri, South Jakarta, to low-cost apartment blocks called kampung deret (lined-up villages), which would be constructed a little further away from the river (Sept. 22, 2012, p. 1, emphasis added).

Story *One* showed that the first thing mentioned in floods prevention activities in Joko Widodo's agenda is to relocate people living along the river banks. The journalists did not try to recall their previous coverage of Joko Widodo and other governor candidates over the promises they made during the campaign. Two news stories below showed the promises Joko Widodo made during the campaign period:

Story 2:

[Title] Jakarta Election: Candidates offer no new steps on floods

..., the six candidates competing in this year's gubernatorial election have each included flood management in their campaign programs. However, none of the candidates offer solutions that represent a departure from measures that have been suggested, talked about and planned out for decades.

Fauzi said he would focus on revamping Ciliwung, Krukut, Pesanggrahan, Angke and Sunter Rivers and their banks.

Joko "Jokowi" Widodo, mayor of Surakarta, Central Java, has similar plans to his contenders, but he underlined the need to form a joint authority with neighboring administrations to coordinate flood management. (July 05, 2012, p. 10).

Story 3:

[Title] Voters *haven't got a clue* about candidates programs: Survey

Candidates' plans on crucial issues:

Flooding:

Jokowi: Water retention bylaw and optimise the use of reservoirs

Fauzi: Coastal dike construction against flooding (Sept. 10, 2012, p. 9, emphasis added).

Story *Two* dated July 5, 2012 was written before the first round of the election for governor, as explained in section 4.0 of the Background chapter. In this story, there is no relocation plan found in Joko Widodo's statement. Story *Three*, written less than

two weeks before the final round of the election still did not mention any relocation plan. Therefore, it is important to notice that *The Jakarta Post* deliberately altered its position by removing its critical perspective over Joko Widodo's statements once he was elected. This could suggest that *The Jakarta Post* supports Joko Widodo as a Jakarta leader. The next coverage (Story *Four*) presented how Joko Widodo was under pressure to meet the deadline for submitting the draft development plan for Jakarta city administration. This story was written less than a month after he took office.

Story 4:

[Title] Jokowi has three months to draft development plan

Governor-elect Joko "Jokowi" Widodo has important work to do immediately after his swearing-in ceremony: drafting the administration's new Mid-term Regional Development Plan (RPJMD) for the 2013-2017 period.

The city official said that the RPJMD was an important document because at the end of his term, the plan would be used as a measuring stick against the governor's performance.

The RPJMD is meant to outline the governor's programs and will set out general policies for the city's development, budget and the strategies of its administrative agencies (Oct. 11, 2012, p. 9).

In Story *Four*, the strong rhetorical structures emerged through the repeated word of "important", followed by "immediately", and "as a measuring stick against". These rhetorical expressions may influence people in the way they think about the condition of work of Joko Widodo as a new elected governor: full of important things that should be finished immediately because his works will be assessed based on those things. One should remember that this study only gathers the stories that relate Joko Widodo to the Jakarta floods issue, which means that there are other Jakarta issues, such as daily traffic congestion and public transportation issues, that may be addressed by Joko Widodo but not addressed in this study. These heaps of actions attributed to Joko Widodo surely invoke the way the Jakartans' middle class think about professionalism: 'able to work under pressure' or 'capable of working multitasks'. These conditions of

work have been popularised in most of the job vacancies appearing in most of the Jakarta-based media.

The next prominent piece (Story *Five*) is the Editorial page published on October 21, 2012. Here, *The Jakarta Post* story merely presented a *list of actions* too:

Story 5:

[Title] The week in review: Jokowi's high pace of action

Immediately after their installation, Jakarta Governor Joko "Jokowi" Widodo ... got straight down to business and addressed the city's most pressing problems ...

Jokowi visited ..., talking ... and collecting He inspected ... and promised ...

Accompanied by ..., the governor went ...

Jokowi took notes on ... and gave on the spot instructions ...

Then he paid a visit to ... to discuss ways to solve ... and reviewed ...

The governor also inspected ... and found ...

He promised to find ... to help ... and looked into ... (Oct. 21, 2012, p. 4).

Story *Five* is important because Editorial section is generally written by the elites of the media, which means it arguably strongly represented the position of *The Jakarta Post* in depicting Joko Widodo. This Editorial could be seen as a 'summary of the list' that *The Jakarta Post* has developed since Joko Widodo held the office; written exactly one month after he was elected. In this summary, one may find the abundant presence of verbs, such as *got straight down, addressed, visited, talking, collecting*, and so on. This is even more apparent when compared to other stories that covered in the same Editorial section that are full of adjectives: *ugly, stubbornly, complacent, painful, corrupt, notorious, and fraudulent*. Also, the story's title containing the rhetorical structure of 'high pace of action' resonates with the life in Jakarta as the capital city where 'being quick' is very important. Therefore based on this piece and the previous

story, it is found that *The Jakarta Post* combines the following two elements in its coverage on Joko Widodo in relations to floods: developing a list that is full of action words that provoke people to connect his steps with a description of hard-working Jakartans daily life; and portraying the entrenched culture of Jakarta as a busy capital city where its people spend most of the time at work rather than at home. Through this picture *The Jakarta Post* strengthens the competition culture of Jakarta where the saying of 'they who are fast will get (the best or the most)' rings true. In short, *The Jakarta Post* sees the culture of competition as appropriate for Jakarta and Jakartans.

As this section can not cover all the stories that are gathered as sample of this study, it is necessary to discuss particular findings. When the floods hit Jakarta, the coverage of Joko Widodo's actions is fueled with the conditions of the inundation, the number of the victims and the condition of the survivors as follows:

[Title] Jakarta under water following downpours (Jan. 15, 2013)

[Title] Presidential Palace inundated (Jan 17, 2013)

[Title] Jakarta flood death toll increases to five (Jan. 17, 2013)

[Title] Govt vows to cover flood victims' medical expenses (Jan. 18, 2013)

[Title] Death toll in Jakarta floods rises to 12 (Jan. 18, 2013)

[Title] Flood death toll in Jakarta rises to 14 (Jan. 19, 2013)

[Title] Second worker found dead in UOB basement (Jan. 19, 2013)

Interestingly, these stories were only available in online version. The intriguing questions that arise are why these stories were not available in printed versions of the paper, and to what extent these stories are useful for the people who can access *The Jakarta Post* through online? Through the previous analysis of the way *The Jakarta Post* constructs the story of Joko Widodo's activities, the one possible answer is because these stories that are dominated by the numbers of floods' victims may harm the image of Joko Widodo. The stories available in print form were written before the

stories aforementioned, where the floods were indeed covered but none of them reported floods victims. This result supports the argument that *The Jakarta Post* did not want to harm the image of Joko Widodo in the minds of printed version's readers by reporting floods' victims.

The way *The Jakarta Post* covered Joko Widodo's actions without criticising his plan or decision is also displayed in Story Six: the relocation of squatters. Earlier, it was reported that Joko Widodo 'aimed at' relocating families along the river banks, while this following story showed the implementation of it:

Story 6:

[Title] Jakarta prepares to move squatters to allow for flood-prevention work

The Jakarta administration is shifting gear in its efforts to mitigate the capital's perpetual flooding problem. Efforts include the relocation of squatters from riverbanks and embankment areas as part of the city's massive dredging project.

Tens of thousands of squatters are currently living along the riverbanks and nearby embankments illegally, causing a narrowing of the rivers and sedimentation due to careless lifestyles (Jan. 25, 2013).

In Story Six, *The Jakarta Post* uses one idiom that has been entrenched in Jakartans middle-class culture: 'shifting gear' that represented determination.

To conclude, the decision of *The Jakarta Post* to merely present a 'list of Joko Widodo's actions' is made intentionally because it was found that before Joko Widodo won the election, some journalists presented the critical perspective over the issue of Jakarta floods. *The Jakarta Post's* listing approach benefitted Joko Widodo because of the way it constructed the list: low critical argument provided in the stories; entrenched in the prevailing knowledge of middle class professional workers character in Jakarta, such as able to work under pressure, capable for multitasking job, being quick to finish tasks,

competitiveness, and frequent use of verbs in depicting Joko Widodo's steps. Further, *The Jakarta Post* helped to construct Joko Widodo's image by making the stories of the death toll numbers only available online. The list also shows that Joko Widodo was on the way of fulfilling his plan to relocate squatters: the first action mentioned when the issue of floods was raised after he officially gained office. In other words, the list that was first displaying 'things to do', now has started to display 'the things done by Joko Widodo'.

3.0 FRAMING OF JOKO WIDODO THROUGH THE ISSUE OF FLOODS

This section will address the research question: does *The Jakarta Post* frame Joko Widodo through the issue of the floods, and, if so, is the framing positive or negative. This study argues that *The Jakarta Post* frames Joko Widodo positively. The discussion will involve the news framing analysis concept developed by Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011) in the light of neoliberalisation discourse. There are three levels of influences that formed a news frame: macro, meso and micro. Macro level of influence scrutinise the contribution of the media and political system into the news frames. Meso level investigate the influence of the target audience and market to the news frame, and micro level analyse how the source relations might contribute to the news frames. Based on the analysis of the stories it is found that there is a strong support in *The Jakarta Post* coverage to the neoliberal discourse and the exercise of neoliberalisation (Phelan, 2012), and through this Joko Widodo was framed positively.

3.1 Macro Level Influence of Analysis

This section aims to answer two research questions: firstly, the framing of Joko Widodo as undertaken by *The Jakarta Post*, and secondly, whether or not *The Jakarta Post* presents a balanced analysis of the causes and effects of the annual Jakarta floods. The reason to include the second research question in this section is because this study contends that there is a connection between the political system and the media

system in constructing the villain – victim structure (Sayers & Brunton, 2011) in news story.

Scholars suggest that the Indonesian media system internalises the works of hegemony that has been nourished by the New Order regime. Romano (2003) argues that the Indonesian press is determined by the relations between the state and the society. In addition, Pintak and Setiyono (2011) argue that the Indonesian press works in a consensus-building perspective, though we might see some dissenters in each media organisation. The culture of consensus-building in Indonesia should be seen as the culture that was nourished by the authoritarian New Order regime for 32 years (1966-1998), and is therefore, still entrenched in society even now.

The following example represents how *The Jakarta Post* makes use of the hegemony concept through applying the word ‘radical’ that has a profound meaning in Indonesian’s history which may influence people to accept *The Jakarta Post*’s depiction of Joko Widodo:

Though he did not radically differ with the initiatives of his predecessor, Fauzi Bowo, Jokowi underlined the need *to form a joint authority between neighboring administrations to coordinate flood management*. The former mayor Surakarta, Central Java, also criticized Fauzi for being slow to extend the Trans-jakarta Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) network and delays in the development of Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) and new elevated roads (Oct. 11, 2012, p. 9, emphasis added).

The word “radically” very possibly leads Indonesians to think of something ‘dangerous’ that may change the life of Indonesians drastically. The dangerous thing that may be instigated by the word “radical” is the remembrance of the coup on 30 September 1965 (G30S) by several officers of the Indonesian army that involved a few officials of the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia / PKI*), which in the end resulted in the brutal assault of members, alleged members and alliances of PKI by the

Indonesian army (under the command of General then President Soeharto) together with the huge support of anti-PKI society members, from the capital city down to remote villages throughout the provinces. It is worth noting that it was only in 1999 (33 years later), under the governance of President Abdurrahman Wahid, that the families of PKI members could access education services and the label of “OT” (*Orang Terlibat* or People Involved) was removed from their identity card. Until this removal, people bearing “OT” on their cards were unable to find proper jobs, access government assistance for the poor, and were alienated from society. Until now, there has been no rectification of this history by the Indonesian government including the attempts to unfold the history from the version of the PKI family members’. Moreover, until now, every attempt to unravel this history was censured by those who believed that the assault of PKI members was necessary, including banning books, snooping on public discussions on G30S, and dismissing the informal meetings of PKI family members and beating them on the spot.

In short, the long explanation of the effect of the word “radical” shows that Indonesians until now feel residual trauma around anything that contains radical meaning on the one hand, while on the other hand they have never had a chance to critically question that traumatic memory. In this kind of situation, people feel overshadowed by the consequences of any radical change and are therefore, forced to prefer gradual change and to reject anything radical. It can be concluded that the hegemonic operation of the word “radical” show a real effect in Indonesian society because that word may generate uneasy feelings of the possible unknown fundamental change that may endanger people’s lives. The way *The Jakarta Post* chose to apply the word “radical”, and not other words such as ‘significantly’, to the steps undertaken by Joko Widodo represents that radical change might not be necessary but that Joko Widodo still try to make some (needed) change.

Interestingly, the change underlined by Joko Widodo and quoted by *The Jakarta Post* was over something that has been criticised since Indonesia changed its governing

system from centralisation into decentralisation; that is the pride of each government over their governing authority areas (Hadiz, 2005). Here, *The Jakarta Post* did not challenge Joko Widodo over his confident statement of his intention “to form joint authority between neighboring administrations to coordinate flood management” (p. 9), such as questioning the kinds of approaches Joko Widodo would take to negotiate the developments of Jakarta’s neighboring administrations that contribute to the Jakarta flood recurrences; since this initiative might influence the income of those neighboring areas. Thus, from the perspective of a political system, that now focuses more on the persona than party, the decision of the journalists to underline the statement of Joko Widodo on “joint authority” without further investigation of it, benefits the image of Joko Widodo.

The paper’s subtle preference for Joko Widodo is further represented in the next reported statement of Joko Widodo where he “criticised Fauzi Bowo for being slow”. Again, the journalists rely on the common sense of Jakartan urban culture (as shown in the section 2.0) that being fast is far more important than anything else in Jakarta. From this description, the story framed Joko Widodo in this particular way: ‘although Joko Widodo was previously seen as not ‘radically’ differ from Fauzi Bowo, but he knows what needs to be changed in Jakarta – joint authority between neighboring areas – and in so doing Joko Widodo is ‘quick’ in taking action’. The way *The Jakarta Post* ignores the problems of the process of decentralisation in current Indonesian political system, which might block Joko Widodo’s intention to conduct a joint authority, and instead supports the image of Joko Widodo as a person, blurs the substance of the issue of one of the causes of the Jakarta floods and strengthening the works of the politics of persona. On the other hand, *The Jakarta Post* also displays the consensus-building characteristics of Indonesian journalism through constructing the seemingly positive side of Joko Widodo, as faster than his predecessor, so that the investigation of his statement on forming joint authority is not analysed further. *The Jakarta Post* omission of the investigation of the latter may lead to the image that Joko Widodo is able to prevail over the difficulties of forming the joint authority, thus, drawing the political issue more on the ‘who’ than the process (McChesney, 2012).

3.1.1. Putting the Blame on Squatters

Based on the observation of the news stories, it is found that *The Jakarta Post* selectively chose to focus on one particular cause of the floods, that is the squatters. Therefore, this section will limit its discussion to the stories that focus on squatters, particularly on how *The Jakarta Post* constructs the stories and ignores the other possibilities that may have had a bearing on the Jakarta floods. The influence of media and political system in this sub-section is limited to the concept of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971 in Franklin, Harmer, Hanna, Kinsey & Richardson, 2005).

The following text in the Editorial section represents the way *The Jakarta Post* placed the squatters as the cause of the floods:

[Title] Big Money for Big Challenges

Jokowi has obviously learned a great deal from the recent devastating floods, which claimed at least 19 lives, displaced nearly 30,000 people and caused about Rp 20 trillion worth of losses due to the damage to the city's infrastructure and private property.

However, addressing the annual floods is *easier said than done* because it is not only a matter of constructing new infrastructure to mitigate the disaster. Jokowi has to persuade tens of thousands of people to leave their current houses on rivers banks and other locations that are vulnerable to such disasters.

The new administration will have to clear around 5,000 houses that have been illegally built on state land around Pluit Dam in North Jakarta to pave the way for the expansion of facilities that the government says will protect the city from future flooding (Feb. 02, 2013, p. 6, emphasis added).

The context of the Jakarta floods is oriented by the first paragraph quoted above: that the size of the losses is extremely high. Then, without having to necessarily use the word 'problem', the journalists focus on the solution by employing the word 'addressing'. Thus, here the readers have two orienteering guides (Gajevic, 2012) to the key theme of the story: the consequences of the floods, and the way to fix them.

From the beginning of his term, as mentioned in section 2.0 of this chapter, Joko Widodo has stated that he plans to relocate squatters, while this topic was never literally addressed during the campaign period. It is only after Joko Widodo won the election, that the plan of relocation appeared. Moreover, as also shown in that section, since Joko Widodo became the governor of Jakarta, *The Jakarta Post* has been very reluctant to criticise or question Joko Widodo's argument. Hence, through the concept of primary definers (Hall et al., 1978), the elite – in this case, Joko Widodo - has set the frame of the problem, and the media just cultivate the frame and popularise it. However, this frame has been internalised by the Jakartans because the existence of squatters is very visible to Jakartans. Therefore, though Joko Widodo was the primary definer of the articulation of 'relocation', there is already a sense conveyed by the paper that the people who live along the riverbanks are to blame. This frame supports what Bourdieu (in Gajevic, 2012) called as "feeling of obviousness" (p. 143).

The lexical choice of phrase such as 'easier said than done' may be perceived as the critique of the media on Joko Widodo, but further analysis shows that the phrase should not be treated as the implementation of objectivity, but as a way of stressing the intention of putting the blame to the squatters. By looking at the context, the phrase is actually highlighting that the easier solution to handle the floods is to construct new infrastructure, while the harder one is to persuade people to leave their current houses. In this manner, the position of *The Jakarta Post* is not one of criticising Joko Widodo's decision to relocate squatters, but rather just to remind him that it is not easy. On the relocation plan itself, the journalists tend to agree. It is important to remember that the floods present a very big problem for the Jakartans, both for those who lost their houses and those who experienced the effect of the floods, such as being trapped in traffic jams or blackouts.

Further, the word 'persuade' should be framed in the consensus-building character of *The Jakarta Post* because how can you persuade people to leave their current houses, which have been bought by saving their minimum wage? Moreover, in Jakarta the

previous governors arbitrarily displaced people who were labelled 'illegal'. Thus, the word 'persuade' blurs the real–possibility that there will be an eviction of the squatters to “pave the way for a massive project to dredge the capital’s main waterways” (Nov. 24, 2012, p. 9). Finally, journalists’ inclination to blame people living along the riverbanks should also be assessed through the content bias of the story (Entman, 2010). Entman argues that the media has the power to develop the bias of the news stories. According to him, bias consists of constant slant that is where the “framing favours one side over the other in a current or potential dispute” (p. 337). Thus, if the slant was maintained in the news stories over a particular period of time, it may influence people to support the media’s intention.

In terms of the constant frame of blaming people living along the riverbanks, it might be inferred that *The Jakarta Post* is being biased in covering the cause of the Jakarta floods, and in that bias, *The Jakarta Post* omits other frames - i.e. the slowness of Eastern Canal construction and the rampant deforestations for new real-estates buildings - because, as Entman also found, of the perspective of capitalism. In the capitalist perspective, to blame the rich community is risky because of they own the capital, and consequently, it is easier to point at the poor community who, in this context, lack education and access to information.

3.2 Meso Level Influence of Analysis

This section based its investigation upon the argument of Herman and Chomsky (1988) concerning the first filter of the propaganda model of the media, and upon the background of *The Jakarta Post* as described in section 5.0 of the Background chapter. Meanwhile, the stories scrutinised are those that are shown in section 6.1 of the Findings chapter of “Coverage of Joko Widodo in relation to the floods”. In those stories, Joko Widodo was covered positively in terms of his actions or planned actions over flood prevention and handling. There were 36 stories of that kind (see Table 18).

This result is interesting because firstly, Joko Widodo had been in the office for just two months when the floods occurred.

It is difficult to find comprehensive information on the assets of *The Jakarta Post*, but based on observations of both printed and online versions of the paper, it would appear that the paper has formed business links with other international newspapers. In its printed version, the paper published some news from *The International New York Times* and *Reuters* in Business section, while in the online version, *The Jakarta Post* made it easier for the readers from four ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) countries to access their daily newspapers through one subscriptions. The other three newspapers from three different South East Asia countries, besides *The Jakarta Post*, are *The Nation* (Thailand), *The Philippine's Daily Inquirer* (The Philippines) and *The Star ePaper* (Malaysia). An advertisement shows that *The Jakarta Post* is accompanied by the official partner of CIMB Bank, a Malaysian-based bank that also operates widely in big cities in Indonesia, in this ASEAN partnership.

The Jakarta Post also has a daily on Bali-focused news that is published separately under the titled *Bali Daily* both in online and printed versions. Further, the website of *The Jakarta Post* shows that it is one of the media partners for many Japan private companies that have factories in Indonesia such as Dentsu, FujiFilm, Fujitsu, Japan Airlines, Mitsubishi, NEC, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Toshiba and Yamaha. As a media partner, *The Jakarta Post* covers the business-based stories of these companies for some selective audience that need information on the development of Japan-based companies. It could be regarded that *The Jakarta Post* positions itself as the one-stop information place to find stories, from political issues to business through to life-style coverage. The website also allocates pages to updates of various communities in Jakarta, and job vacancies from diverse private companies.

As *The Jakarta Post* background has been outlined in Chapter *Background* and its business development has been mentioned above, one may deduce that the target group of *The Jakarta Post* are the expatriates and foreign companies, and some Indonesians from middle to affluent classes. This deduction is based on two reasons. Firstly, to be able to read an English-language newspaper in Indonesia, one needs to take an expensive English course or accesses expensive private schools that teach English as one of their subjects. Secondly, as the salaries of many professional working class in Indonesia is very low (around NZD 256 per month in big cities, including Jakarta, for those starting their professional careers in private companies), it is better for them to spend money on things that give more tangible benefits rather than paying a monthly subscription for the paper. It is worth noting that it has been a life style in Jakarta to combine English words or idioms in daily conversations and this has become very common in the radio, televisions and social media, regardless of the correctness of its grammar and structure.

The readership of *The Jakarta Post* serves as the first filter of the news text before it is published. Through this filter the news choices may be diverted to avoid a harmful perspective on the owners or the parties that have investments in the paper (Herman & Chomsky, 1999). *The Jakarta Post* should be seen in a similar light with regard to its position as the media partner of many Japanese private companies, for example. But, a potential problem is to what extent *The Jakarta Post* is able to cover cases of (for example) violence in a factory where the *The Jakarta Post* is a media partner? This position is perceived as contradictory because *The Jakarta Post* also places itself as a media organisation that intensively covers political issues that may harm democracy, and that protect individual rights. This position also reflects the paradoxes in neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005). Harvey argues that on one hand, neoliberalism protects individual freedom, but on the other hand, neoliberalism requires the social order to be controlled by the regulatory state to be able to produce the maximum margin of profits. Thus, it may be argued that *The Jakarta Post* adheres to a neoliberal viewpoint.

A clearer explanation of *The Jakarta Post's* position may be found from an investigation of one of the news stories used in this study:

Governor Joko "Jokowi" Widodo on Sunday ordered neighborhood officials across the city to mobilize residents to clean up to prevent their area from flooding (Lead story).

Jokowi said that cleaning of several rivers in the capital would mean nothing if smaller rivers and drains across the city remained dirty. Jokowi has also asked officials to encourage residents to be actively involved in the creation of parks in a bid to add more green space in the city. (Dec. 03, 2012, p. 9).

The story was titled "Residents must play a part in flood prevention". Pan and Kosicki (1993) argue that a strong title that is interpreted in a similarly strong lead contributes to the powerful framing of a story. The title strongly supports the attitude that has been disseminated through the neighborhoods and at schools, through study books and learning activities, that Jakartans must be responsible for their own rubbish, obscuring the obvious problems where the waste management companies are only capable of transporting the city's waste once a day, which is not enough to cater for all waste removal in a big and populous city like Jakarta. The title and lead of the story also obscure the causes of the floods and their magnitude.

By considering the causes of floods that have been explained in section 4.1 of this chapter and section 3.0 in the Background chapter, it is hard to imagine that the cleaning up areas and creation of parks by residents would contribute significantly to flood prevention as the height of the inundation in some places reached up to 150 centimetres. In the dense residential areas in Jakarta, it is almost impossible to keep the drains cleaned and in place because people have been able to build their houses anywhere without considering the appropriateness of the locations. Moreover, as the inundation is very high, one should question the depth of the drains needed to prevent floods in residential areas, because to allocate spaces to drains during the rainy season has caused people to be drowned in the drains and swept away, while during the dry

season children have fallen into them (especially at night) if the drains are not covered by concrete and because people have to share the narrow roads with motorcyclists.

However, in this story, the residents were asked to take the responsibility for the flood prevention, which may lead people to believe that one of the possible causes of floods is the people themselves, through their attitudes in taking care of their environment. This kind of attitude of putting the blame onto residents for the floods has become widespread in the neighborhoods around Jakarta. There is only a relatively low of critical contention heard or made known against that argument, even in the media as exemplified by *The Jakarta Post*. Thus, this story frames Joko Widodo positively, because the journalists draw on the 'common sense' of the belief that people should be responsible for the causes of the Jakarta floods, as Joko Widodo's argument to encourage residents to be actively involved in flood prevention through "the creation of parks in a bid to add more green space in the city".

It is worthwhile scrutinising the phrase "creation of parks". The word 'to create' bears the process of making something from absence into presence, from ideas into existence through works or process. This process presupposes that there are conditions that make the activity of creation possible, which consequently mean that where conditions of possibility are not there, the process of creation will be interrupted. It is precisely on the assumption that 'creation is possible', that the statement aforementioned obscures the real-problems for Jakartans - of providing green spaces - as the population of Jakarta is steadily growing. Therefore, it is a debatable issue to demand that the residents create parks for green spaces in order to contribute to flood prevention. As the spaces provided for residential areas grow slower than the migration rate to Jakarta, most of the middle to lower classes houses are very small, and consequently, every available space is occupied and built upon because they need more spaces to live indoor, not outdoor. Thus, to demand that the residents provide green spaces, while they themselves reasonably need more spaces indoors, is quite a challenging argument. But again, *The Jakarta Post* did not raise any

critical statement over Joko Widodo's suggestions. This position of *The Jakarta Post*, in the light of neoliberalisation discourse (Phelan, 2007), is benefitting the logic of the market because by not providing a competing perspective of floods other than the "common sense" of collective responsibility that "can be profoundly misleading, obfuscating and disguising real problems under cultural prejudices" (Harvey, 2005, p. 39), *The Jakarta Post* popularises and legitimises Joko Widodo's argument as truth. To conclude, *The Jakarta Post* did frame Joko Widodo, and it framed him positively, through the strong choices of words in story's title and lead and by the absence of challenging or critical arguments.

3.3 Micro Level Influence of Analysis

This type of analysis investigates the source relations, which in this study is represented by 'sources of positive comments on Joko Widodo in relation to the flood'. This study will focus primarily on positive comments because the number of those comments was much higher than the negative ones: 83 to 12 comments as shown in Table 19 & 21 of section 6.2 of Chapter *Findings*. The Findings also outline that there were 13 groups of people who made positive comments, and most of them were delivered by the journalists (28 times), politicians (19), and government officials (13).

According to Habermas (1989), the growth of capitalism and vision of progress has expanded the public sphere. The public sphere is the space where public discourse and private communication come together. In this public sphere, everybody is able to participate and communication is conducted in a rational debate. However, in the nineteenth century, the public sphere was re-feudalised by the arrival of "new structures of authority" (Manning, 2001): advertising, public relations and the commercial sponsorship of mass communication. Communicative actions were controlled by the logic of these authorities, such as political interests, and consequently, this threatened the rational communication through commercial logic.

Departing from Habermas theory of public sphere, it can be said that as long as the mass media has its own 'sponsors', the media will always carry political interests in its works, and thus, the communicative actions by the media in the public sphere should not be considered as pure. Therefore, in this study, *The Jakarta Post* could not be treated as the news source that purely reports events in the world without its political interests. The fact that journalists were the group who made the most positive comments regarding Joko Widodo may be analysed using Hall et al.'s (1978) explanation of "primary" and "secondary definers" (p. 253).

Hall et al. argued that those who are part of ruling class are primary definers because they have greater access to particular information about events or institutions or communities, more than the majority of people. However, it is not only because of their positions that they gain privilege with the media, and also because journalism adheres to the principal of objectivity, impartial and balance. Thus, those who are in the powerful position are assumed to be a credible news source. Thus, the media places the ruling class as the definers of the socially constructed reality, and in that hierarchy, media shared the ruling ideas publicly. This makes the media secondary definers because the media reproduce the definitions of the governing class.

The fact that journalists made most of the positive comments about Joko Widodo challenges the concept of the primary and secondary definers' objectivity. One of the examples is as follows:

Jokowi's success in handling numerous urban problems in Surakarta – such as the peaceful relocation of illegal street vendors and a clean up campaign against the backdrop of the city's image as a terrorist base – has given hope that he can do the same for Jakarta and make the country's capital a better place to live.

Both Jokowi and Ahok will have to deal with the ongoing problems of Jakarta: traffic congestion, flooding and poor city planning. Their predecessors, including Fauzi [Bowo], did not successfully address these issues.

Jakarta's huge population could be a *disadvantage* for Jokowi and Ahok... However, the two have captured the hearts of Jakartans... (Sept. 23, 2012, p. 4).

This story was published after the polling results revealed that Joko Widodo won the Jakarta governor election. Previously in a campaign-focused story, the journalists mentioned that problems in Jakarta are more complex than in other cities: "but Jakarta is different from Surakarta and South Sumatra in many respects. Unlike in other regions or cities in this country, problems in Jakarta are far more complicated" (March 10, 2012, p. 4). However, in the above story Jakarta problems, including annual flooding, are said to be more or less similar to the problems in Solo (the other name of Surakarta). The journalists blurred the difference between Jakarta as the capital city and Solo as a small town in Central Java.

Also, the journalists compared Joko Widodo to his predecessor without more explanation about the cause of the failure of Fauzi Bowo, while in contrast, after describing the challenges Joko Widodo and his deputy would face, the writer added the reminder that Joko Widodo was preferred by the Jakartans. In the light of the concept of primary and secondary definers, the story showed Joko Widodo as the primary definer of how to handle the urban problems in Surakarta, and suggested he might be able to repeat his success in Jakarta. *The Jakarta Post*, as the secondary definer, defined urban problems as illegal street vendors and city's image rehabilitation, and these have been handled by Joko Widodo, through relocation. Joko Widodo's position in terms of power, is thus, not only successful in relocating people, but also in making a city a "better place to live".

Following the argument made by Walgrave and van Aelst (2006), the position of media regarding the primary and secondary definers is contingent. The following quote from two of the stories where the politicians made positive comments, may be useful to compare the position of issue definers in this study:

Jakarta prepared for flooding, says Jokowi [Title]

“I don’t want to hear any complaints from the people. We cannot be late in responding should floods hit anywhere in the city,” Jokowi said during a personell roll call... (Nov. 07, 2012).

Jakarta Governor Joko “Jokowi” Widodo said he would personally persuade squatters along the Ciliwung River to relocate by offering them new homes...He said he would work hard to persuade the residents to move to the low-cost apartments. The city was also ready to provide subsidies to help with the rental payments, he said. (Nov. 24, 2012).

Based on the two comments above, it is clear that Joko Widodo himself was the one that actively delivered positive image on the work of Jakarta city administration under his leadership. These examples support the result gained from this study’s deeper investigation into identifying the politicians who made most of the positive comments. The result showed that in most cases the source of positive comment was Joko Widodo himself, as displayed in Table 19, section 6.2 of Chapter *Results*. Thus, in this study, the source relations between journalists and politician (in this case, Joko Widodo) are contingent; both of them were influencing each other. It means that sometimes the media also played the role as either the primary or secondary definers.

To conclude analysis of all the influences of macro, meso and micro level of analysis into *The Jakarta Post*’s frame of Joko Widodo, it can be claimed that the logic of neoliberalism is at play. The influence of media and political systems of analysis (macro level) shows that the anti-Communist frame (Herman & Chomsky, 1988) was used by *The Jakarta Post* in defending Joko Widodo’s position. The hegemony concept, that

was employed as part of the macro level influence, also reveals how *The Jakarta Post* cultivate the -‘common sense’- logic that results in blaming the squatters as the cause of the floods. Further, the investigation of the influence of the market and target audience feature displays that *The Jakarta Post* was non-ideology, which means *The Jakarta Post* places itself as the partner of many Japanese factories in Indonesia, but also as a watchdog. This paradoxical position has resulted in the way *The Jakarta Post* obscures the real-problem of floods by subsuming itself to the logic of collective responsibility. The last analysis, which is on the influence of source relations, showed that Joko Widodo and *The Jakarta Post* were influencing each other. Finally, the answer to the research question discussed in this section - that is ‘how *The Jakarta Post* framed Joko Widodo, and if so, whether it is positive or negative’ – is that *The Jakarta Post* framed Joko Widodo positively through the operationalisation of neoliberalisation discourse.

4.0 LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS OF JOKO WIDODO

The purpose of this section is to answer the fourth and final research question: how does *The Jakarta Post’s* presentation of Joko Widodo connect with leadership characteristics that are important in the Indonesian culture. The findings show that in the stories where Joko Widodo was covered positively compared to other politicians, the leadership characteristics most often identified was “caring”. This characteristic was reflected 16 times, and was followed by three other characteristics: decisive (14 times), inspiring (13) and likable (11).

Of the Indonesian leadership characteristics discussed in Chapter *Background*, a previous study has found that the characteristics of caring, decisive, inspiring and likable were valued by the voters in presidential election in 2004 (Mujani & Liddle, 2010). These characteristics were connected to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), and helped give him the victory as the president. Therefore, it is necessary to see in what

context and what kind of arguments or actions that Joko Widodo was labeled as having these characteristics.

This story represents the caring leadership characteristic:

The week in review: Jokowi's high pace of action [Title]

Immediately after their installation .., Jakarta Governor Joko "Jokowi" Widodo and Deputy Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama got straight down to business and addressed the city's most pressing problems – gridlocked traffic and the degrading environment.

Jokowi *took notes on the grievances* of the low-cost apartment residents and gave on the spot instructions...(Oct. 21, 2012, Editorial, p. 4, emphasis added).

This story was written after Joko Widodo officially took office. As he had never personally experienced Jakarta flood, and the Jakarta floods usually takes place between the end and early of the year, it is very normal that he collected information about it. Moreover what Joko Widodo did was still in his role as a governor. If his predecessors acted differently than Joko Widodo, it should be perceived that different leaders have different approaches. However, the word 'immediately' in the story may lead people to think that Joko Widodo always works, never rests. In addition, the detailed description that 'Jokowi took notes on the grievances' could influence people to think that Joko Widodo would always refer to his notes, whereas he has many assistants to do that, and Joko Widodo would try his best to ease people's grievances. These detailed descriptions of Joko Widodo's actions may influence people towards accepting the idea that Joko Widodo listens to marginalised people and "cares".

The other characteristic that needs to be scrutinised is "decisive". Liddle (2007) argues that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) started to lose his charisma in the 2009 presidential election, even though he was elected again, because in his first period he was assessed as indecisive. The reason why he won again was because there was no

other meaningful candidates; not because of people's assessment of his characters. The following story represents the decisive leadership characteristic of Joko Widodo:

During the discussion, Jokowi *encouraged* the billionaires to step out of their offices to see the capital's issues first-hand and accompany him on a tour of some slums.

"I want to take all of you to visit these areas", Jokowi told the forum.

Jokowi responded positively.., saying that businesspeople wanting to lend a hand were *welcome to contact him directly* to discuss their proposals in more detail.

In discussing the traffic issue, Jokowi said that *his predecessors failed* to make the development of public transportation systems their top priority.

"Building a city is like building a product, a brand. We need a position, an image, just like Paris that is well-known as a fashion capital. Maybe Jakarta can be a cultural city or a Muslim fashion capital," Jokowi said. *"I am optimistic that, together, we can redevelop this city"*. (Feb. 27, 2013, emphasis added).

The story was written after the floods finished altogether. As a governor who had just experienced the floods, it is also to be expected that Joko Widodo wanted to prevent future flooding knowing that he still has four more years in his tenure. He also may have understood that the current president was less popular because he is indecisive, and this indecisiveness was published by the media. Therefore he took care to emphasise his decisive action – which was reported by the paper.

Walgrave and van Aelst (2006) argue that the politicians may be aware of the power of media, and thus, make maximum use of it. It is found that Joko Widodo was this type of leader through his choices of words, as shown in these following different stories:

"It's going to help tackle traffic jams and flood problems in a single blow," Jokowi said, claiming that other drainage projects such as river dredging and reservoir construction would continue as the tunnel was developed (Jan. 04, 2013, p. 9).

Note his use of a specific decisive metaphor. The context of this story was the development of the regulation draft to include the spatial planning laws in the mid-term regional developmental plan of 2013-2017. Previously it was mentioned that Joko Widodo only has three months to develop the draft. This story may influence public to see that Joko Widodo is the person that could tackle two chronic problems of Jakarta at one time (“in a single blow”). The following story was written in the context of the emergence of on-street donations after the floods finished:

“We still have enough aid. If you meet with the evacuees asking for money, you may give it once, but please tell them not to do it anymore,” Jokowi said at the city hall (Jan. 20, 2013, www.thejakartapost.com).

As the debate around on-street donations has been very intense amongst Jakartans, the message aforementioned is very strong. It shows that on one hand, Joko Widodo understood the possible chaotic situation faced by the floods’ evacuees by not blaming them for asking money from people who pass the street, but on the other hand, Joko Widodo disagreed with this kind of behavior. In this story, Joko Widodo is being decisive about the on-street donation activity, but not being authoritarian. Other strong message was conveyed in the context of relocating squatters:

“We should do it nicely: using dialogue to explain to them that living on the riverbanks is a violation of the bylaws, and so on”. The governor added that he would lend a hand to his subordinates if the suggestive approach did not work. “If it becomes too burdensome, let me know. If I have to see it to myself, I’ll go,” he said (Jan. 25, 2013, p. 9).

This portrayal might persuade people to think that Joko Widodo is a leader that advances the win-win solution, rather than an authoritarian leader who avoids dialogues and frequently using command. Thus, it also may obscure the core of the message. Meanwhile, by putting aside the consensus-building perspective, the core of the message remains that the squatters should leave the riverbanks.

To answer the research question mentioned in the outset of this section, one may conclude that Joko Widodo is portrayed by *The Jakarta Post* as caring and decisive, confirming the results outlined in section 7.0 of Findings chapter. But, the quoted texts mentioned above also show that Joko Widodo is a leader who may be advancing dialogues in his works, but deeper analysis is needed to find out to what extent the dialogues accommodate all the people who participate in it. It is important to recall that in the previous section of this chapter (3.3), framing analysis has found that Joko Widodo is capable of catching the media's attention. Therefore, it could be a too simplistic effort to identify the leadership characteristics of Joko Widodo, other than to identify that he is very skillful in influencing the media.

5.0 SUMMARY

The discussions of the three different sections of this chapter reveals these following conclusions: that *The Jakarta Post* in covering the issue of the Jakarta floods was merely developing a list of the actions undertaken by Joko Widodo; that the frames of Joko Widodo were constructed within a neoliberalism logic; that *The Jakarta Post* blamed the squatters for the floods; and that the leadership characteristics of Joko Widodo were portrayed as caring and decisive, but these characters may be partly true because he is also very skillful in attracting media's attention. Concerning the research question of whether positive or negative frames constructed in regard to Joko Widodo, it is found that overall, *The Jakarta Post* framed Joko Widodo positively. The positive frames of Joko Widodo were represented in the deliberate alteration of coverage in *The Jakarta Post* reporting on Joko Widodo's actions after he won the governor election, particularly by merely reporting his steps without questioning or criticising them. This attitude toward Joko Widodo was closely in line with the way *The Jakarta Post* runs its business: non-ideological. Therefore, it can be claimed that the reason that *The Jakarta Post* supports Joko Widodo is because Joko Widodo could benefitted *The Jakarta Post* by his ability to keep the social order 'quiet' through his alleged caring but decisive leadership characteristics.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study has examined four research questions. First is the primary point of focus of *The Jakarta Post* coverage of the floods. Section 2.0 of the Discussion chapter shows that the *Post* was focusing on the actions undertaken by Joko Widodo in addressing the flood issues without questioning or being critical of his actions. In most of its coverage, *The Jakarta Post* not only merely reports Joko Widodo's actions or statements, but also entrenches its coverage of the Jakarta floods in building the image of Joko Widodo through the character of Jakartans' urban culture by operationalising the use of verbs frequently. By being uncritical of Joko Widodo, *The Jakarta Post* presents a bias on the cause of Jakarta floods that answers the second research question in this study. The second research question is to do with the cause of the annual Jakarta floods. This study argues that *The Jakarta Post* is selective in its presentation of flood causes. Section 3.1.1 of Chapter *Discussion* answers the second research question by arguing that *The Jakarta Post* has placed Joko Widodo as the primary definer who defines the cause of the Jakarta floods, by *putting the blame on the squatters*.

The third research question is to do with the presence of news frames in the coverage of Joko Widodo and Jakarta floods. This study finds that through the macro, meso and micro level of analysis, *The Jakarta Post* framed Joko Widodo positively. It also found that in analysing the influence of media and political system (macro level of analysis) of the coverage of Joko Widodo in relation to the Jakarta floods, *The Jakarta Post* used the concept of hegemony, including when targeting the cause of the Jakarta floods that is part of the third research question of this study. Lastly, since this study also concerns the political leaders issue in Indonesia, the last research question is on the leadership characteristics of Joko Widodo. Chapter *Findings* (section 7.1) shows that most of *The Jakarta Post* coverage reflects Joko Widodo as 'caring', followed with the

characteristic of 'decisive'. Further, the Discussion chapter (section 4.0) argues that not only do those characteristics appear in the coverage, but also Joko Widodo is a person who advances dialogues before taking actions. However, it is also worth noting that Joko Widodo is very skilful in attracting the media's attention. This means that to conclude that Joko Widodo's leadership characteristics fall into those two categories only may assume a too simplistic proposition.

The conclusions section of this chapter will relate the research questions back to concepts of political communication. The concept of political communication has been discussed in the Literature Review chapter of this study and it was inferred that more studies on Indonesian media are needed. This study has argued that *The Jakarta Post* depoliticised the issue of Jakarta floods and this will be summarised below. The implications section of this chapter connects the issue of depoliticisation with the impact of the loss of the public. The loss of the public means the process that takes place amongst the citizens where people do not have the feeling of togetherness anymore, but instead exist only as groups of people who accidentally live in the same country without having responsibility to create a sense of togetherness or come together as a public. The arguments are built on references that strongly criticise the current domination of journalism by commercial interests and unreliable information that disconnect people from the idea of the public. The last section of this study covers: the limitations of this study and directions for further research.

2.0 CONCLUSIONS

This section will relate the conclusions found in the Discussions chapter to the role of the media in political communication as a contributor to democratisation. The Discussion chapter drew conclusions concerning the focus of the coverage of Joko Widodo in relation to Jakarta floods, the news framing and the leadership characters found through the news. The political communication concept used in this section uses Voltmer's (2006) description on relating the concept with the political condition in new

democracies or countries that are in the transition to democracy. Indonesia is one of the new democracies, in terms of its new beginning of decentralising power after the overthrow of Gen. Soeharto in 1998.

This study has found that *The Jakarta Post* merely presented a list of the steps that Joko Widodo has undertaken once he was elected as the Jakarta governor. Developing a list means that in its coverage, *The Jakarta Post* was merely stating what Joko Widodo did and said in each of his working days and not questioning those actions or statements. Compared to the days before the Jakarta governor was elected (as discussed in Discussion chapter), the decision of *The Jakarta Post* in merely reporting the daily activities of Joko Widodo once elected is seen as a strong support to Joko Widodo's actions and arguments. Moreover, in developing the list of actions of Joko Widodo in handling Jakarta floods, this study also argued the influence of Jakarta urban culture in constructing the image of Joko Widodo.

This positive posture of *The Jakarta Post* also emerged in the way it framed Joko Widodo. Three types of analysis, macro, meso and micro, confirmed the support of *The Jakarta Post* for Joko Widodo. Analysed through the influence of media system and political system (macro level) as shown in the Discussion (section 3.1) the Post used the concept of hegemony and common sense when it covered Joko Widodo and his efforts on handling Jakarta floods. Meanwhile, analysed through the influence of the target audience and market, the results showed that *The Jakarta Post* applied the logics of neoliberalism concept where it placed the media in a paradoxical position: reporting the society's social and political ills on one hand, but on the other hand, representing itself as one of the media partners for most of the Japanese companies that have factories in Indonesia. But the viewpoint of neoliberalism is not only found in the way *The Jakarta Post* runs its business, but also in the way it neoliberalised the news texts. The last framing analysis investigates the news from the source relations, and concludes that *The Jakarta Post* and Joko Widodo are influencing each other.

Thus, the works of *The Jakarta Post* mentioned above could be claimed as depoliticising the information around the Jakarta floods. Depoliticising in this context means that *The Jakarta Post* removed the political aspect of the Jakarta floods, and applied common sense to the way to handle the Jakarta floods in most of its coverage. Gajevic (2012) argues that common sense is the locus where the journalists cultivate the way they framed issues, and in that case, it is rarely conducted in a conscious way. Depoliticising thus, ignores the responsibility of the media to enlighten the citizens (Voltmer, 2006). The similar case appeared in covering the issue of squatters. *The Jakarta Post* selectively chose to focus on one particular cause of the floods, that is the squatters, which suggests that *The Jakarta Post* obscured the other sides of the possible solutions for the Jakarta floods. Although the squatters contributed to the floods, they are not the *sole* contributor, and while the solution offered by Joko Widodo – that is relocating the squatters to the elevated village – may seem to be able to settle the problem, *The Jakarta Post* did not cover any other solution or try to question Joko Widodo's argument from a very different point of view.

The limits of *The Jakarta Post* in the discussion of the causes of Jakarta floods, in the light of the concept of political communication in new democracies, (where ideally the media should help Indonesia in the current transition to a democratic country), limit the scope of the possibilities by which the public may comprehend the situation beyond the coverage of *The Jakarta Post*. It also represents the political agenda of *The Jakarta Post* that has been discussed in Discussion chapter, that is supporting the viewpoint of neoliberalisation. In other words, through depoliticising the issue, *The Jakarta Post* has not fully participated in democratising Indonesian political situation after the authoritarian era.

3.0 IMPLICATIONS

The implications of this study will be focused on the effect of the depoliticisation of the issues in the countries that are in the transition to democracy.

Depoliticising issue generates the loss of sense on serious political issues (McChesney, 2012). The way *The Jakarta Post* focuses on the ability of Joko Widodo as a governor would lead people to comprehend that the serious political issues could be handled by a person. Thus, the logic of politics is narrowed into a political actor, not a political process; whereas the importance of politics is in its process. Hind (2010) further argues that the politics that give more emphasis to person than political process lead to the loss of the sense of being part of a public. The Discussion chapter (section 4.0) showed that Joko Widodo was very skillful in attracting media attention through his usage of words that might influence his image as a leader. In the current situation where Indonesia is not only in the transition to democracy, but also in the process of finding the right leader with reliable leadership characteristics, the way *The Jakarta Post* selects Joko Widodo's statements, through direct or indirect quote, certainly builds an image that Joko Widodo is the right leader for Indonesia. Thus, the relation between political actor and media is, amongst other, to do with performance management.

Further, the implication of this situation on the Indonesian public is the return of the cult of a leader. Literature Review chapter (section 3.0) has discussed past Indonesian political leaders, and concludes that the perspective of a servant leadership model is still strong. The first and second Indonesians presidents, Soekarno and Soeharto, are seen as the best presidents until now, regardless of the roles of the political parties that supported them or the way they ruled the nation. Many Indonesians still believe or wish that a leader is a person who is able to save the nations by her/himself from 'bad things' such as wars, poverty, famine, etc. This situation is utilised by neoliberalism ideology, in terms of reducing the public into merely one category: homo economicus. While neoliberalisation is constructed through common sense, the public

is treated narrowly through the perspective of productivity capability. It is in this condition that, Hinds's argument connects neoliberalism to the loss of the public. However, neoliberalism in Indonesia only benefitted a small group of people, particularly, the local leaders and political parties leaders (Robison and Hadiz, 2004). That is why, Robison and Hadiz further argue, that the only possible thing that could change the situation is to construct the situation where the different interests of power fight each other, while the public grab that moment to their hands. This way might lead the public to act as active citizens who could participate in directing the politics of the state, not merely the machine of the economic productions. This is where the Indonesian media should take position that is to report on unreliable leaders and thus, enable the public to be aware of the moment of when to grab the power. It means, the media should return to its position as the watchdog.

McChesney argues that there is no solution to the dependency on media to commercial interests, that means that there is no guarantee that the audience would choose media programs or articles on politics than other non-political issues, but to preserve media coverage of politics is part of public good. According to him public good is "something society requires but that the market cannot produce in sufficient quality or quantity" (p. 687). Section 2.0 of Discussions chapter has shown that when *The Jakarta Post* was merely developing a list of actions instead of analysing the steps that Joko Widodo undertook, one of the ways of depoliticising the issue is through the abundant use of verbs. It could also be said that the way *The Jakarta Post* depicted Joko Widodo represented the action of spinning the substance of political issues to the personal capability in handling the issue. This means that *The Jakarta Post* tried to influence people to assess the issue of Jakarta flood as mainly a technical issue or as an issue without any political essence. Thus, the acceptable solution was also framed in the technical context without connecting it to a politics. In other words, *The Jakarta Post* tried to persuade people away from thinking critically about a serious matter, such as politics. Similarly, *The Jakarta Post* chose the primary definers of the problem, the annual Jakarta floods, by quoting most of Joko Widodo's statement. Here, public access to the matter that encompasses their life is being determined by a political

actor that might not experience the matter. Hence, based on McChesney's argument mentioned above, it could be inferred that the way *The Jakarta Post* depoliticised the political issue of annual floods displayed no public good because no sufficient quality was provided to the society.

4.0 FURTHER RESEARCH

To articulate the further research that this study may invoke, it is useful and helpful to reflect the limitations of this study. Since this research scrutinises a particular political actor, Joko Widodo, through a non-political issue, that is Jakarta annual floods, for only a limited period of time, the research has to be limited to a given period time of research. This research is only able to investigate the first year of Joko Widodo's tenure as Jakarta governor. Consequently, this study cannot involve the development of the actions he is undertaken in the second year when the Jakarta floods also occurred.

Based on the argued depoliticisation of the Indonesian media, particularly *The Jakarta Post*, future research should train its focus on the role of the Indonesian media in helping construct the democratic process in Indonesia. According to Schudson (1995), the most moderate claim one could make is that "the media can contribute to a more democratic society" (p. 204). By saying this, Schudson further argues that the media has limitations in playing that role. One of some ways he offers to enable media's contribution is the notion that journalism should start thinking that *not* all citizens are rational and active, as described in the concept of public sphere. Thus, even if most of the citizens are not interested in the political news, the media should keep working in the context of the creation of democracy. He argues that within that kind of society, the role of journalists is as guardians, rather than communicators. Being a guardian means that the media serve as "stand-ins for public scrutiny, gatekeepers who monitor the political process on behalf of the public" (p. 220).

Muhlmann's (2010) argument is also useful in terms of her statement that journalism should serve the existence of democracy. She approaches this question through two layers: the meaning of democracy itself and the capability of journalism to facilitate the democratic process. By approaching this problem through those layers, Muhlmann suggests people admit that democracy should always be perceived as both "unifying and conflictual" (p. 9), and therefore, only by accepting that idea, people could accept the existence of journalism as part of democratic process, where people find themselves connected to the totality, but also are recognised as individual.

To connect back to the Indonesian context, both Schudson's and Muhlmann's suggestions should be addressed not only by the Indonesian media, but also by the Indonesian government. This means that the Indonesian government should alter its position towards journalism workers or organisations, so that on the other hand, Indonesian journalists should be able to take the role of guardians as mentioned by Schudson. Particular to Schudson's argument, it is understood that the media, including Indonesian media, finds it hard to balance its position between making profits on one side and being a watchdog on the other. Therefore, this study also expects in the future the change should come from the journalists, which means it expects there are journalists that would be able to or brave/smart enough to catch and cover the issues that could enlighten the public on making sense of the real-world issues at the best possible level for the public to understand. It also means that journalists are expected to be capable of encompassing the huge different classes in Indonesian society through producing news texts that are easy to understand for a depoliticised public. By taking this action, the media should be decentring itself as the sole political information source, and recentring the public as part of the active political communication actors. This is where future research into Indonesian media should focus.

Meanwhile, democracy presupposes the presence of the plurality of points of view, including opinions that oppose or are distinct from the government's position. But, if

the media is owned by the quasi-government-entrepreneur, it is almost impossible to imagine a real freedom of the press where the media could freely state its disagreement of the ruling government. This position may be easier to understand in authoritarian countries, but since Indonesia is now in transition to a more democratic country, then the concept of common sense through the hegemony is a closer description. This means that the authoritarian practices by the political leader on the media works may not be effective anymore, particularly because Indonesians have been experiencing the free flow of information from the internet. In other words, the Indonesian government may use the concept of common sense to influence the Indonesian public. In this situation, one of the ways the media could do is to counter the government's hegemony by presenting other perspectives that have also been maintained in the Indonesian public's common sense. Thus, the media should be able to question political and seemingly non-political issues through critical thinking or dialectical perspectives. This suggestion leads to the investigation of journalism studies in Indonesia that is to what extent the curriculum is grounded on the concept of critical thinking. On the wider scope, it needs a public sphere where critical thoughts may be shared freely as a response to the depoliticisation and its consequences in forming current Indonesian political economic condition. Only by having critical thinking-based journalism education and the parallel public sphere where rational communication could appear, could the application of Muhlmann's concept that journalism is for democracy exist in Indonesia.

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APPENDIX A

Residents	<input type="checkbox"/>
Workers	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (state who was quoted in the story)	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text"/>	

15 What **other Jakarta issues** did the news article refer to? (Tick the box that corresponds to your answer)

None	<input type="checkbox"/>
Air Pollution	<input type="checkbox"/>
Corruption	<input type="checkbox"/>
Crimes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dense population	<input type="checkbox"/>
Disaster prone location	<input type="checkbox"/>
Expensive Health Facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fundamentalist acts	<input type="checkbox"/>
High economic disparity	<input type="checkbox"/>
High level of urbanization	<input type="checkbox"/>
History of humanitarian tragedy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Need for a Caring Leader	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor Education Services & Facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor City Planning	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor Public Waste management	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor Public Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plural background of Jakarta society	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sanitation woes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Slums	<input type="checkbox"/>
Traffic Congestion	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unemployment	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unfriendly bureaucracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Water pollution	<input type="checkbox"/>
Water shortages	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text"/>	

16 How did the article cover Joko Widodo **in relation to other Jakarta issues**?

Positive	1
Negative	2
Both	3
Not Available	4

17 Who mentioned the leadership characteristics? (Tick the box that corresponds to your answer)

None	1	<input type="checkbox"/>
Academics	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
Activists	3	<input type="checkbox"/>
Entrepreneurs	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
Foreign Partners	5	<input type="checkbox"/>
Government officials	6	<input type="checkbox"/>
Industrial / Commercial Experts	7	<input type="checkbox"/>
Industrial / Commercial Specialist	8	<input type="checkbox"/>
Journalist	9	<input type="checkbox"/>
Minister	10	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politician	11	<input type="checkbox"/>
Representatives of private companies	12	<input type="checkbox"/>
Residents	13	<input type="checkbox"/>
Workers	14	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	15	<input type="checkbox"/>

--

18 What leadership characteristics were stated in news article?

(Fill the boxes with the numbers that indicate the individuals mentioned in question no. 17)

None (If None, tick the box)	<input type="checkbox"/>			
Altruistic or Unselfish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Authoritarian or Undemocratic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Benevolent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Caring	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charismatic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Decisive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Father-ism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Family-ism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Follower-centric	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Honest	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inspiring	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intelligent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Likable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Moral leadership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spiritual values	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can grow the economy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Defend national unity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fight corruption	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Have a vision for the nation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Improve quality of education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Improve quality of health care

Promote general prosperity

Other

--

19 What type of visual material was used in the story?

--

None

1

Photograph

2

Cartoon

3

Graphics

4

Diagram

5

Other

6

--

20 Which of the following politicians were mentioned and/or quoted in the story?

(Tick the box that corresponds to your answer)

None *(If none, end coding here)*

1

--

Aburizal Bakrie

2

--

Alex Noerdin

3

--

Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok)

4

--

Biem Benyamin

5

--

Didik J. Rachbini

6

--

Faizal Basri

7

--

Fauzi Bowo

8

--

Hendardji Soepandji

9

--

Hidayat Nur Wahid

10

--

Joko Widodo (Jokowi)

11

--

Jusuf Kalla

12

--

Megawati Soekarnoputri

13

--

Nachrowi Ramli

14

--

Nono Sampono

15

--

Prabowo Subianto

16

--

Riza Patria

17

--

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)

18

--

Sutiyoso

19

--

Wiranto

20

--

Member of Democrat Party

21

--

Member of Functional Groups (Golkar) Party

22

--

Member of Great Indonesia Movement (Gerindra) Party

23

--

Member of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP)

24

Member of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)

25

Member of House of Representatives

26

Other

27

--

21 To what extent was the politician mentioned?

(Fill the boxes with the numbers that indicate the politician mentioned in no. 20)

Mentioned only

Appearing to a limited extent

Appearing to a moderate extent

Dominating the story

22 How was the politician quoted?

(Fill the boxes with the numbers that indicate the politician mentioned in no. 20)

Cited and/or quoted first

Cited and/or quoted along with others

Not cited and/or quoted

23 How did *The Jakarta Post* compare the other politician to Joko Widodo?

Favorable to Joko Widodo

1

Neutral

2

Unfavorable to Joko Widodo

3

Not stated

4

--

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. TERIMA KASIH BANYAK.

!WS