

EMPATHY POLITICS VERSUS TERRORISM: THE NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER JACINDA ARDERN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP COMMUNICATION

Andika Hendra Mustaqim

Bina Sarana Informatika University (UBSI) Jakarta, Indonesia
andika.ahq@bsi.ac.id

Abstract

This research explores the political communication by New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern in the face of terror attacks of two mosques in Christchurch on March 15, 2019. The emphasis of research is empathy politics in a narrow framework and broader framework, namely the humanitarian framework. The study used the method of analyzing the content of speeches and Ardern statements and case studies with qualitative approaches and critical constructivist paradigms. The results of the study are Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern using various models and ways to show political communication in handling terror attacks against two mosques in Christchurch. The politics of tears is played as a form of empathy politics. Protection from minorities was also shown by Ardern. Hug is a form of political action to embrace. Ardern often gives greetings typical of Muslims.

Keywords: *Empathy Politics, Political Communication, Leadership Communication*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi tentang komunikasi politik yang ditempuh Perdana Menteri Selandia Baru Jacinda Ardern dalam menghadapi serangan terror dua masjid di Christchurch pada 15 Maret 2019. Penekanan penelitian adalah politik empati dalam kerangka sempit dan kerangka yang lebih luas yakni kerangka kemanusiaan. Penelitian menggunakan metode analisis isi pidato dan pernyataan Ardern dan studi kasus dengan pendekatan kualitatif dan paradig konstruktiviskritis. Adapun hasil penelitian adalah PM Jacinda Ardern menggunakan berbagai model dan cara untuk menunjukkan komunikasi politiknya dalam penanganan serangan terror terhadap dua masjid di Christchurch. Politik air Mata dimainkan sebagai bentuk politik empati. Perlindungan terhadap kaum minoritas juga ditunjukkan Ardern. Pelukan merupakan bentuk tindakan politik untuk merangkul. Ardern kerap mengucapkan salam khas umat Islam.

Kata Kunci: Politik Empati, Komunikasi Politik, Komunikasi Kepemimpinan

INTRODUCTION

Prime Minister (PM) of New Zealand Jacinda Ardern is included in the 100 most influential people in the world, *Time* magazine published on April 18, 2018. Her name, obviously never mentioned in the nomination list of influential people in previous years even though she has become the youngest member in the New Zealand parliament. However, since she was elected as PM of New Zealand, her name has entered the world class politicians who have influence on global politics which is sufficiently considered.

Sheryl Sandberg, COO of Facebook and author of *Option B* and *Lean In*, in an essay containing comments about Ardern, that Ardern is a progressive leader in combating economic inequality, and climate change, (*Time*, 18 April 2019). Ardern was indeed lucky because there were only 11 countries out of 200 countries led by women, said Sandberg, which showed a difficult thing for a woman to be able to lead a nation.

In a world that too often tells women to stay small, keep quiet—and that we can't have both motherhood and a career—Jacinda Ardern proves how wrong and outdated those notions of womanhood are. She's not just leading a country. She's changing the game. And women and girls around the world will be the better for it. (Sandberg in *Time*, April 18, 2019).

Ardern won a respectable position and gained international attention after her policies and approach after a terrorist attack on two mosques in Christchurch on March 15, 2019. The day after the incident, she immediately visited Christchurch and visited the Muslim community in black clothes and wearing a veil and said that all New Zealand “unite in sorrow” (*The Washington Post*, March 18, 2019).

What Ardern did showed her empathy politics. Generally, empathy politics is indeed very feasible and appropriate to be applied by female leaders. The impression that is concluded is that women are identical with tenderness and warmth, thus the politics of empathy will be successfully implemented.

The interesting thing in feminism leadership is the importance of using empathy for successful negotiations, as explained by Paddock and Kray (2011), that empathy distinguishes between women's diplomatic negotiations compared to men. Machiavelli (1985) refers to Fortuna as a Roman goddess as a female power that demands autonomy and independence. Machiavelli also called Fortuna as a woman where if she wanted to master it, then people had to defeat her with strength.

Empathy politics certainly aims to build Ardern's leadership image. Empathy can also build transnational solidarity with the help of technology to help accumulate global accumulated profits (Pedwell, 2014: 2). That is because the politics of empathy playing on the emotional level, according to Crawford (2014) states that emotion has become an intersubjective element in an institutionalized political world relating to private space and individuals.

Ardern shows the politics of empathy in response to terrorist attacks to build a real and massive impact. Dunn (2012) calls empathy politics reflected in policies relating to social evaluation, agency attribution, normative emotional responses, and resonance frameworks. Zembylas (2007) mentions empathy is very useful for rearranging imaginary similarities with others.

It's just that, empathy politics is also related to the psychological leader. That cannot be done with impromptu or sudden. Empathy always plays with the heart shown through the character of leadership.

Basically, empathy comes from how to project one's personality in an object of contemplation (Garber, 2004: 24). Gregory Currie (2011: 82) mentions that empathy is intimate and very natural. For Barack Obama (2006: 66), empathy is how to stand on someone else's shoes and see with their eyes. If Martha Nussbaum (2003: 66) emphasizes empathy as a process of empathic imagination that helps humans to bring individuals who are far away from our goals and projects, humanize others, and create gluing.

Empathy politics is not new in the study of political communication. However, it always has new things and a renewable context in a new perspective. Moreover, empathy politics is not just a tool, but it can also be a spirit in political leadership.

This study wanted to analyze and criticize the politics of empathy carried out by New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern. It becomes an interesting phenomenon to be studied in depth about the leader's response to incidents of terrorist attacks. Ardern as the leader of a developed country with not too many inhabitants where previously known as a safe country actually faced a terrorist motive with white supremacy.

The purpose of this study is to provide an overview of empathy politics conducted by PM Ardern, a presentation on humanitarian politics on Ardern's leadership, and image building on Ardern's leadership. This study also wants to criticize the political communication of empathy and humanitarian politics carried out by Ardern.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Based on the background of the problem, this study is to reveal how empathetic politics is done by PM Jacinda Ardern? This study also wants to explore how empathy politics shapes the humanitarian politics that become the identity of PM Ardern's leadership? Furthermore, this research criticizes the empathy-based political communication style carried out by PM Ardern in the context of developing her leadership image.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review discusses two main concepts namely female leaders and empathy. Both of these concepts will be discussed in the perspective of feminism. It will later become the foundation in the research and development of the case of PM Ardern's political communication style.

Female Leader

The presence of women in the previous political realm is not new. Her presence still brings fresh air in the political world which is dominated and hegemony by men. Presenting feminism in the political sphere is indeed a hard struggle, but it must be realized, not only in a country with an established democracy, but in a country with a democracy that is still being constructed.

Only a few women have a role in leadership (Sandberg, 2013), it is none other than because only a few women get male or female mentors who are encouraged to become leaders. The same thing was expressed by Dana and Bourisaw (2006) which stated that the percentage of women who served as leaders has remained stagnant in the last 80 years in this century.

It is a challenge for women, but also a challenge for men to be able to encourage and provide opportunities for women to rise up and become leaders. More women should get the highest position to get leadership and empowerment assessments (De Nmark, 1993).'

In research conducted by Jalalzai (2008), many women from various educational and political settings have played an important role in governance in Asia and Latin America. However, he said most of these women turned out to have affiliations with a background in their families who previously had experience in politics. Looking at the Indonesian context, what Jalalzai revealed was true. Megawati Sukarno Putri also succeeded as vice president because she brought Sukarno's name as the first President of the Republic of Indonesia who was the biological father of Megawati.

Adler (1996) reviews 25 global female leaders with the reality and the nation they lead and how they can be powerful and their personal achievements and leadership achievements. It turned out that women's and men's leadership had a significant difference. The presence of women

in the realm of leadership provides its own color and atmosphere with its distinctiveness.

Constantini and Craik (1972) state that female leaders tend to express powerful leadership styles, are effective in ambivalent touch, different from male leaders who tend to be easy going, direct, and uncomplicated. Basically, male and female leadership does have a difference, Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2002) state that leadership style leads to transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire.

Empathy

Empathy concerns a person's character. It attaches to one's personality. That is indeed the most fundamental concept of empathy. Therefore empathy can be applied in all areas of life.

Empathy is a basic component of emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1995), considered a way to describe attitudes to others to show healing in psychotherapy (Kohut, 1971, 1977). Rogers (1965) states empathy as the ability to accurately obtain the internal frame of reference for the emotional components and meanings of others. Bloom (2017) reveals that empathy is still seen as a source of strength from good and attractive actions. however, he expressed empathy also caused bias among individuals.

Theodor Lipps in his book entitled *The Aesthetics* summarized by Steuber (2008) mentions empathy as a phenomenon of psychological resonance which is triggered by our perception with external objects to evoke experience and give positive appreciation. Then, Maxwell (2008: 29) cites the opinion of Edward Titchener (1915) in his book entitled *Beginner's Psychology* stating the tendency to feel insiders in a situation is called empathy. Whereas Downey (1929: 176-177) mentions empathy is a process to feel behaviors that are motoric and emotional in nature which are originally projected outside of oneself.

Empathy is a universal response to explain that there is nothing to

negate a culture that is inherent in emotions (Mesquita and Leu, 2007). Lynne Layton (2009) illustrates how human culture allows empathy to exist in “market attention” where it can be bought from empathy managers for self and family. Empathy is also related to the most basic structure in human social relations (Fromm, 1955). In fact, Steven Pinker (2011) links between empathy and capitalism in positive terms where empathy is one of the four “better angels”.

Martin Hoffman (2000: 65-90) supports five stages in the development of empathy. First, reactive newborn cry or emphasis on differentiation from others. Second, egocentric empathic distress is prosocial motivation. Third, quasi egocentric empathic distress is to help the organ. Fourth, veridical empathic distress is when focusing on taking a role and reflecting on the needs of victims. Fifth, empathy for the experiences of others in certain situations such as praying for the death of a friend’s mother.

Quoting the opinion of Whitehead (1929) in (Braten, 2013: 67) explaining empathy contains two interpretations. First, empathy is participating in the emotional space of others. Second, the other interpretation is adapted to its use of imagining the emotions of others as various needs with other feelings.

Holland (2017: 350) explains empathy is an intersubjective capacity that is able to adapt to different types of human sociality and that can be applied in a political, moral and cultural context. It’s just that empathy may get a positive or negative assessment depending on how profitable and unfavorable the affiliated person is. Interestingly, empathy can build bridges between people to create a circle between them so that people have empathy and empathy. In the view of Daniel C Batson (2009: 3) mentioning empathy is raised by two questions, first, how one knows the feelings and thoughts of others and, second, what triggers someone to respond with sensitivity and care about the suffering of others.

Finally, empathy itself is more egoistic than prosocial but, it becomes a two-dimensional bridge of personality (Hoffman, 1990: 54). McKie (2010) states that empathy is a biological process because the model of care is done by a woman so they are more empathic than men.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The paradigm used in this study is constructivist. Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2018: 220) express that paradigm aims to make meaning, make feelings, attributional activities that exist in action. The constructivist paradigm is also appropriate for political practice by changing conventional wisdom and standard operational procedures (Klotz and Lynch, 2007: 3).

The approach in this study is qualitative. Denzin and Lincon (2018: 41) state that qualitative research perspectives are related to cultural and interpretative studies, but also related to prioritizing interpretative analysis. This approach is considered appropriate because research is based on interpretation.

The research method used in using a combination of case studies and analysis. Combined research methods because researchers use a text approach and case approach. It aims to deepen the study and discussion of this research.

Content analysis is a research method used in research. Content analysis, in the definition put forward by Krippendorff (2004: 18), research techniques to make valid and replicable conclusions from the text or things that are meaningful to the context of their use. The advantages of content analysis are providing new views, increasing the understanding of researchers about special phenomena or informing practical actions (Krippendorff, 2004: 18).

Yin (2009: 18) explains that case studies are empirical studies that investigate contemporary phenomena deeply in real-life contexts. Stake (1995: 4) explains that case study research is not sample research, nor

does it examine the main case for understanding other cases.

The research subject used was a direct statement from PM JacindaArdern which was reported on news texts and news videos. In addition, the subject of the study was the case of Prime Minister JacindaArdern in dealing with terror attacks in two mosques in Christchurch,Ardern's comment was a direct statement of the main study to be studied, in addition to the case. That will be the main source of analysis in this study. The stages of analysis in content analysis and case studies prioritize the basic use of the theory of empathy and feminism in exploring Ardern's political communication style.

DISCUSSION AND RESULT OF RESEARCH

In the results section of the study, the researcher presents discussion and discussion. In addition to presenting analysis and criticism of JacindaArdern's political leadership style, researchers also juxtapose the phenomenon with conceptual taken from books and journals. As such, it will present a factual touch with strong and solid conceptual bandages.

Tears Politics = Politics of Empathy?

In a speech in the New Zealand parliament on April 10, 2019, Ardern wept in tears when addressing the family and victims of terrorist shootings on March 15, 2019. She cried when she recalled victims who were still alive and being treated in hospitals (*News.com.au*, 2019).

Not only did Ardern's tears break down when talking about terror attacks in two mosques in Christchurch. When meeting the families of the shooting victims, Ardern also shed tears. When she met to meet with the Muslim community, she also did not hesitate to shed tears.

Obviously, Ardern is a female leader. Women often use their tears as weapons. Tears are not to show weakness as a woman and a female leader. In fact, the tears of a female leader become an all-powerful force

capable of hypnotizing and subjugating opponents who see.

Not expecting mercy, not wanting rewards. But, tears show politics built from the heart, not just the brain. So far, politics and leadership only rely on the brain. But, emotionally ignored.

Ardern is different from tears and can unite a nation. Ardern's tears are a form and attitude of empathy. Empathy politics, defined by empathy and reconciliation, is tested in the lens of emotions. McCue and Gopian (2008) explain empathy also shown in the political arena when candidates emphasize the issue to motivate the placement of empathy. They express empathy is a concept that helps understanding gender inequality in politics (McCue and Gopian, 2008)

Tears as a form of empathy politics work on cross-cutting fields and are very broad. Pedwell (2014: 1) explains that empathy politics is flowing, ambivalent and complex where it plays on a national cross that crosses social, economic, political and cultural conditions bound to space and time. Empathy has also been initiated and blessed with emotions because empathy becomes a window and antidote to certain individuals (Crawford, 2014). Dunn also stated that empathy politics has a framework to reach audiences on a broad scale and inspire collective identification that depends on emotional values and standards (Dunn, 2012).

From Ardern's tears, her next hope was to build reconciliation. A new society that is safer and more controlled. It can be controlled only by empathy. Why? Empathy can also encourage reconciliation based on emotions (Zembylas, 2007). Political mobilization of empathy can actually form a humanitarian movement (Wilson and Brown, 2008) which states that humanity is clearly a political movement that is mobilized in civil society with a cultural, socio-religious movement, which is done not only by legal and political institutions.

Politics of Minorities = Politics of Empathy?

Muslims only 1% of the population of New Zealand. Muslims are a minority in New Zealand.

However, seeing Ardern's action in responding to the terror attacks in Christchurch shows she protects minorities who make up only 1% of the country's population. Protect immigrants who are willing to leave the homeland for the dream land in New Zealand that offers a million dreams and hopes.

With care and attention to the minority, it is shown by good empathy. Ardern does not distinguish between classes in the approach she does. She still considers Muslims to be a people who must be defended and protected by her government.

Obviously what Ardern did did not consider the main basis of political support. Only 1% in politics cannot be a strong mass base in politics. However, she has another view. What she does is as a form of responsibility of a leader who protects his people regardless of status and class.

Head (2012) views empathy as a misconception for understanding conflict and transformation because it is able to establish a reflective dialogue so that trust in relationships is realized. Politics and empathy are two things that are mutually associated (Bloomm 2017) states that conservative positions are considered to rely on empathy, while liberals tend not to think about empathy.

How to connect politics and empathy? Clohesy (2013: 109) explains empathy allows humans to get feelings in tasks that are carried out by one person with another, and empathy becomes someone who still wants years to each other. Empathy plays in the political sphere because politics is a human activity where empathy encourages more sensitive to the dangers of dehumanization spectrum (Clohesy, 2013: 109).

Empathy is also important to help humans think about understanding identity and relating to ethical subjectivity and sensitivity to caring and compassion compared to presumption and dogma based politics (Clohesy, 2013: 199). The central idea of empathy is subjectivity, namely the realization of cosmopolitan values and politics of recognition, community and solidarity (Clohesy, 2013: 127).

Ardern is able to show that empathy is not only for one group or one interest. However, empathy politics is for oppressed minorities who deserve to be appointed and championed.

Embrace Politics = Communication Politics of Empathy?

The hug is warm. The hug is reassuring. The concept seems to have been deeply implanted by Ardern to show political communication when meeting families with victims of the shooting of two mosques in Christchurch. She embraced many victims' families who met him. She gave messages and advice if the people of New Zealand were with them.

Hug is a form of political action to embrace. That's a form of attitude to protect. It is also an action for the alignments shown by Ardern. She also understood very well that the perpetrator was not only a form of attention, but a confession down she also felt the same.

Ardern tried to put herself in the position of the family of the shooting victims. She does not want to be seen as someone outside of them who is just saying a word of grief, and after that is finished. No, Ardern built a sense of belonging for the victims' families that she was part of them and would fight for them.

Undung and Guzman (2009) in their research on leadership, it turns out that empathy plays an important role. Empathy, they say, is able to create dynamic interpersonal relationships and build dynamic social institutions. Leaders who have empathy also show caring, have the ability to listen, influence, and develop adventure (Undung and Guzman, 2006).

By embracing, Ardern tried to listen to what her citizens felt. She also influenced her citizens that they were not alone, but were supported by other New Zealanders. She also built a political adventure to show herself as a leader for everyone in New Zealand.

Afzalur Rahim and Psenicka (2005) state that emotional intelligence relations such as empathy and social ability show the effectiveness of the leader's role. Holt and Marques (2011) revealed the need for a paradigm shift in leadership to pay attention to abilities related to empathy. Then, Patnaik (2009) revealed empathy is the basis of moral behavior related to religion and philosophy where empathy provides an opportunity to move faster than their competition.

Greetings Assalamualaikum = Political Communication of Empathy?

After shooting incidents in two mosques in Christchurch, Ardern often saluted the typical Muslims. Assalamualaikum. She often said these greetings while giving a speech in front of the Islamic community. She also often said that when speaking in front of members of parliament or government.

Ardern had never done that before. Of course, this is done not without cause. It must be done to have a strong motive. What is clear, Ardern wants to make Muslims as part of the attention of her government. She wants to show that New Zealand is also home to Muslims even though the numbers are very small in the country.

For Muslims, greetings of Salamalamaikum are not just greetings. It is for those who give greetings to others. For people of other faiths, the greeting shows their love and love for Muslims.

Ardern wants to show that Muslims are not someone else in New Zealand. She wants to tell and emphasize that Muslims are an indispensable part of New Zealand.

What Ardern did shows that women's behavior is empathic, where Yulk (1998: 99) mentions empathy as a leader behavior in managing relationships with the people and people they lead. Leaders who are able to exert influence on others are leaders who are able to demonstrate their empathic abilities as a form of emotional ability, in addition to leaders who are able to show their mental abilities that are successful in carrying out heavy tasks (Kellet, Humphrey, and Sleeth, 2002).

In a study conducted by Kellet, Humphrey and Sleeth (2006) showed that empathy of actors, especially leaders, was related to the assessment of leadership tasks and positive leadership relationships, the impact of mediating the ability of emotions, being able to identify others' emotions and being able to show their own emotions in relationships and leadership tasks. They emphasize that emotional abilities including empathy are not related to cognitive abilities or complex task performance.

Choi (2006) revealed that empathy is one part of charismatic leadership, in addition to vision and empowerment. Especially regarding leaders who have empathy to stimulate the needs of followers for affiliates. Then, Marla Tabaka in Olson (2013: 63) explains the need for empathy tactics to build empathy marketing to build emotional connections with brands and attach messages to consumer thinking, where it is necessary to pay attention to patterns of eye movements, facial expressions, and brain waves. Then, Patnaik (2009) revealed empathy is the basis of moral behavior related to religion and philosophy where empathy provides an opportunity to move faster than their competition.

Wearing a scarf = Political Communication of Empathy?

Veils or headscarves are not only symbols for Muslim women. That is an obligation. It also becomes an identity. However, when the identity is disturbed, self-esteem and honor are at stake.

This was very much realized by Ardern. She realized when many Muslim women who wear headscarves did not feel safe with their beliefs,

they felt obliged to provide security guarantees.

Of course, the security guarantee is not by sending a fully armed police officer, but a guarantee of security of self-confidence. Adernalso decided to wear a black veil when meeting the Muslim community in Christchurch and attending several events there.

Ardern (*Newshub*, 2019), when she wears the hijab she can give them a feeling of security in order for them to continue what is believed, she also claims to be happy to do so. She added that his job was to share love and support for Muslim communities throughout the world.

Morrell (2010: 129) states that the process of empathy is close to democracy because without the citizenship, democracy is still considered a form of chatter. Empathy is still needed in changing thinking about the purpose of liberation and the legitimacy of democracy. In political communication, including rhetoric, the process of empathy also enters it (Morrell, 2010: 151). Selnow (2000: 234) revealed that lack of empathy is also often exaggerated among people because it is considered to be related to personal beliefs. Finally, the failure of four causes people to no longer respect the human aspect and can be a tool to attack others (Selnow, 200: 234).

Empathy is also included in the element of political marketing to support branding to create a quality-oriented character, including spirit, honesty and passion (Perloff, 2017). One of the leaders known to have no empathy is President Donald Trump. Holloway (2016: 55) states that Joe Biden characterizes Trump as a man who has infinite cynicism and has no empathy and always exploits fear. Kenski and Kenski (2019: 293) state that candidate quality also involves empathy, including parts of change, experience, competence, vision and trust.

Gary Olson (2013: 63) mentions the need for empathy in neuromarketing with an emphasis on words to sell and use social media to create brand loyalty. What is the strategy? Identify targets, listen to

them through conversation, build relationships, humanize products, and achieve goals to be achieved (Olson, 63).

Assertiveness in the Reformation of the Weapons Act

On April 17, 2019, two days after the shooting, Ardern had warned of the role of social media sites such as Facebook which broadcast live terror attacks in two mosques in Christchurch. She mentioned that it had been very disturbing and was a big problem in New Zealand.

Only a day after the Marert 2019 15 terror attack, Ardern immediately called for amendments to the weapons law. It was the fastest response in the world by a state leader who immediately changed the Act because of a terror incident. It only took about three weeks, the amendment to the law was agreed upon by parliament.

The intensive lobby carried out by Ardern with parliamentarians has indeed produced sweet results. Moreover, the move also received support from farmers and workers who were previously expected to reject the amendment. Weapons lobby groups also cannot do much lobbying opposition because public pressure on the amendment is very strong.

The amendments to the law include the prohibition on the use of military semi-automatic rifles and assault rifles. Those who violate these rules will be imprisoned for five years.

Ardern (*New Zeland Herald*, 2019) stated that she could not understand how the weapon could cause damage and death on a large scale even though it was obtained legally in this country. She added that she could not even intervene and face to face not only with the media, not only with the public, but the victims left behind from this terror attack and tell them carefully that our system and our laws allow these weapons to be available and that's fine.

It is clear that the policy of pressure on social media companies and amendments to the arms law shows that political empathy also plays

with government leadership. Mahsud, Yukl, and Prussia (2010) state leaders who have empathy are effective forms of leadership reflected in behavior. Leaders who are able to meet the needs of their groups will show empathy (Bell and Hall, 1954).

Empathy does not have to be soft. Empathy leadership always uses emotional to show firmness. Empathy is one of the five types of leadership that pay attention to emotional intelligence (Goleman, 2005). He defines leaders to empathize as leaders who have perceptions and awareness of emotions towards others. Leaders who have empathy will also support types of emotional intelligence leadership such as emotional management and interpersonal relationship capacity (Goleman, 2005).

By amending the arms law, Ardern understands very well that leaders must move and act to influence their people. Leaders who fight for the will and struggle for their people, not just the interests of the group.

Badea and Pana (2010: 71) state that empathy can be a tool for building understanding of other subordinates and incorporating their thoughts and feelings to be able to anticipate behavior and act appropriately. That is because empathy is the ability to look deeper into other people's emotions based on the feelings of others and the ability to refer to nonverbal canals (Badea and Pana, 2010: 71).

And empathy must be trained by leaders in building political communication. Empathy does not only arise on its own. But, it is constructed with a very real awareness. Empathy is a part of cognitive that can be developed through training and improving the quality of communication (Howatson-Jones, 2004). Garner (2009) mentions true leadership as the most essential and active dual leader, namely expertise and empathy. Both are systematically woven and developed personally (Garner, 2009).

Fighting Terrorism with Empathy

Weapons do not have to be fought with weapons. Hatred must not be reciprocated with hatred. That seems to be inherent in the political communication that Ardern runs. She wants to fight terrorism with empathy. As a form of affection politics.

What Ardern did was actually a long-term impact that he wanted. She wants to touch the hearts of all people, including terrorists. She wants to convey a message to all parties that fear is not caused by acts of terror. But, precisely the solidarity and empathy that was raised by Ardern with the support of his people.

Not only criticism of perpetrators of terror carried out by Ardern, but he also promised not to mention the names of terrorists. However, she also showed the public that the shooting was not something that should be done by New Zealanders, and indeed the shooter was an Australian.

Various acts of empathy as part of Ardern's political communication were considered effective and efficient in fighting terror. It can also be a good education for its citizens. In fact, it is a good example for government leaders in other countries.

The war on terror is indeed one of Ardern's main programs (Nikkhou-O'Brien, 2018). According to Nikkhou-O'Brien, the war on global terrorism is part of controlling global disruption. The counterterrorism program is one of the keys to the Ardern program in addition to strengthening borders, increasing sea levels and mass migration (Nikkhou-O'Brien, 2018).

Why can fighting terrorism with empathy? Breda Gray (2011: 207) revealed that empathy can lift emotions, ethics, and politics together to facilitate politically effective feminist solidarity. Empathy also plays an important role in opening lines of communication (Ahmed, 2004: 181-182). In addition, Meyers (1994: 120) emphasizes that empathic understanding of others comes from along with self-understanding to get

a cross-cultural, social, and geo-political moral assessment.

Empathy is also a tool of resistance to raise international awareness of hate groups and terrorism, according to Kimberly Chabot Davis (2004: 406), empathy promises cross-cultural understanding and the desire for justice and equality. The important thing is that women are considered as important agents in making peace and maintaining peace (Fryer, 2016).

Grounding Political Communication of Humanity

Ardern said she strongly believed that the humanity of New Zealanders would increase since the terror attack. He also revealed, politics can sometimes be ruled out, but precisely by prioritizing humanity because humanity is very simple (The Spin Off, 2019).

On many occasions, Ardern always emphasized that humanity must indeed be separated from politics. But, the claim was actually considered a mistake. Precisely what Ardern did was a form of humanitarian communication in politics.

That's because Ardern is a political leader and a government leader. Leadership based on humanity shows an act based on a mature vision and mission carried out by a civilized leader.

Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) in his book entitled *Ancient Society*, revealed that humanity known in the 19th century was the stage or century after barbarity. Leadership by prioritizing humanity becomes the identity of modern leaders who build advanced civilizations.

Humanity should be attached to democratic leadership. Democracy is also a synonym for humanity (van den Beld, 2018: 102). Humanity is also always a goal, he added, the success of political activity is also always associated with humanitarian goals (van den Beld, 2018: 154).

In fact, van den Beld (2018: 48) explains that in a cultural context, humanity also includes the language of love about a nation, related to history and cultural development. Nussbaum (1997: 4) explains that he

does not think that humanity is not only drawn to political terms because it is too narrow, but people can package humanity to politics or pack politics in humanity. Humanity is always associated with behavior to strengthen human rights and support harmonious global (Reese, Proch, Finn, 2015).

Rosenberg (1956) revealed many political issues, but the individual's political views were not related to humanity. Then, humanity has expanded widely but continues to face problems in the social, economic, political, cultural and intellectual fields (Adjibolosoo, 1996: 19).

Wallas (1981: 45) explains that every human action is the result of an intellectual process in which a man first thinks about what he wants and calculates ways to get the end result. In the context of simple political affection, people tend to see it as a signal to feel the "friendliness" of humans who have an existence and personalias that is increasingly realized (Wallas, 1981: 53).

Dugin (2012: 199) revealed that currently it is a post-humanitarian policy in the era of postmodernism with the characteristics of depolitisiasi, automation, microspization, transhumanization, and fragmentation. In that era, politics was more economic based where Homo ekonomikus fought homo politkus.

Humanity in politics, in Manent's view (2013: 186), is always viewed from two things, namely humanity organized in accordance with law or humanity that lives and coexists with morality in which humanity aims to respect human dignity. The concept of humanity in politics applied by President Abraham Lincoln, in the view of Holland (2007: 246) is that all humans are free to determine the direction of their lives because they have equality with each other. In a fairly popular book about leaders, *The Prince* by Niccolo Machiavelli (1985) states, a prince or leader cannot observe everything for men who hold good.

Ardern also became an example in leadership to develop humanitarian leadership. As she said in a speech in front of 20,000 people

gathered at Hagley Park on March 28, 2019 to commemorate victims of terrorist attacks, she also mentioned humanity. Ardern explained that the community and the government did not face the issue of terrorism themselves, and no one could, but that could be faced with humanity. She revealed that all parties can hold power in words, actions, and hospitality so that it becomes a legacy of the events of March 15, 2019 (*Women In The World*, 2019).

Leading the Global Diplomacy for the Resistance Gathering of Hate Speeches

Ardern is not just playing at the domestic level. She also stepped out because she knew the issue of terrorism which began with the utterance of hatred had become global. That is not only experienced by New Zealand. Because of that, she dared to invite the international community to unite to form joint rules to ward off hate speech.

Ardern revealed that she wanted to invite the international community to have a dialogue about the lessons to be learned in Christchurch (Stuff, March 28, 2019). The proposal to be proposed by Ardern is to solve the problem for a free, open and secure internet by encouraging good rules locally with the encouragement of the international community because social media platforms play in the global domain.

Ardern is very confident that New Zealand can play quite a lot by collaborating to find meaningful solutions. She explained that many countries had moved, but the need for a coordinated response globally to make it more profitable (Stuff, March 28, 2019).

There is an opportunity to be able to appear on the global stage, and that is used by Ardern. That opportunity is how she is able to bully the world with what she does. When a terror attack occurred, she also came to the fore to become a solution solver with a touch of empathy and humanity.

All policies and statements made and expressed by Ardern aim to prepare her to build global diplomacy because he is the fourth prime minister since 1945 in New Zealand who wants to enter the global sphere (Ross, 2018). The mission with Ardern is very clear because he wants to be seen by the international community. In a feminist perspective, Ardern wants to show the world that diplomacy can be played by women and not haram by women (Minarova-Banjac, 2018). Ardern's name was immediately sticking out because female leaders could indeed be counted on the fingers.

The diplomatic model played by Ardern also binds between global interests and domestic interests. She does not consider that the interests of social media and terrorism also concern the interests of both. She did not play a diplomatic issue that did not benefit his people. However, there is a symbiosis of mutualism that is compared.

Ardern is indeed focused on its diplomacy to ensure the safety of New Zealanders (Barrington, 2019). Whereas Terence (2018) said Ardern prioritized relations to the Pacific region by changing policies focusing on aid, strengthening understanding, friendship, profits, collective ambition and better diplomacy. Tabuteau (2018) stated that Ardern had stated that his diplomatic approach was based on what he believed and maintained what was believed by New Zealand.

Ideal leadership carried out by women, such as Ardern, in Taskovska's view (2013) explains that women must carry out feminist ethical principles that can become a basis for diplomacy, based on collective decision-making processes, collaborative meetings with representatives, procedures for collective collection of foreign policy adoption, designing the agenda of national interest on gender and racial issues, allowing diplomats to avoid prejudice, not having an initiative over personal interests, and focusing on creating a political structure, not just institutional.

In addition to the issue of terrorism and social media, the actual diplomatic challenges faced by the Ardern government actually focus on Asia, such as the Korean peninsula, the tariff war between the United States and China, and South Pacific cooperation offered by Australia (Ayson, 2018). However, the steps taken by Ardern, in Ayson's view (2018), are more directed at strengthening predictable foreign policy and having positive credit for his government.

Ardern also wants to build a strong image of his government both domestically and abroad. Both interests must be built by supporting each other to build a strong state and government.

Domestically, the interest played is to build public trust in the Ardern government, which before being underestimated. She wants to increase her popularity to become a leader who can be remembered and remembered in the long term, not just for corn.

Abroad, the interest played by Ardern is to position New Zealand in a global political union. So far, New Zealand has only been seen as a country that does not have many interests because of its geographical position which is not strategic and does not have many interests.

CONCLUSION

Prime Minister JacindaArdern used various models and ways to show political communication in handling terror attacks against two mosques in Christchurch. The politics of tears is played as a form of empathy politics by making it an effective and efficient weapon to embrace everyone. Ardern is different from tears and can unite a nation.

Protection from minorities was also shown by Ardern. In fact, Muslims are only 1% of the population of New Zealand. Muslims are a minority there. With care and attention to the minority, it is shown by good empathy. Ardern does not distinguish between classes in the approach he does. She still considers Muslims to be a people who must be defended

and protected by her government.

Hug is a form of political action to embrace. Ardern tried to put herself in the position of the family of the shooting victims. She does not want to be seen as someone outside of them who is just saying a word of grief, and after that is finished. No, Ardern built a sense of belonging for the victims' families that he was part of them and would fight for them.

After shooting incidents in two mosques in Christchurch, Ardern often saluted the typical Muslims, *Assalamualaikum*. She often said these greetings while giving a speech in front of the Islamic community. She also often said that when speaking in front of members of parliament or government.

Veils or headscarves are not only symbols for Muslim women. That is an obligation. It also becomes an identity. However, when the identity is interrupted, then self-esteem and honor are at stake. This is very much realized by Ardern. She realized when many Muslim women who wear headscarves did not feel safe with their beliefs, they felt obliged to provide security guarantees.

Only a day after the Marert 2019 15 terror attack, Ardern immediately called for amendments to the weapons law. It was the fastest response in the world by a state leader who immediately changed the Act because of a terror incident. It only took about three weeks, the amendment to the law was agreed upon by parliament.

Political communication of affection that was carried out by Ardern. What Ardern did was actually a long-term impact that she wanted. She wants to touch the hearts of all people, including terrorists. She wants to convey a message to all parties that fear is not caused by acts of terror. But, precisely the solidarity and empathy that was raised by Ardern with the support of his people.

On many occasions, Ardern always emphasized that humanity must indeed be separated from politics. But, the claim was actually considered

a mistake. Precisely what Ardern did was a form of humanitarian communication in politics.

Ardern is not just playing at the domestic level. She also stepped out because she knew the issue of terrorism which began with the utterance of hatred had become global. That is not only experienced by New Zealand. Because of that, she dared to invite the international community to unite to form joint rules to ward off hate speech.

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