The Contestation of Political Storytelling in Presidential Candidates During the 2019 Federal Election

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the political storytelling network contestation of actors of the 2019 Indonesian presidential campaign using critical discursive psychology to analyze the speech of presidential candidates Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Prabowo Subianto. The main theoretical concept used is Hannah Arendt's storytelling and political action, which was delivered by Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto during the 2019 presidential election campaign. Critical discursive psychology is also used as a theoretical and methodological basis in this study with a critical paradigm and qualitative approach. The research data are the quotations of presidential candidates published by news outlets. An analysis of interpretations, subject positions, and ideological dilemmas showed that the contestation of the storytelling network of presidential candidates Jokowi and Prabowo leads to several areas of conflict, such as civilian leaders versus military leaders, leaders accused of being PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) versus leaders accused of supporting *khilafah*, patience versus angry leaders, and an independent leader versus a non-independent leader. From a critical discursive psychology perspective, the two politicians of the Indonesian nation showed opposite storytelling and represented them as candidates who fought to achieve victory. Storytelling was used as a tool for political personalization by Jokowi and Prabowo in order to build relationships with their voters and to create a social movement.

Keywords: Political storytelling, Election campaign, Indonesia, Social movement, Representation

1. INTRODUCTION

> *"One man will always be left alive to tell the story". (Hannah Arendt, 1963, p.232)*

Well before the 2019 presidential election in Indonesia was in full swing, a conflict with regards to storytelling took shape between two candidates. The incumbent President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and opposition presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto fought through methods of storytelling, such as direct campaigns, advertisements, press conferences and media, and presidential debates.

However, the use of storytelling in political campaigns in Indonesia is not new. Since the reform era, many candidates have adopted this approach to gain sympathy and support from the people. Starting from Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono who later won the presidential election twice to the presidential candidate

in this 2019 election, the battle of storytelling in the 2019 presidential election was more intense.

Jokowi in Cikarang, Bekasi Regency of West Java offers an answer below:

"The political year is the issue. I listen to God for 4 years, patient, patient. Try to see it, President Jokowi is PKI. Is that not in Bekasi? PKI was dissolved 65-66. I was born in 61. Understand? Means only 4 years old. Still a toddler. Is there a PKI toddler? Come one? But sometimes such issues are immediately eaten raw," said Jokowi in Cikarang, Bekasi Regency, West Java, Friday (1/25/2019). (Detik.com, January 25, 2019).

According to Jokowi, the real challenge of the nation is "PKI children." In his speech he expresses concern for these children through storytelling. He is not delivering a program or providing information about the success of

his government work. He while clarifying hoaxes or fake news about him.

The story was also a mainstay of Prabowo when he visited the Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata Islamic Boarding School, Panaan Village, Palengaan District, Pamekasan Regency, Tuesday (2/26/2019). That experience was gained when he led several combat troops from several regions. According to him, "When fighting, the soldiers from Madura are very brave, even tend to be reckless. That's why there are many Madurese people." He said he was even greeted by the laughter of the students who were present. (Kompas.com, February 26, 2019).

In his storytelling, Prabowo demonstrates his first-hand account of the courage of the Madurese when he became a commander of the Kopasus, an elite Indonesian military unit. The intention of the story is to praise Madura people for being loyal and committed to him.

Political narratives are delivered via mass media, both television, radio, online media, magazines, and newspapers. Storytelling is also scattered on various social media platforms and streaming sites such YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. The public can at all times access stories that strengthen their confidence in their choices.

The battle phenomenon of political storytelling is not new. This has also been experienced in other countries. According to research conducted about in-depth stories, nostalgic, and fake news narratives in the era of President Trump (Polleta and Callahan, 2019) and visual storytelling in 2000 election campaign advertisements in the United States (Richardson Jr., 2002), advertising campaigns build better communication between politicians and voters. Likewise, visual storytelling research carried out by Page and Duffy (2016) examined four presidential candidates in the Republican preliminary elections on Facebook and Twitter accounts. Gupta-Carlson (2016) describes digital stories as vital in the presidential campaign and supports the notion that they should be told through visual images, music, and speeches that carry their message. Smith and Golden (1988) also reviewed television advertising in the 1984 election of the North Carolina senate with a metaphorical approach and anecdotal analysis.

The stories told can actually help human life and humanity, encouraging empathy, mobilizing support for social change, and supporting social movements (Fernandes, 2017, p. 5). George Landow (1997) and Michael Joyce (1995) mention hypertext as a storytelling machine that produces different narratives in each program. Each reading becomes a new text, and the hypertext narrative therefore becomes a virtual storyteller (Joyce, 1995, p. 193).

Ryan (2011, p. 47) revealed that digital world offers more interactive stories and allows users to contribute directly to the disclosure and development of plots. Ferrari (2017, p. viii) states that storytelling is part of communication that becomes art and everyday life outside of art with a specific purpose.

Polleta (2006, p. 4) states that storytelling has been used since the 16th century in France during tensions over taxes up until the civil rights movement in America in the 20th century. The use of storytelling in 'heir's view (2018, p. 1) is relevant to the interests of organizations for knowledge management purpose, brand management, quality management, and conflict management.

Storytelling is not only an intervention technique used to achieve goals and political currency (Colvin, 2018), to express identity politics (Pullen, 2009), or to build political discourse by relying on narrative as a political act (Bowles, 2010). Democracy requires the use of stories to identify who we are, what we think we want, what we think about politicians, and who we think about us (Coleman, 2015, p. 168-169). Storytelling is a tool to support popularity and build political leadership myths (Hanska, 2012); it can also help people understand how political narratives are persuasive or not (Tily, 2003).

Storytelling, Arendt (1994, p. 225) argues, provides space for the audience to imagine. Through stories, the audience can learn and interpret and tend to convey truths where factual truths are always related to that person related to events and the environment in which many people are involved, all of which are natural things in politics (Arendt, 1993, p. 238)

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Storytelling as Political Discourse

Storytelling in politics is closely related to Hannah Arendt's thinking (Disch, 1993), which involves storytelling representing the thinking of 20th century political realities with a modern and universalist point of view (Benhabib, 1990). Hannah Arendt's style and storytelling concept are expressed by Young-Bruehl (1977), where Arendt is described as a storytelling scientist who reflects the protection of freedom and makes something new, dynamic, and illuminated. Then Vollrath and Fantel (1977) stated that Arendt was a political thinker with a unique position with original political thought and could not be compared to anyone. The narrative approach in Arendt's version of storytelling, according to Vasterling (2007), is always related to hermeneutical philosophical or behavioral phenomenology methods.

Santos (2011) considers Arendt's conception of political theory as storytelling rather than seeking consensus but looking for an audience link in critical thinking about the issue by reviewing a different

perspective. In conflict-based story construction, the idea is that storytelling should be applied to amplify the voice of marginalized people, those who have no power, and others who are silent (Fernandes, 2017, p. 5). Guaraldo (2001, p. 26) explains that Arendt reveals storytelling as an active narrative practice in the police room, where one conveys its uniqueness, so storytelling becomes an adequate tool to understand the space of action and the medium that guarantees meaningfulness in political space.

Traditional narratives have an impact on the reconciliation of events that are inappropriate and inauthentic when faced with totalitarian experience (Arendt, 1977, p. 52). Narratives serve to save events from the threat of time and save them as objects to always be remembered (Arendt, 1977, p. 45).

2.2. Vita activa and Political Actions

Hannah Arendt is known to intellectuals as a critical thinker who embodies the concept of *vita activa*, or political action, which became a theme found in many of her books. Hannah Arendt is a critical political thinker who is able to see phenomena in the world using sharp analysis in her writing. She also formally formulated concepts about *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. Both of these conclusions became a theory that popularized its name because it was related to politics and human life.

Vita activa is a concept that designs three fundamental human activities: labor, work, and action (Arendt, 1958, p. 7). These activities are fundamental because they are interrelated and provide the basic condition of every life on earth given to humans. The concept of *vita activa* is elaborated at length in her very popular book entitled *The Human Condition*.

Hannah Arendt (1978, p. 7) distinguishes *vita activa* from *vita contemplativa*. Furthermore, she compared how active life is work, while contemplative life is a variety of calm, active when in a public room, contemplative when someone is in a desert, active refers to the needs of other neighbors, and contemplative when people refer to the vision of Godhead (Arendt, 1978, p. 6).

Jean Yarbourgh and Peter Stern (1981) revealed the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* as the main core reflections of Hannah Arendt's thinking based on the theory of valuation. According Agnes Heller (1987), Arendt often illuminates dilemmas with core issues referring to thoughts, desires, and judgments as fundamental mental aspects. Meanwhile, Lombardo (1982) suggests that *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa* are phrases that become tensions of value in life in the lives of citizens who are active in the era of commercialization of world relations today.

Margaret Canovan (1958, p. xi), in the introduction to *The Human Condition*, revealed that understanding Arendt's version of political action was like an artist who made art from crude materials trying to create a new society or make history. The aim of Arendt's political action was to trigger a "freedom of realism" revolution based on individuality in the collective life of the human species based on production and consumption. Arendt sought to uncover the repetition of modern society, where the economy dominated both in politics and human self-consciousness (Canovan, 1958, p. xii).

Arendt (1958, p. 63) defines political action as an idea of political activity which generally relates to legislation that has evolved since the Roman era and well into the modern era, which is generally associated with Kant's political philosophy. Arendt revealed that Machiavelli linked the criteria of political action as luxury, the similarity of classical eagerness, and the assertion that was none other than glory compared to deity (1958, p. 77).

Political action was based on the conception of the *vita activa* revealed by Arendt. Compilation of hierarchical arrangements within the *vita activa*, where fabrication now ranks previously held by politics (Arendt, 1958, p. 301). Buckler (2011, p. 99) explains that the difference between Arendt's political actions is the concept of *vita activa*, which becomes an affirmation in the context of modern experience. It was a distinction between what the workers did and the link between the artists that made the model for Arendt to see that the workspace was no longer under construction and just an idealist though.

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt (1962, p. 138) explains that strength is the essence of political action and political thought which is separated from the political community that should be served. In her book entitled *Between Past and Future* Arendt (1961, p. 111) expresses political action when statesmen are able to understand the competence to relate to human relations such as carpenters to make furniture and doctors heal sick people.

Buckler (2011, p. 94) explains that it is not a political action when it must ignore all considerations of interest but prioritize the logic of action and a coherent context, and does not reduce the comparable factors. Kristeva (2001, p. 13) explains the concept of human life as a political action to uncover narrative language (story and his-story).

2.3. Critical Discursive Psychology, Linkages in Social Psychology and Social Sciences

Before the presence of critical discursive psychology (CDP), Wiggins and Potter (2017: 94) revealed the growing trend was discursive psychology, a form of

discourse analysis described by Potter and Witherell (1987) in their book, *Discourse and Social Psychology*. Wiggins and Potter (2017, p. 95) reveal the presence of many fields of cross-social studies in discursive research and are considered CDP as in the studies of Edley (2001) and Wetherell (1998, 2015). CDP offers a more complex, historical picture that develops organizational ideas that might evolve through research and is still flexible. CDP can analyze the interactions of each that is carried out every day to test how interactions are placed in a social, cultural, and historical perspective (Wigggins, 2017, p. 45).

Edley (2001, p. 189) describes the heart of CDP as an interpretative repertoire, ideological dilemma, and subject position. First, the interpretive repertoire departs from the concept that first appeared in Opening Pandora's Box by Nigel Gilbert and Mike Mulay (1984), which focuses on the sociology of scientific knowledge as a branch interested in examining how science performs its tasks (Edley, 2001, p. 198). Second, the concept of analysis for organizing data introduced by Edley (2001: 202) is an ideological dilemma taken from the book by Billig et al. (1988), who contributed long and complex debates about ideology (Eangleton: 1991, McLellan, 1986). Third is the concept of analyzing the subject's position, which is built in relation to history, but also emphasizes more aspects of culture than psychology (Edley, 2001, p. 209).

3. METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

Storytelling can be analyzed as a discourse because it contains construction and mode (Fernandes, 2017, p. 7). This research uses a critical approach with a focus on increasing public awareness and understanding of political actors and their political actions through storytelling. With the critical paradigm and qualitative approach, the research will be carried out comprehensively and contextually.

The subject of this research is political speech, political debate, the statement of presidential candidates either in press conferences or media interviews. Data taken are only direct quotes from research subjects from credible online news sources. The researcher collected six online news which contain the storytelling delivered by Jokowi and Prabowo after selecting at least 100 online news from reputable Indonesian online media outlets.

The analysis phase combines a discursive psychological approach with a CDP approach. A discursive psychology approach refers to the view of Wiggins (2017, p. 44-49), where she provides guidance for the analysis process, namely (1) reading data, (2) describing data, (3) identifying social actions and psychological constructs, (4) focusing on analytical issues; (5) collecting other things, and (6) focusing on

analysis. Wiggins (2017, p. 44-49) also reveals that CDP analysis begins by becoming a data corruption method for talking about specific issues and is associated with cultural and social concepts in discourse.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In the analysis and discussion section, the main focus is to explain the repertoire interpretation, subject position, and ideological dilemma in the storytelling of Jokowi and Prabowo throughout the campaign. The basis of the analysis uses the storytelling theory framework revealed by Hannah Arendt. The main focus of the analysis and discussion led to how the contestation between Jokowi and Prabowo. Later, the analysis and discussion will lead to rivalry on the basis of the concept of Arendt's version of political action.

4.1. Civil Leader versus Military Leader

Jokowi's storytelling depicts him as a civilian, namely someone who has no experience in the military field. That is the main point of interpretation from the repertoire of analyzed texts. He did not have a career in the military. He is a furniture entrepreneur who pioneered from below. He is a civil leader, a leader who comes from civil society.

"I see Pak Prabowo not trusting the TNI. I am a civilian, I really believe in the TNI that we have," Jokowi said in the presidential debate at Shangri-La Hotel, Central Jakarta, Saturday (03/30/2019). "We have tiger tanks, we also have submarines as a result of our cooperation with other countries whose name is the Dadali submarine because we are not ready to work," he said. (Inews.id, 2019, March 30)

Jokowi wants to earn the trust of the TNI (Indonesian Military Force) in order to harness its influence. So far, Indonesia has been led twice by former military generals from Suharto who have been in power for more than 30 years, and Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who has been in power for two periods. The strong influence of the military to dominate government power persists through the representation of retired retainers. A strong stigma also emerged among some Indonesians that a strong leader was a military leader.

In the ideological dilemma that arose, the Jokowi Government had not been able to realize an armaments system for the TNI, which caused a weak TNI impact, but he built the perception that investment and cooperation with other countries could be a solution. It was a dilemma faced not only by Indonesia, but a developing country in which the military budget did not dominate the government.

In addition, the ideological dilemma faced by others is a contrasting matter, where Jokowi, a civilian, gives full trust to the TNI. Jokowi is still considered a civilian

leader who does not understand defense. Therefore, he has a rhetoric to assert his trust in the military. With this foundation of trust, Jokowi hopes that the military will become an important element in a country and the government it runs and provide full support.

For the position of the subject, Jokowi is the TNI commander in chief. He wanted to represent himself when it was the highest military leader of the TNI. He considers himself a leader who knows the problems that are currently facing the TNI. He also understands the solutions to these problems and has constructed a conceptual framework that could be implemented.

While Prabowo came with a military leadership background, the retired lieutenant general is still perceived as a strong military general, even though he is no longer active. The military identity inherent in Prabowo is considered a selling point in his politics.

"When fighting, the soldiers from Madura are very brave, even tend to be reckless. That's why there are many Madurese people," Prabowo said, greeted by the laughter of the students present. (Kompas.com, February 26, 2019).

Prabowo also often wears military hats to reinforce his messaging. Greetings that are often done by Prabowo also confirm that he cannot be separated from the military. Prabowo's style in leading the Gerindra Party is also inseparable if he wants to influence his experience in the military in the way he leads.

The ideological dilemma that occurs is that great soldiers are loyal to their leaders. That is commonly understood in the military world. There was the impression that was built if Madurese were Prabowo's main supporters. His ideological dilemma is that Prabowo does not want to give up the support of Madurese people out of loyalty. He wants to continue to receive support from those who are very loyal to their leaders. Loyalty is needed in politics because it depicts an inner bond between a leader and his supporters. Without loyalty, there is no leadership.

The position of the subject built by Prabowo himself was a former soldier who had many loyal soldiers reporting to him. The loyal soldiers were Madurese. He also has loyal Madurese supporters in politics, he also has loyal supporters. Prabowo's confidence is very much shown in the subjectivity of the Madurese.

As a general with loyal soldiers, Prabowo is considered successful. No meaning a general without soldiers who want to fight without loyalty. Leadership in the military is considered successful when its soldiers have unlimited loyalty.

4.2. Leader Accused of PKI versus Leader Accused of Supporting the Caliphate

The negative campaign about Jokowi being associated with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) went viral on social media via anonymous accounts. It is unclear where the smear campaign started. However, it was intended to discredit Jokowi as being accused of leftist and communist leaders. The following is a repertoire interpretation:

"The political year is the issue. I am 4 years old listening, God, patient, patient. Try to see, President Jokowi was PKI. Is there anything in Bekasi? The PKI was dissolved 65-66. I was born in 61. Understand? My age means only 4 years. Our toddler can be member of PKI? Come one? But sometimes such issues are immediately eaten raw," said Jokowi in Cikarang, Bekasi Regency, West Java, Friday (1/25/2019). (Detik.com, January 25, 2019).

The accusation of the PKI cannot be separated from that of the PDI-P as the main bearer of Jokowi, who was indeed also associated with the PKI. Like PDIP-P, which accommodated Ribka Tjiptaning, a politician with parents from a PKI background, after writing a book entitled, *I Am Proud to Be a PKI Child*. In addition, there are many accusations that PDI-P is a political party that accommodates PKI-leaning people.

Jokowi has been accused of affiliating with the PKI since the 2014 election. Since he came to power, these accusations have also continued to emerge. However, these accusations intensified when Jokowi strengthened cooperation with the communist Chinese government. The issue was played by certain groups to link Jokowi's closeness to the Communists represented by the bilateral relationship with China.

The position of the subject is Jokowi as a leader who is a victim of false news. Victimization is indeed commonplace in politics where politicians tend to declare themselves as victims of an adverse act.

The ideological dilemma experienced by Jokowi is that he is the President of the Republic of Indonesia, but he does not have dignity. Instead, he is not respected and always attacked. In fact, as the head of state he should be respected and the subject of pride by all his people.

In the 2019 election, Jokowi focused on prioritizing development to areas known to be not a supporting base. He built a toll road in Sumatra. He also opened train access in the old lane in West Java. He also invited the vice-presidential candidate KH Ma'ruf Amin, who was incidentally from Banten. However, the political polarization continued.

Furthermore, the accusation against Prabowo as being a leader who supports Khilafah is inseparable because many prominent figures of Hizbut-Tahrir

Indonesia (HTI) organization are on his side. In addition, the Islamic movement is also more inclined to provide support to Prabowo. Moreover, the 212 Movement originated from a case of blasphemy by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), who was politically nuanced by always carrying religious symbols. The following is an interpretation of Prabowo:

"But I also want to ask, do you understand and understand that among Pak Jokowi's supporters there are those who make accusations that are not right on me, as if I am defending khilafah?" Prabowo asked. "How am I accused of defending the Caliphate?" Prabowo asked, angry again. "It's really cruel, but I believe Mr. Jokowi doesn't approve," he added. (Kumparan.com, 2019, March 30).

HTI is a group that wants to establish a Caliphate or Islamic government system. The Jokowi Government has officially dissolved HTI through the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-30.AH.01.08 in 2017 concerning Revocation of HTI Legal Entity Status. That was the basis of the alignment of the HTI camp to Prabowo's camp.

The position of the subject is Prabowo, a Khilafah leader within an Islamic state system. Such an affiliation is inseparable from Prabowo's partisanship towards HTI, which deals with the Caliphate in Indonesia. Prabowo also often positions himself with HTI and FPI groups, which are hardline Islamic groups and do not show moderate thinking.

However, Prabowo actually denies these llegations. But, in fact the people around him have positioned Prabowo close to HTI. Prabowo's refusal as a caliphate leader also showed that he was not so accused. The impression that emerged was that Prabowo only used HTI and FPI to increase his support.

An ideological dilemma, a clash of ideologies between Islam and Prabowo. Before the 2019 presidential election, Prabowo was not an Islamic leader. He also did not follow an Islamic leadership ideology. He is also not a leader who is close to Islam. In fact, he tends not to be a leader who brings the aspirations of Muslims. However, everything changed in the 2019 presidential election. During this time, Prabowo was actually represented as an Islamic leader.

The dilemma became even greater because the ideology which in fact was truly nationalist was actually labeled as a hardline Islamic leader. That was in stark contrast to Prabowo's background. On the one hand, it is advantageous to attract support from Muslims, but on the other hand it harms Prabowo, who is no longer a nationalist leader and tends to be exclusive.

4.3. Patient Leader versus Angry Leader

As a leader from Solo, Jokowi showed himself as a patient leader.

"I am 4.5 years insulted, criticized, slandered, try to look at social media. I am silent, but I am now starting to answer," Jokowi said at the event attended by Secretary Pramono Anung and North Sulawesi Governor Olly Dondokambey. "Luckily I'm a patient person, not a temperamental person," he said. (Republika.co.id, 20198 April 1)

Jokowi demonstrated this by remaining calm and not exploding in difficult situations. In doing so, he would prove to his followers that he was committed to the vision and in overcoming the issues. He tried to become a wise political leader.

The ideological dilemma Jokowi faced was testing his patience against the slander he experienced on social media. Both the police and the prosecutor's officer processed complaints of slander and were deeply entangled in ITE law. Some cases resulted in imprisonment, which demonstrates how Jokowi received preferential treatment from law enforcement officials.

Jokowi was said to be patient because of the abuse he endured during his four-year term. Despite law enforcement officials acting quickly, due process still experienced lags caused by many factors. Supposedly, as a fast-moving leader, Jokowi was expected to be neutral so that the governance process and the authority of a head of state were not disturbed.

Whereas, Prabowo portrayed himself as a leader who was what he was. When felt to be angry, he was angry. No matter where he was or who he was in front of, he remained his authentic self.

"Where is the slide, how come it's a bit slow," Prabowo said. "Sometimes leaders, teachers, fathers must be angry," he said. "'Do you want to run today or just sit down?' Is there a commander like that that works?" said the former commander of Kopassus. "Don't question Prabowo with anger," Prabowo said, his face making an expression. (Detik.com, 2019, April 12).

Anger can be an explosive emotion. Prabowo who has a military background knows very well that he already has that character. He was not ashamed to show it to the public. For him, that could not be a problem.

In the military, anger is sometimes necessary to show firmness and take action to rectify a problem. Anger can also be a benchmark for knowing that all these problems can be quickly resolved without delay. Of course, anger does not lead to disgrace. Even though it is an unstable emotion, anger can still be understood as a way of asserting a certain attitude and position.

Meanwhile, Prabowo determined himself as the leader of temperament as a positive thing by linking him as a former leader of the Kopasus. That is the position of the subject seen in Prabowo's figure. There is no temperament problem in military leadership. There are those who associate this with firmness. That is a very narrow perspective about the understanding of civilians versus military people.

The ideological dilemma is that Prabowo would not only lead the military if he was elected president, but he would also lead the Indonesian people, the majority of whom are civilians. When the priority is the people, then he does not need to display the impression of a leadership style with military authority by prioritizing temperament. It could actually give the impression that he is a leader who cannot control his emotions.

The dilemma faced by Prabowo is how he made his temperament a positive asset. He still indulged in anger as a form of expression without any remorse afterwards. He continued to show and boast of his temperament. Angry, his men can work better. With anger, the government will run well because all are obedient to the rules. With anger, vision and mission materialized in accordance with predetermined targets.

4.4. Independent Leader versus Non-Independent Leader

Jokowi shows himself as a leader who is not independent, as he relies heavily on support from the PDI-P. A coalition party also supports him. The strength behind Jokowi was so much that he became an independent leader. Moreover, Jokowi was once called by PDI-P Chairperson Megawati Soekarno Putri as a "party officer."

"The city of Solo that we love is where I started my career in the field of government," Jokowi said, as quoted by a press release. "(Period) 2005-2010 is smooth, Alhamdulillah," Jokowi said. "2010, only 2.5 years (becoming mayor), Bu Mega was taken to Jakarta," he said. "In Jakarta, the governor has just been established for less than 3 years, being appointed again to be nominated as president," Jokowi said. "I come from Solo. Don't get it the same as 2014. In 2019 it must be above 90 (%), point your finger!" Jokowi said challenging his supporters. (Kabar24.bisnis.com, 2019, April 9, 2)

Jokowi's dependence on PDIP-P resulted in negative sentiments. He was perceived as not being a leader who is free and able to think and act of his own volition. His control has always derived from his party's rulers in the policies he issued. Although the Indonesian government system is presidential in nature, where the president has full and large power, the status of party control has a different impact on Jokowi.

Jokowi's independence was also revealed directly where he had indeed been directly promoted by the head of the PDIP party, from becoming mayor, governor to president. The public is aware of this. Nothing is covered by Jokowi's independence. That gave rise to two impressions, first Jokowi was only an arm of Megawati, and, second, Jokowi was still the president with all his power, but there was still the shadow of the party behind him.

However, dependence becomes natural in politics, because a leader cannot be separated from the interests of political parties who support them. There are certain agendas and interests brought by political parties to fight for by leaders or politicians. That is because political parties still have an important role in controlling a government.

The level of independence of a leader will determine the direction of leadership. The position of the subject attached to the figure of Jokowi is a leader who is not independent. This has affected the public's perception of various interests and extraordinary influences that have impacted Jokowi's actions and thoughts as leaders of the Indonesian nation. When a leader has many interests that must be fought for and is influenced by various parties, then the burden s/he has becomes heavier, resulting in a lack of independence.

There are always many considerations for creating policies that concern the interests of many people. In fact, these considerations are usually only regulated by a handful of people. There are always many procedures that are not bureaucratic because they have to consult with many parties to determine a truly simple choice. That position is certainly very difficult for a leader, who must give direction to the development of a nation.

The ideological dilemma inherent is Jokowi as a passive leader as a result of leaders who are not independent. It was shown by "taken by Mrs. Mega to Jakarta" and "again appointed to be nominated as president." It was Jokowi's own confession which was revealed to the public and quoted by the mass media. When a leader is passive, you can be sure s/he is controlled by a greater power.

On the other hand, Jokowi also showed himself as a leader with an ideology who was trapped between the figures who contributed to him. Clearly mentioned Jokowi the very meritorious figure was Megawati Soekarnoputri. The raid made Jokowi's ideological movement increasingly confined and unable to escape. That made him in the match ring.

On the contrary, Prabowo builds the image of being an independent leader, which was strengthened by his role as the Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Gerindra Party. He also positioned himself as a coalition leader. The prestige of his leadership is also very visible. He became the ruler who controlled the direction of the

coalition. He also became a "single leader" who seemed to have full power.

Prabowo's independence was also conveyed in the campaign program and during criticism of the incumbent government. Independence-based politics has become the theme of many of its campaigns, such as economic independence or defense independence. This issue is very striking because the detention government tends to build an impression of political and economic dependence on other parties.

"If we are not careful, if we are not vigilant, if we do not change, if we do not act immediately, this situation will continue in a worse direction," he said in the National Speech entitled "Indonesia Wins" at Plenary Hall Jakarta Convention Center Senayan, South Jakarta, Monday night (01/14/2019). "We all believe, Indonesia will survive the next 1,000 years." "But, brethren, whether a country that is unable to pay for a hospital, which is unable to guarantee food for its people, who cannot afford a military, can survive 1,000 year? Is the country where national fuel reserves are only strong for 20 days, with rice reserves of less than 3 million tons, can survive if there is an attack, or a security crisis?" (Kabar24.Bisnis.com, 2019, January 14).

Prabowo spent more time discussing independence, including in agriculture to trade. He mentioned that a dignified nation is an independent nation. Independence becomes an important element that is realized not only in thought, but in policies produced by a leader.

Whereas, for Prabowo the position of the subject is an independent leader who demands rapid movements to overcome various problems faced by the Indonesian nation. He positioned himself to be a candidate who understood the problems and realities faced by society from food to financial matters. He also explained big issues that concern the lives of many people.

"Don't depend on other nations," shows Prabowo positioning himself as an independent leader. Establishing relationships that make a nation independent or not starts with leadership not depending on others. That is because the vision of a nation will be determined by the vision of its leader.

The ideological dilemma shown by Prabowo is that the solution offered by Prabowo tends to be empty and not detailed. What is revealed tends to be frightening, without thinking about the nation's solution. He only stated that the solution was immediate change in leadership. However, that alone is not enough to need a comprehensive solution that should be delivered so that the public can measure it.

Independence actually strengthens Prabowo's ideology in terms of determining policy because he is the main figure in his coalition. He became a determinant in everything, which actually strengthened

the beliefs of his supporters towards his ideology. However, independence can also backfire when decision makers adhere to a one-way system and one party, namely Prabowo.

4.5. Realizing Political Storytelling as Existence and Building Relationships

The storytelling strategy carried out by Jokowi and Prabowo was an attempt to position each as the correct leader of Indonesia. That existence requires recognition. For a presidential candidate, that recognition certainly comes from support and other communities. However, to get recognition is not easy, but need a process. Storytelling is a part of the process.

This existence through storytelling as part of political action is indeed related to presenting the leader who deserves to be chosen. Political actions cannot be separated from actualization, namely who is the hypothesis, danger, and dependent on expectations based on claims for their existence and to explain political action always starts from who (Kristeva, 2001, p. 55). Storytelling always shows how something is, compared to what, and how it is done.

The storytelling presented by Jokowi and Prabowo also showed an effort to build attachments and relationships with the audience. They were both hopeful that the public would consciously know who the best leader to choose.

The link between political actions embodied in storytelling shows the parts of human life that are works and artifacts. Arendt (1958, pp. 8-9) reveals that all related activities and conditions are connected to all human life: birth and death, and mortality. By working guarantees not only individual continuity, but species life. Works and products, human artifacts, are inherent in all human time (Arendt, 1958, p. 9).

Political storytelling can also be part of history and politics. As revealed by Arendt (1958, p. 9) the act of serving the political section creates conditions to remember, it is for history, such as Jokowi and Prabowo in their contestation to build history. The storytelling they convey will always be remembered by history, and by the young generation to come.

The most interesting thing is that the storytelling that Jokowi and Prabowo spoke about is also a solution to all problems. They talk about issues that have not been resolved. They are looking for solutions to the problems of the nation. That is because the storytelling as part of actual political action is to get freedom and resolve various problems, such as justice, power, equality, which are rarely encountered (Arendt, 1961, p. 146).

4.6. Political Storytelling for Creating the World Version of the Storyteller in Political Contestation

The psychology-based analysis of critical discourse shows the existence of political contestation through the storytelling delivered by Jokowi or Prabowo. The two best sons of the Indonesian nation present opposing stories and always express their opposition.

As Arendt (1958, p. 50) explains in more detail in *The Human Condition*, transformation occurs in storytelling and in general the active transposition of individual experiences. However, according to Arendt, humans do not need the form of an artist to witness the transfiguration. Every time people talk about something that is gained from experience related to privacy and intimacy, humans will get a space where they will estimate the reality that they did not have before. The presence of other people who see what we see and listen to what we hear about the reality of the world so that intimacy will develop towards an unknown private life Arendt (1958, p. 50).

Storytelling has indeed been used as a tool fofr political personalization by Jokowi and Prabowo. As revealed, Hanska (2012, p. xv) considers narratives including storytelling to be a tool in political leadership, in addition to myths. Storytelling is also used to convey a basic description of the state, events, and actions (Hanska, 2012, p. xv).

Then, the contestation that arose was like a leader accused of being a PKI versus a leader accused of supporting the Caliphate, a patient versus an angry leader, and an independent leader versus a leader who was not independent showing efforts to build a movement through storytelling delivered. Individuals who tell life stories become tools in social movement activism (Crawley, Broad, 2004). What Jokowi and Prabowo expressed was an attempt to build a social movement.

If an international scale leader versus a leader with a global perspective is the picture of how the process of development of meaning is widespread, not on a scalable scale. Ewick and Silbey (1995, p. 219) hold that subversive stories have entrenched experiences and become a part of the world of politics, materiality, widespread culture, and not just locality. Michael Jackson emphasizes storytelling as an action to make meaning that is a social process rather than a product of narrative activity (1996, p. 18).

Storytelling is not a simple thing to create personal or social meaning, but there is an aspect of subjectivity between personal and public interests that becomes problematic to play (Arendt, 1958, p. 182-184). The meaning arises and develops in the public so that it forms perceptions.

If outstanding leaders versus leaders criticize what appears on Jokowi and Prabowo's storytelling, it is more directed at the strength that is going to be built.

Jackson (2013, p.57) revealed that storytelling is crucial in the process of re-empowerment, but the story itself has power, it can strengthen dialogue to support the point of view. Jackson (2013, p. 23) views storytelling as a strong technique for healing and repairing a damaged world. That is because political storytelling can respond to two losses, the first is traumatic disorientation that might be crippling, both orientations being revised for a world of illumination and liberation.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on CDP, an analysis of repertoire interpretation, subject position, and ideological dilemma related to presidential candidates Jokowi and Prabowo was conducted. The study presented findings related to several conflicts in storytelling, such as civilian leaders versus military leaders, leaders accused of PKI versus leaders accused of supporting Khilafah, the leader of the patient versus the angry leader, and an independent leader versus a non-independent leader. This analysis offers an idea of the presidential candidate's approach to leadership.

Generally speaking, Jokowi was an incumbent candidate who tended to be defensive in the face of contestation. The storytelling contestation that existed in the 2014 presidential election was repeated in the 2019 presidential election. Jokowi explained what has been done for the past four and a half years. On the contrary, Prabowo tends to criticize the incumbent government by bringing an exaggerated atmosphere of fear and pessimism. However, he also offered a solution to convince his supporters.

The position of the subject on Jokowi is more directed at showing himself as a successful and experienced leader so that he deserves to be re-elected. Whereas, Prabowo was affiliated with being retired, as he conveyed a story of ambition that would be carried out by prioritizing on the scale of speed of completion and a large impact.

The ideological dilemma inherent in Jokowi leads to how the various problems faced during the administration still shook him up. However, he pointed out that he would not give up and provided a structured settlement framework that included various political actions. Prabowo tends to play ideological games alone, which tends to backfire on him and his supporters. However, doing so actually strengthens the character of his political actions.

The psychology-based analysis of critical discourse shows the existence of political contestation through the storytelling delivered by Jokowi and Prabowo. The two

present opposing stories and always show their opposition. In fact, the storytelling is an effort to build support.

The storytelling strategy carried out by Jokowi and Prabowo was used to present themselves as strong individuals equipped with the knowledge and tools to lead the Indonesian nation forward. Storytelling is the actualization of the leader who deserves to be chosen and to build attachments and relationships with the people who listened to their stories. Moreover, political storytelling can also be part of history and politics.

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