

**LEADERSHIP OF BASUKI TJAHAJA PURNAMA (AHOK) AS THE GOVERNOR  
OF DKI JAKARTA IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF ASTA BRATA  
TOWARDS GOOD AND CLEAN GOVERNANCE (GCG)**

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**ABSTRACT**

*Public sector leadership in Indonesia has always been an issue of concern to Indonesians. This has emerged since the era of reform (1998) which gave birth to many leaders who were not found in the New Order era. This research uses a qualitative approach whose source data is generated from library research, interview, documentation and observation. And Analysis Technique of the data uses interactive from Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, that requires component analysis techniques consisting of data condensation, data display and drawing and verifying conclusion. The result when viewed in 5 GCG perspective of Andi Faisal Bakti's (2000) vis-à-vis 8 principles of Asta Brata (Kakawin Ramayana tahun?) generally lines out that the leadership of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (BTP / Ahok) as Jakarta governor is very contradictory to Asta principle Brata (sun, moon, wind, wealth, ocean, fire, death and rain based on GCG perspective characterizing transparency, consistency, agility, accountability and contingency.)*

*Keywords: Asta Brata, Public Sector Leadership, Good Governance*

**I. INTRODUCTION**

The idea of public sector leadership stems from the view that the good and ideal public leaders recognize comprehensively both about themselves and about the environmental conditions and aspirations of society. In addition, the leader understands the developments and problems of the public sector in various areas of life in the main areas of their expertise, as well as management system paradigm in the organization. One form of responsiveness of leaders is to provide solutions to problems, perform tasks effectively, and have ideas in the various problems and challenges faced with the people he leads. Therefore, every leader needs to meet certain competencies and qualifications, especially in running GCG.

The success of defined goals of a country depends on good and clean leadership roles. Jeffrey (2009: 1) argues that his views on effective, clean, good, and authoritative (GCG) leadership have long been the concern of scientists, as follows:

“The need for public sector leadership is greater than ever before. There are many substantive and process challenges today and they are new, complex and dynamic. Challenges – such as those posed by global warming, the credit crisis in the world’s

financial system and threats to public health and security-span and interconnect boundaries, crossing levels of government, sectors, communities and nations. As a result the importance of effective public sector leadership is multiplied, impacting millions of people. Thus there is both a broader recognition of the need and higher expectations for effective public sector leadership.”

Leadership is one of the sub domains of the discipline that has long been in demand by scientists from sectors such as social, political, business, management, and even lately business and public. The existence of Leadership in the public sector becomes the main key in organizational or government organization and even the implementation of a state. Theoretical leadership has been conceptualized by various experts with various perspectives: first, leadership as a process; second, leadership that has influence; third, leadership occurs in groups; and fourth, leadership involves a common goal. Leadership can not be released by the process of running a public organization. According to Hughes (1992), public organizations are established by public, for public, and therefore accountable to public. Based on this opinion, leaders of public organizations are required to have GCG on the performance their organizations achieve. Leaders of public organizations must also work for the main purpose of public organizations that provide services and achieve the level of community satisfaction as optimal as possible.

The Government of Indonesia has stipulated legislation on public services as a follow up of GCG namely in the Decree of the Minister of Administrative Reform. 63 of 2003 and reinforced by Law no. 25 of 2009 concerning public services.

This Ministerial Decree stipulates that: Good and clean government is the desire for the creation of legal certainty between the community and the organizers, in this case the government. The objective of public service delivery as a concrete manifestation of GCG according to the law is the realization of clear boundaries and relationships on the rights, responsibilities, obligations and authorities of all parties related to the implementation of public services. Then the establishment of a decent public service delivery system is in accordance with the general principles of government and corporate good. Fulfillment of the implementation of public services is in accordance with legislation. Realization of protection and legal certainty for the public is in the implementation of public services.

To realize a professional government standardized by GCG principles, the State Administration Institute (LAN) formulates the nine fundamental aspects to be considered: participation, rule of law, transparency, Responsibility responsiveness), consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, strategic vision.

CCG is the expected end result of the leadership process, talking about leadership especially in relation to the leadership of the Indonesian nation can not be separated from the philosophy of the leadership of the archipelago i.e. Asta Brata, especially we can see during the New Order era. According to Robertus and Todung (2016: 10) President Soeharto in running the New Order was using Asta Brata philosophy.

According to Rai Sidharta (2009: 2) Asta Brata contains the principle of leadership discussed in Hikayat Ramayana, when Sri Rama gave secret leadership lessons to Wibhisana after the defeat of Ravana in Alengka. Although this is derived from the Hindu treasury, in the literature of the archipelago, Asta Brata has become part of the culture of the Nusantara leadership, especially Java, which became the guidance of kings and sultans long before Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. In the national leadership in Indonesia, it seems that the leadership of the governor of DKI Jakarta has become the focus of Indonesian society with the appearance of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (BTP / Ahok hereafter) as governor of DKI Jakarta period 2014-2017, with his controversial attitude and leadership style. BTP / Ahok replaces Joko Widodo who was elected as the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2014 election. The figure of BTP/Ahok is quite a phenomenon, because he is the first Chinese Indonesian son who sits as governor, even the governor of the state capital mostly populated by the Muslim population based from various regions of Indonesia, especially the Betawi tribe. The issue of natives had been sticking out on the surface.

The leadership of BTP/Ahok as Governor of DKI Jakarta tries to fix Jakarta area to be feasible and comfortable for everyone, but the procedures and steps taken are often reaping controversy for using unusual steps for Indonesian traditionso much that experts from various fields object to the leadership of BTP/Ahok.

Leadership brings physical progress to the infrastructure development of DKI Jakarta, but raises the pros and cons even spurring chaos. Meanwhile, one of the duties of the regional head according to the law is to maintain public order and tranquility.

From the description above, this paper portrayed BTP/Ahok as Governor of DKI Jakarta in perspective of leadership of Asta Brata in realizing GCG.

## **II. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Public Sector Leadership**

The science of Public Sector Leadership becomes the domain of leadership science in the public sector specifically, more specific than general leadership and even more expansive than politic leadership.

Van Wart and Dicke (2007) suggest several types of public sector leadership, ie organizations (which have been ignored and focused), politics, and movement (Martin Luther King's role in the civil rights movement). Morse, et al. (2007) categorize political leadership (elected or elevated, top leader government), organization leadership (formal leadership within public organizations, from "supervisor to higher hierarchy"); and public value leadership out of government and into governance, focused on "solving public problems" and encompassing "leadership on-the-ground."

Lawler (2008) concludes that "the focus of leadership literature is individualizing leadership, precisely, seeing leadership as an individual influencing other individuals / groups. Leaders are regarded as visionary, heroic, transformational, transactional, charismatic, inspirational, flexible, sensitive, innovative, but the theme often raised is that leadership is individualistic." Van Wart and Dicke include some of the leadership characteristics summarized in the skills, namely technical skills: communication, social influence and negotiation, analytics, and continuous learning; character; and style, which can be "task-oriented transactional managers" versus "transformational leaders who radically change the technical system" and "leader entrepreneurial" and functional techniques of the leader.

### **2.2. Good Clean Governance (GCG)**

Jolle Demmer et al. (2004: 1) review Good Governance as follows:

“Good Governance has become the major buzzword in aid policy and development thinking today. It even seems to have dethroned Sustainable Development as the international policymakers’ mantra. Conceived within the World Bank, the concept has been embraced by the governments of Western countries and by the IMF as both a goal and a condition of official (development) assistance. To lending countries, Good Governance is first of all yet another element of conditionality for indispensable loans, and ultimately for their acceptance as equal participants in the global economy. The transformation of Good Governance from simply a goal to also a condition for development assistance, emergency credits and debt relief coincided with the substantial decrease of North-South redistribution by means of official development funding. It coincided as well with the international compliance of the left with the position that free markets are the primary tool for the development of what were once known as the Second and Third Worlds.”

In 2000, the GCG was accepted as an essential component of achieving poverty reduction and development, as demonstrated by world leaders through the UN Millennium Declaration. However, GCG does not mean a univocal concept. GCG often obscures the fact that this concept at least includes three different views at the development stage (Leftwich, 1993; WRR, 2001; Jolle Demmer, et al. 2004: 2).

The first and most dominant approach is managerial or technocratic. Its main elements are state efficiency, authority and accountability. To achieve this goal, improving the economic climate, transparency, rule of law, and mechanisms to deal with corruption are the most important issues. Public institutions and officials must be controlled and accountable by function. This qualitative improvement of the country is expected to contribute considerably to development and be understood as economic growth. The main networks between the two private sectors, local and foreign companies, are expected to invest deeper into the country when they have institutional high confidence, rules and officials. The state must therefore ensure market stability, sound monetary and fiscal policy and safe competition.

The second approach, the term GCG is classified as a new discourse in the vocabulary of political science. It appeared in the early 1990s. In general, the term GCG has an understanding of all matters relating to actions or behaviors that are directing, controlling, or influencing public affairs to realize those values in everyday life. In this context, the notion of

GCG is not limited to the management of government agencies, but concerns all government and non-government institutions (NGOs) with the term GCC. In fact, GCG principles can also be applied in the management of social and community institutions from the simplest to the largest, such as “arisan” (social gathering within a community), “pengajian” (Quran reading classes), sports associations at neighborhood level (RT), class organizations, to higher hierarchie.

While Andi Faisal Bakti (2000: 3) as the third approach, interprets GCG as "an attitude in which power is exercised by society governed by various levels of state government with regard to social, cultural, political and economic resources." He also added that it will be achieved if the government is run on the principle of effectivity, efficiency, honesty, equality, transparency, and responsiblity. In his other works, Bakti proposed 5 (five) GCG elements, short with S-I-F-A-T, namely: Siddiq (Transparency), Istiqamah (Consistency), Fathanah (Aqilitas/Intellegensi), Amanah (Akuntabilitas), Tabligh (communicability).

In Indonesia, the substance of GCG discourse can be translated as good, clean and dignified government. Good governance is an attitude in which power is exercised by societies governed by different levels of state government with regard to social, cultural, political, and economic resources. In practice, clean governance is a model (Bakti, 2000: 333) that is effective, efficient, honest, transparent and accountable.

According to UNDP (United Nations Development Program), accountability is an evaluation of the process of implementation of activities / performance of the organization to be accountable and as feedback for the leadership of the organization to be able to further improve the performance of the organization in the future.

Based on the above three views, the condensation (the author summarizes) into 5 (five) main elements of GCG, namely:

### **Transparency**

What is meant by the concept of transparency in this study is the opening of access for the public in obtaining information about all matters related to Public Sector Leadership or in matters with state management. This is based on the opinion of some experts, namely as follows. Lalolo (2003: 13) transparency is a principle that ensures access or freedom for

everyone to obtain information about governance, i.e. information on policies, manufacturing processes and results achieved.

### **Consistency**

The principle of consistency means that a leader or member of a government agency runs a government by having a firm stand. Consistency illustrates that one will manifest his promises even in the face of personal difficulties. Bakti (2000: 333) also added that when faced with another institution, certainly a bureaucrat will always hold firm stance that has become a belief as truth until there is evidence that what he believed was denied by other data. Another term often aligned with this consistency is the role of law, which is a fair and consequently implemented legal framework. The principle of participation can also be linked to consistency, because this principle is a form of citizen participation in decision making, either directly or through legitimate representative institutions based on the principles of democracy, namely freedom of assembly and express opinion constructively. To encourage community participation in all aspects of development, including in other sectors of social life other than political activities, bureaucratic regulations should be minimized.

### **Intelligence/Agility**

This nature contains the meaning of intelligence of the brain, heart, and mental, agility and agility in various things.

### **Accountability**

Accountability can be obtained through: first, an attempt to make government officials accountable for each government's behavior and responsive to the identity in which they obtain authority. Second, Establishment of criteria for measuring the performance of government apparatus and the establishment of mechanisms to ensure that standards are met.

### **Communicability**

Communication is the principle of leadership, where leaders must have good communication skills, respectful, polite and courteous.

## **2.3. Asta Brata**

There are several versions of Asta Brata which became the reference of among the world leaders including those in the archipelago of Indonesia, which until now is still preserved,

among others: First, Asta Brata according to Kakawin Ramayana. Second, Asta Brata according to Yasadipura I (1729-1803 AD) from the Surakarta palace. In this study, researchers discussed the Principles of Asta Brata according to Kakawin Ramayana version, in which there are eight principles of Asta Brata as follows:

***Surya Brata / Matahari (Wise)***

In Kakawin Ramayana Sargah Chapter XXIV Sloka 55, poet Yogiswara writes quoted by Rai Sidharta (2009: 15)

"Bhatara Rawi Nangisep Wwai Lana  
Ndatan Kara Sanaih-sanaih De Nira  
Samangkana Kita Alap Pungguhen  
Natar Gelisayeka Suryabrata. "

Meaning:

The Sun God always absorbs water, slowly not in a hurry, so should you. If you want something to take it, it should be the way of the sun, always in a gentle way.

***Chandra Brata / Month (Giving a Sense of Comfort)***

Rai Sidharta continues (2009: 22) that in Kakawin Ramayana Sargah Chapter XXIV Sloka 56, Poet Yogiswara writes:

"Sasi-brata Humarsuka Ngrat Kabeh,  
Ak Ta Mredu Komala Yan Katon,  
Guyunta Mamanis Ya Tulya Amreta,  
Asing Matuha Pandita At Swagatam "

Meaning:

The main act of Dewi Sasih (moon) is to make the whole world feel happy.

Such is the behavior and actions of God, should always be gentle, based on compassion and nobility.

Your smile should always be sweet as the water of life (Amerta);

uphold the old (the elder) and the wise (Knowledgeable high in worldliness and spirituality) and be generous with them.

***Bayu Brata / Wind (Excavating Community Aspirations)***

In Kakawin Ramayana Sargah Chapter XXIV Sloka 57, the poet Yogiswara writes:

*"Angin Ta We Yan Panginte Ulah,  
Kumawruhana Buddhi Ning Rat Kabeh,  
Sucara Ya Panonta Tatan Katon Ya Dibyaguna Suksma Bayubraya. "*

Meaning:

You should do as a wind if you intend to investigate the behavior of others (subordinates) you.

Your investigation should be polite and invisible. That is Bayu Brata which is high in value and brings excellent service.

***Kuwera Brata / Wealth (Smart Management of Finance)***

In Kakawin Ramayana Sargah Chapter XXIV Sloka 58, the poet Yogiswara writes:

*"Mamuktya Ng Upabhoga Sambhi Ng Inak,  
Taman Panepengeng Pangan Mwang Nginum,  
Manandangan Mabhusana Mahyasa,  
Nahan Ta Dhanada-brata Annung Tirun."*

Meaning:

Enjoy the delights and luxuries of this life without crossing the line,  
ie in the enjoyment of food, drink and clothing,  
wear jewelry and diamond jewels.

That is like the main (Brata) of Dhanada (Kuwera) who should be held as an example.

***Baruna Brata/Lautan (Container Container)***

In Kakawin Ramayana Sargah Chapter XXIV Sloka 58, the poet Yogiswara writes:

*"Bhatara Baruna Anggego Weapon,  
Mahawisa Ya Nagapasa Angapus,  
Sirata Tuladenta Pasabrata,  
Kilomapusana Ng Watek Durjana. "*

Meaning:

Dewa Baruna holds a very venomous weapon that is Nagapasa weapons that can tie tightly and accommodate suggestions, like oceans. You should use as an example of the nature of this Nagapasa that you must tie tightly (without giving room for) to those who are evil. Which ocean aspects are here?

***Agni Brata / Fire (Brave)***

In Kakawin Ramayana Sargah Chapter XXIV Sloka 60, the poet Yogiswara writes:

*"Lanangesingi Satru Bahanibrata,  
Galakta Ri Musuhta Yeka Apuy Yes,  
Asing Sa Inasonta Sirnapasah,  
Ya Tekana Sinangguh Agni Brata "*

Meaning:

"The main obligation of Agni (fire) is to always scorch his opponents,  
His courage and toughness to confront the enemy is a fire miner,  
Whoever you attack will be destroyed,  
That is the main behavior of fire (Agni Brata).

***Yama Brata /Death (Fair)***

In Kakawin Ramayana Sargah Chapter XXIV Sloka 54, poet Yogiswara writes:

*"Yamabrata Dumanda Karmahala  
Sirekana Malung Maling Yar Pejah  
Umberwa Kita Malwang Olah Salah  
Asing Umawarang Sarat Prih Pati "*

Meaning:

"In the face of evil deeds,  
Yama Brata teachings should be applied that punish every step of theft let alone to cause death.  
Also included is punishment for those who follow the wrongdoing, every person who  
screwed up the country deserves the death penalty (Prih Pati).

***Indra Brata / Rain (Welfare)***

In Kakawin Ramayana Sargah Chapter XXIV Sloka 53, Pogangga Yogiswara writes:

*"Nihan Barata Ni Sang Hyang Indra Alapen,  
Sira Anghudanaken Tumrepting Jagat,  
Sirata Tuladanta Indrabrata,  
Sudana Ya Hudanta Manglyabi Rat "*

Meaning:

"This is Brata from the god Indra to be followed,  
giving rain of welfare to the people,  
You should imitate this Brata Indra,  
Sudana is the one you have to pursue for the welfare of the people.

### **III. RESEARCH METHODS**

#### **3.1. Data Collection Techniques**

Prior to in-depth research, preliminary research was a literature study, data collection and secondary information in both local governments, and initial field observations were conducted in both regions to obtain preliminary information. The purpose of collecting data and information is to know the initial description of field conditions, so it can be clearly known issues that need further investigation. In the process of collecting data to be performed, used some data collection techniques. In detail. It can be described as follows:

##### **3.1.1 In-depth Interview**

Interview techniques used are not of standard ones or without using a rigorous questionnaire, but interviews are conducted using general interview guidelines (semi-structured) to give room for a personal approach (personal approach) to obtain information as much as possible with the experience of the key informant. (Fontana and Frey in Denzin and Lincoln, 2007: 551).

The research was conducted qualitatively by using this explorative approach characterized by research conducted through primary data collection in-depth interview. Deep research is conducted through interviews. Interviews were conducted by entering the world of informants and interacting with informants, seeking out the perspectives and opinions of informants through in-depth interviews.

The interview was conducted by utilizing key informant information, especially the leadership of DPRD DKI Jakarta as part of the legislative working with the governor of DKI Jakarta, the Jakarta Executive structural who became the direct subordinate of governor, expert staff or direct asset of BTP/Ahok who know the whole agenda of governor both formal

and personal, leaders of community organizations in DKI Jakarta, especially those directly involved in dialectics with the Governor of DKI Jakarta, community leaders, religious leaders, leaders of political parties.

### **3.1.2 Field Observation**

Field observations are conducted to obtain a direct picture of the conditions that occur related to leadership character Basuki Thahaja Purnama. The information is conducted in Jakarta to check information obtained from the mass media. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2009: 524), field observation is very important and strategic in conducting qualitative research, because observation is the first step towards a wider focus. Mortis in Denzin and Lincoln (2009: 523) defines observation as "the activity of recording a symptom with the aid of instruments and recording it for scientific or other purposes".

The observations were conducted in DKI Jakarta, especially the Human Resources of the Executive and Legislative Institutions. Observations were made to obtain preliminary field information to sharpen questions in the interview so that the results obtained from the interview would be more accurate.

### **3.1.3 Documentation**

The collection of data from the documentation is concerned with studying various reports of studies or studies with the theme of cooperation between regions and public transportation. In addition, there are also reviews of several laws and regulations related to public sector leadership in Indonesia.

### **3.1.4. Literature**

The reference used is Asta Brata, especially Kakawin Ramayana Sanggah, poet Yogiswara, and works related to Good Governance, such as Andi Faisal Bakti (2000, 2005), LAN (State Administration Institution), etc. These four sources are used in such a way that condensation, meaning, induction, deduction, and comparability are used later step.

## **IV. DISCUSSION: RESULTS OF ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

In this section, the author tries to analyze the eight principles of leadership according to the book of Asta Brata used to see the leadership of BTP/Ahok as Governor of DKI Jakarta year

2014-2016. Furthermore, the authors also try to relate it to the Good and clean Governance (GCG) element which is a summary of some GCG writers that can be found in the literature.

#### **4.1 Asta Brata Principle:**

##### **1. Surya Brata**

Surya Brata has a wise meaning. In this context, a leader must be good, have honesty, and positive conditions on the people so as to generate excitement and excitement to serve the country. With the light given by Surya, people will feel happiness.

For some residents of Jakarta, especially residents living on riverbanks and reservoirs, the presence of BTP/Ahok brings disaster. His policy of reducing floods in Jakarta must be 'paid' by the evictions of homes they have lived in for decades. Their violent protests are in order to withstand a policy that for them is very detrimental. Some even brought about demonstrating the private residence of the Governor.

Global TV and MNCTV on May 25, 2015 reported that West Jakarta Pinansia Residents and residents of Pademangan North Jakarta stormed the private residence of BTP/Ahok. The protestors demanded rejection of building control plan on the banks of Ciliwung river in Pinansia and Pademangan areas.

In addition following unsatisfactory responds, the next day they came to City Hall to directly meet BTP/Ahok. When meeting BTP/Ahok, the residents are faced with BTP/Ahok emotional attitudes. Not getting a solution, people even get a counterattack from BTP / Ahok because his housing complex feels surrounded and threatened with the presence of the protestors.

Not only the people of Pinansia and Pedemangan, residents who live around the Pluit dam were also evicted. For BTP/Ahok, the eviction is to implement the program of DKI Jakarta Provincial Government in returning the function of Pluit Dam as the catchment area and flood control. As one of the solutions to reduce flooding in the capital city, the provincial government considers evictions as a natural thing.

However, since evictions are related to the livelihood of the people, the procedure and delivery must be done in a good way. Lieus Sungkarisma, a Chinese activist who had been a close friend and his success team in 2012, said in an interview: "... he is indeed a character, courageous, assertive, clean, transparent, professional and accountable activist. He is a leader who has good vision and mission. He is a hopeful future leader. Unfortunately, over time, all the goodness and the advantages just disappeared. And one of the causes of all is just because of his bad attitudes and way of communication." Referring to Sungkarisma's statement, BTP / Ahok has a weakness in communicating. So when viewed in the media, the correct policy for the government of DKI Jakarta does not appear on the surface, on the contrary the issue of shot temper or unstable emotion of BTP/Ahok is more prominent.

This was reinforced by Yudha Permana, former BTP/Ahok Special Staff when he was Vice Governor of DKI Jakarta, in his interview saying "... he is firm, courageous and has a strong will in work but unfortunately not accompanied by good ethics and politeness."

Donald Sihombing (DKI Jakarta entrepreneur who was the victim of BTP / Ahok's policy) in an interview dated 31 August 2017 said: "Speaking of his leadership, BTP / Ahok does not deserve to be a leader, because all his activities are political imagery, I have proof, when my job tender is cheaper 120 billion I would be defeated in various ways, whereas I saved 120 billion. Supporters of BTP / Ahok in majority are people who are less educated, just using feelings, not reasoning. Belonging to the same religion is not a guarantee that we should support someone, we have to say wrong, if it is. "

The opinion of Donal Sihombing above illustrates that the BTP / Ahok during the lead of DKI Jakarta is still doing dishonesty. It is contrary to Surya Brata Principle which implies the leader must be wise. In this context, a leader must be good, have honesty, and positive conditions on the people so as to generate excitement and excitement to serve the country. With the light given by Surya, people will feel happiness.

Based on some sources above, BTP/Ahok as the leader of DKI has not given happiness to some of its citizens, especially 'the Untouchables'. Especially the ways (communication and procedure) still lead to demonstrations as a form of protest. Based on the data found by

researchers, in 2014 alone eviction victims are 13,852 people, excluding those in 2015 and 2016.

## **2. Chandra Brata**

Chandra has the meaning of the moon, where a leader is able to provide bright rays in the dark night. Another meaning of this leadership trait is that leaders have a gentle attitude, warm hospitability, friendly smile, and not easily angered attitude.

For the context of friendly and gentle attitude to the people around whom he works, in this Jakarta government environment, the figure of BTP/Ahok has a 180 degree opposite attitude. In the documentation of TvOne's coverage on October 24, 2014, it was reported that "BTP / Ahok scolded his staff (Jakarta staff) who were meeting with workers at City Hall of DKI Jakarta for recording meeting with hand notes, not using laptop and accused his subordinates with his words. the plebeian. "

In addition, the documentation TvOne also reported on November 14, 2014 BTP/Ahok was grumpy at MH Tamrin State High School because there is no poor people who are students enlisted in the school. It got a response from the headmaster Jumadi who branded BTP/Ahok did not give a good example because of surfacing anger in front of educators and learners.

The news above has illustrated that people who work with BTP/Ahok feel uncomfortable atmosphere, more than that they feel the fear because there is punishment given BTP/Ahok, either in the form of inhibited promotion up to the dismissal.

This is also reinforced by the statement of I Made Indrayasa who had worked in Jakarta environment and was dismissed from his position. In his interview he stated:

"I think BTP/Ahok is not worthy of being a Governor-level leader because his speech and actions are not the same and always hit the rules and impose while I in the field have been working maximally cleaning the garbage by very limited means and in the big days like Idulfitri Day, DKI Anniversary and New Year celebration work to secure garbage to keep Jakarta clean. And because I work according to the rules but do not follow him, I finally get laid off. "

I Made's explanation above also shows that BTP/Ahok wants his subordinates to work in accordance with what he wants, even though the rules are not the same as what he thinks.

Likewise with the recognition of Ichsan Rofiq, former Head of Johar Baru District. He was fired unceremoniously on oral charges withdrawing money from street vendors. For him, BTP / Ahok does not deserve to be a leader because he always breaks the rules.

In front of the wider community, when the live interview of Kompas TV in the event of Aiman with the theme "BTP/Ahok Bicara," (BTB/Ahok Says) BTP/Ahok also did not hesitate to throw a language that is not worth pronounced 'taik' (dung) when explaining accusations towards BTP / Ahok trying to bribe chairman of DKI House of Representative. These words were repeatedly uttered even though the presenter has reminded that it was his live event and his position as Governor.

The nature of anger is certainly there in every person, although he is a religious figure. But the angry attitude of BTP / Ahok often does not conform with place and time. For Hasim S. Djojohadikusumo, Humanist and Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Gerindra, when asked for his opinion on the attitude of BTP/Ahok, he said "... in a context, it is okay for the leader to be angry, but one must keep the honor of the scolded party, meaning doing in private. Just between them and not known to anyone else. "

From various sources above it can be concluded that the nature of Chandra does not exist in the nature of leadership BTP/Ahok. Because BTP/Ahok always comes with an emotional attitude, not only to the staff and the media but to the wider community.

### **3. Bayu Brata**

Bayu brata is a leader who is able to provide coolness to humans who can avoid them from feeling displeasure. In this context the leader is able to create a cool working atmosphere, fresh atmosphere, so that a good cooperation is established. Leaders in the context of Bayu Brata are also expected to encourage one to live harmoniously, living with tolerance or weighing sense, so that it is kept away from a cross of disputes that can lead to quarreling or death.

Regarding the nature of Bayu, the figure of BTP/Ahok is not a person who gives coolness not only to his staff, but to society in general. With his words, Ahok always causes controversy because he speaks according to his own desires. Not only the problem of the program, racial and religion issues was also impacted. He speaks as if without limit and rules.

H. Mochamad Taufik, vice chairman of the Jakarta Regional House of Representatives (DPRD), in his interview, said, "BTP/Ahok leadership style is putting pressure and intimidation on subordinates, causing uncomfortable working atmosphere and depromoting career of people who have been initiated for a long time without any consideration." Taufik confirmed that the dismissal of BTP / Ahok to his staff was based solely on personal judgment, likes and dislikes, so much of the future and career of civil servants were destroyed.

BTP/Ahok's attitude as conveyed Taufik certainly makes the staff who work with him will always feel the anxiety. Whatever they do, the stakes is an unprocedural dismissal.

Not only in the work environment, in front of the community BTP / Ahok's speech also reaps controversy and criticism. His remarks in front of the Kepulauan Seribu residents on September 30, 2016 about 'being fooled using Al Maidah letter: 51' in an open discussion became one of the causes of massive demonstrations, not only from the people of DKI Jakarta, even from other provinces.

Before the incident of 'Al-Maidah: 51,' BTP/Ahok also surprised people with his statement that his Christian religion was ridiculous. BTP/Ahok says "Am I guaranteed a place in heaven? Christianity is ridiculous. If Islam is realistic, going to heaven still weighs reward and sin, and dare not die is a promise towards heaven. "He also added" That is the height of Christianity being ridiculous,there is no need to pay debts, not need of taking on fasting, when you are dead , you go to heaven. "

From various sources above it can be stated that the figure of BTP / Ahok is not able to encourage someone to live in harmony, more than that BTP / Ahok's own statements trigger the birth of conflict, dispute and demonstration from its citizens.

#### **4. Indra Brata**

Indra in Kakawin Ramayana is powerful / protective, the source of equitable welfare, fighting for the sake of the people, dare to resist the despotism. Suhardana revealed that the leader in the context of Indra Barata God is able to protect the common people and the people who need help. The protection provided will bring tranquility and happiness to the masses.

During his leadership as Governor of DKI Jakarta, BTP/Ahok made various breakthroughs, one of which is the resettlement of residents who live in riverbanks and reservoirs to flats (Rusunawa). The goal is not only to reduce the flooding in the Capital City of Jakarta caused by the number of illegal buildings along the length of time, but also to provide a decent place for residents.

Unfortunately, residents removed from riverbanks or reservoirs are not equipped with solutions to other problems, such as: transportation access from residence, school, and market. Not to mention the economic problems that ensnare citizens so they must be in arrears paying rent. Recorded until March 2017, rent arrears in 4 (four) towers (Rusun Penjaringan, Marunda Rusun, Kapuk Muara Rusun, and Tipar Cakung Rusun) are of Rp 1.37 billion.

While former Kali Jodo residents, former prostitute center, who were transferred to the East Jakarta Pulo Gebang apartments on the pretext of land they had previously inhabited did not have permits, suffered economic problems after moving seven months. They live from scratch, since their move uses their savings, but when they run out they have difficulty not getting a job, especially women over the age of 40 years. For people who can not pay then they will go out by itself or expelled.

If examined from the program residential resettlement to apartments, it is seen that the government provides a momentary solution moment, without thinking afar. The targets are clean riverbanks and reservoirs, then the ex-residents who can not afford after the transfer process must isolate individually.

Jaya Suprana, Chairman of the MURI Record Foundation and one of the Tionghoa Figure, stated that "The Leadership of BTP/Ahok being a Governor of Jakarta is a disaster for the commoners. For those who do not believe, please inquire the commoners displaced in the village of Pulo, Bukit Duri, Kalibata, Kalijodo, Luar Batang, Fish Market and so forth. "

From some of the above explanation, it can be described that BTP / Ahok as Governor can not protect the small community. The policy that he issued was only good on the surface, in the sense of the early eviction and displacement process, but in the later stages it was left to the citizens. The government should also provide jobs or train their skills and creativity so that those displaced do not lose their livelihood, especially women over the age of 40 and those who do not have husbands.

## **5. Baruna Brata**

Baruna Brata has the meaning of "keeping calm, upholding justice and righteousness, always alert to the possibility of turmoil or evil and always punishing anyone who does evil ...". The nature of Baruna's leadership can also mean that the leader is able to accept all problems, suggestions and neutralize and provide solutions to all problems that come to him. This means that the leader is able to enter the line where everyone can not enter, in other words, the leader is able to enter all levels of society, from the rich to the poor. He is also able to provide coolness and fertility to all living beings and the plants. However, if all messages and orders are violated then he will provide a punishment that can not be stopped by anyone and any power (Tsunami).

The nature of God Baruna is in harmony with the opinion of Prabowo Subianto in his interview to the researchers. He argues that "... the leader must have a prominent ability to think, become a problem solver, and can enlighten." Prabowo also added that leaders must have high and good goals, and must have a strong effort to realize that goal.

During his time as Governor, BTP/Ahok gave freedom to the general public to come to City Hall. Every morning BTP/Ahok received complaints from the public, especially the lower class society. The purpose of the program is so that the BTP / Ahok can listen directly to the complaints of Jakarta residents. To regulate the program, the city administration posted an announcement regarding the time stamp, which was written for a registration complaint until

07.30 WIB and was given a maximum of 30 registrants. While for the photo registration is served until 08.30 WIB with maximum limit of 1000 people.

The aspiration absorption model that BTP/Ahok did based on the researcher observations is a motion design and organized. Organizing the arrival of residents to the City Hall was reinforced by an informant who did not want to be named, but he had worked as field staff in several areas. In the interview to the researcher, the informant revealed that he got the task to convey to the public for those who have problems can come to the City Hall every morning to state it directly to the governor with the guarantee of acceptance and can be photographed. He also gets a schedule when and how many people he should organize to come to the town hall.

The program that the BTP/Ahok is doing is actually very good, because the program can absorb many problems faced by the community, from education problems, land disputes, difficulty of renting a house, dismissed as a janitor of Jakarta, to the problem of not being able to seek treatment. On the other hand, what BTP/Ahok did indirectly showed his distrust of his subordinates, both down at the central level (city hall), to the lowest level (sub district). What is done by BTP/Ahok also shows that his subordinates can not work, and only he can do it all. Former Johor Baru Chief, Ichsan Rofiq, in his interview said:

"My job was all taken and I was accused of not working. This was conveyed by the BTP / Ahok from the evidence of the complaints of people who came to the City Hall. While on the other hand, people rarely come to report complaints to me. After I investigated why they were more inclined to come to City Hall to meet the Governor directly, the answer is they can shake hands and take pictures. While on the other hand I never reject anyone who comes to complain, ask for help and so on. "

In the observation of the researcher, the arrival of the people all are accepted, but did not provide a solution or not neutralized. All that he did was just a show off and showed that it's all he can solve. Finally, all that BTP / Ahok does is as a self imaging. This is reinforced wherein every activity always involves the media. However, actions against public complaints have never been exposed by the media.

From some of the above sources, it can be concluded that BTP / Ahok as a leader has a nature that is able to accept the complaints of citizens, but has not been able to neutralize or provide solutions to the problems that citizens experience.

## **6. Kuwera Brata**

Kuwera has the meaning that leaders have the ability to save property, use fairly, prosper the people, and put performance first. This characteristic can be interpreted that the leader is able to arrange and use his Government Budget for the interest of the member or the people he leads according to the priority.

H. Abraham Lulung Lunggana or commonly called Haji Lulung in his interview said that "BTP/Ahok works out a policy outside of the rules and regulations, so many parties are harmed, examples of mental correction hospital case, additional contribution fee that do not exist in the Constituent, and others. "

Meanwhile, the Financial Audit Board (BPK) report in the Plenary Meeting of DKI Jakarta on July 6, 2015, found from 6 programs that have been done by the government of DKI has harmed the country of 2.16 Trillion. These programs include: supervision and control of land use cooperation of 30.80 hectares of land in Mangga Dua; Land Providence of Sumber Waras Hospital is not processed; Quotation of the value of capital participation and delivery of Jakarta Capital City's assets to PT TJ; The delivery of Jakarta city's non cash assets inclusion in the form of 794,830 square meters of land, 234 square meters of buildings, and three apartment blocks have not been considered as government's shareholding in BUMD (Regionally Owned Enterprises); overpayment of health insurance premiums; and administrative management of education operational funding (BOP) is not order and there are expenditures that can not be accounted for.

From the BPK report above, it is asserted that BTP/Ahok is not a leader who is able to manage and use funds fairly. On the contrary, the funds are out to be squandered without any clear reporting. In addition, the business of BTP/Ahok collecting CSR funds from companies located in DKI can actually benefit Jakarta government, but the process and its use is not done correctly. As Lulung said in an interview "Ahok uses CSR funds, but he forgets that the CSR funds were given to the Governor of DKI not to Ahok's individual, then the funds

should go to APBD (Regional Budget Plan), and their use is arranged together, so it can be controlled and measured." As informed by the Head of Jakarta Financial and Development Supervisory Board (BPKP) Endang Widjayanti, Ahok Center has become a partner of the People's Housing Service with 18 CSR.

### **7. Agni Brata**

Agni means that the leader is capable of being a light, a burning heat for evil, a defender of truth, unconditional helpers, and daring to act as a knight against enemies. In the context of this study the nature of Agni Brata intends to reflect the nature of leaders who can provide enlightenment to subordinates. At the same time he does not hesitate to punish the wrong people indiscriminately.

The element of fire in BTP/Ahok is in the form of explosive to blame people regardless of degree or position. BTP/Ahok is very brave to scold an official in front of his subordinate. In the Youtube documentation, BTP/Ahok through telephone contact berated West Jakarta Mayor after receiving a complaint from the citizen with sentence "...eh pak guardian, you incorrectly dismantle people's property again. There is a complaint I see you are being ridiculous. Have a chat with my staf. The property you dismantle is not the same with the house deed instructed. "

BTP/Ahok's response to the complaints leads to positive things. He did directly warn his subordinates if there was a mistake. Unfortunately, BTP/Ahok scolded his subordinates in front of staff whose position was lower than his subordinates.

The purpose of a leader to scold his subordinates ideally is to change to a better direction. If an attitude of anger is done in the presence of the crowd, especially those whose position far below the person being angered on, the image that surfaces is to drop the person's self-esteem.

A leader in the context of Agni is more likely to position the Fire to rebuke with the intention of changing that person. The agni character will not scold people at ransom.

### **8. Yama Brata**

Yama has the meaning that a leader must always be fair, always keep the truth and dare to act decisively to punish those who do evil and wrong. In a context of this research, Yama is defined as a leader who always upholds justice on the basis of one's level of action. In that case, he never looked at who and where. Therefore, he was called the god of death. The punishment given in the system is in accordance with the concept of karmic law of reward (deeds and results).

Former Head of Johor Baru Sub-district gave the researcher recognition that BTP/Ahok always dismissed or removed people not in accordance with applicable procedures in government. For example himself, BTP/Ahok fired him only through oral and via phone, while the letter followed one week after BTP/Ahok contacted him. According to him, he has a policy that does not comply with the system that applies only to a report, an error without proof with which he can immediately dismiss.

Referring to Rofiq's confession, BTP/Ahok in the context of Yama has a weakness in the case of not confirming the error of his subordinates first. In the context of enforcing justice, BTP / Ahok should cross-check against the person concerned. Likewise, the provision of penalties should be done in accordance with applicable provisions.

However, every organization has clear operational rules, especially in government bureaucracy. If any policy is carried out only on the basis of a leader's desire, it will certainly give a disadvantage. In addition to Rofiq, injustice in the city government environment also occurred to I Dewa Gede Soni Ariawan, Echelon II in DKI Government. Soni was transferred to ordinary staff after returning home from education in Australia, as she described transportation system in Jakarta incorrectly. For her explanation, she was considered rebellious and then transferred to be an ordinary staff at the DKI Jakarta Education and Training Agency.

#### **4.2 Leadership of BTP/Ahok in Achieving Good Clean Governance (GCG)**

This study has condensed the Good Governance (CCG) elements of five traits: transparency, consistency, accountability, intelligence (agility), and communicability. The five elements are analyzed against DKI Jakarta government program that has been run while BTP/Ahok serving as Governor.

## **1. Transparency**

BTP/Ahok has made a breakthrough to realize transparency in DKI Jakarta government by making a system that can be accessed by all citizens of Jakarta, among others: the implementation of e-budgeting, and e-catalog.

E-budgeting is implemented as a solution to improve the preparation of Jakarta Regional Income and Expenditure Budget. This system has actually been proposed since 2014, but rejected. Therefore, the reform of clean bureaucracy in Jakarta and civil servants is projected and it has the ability of proceeding e-budgeting.

While e-catalogs are applied to suppress bureaucratic complexity in the procurement of goods and services, including mark-up efforts, simplifying government spending processes, BTP/Ahok implements ordering through e-catalogs. As of December 31, 2014, it was disclosed that 8,000 products were in the e-catalog system and could be purchased directly by government agencies. Basuki plans ahead to order sidewalks, medical equipment, large sheetpile buses (plaster walls), to paved road repairs.

The breakthrough of the program was corroborated by Silviana Murni, former Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta, where Silvi said: "The strategies undertaken by Pak BTP/Ahok with e-budgeting, then application-based reporting lead to GCG. The most pervasive is the introduction of PTSP (One Door Integrated Services) which cut off the illegal tipping practice. "

However, the development of a system that aims to realize transparency in Jakarta administration is not in line with the implementation of DKI government programs. Some programs undertaken by the government of DKI Jakarta are far from transparency practices, one of which is the purchase of Land of Sumber Waras Foundation. Although until this research is completed there is no proof of error BTP/Ahok, from the news and recognition of some experts what is done by BTP/Ahok for Sumber Waras case is not transparent.

Prijanto, the observer of the Capital City issue, as quoted by chirpstory.com from tabloid Teropong Senayan, stated: "If BTP/Ahok has good intention, it will not violate the Law, Presidential Decree, Decree of Home Affairs in buying the land of Sumber Waras

Foundation. There is no need for BTP / Ahok to have a meeting with the landowners to determine the price, ... if it is also well intentioned, BTP / Ahok should not pay the price of the land more expensive than the price offered by PT CKU (500 M for commercial allotment). "

For Prijanto, BTP/Ahok hides something in the purchase process of Sumber Waras. He also stated "if the BTP/Ahok has no evil intentions, the government should not rush to pay the payment at 22:00, 31 December 2014. Because the land owner still has property tax arrears amounting to Rp 6 billion and there are 15 buildings owned by RSSW on the land."

In addition, Moermahadi Soerdja, member of the Financial Audit Agency (BPK), submitted a report in a plenary session of the DKI Provincial House of Representatives on 6 July 2015. One of his reports relates to Sumber Waras. The report states that "the procurement of RS SW land is not going through a sufficient process so it indicates adverse to the provincial government worth Rp. 191.33 billion. "

The relationship with the good and clean principles of Governance, Donal Sihombing in his interview said: for BTP/Ahok, it is impossible to realize good and clean governance, because he himself is not clean (Interview 31 August 2017).

Further, Donald Sihombing goes on to state that: "The Jakarta Governor must be flawless, be the first person to place the right person in the right place. The country's official should prioritize the interests of the community above any interest.

Related to the transparency of an institution, especially in the Indonesian government, whether or not an institution is transparent comes from the report of the results of the investigation of the Financial Audit Agency (BPK). This is in line with the statement of Anis Baswedan, candidate for governor of DKI 2017-2022, in an interview to the researcher said that "Judgement comes from the auditor, he only can provide fair assessment, BPKP and BPK. In principle, the most fundamental is transparency. If there is transparency, whatever the assessment decision can be justified. "

If analyzed by BPK reporting, it can be said that BTP/Ahok is a non-transparent leader figure because there is a misappropriation in the purchase of a state asset. The transparency of BTP/Ahok is also reported by Ichsan Rofiq, former Head of Johar Baru Sub-district, who said: "BTP/Ahok is not transparent, arrogant and authoritarian. And so he is not worthy to be a leader because he always violates the rules. "Likewise with the statement of Nuraini, a member of DKI Parliament, who said:" Pak BTP/Ahok goes down his work on his own, never once did he cooperate with the legislature. "

## **2. Consistency**

The principle of consistency in this research has been categorized as a firm stance of BTP / Ahok figure as Governor in implementing every program that has been agreed together either through negotiation, dialogue, or consensus. Consistency here is also aligned with the role of law, in which the legal framework is fair and implemented consequently. In implementing the eviction program in DKI Jakarta, the DKI government implemented a double policy. Of the 26 evictions in 2014, 19 locations were conducted without the socialization and negotiation process with the people first. Such data was as quoted by Kompas and as compiled by Forum Warga Kota Jakarta until December 12th. Although BTP/Ahok officially became the Governor of DKI at the end of December 2014, BTP/Ahok has been the Governor's Plt since the beginning of the year because Joko Widodo who currently serves as Governor is running for President.

The inconsistency of BTP/Ahok policy is not only related to procedures, but the reasons for evictions are also sometimes inappropriate. If the other areas of evictions are carried out because the people occupy the land belonging to the waters and do not have certificates, the case with the people Luar Batang is different; they are exposed to evictions despite having proof of building rights certificates, limited certificate of ownership issuance and others. In this case, residents Luar Batang asked Yusril ihza Mahendra to become their lawyers. Despite through a lengthy legal process, residents remain displaced and must accept their evictions.

Still in contrast, the residents of Tembok Bolong, Muara Baru, Penjaringan, North Jakarta, were evicted, although previously there was a political contract when BTP/Ahok together with Jokowi advanced in elections DKI 2012. Protests of residents affected by eviction of the government of DKI responded relaxedly by BTP/Ahok with the phrase "political contract

was signed when he and Jokowi did not know if the territory around Pluit Reservoir is a green area. "

Likewise is with the reclamation permit process. In the news of m.cnnindonesia.com, it was quoted that BTP/Ahok's language that the permission of reclamation that he did was just to continue what has been issued by Foke, the former governor. Furthermore, he only continued the permit of reclamation of 17 islands. While in social media, the license of BTP/Ahok about reclamation dated December 23, 2014 was spreading. In this case BTP / Ahok denied what he did 3 months earlier.

The inconsistency of BTP/Ahok can also be analyzed in the course of his political career. In 2005-2006 when he became the East Belitung Regent, he entered the Indonesian New Sovereignty Party (PKBIB). After that, in the run up to the Legislative Elections he joined the Golkar Party, which later drove him as a Member of the House of Representatives. In 2012, along with his nomination as deputy Governor accompanying Joko Widodo he moved to Gerindra party. Then after he replaced Joko Widodo as Governor he chose to be independent. From the above sources it is very clear that the BTP/Ahok said it is not in accordance with the facts. His speech is only a defense, though he knows people already have evidence of his words and promises. As a leader of BTP/Ahok can be said to be very inconsistent with his words.

### **3. Intelligence (Agility)**

Intelligence in this research is intended to see the ability of BTP / Ahok as the leader of DKI in planning a program that benefits and its effects are sustainable for the people of DKI Jakarta. The real form of the program is the government's strategic thinking as long as BTP / Ahok takes office. "BTP / Ahok is a smart figure," said Silviana Murni, a former Deputy Governor of DKI, in an interview. "His way of putting an auction of job title makes the talent and ability of civil servants exposed and become a means of expressing themselves for outstanding civil servants who have been deployed by superiors to boost the performance of their superiors." BTP / Ahok's intelligence is also acknowledged by Lius Sungkarisma. He said "He (BTP / Ahok) is a leader who has good vision and mission." However, according to Lius, "BTP / Ahok way of communication is very bad."

Bad communication of BTP / Ahok is also a polemic between BTP / Ahok and Mahes, the shop owner in Fatmawati affected by MRT Project and a close friend of BTP / Ahok. Mahes explained that BTP / Ahok is good and has a vision to build Jakarta well. Apparently, after three months of friendship, he was disappointed to see his speech always shows as him being the only smartest person. He even always challenged me, his best friend to report him to the authorities and prosecute legally. So my friends and I sued the BTP / Ahok in court to ask for the loss and, if not granted, we refused. However, the legal process runs two years and BTP / Ahok also stepped down, Anies with Sandi came and talked (1 hour) like his own family that made me touched and spontaneously took a “hammer”(decision).

Mahes also added "I am reporting BTP / Ahok not because of wanting to get more money, but respect as citizen of DKI, not an immigrant."

Related to the intelligence and having a strategic vision in the future, while being the Vice Governor then proceeded to become Governor, BTP / Ahok has made breakthroughs of programs that previously did not exist in DKI Jakarta. Some of these programs include: Improvement of social services, health, and transportation; Flood Mitigation; Physical development; Spatial planning; and Improvement of Tourism.

Related to the social service, health and transportation program, Jakarta Provincial Government is increasing the level of “puskesmas” (health clinic) services into hospitals, enacting free Transjakarta for residents, Procurement of Scania for Transjakarta (The existence of more luxurious buses, solid and comfortable, and has elevator facilities to facilitate disability and elderly, especially wheelchairs), and providing meat subsidies for KJP holders to increase nutritional intake for underprivileged children.

For Flood Improvement, BTP / Ahok conducts "Normalization" of Kali Sunter, Rawa Badung Reservoir, Cengkareng Drain, Sodetan Ciliwung Development, and Kebon Melati Dam Restoration. Meanwhile, for the infrastructure development, BTP / Ahok planned the development and improvement of public space facilities such as: Integrated Child Friendly Public Space, Renovation of Rawamangun Terminal, Renovation of Klender Terminal, Koja Hospital Building addition, Budhi Asih Hospital Building, Tambora Apartment Rebuilding, Jalan Layang Kuningan, Permata Hijau Street Building, Fatahillah Mosque Building, Marunda Apartment Mosque Building.

For spatial planning in DKI, BTP / Ahok conducts spatial planning of Kampung Pulo relocation, Kalijodo relocation, Bukit Duri relocation, Muara Karang market relocation, and fish market relocation. Later in the Reformation of Tourism, BTP / Ahok made a breakthrough through the procurement of double decker bus level and “Widening” Jakarta through the revamping of street vendors in Monas, especially in the parking area of IRTI.

#### **4. Accountability**

Accountability in this study is also interpreted as an attitude of responsibility, where leaders or bureaucrats in DKI Jakarta can run full work with a sense of responsibility. The concept also emphasizes that a leader or bureaucrat can manage finances so that sustainable programs for the benefit of the people, especially the citizens of DKI Jakarta, can run. This concept is also in line with efficiency (effectiveness) and effectiveness (effective).

As a Governor, BTP / Ahok considered by some circles can not manage the finances of DKI Jakarta. Tjahyo Kumolo, Minister of Home Affairs, quoted by news.detik.com questioned the number of damaged streets that were not repaired, the reason is that funds from the APBD for infrastructure were less than 20 percent. While the other 80 percent of funds were used for personnel expenditure.

Related to budget management, in October 2015 the ministry also commented on the absorption of the budget. In the Ministry of Home Affairs note, from July 2015 to October 2015 the government of DKI ranked poorly compared with other local governments. Where DKI has only absorbed 19.39 percent of the budget under Papua which has absorbed 21.74 percent and North Kalimantan which absorbed 23.7 percent. This news certainly reinforces that BTP / Ahok can not manage the finances of DKI Jakarta. Because based on the financial logic and program, it is impossible to absorb the budget 19.39 for 9 months one week, while 80.61 percent is spent in 2 months and a half. If that happens, the perception that the program is run is forced and inclined to make up just to spend the budget.

Not only The Home Ministry, Lulung as Vice Chairman of DKI DPRD in his interviews revealed that "in order to achieve Good and Clean Governance a leader must be able to use

APBD properly and precisely its value, not like now, the lowest absorption of Local Budget (APBD) affect people direct and indirectly. "

Similar to Lulung, M. Taufik as deputy chairman of Jakarta Parliament also responded to the same thing. In his interview to the author, he said "BTP / Ahok is not obeying the rules, the absorption of APBD is very low, and BTP / Ahok uses CSR funds used all of them, without being audited, this creates gaps of fraud."

Not to mention, the Finance Audit Agency (BPK) reported in front of a plenary session with members of DKI Jakarta, "which expressed problems in Jakarta Capital City's financial management, so it should issue a Reasonable Exception (WDP) for the 2014 financial statements." Supposedly, when the 2014 WDP was issued by BPK, Jakarta government could fix it in 2015.

In relation to the findings of The Home Minister and BPK above, it can be stated that the BTP / Ahok as Governor is incapable, or does not run the program with effective principles. Other data also shows that BTP / Ahok is an irresponsible figure. In the process of purchasing land in Cengkareng area of 4.6 hectares, BPK also presumed corrupt practices. In addition to being more expensive than NJOP(Land & building Tax Imposition Base), the land is actually also owned by DKI government. Asas Tigor Nainggolan, observer of DKI Jakarta, quotes porosjakarta.com as saying "Later in the end BTP / Ahok will blame his subordinates. He forgot, if his men are incapable, the leader is worse. While blaming others, others may blame his part of mistakes also. So do not throw all the mistakes into your own subordinates ".

Besides the case of land purchase in Cengakareng, UPS case also describes BTP / Ahok as an irresponsible person. In the coverage by metro.sindonews.com, it is informed that in the case of UPS, BTP / Ahok does not claim to sign the regional regulation (APBD) 2014 revision number 19 year 2014. BTP / Ahok stated that the law was signed by Joko Widodo when he was still Governor. However, at the end of the trial, when asked to come forward to look at the evidence, BTP / Ahok seemed to see the notes he held during the trial. There is a signature of BTP / Ahok signed as the executor of duties (Plt) of Jakarta Governor.

## **5. Communicability**

Communitability is a leadership principle, where leaders must have good communication skills, respectful, respectful, and courteous. This chapter has analyzed the communication skills of BTP / Ahok when he served as Governor of DKI Jakarta, both his interactions with his subordinates, the media, and the general public.

According to Yudha Permana, a former BTP / Ahok special staff member when he was deputy governor, when asked for opinions on the ideal leader, he revealed that "the ideal leader is the one who is willing to be a good listener and reader, in his attitude and his utterance ..." about the leadership of BTP/Ahok, he argued 'I think he is firm, courageous and has a strong will in working, but unfortunately not accompanied by good ethics and politeness.'

Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, chairman of the Jakarta Parliament (DPRD) from the PDI-P faction, also commented on the BTP / Ahok leadership style with simple language, "The impact is only one, your mouth is your tiger(Your tongue is fire), and BTP / Ahok is responsible for what he does."

Leadership style referred by both sources leads to communication style of BTP / Ahok which often arises controversy. Prasetyo shows more examples of 'Al-Maidah: 51' where BTP / Ahok has been punished, being lost to elections in 2017 and imprisoned.

While in his interview to the researcher, Lius Sungkarisma also has the same judgment, he says "... all the good and the advantages are gone just like that. And one of the causes of all this is just because of bad attitudes and communication of BTP / Ahok. "Similarly, Hashim S. Djojohadikusumo, one of the figures supporting BTP / Ahok as Vice Governor Joko Widodo, Hashim said" BTP / Ahok uses the rough leadership style, and tends to embarrass others.

In front of the mass media, BTP / Ahok also did not hesitate to speak with words that are not polite, either the coverage while BTP / Ahok is facing the community who came to the City Hall, as well as live events held at television stations. For example, in an exclusive interview at the Aiman Kompas TV event, BTP / Ahok did not hesitate to issue the phrase "taek"(dung) to describe his annoyance with Jakarta City Council. The phrase is repeated even though

Aiman as the presenter of the event already reminded of his position and the existence of the event that was broadcast live.

Siane Indriani, Commissioner of Komnas HAM, also commented on the communication style of DKI local government in the process of controlling in Bukit Duri. He said:

"... his side has reminded the Provincial Government of DKI to conduct deliberation with the citizens. According to him, the Jakarta Provincial Government has deprived residents of the right to live by evictaccommodation that they occupy for many years."  
"

Besides having a weak communication styke due to the absence of ethics, BTP / Ahok is also the type of person who is happy with one-way communication. Bahar Buasan, senator of DPD RI origin of Bangka Belitung, in his interview told that before 2012 when he met with BTP / Ahok for three hours, BTP / Ahok talked for more than 2 hours without inteference, after while they could discuss. But according to Buasan, BTP / Ahok has its own advantages that is responsive. Ahok is an official figure who does not hesitate to distribute his mobile phone number to the community, and he will answer all incoming sms.

Researchers have also experienced directly when interacting with BTP / Ahok. Around October 2016, the author accompanied Hashim S. Djojohadikusumo and potential investors from Singapore meeting BTP / Ahok. At that time, the BTP / Ahok dominated the discussion and there was always a harsh language expressed by the BTP / Ahok. After the meeting, one of the investors commented to the author and Hashim with the word "is he the actual head of DKI?" The sentence is tendentious in the negative direction. The investor also goes on if discussion beats round the bush, one would wonder if it was right to invest!

Based on the author's observation, BTP / Ahok actually has good communication especially to the author. Changes began after official Joko Widodo ran for President. After the change, the scheduling of meetings is very strict and regulated by the secretary, as well as the delivery language becomes formal.

Based on the explanation it can be concluded that BTP / Ahok has bad communication style after he served as Governor of DKI Jakarta. The style of speech domination of BTP / Ahok already existed long before he became Governor, even before becoming Vice Governor.

### **4.3 CONCLUSION**

Public sector leadership is still at the center of the attention of scientists and researchers. Public sector leadership becomes an important element in the administration of institutions or government agencies. DKI Jakarta is the center of the attention of the people in Indonesia, if the problem of Leadership in Jakarta arises, then it will automatically become the talk of the society throughout Indonesia. Based on the exposure of research results in the previous chapter can be concluded as follows:

First, by analysing the administration of DKI Jakarta in the era of BTP / Ahok in terms of public sector leadership against Asta Brata principles, the presence of BTP / Ahok public sector leadership is considered contradictory to Asta Brata principle.

The elements of Asta Brata's leadership include (1) Indra Brata which means that a leader must possess the qualities that are possessed by Dewa Indra, which is capable of providing prosperity and justice to all the people he leads; (2) Yama Brata, meaning that a leader must be able to demonstrate the qualities of God Yama, which is able to uphold the rule of law in the state he leads; (3) Surya Brata, meaning that a leader must be able to enlighten (enlighten) to the people he leads; (4) Chandra Brata, meaning that a leader must be able to show a calm and radiant face under any circumstances so that people are convinced of the greatness of their leadership spirit; (5) Bayu Brata, meaning a leader always wants to know and investigate the real state of his people, especially the circumstances of the people who suffer life; (6) Arta Brata, meaning a leader must have a wise attitude especially in the use of funds; (7) Baruna Brata, meaning that a leader must be able to clean up all public ills that are often called social pathology; (8) Agni Brata means that a leader must be a knight with high spirits. The eight principles are not reflected in the Leadership of BTP / Ahok as the Governor of DKI Jakarta.

The nature of Asta Brata's leadership that manifests in the leadership style of BTP / Ahok are only Baruna Brata and Agni Brata. For the nature of Baruna, through the complaint program at City Hall, BTP / Ahok is able to accept complaints all layers of citizens with no regard status, only the provision of solutions is ineffective, even tend to embarrass his own

subordinates. While the nature of Agni (Fire) that emerged from the figure of BTP / Ahok is more toward the negative, because the explosive attitude to his subordinates is not in place.

Second, while BTP / Ahok Leadership is compared with GCG principles Based on the research data described in the previous chapter, the GCG embodiment of five principles, namely: transparency, consistency, accountability, intelligence, and communitability in DKI Jakarta government has been implemented by BTP / Ahok during his term as Governor. The above five principles of GCG have been applied by BTP / Ahok with various policies in developing DKI Jakarta.

For the application of good and clean governance principles, BTP / Ahok has a far-reaching strategic vision. This is demonstrated by the programs he has created. To achieve transparency within the Provincial Government, he has built the system through e-budgeting. However, in its own application, several programs that have been implemented are far from the principle of transparency, such as the findings of BPK for the purchase of PT Sumber Waras land and the land in West Cengakreng (4.6 hectares) which in fact is a land owned by the Fisheries Department, the Office of Marine and Food Security (DKPKP ) as their own provincial land. While the most striking weakness of his leadership is his inconsistency with some of his programs and his very poor communication style. Then for the principle of accountability, the government of BTP / Ahok is considered not able to manage finances properly and accountable. The statement is not well managed revealed by Ministry of Home Affairs, where the city government becomes the region with the least budget absorption. While the inability to account for existing finances is evidenced by the results of the BPK audit which issued Reasonable Exceptions (WDP) and encountered some unaccountable expenditures.

Third, Asta Brata becomes the ideal concept in realizing GCG, if a government is led by a person who has Asta Brata character, then the government will guarantee that it will run well with GCG concept.

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