



NATIONALISM IDEOLOGY: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF JOKO WIDODO'S SPEECH IN INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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ABSTRACT

Nationalism is a crucial trait a leader must have, especially a leader of a nation. It sticks to the leader as the role model for his nation. This research aims at analyzing a number of propositions in Joko Widodo's victory speech as the chosen president during 2019—2024 taken from online news media. Proposition analyses are conducted in order to gain a number of macro propositions and nationalism ideology. This research uses proposition theory proposed by Teun van Dijk (1980) and critical discourse analysis from Norman Fairclough (1992). The result of this qualitative research reveals 18 macro propositions and six nationalism ideologies such as leadership attitude which prioritizes citizen welfare, reflection as a visionary leader, competitive attitude towards other countries, focus on unity of nation, a leader carrying out improvement in several sectors, and a proud leader towards Indonesia. The result also reveals that the prepositions uttered are in line with the nationalism concept proposed by Smith (2010), such as self-awareness as a part of a nation, a part of nation development, social and political movements for the sake of nation, and put nation's necessities as the main attention and promote well-being.

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ABSTRAK

Nasionalisme merupakan sikap krusial yang harus dimiliki oleh pemimpin, khususnya pemimpin bangsa. Sikap tersebut melekat pada pemimpin sebagai seorang panutan bagi bangsanya. Penelitian ini menganalisis sejumlah proposisi dalam teks pidato kemenangan Joko Widodo sebagai presiden terpilih periode 2019—2024 yang diambil dari portal berita daring. Analisis proposisi dilakukan untuk mendapatkan sejumlah proposisi makro dan ideologi nasionalisme. Teori proposisi diambil berdasarkan gagasan Van Dijk (1980) dan teori analisis wacana kritis dari Fairclough (1992). Hasil penelitian kualitatif ini menunjukkan 18 proposisi makro dan enam nilai ideologi nasionalisme, seperti sikap kepemimpinan yang mengutamakan kepentingan rakyat, cermin diri sebagai pemimpin yang visioner, memiliki jiwa kompetitif dengan negara lain, fokus pada persatuan bangsa, pemimpin yang melakukan peningkatan di beberapa sektor, dan memiliki rasa bangga terhadap bangsa Indonesia. Hasil penelitian ini juga menunjukkan bahwa proposisi yang dituturkan sejalan dengan konsep nasionalisme yang diprakarsai oleh Smith (2010) yaitu kesadaran diri sebagai suatu bangsa, pertumbuhan suatu bangsa, gerakan sosial dan politik atas nama bangsa, dan menempatkan kepentingan bangsa sebagai pusat perhatian dan memajukan kesejahteraan.

Kata Kunci: *Analisis Wacana Kritis; Nasionalisme; Proposisi*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has just conducted a democratic party, a presidential election, for 2019—2024 period. From two pairs of candidates, Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin were elected to lead Indonesia during the next five years. According to the announced result from General Elections Commission of Indonesia (KPU RI, 2019), Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin gained the most votes (55.29%) compared to the other candidate. Moreover, on July 14, 2019, Joko Widodo delivered his vision and mission regarding his leadership and Ma'ruf Amin's for the next five years which was known as Indonesian Vision speech.

Talking about Joko Widodo, it is closely related to nationalism values which are understood and perceived as a leader. Meanwhile, nationalism is defined as an ideology as nation's major concern (Smith, 2010). Therefore, nationalism is a formidable task for Indonesia. Joko Widodo is a leader and a role model in Indonesia who must reflect that nationalism attitude. Northouse (2019) said that leadership is a process carried out by an individual to influence other individuals to achieve objectives together. That idea was in line with what Haq, A.S., Indrayani, L.M. & Soemantri (2020) said that an individual delivers and implies a feeling and other values through social phenomena to achieve his objectives. The objectives can be achieved by persuading, convincing, influencing or negotiating in social interaction.

The speech, entitled *Indonesian Vision* uttered by Joko Widodo, is closely related to the use of language as media discourse. Fairclough (1992) said that regarding a discourse term, the use of language is as social practice instead of only individual activities. Moreover, critical discourse analysis as one of linguistics disciplines emphasizes power relation and ideology in discourse. Van Dijk (2000) contended that ideology indirectly appears in text and utterance. Therefore, the use of language, text, utterance, verbal interaction, and communication are analyzed under discourse labels.

Discourse, regarding critical discourse analysis, is seen as a medium for ideology to produce and form. Also, it deals with the linguistics characteristics of social relationship, social structures, and power (Gowhary et al., 2015). Van Dijk (Wang, 2017) said that ideology has roles in reproducing or as an opponent of dominance, therefore discourse analysis framework is actually an ideology analysis. Van Dijk (2000) added that ideology is as belief systems shared to a certain group. It is also as purposes and group interests, basic beliefs of a group and its member, the basis of social practice, beliefs shared which are relevant to group characteristics, such as identity, position in society, interest and purpose, and the relation between one group to another group.

Meanwhile, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an approach that aims to reveal power in the text by analyzing linguistics features. Ruth Wodak said that CDA is also used to analyze dominance structural relation, discrimination, power, and control when they appear in form of language (Huckin et al., 2012). By using CDA, the ideology in the text is obviously seen. It is in accordance with Darani (2014) who argued that the text is not that simple, but it is infiltrated with ideologies and agendas.

Van Dijk (Wang, 2017) added that discourse is a social practice and interaction. CDA analyzes text in detail to reveal what types of discourse are being portrayed to readers. In addition, Eissa (2014) contended that the main concern of critical discourse analysis is to uncover ideologies between the relationship of discursive and social practices.

Fairclough (1992) in his book *Discourse and Social Change* argued that discourse is also social practice, so that discourse is representative. To find out why discourse is representative and a part of social practice, he introduced a concept in CDA called three-dimensional conception encompassing text, discursive practice, and social practice.

Meanwhile, Smith (2010) said that nationalism refers to three things, they are language and symbol, socio-politic movements, and ideologies of a nation.

Holmes (as cited in Merrita, 2013) said that the way an individual uses a language can determine what he concerns about, what point he develops, and how he behaves.

Previous research aimed at identifying ideologies in a political campaign was conducted by Gbadegesin & Onanuga (2019). Their focus was on the synergetic wielding of ideologies and identities as persuasive strategies by candidates. They identified differences in the transferring ideologies of the two parties using Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis tools. The data were six official campaign videos in Nigerian general election which came from People's Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressives Congress (APC). The results revealed that PDP showed progressivism ideology and two identities such as progressivist and achiever identities. Meanwhile, APC showed reformism ideology and rescuer identities.

Another previous research was from Vessey (2021) who examined nationalist language ideologies in tweets during the run-up to the 2019 Canadian general election. A corpus used was 123,058 tweets obtained by using a discourse analytic approach. Findings revealed that language issues are not the focus of the 2019 election. Evidence of different language ideologies also appeared from the data.

Moreover, Van Dijk (2000) defined a proposition as a meaning unit which is traditionally defined as meaning expressing complete thought or an idea as something assumed as true or false. Proposition, in particular, is expressed in a simple clause such as in *women and men are equal*. In another definition, a proposition is defined as a composition of predicate and one or more arguments as in *beats John, Mary*. Then, Van Dijk (1980) introduced the terms micro and macro propositions in discourse. The macro proposition is conceptualized as a global proposition and vice versa. He continued that proposition analyses to acquire macro propositions encompass three techniques such as deletion, generalization, and construction.

Unlike Gbadegesin & Onanuga (2019) who focused on ideologies and identities as parts of strategies to win the election or Vessey (2021) who examined nationalist language identities in tweets in the Canadian general election, the scope of this study mainly focuses on how macro propositions are constructed by the relation among propositions, how nationalism ideologies implied in the text can appear using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (1992), and how Joko Widodo, the elected President of Indonesia's utterances are in line with Smith's notion (2010) about nationalism concept. Furthermore, this research offers a combination between linguistics and another social concept, nationalism. It also offers that this combination can reveal an elected leader's nationalism ideology values which become a nation's major concern (Smith, 2010). In short, the research's focus is on Joko Widodo's nationalism ideologies and utterance suitability with the nationalism concept. The objectives are: (1) to find out macro propositions related to Joko Widodo's nationalism attitudes, (2) to find out Joko Widodo's nationalism ideologies in his victory speech, and (3) to find out propositions showing nationalism attitudes.

METHOD

The research employs qualitative research which based on Creswell (2013), it is an approach used to explore and comprehend problems related to social problems and it does not examine the relation among variables and is not written in numbers. The data is Joko Widodo's victory speech when he was delivering it in Sentul on July 14, 2019, as the elected President of Indonesia for 2019—2024 entitled *Indonesian Vision*. The data were taken from online news media (Tribun-Timur.com, 2019). The speech was started with greetings and followed by several issues such as management, infrastructure, human resources, and so on. The speech, a written text, is examined by breaking the text down into micro propositions and they are classified into categories based on similar topics. Not all Joko Widodo's utterances are used since the researcher merely collects propositions that are considered to have nationalism values in each topic of conversation. For that reason, this research leans on the definition of what nationalism is from Smith (2010) as an operational definition. Van Dijk's (1980) notion about proposition theory is used. He introduced the concept of macrorules to obtain macro propositions by applying deletion, generalization, and construction methods. Also, this research uses CDA proposed by Fairclough (1992) to acquire Joko Widodo's nationalism ideology values. This is carried out by leaning on the concepts of what ideologies are from Van Dijk (2000). Furthermore, micro propositions which are already classified based on their topic of conversation are identified. It is identified using Smith's (2010) notion about nationalism so that this research can find out Joko Widodo's utterance suitability towards nationalism concepts.

FINDINGS

Macro Propositions

In accordance with these research objectives, the first step is finding out several micro propositions, they are grouped, and given numbers as code. It is found that there are 18 macro propositions that are relevant to nationalism produced by the relation among propositions. Those macro propositions encompass Indonesian's objectives which are going to be achieved, optimistic attitudes that Indonesian can be a competitive country, Pancasila ideology which must be internalized by all Indonesians, Indonesian's identities as a nation that have excellencies in human resources, culture, demography, and how Joko Widodo represents himself as a leader giving attention to his people such as the absorption of the national budget to them and prioritize pregnancy women's and children's health. Those macro propositions are presented as follows.

Table 1. Macro Propositions

| Proposition Code | Macro Propositions |
|------------------|---|
| 1 | Indonesia should be a more productive, competitive, and flexible country towards changes. |
| 2 | The development of infrastructure will be continued to develop. |
| 3 | The health of pregnant women and children is the keys to human resources development. |
| 4 | Education qualities in vocational school and training are important. |
| 5 | The government will support education and self-development for Indonesian talents. |
| 6 | We have to develop Indonesia to be adaptive, productive, innovative, and competitive. |
| 7 | State budgets have to be beneficial for citizens. |

| | |
|----|--|
| 8 | Dreams can merely be achieved if Indonesians are united and optimistic. |
| 9 | We are a country having excellencies in culture, demography, and human resources. |
| 10 | We have to believe that we can be one of the resilient countries. |
| 11 | <i>Pancasila</i> (Indonesian five principles) is the only ideology in which an Indonesian has to be a part. |
| 12 | We have to be sure that we can be one of the resilient countries in the world. |
| 13 | <i>Pancasila</i> is our home as a compatriot. |
| 14 | We want to be together in a beautiful <i>Bhinneka Tunggal Ika</i> (unity in diversity) and hold on to <i>Pancasila</i> . |
| 15 | All of us honor personalities, dignities, Indonesian democracy to be better, fair, and welfare. |
| 16 | The better Indonesia is Indonesia in which none of the citizens left behind to achieve dreams. |
| 17 | Indonesia is a country mastering science and technologies, having equality in law, and is able to protect the nation. |
| 18 | Indonesia is capable only if they are united. |

Nationalism Ideologies

In accordance with what Fairclough said about three-dimensional conception, the first level of analysis in CDA is text, followed by discourse practice, and socio-cultural dimension. Based on the analysis of micro propositions, it is revealed how Joko Widodo constructs himself in front of an audience as the following identities.

a. A leader prioritizing people's necessity
Joko Widodo frequently uses the word *rakyat* (citizen) and it is related to the national budget and Indonesia. It can be implied from the following propositions.

Table 2. A leader prioritizing people's necessity

| Proposition Code | Propositions |
|------------------|--|
| 7c | Every single rupiah from the state budget has to give a contribution to citizens. |
| 7d | Every rupiah from the state budget has to escalate people's welfare. |
| 16a | The better Indonesia is Indonesia in which none of the citizens left behind to achieve dreams. |
| 16b | A democratic Indonesia can be perceived by all citizens. |

b. A visionary leader for the sake of Indonesian's well-being
Propositions presented use the word *menuju* (heading), *ke depan* (to the future), and modality *akan* (will) which imply that he shows desire or dreams that will be achieved. The identification is presented in the following table.

Table 3. A visionary leader for the sake of Indonesian's well-being

| Proposition Code | Propositions |
|------------------|---|
| 1b | Heading to a more productive country |
| 1c | Heading to a competitive country |
| 1d | Heading to a country having high flexibility towards changes |
| 3b | Human resources development is the key to future Indonesia |
| 15d | All of us will bring Indonesia to be better, fair, and welfare. |

c. A leader improving qualities in several sectors
 The sectors are infrastructure, human resources, education, and the establishment of a new institution to accommodate people's talent. The propositions are as follows.

Table 4. A leader improving qualities in several sectors

| Proposition Code | Propositions |
|------------------|---|
| 2a | The development of infrastructure will be continued to develop |
| 2c | We will connect big infrastructures with citizen production areas |
| 3a | We will prioritize human resources development |
| 4a | Education quality will be kept improved |
| 5a | We will also develop an Indonesian talent management institution |

d. A competitive leader towards other countries
 He uses the word *kompetitif* (competitive), a phrase *percaya diri dan berani menghadapi tantangan global* (confident and brave facing global challenges), and a phrase *menjadi salah satu negara terkuat* (becoming one of the resilient countries) which imply his competitive identity. The propositions are presented as follows.

Table 5. A competitive leader towards other countries

| Proposition Code | Propositions |
|------------------|--|
| 6g | We will keep developing a competitive Indonesia |
| 10b | We have to be confident and brave facing global challenges |
| 10c | We have to be sure that we can be one of the resilient countries |

e. A leader prioritizing unity
 In the propositions, he utters *bersatu* (united), *ber-Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity), and *persatuan dan kesatuan* (unity). It indicates that he also concerns about the unity of a nation. The propositions are as follows.

Table 6. A leader prioritizing unity

| Proposition Code | Propositions |
|------------------|---|
| 8a | Dreams can merely be achieved if we are united |
| 9a | We are a <i>Bhinneka Tunggal Ika</i> (unity in diversity) country |
| 11a | Unity of nation is the major bond in achieving progress |

f. A leader who is proud of his nation
 His pride of Indonesia is portrayed by the use of *negara besar* (big country), *luar biasa* (incredible), *menjunjung tinggi* (upholding), and *menguasai* (mastering). This idea is presented in the following propositions.

Table 7. A leader who is proud of his nation

| Proposition Code | Propositions |
|------------------|--|
| 8d | Our country is a big country |
| 9b | We have an incredible cultural wealth |
| 15c | All of us uphold Indonesia's dignity |
| 17b | Indonesia masters a world's class science and technologies |

The data also develop a relation between Joko Widodo and Indonesians through propositions, that is a relation developed by a leader with dreams and vision and mission for the sake of Indonesians. He also dominantly constructs propositions into action. This action is what Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) called material process as cited in Nugraha & Mahdi (2020). It is a process of doing involving actor and goal. The use of material process and modalities *akan* (will) and *harus* (must) interpret a plan and his seriousness towards his vision and mission. In several propositions, he also uses pronoun *kita* (we) which means effort carried out are not only his work, but also others' work and plans. Meanwhile, the word *terus* (*keep going*) indicates that he is showing what he has done and still be continued. The propositions are as follows.

(2c) *Kita akan menyambungkan infrastruktur besar dengan kawasan produksi rakyat*

(2c) We will connect big infrastructures with citizen production areas

(3a) *Kita akan menyambungkan infrastruktur besar dengan kawasan produksi rakyat*

(3a) We will connect big infrastructures with citizen production areas

(6g) *Kita harus terus membangun Indonesia yang kompetitif*

(6g) We will keep developing a competitive Indonesia

With the utterance style which is formal and persuasive, discourse production is developed by emphasizing ideas and dreams to bring Indonesia forward. The explanation of plan he carries out is a part of his purposes so that people can recognize his leadership record so far. The discourse is also developed to use conjunctions *bahwa* (which) and the word *ingat* (remember) in order to lead opinion to information that already exists. This idea is presented in the following propositions.

(8a) *Saya ingatkan bahwa mimpi-mimpi besar hanya bisa terwujud jika kita bersatu!*

(8a) I remind you that big dreams can merely be achieved if we are united!

(8d) *Kita harus ingat bahwa negara kita adalah negara besar!*

(8d) We have to remember that our country is a big country!

Nationalism

Smith (2010) revealed that nationalism is a forming process or the growth of a nation, self-awareness as a part of a nation, language and symbol, social and political movements on behalf of a nation, doctrine and/or nation ideology, and ideology placing nation's necessity as priority. By leaning on those concepts, the researcher finds out some nationalism values implied in Joko Widodo's victory speech. Those values are as follows.

a. A forming process or the growth of a nation

Propositions uttered by Joko Widodo reflect one of nationalism concept proposed by Smith, that is forming process or the growth of a nation. These propositions using the words *menuju* (heading), *pembangunan SDM* (human resources development), and *terus membangun* (keep developing) show his plan in developing Indonesia.

(1b) *Menuju negara yang lebih produktif*

(1b) Heading to a more productive country

(3b) *Pembangunan SDM menjadi kunci Indonesia ke depan*

(3b) Human resource development is the key to future Indonesia

(6g) *Kita harus terus membangun Indonesia yang kompetitif*

(6g) We have to keep developing a competitive Indonesia

b. Self-awareness as a part of a nation

As a leader and a part of Indonesia, he, several times talks about unity which is reflected in the use of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) and *Pancasila* (the Indonesian five principles). This is, therefore, in accordance with the nationalism concept above.

(9a) *Kita adalah negara yang ber-Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*

(9a) We are a country with *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity)

(14b) *Kita ingin bersama dalam Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*

(14b) We want to be together in *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*

(11d) *Pancasila adalah satu-satunya ideologi bangsa*

(11d) *Pancasila* is the only Indonesian's ideology

c. Social and political movements on behalf of a nation

He also invites people to do social and political movements on behalf of Indonesia by emphasizing that *Pancasila* (the Indonesian five principles) is Indonesians' home and everyone must internalize *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity).

(11b) *Persatuan dan persaudaraan kita harus terus diperkuat*

(11b) Our unity has to be strengthened

(13a) *Pancasila adalah rumah kita bersama sebagai saudara sebangsa*

(13a) *Pancasila* is our home as a compatriot

(13b) *Tidak ada toleransi sedikitpun bagi yang mengganggu Pancasila!*

(13b) There is no tolerance for the one disturbing *Pancasila*!

(13c) *Tidak ada lagi orang Indonesia yang tidak mau ber-Bhinneka Tunggal Ika!*

(13c) There is no more Indonesian who does not want to be in *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*!

d. Placing nation's necessity as priority

These following propositions show that he puts Indonesia as his concern in which the result can be perceived by his people.

(7d) *Setiap rupiah dari APBN harus meningkatkan kesejahteraan masyarakat*

(7d) Every rupiah from state budget has to escalate people's welfare

(16b) *Indonesia yang demokratis dinikmati oleh seluruh rakyat*

(16b) A democratic Indonesia is perceived by all citizens

(18b) *Ini saatnya memikirkan tentang bangsa kita bersama*

(18b) This is the time thinking about our nation

DISCUSSION

This discussion of research reveals the research findings, in order to justify three research objectives: (1) to find out macro propositions related to Joko Widodo's nationalism attitudes, (2) to find out Joko Widodo's nationalism ideologies in his victory speech, and (3) to find out propositions showing nationalism values. This research sees that speech uttered by Joko Widodo implies messages in a form of discourse as stated by Van Dijk (1980) that text can lead people to understand the abstract underlying structure of a discourse. Also, Fairclough (1989) as cited in (Gowhary et al., 2015) viewed discourse as a building block. It constructs social identities, knowledge systems, and one's beliefs. They cited Van Dijk's ideas (1988) that discourse is a complex communicative event representing a social situation encompassing participants and their belongings. While, Louise Ahlstrand (2020) argued that ideology, lying in text and talk, is not always expressed explicitly.

Micro propositions which are grouped into a similar discussion show Joko Widodo's concern. His expectation to make Indonesia be a better country in infrastructure, human resources, unity, education issues are derived from the relation among propositions so that his main focus can be portrayed. The findings of the research show that there are eighteen macro propositions related to Joko Widodo's nationalism attitudes. These results are in line with what was argued by Van Dijk (1980) that macro propositions can be acquired by applying three concepts of macrorules. Therefore, infrastructure, education, unity, Indonesia's strengths, and others are seen as Joko Widodo's major concerns.

The researcher leans on van Dijk's thoughts about ideologies so that there are clear concepts about them. Based on the findings, there are six nationalism ideologies. Joko Widodo used words to encourage, influence, and convince his people to realize Indonesia's potential aspects. This is the role of a leader to make his people move. This is in line with what Northouse (2019) stated that leadership is a process to influence other people to achieve objectives together.

Van Dijk (2000) contended ideologies as purposes and interest, the basis of social practice (Chu & Huang, 2020), and shared beliefs that indirectly appears in the text. Van Dijk (2006), cited in Gbadegesin & Onanuga (2019) added that ideology is reproduced by text and talk and is conceptualized as beliefs and political power. Gowhary et al., (2015) also used Van Dijk's notion (2004) about ideologies which said that it is a set of belief systems involving an individual's beliefs, values, goals, and anticipations.

As it is written that ideologies are about purposes and interest, Joko Widodo used dictions that his purposes and interest were about *citizen, well-being, competitiveness, confidence, unity, Pancasila* (Indonesian five principles), and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity). What he was thinking and concern about can be seen in a medium of language due to the fact that thought and language are inseparable (Bacon & Kaya, 2018). Therefore, dictions can bring meaning either implicitly or explicitly. It is supported by Katznelson & Bernstein (2017) who said that text is connected to each other explicitly and implicitly through the use of particular words, phrases, or structures. Also, they said that text emerges in relation to a certain ideological context, even Lo Bianco (2020) said that words are used to legitimize an activity. For this reason, structures do contribute to how Joko Widodo is presented. He tends to use the pronoun *kita* (we) in an active form meaning he brought his people's dreams. In addition, he also uses verbs such as *menuju* (heading), *meningkatkan* (escalating), *membangun* (developing), and so on as dictions to construct ideologies. This is what Van Dijk (1998) and Bazerman (2009) said cited in Idrus et al., (2014) that the use of verbs can lead to a number ideologies.

As the basis of social practice, he defines Indonesia's identities as a big country with great cultures. This means that Indonesia has exclusive values so that every Indonesian is obliged to be proud because nationalism according to Bujorean (2015) is an exclusive value a nation has.

Moreover, he also shared his beliefs by convincing other people that unity makes all the expectations and purposes come true. Furthermore, critical discourse analysis as one of the linguistics disciplines, in fact, can be supported with another social theory. It confirms Smith's (2010) ideas that nationalism is related to sociopolitical movement and an ideology of a nation which are understood through

language. Fairclough (1995), as cited in Khalida et al., (2013), argued that critical discourse analysis as a transdisciplinary approach that functions as a medium between two disciplines leading to a development of both. Also, critical discourse analysis is as an approach to identify ideologies (Gbadegesin & Onanuga, 2019; Gowhary et al., 2015; Filani, 2020). In addition, Fairclough (1995) cited in Eissa (2014) stated that CDA is an analytical approach to uncover ideologies implied in the discursive practices. Critical discourse analysis also sees important elements constructing the text with specific linguistic choices (Gowhary et al., 2015). Moreover, they argued that the scope of CDA is not merely in language structures and text, but also in the study of people.

Smith (2010) added that nationalism is a process of formation or growth, the consciousness of belonging to the nation, social and political movement on behalf of the nation, and an ideology. As the process of formation or growth, Joko Widodo stated how crucial development is and how Indonesia can be a more productive and competitive country with human resource improvement. He also added his concern that Indonesia is a democratic country where its economic aspects are aimed at citizen's welfare and invited all his people to ponder their country. This leads to how Joko Widodo sees the identity of Indonesia as a country which serves their own citizen for the sake of welfare. In addition to this finding, Smith (1994) and Gokalp (2004) as cited in Gelisli and Beisenbayeva (2015) stated that identity is a continuous process of formation. Meanwhile, the consciousness of belonging to the nation appeared when he uttered that he and his people hold on to *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity). As a social and political movement on behalf of a nation, he emphasized that his concern is on unity and what Indonesians do should be for the sake of Indonesian's welfare.

CONCLUSION

The researcher gains eighteen macro propositions related to nationalism and six nationalism ideologies, such as: a leader prioritizing people's necessity, visionary leader for the sake of Indonesian's well-being, a leader improving qualities in several sectors, competitive leader towards other countries, a leader prioritizing unity, and a leader who is proud of his nation. Also, the researcher acquires four nationalism attitudes, they are: a forming process or the growth of a nation, self-awareness as a part of a nation, social and political movements on behalf of a nation, and placing nation's necessity as a priority. Further research could investigate how propositions uttered by an elected leader are not merely based on certain nationalism values but also based on a psychological point of view.

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APPENDIX

Tabel 1. Proposisi Makro

| Kode Proposisi | Proposisi Makro |
|----------------|---|
| 1 | Indonesia harus menjadi negara yang lebih produktif, berdaya saing, dan fleksibel terhadap perubahan. |
| 2 | Pembangunan infrastruktur akan terus dikembangkan. |
| 3 | Kesehatan ibu hamil dan anak-anak adalah kunci pembangunan SDM. |
| 4 | Kualitas pendidikan di <i>vocational school</i> dan <i>training</i> penting. |
| 5 | Pemerintah akan memberikan dukungan pendidikan dan pengembangan diri bagi talenta Indonesia. |
| 6 | Kita harus membangun Indonesia menjadi adaptif, produktif, inovatif, dan kompetitif. |
| 7 | APBN harus bermanfaat bagi rakyat. |
| 8 | Mimpi hanya bisa terwujud jika bangsa Indonesia bersatu dan optimis. |

| | |
|----|---|
| 9 | Kita adalah negara yang memiliki keunggulan pada budaya, demografi, dan SDM. |
| 10 | Kita harus yakin bahwa kita bisa menjadi salah satu negara terkuat. |
| 11 | Pancasila adalah satu-satunya ideologi bangsa yang setiap warga negara harus menjadi bagian darinya. |
| 12 | Kita harus yakin bahwa kita bisa menjadi salah satu negara terkuat di dunia. |
| 13 | Pancasila adalah rumah kita bersama sebagai saudara sebangsa. |
| 14 | Kita ingin bersama dalam Bhinneka Tunggal Ika yang indah dan berideologi Pancasila. |
| 15 | Semua kita menjunjung tinggi kepribadian, martabat, demokrasi Indonesia menjadi maju, adil, dan makmur. |
| 16 | Indonesia maju adalah Indonesia yang tidak satu pun rakyatnya tertinggal untuk meraih cita-cita. |
| 17 | Indonesia adalah negara yang menguasai IPTEKS, berkedudukan sama dalam hukum, dan mampu mengamankan bangsa. |
| 18 | Indonesia mampu jika bersatu. |

Tabel 2. Pemimpin yang Memprioritaskan Kepentingan Rakyat

| Kode Proposisi | Proposisi |
|----------------|---|
| 7c | Setiap rupiah dari APBN harus memberikan <i>manfaat untuk rakyat</i> . |
| 7d | Setiap rupiah dari APBN harus meningkatkan <i>kesejahteraan masyarakat</i> . |
| 16a | Indonesia maju adalah Indonesia yang tidak satu pun <i>rakyatnya</i> tertinggal untuk meraih cita-cita. |
| 16b | Indonesia yang demokratis dinikmati oleh seluruh <i>rakyat</i> . |

Tabel 3. Seorang Pemimpin yang Visioner atas nama Kesejahteraan Indonesia

| Kode Proposisi | Proposisi |
|----------------|--|
| 1b | <i>Menuju</i> negara yang lebih produktif |
| 1c | <i>Menuju</i> negara yang memiliki daya saing |
| 1d | <i>Menuju</i> negara yang memiliki fleksibilitas tinggi terhadap perubahan |
| 3b | Pembangunan SDM menjadi kunci Indonesia <i>ke depan</i> . |
| 15d | Semua kita <i>akan</i> membawa Indonesia menjadi Indonesia maju, adil, dan makmur. |

Tabel 4. Pemimpin yang Meningkatkan Kualitas di Berbagai Sektor

| Kode Proposisi | Proposisi |
|----------------|--|
| 2a | <i>Pembangunan infrastruktur</i> akan terus kita lanjutkan. |
| 2c | Kita akan menyambungkan <i>infrastruktur</i> besar dengan kawasan produksi rakyat. |
| 3a | Kita akan memberikan prioritas <i>pembangunan pada SDM</i> . |
| 4a | Kualitas <i>pendidikan</i> akan terus kita <i>tingkatkan</i> . |
| 5a | Kita juga akan <i>membangun lembaga manajemen Talenta Indonesia</i> . |

Tabel 5. Pemimpin yang Kompetitif terhadap Negara Lain

| Kode Proposisi | Proposisi |
|----------------|---|
| 6g | Kita harus terus membangun Indonesia yang <i>kompetitif</i> . |
| 10b | Kita harus <i>percaya diri dan berani menghadapi tantangan global</i> . |
| 10c | Kita harus yakin bahwa kita bisa <i>menjadi salah satu negara terkuat</i> . |

Tabel 6. Pemimpin yang Memprioritaskan Persatuan

| Kode Proposisi | Proposisi |
|---------------------------|---|
| 8a | Mimpi hanya bisa terwujud jika kita <i>bersatu</i> . |
| 9a | Kita adalah negara yang ber- <i>Bhinneka Tunggal Ika</i> . |
| 11a | <i>Persatuan dan kesatuan</i> bangsa adalah pengikat utama dalam meraih kemajuan. |

Tabel 7. Pemimpin yang Bangga terhadap Bangsaanya

| Kode Proposisi | Proposisi |
|---------------------------|--|
| 8d | Negara hanya kita adalah <i>negara besar</i> . |
| 9b | Kita memiliki kekayaan budaya yang <i>luar biasa</i> . |
| 15c | Semua kita <i>menjunjung tinggi</i> martabat Indonesia. |
| 17b | Indonesia <i>menguasai</i> ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi kelas dunia. |