



Muslim Minorities and Political Representation In the 2019 Bali Provincial Regional Representative Council Election

Ali Sodiqin

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

E-mail: ali.sodiqin@uin-suka.ac.id

Nurdhin Baroroh

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

E-mail: nurdhin.baroroh@uin-suka.ac.id

Abstract: *This study explored the success of the Balinese Muslim minority in winning the 2019 Regional Representative Council (DPD) election. The primary focus is to identify the factors that influenced this triumph and analyze the strategies employed and the roles played by the actors involved. This study uses a phenomenological approach complemented by Higley and Burton's elite theory. This theory explained the dynamics between actors through two distinct paths, namely "elite settlement" and "elite convergence." The results showed that, first, the reasons underlying the determination of HBS as a DPD candidate from among Muslims are (1) Muslims constitute approximately 10-13% of Bali's population, necessitating representation at the central or national level, (2) HBS's candidacy was determined based on their electability during the candidate screening process, (3) The agreement of Muslim leaders from diverse religious, social organizations, and Islamic political parties in Bali played a crucial role in the nomination. Second, the nomination of HBS through the elite settlement path was successful, as evidenced by the unified support of Muslim elites for a single candidate. However, the elite convergence route encountered challenges, resulting in an unexpected impact on HBS's vote acquisition. The election of HBS shows the ability of the Balinese people, who are multi-cultural and multi-religious, to manage democracy without causing polarization in society.*

Keywords: *muslim minorities, political representation, DPD election*

Introduction

Democracy is a system used to minimize domination, promote justice and encourage broad political participation. It aims to foster inclusive values and political equality by providing opportunities for all community members to influence public policy and safeguard their interests.¹ In democratic societies, community participation is a

¹Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

fundamental principle realized through general elections. Individuals and social groups have equal opportunities to form socio-political organizations, develop affiliations, and express their political interests.² These principles are essential for a healthy democratic system, but their implementation and effectiveness vary depending on each nation's unique political, social, and cultural contexts.

This system of government faces notable challenges when it comes to ensuring adequate political representation, specifically concerning minority groups. According to Munzir,³ two contrasting viewpoints on how minorities should be approached are treating them as citizens without special rights and advocating for collective rights to preserve their distinct identities. For effective political representation of minority groups, two essential factors must be met. Firstly, the government, political parties, and the majority of the population must create an inclusive space that allows minorities to have a voice. Additionally, meaningful representation requires active political participation from minority groups within their domicile.⁴ Political representation of minority groups serves as an indicator of public acceptance of their existence in a political area.⁵ Striving for a fair and inclusive representation remains an ongoing goal in democratic societies, thereby striking a balance between individual rights and preserving diverse identities.

In Indonesia, minority groups demonstrate a notable level of political awareness, actively contributing to the democratic development of the nation. One intriguing phenomenon is the presence of Muslims in Bali. The introduction of Islam in Bali took place through a unique process and differed among regions. Muslims who migrated to Bali originated from diverse places, including Java,

² D. N. Lussier and M. S. Fish, "Indonesia: The Benefits of Civic Engagement" *Journal of Democracy*, 23.1(2012): p. 70-84.

³ Ilham Munzir, "Negara, Hak-hak Minoritas dan Multikulturalisme (Kasus Ahmadiyah)." *Indo-Islamika* 2.2 (2012): p. 183-195.

⁴ Florian Bieber et.al., *Political Parties and Minority Participation*, Friederich Ebert Stiftung-Office Macedonia, 2008.

⁵ Maria Spirova and Stefanova, Boyka, "The European Dimension of Minority Political Representation; Bulgaria and Romania Compared." *East European Politics and Societies*, 26.1 (2012): p. 75-92.

Bugis, Lombok, Madura, Terengganu Malaysia, and Hadramaut.⁶ Surprisingly, the Balinese Hindu community embraced them with open arms, giving rise to the term *Nyama Selam*, which signifies Islamic brotherhood as a gesture of acceptance. *Nyama* and *Selam* mean brother and Islam, respectively. This term is the foundation for religious tolerance in Bali.⁷ Through this concept, a unique acculturation process occurs between the original Balinese custom and the immigrant culture brought by Muslims. This cultural blend fosters social harmony as people embrace the *menyama bray* (brotherhood) culture, which combines solidarity and tolerance.⁸ As a result, Bali exemplifies how diverse religious communities can coexist harmoniously, contributing to the pluralistic and democratic character of Indonesia.

During the reformation period in Bali, Muslims started to actively participate in the political arena with the emergence of parties espousing Islamic ideology. The significant ones among them include the United Development Party (PPP), the National Awakening Party (PKB), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and the National Mandate Party (PAN). These parties became the platforms through which Balinese Muslims sought to fight for their political rights, and representation, even though they were categorized as a minority within the broader community. The effort to bring Muslim political representation was successful in the 2014 elections when Umar Dani representing the PKS, secured a seat in the Denpasar Regional Representative Council (DPD).⁹ This achievement ignited the enthusiasm of Balinese Muslims to expand their political representation to a broader area or even at the national level. The dedication and efforts of Balinese Muslims yielded positive results during the 2019

⁶Ketut Ginarsa dan Suparman HS, *Islam di Bali – Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Bali*, Bidang Bina Islam dan Penyelenggaraan Ibadah Haji, Kanwil Kemenag Provinsi Bali, 2009.

⁷ Ahmad Fauzi, "Internalisasi Nilai-nilai Multikultural Melalui Budaya Nyama Beraya pada Masyarakat Muslim Pegayaman," *Al-Mada; Jurnal Agama, Sosial dan Budaya*, 2.1 (2019): p. 1-21.

⁸ I Gst. Arjawa Pt. Bagus Suka, Zulkifli. "The Social Integration of Hindu and Muslim Communities: The Practice of "Menyama-Braya" in Contemporary Bali." *Studia Islamika*, 28.1 (2021): p. 149-178.

⁹Gedhza Aldino Putra Mahayadnya Gede et.al., "Politik Identitas Muslim Kampung Jawa Denpasar". *E-Jurnal Politika*, 1.1 (2015), p. 1–6.

elections, as H. Bambang Santoso, widely known as HBS, was elected as a member of the Bali DPD for the 2019-2024 tenure. This reality showed Muslim political representation's growing impact and success in Bali.

The election of HBS as a member of the DPD was a surprising and extraordinary achievement, considering that no Muslim has ever won a DPD election in the history of Bali. Most of the population demographically practices Hinduism, while Muslims are the minority. The Bali Central Bureau of Statistics reported that in 2018, there were only 520,244 Muslims in the region compared to 3,247,283 Hindus. Given this significant population difference, HBS's victory was perceived as an extraordinary achievement in implementing the democratic party, specifically in the election of senators. The intriguing question arises of how HBS succeeded in the 2019 DPD election, breaking the historical trend. The answer to this intriguing question sheds light on the unique dynamics of political representation and democratic participation in Bali.

The success of HBS in the 2019 DPD election shows Balinese Muslims' solid and well-orchestrated political strategy involving both the lower community and religious leaders. Based on the attachment to the election commission decision number: 1130/PL.01.4-kpt/06/KPU/IX/2018, dated September 20, 2018, the number of permanent candidates for the Bali DPD is 22, and only one individual is a Muslim. This composition underscores the intense competition to win the contestation, as only four out of the 22 candidates would ultimately be elected DPD members. Despite being a minority group, the Muslim community strategically decided to unite their votes behind a single candidate, HBS. This thoughtful approach ensured their votes were not divided among multiple candidates, contributing significantly to the success of HBS. The achievement prompted questions about the significant strategies adopted by Balinese Muslims to secure victory in the DPD election and the influential actors who played critical roles in this political triumph.

The representation of Muslim minorities in Bali, a predominantly Hindu province, is a fascinating study area. The victory of HBS was perceived as strengthening the Muslim community's identity politics without causing social disintegration. The emergence of identity politics in a community is mainly caused by a lack of policies that favor

minorities regarding religion, culture, and ethnicity. I Gusti Made¹⁰ reported that the identity politics of Muslim communities in Bali are motivated by a perceived lack of accommodating local government policies. This situation prompted minorities to strive to place their representatives in policy-making institutions, including the legislature, executive, and judiciary, to fight for their rights. General elections serve as the appropriate platform for realizing these aspirations by electing legislative candidates from their group. The presence of their representatives in the legislature provides a channel for voicing their concerns, thereby ensuring that their rights and interests as minorities are acknowledged and protected by the state.¹¹

This study aims to explore the emergence of Muslim political representation in Bali during the 2019 DPD election. It seeks to identify the reasons or attributes that contributed to the victory of HBS and to determine whether this success resulted from strengthened identity politics or other factors. Additionally, this study analyzed the strategies the Balinese Muslim community used to pursue political representation. The investigation also aims to investigate the prominent actors involved in this process and understand their roles in encouraging efforts to win the senatorial election to represent Bali. By examining these aspects, the present study intends to provide a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics behind the successful political representation of Balinese Muslims in a Hindu-majority region.

Research Methods

The present study employed a phenomenological approach to comprehensively explore the election of HBS, a Muslim, as a member of DPD in Bali Province. It aims to understand and analyze the various phenomena associated with the election, encompassing three critical stages, namely pre-election, the actual implementation of the general election, and post-election incidents after HBS assumed the position as

¹⁰I Gusti Made Arya Suta Witawan dan Kadek Sintya Dewi, "Dinamika Politik Identitas Masyarakat Muslim Bali pada Pilgub Bali Tahun 2018." *SOSIOGLOBAL: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Sosiologi*, 3.1 (2018.): p. 40–57.

¹¹ H. Liu, "Ethnic Issues Management Approaches With Chinese Characteristics Under The Inter-Ethnic Political Perspective," *International Journal of Anthropology and Ethnology*, 3.1 (2019).

a member of the DPD. By adopting a phenomenological perspective, the study seeks profound insights into the intricate dynamics and experiences that contributed to HBS' successful political representation in the DPD Bali Province.

This study is focused on analyzing the relationships between actors, including religious leaders and political figures, and their roles in shaping the outcome of the 2019 DPD election. The interaction of these actors is analyzed using the elite theory proposed by Higley and Burton.¹² The theory above explains the relationship between actors through two paths. The first path, known as elite settlement, involves examining how Balinese Muslim leaders organize their relationships through compromises and negotiations, specifically in selecting candidates for DPD representatives promoted during the 2019 elections. The second path, termed elite convergence, focuses on two stages. Firstly, it analyses how the political elite of Islamic parties in Bali form coalitions and collaborate to develop winning strategies for their candidates. Secondly, it explores the interaction pattern between political elites, religious leaders, volunteers, and Muslim voters in implementing political strategies during the Bali DPD election. The use of the elite theory aids this study in providing valuable insights into the complex dynamics and strategies behind the successful political representation of Balinese Muslims in the DPD election.

Result and Discussion

Nomination of Muslim Representatives in the DPD Election of Bali Province in 2019

In the 2019 DPD election held in Bali Province, there were 22 candidates, of which 21 were Hindu and one was Muslim. The list of candidates is shown in Table 1

¹² Michael G Burton and Jai P Ryu, "South Korea's Elite Settlement and Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*. 25.1 (1997): p. 1-24. See also A Muslih and Hurriyah, "Aktor Politik dan Gagalnya Transisi Demokrasi Mesir Tahun 2011-2013." *Jurnal Politik*, 2.1 (2016): p. 41-69.

Table 1.
List of DPD Candidates in the 2019 General Election of Bali Province

No	Candidate Name	Religion
1	A.A. Ngr. Oka Ratmadi, S.H., M.Si	Hindu
2	Anak Agung Gde Agung, S.H	Hindu
3	Bagus Made Wirajaya, S.H	Hindu
4	H. Bambang Santoso (HBS)	Islam
5	Dewa Ayu Putu Sri Wigunawati, S.H., M.Si	Hindu
6	Drs. Dewa Made Suamba Negara, M.Si	Hindu
7	Gede Lanang Darma Wiweka	Hindu
8	Gede Ngurah Ambara Putra, S.H	Hindu
9	Ida Bagus Ketur Purbanegara, S.E	Hindu
10	Dr. Drs. I Gusti Made Ngurah, M.Si	Hindu
11	Drs. I, Gusti Ngurah Harta	Hindu
12	I Ketut Putra Ismaya Jaya	Hindu
13	Drs. I Ketut Suwardiana	Hindu
14	Ir. I Nengah Manumudhita, M.M	Hindu
15	I Nengah Wiraha, S.E	Hindu
16	I Nyoman Sukrayasa, S.H	Hindu
17	Ir. I Wayan Adnyana, S.H., M.Kn	Hindu
18	Drs. Made Mangku Pastika, M.M	Hindu
19	Ngurah Sugiarta, S.H	Hindu
20	Ni Made Ayu Sriwathi, S.E., M.M	Hindu
21	Ni Made Suastini, S.I Kom	Hindu
22	Dr. SHRI I.G.N. Arya Wedakarna MWS, S.E (M.TRU)	Hindu

Source: *Recapitulation Certificate of Vote Acquisition Results for Candidate Members of the Regional Representative Council from Each Regency / City Nationally for the 2019 General Election of Bali Province,*

Document v 103, DD1 DPD Model, which was set in Denpasar on 08-05-2019.

Most candidates in the 2019 DPD elections in Bali were Hindu, reflecting the region's demographic composition, where approximately 88% of the population adheres to Hinduism. In contrast, the Muslim population comprises relatively 12%. Based on this demographic reality, the Muslims of Bali province strategically nominated only one candidate to advance in the DPD candidate election. They enabled to support a particular individual and maximized their chances of representation, given the overwhelming numerical advantage of the Hindu candidates.

Balinese Muslims have a history of submitting lists of candidates for the DPD, not just in recent times. They also actively participated in previous elections but were kept from being elected. From the data collected through the Bali Province Regional Election Commission archives, Balinese Muslims have sent a list of candidates for the DPD General Election three times. During the 2004 election, the list comprised three candidates, while in 2009 and 2014, it was composed of only one individual, respectively. In all three elections, Muslim candidates failed to secure seats in the parliament due to insufficient votes. However, undeterred by previous setbacks, Balinese Muslims continued their pursuit of political representation in the 2019 general election. This time, they fielded another DPD candidate, HBS, and their persistence was fruitful. HBS managed to secure an impressive fourth position in vote acquisition, marking a significant achievement for the Muslim community in Bali.

The decision to select HBS as the solitary DPD candidate resulted from an in-depth study conducted by Muslim leaders. The reasons behind this selection, as disclosed by interviews with the Success Team¹³, include population factors, electability, and compromises made by religious and political leaders. Given that the Balinese Muslim community constitutes approximately 10 to 13% of the population, having a representative at the central or national level was deemed relevant. HBS high electability significantly contributed to the nomination of this candidate. The notable position of HBS The

¹³ Interview with SA, Succes Team of HBS, in Denpasar, August 2022.

notable positions held in the Bali Province Indonesian Mosque Council (DMI), Bali Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Muhammadiyah Board, and as a trustee in several mosques in the Denpasar area¹⁴ serve significant social capital that can effectively mobilize and support vote-gathering mechanisms. In addition, HBS is also an *endek* cloth entrepreneur who is well known among economic actors in Bali.

Based on the considerations above, HBS was selected as the candidate for the DPD member from the Bali electoral regency in the 2019 election. In order to secure the victory of HBS, the Muslim community made significant efforts, mobilizing all elements to actively promote their candidacy, both within their communities and among the broader Balinese population. Furthermore, Islamic organizations in Bali, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Persis, Hidayatullah, and others, provided unwavering support for their candidacy.¹⁵ This strong backing from various Islamic groups showcased the collective determination to ensure HBS represented and advanced the Muslim interests in the DPD.

The nomination of HBS has elicited both support and opposition within the Balinese community. Some members argued that the DPD candidate representing Bali should be a native of the area.¹⁶ In the last few decades, most of the candidates in the DPD election held in Bali were well-known figures among the Balinese population and predominantly of the Hindu.¹⁷ This prevailing reality shows that the influence of the majority still colors the implementation of democracy in Indonesia.¹⁸ In this context, the presence of minority candidates, such as HBS, can be viewed as a deliberate effort to challenge this domination and bring about better political representation for their respective groups. By contesting the election, minorities aim to break the long-standing trend of majority dominance

¹⁴ Ni Made Ayuningsih, Tedi Erviantono, Mahaswari Jayanthi Mertha, Anak Agung Sagung Mirah, "Politik Identitas Dalam Pemilihan Umum 2019 (Terpilihnya Haji Bambang Santoso sebagai DPD RI Dapil Bali)," *Jurnal Nawala Politika*, 1.1 (2022): p. 122-137

¹⁵ Interview with SD, Succes Team of HBS, in Denpasar, August 2022

¹⁶ Bali.tribun news, 2018

¹⁷ Ni Made Ayuningsih, et.al., "Politik Identitas Dalam Pemilihan Umum 2019..."

¹⁸ Muhammad Imaduddin Nasution, "Demokrasi dan Politik Minoritas di Indonesia," *Jurnal Politika*, 4.2 (2013): p. 313-335

and establish a platform for their voices to be heard in the political sphere.

Compromise and Negotiation in the Election of Candidates

The decision to select HBS as the only candidate for the DPD from the Muslim community was made after careful and thoughtful consideration. The lessons learned from the previous DPD election failures were critical in determining their candidate. Additionally, the absence of Islamic political parties capable of placing their representatives in the provincial legislative body also influenced the decision to select the ideal candidate for DPD. In this context, the prominent figures within the Balinese Muslim community engaged in political communication to rally support for the HBS journey to Senayan, the national parliament.

The strengths and reputation of this individual primarily drove the selection of HBS as the ideal candidate for the DPD. Politically, HBS needed to gain experience as a politician and was not affiliated with any political party. Instead, the involvement of HBS with various religious institutions, such as the MUI, DMI, NU, and Muhammadiyah, led to the popularity of the candidate in Bali and recognition from the Hindu community and its leaders.¹⁹ Therefore, HBS designation was not contingent on political affiliations but on the electability of this candidate among the Balinese Muslim community. This level of electability significantly influenced the political calculation of potential success in electoral contests.

Electability as the basis for selecting HBS demonstrates the presence of compromise and negotiation between political and religious elites among the Muslim community in Bali. The election of HBS represents a significant political agreement among these elites driven by their shared goal of having a representative in the legislative body. As a minority group, having a representative in the legislative institution holds great importance for the Balinese Muslim community.²⁰ It allows members to advocate for their specific interests

¹⁹ Interview with SA, Succes Team of HBS, in Denpasar, August 2022.

²⁰ Interview with SD, Succes Team of HBS, in Denpasar, August 2022.

while also contributing to the general welfare of the broader Balinese community.²¹

There are two primary ways in which political strategy can be pursued. The first approach involves using political campaigns to expand the offensive base, to form new groups of voters while maintaining the support of existing ones. This method seeks to broaden the overall voter base and appeal to diverse constituents. The second approach of political strategy revolves around the implementation of new policies. This approach promotes the benefits and results of these policies or new political initiatives. The emphasis is on effectively communicating the positive outcomes generated by these new political measures.²²

After HBS was selected as the sole candidate representing the Balinese Muslim community, the supporters immediately developed strategies using the two approaches above political campaigns and implementation. Political campaigns were conducted by synergizing the strengths of the Baliinese Muslim community from political, social, and economic aspects.²³ Political parties largely drove the campaign, each having a loyal voter base. Representatives from these parties became members of the success team and were obliged to ensure the victory of their supported candidate.²⁴ The overall aim was to secure electoral success through cohesive and well-coordinated efforts.

Religious elites also played a significant role in mobilizing Muslim voters in their respective regions. Under the coordination of MUI, leaders of various Islamic social organizations have expanded their campaign areas to ensure that the candidate they supported gained widespread recognition and was favored by eligible voters.²⁵ By

²¹ Interview with IS, members of Islamic Political Party, in Denpasar, August 2022.

²² Muslim Mufti, "Political Strategy in Local Elections: Study of Bandung Municipality Mayor In The 2003 and 2008 Elections." *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan*, 10.2 (2019): p. 143-165.

²³ Interview with SA, Succes Team of HBS, in Denpasar, August 2022.

²⁴ Interview with IS, members of Islamic Political Party, in Denpasar, August 2022.

²⁵ Interview with ST, members of Islamic Social Organization, in Denpasar, August 2022

working together, these religious leaders effectively contributed to the visibility and popularity of the candidate among the Muslim electorate.

The second approach adopted was political implementation, where HBS and its vision and mission were presented as the candidate. In order to achieve this, the supporters used various means, including creating banners, distributing flyers, and leveraging social media platforms for effective promotion.²⁶ Furthermore, they actively interacted with non-Muslim groups, specifically Hindu figures, and conducted awareness campaigns in areas with smaller Muslim communities. The approach towards non-Muslim figures was deemed relevant to prevent majority-minority conflicts and foster harmonious relations.

The designation of HBS as the candidate was part of the strategic approach employed by the Balinese Muslim community to secure the representation seat in the DPD. HBS was perceived as a local strongman among the minority Muslims. According to Migdal,²⁷ such individuals succeed in holding important positions because they have autonomous organizations, patron-client relationships, and control over the state of agency and resources. HBS was considered capable of fulfilling these three requirements. As the Chairman of DMI, HBS fostered unity among Muslims and prevented conflicts based on ethnicity or religion. The speeches made by HBS inspired Muslims to progress, develop the economy, and strive to achieve collective prosperity.

HBS's prominence, particularly among the Balinese communities, allowed for the exertion of social control and acts as a patron for the Muslim community. Promoting social harmony earned HBS recognition among Muslims, Hindu leaders, and the general population. On the other hand, HBS maintains strong relations with the local government, including the Regent, Governor, Regional Police Chief, and Military District Command (Koramil) of Bali.²⁸ This closeness indicates that HBS holds an influential position and impacts the policies of the regional government.

²⁶ Interview with SD, Success Team of HBS, in Denpasar, August 2022.

²⁷ Joel S Migdal, *State in Society: Studying Joe States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*, (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 44.

²⁸ Interview with HBS, in Denpasar, August 2022

Candidate Contestation and Vote Distribution

In a democratic system, the practical political participation of minority groups relies on having representatives who share the same identity as the group they represent. The people's choice in such a system is heavily influenced by the identity of their community group.²⁹ Identity is strengthened by the sense of similarity within a group. In the context of representative democracy, such as in Indonesia, active community participation, both individually and in groups, plays a pivotal role in ensuring the realization of political representation.³⁰ This involvement is vital for minority groups to have a voice in the democratic process and secure their interests and rights within the political arena.

During the 2019 Bali Provincial DPD election, HBS made history as Balinese Muslims' first and only representative. The victory surprised many parties, given that it was the first time Muslims had secured seats in the Senate. The Balinese community attributed the election of HBS to the many Hindu candidates running for DPD representatives. With votes divided among the Hindu candidates, HBS capitalized on the situation and emerged victorious, becoming the voice of the Balinese Muslim population in the Senate.

In the 2019 DPD election, Hindu candidates experienced a significant disparity in vote acquisition. The highest number of votes went to Dr. SHRI I.G.N. Arya Wedakarna MWS, S.E (M.TRU), who received an impressive 742,781 votes. This number significantly differed from the votes the Hindu candidates obtained in the second and third places. Drs. Made Mangku Pastika, M.M., the former Governor of Bali, and Anak Agung secured the second and third positions with 269,790 and 229,675 votes, respectively. Meanwhile, in fourth place, HBS, the only representative of Muslims, received 126,100 votes, less significant than the total number of voters in the 2019 election. The distribution of these votes is shown in the following table.

Table 2.

²⁹ Nasution, "Demokrasi dan Politik Minoritas di Indonesia".

³⁰ M Regus, "The Position of Religious Minorities In Indonesia's Democratic Transition: A Study Toward Critical Overview." *International Journal of Interreligious and Intercultural Studies (IJIIS)*, 2.2 (2019): p. 86-99.

HBS Vote Acquisition Map of Each Regency/ City

No	Regency/City	Number of Votes	Number of Voters	Percentage
1	Denpasar City	36.954	377.368	9,79
2	Jembrana Regency	26.963	190.395	14,16
3	Buleleng Regency	24.932	439.327	5,67
4	Badung Regency	13.430	336.141	3,99
5	Karangasem Regency	10.091	304.919	3,30
6	Tabanan Regency	6.672	325.508	2,04
7	Klungkung Regency	3.439	133.085	2,58
8	Gianyar Regency	2.364	335.524	0,78
9	Bangli Regency	1.255	163.934	0,76
	Total	126.100	2.606.201	4,83

HBS received the highest votes in Jembrana Regency, with an impressive 14.16 percent. Denpasar City secured the second spot with 9.79 percent, closely followed by Buleleng Regency with 5.67 percent. Denpasar City and Buleleng Regency secured the second and third spots with 9.79 percent and 5.67 percent, respectively. The number of Muslims in each electoral agency played a role in influencing the HBS voters, specifically in regions with a considerable migrant population. Based on interviews with the success team³¹, it was discovered that not all Muslims voted for HBS. Interestingly, a significant portion of HBS voters also came from the Hindu and non-Muslim communities.

The election of HBS as a DPD candidate and the presence of non-Muslim voters were influenced by the cultural capital of Balinese Muslims, with the influence of HBS playing a significant role. The historical relationship between Muslims and Hindus in Bali dates back

³¹ Interview with SA, Succes Team of HBS, Denpasar, August 2022.

to the royal period, leading to Muslim communities in several areas on the island. This community includes Banjar Saren Jawa in Budakeling Village (Karangasem), Kepaon, Serangan (Denpasar), Pegayaman (Buleleng), Loloan (Jembrana), Gelgel, Lebah, Kusamba (Klungkung), and many more villages where the majority are Muslim. Despite their presence, these Muslim communities do not isolate themselves but actively interact and socialize with the surrounding Hindu population.³²

The simulation process, which entailed comparing the total number of Muslim communities to that of Muslim voters in each regency or city, is shown in Table 3:

Table 3.

Percentage Comparison of Muslim Community and HBS Voters

No	Regency/ City	Percentage of Population	Voter Percentage
1	Denpasar City	28.64	9.79
2	Jembrana Regency	26.60	14.16
3	Buleleng Regency	9.20	5.67
4	Badung Regency	17.69	3.99
5	Karangasem Regency	4.09	3.30
6	Tabanan Regency	6.19	2.04
7	Klungkung Regency	4.57	2.58
8	Gianyar Regency	4.00	0.78
9	Bangli Regency	1.01	0.76

The data in Table 3 shows the diverse reality of HBS voters. The percentage clearly shows that not all Muslim voters voted for HBS. Jembrana Regency had the highest percentage of HBS voters, indicating strong support in that area. On the other hand, in Badung Regency, the percentage of voters was notably lower, suggesting a less favorable response to the candidacy in that region. These varying

³² Budi Sulistiono, Akhmad Yusuf, Irvan Hidayat, "Local Wisdom in Muslim Social Community in Bali Province: A Study of Tolerance," *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 302 (2018): p. 56-59.

percentages highlight Muslim voters' diverse sentiments and preferences across different regencies.

The election of HBS as a Bali senator was a collective effort that involved Balinese Muslims as a whole and a well-planned strategy by the success team. While socializing HBS as a DPD candidate, MUI played a pivotal role as the coordinator. By bringing together representatives from various Islamic social organizations, MUI became a driving force and a strong supporter of the HBS candidacy until the ultimate victory.³³ The campaign involved active engagement from diverse Islamic mass organizations, dedicated mosque activists, ummah fighters, and other essential elements, all working harmoniously to achieve the common objective of socializing HBS candidacy and garnering votes. However, to ensure an effective campaign, the team devised well-planned strategies. These included targeted socialization efforts in Muslim stronghold areas, communities, and mass organizations. Leveraging the power of social media, they launched extensive campaigns to reach a broader audience.³⁴ Efforts were also made to bridge gaps and connect with non-Muslim groups, showcasing inclusivity and broad appeal. Strategic meetings were held with influential leaders at *Pemecutan* Castle, Kesimen, and in regions with smaller Muslim populations. The campaign management was well-structured, with a tiered approach spanning the provincial, regency, and sub-district levels, forming a robust network of managers.³⁵

Despite the carefully crafted strategy by the success team, various obstacles emerged during the campaign and the voting process. One significant challenge was the lack of internal unity within the Muslim community. Not all Muslims voted for HBS during the DPD election, while some individuals were indifferent toward the electoral process. This phenomenon caused the vote count not to meet the initial expectations. In certain regions with predominantly Muslim populations listed on the Permanent Voters List, HBS received less than 50% of the votes. This disparity between the anticipated support and the voter turnout highlighted the complexity of securing

³³ Interview with ST, members of Islamic Social Organization, in Denpasar, August 2022.

³⁴ Interview with SD, Succes Team of HBS, Denpasar, August 2022.

³⁵ Interview with AF, Succes Team of HBS, Denpasar, August 2022

unanimous backing within the Muslim community for HBS's candidacy.

DPD Election Results and Balinese Response

According to Ayuningsih,³⁶ the election of HBS in Bali reflects a growing consideration of religion among Balinese voters. This preference is closely linked to the prevalence of identity politics in the community. The present study primarily focuses on the political aspect of selecting a representative, explicitly analyzing the HBS campaign strategy and its influence during the election period. However, Ayuningsih should have considered the historical, sociological, and anthropological aspects of Muslim-Hindu relations in Bali. When viewed from the social and cultural dimensions, religious identity seamlessly blends with the overall social and cultural identity. This integration could be observed in the Balinese community's acculturation of religious teachings into the majority Hindu culture.³⁷ The argument put forward by Ayuningsih failed to acknowledge the reality that HBS voters comprised not only Muslims but also Hindus. The voters' awareness significantly influenced the election of HBS, transcending religious boundaries and appealing to Muslim and Hindu supporters.

Based on interviews with Antara News journalists in 2022, it was observed that Balinese Hindus do not associate political issues with their religious background. They exhibit an open and democratic attitude, making them readily accepted by outsiders. For the Balinese, whether a candidate is from the community does not heavily influence their choices for governor during DPD elections.³⁸ The victory of HBS is attributed to personal factors, as this individual has close ties with Hindu leaders and often visits temples and shrines. Additionally, luck played a role in the DPD election, where Balinese Muslims had only one candidate, while Hindus had 21 candidates. This division among Hindu voters has contributed to the success of HBS in the election.

³⁶ Ayuningsih, "Politik Identitas Dalam Pemilihan Umum 2019

³⁷ Kunawi Basyir, "The Acculturative Islam As a Type of Home-Grown Islamic Tradition: Religion and Local Culture in Bali," *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 13.2 (2019): p. 326-349

³⁸ Interview with EMY, Antara News, in Denpasar, August 2022.

Another factor that supported the election of HBS is the solid religious tolerance prevalent in the Balinese community. Inter-religious relations, specifically between Hindus and non-Hindus, have historically remained peaceful without any conflict. The Balinese cannot distinguish between majority and minority, and they foster an interdependent relationship that harmoniously integrates both Hindus and Muslims.³⁹ While religious observance among Muslims weakens political-religious tolerance, it is not the sole determining factor. Various other elements, including political-economic conditions, security, institutional care, political engagement, and commitment to democratic values, also play significant roles.⁴⁰ The convergence of these factors is crucial for enhancing political-religious tolerance in Indonesia.

According to Woodward, there are two forms of religious diversity in Bali. The first is adaptive diversity, where Islamic elements are incorporated into the pre-modern Balinese kingdom. The second is parallel diversity, characterized by state regulation of all religions.⁴¹ The local wisdom deeply rooted in Balinese culture plays a significant role in fostering tolerance among its people.⁴² In social reality, there is ideal cooperation between religious communities, contributing to the establishment of harmony. Inclusive religiosity is displayed in various aspects, including the social, cultural, economic, and educational domains.⁴³ The relationship between Islam and Hinduism in Bali thrives on the local wisdom of the community, emphasizing a sense of brotherhood, tolerance, respect, and recognition of existing diversity.⁴⁴

³⁹ Fajri Zulia Ramdhani, Busro, Abdul Wasik, "The Hindu-Muslim Interdependence: A Study of Balinese Local Wisdom." *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 28.2 (2020): p. 195-218.

⁴⁰ Saiful Mujani, "Explaining Religio-Political Tolerance Among Muslims: Evidence from Indonesia." *Studia Islamika*, 26.2 (2019): p. 319-351.

⁴¹ Mark Woodward, "Religious Pluralism In Bali Pre-modern and Contemporary Perspectives." *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality*, 4.2 (.2019): p. 291-320.

⁴² Sulistiono, "Local Wisdom in Muslim Social Community in Bali Province: A Study of Tolerance."

⁴³ Basyir, "The Acculturative Islam As a Type of Home-Grown Islamic Tradition."

⁴⁴ I Gede Suwindia, Machasin, I Gede Parimarta, "Relasi Islam Dan Hindu Dalam Perspektif Masyarakat Multikultur di Bali Studi Kasus Tiga Daerah: Denpasar; Karangasem, dan Buleleng." *Forum Ilmu Sosial* 39.1 (2012): p. 98-118,

The daily life of the Balinese community is guided by the principles of *parahyangan*, *pawongan*, and *palemahan*, collectively known as *Tri Hita Karana*.⁴⁵ These elements play a vital role in shaping the cultural fabric of Bali and promoting harmonious coexistence among diverse religious beliefs.

The Balinese local culture greatly influences Islamic practices, particularly Hindu traditions. This amalgamation has led to the unique Islamic identity known for its tolerance and egalitarian values.⁴⁶ Despite occasional tensions, the social interactions between the two religious communities remain peaceful, cooperative, and respectful.⁴⁷ Social pressure and discrimination do not significantly harm the relationships and cooperation between the Muslim and Hindu communities.⁴⁸ The construction of the Balinese Muslim identity fosters a harmonious communication symbol between the followers of different religions.⁴⁹ The dialectical process with a multicultural nuance between Hindus and Muslims creates a humane, tolerant, and inclusive character.⁵⁰

Interaction Among Political Elites, Religious Figures, and the Muslim Community

The political identity movement of the Muslim community in Bali is dynamic and embraces inclusivity. They continue to offer support and even votes to non-Muslim leaders as long as the political

⁴⁵ Dewa Agung Gede Agung, "Relasi Sosial Antara Komunitas Hindu dan Muslim Dalam Perspektif Historis (Studi Kearifan Lokal *Menyama Braya* di Banjar Angansari, Bali)." *Disertasi*, Program Pascasarjana Doktor Sosiologi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Brawijaya, 2018.

⁴⁶ Basyir, "The Acculturative Islam as A Type of Home-Grown Islamic Tradition."

⁴⁷ A Muchaddam Fahham, "Dinamika Hubungan Antarumat Beragama: Pola Hubungan Muslim dan Hindu di Bali." *Aspirasi: Jurnal Masalah-Masalah Sosial*, 9.1 (2018): p. 63-82

⁴⁸ Amin Tohari, Moch. Khafidz Fuad Raya, "The Meaning of Religious Moderation on The Resilience of Muslim Minority in Balinese Hindus." *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, 5.1 (2021): p. 77-103.

⁴⁹ Ali Nurdin, Brenny Novriansyah, M. Ridwan, "Balinese Muslim Identity Construction: Symbol of Harmonious Communication Among Religious Adherents in Indonesia." *Technium Social Sciences Journal*, Vol. 28 (2022): p. 303-318.

⁵⁰ Made Saihu, Cemal Sahin, "The Harmonious Dialectics Between Hindu-Muslim in Bali: A Study in Jembrana Regency." *Religia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 23.1 (2020): p. 56-80.

agenda of the gubernatorial candidates does not contradict their identity politics. This was evident during the 2018 Bali gubernatorial election when all candidates employed various political approaches to appeal to the Muslim community. The current Balinese Muslim community, as a minority group, holds a significant political bargaining position, showcasing their active involvement and influence in the political arena.⁵¹

The significance of religious factors in the democratic system practiced in Indonesia became evident during the 2019 legislative election for DPD. When candidates from the Muslim community were present, the Balinese Muslims voted for those with similar religious identities. This orientation underscores the importance of religious affiliation in determining the success of political campaigns.⁵² In the political context, ideological differences influence candidate selection, leading to community polarisation.⁵³ However, such distinctions are understandable as politics aims to convey and fulfill the community's aspirations. Political representation serves as both a means of acting and standing for something. For the Muslim community, having its representative ensures the proper channeling of political and social interests. This condition is particularly critical for minority communities, as political representation reflects the proper functioning of democracy.

The endorsement of a candidate by the Muslim community in Bali is driven by their desire for effective conveyance of the aspirations of this group. In order to secure victory, winning strategies are developed by using all available elements. Compromise and negotiations among the elites determine the victory of the endorsed candidate. This result is supported by elite settlement between religious and political figures and their convergence, which involves a high

⁵¹ Made, "Dinamika Politik Identitas Masyarakat Muslim Bali."

⁵² Sugit Sanjaya Arjon, "Religious Sentiments in Local Politics," *Jurnal Politik*, 3.2 (2018): p. 171–198

⁵³ Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Polarization of Indonesian Society during 2014–2020: Causes and Its Impacts toward Democracy," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 26.2 (2022): p. 152–167.

commitment from these individuals. Failing to achieve these aspects can lead to political instability and failure of the endorsed candidate.⁵⁴

HBS's victory resulted from the elite settlement approach involving significant figures from different sectors; religious leaders (MUI, DMI, NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis), political figures, community representatives from various Muslim ethnicities in Bali, and leaders of social and economic sectors. Through negotiations and compromises, these four elites agreed to endorse only one candidate for the DPD—the selection of HBS as the sole candidate was based on personal electability and prominence across all levels. As the goal was to win the election, selecting a candidate based on electability was highly logical. In the Muslim view, HBS holds a significant position as a patron for Muslims in Bali.

The patron-client theory states that when leaders and the community is bound by mutual assistance, often referred to as dyadic relation, a patron-client relationship tends to be established. In this dynamic, the patron acts as a protector, advisor, and guide, while the client reciprocates by defending their interests, including preserving their honor and obeying orders. This interdependent relationship makes the client more dependent on the patron.⁵⁵

In the elite convergence approach, a coalition comprised of religious figures, political elites, Islamic community leaders in Bali, and entrepreneurs. Their collective objective was to strategize and ensure HBS emerged victorious in the DPD election. This collaboration was reflected in the composition of the success team, which included representatives from all elements of the Balinese Muslim community. They shared the same task: to socialize HBS as the DPD candidate representing the Muslim community and encourage Balinese Muslims to cast their votes for the aspirant. This strategy was coordinated by MUI of Bali Province. The hierarchical structure of the MUI aimed to ensure effective socialization efforts that reached the grassroots level.

The political strategy adopted during the DPD election in Bali encountered challenges in the pattern of interaction among political

⁵⁴ Muslih, "Aktor Politik dan Gagalnya Transisi Demokrasi Mesir Tahun 2011-2013".

⁵⁵ Muslim Mufti, "Political Strategy in Local Elections: Study of Bandung Municipality Mayor in The 2003 and 2008 Elections." *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan*, 10.2 (2019): p. 143-165.

elites, religious figures, volunteers, and Muslim voters. These obstacles can be categorized into two forms, namely internal solidarity barriers and apathetic attitudes. However, not all Muslim communities voted for HBS, with many indifferent towards the election. This condition can be attributed to two main reasons inadequate socialization of the candidacy to the public and an apathetic attitude towards the perceived lack of difference between DPD candidates from the Muslim or Hindu communities.

During the DPD election in Bali, the obstacles encountered resulted in the HBS vote count falling significantly short of the set target. In several areas with predominantly Muslim voters, the count was less than 50%, a consequence of the first barrier- lack of socialization and indifferent attitude of the Muslim community leading to the diversion of their votes to other candidates. The many candidates in the 2019 DPD election further complicated matters as voters were forced to split their votes. Loyalty was scarce, and the majority were floating voters whose choices were based on candidates they were familiar with, those who belonged to the same community or offered material benefits. This behavior was categorized under the second type of voters, contributing to the HBS vote count needed to meet expectations.

The elite theory analysis indicated that the elite settlement approach was successful. This was demonstrated by the decision of Muslim elites to endorse only one candidate. The criteria used for the selection process were based on practical political realities rather than subjective factors. This concerted effort demonstrated effective coordination in supporting HBS's candidacy. However, the elite convergence approach encountered difficulties. There needed to be more communication between the elites and voters, resulting in the HBS vote count falling short of expectations. The lack of a cohesive strategy to engage with the broader electorate led to challenges in garnering the necessary support.

Factors Determining HBS's Victory

The victory of a candidate in general elections is influenced by various factors, such as the political networks of supporting coalition parties, the social capital, their capabilities, track record, and the programs offered. Additionally, financial resources play a critical role

as candidates with sufficient funding can conduct extensive campaign activities and potentially engage in vote-buying practices.⁵⁶ The interplay of these factors collectively influences the overall success of a candidate during the election.

The election of HBS as a senator was attributed to two factors, namely internal and external. Internally, HBS's personal qualities played a significant role. HBS is a well-known personality among the people of Bali, both Muslims and Non. The positive social image within the Balinese community contributed to the popularity of HBS. Furthermore, as a preacher (*muballigh*), this individual actively engaged in various preaching activities, gaining recognition and respect among Balinese Muslims. HBS built social networks through these abilities by regularly engaging in cross-organizational and community interactions.

In terms of friendships, HBS has cultivated a vast network of friendships with both government officials and non-Muslim communities. Various initiatives have proven the commitment of HBS to address social issues. An example is collaborating with the Bali Regional Police in 2018 as a communicator to improve public order and safety (Kamtibmas). Additionally, HBS was a delegate for the Dai Serumpun and the Pioneer of the Moderate Islamic Movement in the same year. Through the DMI, HBS actively contributed to resolving *ummah* (community) issues. This includes efforts to secure the Muslim cemetery land in Kampung Jawa, Denpasar, and resolve land issues in Bukit Tabanan Village, Karangasem, Bali in 2016 and 2018, respectively. HBS played an important role in resolving a 3.5-hectare *waqf* (religious endowment) land issue in Melaya sub-district, Jembrana, Bali, and facilitated the processing of 274 certificates for residential areas in Pebuahan Village, Jembrana, in 2017 and 2019, respectively. The elected candidate also actively supported the legal land status for the ABA kindergarten in Lebah Village, Klungkung in 2018. These efforts demonstrate HBS's commitment to serving and resolving important community issues.⁵⁷

HBS has been instrumental in resolving conflicts within the Balinese community. For instance, HBS successfully resolved conflicts between Balinuraga and Agung Villagers residing in Lampung in 2012,

⁵⁶ Mufti, "Political Strategy in Local Elections..."

⁵⁷ Interview with HBS in Denpasar Bali, August 2022.

defusing tensions between Muslims and *pecalang* (traditional Balinese security guards) during the Nyepi incident in 2017, and facilitated reconciliation between security forces and Muslim figures during the Ustaz Abdus Somad incident in Bali which occurred towards the end of 2017.⁵⁸ These exceptional mediation skills and commitment to addressing conflicts have earned HBS recognition within the Balinese community. Furthermore, these efforts have fostered harmony and understanding between different groups, making HBS a respected and influential regional figure.

Another determining factor is the social capital possessed by the Muslim community in Bali, which constitutes the primary support base for HBS. Social capital contributes to formulating winning strategies for candidates during general elections.⁵⁹ Social harmony is necessary for fostering social stability and promoting positive interactions in a diverse community. The coexistence of the Hindu-Muslim brotherhood in Bali is a testament to the mutual respect and appreciation among followers of both religions. This social harmony is bolstered by historical, cultural, economic, and political factors.⁶⁰ Many Muslim communities actively participate in Hindu rituals, such as *odalan* (temple ceremonies), *ngaben* (cremation rituals), and *manage toya* (welcoming water flow). These reflect their social consciousness and form the basis of their identity construction.⁶¹ Integrating cross-cultural communication with strong local wisdom traditions further forms an integrated culture.⁶² *Menyama braya*, which combines solidarity and tolerance, has been maintained for generations through various methods such as socialization, rituals, shared symbols, and formal

⁵⁸ Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bambang_Santoso

⁵⁹ Suhardiman Syamsu, Andi Muhammad Rusli, Hamka, Miranda Malinda, "Social capital as a political strategy: evidence from Nasdem Party in Makassar City, Indonesia," *Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 13.1 (2023): p. 141-155.

⁶⁰ I Ketut Wisarja, Ni Nyoman Suastini, "Hindu-Islam Relationship In Bali (Tracing the Historical Traces of Hindu-Islamic Relations in Buitan Village, Manggis District, Karangasem Regency-Bali)." *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, 6.3 (2022): p. 8181 – 8192.

⁶¹ Brigitta Hauser-Schaublin, "Bali Aga" and Islam: Ethnicity, Ritual Practice, and "Old-Balinese" as an Anthropological Construct," *Indonesia* 77 (2004): p. 27-55.

⁶² Dewi Sumiati, "Intercultural Communication Based on Local Wisdom That Made the People of Bali Reject Sharia Tourism." *Asian Journal of Media and Communication*, 1.2 (2017): p. 137-146.

education institutions.⁶³ This enduring concept reinforces the harmonious coexistence among different religious communities in Bali.

The election of HBS indicates that politically oriented Islamic support has a more significant impact on the behavior of voters from provinces with minority Muslim populations than those with majority Muslim populations. This emphasizes the need for effective strategies to manage politically oriented religious support during general elections in Indonesia.⁶⁴ The support of the Muslim community for HBS played a decisive role in the victory process. It implies that the Muslim community plays a vital role in identifying and supporting these individuals.⁶⁵ In this context, the presence of Islamic community institutions or organizations becomes relevant in mobilizing strength and uniting choices to sway outcomes.

Conclusion

The successful election of HBS as a representative for Bali in the 2019 DPD election was influenced by several factors. First, HBS's charisma and social capital significantly contributed to the high electability among the Balinese Muslim community and the general public. Before getting involved in politics, HBS actively participated in Islamic organizations such as MUI, DMI, NU and the Muhammadiyah, which helped establish a strong presence and widespread recognition. Second, the cultural capital of Balinese Muslims played a significant role in HBS's candidacy. Historically, Muslim-Hindu relations in Bali have existed since the era of kingdoms. Balinese Muslims' ability to adapt socially and culturally has given them a distinct identity compared to those in other regions of Indonesia. Their capacity to acculturate with Balinese Hindu culture led to seamless integration into various aspects of life. This cultural capital allowed HBS's candidacy to be democratically accepted by Hindu communities, and some even chose to cast their vote for the candidacy in the 2019 DPD election. Third, the political capital of HBS was strengthened through support from

⁶³ Arjawa, "The Social Integration of Hindu and Muslim Communities: The Practice of "Menyama-Braya" in Contemporary Bali."

⁶⁴ Delmus Puneri Salim, "The Islamic Political Supports and Voting Behaviors In Majority and Minority Muslim Provinces In Indonesia." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 12.1 (2022): p. 85-110.

⁶⁵ Gerishon Kuria Njuguna, "The Individual's Identity in the African Community." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 9.4 (2019): p. 161-167.

religious and political elites in the Balinese Muslim community. HBS's candidacy resulted from a compromise under the coordination of the MUI of Bali Province. These elites formed a cohesive and effective team, establishing a hierarchical management network from the provincial to the regional level. All the combined factors were instrumental in securing the electoral victory.

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