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Criterion Symbolization and Political Endorsement in Jokowi's Speech at the United Nusantara Movement Meeting

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ABSTRACT

Joko Widodo, the 7th President of the Republic of Indonesia, who served two terms (2014–2019 and 2019–2024), is considered a leader who is able to overcome problems and to successfully bring about changes, both in the political context and in the context of governance and development. Joko Widodo, or Jokowi for short, is considered a visionary president and is a hard worker. The vision and leadership characteristics shown by Jokowi are significantly able to break the rigidity of bureaucracy at various levels, streamline public service patterns, and implement development programs throughout Indonesia. The question is, when Jokowi's leadership period ends in October 2024, who will "continue" Jokowi's leadership from 2024–2029? On some occasions, the political communication narrative delivered by Jokowi symbolically gave multiple interpretations depending on to whom his political endorsement was directed at. This study aims to analyze Jokowi's speech at the United Nusantara Movement Meeting on November 26, 2022, at Gelora Bung Karno (GBK) Stadium, which is full of symbolic meaning. This research uses a qualitative approach with Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis to uncover the meaning of political endorsement symbolization behind Jokowi's speech, which emphasizes myths; the unit of analysis is Jokowi's speech recording released on the Kompas TV YouTube channel. The results showed that Jokowi built discourse and that the next president is a leader who has characteristics like himself: serving the people, creating justice, continuing change, and continuing the development that Jokowi has done.

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Introduction

The presidential and vice-presidential elections will be held on February 14, 2024 [1]. However, there have been many movements through surveys on presidential candidates [2, 3]. At least four ministers in Jokowi's cabinet are predicted to run in the 2024 presidential election. They include Airlangga Hartarto, Prabowo Subianto, Sandiaga Uno, and Erick Tohir. There are also governors and former governors such as Anies Baswedan (Jakarta), Ganjar Pranowo (Central Java), and Ridwan Kamil (West Java). The last group is composed of the Chairman of Indonesian Senators, Puan Maharani, Democratic Party Chairman Agus Harimurti Yudoyono, and former Troops Commander General Andika Perkasa.

The 2024 presidential election is predicted to be interesting for several reasons [4]. First, Jokowi cannot run for re-election because he has served two terms as president. Second, the many names of candidates that have emerged will certainly make this contest more competitive. Third, the coalition of political parties to meet the presidential nomination threshold is no less interesting [5, 6]. Due to the fact that only the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) can carry its own candidate, the political escalation will be more intense, even though the presidential election is still more than a year away.

The fast-moving political escalation is characterized by the occurrence of various political momentums that capture the

public's attention [7, 8]. For example, consider the statement of former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who suspected that there would be fraud in the 2024 elections and public. His son, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY), often insinuated that Jokowi's administration was merely "cutting the ribbon", because what Jokowi was doing had been pioneered by his father, SBY, when he was president. In addition, SBY also "diligently" encouraged his crown prince to run as a presidential candidate or a vice presidential candidate. Surya Paloh, as Chairman of the National Democratic Party (Nas Dem Party), quickly declared Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate on October 3, 2022.

The fact that Nas Dem has not met the presidential nomination threshold requirements and the Coalition of Change with PKS and PD has not been declared as well the issue is that there is still a tug of war between political interests regarding who will be nominated as the vice-presidential candidate. There is no meeting point between PKS and PD on that matter.

Previously, the United Indonesia Coalition (KIB) between the Golkar Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), and the United Development Party (PPP) was declared. However, the KIB has yet to declare its presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Meanwhile, Golkar, through its national deliberation, has declared Airlangga Hartarto as its presidential candidate. Next, the Gerindra Party has also declared Prabowo Subianto as its 2024 presidential candidate. However, as with KIB, Prabowo's declaration has not yet become part of an agreement on the agenda of the coalition

plan between Gerindra and the National Awakening Party (PKB). The developing news is that Prabowo is still hesitant to partner with Muhaimin Iskandar (PKB) as a vice presidential candidate. This happened because Muhaimin Iskandar's survey results were not significant in the context of his electability.

In the midst of the increasing political escalation ahead of the presidential election, Jokowi, both as president and as a political figure, also made political maneuvers and movements that were surprising for many political parties. The accumulation of Jokowi's political position as president and as a political figure with a large line of supporters strengthens Jokowi's position, which is then referred to as one of the King Makers ahead of the 2024 presidential election contest. In every moment, Jokowi's political statements related to the criteria of the right figure as a presidential candidate are always awaited by the public, especially by the political elites of political parties.

Jokowi's statements delivered at various moments contain political messages. He emphasized the criteria for presidential candidates whose vision and characteristics were (hopefully) similar to his. Jokowi's political statements are also interpreted as a form of political endorsement of certain political figures. This interpretation leads to the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, who is most often endorsed by Jokowi on various occasions. Not only to Ganjar Pranowo, Jokowi also gave his political endorsement to other political figures such as Prabowo Subianto and Airlangga Hartarto, including his statement in support of Yusril Ilha Mahendra at the Bulan Bintang Party (PBB) national meeting.

Jokowi, who rarely speaks openly about political matters, has now begun to show his attitude as a political figure whose influence is recognized. Jokowi began to openly convey political statements that influenced public opinion [9]. Jokowi, with his smooth political communication style, began to deliver his ideology, to direct and even advise political parties to be careful, cautious, not reckless, and not rush in determining presidential candidates. Jokowi also reminded his supporting volunteers not to rush and not to carelessly support a presidential candidate [10]. This was conveyed at the anniversaries of the Parties (Golkar, Perindo, Hanura, PDIP, and PBB). Jokowi emphasized the importance of choosing leaders who have leading experiences, care about the people, are able to continue the development, and so on.

The president's message was also conveyed when he attended the 8th anniversary of the Perindo Party on November 7, 2022. Jokowi advised not waiting too long to declare the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. In his speech, Jokowi gave a message that had been conveyed at the Golkar Party's birthday: to be careful in choosing presidential and vice-presidential candidates [11].

Jokowi's various political statements have caused a lot of public attention. He acts as a king-maker whose political endorsement is always expected [12]. Jokowi publicly conveyed the criteria for presidential candidates, which he called the leader's diction, at a gathering of his volunteers on November 26, 2022. In his speech, in addition to conveying the success of development during his leadership, especially infrastructure development, as a foundation for an encouraging and symbolic political statement about criteria for the next leader.

Since Anies Baswedan's declaration, the relationship between NasDem and Surya Paloh with Joko Widodo has been bad. Surya

Paloh's absence at Kaesang's (the president's son) wedding reception. The reason was that Surya Paloh was receiving medical treatment in Germany [13]. It is rumoured that although NasDem continues to support the government, NasDem feels it has the right to choose and declare Anies as a 2024 presidential candidate.

As the NasDem Party declared Anies Baswedan, Jokowi openly told his supporters to elect a president who would work for the people. Jokowi reminded them not to be easily swayed by promises. Leaders must be willing to work hard for the welfare of all Indonesians. This never happened to the previous president, who left a message before he stepped down. This shows that Joko Widodo is upset and is afraid that his successor will not work hard to continue the projects he has started. Jokowi does not want to have the wrong person. He does not want to prepare the stage for other actors who may not be in line with his thoughts.

Jokowi's intervention in the 2024 presidential election in a speech to his supporters on November 26, 2022, is interesting to study. The event is interesting to analyse and study in depth. Therefore, this research was conducted using a qualitative approach. The purpose of this research is to analyse the signs and meanings of Jokowi's speech uploaded on the Kompas TV YouTube channel.

Why is President Jokowi's speech important to study? There are several reasons. First, Jokowi is a president who also has the role of conducting political education for people. However, in carrying out this role, Jokowi is considered to have gone too far to lead opinion and influence the public in choosing the 2024 presidential election. Second, it is interesting to see Jokowi's heart and mind after NasDem Party, which is led by Surya Paloh as part of Jokowi's governing coalition, was considered to have defected and preceded without "consultation" with Jokowi, especially when declaring Anies Baswedan, who is considered an antithesis figure of Jokowi. Third, it is interesting to observe Jokowi's efforts, who is not a party leader, he is just a party official. This is very important to encourage his followers to "provoke" Megawati Soekarnoputri as Chairman of the PDIP, to choose a presidential candidate who fits the criteria expressed by Jokowi.

Jokowi's intervention in the 2024 presidential election in a speech to his supporters on November 26, 2022, is interesting to study. The event is interesting to analyse and study in depth. Therefore, this research was conducted using a qualitative approach. The purpose of this research is to analyse the signs and meanings of Jokowi's speech uploaded on the Kompas TV YouTube channel. NasDem Party was considered to have defected and proceeded without "consultation" with Jokowi, especially when declaring Anies Baswedan, who is considered an antithesis figure of Jokowi. Third, it is interesting to observe Jokowi's efforts, who is not a party leader; he is just a party official. This is very important to encourage his followers to "provoke" Megawati Soekarnoputri as Chairman of the PDIP to choose a presidential candidate who fits the criteria expressed by Jokowi.

Lasswell said "Who says what, to whom, in what channel, and with what effect" is suitable to describe the circumstances of President Jokowi's speech on November 26, 2022 in front of his supporters [14-16]. Because the speech was the president, it gave rise to various interpretations from various circles. Therefore, the content of Jokowi's speech must be considered important and of public interest [17]. And of course, the speech must have an impact and bring up various interpretations in the public.

In addition to the impact, Jokowi's remarks are considered irrelevant. Many people regretted the events of November 26, 2022. Afterward, many parties argued that the president should not lead public opinion by explaining the criteria for the president who will replace him. The description he gave seemed to have narrowed down to a certain figure. Even so, Jokowi's direction to volunteers is still multi-interpreted.

The theory used to underlie the analysis of Jokowi's political communication phenomenon is Roland Barthes' semiotics. Semiotics is a branch of science that has shown an increasingly important influence since four decades ago, not only as a method of study (decoding), but also as a method of creation (encoding) [18]. Semiotics has developed into a model or paradigm for a very wide range of scientific fields [19]. Research using semiotic methods is basically qualitative-interpretative in nature and focuses on signs and texts as the object of study, as well as how researchers interpret and understand the codes (decoding) behind these signs and texts [20].

In Barthes' analysis, there are two things that will be explained, namely the concepts of denotation and connotation [21, 22]. Two-stage significance or what can be called two orders of signification, among others, consist of denotation, the first order of signification, and connotation, the second order of signification. In the first order are the signifier and signified, which are called denotation meaning.

Jokowi's speech on November 26, 2022, was not an ordinary speech. The speech was phenomenal because Jokowi used gestures and symbols that were full of meaning. Jokowi invites the Indonesian people to use their voting rights wisely so that the leaders elected are the right ones, willing to work hard, and prioritize the public interest rather than the interests of themselves and their groups. The sign conveyed by Jokowi is a connotational sign that must be explored for its meaning. Roland Barthes' semiotics provides space to analyse the meaning of both the actual meaning and the figurative meaning or meaning behind the words conveyed by Jokowi. Semiotics is defined as a science or method of analysis to study signs, or, in Barthes' term, semiology, basically to study how humanity interprets things [23].

Research Method

This research uses a qualitative approach. The research paradigm used was the critical paradigm to uncover the meaning behind the symbols used by Jokowi in his speech at the meeting of volunteers at GBK Soekarno on November 26, 2022, which aired on the YouTube channel. Roland Barthes semiotics is chosen to find out the meaning of denotation, connotation, and myth in the president's speech at a gathering of volunteers at GBK Jakarta. The research data is in the form of speech videos aired on YouTube.

Research Findings

It should be noted that on Saturday, November 26, 2022, all elements of volunteers throughout Indonesia held a grand meeting of the United Nusantara Movement at the Gelora Bung Karno Stadium (GBK), Central Jakarta. It is a gathering of volunteers with President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) that did not only happen at that time. A similar event was previously held at Arcamanik Stadium in Bandung, West Java, on August 28, 2022.

The United Nusantara Movement was also a thanksgiving for the success of the G20 Summit in Bali. In addition, the volunteers also held a joint prayer and fundraiser for earthquake victims in Cianjur, West Java. The event was attended by thousands of

Jokowi volunteers from various elements of Jokowi volunteer organizations throughout Indonesia. At this event, Jokowi was invited and gave a speech. His speech was considered to lead and provoke the community by mentioning the criteria for leaders who favour the people. The following is a broadcast of Jokowi's speech, which is the object of study. The focus of the analysis is from minutes 17.40 to 24.22.

In this section, researchers review Jokowi's speech. Based on constitutional provisions, Jokowi, who can no longer run in the 2024 presidential election, does not want to step down just like that. Jokowi seems to not only want to keep in touch with his supporters but also want to build an influential political force because he does not have his own political party. Because Jokowi is not the chairman of the party, he is building power from volunteers to become a decision-maker in the context of the 2024 presidential election.

The fact that Jokowi as president has done a lot for all Indonesians who are geographically located in the archipelago speaks for itself. The fact that current development is not centered in Java but across the islands the fact that the development was carried out is not only useful for providing facilities but is also very useful for growing new economic points. When the economy sprung up, jobs automatically appeared. With jobs, the community becomes more prosperous. It is realized that welfare is not fully enjoyed equally today, but 5–10 years from now it can be enjoyed equally by all Indonesians.

Jokowi mentioned the infrastructure that has been built and continues to be added. Jokowi as president has built ordinary roads, toll roads, dams, ports, airports, and others. All of these were built so that people would feel the convenience. Roads are built all over Indonesia to facilitate the mobility of goods and people so that travel time and distance can be minimized. Thus, transportation through toll roads can cut the cost of shipping logistics. Ports and airports are built to facilitate the mobility of people from various countries.

This is to explain that it is impossible to build factories without roads, and it is impossible to build new economic points without going through roads, airports, or ports. With the construction of roads, toll roads, ports, and airports, it is intended to attract investments. As a result, employment opportunities are opened, which will automatically reduce poverty nationally.

Jokowi explained that it is impossible for Indonesia to compete with other countries if it does not have good airports and ports. The government has built expressways from Sabang to Banyuwangi to shorten travel time and reduce transportation costs. The construction of toll roads in various regions both in Java and outside Java will facilitate the mobility of goods and people.

Jokowi explained to the volunteers that the government has done a lot and has spread development not only in Java but outside Java as well, such as in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Papua, and other remote areas. The government has created new economic growth points through infrastructure development.

Jokowi's explanation was the opening of his speech, and he showed that the government is not idle. The government is working hard to create a just society and equitable development. Therefore, Jokowi invited the people to use their voting rights carefully and become smart voters. Jokowi emphasized that the next leader must have a commitment to continue the development that has been carried

out in his era of government.

Scene 1: Minutes 17.40-18.45: "We must ensure the sustainability of what we have built we must ensure is sustainability. This is what we must protect together. Not just for 2024, not just for 2029, but for the golden Indonesia of 2045 and beyond. Therefore, do not just because of momentary or short-term interests or because of political interests. Then forget to maintain the sustainability of the development that we have started. Also, don't forget to maintain that what is already on the right track can be continued."

In this scene, Jokowi reminded the next president to consider not only Indonesia today, but also its long-term viability. Jokowi also advised that voters think carefully when choosing future Indonesian leaders. Voters should not be trapped by certain political interests. What must be considered is the sustainability of Indonesia's development, which must continue to achieve the progress and welfare of all Indonesians. Development must continue so that Indonesia is not left behind by other nations.

Scene 2: Minutes 18.46-19.52: The consequence is that we are looking for future leaders. What kind of leaders are we looking for? Be careful! I say be careful! Choose your leaders carefully! Choose leaders who understand what the people feel! Later, in 2024, choose leaders who understand how the people feel. Agree! Also, choose leaders who know what the people want. What the people need Agreed!

Time and again, Jokowi repeated the word caution in choosing a leader. The repeated message indicates that the message is very important. The message implies commitment and sincerity. The message has a very deep meaning because the person chosen, a president, is very influential and decisive in making policies.

Jokowi emphasized to his volunteers that they should choose leaders who understand how the people feel. Jokowi repeated the same word four times: "Be careful, be careful, I entrust you, be careful, choose leaders carefully, choose leaders who understand, who understand what the people feel." The message repeated four times can be interpreted as meaning that there are leaders who do not understand what the people feel.

A president has a very strategic role in building or destroying a country. If the wrong choice is made, then the people themselves will suffer for 5 years. Jokowi also advised the people to choose a leader who is not only handsome, has a good body, and has a beautiful smile, but also a leader who understands the needs of this people. Leaders who do not only prioritize the interests of certain groups but think of all Indonesian people

Scene 3: From 21.08-22.03: I need to say I need to say it. Leader... A leader who thinks about the people, it shows from his face. From his appearance, it can be seen that there are many wrinkles on his face. Because they think about the people. There are also those who think of people until their hair is all white. There is that! There is that! "We must be confident and optimistic to be able to stand tall with our heads up, showing that we are a great nation that really has the desire to become a developed country with high hard work and tireless effort without giving up. Don't complain, don't complain, it's not called a hardworking nation, agree... Everyone must work hard, agree? Everyone works hard without getting tired, without giving up, agree...?"

Jokowi also mentioned the characteristics of leaders who really think about their people. According to him, leaders who really

care about the people will appear physically. From his appearance, it can be seen that he has many wrinkles on his face because he thinks of people. There are also those who think of people until their hair is all white. Therefore, Jokowi continued to say that people need to be careful with leaders who look clean and without wrinkles on their faces.

Jokowi advised that leaders must have high self-confidence and optimism, must not depend on other nations, must not be afraid of other nations, and need not fear threats from other countries. Jokowi shows that a good leader is one who does not only care about his physical appearance. The people need a leader who wants to feel what his people feel, not one who has a perfectly clean face. A leader who is needed is one who really fights for the fate of his people. He must be able to serve and not be served. Jokowi also reminded us that the leaders we need are those who are willing to sacrifice themselves for the welfare of all Indonesians.

Scene 4: minutes 22.56-24.22 Ladies and gentlemen whom I respect, Indonesia is a great country. Indonesia is a great country; Indonesia is a great nation. For me, this is the most important principle. Managing a big country like Indonesia. The leader of Indonesia must realize the diversity of Indonesia. We are various because we are diverse and because we are all different. We have 714 different tribes. Regional languages: we have more than 1300 different regional languages. Our religions are also different. Therefore, the leader must realize the diversity of Indonesia.

Jokowi also said that to manage a great nation, leaders who are aware of diversity are needed. Jokowi's warning was probably delivered because lately there has been a lot of polarization in society. There are frequent dispersals of people who are worshipping, the closure of places of worship, and even bans on worship by certain elements. In addition, there are often suicide bombings that are deliberately carried out to kill other people who have different views.

A good leader is someone who is able to unify all elements of society. Leaders must be able to make all citizens feel like one big family in the Republic of Indonesia. Leaders who want to stand at the forefront of overcoming various problems of state life with various ethnicities, languages, and cultures. Instead of generalizing diversity with equality, we should be grateful for the gift of diversity.

Discussion

Jokowi's statement is a counterpoint to Surya Paloh's in Anies Baswedan's declaration to be the presidential candidate on November 10, 2022. It seems that Jokowi was afraid of the mass power that had already been "poisoned" by Anies Baswedan's declaration. Jokowi emphasized the criteria for a good leader. What Jokowi is doing is actually much more against the rules. Why is that? First, Jokowi is the President, who has the power and authority as Head of State and Head of Government, so he should be an endorser for his supporters. Second, it is not yet campaign time. Jokowi and Anies Baswedan conducted political communication when the campaign period had not yet begun.

President Joko Widodo's speech was a form of political irritation ahead of the 2024 presidential election after Surya Paloh, through the Nas Dem Party, declared Anies Baswedan. Jokowi, as a "Party official", does not have the authority to choose and declare a presidential candidate from PDIP. Jokowi's efforts to invite volunteers are a form of resistance to having his party immediately announce a presidential candidate so that it can compete with Anies

Baswedan, who was first declared as a presidential candidate by the NasDem Party.

Jokowi's presence at the volunteers gathering was not just a gathering of volunteers; he had entered the substance of "campaigning" and was directing support to certain presidential candidate figures that the people should choose. Thus, it can be interpreted that volunteers "utilize" Jokowi to convey the message of volunteers to the PDIP General Chairperson to choose a presidential candidate whose criteria are as conveyed by Jokowi. On the contrary, it is Jokowi who has an interest. On behalf of the volunteers, he seems to urge the PDIP General Chairperson to immediately announce the name of the presidential candidate.

Jokowi said that the gathering of volunteers with the theme of the United Nusantara Movement Meeting was a gathering event with volunteers in the context of consolidation. The question is: what is the consolidation about and for what purpose? presidential election. Does it mean that Jokowi has pocketed the name of the presidential candidate he supports so that the volunteers begin to convey to the wider community the criteria for presidential candidates as mentioned by Jokowi? It could be that Jokowi has ordered his volunteers "covertly" to socialize the name of the presidential candidate he supports.

On this occasion, Jokowi has mentioned the criteria for leaders who he thinks are suitable to continue his policies. Jokowi said that a good leader is one who has physical characteristics: white hair, a wrinkled forehead, a not-shiny face, does not like to be in air-conditioned rooms, likes wandering in society, is confident and optimistic, willing to work hard, and is not easily discouraged. Jokowi only sees a leader from the physical side and puts aside ability, courage, integrity, and others. Meanwhile, according to the Qur'an, the ideal leader has a good temperament, has a soft heart, is forgiving, and prays, and the common interests are decided together. Meanwhile, according to the holy book, the ideal leader is a guide, trustworthy, lives in holiness, lives in consistency, and has firmness and humility [24]. According to Hinduism, the concept of leadership includes the concepts of sad warnaning rajaniti, catur kotamaning nurpati, tri upaya sandi, panca upaya sandhi, asta brata, panca dasa paramiteng prabhu, and sad upaya guna [25]. According to young people or novice voters studied in Yogyakarta City, a good leader is a professional leader who comes from civilians, is young, and is a nationalist [26]. It can be seen that, according to the three religions, none of the religions mention the criteria for leaders based on physical characteristics.

In his speeches, Jokowi always repeated his words three or more times, such as repeating the word 'careful' several times. The word 'careful' connotes that these three are dangerous leaders who will not be willing or able to continue Jokowi's development visions. The word 'caution' is also repeated when Jokowi says that when choosing a leader, you have to look at his or her appearance, i.e., having a wrinkled face and white hair; that's what the people are thinking about. This can be taken to mean that a leader should not be handsome, dashing, or clean-faced. What about the previous presidents, such as SBY, Megawati, Soekarno, and so on? Does Jokowi want to say that the previous leaders were not good leaders.

If examined further, the actual physical assessment of a person is not related to the way of thinking or doing for the people, because physicality is not the basis of judgment to say that the leader thinks about the people or not. Old age is certain because it increases, but maturity is a choice, not something that is certain.

This shows that it is not necessarily the case that a person whose hair is whiter indicates that he is more mature. History proves that leaders whose hair is white and whose faces are wrinkled due to age are actually demoted from the position of president because they are considered to have enriched themselves by nurturing collusion, corruption, and nepotism [27].

Every Indonesian knows who Jokowi was referring to when he mentioned white hair and a frowning face. It's safe to guess that he was referring to Ganjar Pranowo, the Governor of Central Java. If linked to various surveys conducted until the end of 2022, Ganjar Pranowo occupies the first position, followed by Prabowo, and third, Anies Baswedan. Is high electability coupled with these physical criteria then considered a good leader candidate? Megawati said that the decision to nominate her people for presidential candidates is not only based on electoral aspects but also on character, performance, and how the leader unites the power of the people, then is able to provide answers to various people's problems, and has a design for the future.

Jokowi's statement that the criteria for a leader whose face is clean, whose hair is not grey, and whose face is not wrinkled, which connotes that he does not work for the people and does not think about the fate of the people, is strongly suspected to be directed at Anies Baswedan, who physically looks clean, has no wrinkles, and whose hair does not look grey. So in this context, the allegation confirms that Jokowi politically dislikes Anies Baswedan, who has been declared a presidential candidate by the NasDem Party. Anies Baswedan's declaration was implicitly considered by Jokowi to have preceded him, not asking for a blessing or being consulted in advance by NasDem and Surya Paloh as part of his governing coalition. Anies Baswedan's figure is then considered to be the antithesis of Jokowi's leadership characteristics, and the next presidential candidate is obliged to continue Jokowi's leadership legacy.

Furthermore, the criteria for leaders, according to Jokowi, is to have a sense of optimism and confidence. This was exemplified by Jokowi when shaking hands with President Joe Biden and President Xi Jinping. America and China are two big countries, and the other countries that are members of the G20 are countries with a big influence on the world economy. Thus, Jokowi is only confident in two heads of state, while with other heads of state, it may be different. In addition, Jokowi only sees confident leadership in terms of having the courage to look up. In fact, the phrase "holding your head the past eight years Although he is often said to be thin, he is respected by other countries because of his courage not to be easily governed by them. For example, the return of the Freeport gold mine, the Rokan Block mining, the Mahakam Block mining, the cessation of exports of cooking oil, nickel, bauxite, and others show courage that is not measured by whether the head is up or not.

From the president's speech, we can learn that apparently, the criteria for leaders in Indonesia are still about physicality, not leadership skills, not thinking skills, not integrity, not nationalism, not insight, and so on. It is not surprising that in cases of legislative elections, those elected are artists who are starting to fade in the entertainment world and who then change professions, trying their luck to become senators. They only capitalize on their glowing faces and popularity, as celebrities are not considered to have good intellectual or leadership skills, yet they are elected. In fact, those who have a sufficient level of education, organizational experience, or even a wide network are not elected because they are not famous

or do not have a lot of political or economic “capital”.

Various sources say that the criteria for leaders are not only related to physical characteristics. If connected to the myth by Roland Barthes, people with white hair are usually elderly. When they are old, their body skin is no longer smooth and smooth but has begun to wrinkle, roughen, and even wrinkle [28, 29]. Usually, an old face will also not be smooth. There must be wrinkles on the forehead. Not only do wrinkles appear on the face, but also on the hands, face, body, and legs. A person who is more than 50 years old, whether he likes it or not, has begun to age and cannot be denied; his skin will appear dull and begin to wrinkle.

Someone with white hair and wrinkled skin is considered mature, experienced, and wise. The leader Jokowi is referring to is not someone who is old, has white hair, and has wrinkles, but someone who has a lot of experience, has been tested, has found his identity, and has matured in his thinking. In fact, he is a role model for others. Many people will come to him for advice or to gain knowledge.

Conclusion

President Joko Widodo's speech at the volunteers gathering can be interpreted differently. The meeting, literally, was just a group of people who gathered by inviting Jokowi as a resource person or a keynote speaker. In fact, Jokowi's speech can be interpreted as an effort to gather support for persons who have the characteristics Jokowi has mentioned. Jokowi's speech cannot be separated from his position as president. This is because he is not the chairman of the party. Jokowi is only a party official who is only able to propose or provide input to the Chairman of the PDIP Party, where Jokowi is based, regarding who is the “right” presidential candidate to be promoted.

Jokowi's speech can be interpreted as a form of pressure on Megawati Soekarnoputri as Chairperson of the PDIP Party to immediately announce the presidential candidate that will be carried by the PDIP Party, in order to compete with Anies Baswedan volunteers to recognize prospective leaders who are worthy of leading Indonesia, but also as a form of counterpoint to Anies Baswedan, who has conducted a political safari to gather support for the 2024 presidential election.

Jokowi, who has political experience, emphasized that voters should realize that the leader of the country is not like the leader of a household or family with a very narrow scope. The Republic of Indonesia is so vast and diverse that it requires a leader who is able to nurture all levels of society with different ethnicities, languages, cultures, religions, etc. A leader of a country is the father of all people in the country he leads, not the leader of a particular group. Jokowi even emphasized and showed signs of leaders who, according to Jokowi, are worthy and deserve to be the leader of Indonesia and be elected in the 2024 presidential election.

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