

Politics Minority Identity: A Discourse Analysis On Social Media Between Indonesia And Singapore

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Abstract

This study explores the impact of media narratives on the political identities of Muslim minorities in Bali, Indonesia, and Singapore. Examining Muslim minorities in these two settings is particularly compelling because they represent contrasting contexts, with Muslims forming a religious minority in Hindu-majority Bali and an ethno-religious minority in multicultural Singapore. While extensive research exists on identity politics, there is limited focus on how media narratives shape minority identities within the context of political competition. This study examines how media portrayals of Muslim minorities influence political contestation, particularly in election campaigns. Using a qualitative approach, the research analyzes online news content through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Social Network Analysis (SNA) to identify narrative patterns. Additionally, a descriptive method is applied to understand the distribution of these narratives on social media. Existing studies indicate that minorities are often underrepresented or negatively portrayed in mainstream media, including news and entertainment. However, such portrayals do not entirely exclude ethnic minorities from political participation. By analyzing both news media and social media, this study contributes to the political marketing literature by providing new insights into the role of media narratives in shaping electoral dynamics for Muslim minorities in Bali and Singapore.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to examine the Muslim minority from the perspective of political contestation. In the highly competitive arena of an election, a candidate's personal

religion ceases to be merely a private matter and often becomes a key component of their political brand, used to negotiate power dynamics against majority ideologies (Driessen, 2014). Minorities are people who, because of their physical characteristics, ancestry, culture or religion, are separated from other people and treated unequally or unfairly in the society in which they live (Buccoliero, Bellio, Crestini, & Arkoudas, 2020; Sørensen, 2018). They believe there is a collective act of discrimination against them and that their social, economic, and political opportunities are limited (Kusumasari, 2018a). The media have a great influence on the public discourse of minorities (Harden & Kirkland, 2016). Minorities are underrepresented and are often shown in a negative light in the media, especially in news and entertainment media (Kusumasari, 2018b; Soberman & Sadoulet, 2007). But this does not rule out the possibility for ethnic minorities to participate in politics. We can see the superiority of the minority in the midst of the majority in political contestation in Indonesia, especially in the provinces of Bali and Singapore. The DPD candidate, who is a Muslim won the DPD seat in Bali Province, which has a majority Hindu community, and a Muslim Malay woman became President of Singapore, where the majority of the people are ethnic Chinese (Kusumasari, 2018b; Soberman & Sadoulet, 2007).

Drawing from a wide range of studies that have been conducted shows that there is an equal chance for women candidates in representation to win electoral votes (Doherty, Dowling, & Miller, 2019; Mietzner, 2015). Democracy today is associated with representation and the development of representative democracy as a principle that must be upheld in the modern world. The concept of representation can simply be interpreted as "presenting the absent" (Doherty et al., 2019). The phenomenon that women are underrepresented in elections around the world is a fact accepted as a generally accepted truth by popular democracy research on identity. A psychological study shows us that stereotypes can be very powerful and persuasive when portrayed by the media (Fayiza, 2021). In fact, most people base most of their beliefs and attitudes about a particular group not on direct experience but on what they see in the media (Chuah, Shukri, & Yeoh, 2011). In short, the effect that the media has on public discourse and political policy is very strong, especially for minority groups (Chuah et al., 2011; Doherty et al., 2019; Kutay, 2015).

The situation is similar in the United States and Singapore. The election of Barack Obama in the presidential election is an important moment in the history of politics in the United States (Hoffman, 2017). The political preferences of the constituents in the previous elections have always emphasized a conservative attitude towards black candidates, so that

they often become a significant obstacle (Chuah et al., 2011; Fayiza, 2021). The factors of educational background and interest in substantial issues in America raised by Obama contributed greatly to his victory (Hoffman, 2017). As a way to make sure voters are well-informed, they are given easy access to information about the policies candidates offer and their pasts (Saidul Islam, 2011).

Furthermore, Singapore's presidential election in 2017, with the election of *Halimah Yacob*, became the next example of the victory of ethnic minorities in elections (White, 2015; Yefet, 2019). The legitimacy of his election was questioned considering that there were no contestants who passed the administrative stage. There has been a lot of criticism over the designation made by the *Election of Singapore* as the agency that regulates elections in Singapore (White, 2015). The issue of meritocracy has strengthened in response to the unfairness of election administrators in ensuring the continuity of democracy in Singapore (Yefet, 2019). Aside from this rejection, this election also ended Singapore's long wait for a more democratic political direction (Hussain & Sherif, 2014; Yefet, 2019).

Identity politics used in communicating is useful for political mobilization, especially in the context of religious communities. This identity always clashes with the ideology and beliefs of the majority (Parker, 2017). The implication boils down to the election of leaders with the same background as the majority in the region. In its campaign, the Muslim Ethnic Parliament has talked about a lot of important issues, such as development and unity in diversity, to get people to vote for it (Hussain & Sherif, 2014; Parker, 2017).

Indonesia is a Muslim-majority country. Indonesia has 207 million Muslims. This is 13% of global Muslims. Some locations have a Muslim minority (White, 2015; Yefet, 2019). Bali has a Hindu majority of 3,247,283 people and a Muslim minority of 520,244 people in *Buleleng, Karangasem, Bangli, Klungkung, Gianyar, Badung, Tabanan, Jembrana*, and *Denpasar City* (Kusumasari, 2018a). Comparing to Singapore as a multicultural country, Singapore has Chinese, Malay, and Indian populations. Malays and Indians are minorities with 11.87 and 8.25 percent of the population, respectively, compared to Chinese with 76.84 percent (Farooqui, 2020). Religion determines Singapore's population. 14.01% of Singaporeans are Muslim (da Silva & Gonçalves, 2019; Harden & Kirkland, 2016).

Given the multinational and multidimensional background, this paper has two objectives. First, to provide an analysis of the news media and social media in Bali, Indonesia and Singapore, which show that ethnic minorities can be elected amidst the issue of minority identity, indicating that there has been an appropriate role of political communication.

Secondly, to examine the popular mass and social media to assess whether political communication marketing is a form of minority political opportunity that has been accepted by the people. In addition, the focus of this research is on the media discourse in Bali, Indonesia, which may then differ from the discourse constructed by the Singapore media when faced with the same issue.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political Marketing and Representation of Minority

The struggle of politicians is not only when they try to win the election but also after they are elected, how they can actively participate as a minority group in the government. Minorities are groups that are separated from other groups because they have fundamental differences in physical aspects, culture, beliefs, and thoughts (Barrientos, 2011; Fenton, 2017). In this situation, minority groups struggle to focus on political candidates for representation of minority groups, especially Muslim minority groups running for elections. (Barrientos, 2011). The Political candidates aim to compete in elections by gaining the support of various circles, groups or voters from various backgrounds, in order to be elected to parliament. (Harel-Shalev, 2017; White, 2015). In this case, being elected does not only depend on being a political candidate, but also on having integrity and reputation in the voting community (White, 2015). Moreover, the integrity and reputation of political candidates are largely determined by the way they conduct themselves in society, their behaviour, and their frequent interactions during campaigns (White, 2015; Yefet, 2019). The candidates who have behavioural values that are socially acceptable and close to the community will find it very accessible to voters in their electoral areas. (Buckley, 2013; Yefet, 2019).

In a broader context, in practice, many political candidates only prioritise the power of political parties, which already have a permanent vote and are loyal to their party, so they tend to have less interaction with the community (Fayiza, 2021; Zuber & Muś, 2013). The development of knowledge about political candidates requires political candidates to prioritise aspects of personal credibility, considering that candidates' personal trends will be widely exposed on social media (Fayiza, 2021). Thus, to be creative and innovative in gaining voter sympathy, political candidates must strive to open dialogue with various groups, both minority and majority, without promoting identity issues, but presenting their representability as representatives of all groups (Zuber & Muś, 2013). It is about presenting

social issues as a common problem (Figure 1), seeking support regardless of voter identity, negotiating with voters, championing issue strategies that exist in their social environment (Farooqui, 2020; Negri, 2018).

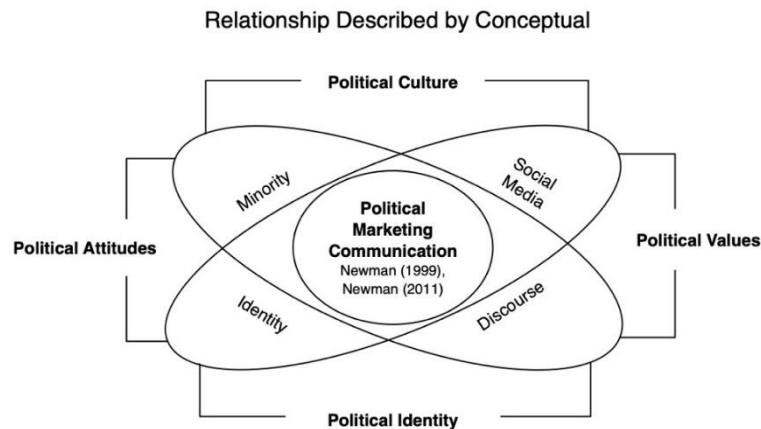


Figure 1. Relationship Described by Conceptual, 2024

This research uses identity-based political marketing communication theory by discourse analysis, which refers to two basic theories, namely political marketing by (Kettle, Donnell, & Newman, 2013; Newman, 2020); and political communication referring to (Lynda Lee Kaid & Christina Holtz-Bacha, 2008; Newman, 2020) in analyzing identity-based political marketing communications on the electability of candidates for Muslim minorities.

As a unit, the phenomenon of minority political participation in *DPD RI*- The Regional Representative Council, the candidates can be explained by an identity-based political marketing communication approach (Chowdhury & Naheed, 2020; Friedman, 2005). First, this approach can help understand the political participation of minorities. Due to the lack of electability of *DPD RI* candidates and the presence of candidate representatives in the election period, it can be understood that the strategy that is built can be compiled into a model of political participation from minorities as representatives of each province elected through general elections. Second, the political marketing communication approach is shown to be a way to measure the phenomenon of minority political participation. This is followed by a discussion of identity politics in five provinces in Indonesia, especially Muslim minority politics in the electoral process in five provinces with different social, cultural, religious, economic, and political systems.

Political Marketing

Political marketing can be understood as techniques and tools in political campaigns (Harmes, 2016). In a broad sense, political marketing has been widely used and applied by many researchers to describe communication models and ways of campaigning in the political world (Darren G. & Jennifer L. M, 2005). Initially, the concept of political marketing was more widely used in the field of communication and interests, especially to build public trust as a form of public campaign (Darren G. & Jennifer L. M, 2005). Then this political marketing approach globally aims to design political messages with various forms of strategy and planning (Mensah, 2007). In the process, political marketing involves a pattern of information exchange, team building, political network management, and increased cooperation between actors involved in political campaigns, for example; political parties with political candidates, political candidates and related organisations, and voters (Chowdhury & Naheed, 2020). Thus, in practice, political marketing is often used in political campaigns to strengthen relationships and networks over a long period of time, which is mutually beneficial between political candidates and political parties, and aims to win candidates in elections (Freestone & McGoldrick, 2007).

Political marketing is used to contribute to political candidates to package political messages in the form of advertisements by taking into account aspects of voters, competitors, and regions (Doherty et al., 2019). In addition, the concept of political marketing has been used to convey messages and position candidates towards voters, through messages that address social, economic, and cultural issues, in developing campaign programmes based on mapping analysis in political marketing, including the closeness between the community and political candidates (Ahmed, 2020; McGraw, 2009). Successful political marketing needs to consider several important factors and principles in elections, considering that political candidates tend to ignore this political marketing when dealing with the electoral process in a democratic country (Andrei, 2016). Furthermore, political candidates formulate a strategic role through massive and organised political market orientation. The implication is that political marketing forms a dialogue with voters, so this process is interconnected and cannot be separated in the concept of candidates and voters (Bünthe & Thompson, 2018; Doherty et al., 2019).

Relationships in political marketing are useful for information exchange and open dialogue between political candidates and voters (Simons, 2020b). Another perspective, political marketing is also a facility or model for the exchange of political values in elections

between candidates and voters (Mensah, 2007). Thus, it can be interpreted that the concept of political marketing is a political communication framework to increase voter targets or increase the level of trust between candidates and voters (Chowdhury & Naheed, 2020). Apart from being used as a tool in elections, marketing communication also functions to identify voters, as well as voter demographics to determine voter mapping in the political campaign process (Darren G. & Jennifer L. M, 2005). Thus, political marketing communication planning requires building political networks and relationships based on voter's preferences (Chowdhury & Naheed, 2020). Political marketing activities can take various approaches, such as; political advertising, dialogue with influential figures, involving the community in holding political campaign events (Harmes, 2016).

In addition to attracting voters, political marketing also serves as a tool to create a candidate's image to voters, so the identification of voters and the right time is crucial for political marketing (Harmes, 2016). Moreover, several other supporting factors in the political marketing process function such as; publicizing election results between candidates and parties, preliminary surveys, and filling in the gaps in marketing candidates who have been nominated to improve the quality of political candidates (Bendle & Cotte, 2016). The rationality is that political marketing is formed based on the political actors involved, how structures and ideologies are formed, must answer the needs of society by accommodating opinions and perspectives that arise from various circles (Butler & Harris, 2009). In practice, generating a positive response from the public, nurturing public opinion is a form of political marketing in increasing voter confidence in political candidates (Butler & Harris, 2009). Therefore, in a democratic system, political marketing is built on the quality of democracy as well (Butler & Harris, 2009). It can be interpreted that political marketing in a democracy can be used as a tool in increasing the number of voters from various groups (Bendle & Cotte, 2016).

In the context of this research, political marketing serves to win elections, not just for political campaigns (Harmes, 2016). In addition, there are several elements that must be considered in political marketing, such as paying attention to improving the communication process with relevant actors, including the involvement of the media sector which plays an important role in political campaigns (Chowdhury & Naheed, 2020). This is also in line with previous research which states that the media sector has been successful in marketing political candidates to become more famous, and their credibility is widely known (Mensah, 2007). Winning elections by political candidates requires effort and time as well as strategy

The latter view proposed that democracy entails not just free and fair elections, but also political exchange that they are carried out (Bünthe & Thompson, 2018; Simons, 2020a). In ethnically diverse cultures, a system of election is frequently preferred to a system in ethnically diverse societies (Borisova & Zhuravleva, 2018; Patra, 2018; Terchek et al., 2001). However, analyzed from various previous studies, research gaps are described through research trends that are highlighted based on bibliometric analysis of political minority identity politics in Bali, Indonesia, and Singapore (Simons, 2020a). As well as keywords regarding political minority identity which will be related to the practical of political minority identity based on social media (Apriliyanti & Alon, 2017).

Figure 2 (a) & (b). Network visualization map based on bibliographic data (bibliographic coupling, keyword on political minority identity).

based on the Scopus Database". **Figure 2 (a)** shows the main keyword network or the most indexed keywords that appear with this keyword term, some of the indexed keywords are then presented based on 200 articles that can be grouped into groups (each color represents one group).

The cluster above illustrates the size of the nodes in the figure (in light yellow) is where each of the interconnected nodes, namely political marketing is related to the attitude node in politics, namely political minority identity as the issue being analysed in this study, especially the nodes related to political minority identity. **Figure 2 (b)** presents that focused cluster were grouped in 4 clusters/colors. These analyses political marketing and attitude relates to other essential keywords which is connected to discourse analysis on social media about political campaign within connected cluster.

Social Media Platform

Social media is not new. some of the first applications were framed around communication and sharing. Several definitions and ideas arose as new media reviews and understandings became more and more prevalent (Effing, Hillegersberg, & Huibers, 2011; Reddick, Chatfield, & Ojo, 2017a). One of the definitions of new media refers to a change in the process of media production and distribution (Sinclair, Peirson-Smith, & Boerchers, 2017). Social media is a representation of technology or applications that people use to create or maintain their social network sites (Han & Jia, 2018; Sinclair et al., 2017).

Social media can be defined as a group of internet-based applications built on the ideology and foundation of technology from Web 2.0 and allows to create content exchange between its users (Reddick, Chatfield, & Ojo, 2017b). Social media as follows: "Social media are web-based tools for interaction that, in addition to conversation, allow users to share content as photos, video, link to resources." Another definition of social media disclosed are: "social media is the latest buzzword in a long time of buzzword. It is often used to describe the collection of software that enables individuals and communities to gather, communicate, share, and in some cases collaborate or join (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Mazali, 2017).

In tech circles, social media has replaced the earlier "social software" (Mazali, 2017). Academics still tend to prefer terms like "computer mediated communication" or "compute-supported co-operative work" to describe the practices that emerge from these tools and the old school academics might even categorize these tools as "group work" tools (Kavanaugh

et al., 2011; Reyes, 2006). Social media is driven by another buzzword: “user-generated content” or content that is contributed by participants rather than editor. Social media in a more effective and easily understood definition as an online platform to interact, collaborate and create or share digital content (Reyes, 2006).

Media changes known as new media according to (McQuails, 2005) “Mass media have changed, certainly from the early-twentieth-century days of one-way, one directional, and undifferentiated flow to an undifferentiated mass (Effing et al., 2011; Reddick et al., 2017a). There are social and economics as well as technological reason for this shift, but it is real enough in details, he argued that *first*, digitality, which changes the entire process of media into digital form. *Second*, interactivity which mean the existence of technology capable of giving response to user and interactivity between each user. *Third*, the dispersal refers to the decentralization of production and distribution process that improve the participative from the individual.

METHODS

The current study focuses on evidence taken from two cities through social media, namely Bali and Singapore City. The research employed discourse analysis by identifying key political minority identity such as current and planned activities in social media, as well as gathering existing documents. The use of digital technology, namely social media, is then used specifically for the needs of data analysis in discourse analysis.

To develop an understanding of how political communication marketing can shapes the form of minority’s public perception of the opportunity in the election evolved between 2019 in Bali, Indonesia, and 2017 in Singapore president election, numerous Twitter and Facebook accounts were surveyed, including mass media such as, @AntaraNews, @TribunBali, @DenpasarNews, @BaliPost, @NusaBali, and @JPNN as local and popular mass media in Bali, Indonesia. Also, in the case of Singapore, numerous Twitter and Facebook accounts were surveyed, including mass media such as, @SouthChinaMorningPost, @BBCNews, @SingaporeNews, @JakartaPost, @WorldNews, @TODAY, @AlJazeera, and @HindustanTime as popular mass media in Singapore. Keywords, such as election, minority, political, ethnic, candidates, Bambang Santoso, Halimah Yacob, media, communication, Bali, Singapore, were used to identify relevant tweets, post and discussions within mass and social media.

We used discourse as an important point in the concept and discourse of policy and have included indicators to capture the political minority identity through the how the media portrays ethnic minorities in Indonesia and Singapore in the context of political contest (McGregor, 2003). The study used critical discourse analysis (CDA) and social network analysis (SNA) to describe political minority identity issues in Indonesia and Singapore (Buck, 2017; Paltrinieri, Hassan, Bahoo, & Khan, 2020). To analyze the media texts, this study applies Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model. The procedure involves examining three interconnected levels: the *text* (the vocabulary and structure of the media narratives), the *discursive practice* (how the media produces and distributes these narratives), and the *social practice* (the broader ideological and political context of minority elections in Bali and Singapore). Applying Fairclough's model enables the identification of specific narrative patterns and rhetorical strategies used by the media to construct minority political identities. Furthermore, this paper loosely adopts the "political minority identity" and uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to how the media portrays ethnic minorities in the context of power struggles based on those indicators through social media and news coverage pertaining to the political minority identity.

To complement the textual analysis, SNA is utilized to map the distribution, frequency, and relationships of these narratives across digital platforms. The SNA procedure involves using software-assisted analytical tools, specifically VOSviewer for bibliographic keyword clustering and NVivo for social media data coding. These tools extract and visualize the interconnected networks between key political actors, dominant campaign issues, and specific social media platforms. By integrating CDA with software-driven SNA, this study systematically evaluates both the ideological content of the political discourse and its structural distribution across public networks.

In both discourse analyses conducted in Bali and Singapore, first the main issues on social media related to Muslim minority issues or identity politics were identified, and then the relevant social media platform documents available were collected for analysis. This process aims to obtain public perceptions in social media that are tailored to the target use of secondary data for discourse analysis, which are clearly related to the issues of this research or discourse trends in social media to achieve the goal of using digital technology in campaigning for minority identity politics.

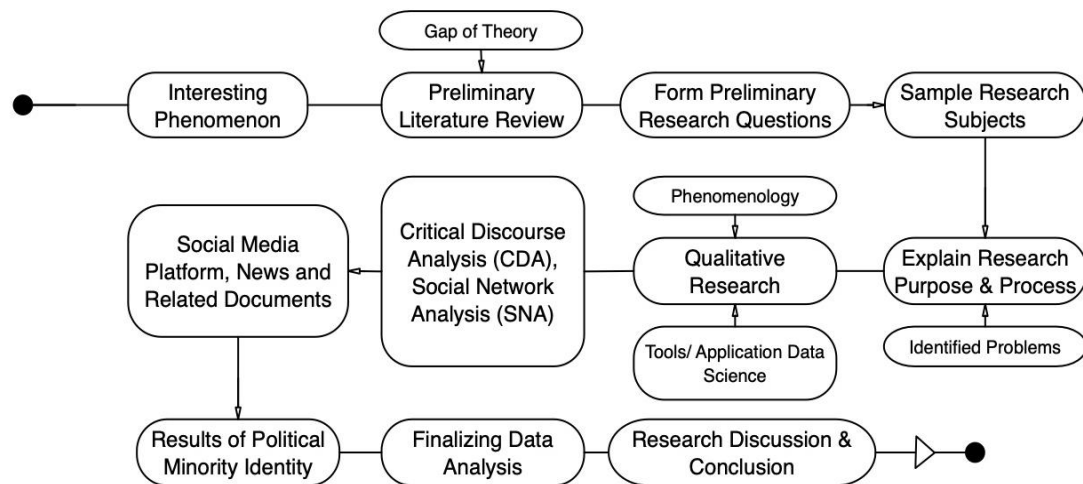


Figure 3. Research methodology and data analysis process, 2024

Based on the set of methods, the respective social media activities were then analysed individually in relation to the political minority identity that allows the phenomenon of social media platform or groups, which may potentially lead to societal fragmentation, to occur. Hurd Clark (2014) and Cowley (2018) suggest the following categories in the discourse analysis, (1) the issues on political minority identity; (2) the key social media platform involved in political minority identity; (3) the particular socio-activities in social media; and (4) the dominant issues of publicness: political minority identity.

In analysing the data through discourses analysis, this study applied a descriptive approach to describe the Muslim minority paradigm in winning elections in Bali and Singapore. Thus, secondary data or desk studies also help in building a more in-depth analysis. Data analysis conducted between secondary data, namely from media data, serves to find interrelated patterns, and the emergence of certain patterns to get analysis in this study (Haradhan, 2018).

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Political parties have become an essential feature of modern politics and even become an inseparable part of the political system (Lagona & Padovano, 2021; Meza & Pérez-Chiqués, 2021; Nehru, 2013; Parvin, 2018; Petrov, 2020). In a democratic political system, political parties usually carry out the following four functions (Borisova & Zhuravleva, 2018; Braun, 2008; Lele, 2020). First, political communication aims to gain various aspirations that develop in the community (Hermanto & Riyadi, 2020; Patra, 2018). Second, political socialization is political parties that organize groups whose members share the same orientation, values, and ideals (Efendi, Agustiyara, & Putra, 2019; Riyadi, Hermanto,

Harlina, & Purnomo, 2020). Third, the purpose of political parties is to win power; hence they use various recruitment strategies and the recruitment of political leaders who can be responsible for the power they get (Parvin, 2018; Rose-Ackerman & Desierto, 2011; Terchek et al., 2001). Lastly, the conflict management tools play a role in bridging the various conflicts of interest in society to be further channelled into the political system (Meza & Pérez-Chiqués, 2021; Petrov, 2020).

Social Media and Identity Politics in Bali, Indonesia

There are many diverse applications for social media, and sometimes one use will be categorized differently than another (Effing et al., 2011; Reddick et al., 2017a). One example of this would be social media, which is a form of media that is specifically intended to make social contact, the sharing of digital media, and collaboration between users easier (Quadir, Chang, & Yang, 2021). Twitter is the best example of a social media platform because it allows users to have public profiles and broadcast public messages; these messages are then aggregated across users; users can choose whose words to follow, but they will not receive those users' messages; and users can choose whether or not other users can follow them.

In contrast to traditional media, which has a one-way conversational flow, social media has more of a two-way conversational flow built into its nature (Effing et al., 2011; Zavattaro & Sementelli, 2014). On the other hand, it portrays social media as an all-encompassing media technology that includes platforms like Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter (Effing et al., 2011). According to the context of this article, "social media" refers to digital technology that is used to send different types of media or information to other people and that allows everyone to share content that other users can share. Hence, Facebook and Twitter and mass media, which are mostly used by important Indonesian Islamic organizations to spread the information in gaining of political contest rather than build networks, are considered to be forms of social media.

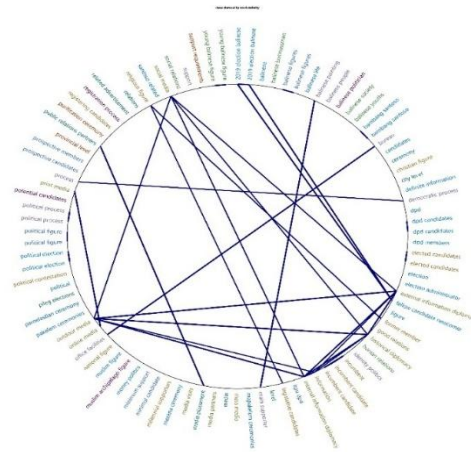


Figure 4. Cluster analysis in Bali, Indonesia has noticeably classified the shape of political communication “coding by items from mass and social media” 2019 to 2022.

The high use of social media in the community, as seen in the data above (**Figure 4**), has the pot to become a means for political actors to gain public support. In this context, social media can also be a means of forming public opinion. There are 12 main factors that triggered the development and acceptance of minority identity politics in order to look more closely at the factors that shaped political marketing communication in the context of the DPD election in Bali, Indonesia. **Figure 5(a)** Cluster analysis showing the themes that emerged from the data coding analysis. Including this analysis, it was also developed with word cloud analysis as a vulnerability to emerging themes when coding with predetermined keywords. See **Figure 5(b)**.

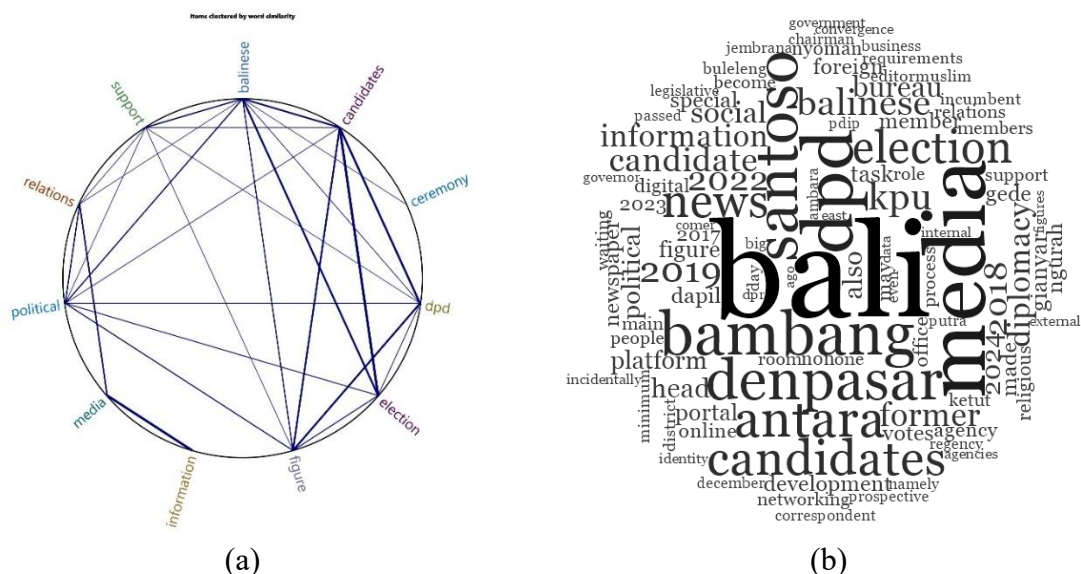


Figure 5. Cluster Analysis and Word cloud on social media of Bali, Indonesia on political minority identity, 2019 to 2022.

Efforts need to be made to overcome social inequality in democratic life, namely through the reconstruction of political discourse, from idea-based politics to presence-based politics (Kutay, 2015; Suebvises, 2018). The politics of presence is a political strategy that presents representatives of ethnic, religious, and ethnic minorities to the majority so that they can appear together on the stage of democracy and government. Representatives of minority groups aim to bring out the aspirations of minority groups so as to create social and political stability. However, on the other hand, presence-based politics tends to lead to identity politics because they no longer carry a common mission but instead represent the flag of their respective ethnicity.

Indonesia is one of the countries in the world with the highest Muslim population. Indonesia's Muslim population is roughly 207 million peoples. This represents 13% of all Muslims worldwide (Kusumasari, 2018b). Nonetheless, there are some regions where Muslims are a religious minority. One of them is located in Bali province. On the island of Bali, where most people are Hindu, the districts of *Jembrana*, *Tabanan*, *Badung*, *Gianyar*, *Klungkung*, *Bangli*, *Karangasem*, *Buleleng*, and *Denpasar City* are home to 520,244 Muslims. However, there are 3,247,283 more Hindus than Muslims (Makin, 2016).

For example, *H. Bambang Santoso* became the only Muslim representative in the election of the Regional Representative Council of Bali Province. Based on the recapitulation of the votes acquired by the 2019 Bali Province DPD Candidate, H. Bambang Santoso, also known as "UBS", was able to obtain a total of 126,015 votes. This result also put UBS in fourth place and beat its rival, *Gede Ngurah Ambara Putra*, who got 117,857 votes. The choice of UBS in the fourth position raises pros and cons among the Balinese themselves. People who agree think that UBS is indeed worthwhile and its election is the result of the democratic process (Choi, 2016; Yahya, 2019). Meanwhile, people who do not think that UBS does not support the culture and customs of Bali because of the different perspectives and beliefs held. Responding to this problem, volunteers responded humanely and narrated UBS's victory not only for Muslims, but for all people in Bali. Also, as Chair of the Indonesian Mosque Council, UBS is very involved in helping people in Bali understand pluralism and tolerance between religious groups.

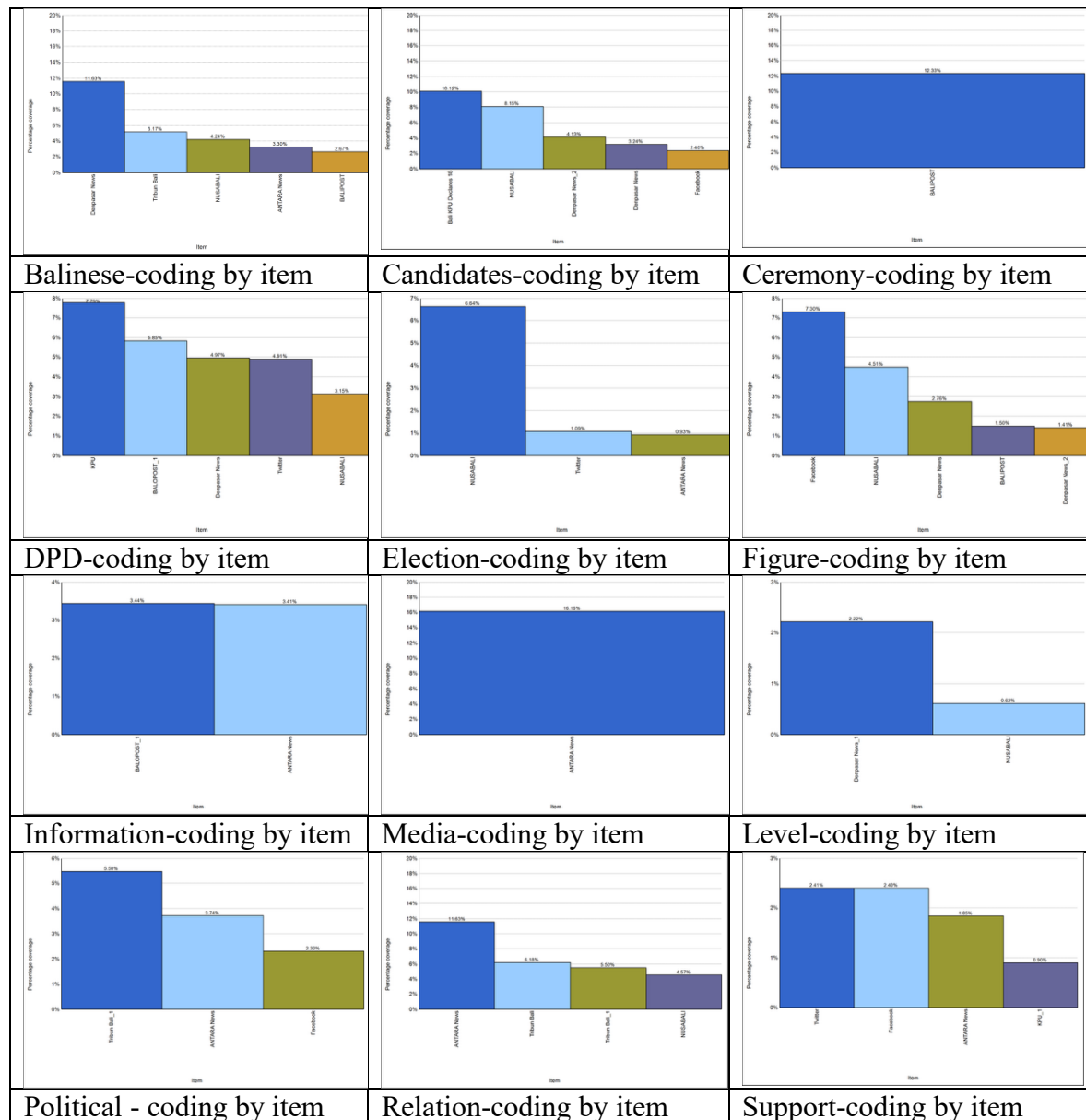


Figure 6. NVivo Cluster Analysis Percentage of 12 major factors generated from mass and social media data.

Thus, Through the SNA clustering of mass and social media data, 12 main nodes form the political communication network surrounding minority candidates (see **Figure 6**). Viewing this through Fairclough's textual dimension, the prominent coding of "Balinese" where this coding is very dominant appears when analysed in relation to identity minority politics, which allows Balinese people to be very accepting of the presence of elected minority groups, which have been accepted in the community. Furthermore, the candidate coding appears widely published from the official website of the government agency as the

election organiser, namely the KPU, this can be seen from the percentage obtained from the cluster analysis.

The keyword "ceremony" appears based on Bali Province, which is full of cultural customs and events, so it is very relevant if this aspect becomes the dominant factor in this study. While DPD and Election show a high percentage in mass media compared to social media, of course this is because many campaigns or official candidate announcements appear on government websites and mass media. In the "figure" aspect, the role of public figures involved in political communication with a high percentage is using social media, namely Facebook, inseparable from the goals and target voters from all circles, so the role of social media dominates in this aspect.

Given that mass media is still very popular in Bali, Indonesia, making mass media is still one of the alternative campaigns for political candidates, namely "information" and "media" with a high percentage in mass media. But not with the "level" aspect, which means the level of government from the village level to the province that is still actively using social media as a medium of political communication, especially twitter.

Moreover, it is the same with "political, relations and support" as an important aspect in building political marketing communication which is still dominated in the mass media. In addition, shaping the electability strategy of minority candidates in Bali is influenced by these 12 main factors, which are then considered to have involved analyses of mass and social media, between minority identity political issues and political marketing communications

Again, the practice of identity politics on social media was explored through the general election phenomena in Bali, especially on media accounts. Social media accounts were chosen as cases to see the phenomenon of the practice of identity politics because there is a mass movement of public opinion about identity politics, such as the issue of "religion."

Social Media and Identity Politics in Singapore

Singapore is an ethnically and religiously diverse nation. Singapore is home to three major ethnic groups: Chinese, Malay, and Indian (Parker, 2017). Based on the overall population, Malays and Indians, two of the largest ethnic groups, are minorities, with 11.87% and 8.25% of the population, respectively, compared to Chinese with 76.84%. Singapore's population is determined by the religions it practices. 14.01% of Singapore's people follow Islam, which is one of the religions that its people practice.

Singapore's eighth president and first female head of state is Halimah Yacob. According to the PEC (Presidential Election Committee), only Halimah Yacob is qualified to run for president. Farid Khan, chairman of a marine services company, and Salleh Marican, CEO of a property firm, cannot run for president. Legally, the PEC's judgment cannot be appealed or reviewed in court (Cross, Currie-Wood, & Pruyers, 2020). Various civil society groups hailed Madam Halimah as the first female president of Malays in 47 years. Madam Halimah Yacob was selected by a "walkover" because there were no other qualified candidates. She is the second president who comes from the Malay ethnicity. This raises questions about the purity of the Malay race, after people realized she was half Indian.

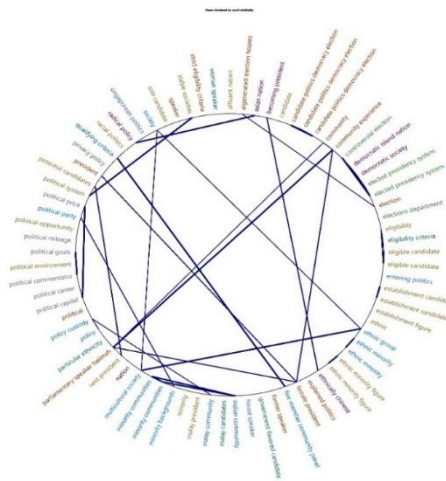
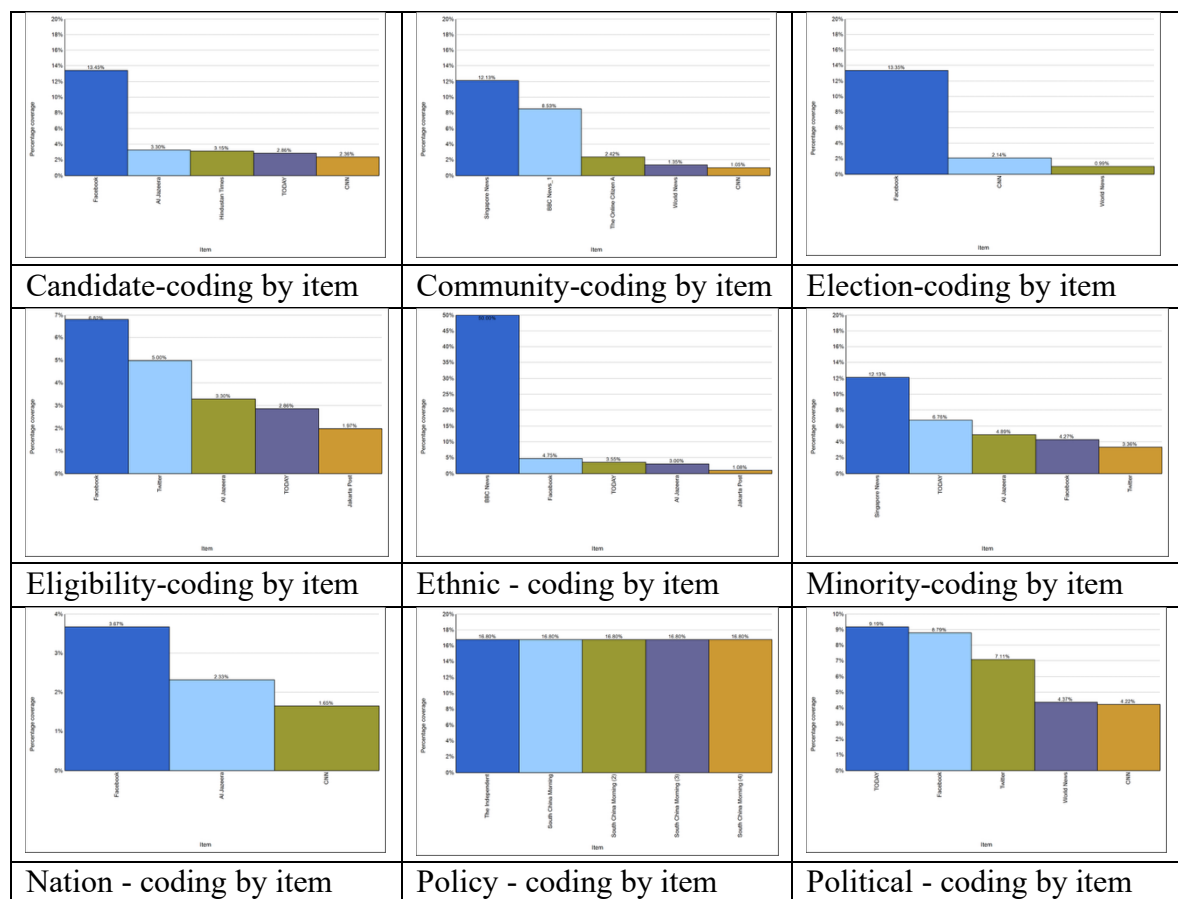


Figure 7. Cluster analysis in Singapore has remarkably classified the form of political communication 'coding by items from mass and social media' 2017 to 2020

According to the statistics shown above (see **Figure 7**), the prevalent usage of social media in the community has the potential to develop into a mechanism through which political players can win the support of the general population (Farooqui, 2020; Newman, 2020). In this sense, the use of social media can also be a method of shaping the public understanding. There are 12 main factors that triggered the development and acceptance of minority identity politics in order to look more closely at the factors that shaped political marketing communication in the context of President election in Singapore. **Figure 8(a)** Cluster analysis showing the themes that emerged from the data coding analysis. Including this analysis, it was also developed with word cloud analysis as a vulnerability to emerging themes when coding with predetermined keywords. See **Figure 8(b)**.

political identity in terms of political marketing communication. In Bali, the "candidate" aspect is widely publicised and discussed in the mass media, while in Singapore, the minority political candidate is Facebook as the main media in terms of campaigning for political candidates. This means that both media platforms have become part of the political communication marketing strategy. Second, the "community" aspect, in this case, how minority groups can be elected, especially from certain ethnic communities that already have eligibility as political candidates, this aspect is dominated in the mass media, including many local mass media such as Malay and Hindustan. Furthermore, when comparing Bali and Singapore, the aspect of 'election' leads to different coding analyses, namely between the effectiveness of mass media and social media. The aspect of "eligibility" as well as the aspect of candidates who are more effective in using social media, especially Facebook, are suggested to play an important role in shaping the electability of candidates and political communication by political candidates in general elections. Not only that, but the "minority" and "ethnic" aspects are important in the election of Halimah Yacob as President of Singapore, as evidenced by the large number of endorsements from various types of mass media and with a high percentage as well, see **Figure 9**.



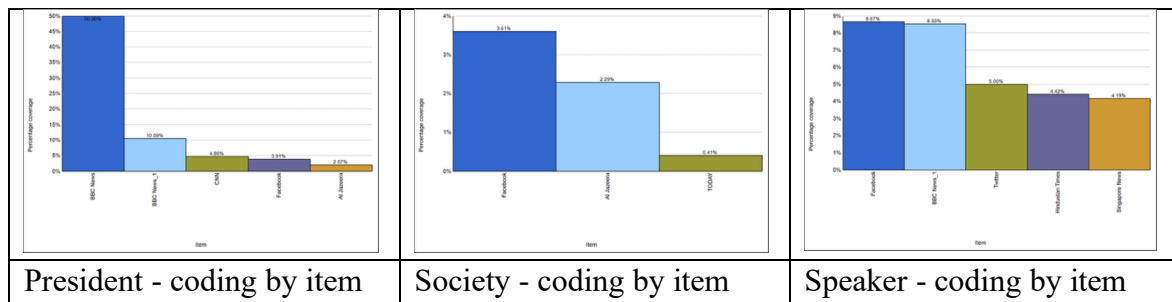


Figure 9. NVivo Cluster Analysis Percentage of 12 major factors generated from mass and social media data.

Moreover, "nation, policy and political" becomes a complex aspect based on the factor of political stability and the quality of political education that develops in society, so that the issue of minority is no longer the main factor, but the eligibility of political candidates becomes a factor in the development of political marketing communication from minority candidates. Likewise, "president" and "society" are analysed a lot in the mass media and social media, especially on the issue of the election of the president in a multicultural society, a democratic society, especially the election of President Halimah Yacob as the first woman and minority to become president of Singapore. As for the "speakers", it is interpreted as a form of support from other politicians for the election of political candidates, especially from the statements of political figures who indirectly play a role in political communication towards elected candidates.

Based on the discourse analysis in social media and its relationship with the concept of minority identity politics, it can be seen that this research portrays identity politics in elections where political actors are dealing with the democratic process, which has factors and principles in political marketing communication (Andrei, 2016). The relationship between the concept built and its practice has seen how the media is used as a tool in conducting identity campaigns. Political candidates must have willingness and strategic political market orientation. Given that political marketing can have an impact on the level of voter affection for political candidates, it is non-negotiable in gaining public trust to vote for their candidates (Newman, 2020).

Moreover, political marketing opens up many opportunities for both voters and political candidates, in theory stating that voters can determine product, promotion, price, and placement. So in this case, candidates must be smart in integrating the candidates offered, the promotions delivered, the things that will be achieved after being elected and being a representation of all groups (Kharima, 2014).

This is in line with the analysis, where; first, the product is positioned as a political candidate who has a strong figure, which is seen both from the aspect of integrity and ideas that have been prepared as a strategic plan, has a strong ideology, offers a work program that answers social and economic problems, including political promises that have been delivered during the campaign process in accordance with the principles of political marketing (Andrei, 2016). Secondly, there is a target idea set by political teams and candidates, where social media is one of the tools that have been used in promoting their candidates massively, both political marketing that occurs in Bali, and Singapore. Third, in the aspect of political marketing or pricing, it means that political candidates have been able to create psychological creations or closeness in ideology, principles that have a positive impact on the ideas and ideas conveyed during the campaign.

It can be seen from the results of the discourse analysis that the representation and presence of political candidates in the majority and minority have a positive response. The last is the placement aspect, where political candidates understand the mapping of their voters both from the aspects of culture, demographics, and political party enthusiasts, as a way for candidates to be present in the midst of community problems, opening dialogue to achieve maximum victory (Kharima, 2014).

In this case, the concept and practice of political marketing in both Bali and Singapore, where candidates are able to package political messages that do not only represent minority and majority identities, but pay attention to the fundamental problems that occur in society, along with strategies that are built oriented to the wider community, knowing competitors in the election, and voter demographics (Firmanzah, 2008). Along with the purpose of political marketing is to deliver political messages to voters as a process in democracy, having a strong relationship between voters and political candidates (Kharima, 2014).

In this study, the use of the concept of political marketing in Bali and Singapore has illustrated how the strategic role of candidates in analysing voters and media tools used in building alignment between voters and political candidates (Kharima, 2014). Obtaining information in the political world is certainly inseparable from two main aspects, namely the function of media tools and applications as media in facilitating political participation in political marketing (Firmanzah, 2008).

This is also in line with other research which sees that the media also functions as a method of public political education (Darren G. & Jennifer L. M, 2005). If looking at the political marketing cycle that occurs in Bali and Singapore, that there is consistency that has

been built long before the political parties and candidates are promoted. Winning political candidates requires strategic designs and schemes between parties and political candidates (Darren G. & Jennifer L. M, 2005).

Thus, political marketing often involves many related actors, in determining political steps such as market demographics for political campaigns, having candidates or products that answer market needs, political communication also contains messages of social and economic problems that are more acceptable to the wider community, especially the issue of marginalised minorities in this modern democratic era. This is a factor in how discourse analysis is built in the victory between political parties and candidates in elections (Darren G. & Jennifer L. M, 2005).

CONCLUSION

This study examines Muslim minorities in political elections, where the media often underrepresents or negatively portrays them. Despite these barriers, strategic political marketing helps minority candidates win elections. Identity politics can clash with majority beliefs, but it also drives political mobilization when candidates focus their campaigns on shared goals like development, tolerance, and unity.

By using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Social Network Analysis (SNA), this study clarifies four key aspects of media narratives and minority electability:

- The political challenges differ in each region. In Bali, a local religious minority seeks representation in a Hindu-majority province. In Singapore, candidates must balance their specific ethno-religious identity which is, Malay-Muslim, with the broader ideals of a secular, Chinese-majority nation.
- Traditional mass media still shares official information, but digital platforms, specifically Facebook and Twitter, are the main arenas for candidates to shape public opinion and bypass traditional media control.
- Users engage in highly interactive activities on these platforms. These activities include discussing local issues, sharing community endorsements, and spreading positive narratives created by volunteers to counter negative prejudice.
- This study finds that Facebook has the greatest impact on candidate electability. Twitter works well for fast, formal political discussions, but Facebook is better for personal political branding. Facebook allows minority candidates to show their

credibility, prove their eligibility, and connect emotionally with diverse voters, which turns online engagement into actual votes.

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