

## POLITICAL MESSAGES OF RIA NORSAN AND KRISANTUS IN THE PILKADA KALBAR 2024: A REVIEW FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF NARRATIVE PERSUASION AND ELM

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### Abstract

Ria Norsan, an ethnic Malay from Mempawah, is the incumbent Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan who has served since 2019. He is running in the contestation of Pilkada Kalbar 2024 as a candidate for Governor alongside with Krisantus Kurniawan, an ethnic Dayak from Sintang, also an incumbent member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR-RI) since 2019 representing the electoral district of West Kalimantan II (Sanggau, Sintang, Melawi, Kapuas Hulu and Melawi Regencies), who is carried as a candidate for Deputy Governor. Now, both are competing in the contestation of the 2024 West Kalimantan Regional Election (Pilkada Kalbar 2024) as a Candidate Pair (paslon) for West Kalimantan Governor Candidate (Cagub) and Deputy Governor Candidate (Cawagub) Number 2. The research method used in this paper is a qualitative approach with content analysis from the perspective of *Narrative Persuasion* and *Elaboration Likelihood Model* (ELM). Data were collected through literature studies and media news to identify the political messages of this pair throughout Pilkada Kalbar 2024. The results showed that candidate number 2 conveyed clearly and straightforwardly to be able to create interpersonal relationships with the community through the narratives built. The conclusions of this paper include the need to combine political messages to be balanced between peripheral and central channels in the ELM approach. This combination is expected to gain votes for both and smooth the political path in the Pilkada Kalbar 2024. Suggestions for further research are to analyze political messages using other perspectives to enrich the repertoire of readers and provide valuable input for those who will contest.

**Keywords:** Pilkada Kalbar 2024, Political Message, Communication Theory

### Abstrak

*Ria Norsan, etnis Melayu asal Mempawah, adalah petahana Wakil Gubernur Kalimantan Barat yang menjabat semenjak 2019. Ia maju dalam kontestasi Pilkada Kalimantan Barat 2024 sebagai Calon Gubernur bersanding dengan Krisantus Kurniawan, etnis Dayak asal Sintang, petahana anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR-RI) sejak tahun 2019 mewakili daerah pemilihan Kalimantan Barat II (Kabupaten Sanggau, Sintang, Melawi, Kapuas Hulu dan Melawi), yang diusung menjadi Calon Wakil Gubernur. Kini, keduanya bertarung dalam kontestasi Pilkada Kalbar 2024 sebagai Pasangan Calon (paslon) Calon Gubernur (Cagub) dan Calon Wakil Gubernur*

(Cawagub) Kalbar Nomor Urut 2. Metode penelitian yang digunakan dalam tulisan ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan analisis konten dari perspektif Narrative Persuasion dan Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM). Data dikumpulkan melalui studi literatur dan berita media untuk mengidentifikasi pesan politik pasangan ini sepanjang kontestasi Pilkada Kalbar 2024. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa paslon nomor urut 2 menyampaikan dengan jelas dan lugas untuk dapat menciptakan hubungan interpersonal dengan masyarakat melalui narasi-narasi yang dibangun. Kesimpulan dari tulisan ini antara lain tentang perlunya mengombinasikan pesan politik agar berimbang antara jalur perifer dan jalur sentral dalam pendekatan ELM. Kombinasi ini diharapkan dapat mendulang suara bagi keduanya dan memuluskan jalan politik dalam kontestasi Pilkada Kalbar 2024. Saran penelitian lanjutan adalah analisis pesan politik dengan menggunakan perspektif lain untuk memperkaya khasanah pembaca dan memberikan masukan berharga bagi mereka yang akan berkontestasi.

**Kata Kunci:** Pilkada Kalbar 2024, Pesan Politik, Teori Komunikasi

## INTRODUCTION

Pilkada Kalbar 2024 campaign period is still ongoing, and the peak will occur on November 27, 2024, when the people of West Kalimantan will decide which candidate is considered the most suitable to lead this province for the next five years, in his capacity as Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan for the period 2024 - 2029. There have been many figures running for this regional political contestation, in the course of which there was a filtration process and then crystallized into three Candidate Pairs (or *Paslon*), namely candidate number 1 H. Sutarmidji, S.H., M.Hum.-Irjen (Pol) Dr. Drs. H. Didi Haryono, S.H., M.H., then candidate number 2 Drs. H. Ria Norsan, M.M., M.H.-Krisantus Krismawan, S.IP., M.Si., and candidate number 3 Muda Mahendrawan S.H., M.Kn.-Ir. Jakius Sinyor.



**Fig. 1.** Open Plenary Meeting for the Drawing and Determination of Paslon's Numbers Participants of Pilkada Kalbar 2024

**Source:** Pontianak Post

This paper focuses on the candidate number 2 Ria Norsan-Krisantus Kurniawan, who was nominated by PDI-Perjuangan in collaboration with PPP and Hanura as fellow local parliamentary parties to win Norsan-Krisantus. Overall, the pair was supported by the strength of 29% of seats in the West Kalimantan Local Parliament (DPRD Kalbar). Although not as big as the coalition of parties supporting Sutarmidji-Didi, the presence of PDI-P as the “ruling party of West Kalimantan” behind Norsan-Krisantus became a competitive attraction in the West Kalimantan regional elections. In its dynamics, the tight campaign atmosphere makes the Norsan-Krisantus Campaign Winning Team asked to be able to compile the right political messages to be communicated to the public and provide confidence that both deserve to be the leader of West Kalimantan for the next five-year period. Political messages delivered to the people of West Kalimantan are crucial to influencing public attitudes. In the context of political campaigns, a deep understanding of how messages are delivered and received by audiences is key to success. Norsan-Krisantus, as political figures, faces audiences who live in an environment with strong influence from cultural and social values. Therefore, the application of two persuasive communication theories, namely Narrative Persuasion and Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), can provide a comprehensive conceptual framework to analyze the effectiveness of their messages.

Narrative persuasion theory focuses on how stories or narratives can influence audience attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Bartels, 1993; Gregory, 2010). According Kuklinski & Hurley, (1994) In political campaigns, narratives are used to build emotional connections between prospective leaders and the public. Messages delivered through stories have greater potential to evoke empathy, memory, and emotional engagement than rational arguments or dry facts. Norsan-Krisantus can utilize this strategy by crafting stories that are relevant to the daily lives of people in the area. For example, by sharing success stories from citizens who have been helped by their policies or stories of struggle that reflect local values. Through this approach, audiences can more easily identify themselves with the campaign message, creating a deeper and more personal connection. Research shows that good narratives can lower resistance to persuasive messages because audiences feel that they are listening to a story, rather than being confronted with an explicit persuasion effort.

Several important elements in Narrative Persuasion are relevant to analyzing the Norsan-Krisantus message. First, relatable characters - characters in the story who have similar characteristics or experiences with the audience. Second, interesting plots or storylines - conflicts, challenges, and resolutions that evoke emotions. Third, moral lessons or values - messages that imply solutions or wisdom that are in line with the social and cultural norms of the local community. Campaign messages delivered through effective narratives not only inform but also inspire and give hope. For example, if Norsan-Krisantus told a narrative about how they helped improve people's lives through infrastructure development or education services, this story would be more memorable than simply presenting statistical data.

While Narrative Persuasion focuses on the power of stories, the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) offers a framework for understanding how audiences process messages based on their level of cognitive processing (Budesheim dkk., 1996; Nelson & Garst, 2005). The theory was introduced by Richard E. Petty and John T. Cacioppo and divides the persuasion process into two pathways: the central route and the peripheral route. This route is used when the audience has the motivation and ability to process the message deeply (Baek, 2015). They evaluate arguments critically and consider the logic and validity of the information presented. In the context of the Norsan-Krisantus campaign, the central route can be activated by presenting facts, data, and rational arguments related to the policies offered. For example, data on improving the quality of education or reducing poverty rates are directly linked to the policies they implement.

Christensen & Haas, (2015) said this route is used when the audience has low motivation or the ability to process messages deeply. They tend to be influenced by peripheral cues such as communicator credibility, visual appeal, or emotional elements. In areas with strong cultural influence, elements such as familiarity with political figures, the use of cultural symbols, and rhetoric containing local values can be key to successful persuasion through the peripheral route (Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2011). Norsan-Krisantus can utilize the peripheral route by ensuring that they appear as figures that can be trusted and respected by the community. The use of local cultural symbols, such as traditional clothing or references to local traditions, can strengthen emotional appeal and reduce audience resistance to the message conveyed.

The combination of Narrative Persuasion and ELM in political communication strategy allows Norsan-Krisantus to reach audiences with different levels of cognitive engagement. Emotional stories can appeal to audiences who are more likely to process messages through peripheral pathways, while rational arguments can convince those who process through central pathways. For example, a campaign speech may begin with a narrative about a farmer whose life has improved thanks to Norsan-Krisantus' policies. This story builds an emotional connection and attracts the audience through peripheral pathways. After that, the speech can continue by presenting data and facts that support the effectiveness of the policy, which will influence audiences who process information through the central pathway.

In areas where sociocultural aspects are still very strong, the effectiveness of persuasion depends on the extent to which campaign messages are aligned with local cultural values and traditions. The concept of cultural congruence is important here. Messages that ignore social norms or local traditions risk being rejected by the audience, even if the arguments are logical and factual. Norsan-Krisantus need to ensure that their narratives and arguments reflect the community's cultural identity. The use of local language, proverbs, or references to traditional figures can strengthen their emotional connection and credibility in the eyes of the audience. Cultural adaptation communication theory suggests that the success of persuasion increases when messages are adapted to the cultural context of the audience.



## METHOD

Methodology is a term that refers to the process, principles, and procedures of approaching problems to find answers to problems. The research method used in this paper is the descriptive qualitative method. Qualitative methods refer to research procedures that produce descriptions of data, writings, and conversations that produce words and create meaning, events, and atmosphere, which are complemented by direct observation and in-depth behavioral observation (Hermawan, 2019). The descriptive qualitative method aims to describe behavior, events, situations, functions, programs, or interactions between certain groups and the results are in the form of detailed and actual qualitative descriptions of the object of research without concluding. The qualitative descriptive method focuses more on describing the actual phenomenon based on the participants' point of view without generalization (Barlian, 2018). The subject of the paper is Norsan-Krisantus in the atmosphere of the contestation of Pilkada Kalbar 2024 and the object of research is their political messages as a way of communicating with the public to optimize electability in the contestation. A qualitative approach is carried out involving content analysis. Krippendorff states as follows:

“Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text (or other meaningful things) with its context of use”. Data were collected through literature study and media news analysis, then analyzed to identify the political messages of Norsan-Krisantus in the Pilkada Kalbar 2024 using the Narrative Persuasion and ELM theory approaches.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The contestation of the Pilkada Kalbar 2024 is still in the campaign period which takes place from September 25 to November 23, 2024. The peak will occur on November 27, 2024, when people will vote for voting papers depicting candidate pairs that they consider competent to be their future leaders, as Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan for the period 2024 - 2029.

**Fig. 1.** Candidates for Pilkada Kalbar 2024



Source: Kompas.id

This paper focuses on the political messages of candidate number 2, Norsan-Krisantus, who represent two of West Kalimantan's three major ethnicities (namely Malay and Dayak) and have a good reputation throughout their careers in politics.

**Fig. 2.** Candidate Number 2 - Ria Norsan and Krisantus Kurniawan



Source: KPUD Kalimantan Barat

Ria Norsan, a Malay born in Mempawah, is known as a religious Muslim with a harmonious family. Previously, she was the Regent of Mempawah, who was known to be close to various communities and often rode solo without an aide to have direct contact with the community. Norsan did not feel awkward to stop by for “ngopi” to have a direct dialog. In his next political journey, Norsan was lined up by Sutarmidji to be his partner in the contestation of the 2019 West Kalimantan Regional Election, as Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan for the 2019 - 2024 period. At the peak of his political career as Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan, he still often traveled to many districts to hear the aspirations of the community.

**Fig. 3.** Sutarmidji and Ria Norsan, Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan from 2019 to 2024



Source: Antara

Susanto in [suarakalbar.com](http://suarakalbar.com) (2024) revealed that Norsan is a visionary, full of big ideas during his tenure as Mempawah Regent, while Sani (2024) in his writing on the web [rri.co.id](http://rri.co.id) revealed that Norsan succeeded in bringing significant changes to the development of Mempawah and West Kalimantan. Norsan inherited infrastructure development, improved health services, and small community economic empowerment programs. Meanwhile, among the youth, Akbar (2024) in [kalbardigital.com](http://kalbardigital.com) explains that Norsan as Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan is a leader figure who not only focuses on infrastructure development but also on the development of superstructure in the form of improving the quality of human resources.

Norsan's political message is clear, that he has credibility as a regional leader and has totality in carrying the aspirations of the community.

**Fig. 4.** Norsan at an Islamic event



Source: [kalbarnews.co.id](http://kalbarnews.co.id)

**Fig. 5.** Norsan and his proximity to the community



Source: [pontianak.tribunnews.com](http://pontianak.tribunnews.com)

Krisantus, a Dayak born in Sintang, is known as a religious Catholic. Krisantus is known to be close to young people from various circles and ethnicities. The West Kalimantan public knows him as a politician who is known for his commitment, sensitivity to the needs of constituents and high partiality to the people of West Kalimantan.



**Fig. 6.** Krisantus at the funeral of Archbishop Emeritus of Pontianak, Mgr. Hieronymus Herculanus Bumbun, OFM Cap.



**Source:** Keuskupan Agung Pontianak

**Fig. 7.** Krisantus and Youth in a religious event



**Source:** gesuri.id

Krisantus was known to be vocal in Senayan when he served as a member of the DPD RI West Kalimantan Dapil. He has concentrated on infrastructure and human development in West Kalimantan. One of the legacies of his struggle is the improvement and development of infrastructure by the Ministry of PUPR in the form of improving the Trans Kalimantan Road and its connectivity with other provinces in Borneo.

Krisantus is also known for his concern for sports and traditional institutions (Channeltujuh, 2024). His concern in the field of sports made him asked to become the Trustee of the Indonesian Motor Association (IMI) of Sanggau Regency, the Executive Board of the Indonesian National Sports Committee (KONI) of Sanggau Regency, Chairman of the Indonesian Football Association (PSSI) of Sanggau Regency and Chairman of the Indonesian Badminton Association (PBSI) of Sanggau Regency. Meanwhile, his concern for customary institutions has made him the Coordinator for



Foreign and International Relations of the National Dayak Customary Council (MADN) and Advisor to the Dayak Customary Council (DAD) of Parindu District, Sanggau Regency. Krisantus' political message is almost the same as Norsan's, that he also makes it clear that he has loyalty and militancy for his constituents.

### Discussion

From what has been written above, it appears that Norsan-Krisantus are still peripherally persuasive in their campaign. Both exploit their charisma to play with public emotions to create partisanship, rather than rational arguments. In the short term, their narrative persuasion has been appropriate to the vision and mission of leadership, able to create strong emotional engagement with constituents, which ultimately helps form an emotional connection between the two (as political actors) and the people of West Kalimantan.

**Fig. 8.** Welcome from the people of Kayong Utara



Source: Majalah Mata Borneo News

However, it should be understood that although so far narrative persuasion in their political messages in the contestation of the 2024 West Kalimantan Regional Election is still very effective, they need to use other ways to influence constituents in the form of providing logical arguments about how their vision and mission will be able to solve the problems faced by the people of West Kalimantan, such as the economy, health, education, environment, and others; a reality faced by the community in their daily lives after the election euphoria is over. This means that these candidates must also be able to provide logical, concrete and optimistic solutions; which then in its operation the message is conveyed by revealing real cases that will inspire the community in forming positive self-identification for both of them.

**Fig. 9.** Krisantus during the campaign at Warung Kopi Aming, Jl. Podomoro, Pontianak



**Source:** Pontianak Post.

## CONCLUSION

As revealed in ELM theory, both political messages in the narrative are delivered using peripheral channels to the public. This peripheral approach is very good for influencing audience attitudes, making their political messages easier to remember and understand in the short term. However, it should be noted that while their political messages have so far been effective for the West Kalimantan public with its strong sociocultural aspects, the significant development of digital technology and the increasing number of highly educated West Kalimantan youth have implications for the public's ability to analyze political messages. While both have successfully utilized their respective ethnic and religious identities to create intimate interpersonal relationships with voters, which is very important in the sociocultural aspects of West Kalimantan, the fact that must be understood is that many leaders eventually have their personal charisma eroded by the political realities faced by the community; then lose public support due to the inability to translate narratives into political reality, and Sutarmidji is one of them. Norsan-Krisantus naturally combines peripheral paths with central paths in their political messages, by means of the people of West Kalimantan must be involved in their cognitive and rational aspects of central persuasion. Both are required to dare to use central persuasion of their vision and mission and convey clear and relevant problem solutions for the people they will lead for the next one term of office.

The rationality of the people of West Kalimantan is expected to: 1) smooth their political path to gain votes in the Pilkada Kalbar 2024, 2) reap endless support as long as both of them serve as Governor and Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan for the 2024 – 2029 period, and 3) build a barrier to negative sentiments against both of them when elected. Furthermore, considering that this paper uses the perspective of Narrative Persuasion and ELM to read the political messages of candidate pairs in the Pilkada, it is hoped that future studies can use other perspectives which will certainly enrich the repertoire for the voting public and provide valuable input for those who will contest, not only in West Kalimantan but also in other regions with strong sociocultural aspect.

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