AN INDONESIAN POLITICIAN'S LEADERSHIP THROUGH SPEECH DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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ABSTRACT

During the Covid-19 pandemic, leadership played a crucial role in guiding the direction of a country. This research aims at analyzing speech delivered by the Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, during the Covid-19 pandemic taken from online news media. To explore the identity, relational, and ideational dimensions of the speech, the research employs discourse analysis based on the first three-level framework proposed by Fairclough. The three-skill approach is also utilized to discover leadership values embedded in the Governor's utterances during the pandemic, focusing on his actions and leadership qualities. The findings of this study reveal that he constructs himself as a leader who has taken actions to tackle the plague, a leader who is strict sentencing anyone who disobeys the regulations, a leader who concerns about his people's safety, and a leader who works collaboratively rather than ndividually. Other findings also explain that his utterances align with the three-skill approach such as the ability in defining problems, communicating goals, planning, employing social judgment skill, and having knowledge.

Keywords: *Covid-19 Pandemic; Leadership; Political Discourse*

ABSTRAK

Selama masa pandemik Covid-19, kepemimpinan memainkan peran penting dalam mengarahkan arah suatu negara. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis teks pidato yang dituturkan oleh Gubernur Jakarta dari media pemberitaan daring. Untuk mengeksplorasi dimensi identitas, hubungan, dan ideasi dari pidato tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan analisis wacana berdasarkan kerangka tiga level pertama yang digagas oleh Fairclough. Pendekatan tiga keterampilan juga digunakan untuk mengungkap nilai-nilai kepemimpinan yang terkandung dalam tuturan Gubernur selama pandemi, dengan fokus pada tindakan dan kualitas kepemimpinannya. Hasil dari penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa Anies Baswedan mengkonstruksikan diri sebagai pemimpin yang telah melakukan banyak hal untuk mengatasi wabah, pemimpin yang tegas, yang akan memberikan sanksi kepada siapapun yang melanggar aturan, pemimpin yang peduli terhadap keselamatan warganya, dan pemimpin yang bekerja secara kolaboratif bukan individual. Temuan lain juga menjelaskan bahwa tuturan Anies Baswedan sejalan dengan pendekatan tiga keterampilan seperti kemampuan dalam mendefinisikan masalah, mengkomunikasikan tujuan, merencanakan, menggunakan keterampilan penilaian sosial, dan memiliki pengetahuan.

Kata Kunci: *Kepemimpinan; Pandemik Covid-19; Wacana Politik*

INTRODUCTION

Coronavirus, a contagious disease, was first discovered in Wuhan, China, in 2019. It becomes a global pandemic since the virus is also found across the countries, contaminated more than one million people, and killed more than 55,000 up to April 3, 2020 (Sallard et al., 2020). Indonesia, as the fourth most populous country, was predicted to be affected significantly by the virus (Djalante et al., 2020). In March 2020, the Indonesian Government announced Indonesia's two confirmed coronavirus cases, as reported by thejakartapost.com (Gorbiano, 2020). Meanwhile, in order to slow the spread of the confirmed cases, the Indonesian governments regulate a lockdown-like policy, which is the so-called Large-Scale Social Restriction and PSBB-variant which is Expanded and Tightened Social Restriction (Syuhada et al., 2021). Until 21 June 2021, World Health Organization reported that there were 178,118,597 confirmed cases worldwide, and based on the data, the number of confirmed coronavirus cases in Indonesia continues to increase by 1,989,909 cases per 21 June 2021 (Zakianis et al., 2021). Meanwhile, in June 2021, it was reported as the highest number of confirmed cases compared to the previous months (Azanella & Nugroho, 2020). Indonesia was also recorded as the highest number of COVID-19 cases in Southeast Asia (Nurbaiti, 2020), where Jakarta as the capital city was the top number of confirmed cases among other cities in Indonesia. Few months later, new coronavirus cases have fallen sharply from their peak (Reuters, 2021).

The COVID-19 pandemic sweeping countries in 2020 demanded action from leaders around the world to lead their people through a crisis (Hafner & Sun, 2021). Leadership was framed as the individual's ability to influence, motivate, and enable others to give contributions toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations (Northouse, 2019; Saleem, 2015). In other words, leadership is a process carried out by an individual to influence others to achieve objectives together (Merrita, 2021; Northouse, 2019. Leadership encompasses a range of actions, such as making responsive decisions, communicating them to the public, delivering targets, and generating trust and cooperation (Hafner & Sun, 2021). In short, leaders communicate by emphasizing their humanity (Vásquez, 2021).

Leadership has gained researchers' attention worldwide. The topic of leadership in research increases significantly to explain the complexities of its process (Northouse, 2019). While, political leadership style is seen as a crucial thing in disaster communication (Ewart et al., 2015). One of leadership styles, the three-skill approach, sees leadership skills as the ability to make the most of knowledge and competencies to accomplish objectives. It makes a leader as a center perspective and put attention on skills and abilities which can be learned and developed. This perspective also sees that to be an effective leader, one should have both knowledge and abilities (Northouse, 2019). It involves problem-solving skills, social judgment skills, and knowledge

The problem-solving skill encompasses nine key abilities that leaders employ: (1) *problem definition* which is the ability to define significant problems, (2) *cause/goal analysis* which is the ability to analyze the causes and goals, (3) *constraint analysis* which means the ability to identify the constraints, (4) *planning* which is the ability to formulate plans and actions, (5) *forecasting* which is defined as the ability to anticipate the implications of plans, (6) *creative thinking* which is defined as the ability to develop alternative approaches and new ideas, (7) *idea*

evaluation which is the ability to evaluate these alternative approaches' viability, (8) *wisdom* as the ability to evaluate the appropriateness of these alternative approaches, and (9) *sensemaking/visioning* which is the ability to articulate a vision that will help followers understand (Northouse, 2019). Furthermore, social judgment skills are the ability to understand people and system in social. These skills encompass (1) *perspective* as the behavior that people have toward problems or solution, (2) *social perceptiveness* as the awareness on how people function in an organization, and (3) *social performance* which is defined as the leadership competencies. The third aspect of competencies is knowledge which is related to the implementation of problem-solving. Also, it is related to how leaders attempt to solve problems. Leaders with knowledge recognize much about the task and people which are related to each other (Northouse, 2019).

Meanwhile, some scholars define discourse as a social practice and interaction (Fairclough, 1992; Wang, 2017). Van Dijk also argues that it is not basically a dialogical structure, however it also serves as a tool for politics, influencing and reflecting the social dynamics between participants and their affiliations (Gowhary et al., 2015). The political discourse during the COVID-19 pandemic deals with how political leaders conceptualize the virus and frame its effects in public statements and official speeches which affect not only individual behaviors but also public health outcomes (Jaworska & Vásquez, 2022). Political leadership was necessary for handling the COVID-19 pandemic since leaders imposed to take decisions for the sake of people (Sambaraju, 2022). In relation to political leaders, character is a quality that can lead people to be more outstanding than others. It also covers their ability to face challenges and difficulties (Rokhman et al., 2014). Fairclough (1992; 2013) opines that discourse contributes to frame social identity, subject position, and social relation among individuals. One of the three dimensional levels proposed by Fairclough (1995) is text. Text analysis is conducted to reveal how social identity and social relation are constructed through vocabularies, grammatical features, cohesion, and a text structure (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; 2013b; Xie & Ding, 2016; Zulkifli, 2015). Vocabularies are related to their use since they can be applied in certain ways. Grammatical features deal with vocabularies combined into a clause and a sentence which refer to transitivity, theme, and modality (Fairclough, 1992). Meanwhile, cohesion is a relation of meaning existing in text and each element is related to each other (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Moreover, Fairclough (1992) adds that the structure text is defined as something referring to a bigger text property or in other words, it is an architecture text.

Research addressing a similar issue in political leadership was conducted by Tessema (2019). His research investigated the construction of leadership in online business magazines published between 2015 and 2018. By using Foucauldian discourse analysis, his research revealed that leadership in the business media is portrayed in certain ways to suit the leadership industry. The text constructed leaders as the ultimate makers. Another research was organized by Hafner and Sun (2021) investigating discursive leadership from New Zealand (NZ) government press briefings from January 2020 to September 2020. They examined not only the micro-level linguistic and non-linguistic cues, but also the macro social context. Also, they involved their analysis on positioning, framing, metaphor, and rhetorical

structure. The findings revealed how important positioning and framing were in the leadership discourse. Some frames were used to argue, while Ardern positioned herself as just another one of the team. She also used both transactional and relational talk to cultivate NZer's team spirit.

While Hafner and Sun (2021) focused on discursive leadership by positioning, framing, metaphor, and rhetorical structure and Tessema (2019) concerned about the construction of leadership in online business magazines, this study investigates the text analysis proposed by Fairclough and examines the three-skill approach a leader has through speech using Mumford, Todd, Higgs, and McIntosh's notion (Northouse, 2019). Thus, this study questions: (1) how leadership is presented by the Jakarta Governor through speech during the Covid-19 pandemic using the text analysis proposed by Fairclough; and (2) what leadership values emerging through speech related to the three-skill approach of leadership style. The objectives of this study are to (1) examine the text analysis (the first level of the three dimensional) related to a Jakarta Governor's press briefings during Covid-19 pandemic, and (2) find out the Jakarta Governor's utterances which are in line to the three-skill approach of a leadership style.

METHOD

This research employs a discourse analysis and the data comprise three press conferences published in April, August, and September 2020 in *Merdeka*, *IDN Times*, and *Jakarta Bisnis* online newspapers. The selection of these speeches was motivated by the following criteria. First, they were published to declare commitment in tackling COVID-19 virus, hence aligning with the political leadership style. Second, the press conferences were published at the time when the government began to issue prevention acts regarding the spread of the virus. Third, the press conferences were conducted by the Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan who served from 2017-2022 and was in charge in tackling the virus since Jakarta reached the highest cases among other cities in Indonesia.

The analysis process was begun by ensuring that the Jakarta Governor's personal thoughts emerged in the texts. Then, the texts were examined by breaking them down into groups of sentences based on each topic delivered. They were analyzed to find out the linguistics features in the first level of dimension (Fairclough, 1992), such as vocabulary, grammatical feature, cohesion, and text structure. Next, the texts were identified to see which leadership characteristics of the three-skill approach emerged, such as problem-solving skills, social judgment skills, and knowledge.

FINDINGS
Text Dimension

Text analysis is conducted to reveal how social identity and social relation are constructed through vocabulary, grammatical feature, cohesion, and a text structure (Fairclough, 1992). The following are sentences as well as the analysis taken from the three speeches.

(a) The government keeps carrying out their functions.
(*Pemerintahan terus menjalankan fungsinya.*)

(b) We, Jakarta Provincial Government, keep escalating the number of private hospitals.
(*Kami di Pemprov DKI setiap waktu terus menambah rumah sakit swasta yang bisa terlibat untuk menaikkan kapasitas.*)

(c) We, Jakarta Capital City Government with The Indonesian National Armed Forces and Police, on Thursday, will distribute primary needs to citizens in densely populated areas and those who need them.
(*Kami di Pemprov DKI ini bersama dengan jajaran TNI dan Kepolisian Insya Allah mulai hari Kamis yang akan datang, lusa akan mulai memfasilitasi distribusi sembako kepada masyarakat di kawasan kawasan padat dam masyarakat yang memiliki kebutuhan.*)

(d) And we also inform all of you that Jakarta Provincial Government keeps being transparent, informing the truth based on facts.
(*Dan saya sampaikan kepada semua Pemprov DKI Jakarta tetap berkomitmen untuk selalu transparan menyampaikan apa adanya, menyampaikan sesuai dengan kenyataannya.*)

According to the four sentences above, they are constructed in active sentences involving a material process (sentence a, b, and c) such as *keeps carrying*, *keep escalating*, and *will distribute* with the use of subject *the government* and pronoun *we*. The material process is a process of doing involving actor and goal (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Nugraha & Mahdi, 2020). The use of material process interprets the Jakarta Governor positions himself as a part of government cooperating with other parties not a single actor taking a big role in solving a crucial issue in Jakarta. This is also something he emphasizes since the pronoun is positioned at the beginning of sentences. Meanwhile, sentence (d) is verbal process showing the act of saying that is *inform*. The following is a table showing a classification of sentences which belong to a material and verbal process.

Table 1. **Grammatical Feature**

	Actor	Material Process	Circumstance
	Theme	**Rheme**	
Sentence (a)	The government	keeps carrying out	their functions
Sentence (b)	We, Jakarta Provincial Government	keep escalating	the number of private hospitals
Sentence (c)	We, Jakarta Capital City Government with The Indonesian National Armed Forces and Police	will distribute	primary needs to citizens in densely populated areas and those who need them.
	Sayer	**Verbal Process**	**Reported**
	Theme	**Rheme**	
Sentence (d)	We	also inform	All of you that Jakarta Provincial Government keep being transparent, informing the truth based on facts.

A modality *will* in (c) also indicates a plan of his and other parties' actions regarding a primary needs distribution to citizens. The word *keep* also shows that their actions are carried out sustainably. Moreover, the word *transparent* in (d) shows that there is nothing they hide, everything is informed to public based on facts.

Meanwhile, as explained by Halliday and Hasan (1976), cohesion refers to relations of meaning existing in text and each element is related to each other. To link the previous and following ideas, the use of conjunctions is necessary. The conjunctions found within the speech are *but*, *if*, and *and* as stated in the following.

(a) This is not for the sake of other people, but for all of us.
(*Ini bukan untuk kepentingan siapa siapa tapi untuk kepentingan kita semua*.)

(b) One more time, this is about saving Jakarta citizens. If it is ignored, hospitals cannot accommodate them, and mortality rate will be high.
(*Sekali lagi ini soal menyelamatkan warga Jakarta, bila ini dibiarkan maka, rumah sakit tidak akan sanggup menampung dan efeknya kematian akan tinggi terjadi di Jakarta*.)

(c) Jakarta Capital City Government, police, and The Indonesian National Armed Forces will regulate and ensure that large-scale social restriction is obeyed by all citizens.
(*Jajaran Pemprov, kepolisian dan TNI akan melakukan kegiatan penertiban dan juga memastikan bahwa seluruh ketentuan PSBB diikuti oleh seluruh masyarakat*.)

The two clauses in (a) are combined with a conjunction *but* indicating there is an opposite argument between the ideas in each clause. The first clause informs us that the rules regulated by the government is not for the sake of other people, however they are intended for Indonesians' interest. Meanwhile, a conjunction *if* in (b) in the first clause indicating that the sentence is written using a conditional sentence and there is a close relation between the first and the second clause. The Jakarta Governor portrays his concern towards citizens' needs. In (c), a conjunction *and* is used to combine words and phrases emphasizing that the Jakarta Governor works cooperatively with police and The Indonesian National Armed Forces to tackle the plague.

Identity, Relational, Ideational

The analysis of the first dimension, text, is conducted to recognize identity, relation, and ideational in a discourse. Identity refers to the way social identity is constructed. While, the relation sees social relationship among participants in a discourse and the ideational sees how the text refers to a process, an entity, and a relation (Fairclough, 1992). Lying on that schema, the explanation of identity, relation, and ideational emerging in Anies Baswedan's utterances is shown as follows.

As a leader who has taken actions to tackle the plague

Anies Baswedan who was in charge as the Jakarta Governor at that time showed that he and his team have carried out varieties of actions to solve the case. It emerged using verbs such as *keep carrying, keep fighting, keep escalating, regulate a lockdown-like policy, provide many guidebooks,* and *significantly reduce*. The sentences are as follows.

(a) The government keeps carrying out their functions.
(Pemerintahan terus menjalankan fungsinya.)

(b) We, Jakarta Provincial Government, keep escalating the number of private hospitals.
(Kami di Pemprov DKI setiap waktu terus menambah rumah sakit swasta yang bisa terlibat untuk menaikkan kapasitas.)

(c) By referring to this emergency, Jakarta has no more options unless regulate a lockdown-like policy as soon as possible.
(Maka dengan melihat kedaruratan ini, maka tidak ada banyak pilihan bagi Jakarta kecuali untuk menarik rem darurat sesegera mungkin.)

(d) We have to inform others that we have already provided many guidebooks.
(Kami harus sampaikan kepada semua bahwa banyak informasi panduan yang sudah disiapkan, yang sudah digunakan.)

(e) We keep fighting, we are never silent and we share duties.
(Kita terus bergerak, kita tidak pernah diam dan kita berbagi tugas.)

(f) In the name of Allah, Jakarta significantly reduces mortality rate.
(Atas izin Allah Jakarta secara signifikan berhasil menekan angka kematian itu.)

The actions are for the sake of Indonesians

Not only showing that he and his team have carried out various actions to solve the case, he also showed that what he and his team did was for the sake of Indonesians. In several utterances, he kept saying that he would distribute social aid and uttered *citizens* for several times. Also, he emphasized his utterances by saying that what he and his team did was to save citizens' lives. The utterances are shown as follows.

(a) Jakarta Capital City Government with Central Government will provide social aid to impoverished citizens.
(Pemprov DKI Jakarta nanti bersama juga dengan pemerintah pusat akan menyiapkan bantuan sosial kepada warga miskin.)

(b) We, Jakarta Capital city Government with The Indonesian National Armed Forces and Police, on Thursday, will distribute primary needs to citizens.
(*Kami di Pemprov DKI ini bersama dengan jajaran TNI dan Kepolisian insyaAllah mulai hari Kamis yang akan datang, lusa akan mulai memfasilitasi distribusi sembako kepada masyarakat di kawasan kawasan padat dam masyarakat yang memiliki kebutuhan.*)

(c) One more time, this is about saving Jakarta citizens. If it is ignored, hospitals cannot accommodate them, and mortality rate will be high.
(*Sekali lagi ini soal menyelamatkan warga Jakarta, bila ini dibiarkan maka, rumah sakit tidak akan sanggup menampung dan efeknya kematian akan tinggi terjadi di Jakarta.)*

(d) So, we will distribute social aid to those who are impoverished and prone to impoverished on the following Thursday.
(*Jadi masyarakat miskin dan rentan miskin itu semua nanti kita akan distribusikan insyaAllah mulai hari Kamis yang akan datang*.)

(e) This is not for the sake of other people, but for all of us.
(*Ini bukan untuk kepentingan siapa siapa tapi untuk kepentingan kita semua*.)

(f)   The only purpose is to save Jakarta citizens' lives.
(*Tujuannya tidak lain tidak bukan menyelamatkan keselamatan nyawa warga Jakarta*.)

(g)   All people in charge are obliged to fulfil impoverished citizens' needs during large-scale social restriction.
(*Seluruh komponen pemerintah berkewajiban untuk memenuhi kebutuhan bagi masyarakat miskin dan rentan miskin untuk mendapatkan bantuan selama masa PSBB ini.*)

A strict leader who would sentence anyone who disobeyed

Being a strict leader who would sentence anyone who disobeyed the rule is also emerged through the text. He emphasized that he would take strict actions, regulated and ensured the rules were obeyed while coordinating with other parties, and mentioned article 27 and 93 as the sentence reference. These portrayed his seriousness as a part of various actions he did to stop the spread of the virus. The utterances are shown as follows.

(a)   And we will take strict actions.
(*Dan kami akan mengambil tindakan tegas*.)

(b)   Jakarta Capital City Government, police, and The Indonesian National Armed Forces will regulate and ensure that large-scale social restriction is obeyed by all citizens.
(*Jajaran Pemprov, kepolisian dan TNI akan melakukan kegiatan penertiban dan juga memastikan bahwa seluruh ketentuan PSBB diikuti oleh seluruh masyarakat*.)

(c)   Sentences given are in accordance with article 27 that any violation towards large-scale social restriction will be sentenced constitutionally including crimila charge.
(*Sanksi dalam hal ini sesuai dengan ketentuan yang ada bahwa ini ada di dalam pasal 27, pelanggaran atas pelaksanaan PSBB dikenakan sanksi sesuai dengan ketentuan perundang-undangan termasuk sanksi pidana*.)

(d)   We will do it together with law enforcement officers to ensure that these rules are obeyed including rules written in article 93 number 6 in 2018 regarding health quarantine that they who violate can be charged in prison within a year and a hundred million fine.
(*Prosesnya nanti kita akan kerjakan bersama-sama dengan aparat penegak hukum untuk memastikan bahwa seluruh ketentuan ini dilaksanakan, termasuk juga ketentuan yang ada di pasal 93 Undang-undang nomor 6 tahun 2018 terkait Karantina Kesehatan, dimana bisa mendapatkan sanksi hukuman selama-lamanya 1 tahun dan denda sebesar-besarnya 100 juta rupiah*.)

A leader working collaboratively not individually

The second element, relation, is emerged through the text by mentioning some parties who were involved in tackling the plague, they were Jakarta Capital City Government, police, and The Indonesian National Armed Forces. The way he mentioned all the parties involved interpreted that he did not work alone, he was a cooperative figure, and he did not intend to be the man behind all actions. The utterances are shown as follows.

(a)   We cooperate with any parties and any laboratories to ensure that our detection ability is high.
(*Kita bekerja sama dengan berbagai jejaring, berbagai lab untuk memastikan kemampuan deteksi kita selalu tinggi.*)

(b) We, Jakarta Capital city Government with The Indonesian National Armed Forces and Police, on Thursday, will distribute primary needs to citizens.
(*Kami di Pemprov DKI ini bersama dengan jajaran TNI dan Kepolisian insyaAllah mulai hari Kamis yang akan datang, lusa akan mulai memfasilitasi distribusi sembako kepada masyarakat di kawasan kawasan padat dam masyarakat yang memiliki kebutuhan.*)

In addition, Anies Baswedan mostly constructed his utterances in active sentences in which the pronoun *we* or the doer was written at the beginning of the sentence. The following are the examples.

(a) And we will take strict actions.
(Dan kami akan mengambil tindakan tegas.)

(b) We cooperate with any parties and any laboratories to ensure that our detection ability is high.
(*Kita bekerja sama dengan berbagai jejaring, berbagai lab untuk memastikan kemampuan deteksi kita selalu tinggi.*)

On the other hand, there is a sentence showing pronoun *I* in the first clause, however it is followed by another clause using subject *we*. The example is as follows.

And I also need to inform that by re-regulating Large-Scale Social Restriction, we are obliged to provide social aid to those who get affected the most. We have to take actions inclining to ours.
(*Dan saya perlu sampaikan juga dengan kembali berlakunya PSBB, maka kami di pemerintah berkewajiban memberikan dukungan bantuan sosial kepada masyarakat yang paling rentan terdampak. Kita harus mengambil langkah-langkah yang berpihak pada sesama*.)

The Three-Skill Approach of A Leadership Style

As explained by Northouse (2019) that the three-skill approach sees leadership skills as the ability to make the most of knowledge and competencies to accomplish objectives. The following are sentences taken from the Jakarta Governor's speech which align with the abilities in the three-skill approach.

1. Problem-Solving Skills

The problem-solving skills involve nine key problem-solving skills, while based on the utterance, there are three skills emerge, which are as follows.

1.1. Problem Definition

It is the ability that the leader has to define issues or significant problems (Northouse, 2019). The following sentences show that the Jakarta Governor recognized what became the major problem by the use of pronoun 'it' which refers to the regulation he made. While, in the second part, by the use of demonstrative pronoun 'this' and the word 'emergency', it supports how the leader recognized the significant problem he faced. The sentences showing this kind of ability are as follows.

(a) One more time, this is about saving Jakarta citizens. If it is ignored, hospitals cannot accommodate them, and mortality rate will be high.
(*Sekali lagi ini soal menyelamatkan warga Jakarta, bila ini dibiarkan maka, rumah sakit tidak akan sanggup menampung dan efeknya kematian akan tinggi terjadi di Jakarta*).

(b) By referring to this emergency, Jakarta has no more options unless regulating a lockdown-like policy as soon as possible.
(*Maka dengan melihat kedaruratan ini, maka tidak ada banyak pilihan bagi Jakarta kecuali untuk menarik rem darurat sesegera mungkin*).

1.2   Cause or Goal Analysis

It is the ability to analyze the causes or goals relevant to addressing problems (Northouse, 2019). The following sentences show that the Jakarta Governor delivered his goals which were to save Jakarta citizens' lives and ensure that the policy was obeyed by them. The utterances which align to this category are as follows.

(a) The only purpose is to save Jakarta citizens' lives. (*Tujuannya tidak lain tidak bukan menyelamatkan keselamatan nyawa warga Jakarta*).

(b) Jakarta Capital City Government, police, and The Indonesian National Armed Forces will regulate and ensure that large-scale social restriction is obeyed by all citizens. (*Jajaran Pemprov, kepolisian dan TNI akan melakukan kegiatan penertiban dan juga memastikan bahwa seluruh ketentuan PSBB diikuti oleh seluruh Masyarakat*).

1.3   Planning

It is the ability to formulate plans, mental simulations, or limiting factors, influencing any problem solution (Northouse, 2019). The utterances below show how the Jakarta Governor communicated his plans to stop the spread of the virus by regulating the Large-Scale Social Restriction and ensuring impoverished citizens' need by giving social aid.

(a) And I also need to inform that by re-regulating Large-Scale Social Restriction, we are obliged to provide social aid to those who get affected. (*Dan saya perlu sampaikan juga dengan kembali berlakunya PSBB, maka kami di pemerintah berkewajiban memberikan dukungan bantuan sosial kepada masyarakat yang paling rentan terdampak*).

(b) All people in charge are obliged to fulfil impoverished citizens' needs during large-scale social restriction. (*Seluruh komponen pemerintah berkewajiban untuk memenuhi kebutuhan bagi masyarakat miskin dan rentan miskin untuk mendapatkan bantuan selama masa PSBB ini*).

2. Social Judgment Skills

Social judgment skills are the capacity to understand people and social systems encompassing perspective taking, social perceptiveness, and social performance (Northouse, 2019). The following utterances align with social performance skill in which leaders, as the mediator, need to be able to communicate their vision to others by giving them direction and support.

And I also need to inform that by re-regulating Large-Scale Social Restriction, we are obliged to provide social aid to those who get affected. We have to take actions inclining to ours.
(*Dan saya perlu sampaikan juga dengan kembali berlakunya PSBB, maka kami di pemerintah berkewajiban memberikan dukungan bantuan sosial kepada masyarakat yang paling rentan terdampak. Kita harus mengambil langkah-langkah yang berpihak pada sesama*).

3. Knowledge

Leaders with knowledge recognize much about the organization, products, tasks, people which are related to each other. This capacity also sees how leaders contemplate complex issues and identify possible strategies for appropriate change (Northouse, 2019). The following utterances show how the Jakarta Governor recognized what he was supposed to do by avoiding mortality rate which would affect hospital capacities, collaborating with any parties, and providing guidebooks. The utterances are as follows.

(a) One more time, this is about saving Jakarta citizens. If it is ignored, hospitals cannot accommodate them, and mortality rate will be high. (*Sekali lagi ini soal menyelamatkan warga Jakarta, bila ini dibiarkan maka, rumah sakit tidak akan sanggup menampung dan efeknya kematian akan tinggi terjadi di Jakarta*).

(b) We cooperate with any parties and any laboratories to ensure that our detection ability is high. (*Kita bekerja sama dengan berbagai jejaring, berbagai lab untuk memastikan kemampuan deteksi kita selalu tinggi*).

(c) We have to inform others that we have already provided many guidebooks. (*Kami harus sampaikan kepada semua bahwa banyak informasi panduan yang sudah disiapkan, yang sudah digunakan*).

DISCUSSION

Based on the analysis of the first dimensional level in speech text, identity, relational, and ideational elements emerge into several image representations showed by the Jakarta Governor. Regarding identity, the utterances reflect him as a leader who has taken actions to tackle the plague. This interpretation emerges through words such as *keep carrying, keep escalating*, and *keep fighting*. The research findings indicate that words are used to construct the image of a leader, which is similar to Tessema's (2019) research.

Furthermore, being a leader who has taken actions to tackle the plague is not the only image revealed. Other images such as a leader whose actions are for the sake of Indonesians and a strict leader who would sentence anyone who disobeyed the regulations are also emerged through text. By mentioning *social aid*, *impoverished citizens*, and *saving Jakarta citizens* for more than one time indicates that this is the image he wished others would recognize. Uttering punishments for those who broke the regulations also led others to an image that he was strict. Therefore, text is related to each other through the use of certain words, phrases, or structures (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017).

All those images were constructed by the use of vocabulary, grammatical feature, cohesion, and a text structure in speech text. As it is opined by Fairclough (1992) that social identity and social relation could be revealed by the use of them and are not always expressed explicitly (Ahlstrand, 2021). What has been conducted by Tessema (2019) also concerned about subject position in which leaders were portrayed as primary actors. This research finding also aligns with it where the Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, positioned himself as a doer who took actions, trying to tackle the plague collaboratively with other parties in charge. This finding could be revealed by the use of material process—a process of doing involving actor and goal (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). As its name, material process, most of the

sentences were constructed in active sentences meaning in the sentences, subjects are mentioned followed by verbs. Moreover, to support an image through speech text, he repeatedly used a conjunction *and* and a pronoun *we* to emphasize that he did not work individually, otherwise he worked cooperatively with police and Indonesian National Armed Forces. The use of pronoun *we* also emerged in research finding conducted by Hafner and Sun (2021), it was used to refer to the NZ government team as a way the Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, positioned herself.

The researcher also leans on the three-skill approach as one of the concepts of leadership. In the first-skill approach, the concept introduced the term problem-solving skills encompassing nine key problem-solving skills. Based on the finding, out of nine skills, there are three skills emerge through text which are problem definition, cause or goal analysis, and planning skills. As written earlier that problem definition skill is the ability that a leader has to define issues or significant problems (Northouse, 2019). Through text, the Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, recognized what he and Jakarta citizens were experiencing. It was revealed by saying if the regulations were ignored, hospitals would not accommodate patients, mortality rate would also be high, and he had no option unless regulating a lockdown-like policy. These actions are in line with what Northouse (2019) argues that leadership is a process to influence other people to attain aims. He also showed his ability in analyzing causes or goals by saying that the only purpose is to save Jakarta citizens' lives which means that his goal was his people's safety. A planning skill is also one of skills appeared through his speech. This is the ability on how a leader could communicate his plan and what he uttered showed it by saying that he regulated a Large-Scale Social Restriction as a preventive action and would distribute social aids to impoverished citizens.

The second skill as a part of the three-skill approach is social judgement skills. It is when a leader could communicate his vision by giving them directions (Northouse, 2019). The utterance of the Jakarta Governor aligns with it saying that he obliged his people to obey the regulations. What he did is a reflection of his attempt to persuade his people, as stated by Saleem (2015) that leaders persuade others by interacting with their subordinates. While, the third skill is knowledge, defined that a leader recognizes much about the tasks and can contemplate complex issues and identify possible changes (Northouse, 2019). This skill aligns with the Jakarta Governor saying that if regulations were ignored, hospitals could not accommodate which led to mortality rate. This is a reflection of what he recognized regarding the issue. Also, he showed his ability by saying that he cooperated with other parties to ensure a virus detection ability was high and he already provided many guidebooks. By providing many guidebooks indicates that he recognized what he did and even he produced something useful for others. In addition to it, this research finding aligns with Hafner and and Sun's finding (2021) revealing that the speech produced by Ardern, as NZ Government, explained practical issues and information plans to the public. She also gave instructions, set goals, and explained strategies. These are similar to what the Jakarta Governor did who defined issues, set and communicate goals, and showed his understanding of what he and his people were experiencing. While, Tessema (2019) found that a leader is portrayed as a hero, shield, protector, savior, and the first person to take the blow if anything goes unexpectedly.

This analysis specifically focuses on speech text and differentiates its focus from previous studies. This research's focus is on the discourse analysis, the leadership discourse, combined with a leadership approach. The ultimate goal is to see how leadership discourses frame a figure of a leader in a critical situation—pandemic. Moreover, this research finding remains the same as the previous studies which focused on leadership discourses.

CONCLUSION

The researcher discovers image representations through speech delivered by the Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan, during the Covid-19 Pandemic using the first level of the three dimensions proposed by Fairclough. Through text analysis, images as a leader who has taken actions for the sake of Indonesians, a strict leader who would sentence anyone who disobeyed the regulations, a leader who concerned about citizens' safety, and a leader who worked collaboratively rather than individually emerged. Also, the researcher finds out that his utterances align with the three-skill aproach such as the ability in problem definition, goals, planning, social judgement, and knowledge. Further research could investigate how other leaders lead their people in a crucial situation such as in this case, the Covid-19 pandemic.

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