The Effectiveness of Political Communication of Regional Head Candidates in Direct Elections Case Study in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor Elections

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Abstract

This study examines the effectiveness of political communication of regional head candidates in direct regional elections in South Kalimantan Province in 2020. This research uses a mixed method with a case study approach. Data was collected through questionnaires, observations, interviews, and document tracing. Data analysis techniques use descriptive-qualitative with a sequential explanatory perspective. The results of this study found that the two pairs of candidates for regional heads in the South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor Elections used six forms of political communication, that is rhetoric, propaganda, public relations, political campaigns, political lobbying, and mass media. The six models of political communication are delivered in the form of dynamic verbal and non-verbal messages, because: 1) Have political acceptability as a political actor who obeys the political scenario; 2) Utilizing the potential of candidates for regional heads, both personal potential, structural potential and cultural potential of the community as a medium of political communication with voters; 3) Not conducting political communication in the form of political agitation, because it is not in accordance with the heterogeneous culture of the nation, which prioritizes mutual assistance and togetherness; 4) Able to label names with certain acronyms that have a positive meaning for voters; 4) Using mainstream mass media and social media as a medium for delivering appropriate political messages to the electorate. This study concluded, there are five advantages of political communication of the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin pair that are considered effective in determining victory in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections, that is: 1) The character of the message conveyed is more diverse by using symbols based on local culture; 2) Have the support of a militant and solid political party base; 3) Many political campaigns present candidates as successful and populist actors; 4) Receive support from religious and community leaders who act as public relations when conducting campaigns in outdoor media and social media; and 5) Packaging messages as a candidates who continue to make development efforts in all fields.

Keywords: Effectiveness, Political communication, Rhetoric, Propaganda, Public relations, Campaigning, Political lobbying

INTRODUCTION

Effectiveness means the precise achievement of a goal. Ravianto (2014) said that effectiveness is how well the work is done, the extent to which people produce output as expected. That is, if a job can be completed according to plan, both in time, cost and quality, then (the work) can be said to be effective. This understanding is in line with Gibson's opinion (Bungkaes, 2013: 46) which states that effectiveness is an assessment made related to the achievements of individuals, groups or organizations. The closer their achievements are to the expected achievements, the more effective they are. Similarly, in communication, the easier the communication is understood by the audience, the more effective the message conveyed.

Communication can simply be defined as the process of delivering messages by communicators to communicants through or without media that cause certain consequences. So, communication activities are principally activities of exchanging ideas or ideas simply. Thus, political communication activities can be understood as the activity of conveying political ideas or messages from one party to another with the aim of generating mutual agreement or influencing other parties on the ideas or messages conveyed.

McNair (2003) mentions, political communication is not only communication from political actors to voters with a view to achieving certain goals, but also communication addressed to politicians by voters and newspaper columnists, as well as communication about political actors and their activities as contained in news, editorials, and other forms of media political discussion. Nimmo (2005: 9) even mentions that political communication activities can produce certain consequences (actual and potential) that regulate human actions under certain conditions. While Cangara (2009: 32) defines political communication as a scientific field that specifically examines communication behavior and activities that are political in nature, have political consequences or affect political behavior.

Based on the views of these experts, it can be concluded that political communication includes several things, that is: 1) Political communicators, that is people who can provide information about things that contain meaning about politics, such as presidents, ministers, members of parliament, politicians and pressure groups in society that can influence the course of government; 2) Political messages; that is a statement conveyed, whether orally, in writing or unwritten, verbally or non-verbally, hidden or overtly, both consciously and unconsciously whose content contains politics. For example, political speeches, political statements, books, brochures, and newspaper news about politics and so on; 3) Political Channels or Media, which are tools or means used by political communicators in conveying their political messages. For example, print media, electronic media, online media, socialization, group communication carried out by political parties, community organizations and so on; 4) Political Goals or Targets; that is community members who are expected to provide support in the form of voting for parties or candidates in general elections, both from groups of entrepreneurs, employees, workers, youth, women, students and so on; and 5) Influence or Effect of Political Communication, is the expected effect or impact, that is the creation of understanding of the government system and political parties, community activity in political participation, which has an impact on support or voting during general elections.

Changes in rules and regulations have implications that also bring changes to the country's political system and order, including those that occur in regional elections. The change began since the change in Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Autonomy to Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. This regulation was later amended again by Law Number 12 of 2008. Furthermore, this Law continues to metamorphose into regulations regarding the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors in Law Number 22 of 2014, Law Number 1 of 2015, Law Number 8 of 2015 which stipulates Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2015, Law Number 10 of 2016, Law Number 2 of 2020 to Law

Number 6 of 2020 which are changes to previous regulations regarding the election of Governors, Regent and Mayor.

After these changes, there were drastic changes in the regional head election system. If previously the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor was carried out by the DPRD, after the change from Law Number 32 of 2004 to Law Number 6 of 2020 which mandated the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor to be carried out by the public directly. The change also has major implications, including on political communication built by candidates for regional heads. In direct elections, candidates for regional heads design political communication tailored to the needs and in line with the wishes of the people.

When regional elections are conducted by the legislature, the political communication of the candidates is more focused on how to influence members of the DPRD only. At that time, effective political communication to build the trust and sympathy of DPRD members would certainly be able to become a 'bridge' for the choice of regional head candidates. Meanwhile, political communication in the era of direct elections focuses on all people who have the right to vote, so in general the political communication strategy conveyed must also be effective in order to be able to reach all levels of society.

The reality of direct regional elections that have fostered higher political participation of the people than regional elections with a representative system, is a condition that encourages changes in the political communication model built by regional heads. This political communication also changed their political communication activities.

In general, there are three activities carried out in political communication, that is political socialization, political education and political participation. As with the perception of communication in general, that there are important things in the communication process, that is the communicator and the message. This also applies in the process of political communication, that is there is a political communicator and political message. In the context of regional head elections, candidates for regional heads are included in the category of political communicators who according to Dan Nimmo (1978: 125) are referred to as infrastructure communicators. Nimmo cites L.W. Dobb's idea of classifying infrastructure communicators into three: politicians, professionals and activists. As political communicators, candidates for regional heads play their roles based on their interests which are manifestations of personal interests, political party interests or people's interests, even though what comes to the surface is a message-role only for the benefit of the community. With this understanding, political communicators have a big role to be able to package political messages, so as to convince the electorate that their existence is only for the benefit of the people.

Alfiyani (2018) outlines several forms of political communication that can be carried out by political communicators: 1) Rhetoric, or the art of speaking or the art of debating is a model of political communication that is usually used in courtrooms to influence each other, or make speeches in public; 2) Political agitation, the purpose of which is to arouse the spirit of the people in a political movement. Agitation seeks to invite or move people, verbally or in writing, to act emotionally; 3) Propaganda, usually carried out by politicians, cadres of political parties or interest groups to form and cultivate opinions through short-term specific information to achieve political goals (strategic or tactical); 5) Political campaigns; it is a form of political communication that a person or group conducts within a certain time to gain support or strengthen the support of the public or voters 6) Political lobbying; that is a model of face-to-face political communication informally but important, because the results of lobbying usually produce mutual understanding or agreement that will be strengthened through formal discussion in political meetings or meetings; 7) Mass media, both print, electronic, online, especially social media are

quite effective communication instruments today, where candidates for regional heads can convey their political messages, both in the form of news, appeals, and other political promotions.

Based on the description above, the basic problem to be examined in this study is how the effectiveness of political communication developed by candidates for regional heads in order to gain people's sympathy in direct elections, which in the context of this study is the political communication of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020. The following is a table of pairs for the 2020 candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan.

Table 1.
Name of Candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan 2020

Sequence Number	Spouse Name		Bearer Party	Supporting Party
1	H. Sahbirin Noor, S. Sos, M.H.	H Muhidin	Golkar, PDIP, PAN, PKS, PKB, Nasdem,	Perindo, UN, PSI and PKPI
2	Prof Denny Indrayana, SH, LL.M, Ph.D	Drs H Severini	Gerindra, PPP, Democrat	Hanura, Berkarya, Garuda and Gelora

Source: KPU South Kalimantan, 2020

This study examines the effectiveness of political communication of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor, seen from the form of political communication used, and how effective the political communication messages conveyed, so as to influence and gain support from voters. This research is expected to enrich the scientific repertoire in the field of political communication, especially those related to the effectiveness of political communication in the context of regional head elections. Apart from being a study material, the results of this study are expected to be useful for politicians, candidates for regional heads, campaign teams and political parties to understand effective communication models in gaining voter support.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses mixed methods, which is a combination of quantitative methods and qualitative methods. Cresswell (2010: 5) states that mixed research is an approach that combines qualitative research with quantitative research. With this method, candidates for regional heads who participated in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections were not only seen as research subjects but at the same time used as research objects. Research using mixed methods according to (Sugiyono, 2012: 404) is so that researchers can obtain more comprehensive, valid, reliable and objective data. The use of these two methods is seen as providing a more complete understanding of the research problem than using either one. This approach involves philosophical assumptions, the application of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the mixing of the two approaches in one study. The specification of the research used is descriptive analysis that aims to describe the facts, properties and influences between the phenomena investigated.

Research instruments according to Arikunto (2010: 160) referred to as data collection tools used in this study are observation, interview guidelines, questionnaires or questionnaires and documentation. 1) Observation sheets are used to obtain data on the political communication skills of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in the 2020 South Kalimantan Regional Election; 2) Questionnaire, which is a questionnaire prepared by providing questions and complete answer choices, so that respondents only choose one of the answers that have been provided. Questionnaires were given to candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in the 2020 Regional Elections, campaign teams, political party officials, and the voting public. The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out the political models and communication of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor and how effective their political communication is to gain the support of voters; 3) Interview, is a data collection technique by conducting conversations with the intention of completing answers found on questionnaire and observation instruments. The use of this technique is expected to occur direct, flexible, flexible and open communication, so that the information obtained is more and wider; and 4) Documentation, used to obtain a number of data through various documents or written evidence such as candidate profiles, political affiliations, organizational experiences, photographs, mass media coverage, activities and other relevant data.

Researchers use this mixed method because they believe that to examine the effectiveness of political communication of candidates for regional heads in direct elections, high flexibility is needed in determining research steps. This departs from the fact, that it is possible in this study to find realities that are multiple, complicated, pseudo, dynamic, constructed and the truth value is relative. Moreover, the subjects of his research are candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan, political parties and campaign teams, who have their own complexity of thoughts, attitudes, behaviors and characteristics, so they have high complexity. One of the characteristics of mixed research is to make observations and interact directly with research subjects to understand language and interpret events that occur.

Researchers also use a case study approach as formulated by Robert K Yin (2014) in this study. This approach not only emphasizes exploratory (what), or descriptive (how) elements but also emphasizes efforts to obtain explanatory knowledge (why) in order to obtain exploratory knowledge. Yin emphasizes the use of "how" and "why" questions, as both questions are seen as very appropriate for acquiring in-depth knowledge of the symptoms under study.

To complement this study, quantitative data and descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words of the subjects being studied are needed. People who can provide information related to this research in the scientific tradition are called informants (qualitative) and respondents (quantitative). The key informants or respondents in this study were candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020; that is, the number 1 candidate pair. Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin and number 2 pair Denny Indrayana-Difriadi. Other informants were administrators of the Golkar Party, National Mandate Party (PAN), Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Nasdem Party, National Awakening Party (PKB) and campaign team of Sahbirin Noor-H Muhidin, officials of the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), Democratic Party and United Development Party (PPP) and campaign team of Denny Indrayana-Difriadi. In addition, researchers also explored information or other additional respondents, namely parties directly related to the implementation of the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections, namely the General Elections Commission (KPU)

and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of South Kalimantan Province, elements of the South Kalimantan Provincial Government, mass media and community leaders relevant to the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Implementation of the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor Elections

The election for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan (Pilgub Kalsel 2020) on December 9, 2020 was held by the General Elections Commission (KPU) of South Kalimantan assisted by 13 Regency and City KPU, 9,065 Polling Stations (TPS), 81,585 Polling Groups (KPPS), and with 2,793,811 voters.

To facilitate the implementation of activities and in accordance with the mandate of Law Number 6 of 2020 concerning the Third Amendment to Law Number 1 of 2015 concerning Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2014 concerning the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors into the Gubernatorial Election Law, it is divided into five stages. The stages of implementation of the 2020 South Kalimantan gubernatorial election are regulated in the Decree of the South Kalimantan KPU Number 36 dated June 15, 2020 concerning the Second Amendment to the Decree of the General Election Commission of South Kalimantan Province Number 9a/w.02-Kpt/63/Prov/tx/2019 concerning Technical Guidelines for the Stages, Programs and Schedules for the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor Elections. The five stages are: updating voter data, registering and determining candidates, campaigning and quiet periods, voting and counting votes, and determining results.

Although the determination of the results of the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor Election (Pilgub) was delayed, because the Denny Indrayana-Difriadi filed a dispute lawsuit to the Constitutional Court (MK), but after going through a long process in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections and even had a Re-Vote Election (PSU), the KPU finally determined the number 1 candidate pair H Sahbirin Noor and H Muhidin as the Governor and Deputy spouses The governor of South Kalimantan was elected. The determination of the victory refers to the results of the South Kalimantan KPU Plenary Meeting on August 4, 2021, and minutes Number 74//PL/02.7-BA/63/Prov/VII/2021 and KPU Decree Number 43/PL.02.7-Kpt/63/Prov/VIII/2021.

Table 2. Summary of Governor and Deputy Governor Election Results South Kalimantan 2020 on December 9, 2020

Candidate Number	SPOUSE NAME		VOICE	%
1	H. Sahbirin Noor, S. Sos, M.H.	H Muhidin	851.822	50.24%
2	Prof Denny Indrayana, SH, LL.M, Ph.D	Drs H Severini	843.695	49.76%
Total			**1.695.517**	**100%**
Valid Voice			1.695.517	92.14%
Invalid Votes			144.723	7.86%

Voters Exercise Their Right to Vote	1.840.240	65.1%
Absentee Voter	986.445	34.9%
Registered Voters	2.826.685	

Source: KPU South Kalimantan Province, 2020

Table 3 Summary of PSU Results of the Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan 2020 on June 9, 2021

Candidate Number	SPOUSE NAME		VOICE	%
1	H. Sahbirin Noor, S. Sos, M.H.	H Muhidin	871.123	51.17%
2	Prof Denny Indrayana, SH, LL.M, Ph.D	Drs H Severini	831.178	48.83%
Total			**1.702.301**	**100%**
Valid Voice			1.702.301	92.66%
Invalid Votes			134.760	7.34%
Voters Exercise Their Right to Vote			1.837.061	65.03%
Absentee Voter			987.759	34.97%
Registered Voters			2.824.820	

Source: KPU South Kalimantan Province, 2021

Political Communication Model in the 2020 South Kalimantan Regional Election
Dynamics of Political Communication in the Nominating Process
The emergence of two pairs of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020, that is the names Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin and Denny Indrayana-Difriadi did not just go away. They were born through a tough process of political communication, both among political parties and among candidates themselves. They both depart from the ideal desire, but on the field are faced with different situations, so a tug-of-war, bargaining between them occurs. This is where political lobbying is needed, to find common ground between various political interests. Therefore, in accordance with applicable laws and regulations, all parties involved in the political process of regional elections must act in accordance with the outlined scenario.

In 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections context, the coalition between political parties in nominating the South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy candidate pair also occurred in the political communication process. Neither of the two Governor and Deputy Governor pairs is nominated by one political party. This happens not only because it is related to the requirement of at least 15 percent in the South Kalimantan Provincial DPRD seat, but also because of the dynamic support

dynamics. Based on the records of the results of the 2014 election, there is only one political party that can meet the 15 percent requirement for the South Kalimantan Provincial DPRD vote, that is Golkar (21.8%). However, Golkar itself still forms a coalition with other parties to propose candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Kalimantan even though it can propose its own candidates. The Golkar Party, which obtained 21.8% of the electoral votes, decided to join a coalition with PDIP (14.5%), PAN which has votes in the South Kalimantan Provincial DPRD (10.9%), PKS (9.1%), PKB (9.1%) and Nasdem (7.3%), to nominate the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin pair. While the Gerindra Party, which has votes in the South Kalimantan DPRD (14.5%), is in coalition with the PPP (5.5%), the Democratic Party (5.5%) and the Hanura Party (1.8%) nominated the Denny Indrayana-Difriadi pair.

Candidate's Political Acceptability

Every candidate for regional head who is directly elected by the people of the region must have political acceptance of the people who constituted him. Without having political acceptability, it is impossible for them to be elected by supporting political parties, because political acceptance will give birth to the level of political electability. In the context of communication, political acceptability is a 'bridge' for candidates for regional heads to carry out effective political communication with the voting people.

Likewise, in the direct election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan, both the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin and Denny Indrayana-Difriadi pairs are ensured that when they are nominated, their political acceptability is taken into consideration by the nominating political party. This is to facilitate their political communication with voters in order to attract voters' sympathy to vote for their images. In this context, it can be categorized that every candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020 has the potential for political communication. This research also explores the political communication potential of each candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in direct regional elections in 2020.

Based on the political acceptance map of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020, each candidate has advantages and weaknesses. However, judging from the results of the votes in Table 2 and Table 3, the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin pair is considered to have a competitive advantage and has higher political acceptability than the Denny Indrayana-Difriadi pair.

From the frame of analysis of the political acceptability map, the pair of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin is the lucky candidates. Because, this pair has a higher political acceptability value than Denny Indrayana-Difriadi, that's why they can get the most votes. The victory of the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin pair was largely determined by their higher popularity than other candidates. Moreover, Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin had experience as a powerful official as Governor in the previous period. Sahbirin is a by-side breakana with Muhidin once serving as Mayor of Banjarmasin.

Not only that, the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin pair is a candidate supported by political parties known to have a fanatical mass base and a fairly high level of militancy such as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and PDI Perjuangan. Despite having sufficient experience in the field of government according to Deddy Mulyana (2008: 142), political communication activities can actually backfire if not managed properly and it turns out that during rule it has not shown success in the past. Therefore, the Denny Indrayana-Difriadi who offerred change and promises improvements in the government sector has an electability level that is not too far from the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin.

This reality is in line with the jargon of the political campaign carried out by the Denny Indrayana-Difriadi: "Hijrah Gasan Banua" or "Save Our Banua". The words 'Hijrah' and "Selamatkan" are magic words that have meaning, if South Kalimantan is led by a "new person" instead of a person who has never been 'in power' or inexperienced promises a new hope even for that he returns to his hometown solely to encourage development in South Kalimantan towards a better direction than when its Governor Sahbirin Noor and Deputy Governor Muhidin.

The meaning of this word can be an answer to the pessimistic desire of South Kalimantan residents, if the leader of the Provincial Government is held back by the 'old man' there will be a change for the better. Because among the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan who are currently competing, the meaning of the word is quite direct to its competitors.

That's what happened to the candidacy of Sahbirin Noor accompanied by Muhidin. In a positive context, it is possible for them to have high political accessibility to be able to communicate with the families of the State Civil Apparatus (ASN), but in other contexts their presence can also be counterproductive.

Non-Verbal Political Messages

Clothing and colours are symbols used in the political communication process in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections. The candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan compete with each other in packaging non-verbal messages by wearing clothes and highlighting certain colours as a 'bridge' of communication with the voting people. They hope that clothing symbols and colours can more effectively streamline their political communication with the voting public. The meanings they scenario through the clothes they wear; Through the colours they highlight can be interpreted positively by the electorate, so that they sympathize and give their choice.

The importance of non-verbal messages was realized by both candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in the 2020 direct election. Therefore, one of the strategies they do is to use non-verbal messages as very prominent is in the use of clothing and colours. Each candidate seeks to corroborate their verbal message with a non-verbal message. The function of message repetition occurs, for example, when each candidate wears clothes that are coloured and attribute to his party. Sahbirin Noor was verbally supported by the Golkar Party which was corroborated in non-verbal messages with him often wearing yellow suits, shirts, or shirts and banyan logos on several occasions on the political stage. The same was done by the other candidates. In fact, non-verbal messages that function repetition are even more dominant in the use of colour which is the identity of the supporting political party.

Compared to the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin, candidates Denny Indrayana-Difriadi is more creative in packaging colour non-verbal message symbols in the clothes they use. The nationalist and religious ideologies that are their strength and that of their supporting parties are substituted with non-verbal messages in the form of the colours they use. On several occasions on the political stage, Denny Indrayana often wears white clothes. It is a non-verbal message that they convey to voters that they are supported by nationalists and religious (Islam) as well as communicating that they are supported by the Democratic party and the party with the white flag (Gerindra, PPP and other supporting parties). The non-verbal message was in the hope of a welcome dip from nationalists and religious (Islamic) circles, especially from supporters and sympathizers of the Democrats, Gerindra, PPP, and Hanura.

When using clothes and colours, they sort out which clothes to wear and what colours to wear. In general, their consideration when choosing clothes or colours to strengthen political ties between them and supporting parties, including with the electorate. They try to get closer; equalize ideology, so as to

communicate effectively with the voting people. They realize that similarity is the most important element in supporting the level of effectiveness of political communication.

In the political communication context, giving political meaning to the use of clothing and colour to gain sympathy and influence audiences according to Harold D Laswell (Nurudin, 2004) is a form of propaganda. In the perspective of propaganda, clothing and colour, politically they can control public opinion as well as can foster suggestions to the audience that they sympathize, admire, and feel part of the candidate, so that they are influenced to take sides, support, and even vote for the candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan.

Based on observations and interviews with candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor or their Campaign Teams, there are significant differences that provide strong reasons so that each candidate uses clothing or colour as a nonverbal message to the voting public. These reasons are what led them to give birth to a different scenario in the use of clothing and colour. In fact, this scenario can show a weak point as well as a superior point for any Governor and Deputy Governor candidate in conveying non-verbal messages.

Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin always uses a yellow suit with a banyan image, even on images that are used as campaign attributes and ballot papers also use clothes with regional nuances that are predominantly yellow. The scenario was used to confirm the label that he was nominated by the Golkar Party. With this outfit, he hopes that there will be political communication with cadres, sympathizers and supporters of the Golkar Party which in the 2019 election won 333,238 votes or about 17.05 percent of the votes. He hopes to get support from the large Golkar Party voters. Plus, the vote support from PDI Perjuangan which obtained 326,391 votes or 16.7 percent and plus the support of the Prosperous Justice Party and other political parties, Sahbirin Noor-H Muhidin expects a lot of support from voters. The use of yellow attributes, clothing and symbols conveys a non-verbal message, so that voters give full support to them. Likewise, the traditional Banjar clothing worn in the photo displayed in campaign props and ballot papers, which are dominated by golden yellow residents, reinforces how much influence the Golkar Party has on Sahbirin Noor, who is also the Chairman of the South Kalimantan Golkar Party.

Denny Indrayana-Difriadi in packing non-verbal messages through clothing and colour seems to be more meticulous. They decided to wear a white skullcap shirt in the main photo, whereas the other candidates wore the 'Laung' (Banjar headband) that is characteristic of Banjar, it was a strategy gamble. They understand that skullcaps are the ideological garment of Muslims in Indonesia as well as in Muslim-majority South Kalimantan. Denny Indrayana-Difriadi actually considers the artistic value of using skullcaps is also quite high, as a signal or non-verbal message to voters that they can represent the struggle of the majority of Muslims in South Kalimantan. In the context of honesty, they instill the belief that with skullcaps, their faces better reflect honesty without manipulation. By wearing skullcaps they also show the reality of their jargon to 'Hijrah' to make changes in South Kalimantan, so that they appear different. They want to present that they are not only substantive, but also symbolically Islamic. Therefore, when the candidate's official photo is displayed, both on the notice board and the ballot, Denny Indrayana-Difriadi's appearance is in contrast to his competitor. This reinforces the perception that candidates with skullcaps in plain white shirts are the image of candidates who are egalitarian, simple and this meaning is preferred by young people.

Denny Indrayana-Difriadi's dress screenplay also respects the public's voice. They understand that their weakness that is often used as part of the black campaign supporting other candidates is that their existence is related to the cultural values of the Banjar community. They answered this among other things with

non-verbal messages in the form of clothing. On several occasions, such as what happened during the rally campaign, Denny Indrayana-Difriadi wore Sasirangan Batik Clothes. The clothes give a non-verbal message to the people of South Kalimantan, even they also care and love the cultural values of Banjar.

Even in the colour scenario, Denny Indrayana-Difriadi is not caught up in the "cult" of their supporting party colours; blue for Democrats and black white for Gerindra. They view colour as beauty, so any colour as long as beautiful they use in every attribute of the campaign. In the political context, using white can be interpreted as they are open to support from other parties, including from non-party voters; swing voters. That is what drives Denny Indrayana-Difriadi voters not only to come from Gerindra and Democrats plus PPP, but from all parties and all lines of South Kalimantan society. If they only rely on Gerindra-Demokrat votes plus the PPP which in the 2019 election only has a total of 25.4 percent, they will definitely not win in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor Elections.

Verbal Political Messages
1. On Vision, Mission and Work Program
The 2020 candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan carry out verbal communication on at least two things, that is through oral and written. Therefore, the data presented in this study is data obtained from written documents, both owned by candidates, campaign teams, political parties and data clippings from mass media. Meanwhile, verbal communication is in oral form, taken from the author's recorded notes at a number of events; when candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor speak with rhetoric in front of the masses, public relations with the public, and other campaign activities. In general, both the words written by the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor and those expressed in front of the electorate, almost all boil down to the vision, mission, and work program of the candidates. This is indeed logical because basically someone nominates the head of the region to sell their vision, mission, and work program. If the vision, mission, and work program are in accordance with the wishes and expectations of voters, then the candidate will be chosen.

However, like most election campaigns in the world as said by McQuail and Windahl (1993), most of them are still traditional, as well as the campaigns that took place in the South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor Elections still seemed very traditionalistic. Both the electorate and the candidate are more concentrated on the figure, not on the substance expressed by the figure. The arrival of figures with a number of symbols is considered more important than their vision, mission, and work program. Especially if the campaign is carried out in the middle of a sea of masses, the rhetoric of the candidates becomes meaningless. People are more concerned about the body contortions of singers and performers than on the content of the candidates' speeches.

Verbally, the messages of the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020 can be divided into three groups. First, a written message conveyed through the vision, mission, and work program documents for the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor candidates. In the form context, each candidate has their own creativity in expressing their vision. Denny Indrayana-Difriadi explained his vision in more detail, while Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin presented his vision in short and simple sentences.

It is indeed very difficult to measure the vision and mission of the two candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020, because the vision and mission are dreams. Because, conceptually, vision and mission are only abstract, imaginary concepts, so it is difficult to measure them. Therefore, vision and mission are only like theoretical exposure in the form of desires, hopes, and goals.

Vision and mission will begin to crystallize at the stage of higher degrees of reality when translated into a program of work. In this context, the work program of the Governor-Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan can be more measurable.

In the context of political communication, what is meant by measurable can be categorized in line with the expectations of the voting people. Political communication will have a positive impact if there is a similarity of meaning between candidates and voters. In fact, even the similarity of meaning is not enough if the candidate expects a positive effect or impact instead of in line with expectations. If the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan hope to gain sympathy from the electorate, then they must formulate a work program that is in accordance with the expectations of the people of South Kalimantan or can answer the problems faced by the people of South Kalimantan.

In the work program of Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin, there are several points that are considered to have a high degree of concreteness which are summarized in three points, that is: Prosperous, Prosperous and Sustainable. In the point of Prosperity and Prosperity, it is described into three vision and mission, that is: 1) Improve the quality and competitiveness of human resources (HR) by strengthening public health compliance against infectious diseases, reducing child marriage, stunting, and MMR / AKB based on the empowerment of homestead villages. In addition, it also improves link and match vocational education in accordance with the needs of the business world, strengthens job training centres to improve digital-based skills, strengthens religious and socio-cultural values, and increases youth index and sports achievement; 2) Encouraging equitable economic growth in Banua, by encouraging the Islamic economy, downstreaming the mining and agricultural industries, developing nature-based tourism (ecotourism), encouraging the creative economy of local wisdom based on digital technology, and encouraging trade based on the digital economy; and 3) Strengthening basic infrastructure and economic facilities, that is preparing a new round of South Kalimantan development in the future. While in the Sustainable vision, Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin plans to develop new economic zones to support the Capital City of Nusantara (IKN), increase the connectivity of economic growth areas, fulfill economic supporting infrastructure, and provide renewable energy sources to meet energy needs such as PLTA, PLTB, PLT, Biomass, Solar PLT, and Gas PLT.

Based on the description, these strategic policy steps must be outlined in the form of targeted development programs and activities, with funding not only sourced from the government, but also mobilizing all potential and funding in the community. In addition, its operationalization will depend heavily on the support and participation of all parties, who have the same spirit to change and move forward to carry out development that takes place synergistically.

Meanwhile, several points that can be considered to have a degree of concreteness in Denny Indrayana-Difriadi's work program include: Bureaucratic reform based on justice and competence, providing free health services for the poor; Set a budget proportionally with a ratio of 50%:50% between apparatus costs and public costs.

If the dose is as mentioned, in the context of the work program, Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin can be categorized as superior to its competitors. This is natural because Sahbirin Noor is an incumbent candidate who is more familiar with the problems that occur in South Kalimantan than other candidates.

Second, verbal messages delivered directly by candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020 when rhetoric, friendship, and face to face with the voting people. On several occasions, especially during the campaign period, the Governors and Deputy Governors of South Kalimantan in 2020 campaigned face-to-face with the electorate in various forms, open campaigns in the

field, meeting in Islamic boarding schools, meeting face to face in markets, and other activities. On that occasion, the candidates also explained their vision, mission, and work program which they thought was most suitable to be conveyed to voters. In fact, not a few of their work programs are delivered in the form of more realistic promises to the people.

Table 4. Verbal Message in Promise of Governor and Deputy Governor Candidates

Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin (BirinMu)	Haji Denny-Difriadi (H2D)
1. Empowering small and secondary enterprises; 2. Opening a new field of work; 3. Attracting outside investors; 4. Building urban and rural infrastructure; 5. Traditional market structuring;	1. Carry out bureaucratic reform 2. Provide one million fields of work; 3. Free school until high school; 4. Empowering students; clever to be their think-tank; 5. Set a budget proportionally with a ratio of 50%:50% between apparatus costs and public costs.
There won't be many promises;	1. Always ready to consult with seniors; 2. Free healthcare; 3. Improvement of the well-being of teachers, farmers, and fishermen; 4. Pay attention to regional culture; 5. Increase people's purchasing power; 6. Increase KUKM investment; 7. Entrepreneurial young people; 8. Economic improvement of local entrepreneurs; 9. Make changes better;

Source: Researcher Analysis, 2021

Third, verbal messages written in campaign attributes, even used as political advertising taglines, both in mass media and outdoor media including on social media. The two candidates for South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor in 2020 both put the words "magic" in their attributes. The following table indicates the written verbal messages of the candidates through attributes.

Table 5. Candidate's Written Verbal Message Through Attributes

Sahabirin Noor- Muhyiddin	Haji Denny-Difriadi (H2D)
1. Mobile carousel; 2. Devoted with Heart; 3. Bakul Sembako Paman Birin 4. Kalsel Established	5. South Kalimantan's New Hope; 6. It's time for the young to lead South Kalimantan; 7. United Build South Kalimantan; 8. Hijrah for Banua 9. Save Our Banua

Source: Researcher Analysis, 2021

As with oral verbal messages, written verbal messages conveyed through Denny Indrayana-Difriadi's campaign attributes are more creative. Although in the context of the meaning of words written on campaign attributes it is difficult to measure, Denny Indrayana-Difriadi shows a high level of creativity in processing written verbal messages in campaign attributes. Unfortunately, based on these three verbal messages and referring to the fact that Denny Indrayana-Difriadi actually lacked support from voters in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor-Deputy Governor Election, despite having advantages in the use of verbal messages.

2. On Name Labelling

In the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections, there was a shortening of nicknames using certain acronyms by candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor. Candidate number 1 Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin was shortened to BirinMu and candidate number 2 Haji Denny Indrayana-Difriadi was shortened to H2D.

The use of acronyms for the names of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan has its own meaning. In general, the occurrence of abbreviations or acronyms aims to facilitate calls, as well as make it easier for people to remember candidates. In this context, the purpose of the abbreviation is very logical. People's memory of words or combinations of words will be easier if there are fewer words, meaning that the longer the word used, the more difficult it will be for people to remember.

In the context of political communication, the use of name tags with such acronyms is part of propaganda. Propaganda is a form of political communication to make suggestions to the public, so that their views are affected. With acronyms such as BirinMu and H2D, it is hoped that it can provide affirmations to the electorate about the character, vision, mission, work program and other matters concerning the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020. The candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor hope that the acronym will have a good influence on the audience so as to give a positive view of them.

The use of these acronyms gives a special meaning and differentiator to each candidate. The two words symbols used can be interpreted anything because there is no binding relationship between the symbol and its meaning (arbitrary). Because everyone has the freedom to give meaning to any word. However, for symbols in the form of the words 'BirinMU' and 'H2D' for the people of South Kalimantan, it becomes a reference or agreement to determine the choice, which candidate will be chosen. Humans do sometimes think irrationally, so the positive meaning of the word or symbol is associated with the candidate's vision. Moreover, in some research results, words or language can be part of a person's self-image efforts. Even Jurgen Habermas (in Hasan Basri, 1990) once said that language is a medium of domination and power by filling the space of people's consciousness with a very character image.

In the perspective of George Herbert Mead's Labelling Theory (in Ahmadi and Nur'aini, 2005), the labelling process has quite a great effect. Through a barrage of nicknames, a person's original self-image will disappear, replaced by a new self-image according to the nickname. Nicknames are able to give birth to a new reality for the sake of "justifying" certain conditions. Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin, who is labelled BirinMu, is not impossible that "justification" will be born that this candidate all the efforts and energy he has are spent fighting for "MU" which in this case is the community. Justification with the acronym H2D although it directly has no special meaning, but H2D pinned on the name of Haji Denny-Difri who carries the tagline "Hijrah for Banua" and "Save Banua Kita" wants to convey the message that this candidate has a great fighting spirit to make changes and improvements for the fate of the people of South Kalimantan.

The abbreviation selection strategy for the name borrowing Timothy P O'Brain (in Tamimy, 2017: 3) for candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor is indeed a promotional material. The concept of marketing the acronym of the candidate's name is known as a personal branding strategy. The abbreviation of the names of candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor is also the same as the brand, so it is important to learn and implement the concept of personal branding. Personal branding is the most important part of the marketing concept and aims to create a perception of the brand to enter the mind of the market (mind share) to master the hearts of voters (heart share). 'BirinMU' is the brand for Sahbirin Noor-H Muhidin and 'H2D' is their brand for Denny Indrayana-Difriadi. The brand entered the minds of South Kalimantan voters and competed for voters' hearts.

The political reality of the people of South Kalimantan as well as the national political reality is experiencing a crisis of leadership and a crisis of figures. The people of South Kalimantan are yearning for the birth of a leader who is qualified and can answer the expectations of the people. For the people of South Kalimantan, this hope can be focused on naming supported candidates and can be a bridge to improve people's lives. That is, at the same time there is a coveted hope from 'BirinMu' because it represents the success of development that has been carried out, at the same time 'H2D' also promises hope for improvement considering that both communities see that they have not been contaminated and bring new hope because they are considered as figures who can bring changes in the fate of society for the better as the slogans spread on campaign props.

3. Political Communication Through Mass Media
a. Political Campaigns on Television and Print Media

Electronic media, especially television, is one of the political campaign media and political communication facilities for candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020 which are considered effective. This campaign through electronic media is an advertisement insert for the candidates' political campaigns. Political campaign ads presented by both candidates were only aired on local TV media.

However, in general, the character of the political advertisements of the two Governors and Deputy Governors of South Kalimantan in 2020 is almost the same as the characters of most television political advertisements in Indonesia. The dominance of ads displaying figures and invitations to vote for sequence numbers is part of the content prioritized by each candidate.

In addition to television, the two candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor also use print media as a medium for political campaigns through political advertisements. Although the candidate admitted that it was not optimal to use national print media in campaigning for himself. This is more because some national print media charge quite expensive tariffs, so they are more likely to use local media that directly have access to the people of South Kalimantan than national media.

In general, all political advertisements for the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor-Deputy Governor Candidates published in print media are carefully prepared. The political ad also uses an easy and simple Indonesian. The words used generally have positive connotations that lead indirectly to the intention to be achieved, for example, the language in Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin's political advertisements that promote "Uncle BirinMU", "Move, Banua Forward" as a form of imaginative message.

When viewed from the content and appearance of campaign advertisements through television and print media, the two candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan have almost no substantial differences, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 6. Comparison of Political Campaign Ad Content

SAHBIRIN NOOR-MUHIDIN CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENT	HAJI DENNY-DIFRIADI CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENT
Candidates Use Varied Clothing (sometimes formal sometimes non-formal)	Candidates Use Varied Clothing (sometimes formal sometimes non-formal)
Candidates always say their second name	Candidate ads always mention both names
Candidates always mention the sequence number of the election	Candidate ads always mention the sequence number of the election
Many Candidates Approach the community of all circles	Many Candidates Approach the Community, Especially Among the Young Generation
Some Feature Artists	Never Featured Artists
Highlighting Gubernatorial Candidates over Deputy Governor Candidates	Featuring Governor Candidates Over Deputy Governor Candidates
Background Crowd/Mass Support/Supporting Political Parties	Against the Background of Community Conditions That Must Be Served/Assisted
Describing the Practice of Voting to Pictures and Sequence Numbers	Describing the Practice of Voting to Pictures and Sequence Numbers
Use Songs and Music	Using Music
Highlighting Gubernatorial Candidates as Experienced People	Highlighting Candidates for Governor as former Ministers and experienced in government
Using Jargon: - Move, Banua Forward;	Using Jargon: - Hijrah for Banua - Save Our Banua
Highlighting Current Development Results	Showing Direct Concern for the People (seeing sick people and being directly involved in people's activities)
Not Using a Logo	Not Using a Logo
Indonesian speaking mixed Banjar/regional languages	Indonesian speaking mixed Banjar/regional languages
Political Issues Raised: - Popular leaders; - Leaders want to listen to their people; - Close leaders to the people; - Leaders are capable of being good fathers	Political Issues Raised: Change for the better; Leaders serve the people; Clean Leaders; Leaders who are able to overcome the problems of education and unemployment, provide solutions to the rural economy

Source: Researcher Analysis, 2021

In addition, there are also differences in image prominence between the two candidates for the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor. The differences are as follows:

Table 7 Differences in the Content of Political Campaigns

SAHBIRIN NOOR-MUHIDIN CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENT	HAJI DENNY-DIFRIADI CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENT
Many involve novice selectors (young men/players)	Involving many groups, both poor and rich
Background of the crowd/group of young people	Background of the condition of the community that must be served/assisted
Using Jargon: Move, Banua Forward	Using Jargon: Hijrah Gasan Banua and Save Our Banua
Leadership Concepts: Soleh Leader Is a Leader Who Wants to Listen to His People Leaders Close to the People Leaders Who Can Be Good Fathers	Leadership Concepts: Leaders Serve the People Clean Leaders from KKN Leaders Who Are Able to Overcome Education and Unemployment Problems Leaders Who Provide Rural Economic Solutions.

Source: Researcher Analysis, 2021

Both political advertisements on television and print media are presented in color compositions that match the photos used on the ballot paper. This is reflected in the advertisements of Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin which is dominated by golden yellow and other degradation colors and Denny Indrayana-Difriadi with white.

As in advertisements on television, even in print media, the appearance of the candidate's face is very dominant instead of very prominent. The presence of a number of public figures from religious circles and public figures in advertisements that are aired or displayed is a special attraction. Admittedly, public figures in an advertisement are intended to attract public attention to the advertised product, in this case it is an advertisement for the candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan. This is in line with the view of Krugman (1994), that the credibility of the characters appearing in advertisements will increase the image of the advertised product. And it is believed that the emergence of a number of prominent religious figures helped boost Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin's victory in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections.

Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan also advertise in print media using slogans; A series of words arranged in such a way that can generate audience appeal. The slogan is contained in Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin's political advertisements with "Bergerak, Banua Maju" and Denny Indrayana-Difriadi "Hijrah Gasan Banua".

Although political campaigns in Indonesia are becoming more 'modern' than before the reform, which is more due to the development of digital technology, namely by the beginning of the spread of political advertisements in the mass media, it still cannot be compared with political campaigns in America. In fact, in the context of the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections, it is considered that it still looks traditionalistic. So called, because advertisements in print and television media, still use jargon that is less sharp and popular or just persuading such as "Choose us" or "Vote for us", no different from soy sauce ads that always claim number one. No more profound campaign advertising has been found that evokes emotion let alone public awareness. That is why the impact of political campaigns through mass media does not greatly affect voter behavior. This reality occurs, due to the lack of experience of politicians in Indonesia making good use of mass media, also related to the cultural context of Indonesian people who are relatively not mature enough to understand the meaning of democratic rights.

In the context of the intensity of airing and loading political advertisements in the mass media, Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin is indeed more intense than Denny Indrayana-Difriadi's political ads. In some mass media theories, intensity is indeed one factor in determining the influence of mass media on audiences. The higher the level of intensity of news or media broadcasting, the more it will strengthen the message conveyed. That is, if the information conveyed to the public already has a negative perception, then that negative perception is reinforced by the mass media.

Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin always included material "experienced leaders" and dominated by yellow as a form of Golkar Party identity. On the one hand, it may be that when this candidate says that he is an "experienced leader", it has a positive meaning because the aim is to convince the public to vote for Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin. Conversely, the phrase "experienced leader" can also be interpreted negatively, if the public considers that what Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin did during his time as a bureaucrat and "regional ruler" did not contribute and satisfy the community. The negative behavior of bureaucrats in the form of acts of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) under his leadership, in the public mind is very likely to be suspected.

The negative perceptions confirmed through the mass media indirectly strengthened the position of another candidate, Denny Indrayana-Difriadi. At least, as a "new person", promising change and becoming a new hope for the people of South Kalimantan in the hope that it can be better. With another understanding, the strengthening of negative perceptions of Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin became one of the sources of profit for Denny Indrayana-Muhidin.

b. Political Advertising in Outdoor Media and Social Media

In general, the messages conveyed by candidates in outdoor media, both in the form of banners, billboards, posters, stickers, and campaign props, including those carried out through social media, are almost the same. Most only offer messages about candidate photos with various poses, candidate names, acronyms of candidate names, and vision-mission or other jargon.

Like political campaigns in the mass media, campaigns using outdoor media and social media also have an important role in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections. In the context of the substance contained in billboards, banners, stickers, banners, and other campaign attributes, there is no significant difference with the substance contained in campaign advertisements in print and electronic media. The prominence of the candidate's face, the candidate's name, the candidate's sequence

number, the candidate's jargon, and the candidate's party origin are materials contained in the campaign attributes.

Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin tries to highlight themselves, both in the form of images, names, sequence numbers, and jargon as well as highlighting the origin of their political party, either by mentioning directly, putting up political party logos, or dominating colors. Meanwhile, Denny Indrayana-Difriadi is more diverse, even the mixed colors of red, yellow, blue stand out used to color the letters "H2D" and the red color they use to write their jargon "Hijrah Gasan Banua".

Although in plain view the attributes of the Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin campaign are more lively than the attributes of the Denny Indrayana-Difriadi campaign, in quantity there is no data on the number of campaign attributes made by each candidate. Both campaign teams also admitted that they did not record an exact number about the number of campaign attributes they created.

In fact, according to Deddy Mulyana (2010: 49), the number of campaign attributes, the size of campaign attributes, and installation location are factors that can increase the likelihood of candidate choice. In addition, there is one more factor according to Deddy Mulyana that determines the possibility of candidate choice, namely the quality of more attractive campaign attributes.

Faces that appear close-up in campaign attributes will make audiences more encouraged to choose them. Based on camera science, close-up shots impress intimacy and engagement. Especially if the face is smiling, giving the impression of being friendly and carefree; face with half body (medium shot) shows individual relationships, objective, neutral and impartial effects; While the face with the whole body (long shot) means keeping a distance or depersonalizing and reducing the emotional involvement of the audience.

Deddy Mulyana also emphasized that facial expressions displayed on billboards are important because the most "talking" non-verbal human behavior is facial expressions, especially eye gaze. According to Albert Mehrabian (in Mulyana, 2010: 50), states that the contribution of the face has an influence on the message to be conveyed is 55%, while vocal is 30%, and verbal is only 7%. Quoting Birdwhistell (in Muyana, 2010: 50), it is mentioned that even a slight facial change can create a different impression.

In the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections, the appearance of each candidate's face on campaign attributes was dominated by close up photos. Although candidates Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin and Denny Indrayana-Difriadi put up billboards in some places with pictures of him full body, there are just not many of them. It also happens when displaying photos of them half body which is not too much. Unfortunately, there is no data on the number of attributes posted on outdoor media or social media by each candidate.

As with outdoor media, the study also found that social media also contributed positively to the political communication of both candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan. The following table shows the percentage of use of social media as a campaign tool for each candidate.
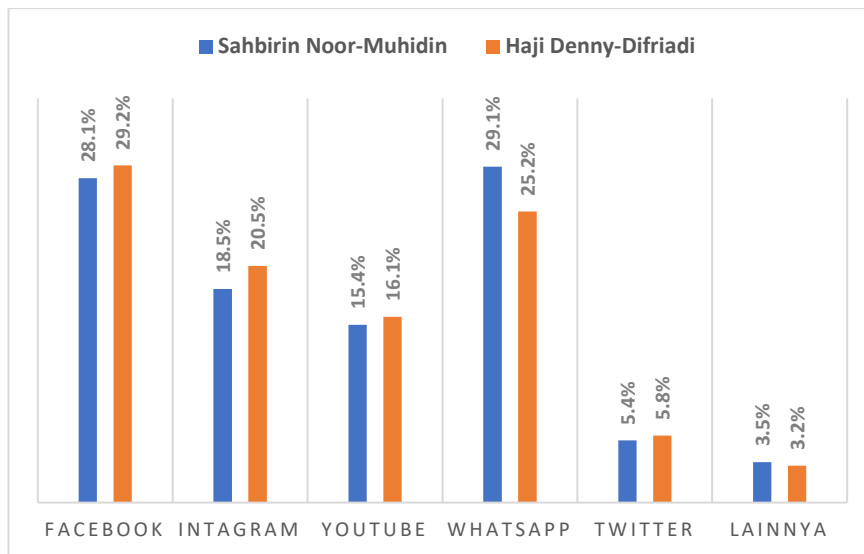
Fig 1. Graphic Utilization of Social Media as a Media Campaign

Based on that picture, each frequency of social media use, especially Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram and YouTube occupy an important position in campaigning for ideas and ideas submitted by candidates.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTION

Conclusions

Various phenomena that emerged in the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan 2020 as described earlier indicate that there has been a dynamic process of political communication, in the form of socialization of political symbols or symbols or something related to politics. This political communication process is in line with the thoughts of Gordon Wiseman and Larry Barker (in Mulyana, 2007: 133), which states that the function of communication is to describe the communication process, show visual relationships, and find and fix communication bottlenecks that occur. The political communication models for regional head candidates in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor Elections that are considered effective as determinants of victory are rhetoric, propaganda, public relations, political campaigns, political lobbying, and mass media, which can be done in the following ways:

1. In accordance with applicable laws and regulations, all parties involved in the political process in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections play a role in accordance with the political scenario.
2. The candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan are political actors who have political acceptance with various potentials, both personal, structural and cultural which are used as a medium of political communication with voters
3. The candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan do not carry out political communication in the form of political agitation, because it is not in accordance with the heterogeneous culture of the nation, let alone the culture of the people of South Kalimantan who prioritize mutual cooperation and togetherness.
4. The election of the Governor-Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan uses non-verbal messages by 1) Labelling names with certain acronyms that have positive meanings; 2) use of "political" clothing based on local culture; 3) superiority of political party colours; 4) Placing advertisements in mass

media (print and electronic; and 4) Placing campaign attributes in outdoor media and social media.

5. The verbal message of the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor candidate did not give much deep meaning because the words arranged in the form of presenting the vision, mission, and work program were too rigid. The verbal message comes to life when it is delivered directly orally in the presentation of candidates' campaign promises to voters.

6. The political messages of the candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan in 2020 are mostly conveyed face-to-face and using mass media.

7. There are five advantages of Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin's political communication that are considered effective in determining victory in the 2020 South Kalimantan Governor and Deputy Governor elections, that is:

    1. The character of the political message conveyed is more diverse by using symbols based on local culture;

    2. Having the support of parties that have a militant and solid support base, such as PDIP and PKS plus the strength of coalition parties adds to Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin's ability to attract votes from voters.

    3. Political campaigns are more prominent as successful and populist "experienced leaders";

    4. Support from religious and community leaders, including rulers as public relations in campaign attributes, as well as during campaigns in public spaces and social media became the capital of political communication, Sahbirin Noor-Muhidin gained support from voters.

    5. The use of the acronym "BirinMU", jargon "Bergerak, Banua Maju" and non-verbal messages in Banjar traditional clothing with sacred golden yellow color, is quite effective in attracting voters' sympathy, because it gives meaning as an experienced leader and sides with continuous efforts to carry out development for the community.

Suggestion

The phenomenon of political communication, especially in the process of contesting elections to the regions directly, is a very rich, interesting, and complex reality with its various dynamics. Therefore, research on the effectiveness of political communication in the election of the Governor and Deputy Governor of South Kalimantan is expected to contribute to the discipline of communication and politics. This reality is also very interesting to be researched and can be developed with other scientific approaches. Practically, the results of this research are also expected to be an inspiration for political parties, politicians and campaign teams to manage the right political communication model based on local cultural wisdom in regional democratic parties.

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