

# POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES TO THE MAJORITY ETHNICITY IN THE 2019 REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL (DPRD) ELECTION OF WEST SULAWESI PROVINCE

# MUSRA AWALUDDIN\*1, HAFIED CANGARA1, ANDI ALIMUDDIN UNDE1 and HASRULLAH1

<sup>1</sup>Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Makassar, Indonesia.

#### Abstract

Election is a mean of conveying big ideas in developing Indonesia in general and in the electoral districts of legislative and executive members in particular. Election implementation requires each participant to make positive innovations or breakthroughs that are useful for society. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the influence of political communication strategies and factors that influence the electability of minority candidate's election 2019 West Sulawesi provincial legislative research uses a qualitative approach to understand reality, social reality, and human perceptions while emphasizing meaning and interpretation of the object under study. The collection of data involves in-depth interviews, observations of situations and phenomena at research sites, and documentation. The process of analyzing the data descriptively uses the spiral model data analysis technique and tests the validity of the data. Results of the study indicate that ethnic minorities, as economic actors and community leaders in West Sulawesi, have indirectly shaped the mindset and education of democracy in the province. By having capital, strategy, and a model of political communication, ethnic minorities can compete for the election of the regional legislative council of West Sulawesi's ethnic majority. Economic, social, and cultural capital foster interaction and cooperation among ethnic groups in order to foster interethnic trust. As a result of their existence, ethnic minorities are able to dominate the economy of the region. Door-to-door political communication can hypnotize the majority using its vision, mission, and programs, as well as commitment to society's interests. So that people can feel like their aspirations will be heard and can hope for a better life, as with other people on Manakkara land besides that, the approach to local languages and the use of media in communicating, especially for campaigning and socializing. Furthermore, there are models of character and friendship, a solid election campaign team, and models of shadow power through financial support from various parties as a form of political communication among ethnic minorities in West Sulawesi Province.

**Keywords:** Ethnic politics, ethnic minorities, political communication.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

The implementation of the 2019 election is a new history in Indonesian politics, where the election of the president and vice president, as well as members of the legislature, was held simultaneously. This is stated in the decision of Constitutional Court No. 14/PUU-XI/2013. Every election participant can make positive innovations and breakthroughs that can be useful for society. Election should be a means of conveying big ideas in developing Indonesia in general and in the constituencies of members of the legislature in particular. Including how the election participants in West Sulawesi were able to socialize to the public as election participants regarding their participation in the election. It is a form of political socialization that is closely related to political communication.



<sup>\*</sup>Email: musraawaluddin72@gmail.com





Political communication refers to the exchange of politically charged messages between sources and recipients in order to establish a sense of shared meaning. In every activity, there is a goal to improve efficiency. Successful communication is a dialogue that gets positive feedback from listeners. Communication is an important instrument for connecting political activity to realize political goals. In the era of the industrial revolution 4.0, political communication is an interesting and pertinent issue to discuss, considering that the development of the print media industry, television, social media, gadgets, and other online activities strongly supports the current communication delivery media.

The world of politics is not only about the ability to make public policies but also requires communication skills. Communication using existing media helps disseminate goals to the public and influence political attitudes. Therefore, even though political participants come from minorities, are less popular, and are less accessible, they can still participate in election, demonstrating communication expertise and utilizing the media to gain voter sympathy and highlight their quality. This is the reason why political communication is a factor that greatly influences a candidate's victory in an electoral campaign.

Political communication is the process of conveying messages to influence political decisionmaking (Bambang Setiawan) or emphasizing symbols or messages that are influential or have consequences for political decisions<sup>1</sup>. Referring to Greber, the conclusion is that politicians who are elected and gain power are nothing more than political communication factors (greber). Schacter in Fisher<sup>2</sup> also said that communication is a mechanism for exerting authority, whereas Jurgen Habermas<sup>3</sup> defines communication as the most democratic process of struggle for influence. In addition to communication skills in the electoral field, ethnic identity is also a significant factor in a candidate's electability in election. Furthermore, ethnic identity plays a significant role in determining a candidate's electability in election<sup>4</sup>. Lampe, in his research, self-identity as part of a local<sup>5</sup> or as an ethnic immigrant is essential in local<sup>6</sup>. Symbols and attributes make a difference for anyone in social interaction, including when carrying out political activities. In Indonesia, however, implementing election ends in ethnic conflict, which then turns into racial conflict. The phenomenon of ethnic politics is not only evident in Indonesia but also in America and South Africa, especially in regard to skin color differences, where the white race discriminates against the black race<sup>8-10</sup>. Based on a study of the political communication behavior of members of the regional legislative council of Palu by Ilyas Lampe5, it is found that ethnic identity is firmly emphasized (ethnicity and religion) when interacting with ethnic groups in order to achieve both personal interests and the interests of the group, groups and parties of origin as well as the interests of the people. Similarly, Dea Rezky Amalia conducted a study regarding the impact of ethnic politics (cultural, social, and economic/material capital) in the electability of candidates in election legislature<sup>11</sup>.

Based on the various studies reviewed that ethnic politics seeks to establish relationships between ethnic minorities and majority ethnicities through the use of ethnic identity<sup>12</sup> As well as political modalities to win legislative election, whereas no research has been conducted on effective ethnic minority communication models in majority group areas in order to win legislative election. Therefore, racial conflicts frequently occur during election when minorities







fail to communicate effectively with the majority<sup>13</sup>. Human values, human rights, and democracy are insufficient to eradicate these racial and ethnic political practices. There are many cases of social conflict that are motivated by ethnic issues as outlined by Weber<sup>14</sup> such as the social conflict caused by ethnic political disputes and gaps when one ethnic group attempts to take advantage of another ethnic group. Through the analysis of ethnic politics and racism in the modern era, this study attempts to use ethnic minorities within the context of political communication for legislative positions.

It is common for political communication to use ethnic symbols in heterogeneous areas. This can be observed in several post-conflict local election in provinces, districts, and cities that always attract attention because they involve ethnic symbols during political contestations <sup>15</sup> In terms of religion, ethnicity, natives, and immigrants. The use of these symbols is common in political contests, both in the executive (governor, regent, mayor) and the legislature (representative council in the district, city, and province). The West Sulawesi Province is one of the most ethnically heterogeneous regions in Indonesia, which means that the use of ethnic symbols, particularly ethnicity, is extremely prevalent during general election for regional heads and legislative election. This study aims to find out and describe the political communication processes of ethnic minorities toward the majority and fellow minorities, as well as factors and strategies used during the legislative election in West Sulawesi Province in 2019.

#### 2. METHOD

The subjects or informants of this study were ethnic minorities who won the 2019 legislative election. Researchers took locations in six districts in West Sulawesi province, namely North Mamuju, Central Mamuju, Mamuju, Majene, Polewali Mandar, and Mamasa. This location determination was done purposively. Research data consists of primary data collected directly from humans (informants) and secondary data gathered from existing sources such as the Central Bureau of Statistics, books, reports, journals, and other scientific sources. The collection technique was carried out by interview, observation, and documentation methods using the research instrument itself in order to obtain accurate, actual, and comprehensive data in accordance with the problem and research focus. Qualitative research relies on the author because the researcher is considered to be capable of grasping the implied meaning behind information and social phenomena. A descriptive analysis is conducted on the data collected in order to ensure that the analysis is in line with the focus of the research rather than testing the relationship between variables through hypothesis testing, as the authors did not formulate hypotheses. Afterward, the research results will be interpreted and described qualitatively to provide an overview of the situations or events encountered in the field. The analysis technique used is the spiral model proposed by Creswell<sup>16</sup>. Research results data are tested for validity by implementing inspection techniques based on certain criteria, including credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability <sup>17–19</sup>.





#### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

# 3.1. The existence of ethnic minorities in the province of West Sulawesi and the dynamics of political communication that have been developed.

West Sulawesi Province is a province resulting from the expansion of the province of South Sulawesi under law number 26 of 2004. This law was ratified in a Plenary Meeting between the government and The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia. The Minister of Home Affairs inaugurated it on behalf of the President on October 16, 2004. Geographically, West Sulawesi has land with an area of 16,937.16 km2 and sea with an area of 20,342 km2 with a total of 69 districts and 649 villages/wards. The population based on data from the Indonesian statistical center in 2010 was 1,157,565 people. The population of West Sulawesi consists of indigenous people (77.46%) and migrants (22.54%). Indigenous people who make up the majority consist of five tribes, namely Mandar, Mamasa, Mamuju, Pattae, and Makki whereas immigrants (ethnic minorities) are Bugis, Javanese, Makassar, Toraja, Bali, Sasak, East Nusa Tenggara, and other tribes.

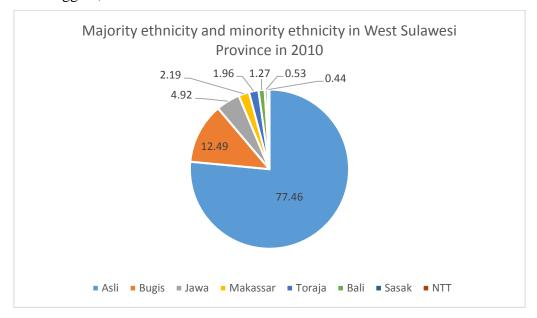


Figure 1: Percentage of total ethnic population in West Sulawesi Province in 2010.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010

The existence of ethnic minorities in West Sulawesi province is known as immigrants. The immigrants are divided into two categories, firstly migrants because they migrate from areas on the island of Sulawesi and from outside Sulawesi, and secondly, migrants due to government programs regarding transmigration in the New Order era, such as from the islands of Java, Bali, Sasak, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and others. Ethnic minorities in West Sulawesi are concentrated in urban areas such as Mamuju, Majene, and Polewali Mandar. This position cannot be dissociated from previous regimes that regarded ethnic minorities as apolitical and homo economicus. Ethnic minorities are focused only on taking care of the economic and business







fields. The idea of ethnic minorities focusing only on economic or business development results from political myths created by interested parties, including the New Order period, which aimed to exclude them from one field. Exclusion can refer to two things, namely alienation (being alienated) and domestication (improvement of offspring). The government uses this method to continue to use the stick and carrot mechanism (offering a combination of leadership reward and punishment to influence desired behavior). The alienation of ethnic minorities makes them consciously limit cross-cultural association and communication so that ethnic minorities in West Sulawesi are slightly closed off. The government has domesticated ethnic minorities so they do not get out of the economic context that has been created. The purpose of this labeling is to localize the activities and expressions of ethnic minorities with the goal that they can be monitored and maintained. Therefore, this creates a "marginal myth," which accidentally appears in the public sphere with the message that marginal people often experience unfavorable stereotypes.

The ambiguous attitude accepted by ethnic minorities has a negative impact on their existence and coexistence in West Sulawesi with other community groups. Government actions that seem to "maintain" and "allow" marginal myths to grow and develop are a form of "cleansing action" of the impact of policies that affect the public. This pattern reflects the complexity of the state as an empty space that becomes the subject of conflicting economic and political interests. In this context, the state is driven by an oligarchy group that seeks to secure its political-economic interests. Political decisions taken by the state cannot be rejected by ethnic minorities whose status is migrants. The ethnic minority community tries to get around this to survive<sup>20</sup> by establishing economic businesses whose workers are local residents, which will indirectly encourage cross-cultural communication even in economic interests. Nowadays, the younger generation seems more proud to be a Mamuju or Mandar than a migrant, although this attitude can be read as ironic. Many ethnic minorities remain divided, thus causing cultural acculturation between them; the Javanese do not wish to be recognized as Javanese, while the Buginese, Makassarnese, and Chinese seek to establish their own identity, even though the Chinese are deciding whether to give up their culture or their identity <sup>21</sup>.

Many prominent Indonesian conglomerates from West Sulawesi's ethnic minority play a role in the economic sector. This includes palm oil companies, electronics and manufacturing, real estate developers, and other industrial sectors. A profile of West Sulawesi shows it to be one of the "affirmative" expressions for ethnic minority associations. The development of ethnic minority associations in Sulawesi is characterized by natural acculturation with other cultural groups so they can interact through marriage, trade, and education. This can be traced from generations of native Javanese, Buginese, Makassarnese, and Chinese whose identities have faded somewhat as immigrants to become Mamuju and Mandarese. These two ethnicities allow ethnic minorities to mingle with other population groups. Ethnic minorities in West Sulawesi are the most dynamic compared to other ethnic minorities spread across other Indonesian cities. Ethnic minorities in West Sulawesi can be found in a variety of professions. This condition occurs due to the position of Mamuju, which is a coastal area where various identities meet so that it displays an egalitarian, independent, and heterogeneous side. According to this history, city residents are encouraged to communicate between races regardless of their true identities,





which are accomplished through the Mamuju or Mandar dialects, which emphasize an open attitude.

# 3.2. The role of ethnic minorities in political communication and changing mindsets in education in West Sulawesi province in 2019

The role of ethnic minorities in political communication and changing mindsets in democratic education in West Sulawesi province is quite significant. In several decades, there is no doubt that the election of five ethnic minorities to the West Sulawesi Regional Legislative Council has indirectly impacted West Sulawesi's mindset and democratic education. This indicates that a portrait of miniature democracy can be found in West Sulawesi.

Table 1: List the names of ethnic minorities that became informants in West Sulawesi Provincial in 2022 from the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD)

No	Name	position	Information
1	Ir. H. Firman Argo Waskito	Member	Javanese Ethnic Minority
2	Ir. H. Abidin Abdullah	Member	Bugis-Makassar Ethnic Minority
3	H. Arif Daeng Mattemu, SE.M.Kes	Member	Luwu Ethnic Minority
4	Andi Muhammad Qusyairy, A.Md.Tra	Member	Bugis-Palopo Ethnic Minority
5	H. Ambo Intang	Member	Bugis Ethnic Minority

# 3.3. The capital of ethnic minority political communication toward the majority ethnicity in the 2019 regional election West Sulawesi

Ethnic minorities in West Sulawesi are migrants who engage in social relations with other ethnic groups to achieve their migration goals. In the beginning, the Javanese ethnic group migrated by government coercion (forced migration) during the Dutch colonial period. Unlike the Bugis and Makassar ethnic groups who migrate on their initiative (spontaneous migration) when environmental conditions are not conducive to their survival efforts. This results in a limited amount of natural resources that can be utilized. Migration to Bugis and Makassar groups is also influenced by cultural factors and factors such as internal conflicts, wars, and the desire to improve one's social status. However, sometimes it is related to non-economic issues, such as a lack of peace of mind, loss of independence, and philosophy of independence.

Social capital is the number of resources, actual or virtual, that gather in an individual or group because they have a strong network of mutual acquaintances and recognition that are more or less institutionalized. Social capital emphasizes things such as networks, beliefs, norms, and human actions that can affect the development of social capital in a developing society. The ability to overcome all problems that may arise in the community is the primary social capital of community strength. The aspect of social capital is vital in the efforts of migrants to develop strategies for their survival in migration locations. In migration locations, ethnic minorities are accepted because of their good behavior, work ethic, and responsible work habits. Transmigrants' economic, social and cultural capital facilitates interaction and close cooperation between native and ethnic groups, including Javanese, Buginese, Makassarnese, and Torajanese. In this case, shared values are togetherness, equality, and teamwork, which





foster trust and collaboration between people of different ethnicities. As a result, the role and existence of ethnic minorities can dominate the economy in a region.

In the regional election in West Sulawesi, the capital was used productively for groups of individuals or groups to facilitate actions that would benefit individuals, groups, and communities. The factor of the high level of social capital in a community, namely: trust, reciprocity, mutually agreed on norms of behavior, shared commitment and a sense of being part of a community, informal and formal social networks, and effective information channels. According to Sumarjo (2010)<sup>22</sup> factors influence social capital, namely: trust, networks, institutions, local wisdom, local knowledge, and solidarity. A community already owns this and uses it for communication, survival, and problem-solving. Local values will make the community aware of their own needs. It will be easy for the organization to formulate the vision, mission, and network-building programs needed by the community itself.

According to Bourdieu<sup>23</sup>, social capital is a reciprocal relationship that occurs in human interactions and consists of obligations that must be fulfilled. The development of social capital can facilitate achieving a higher level of social welfare and reduce disparities between regions and people within a region<sup>24–26</sup>.

The five ethnic minorities who were elected have a different concept of understanding in interpreting the political communication capital of ethnic minorities in being elected as the regional legislative council (DPRD) of West Sulawesi Province.

According to Ir. Firman Argo Waskito, a Javanese ethnic minority, realizes that political communication capital benefits him because the people of West Sulawesi are open or heterogeneous. Due to this openness, he has a lot of opportunities to socialize, interact, and converse with the community, especially rural communities and community leaders. Lastly, social capital is trust in expressing aspirations and complaints about what the community needs, such as infrastructure, agriculture, and other sectors. One can assess economic and cultural capital by conducting many surveys in areas such as education, health, and others.

Meanwhile, H. Ambo Intang, as an ethnic minority from Bugis Wajo and Luwu, views capital in another context, namely: Readiness Capital personally (Financial-Economic Capital). Social Capital, including familiarity with local groups and door-to-door hospitality. Cultural capital, dialogues with community leaders, and discussions with political elites within parties and governments.

In another case, Ir. H. Abidin from the Bugis-Makassar Minority Ethnicity interpreted political communication capital, Social Capital, by approaching farmers and oil palm workers, especially fathers and families of farmers, providing counseling and building their Human Resources. The approach that provides economic capital by gathering community leaders acts as a launcher to build political and cultural bases and nodes.

On the other hand, H. Arif Dg Mattemmu, a Bugis-Luwu Ethnic Minority, thinks that the capital for political communication is simple and not too complex. It is sufficient to build





friendship (social) capital, family and financial (economic) capital, political party capital, and high schools.

In addition, Andi Muhammad Qusyairy, A.Md.Tra., Bugis ethnic minority – Palopo, also explained the concept of his understanding of capital political communication. His opinion is quite simple, namely: Approach capital to young people, especially high school students who are girls. The reason why it must be women is that women have more open communication characteristics than men. This strategy has proven to be effective in attracting millennial females, serving as a means to introduce male friends and their families by using "Name Cards".

Thus, it can be concluded that the common thread of understanding about political communication capital from ethnic minorities is social capital in a community, namely: trust, reciprocity, mutually agreed norms and behavior, shared commitment, and a sense of being part of a community, informal and formal social networks, and as effective information channels.

Other factors that may influence a collection of individuals or groups can also be mentioned in a productive manner in order to facilitate actions that can ultimately benefit individuals, groups of people, or communities in channeling their aspirations and overcoming the problems they face.

### 3.4. Political communication strategy of ethnic minorities towards the ethnic majority in the 2019 election of West Sulawesi

Based on findings in the field, it is interesting to observe and study the communication strategy developed by five members of the regional legislative council (DPRD) of West Sulawesi who come from ethnic minorities. A door-to-door strategy or hospitality program can "hypnotize" a majority group with their interests as they want to think of them as political goals by articulating the vision, mission, and program, as well as demonstrating a commitment to the interests of the community. The provision of seeds, fertilizer, and business capital, as well as building infrastructure, is a strategy to build trust and have high expectations for legislative candidates they feel are capable and have authority and positions. In this way, people believe that their aspirations can be realized and they can live decently like other residents in Manakarra land.

Another approach is taken for millennials since they are considered potential voters during election. Their voices constitute an influential contribution because this group is easier to approach and socialize with about legislative candidates. Local language approaches, as another strategy used by ethnic minorities in campaigning and socializing have been praised by all legislative candidates in various target areas.

Furthermore, ethnic minorities also use the media to inform the public about which legislators they should support<sup>27</sup>. This activity is placed in places where there are crowds, such as markets, intersections with red lights, and other public places. There is a limited budget for banners and posters, whereas name cards are a cheap form of media that targets the general public directly.







For minority candidates, this can be very subjective when using the media as an alternative to their long-term campaigns to reach out to voters.

In theory, a political communication strategy refers to the actions taken to win an electoral battle by a party, or directly by a candidate for the legislature or for the leadership of a region, who seeks maximum power and influence among society's constituents. Political communication is crucial to achieving the main goals of politics, particularly for political parties. With the implementation of political communications strategies, people can monitor whether their support, aspirations, and supervision are channeled into various public policies or not.

Interestingly, voter behavior in presidential election is also more influenced by psychological factors rather than rational or sociological factors. Based on the Indonesian Indonesian Survey Organization, towards the presidential and vice-presidential election on 5 July 2004, it found that 33% of voters preferred presidential and vice-presidential candidates based on "personality".

While the reason for the ability to overcome security problems was chosen by around 17.8%, whereas the ability to overcome economic problems by around 17.5%. In a similar manner to the legislative election, less than 6.3% of voters supported eradicating corruption, and only 4.7% wanted it from Islamic leaders, despite the majority of voters being Muslim. What does it mean? Concerning the main findings in building a political communication strategy, there are many related variables, so at a conceptual level, much insight is gained into ethnic minority political communication strategies.

As a basic concept, it was compiled from five members who succeeded in sitting on the council seats as ethnic minorities in the regional legislative council (DPRD) of West Sulawesi, namely:

1. Ir. Firman Argo Waskito, Member of DPRD West Sulawesi Province/Democratic Party, Javanese Ethnic Minority, argued that when entering a legislature, there must be a political cost associated with a political communication strategy. It is because no one can deny the necessity of people with solid experience running the political communication system in society. In other words, mobilizing a political movement incurs a cost.

Transportation, food, and beverages are required whenever there is a meeting of farmers, laborers, and mountain and coastal communities. Therefore, political cost is essential in building a political communication strategy. The role of a spouse and family, as well as community leaders, is part of the communication that determines the election. Why? The role of the wife in socializing is vital. As it affects mothers, it has a significant impact on election. Initially, she may have been alone, but once she obtained assistance, "neighbor gossip" spread from behind her house to the local markets.

2. H. Ambo Intang, Member of DPRD Sulbar Province Period 2019 – 2024, Ethnic Minority Bugis – Wajo – Luwu, interprets that political communication strategies must combine farming and business experience. Being a farmer, he cleared land quickly and was finally able to buy garden produce and sell it in the market. it is the tit for tat, agriculture is still





practiced while being an entrepreneur who buys and sells agricultural products. Through this medium, it is finally able to provide benefits to the surrounding community. As a result, the community has developed trust in voicing their aspirations.

H. Ambo Intang said that the most critical part of a political communication strategy is building relationships with community members, whether you are a farmer, a community leader, or a representative of the people. It is much easier to build trust than to maintain it.

3. Ir. H. Abidin, Member of DPRD for West Sulawesi Province, Period 2019 – 2024 Bugis-Makassar Ethnic Minority, uses a political communication strategy from a different perspective, he relies on two basic concepts, namely: first, building commitment and trust. And secondly, providing education and health assistance to children and their families. These two bases were used as a strategy for getting seats as people's representatives in West Sulawesi.

The reason is very classic, building commitment and trust in the community is easier than done. Sometimes the community has demanded the promises regarding the procurement of fertilizers and seeds. The government has also removed subsidies for fertilizers and seeds because a different assistance program is in place. It takes time to explain this to people who have been waiting so long for help, hoping that it will change their lives. Reality, however, is not as beautiful as hopes and dreams. An honest and clean political communication strategy is needed to build this trust.

4. H. Arif Dg Mattemmu, Member of DPRD West Sulawesi Province, 2014, Bugis-Luwu Ethnic Minority, Political communication strategies are pretty diverse at a certain level, so strategies can sometimes be perceived as spontaneous steps. As understood by H. Arif Dg Mattemmu, the political communication strategy is carried out like this, door to door and friendship based. There is a political cost, assistance from the Party, and outreach to students at the health school he founded.

There are not too many political costs issued with a strategy like this. It is almost a habit for him to visit friends' and residents' houses to introduce himself and his son, who has been elected to the DPRD of Mamuju Regency. Assisting the construction of mosques and providing sports facilities for young people is part of a political communication strategy so that they indirectly recognize themselves and, at the same time, vote for them.

5. Andi Muhammad Qusyairy, A.Md.Tra., Member of the West Sulawesi Provincial DPRD for the 2019 – 2024 period, Bugis ethnic minority – Palopo. Another interesting side expressed by Andi Muhammad Qusyairy, is the political communication strategy during his outreach to the people. That is the family approach. Introducing the vision, mission, and programs to millennials. Providing farm road infrastructure assistance and capital assistance for lung machines to mothers

Political communication strategies involving a familial approach are prevalent among various populations, such as the Palopo, Bugis, Makassar, and Mandar tribes. With the energizing of the family ties, it becomes an emotional bond in the election process.







On the other hand, this is often neglected, namely recruiting millennials (youth) eligible to vote. Many votes are cast by high school or vocational school students, adding several polls from millennials with business card capital. The role of mothers is highly calculated because they have extraordinary sound power. It is not uncommon for one mother to impact one village. Finally, it can be concluded that different communication strategies and symbols differ in their effectiveness in winning election for DPRD members in West Sulawesi Province. Political communication strategies can be described as attributes such as clothing, jewelry, ownership of electronic objects, and the latest means of communication, vehicles, and lifestyles, indicating assembly members' economic structure and stability.

As well as showing the ethnic identity of a member of parliament, local language, accent, philosophy of life, customs, and others are often used in political communication as differentiators.

The regional legislative council (DPRD) in West Sulawesi comprises representatives from diverse ethnic backgrounds who identify their political communication strategies according to the context of space and time. At certain times when interacting with other ethnic groups, inherent identities such as tribal origin and religion are strongly emphasized.

This relates to the management of the impression of DPRD members in carrying out their personal, group, and party interests, as well as the interests of citizens..

In terms of political communication strategies, some characteristics show what Barth calls situational ethnicity and ethnic identity manipulation. People who have been described as migrants try to adopt the identity of indigenous people, including learning local languages such as Mamuju and Mandar and wearing traditional clothing on certain occasions. Hence the importance of identity as the "Mamuju people" is conveyed in political communication, both to politicians and audiences who are ethnically indigenous or regional.

However, in general, they still maintain a connection with their original ethnic identity, for example, by participating in their regional associations of origin, thereby reinforcing their identity as migrants. Also, various identities are used based on circumstances and time that can provide political advantages, social acceptance, or cultural inclusion.

# 3.5. The model of political communication of ethnic minorities towards the ethnic majority in the 2019 West Sulawesi Pilkada

In the majority area, ethnic minorities use verbal and nonverbal communication, namely two-way interactive dialogue. An election campaign team that consists of ethnic minorities is modified so that they can work on the concerns of the majority ethnicity. Legislative candidates will be accompanied by models of character, friendship, and teamwork during their visits to rural and coastal communities. Additionally, the concept of "shadow power" becomes a tool for political communication. This strength could come from the financial support of parents, husband and wife, influential figures in the area, and authorities and business people. These people were not involved in the economic, social, and cultural travel stimulus. This relationship adds value. The community receives and defines the value that is made. Then there are results





from the transmission of that belief, which means that two-way communication has taken place, and there has been no intervention in the community to accept the socialized values.

In political communication theory, there are some fundamental theories in understanding communication, So that the author can compare the theory and the findings in the field, the views are (1) Aristotle's Model, (2) Harold Lasswell Hunting's Model, (3) Gudykunst and Kim's Model, (4) Interactional Model, and (5) Agenda Setting model. When coupled with the application of the ethnic minority political communication model in the regional legislative council West Sulawesi, such as:

- a) Ir. Firman Argo Waskito: My political communication model focuses on approaching the humanist side, not thinking we are superior to them.
- b) H. Ambo Intang: One who spreads charm, smiles, and greetings. He often hears people's complaints and is called upon to provide solutions and assistance, both moral and material.
- c) Ir. H. Abidin: Listening and following up on problems, providing solutions and assistance, both moral and material.
- d) H. Arid Dg Mattemmu : A friendship-based model. Model of help and care. Model of mutual respect.
- e) Andi Muhammad Qusyairy, A.Md. Tra: Maintaining a commitment to the community as the nodes of political power and caring for gatherings with constituents by frequently reaching out to the community both during recess and at events held by community leaders.

The conclusion that can be drawn between the theoretical model and findings in the field is the Interactional Model. This model has qualitative, non-systemic, and nonlinear characteristics. Communication is defined as the formation of meaning or interpretation of messages and other people's actions by communicators. Some important concepts used are self, other self, and action. A conceptual framework has been described that describes how ethnic minorities were elected as the regional legislative council of West Sulawesi using the interactional model. This is a method of fulfilling the elements discussed above.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The conclusions can be seen in the following statements:

1. Political communication capital of ethnic minorities in the 2019 election of the regional legislative council in West Sulawesi Province, both in substantial and practical politics, is the socialization of democracy education, especially the presence of ethnic minorities in the political system which is currently still underestimated by the majority ethnicity. At the same time, it is an effort to establish politics that adhere to the mandate of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In addition, it is an effort to change the mindset of people who see politics as a momentary activity. Thus, ethnic minority political communication can be considered a kind of constitutional mandate.





- 2. The political communication strategy of ethnic minorities can be seen from both good and bad sides, namely:
  - Viewed as positive because political communication is carried out by inviting and exemplifying political practices that are loaded with group interests in order to improve natural and social conditions.
  - Considered bad by some people due to the use of political material. This gives the impression politicians are using the name of the people to further their political interests
- 3. The ethnic minority political communication model is a communication model shaped by the characteristics of ethnic minorities elected to the Regional Legislative Council of West Sulawesi.

#### References

- 1. Cangara H. Komunikasi politik konsep, teori dan strategi. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers; 2011.
- 2. Fischer-Neumann M. Immigrants' ethnic identification and political involvement in the face of discrimination: A longitudinal study of the German case. J Ethn Migr Stud. 2014;40(3):339–62.
- 3. Habermas J. The theory of communicative action (T. McCarthy, Trans.). Boston: MA: Beacon; 1984.
- 4. Slamet A. Identitas Politik dalam Komunikasi Politik Calon Gubernur Jawa Barat Tahun 2018. Linimasa J Ilmu Komun. 2019;2(1).
- 5. Lampe I. Identitas etnik dalam komunikasi politik. J Ilmu Komun. 2014;8(3):299–313.
- 6. Barelly AM, Muhammad M, Kambo GA, Abdillah A. The Political Identity of Ethnicity in the Local Election of Makassar City 2018. J Gov. 2021;6(2).
- 7. Snanfi FL, Darwin M, Ikhwan H. Politik Identitas Etnik Asli Papua Berkontestasi dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah di Kota Sorong. Sosiohumaniora. 2018;20(2):122–31.
- 8. Bobo L, Gilliam FD. Race, sociopolitical participation, and black empowerment. Am Polit Sci Rev. 1990;84(2):377–93.
- 9. Perry RK. Black mayors, white majorities: The balancing act of racial politics. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press; 2013.
- 10. Adam H. The politics of ethnic identity: Comparing South Africa. Ethn Racial Stud. 1995;18(3):457–75.
- 11. Amalia DR. Modalitas dan Keterpilihan Ir. Sugeng H. Sunaryo pada pemilihan legislaif Tahun 2014 di Kabupaten Poso. Repository Unhas; 2019.
- 12. Nandi A, Platt L. The relationship between political and ethnic identity among UK ethnic minority and majority populations. J Ethn Migr Stud. 2020;46(5):957–79.
- 13. Alfarabi M, Suardi W, Qodir Z. Ethnic Identity and Local Politics: Study on Regional Head Election in Merauke Regency 2020. J Gov Civ Soc. 2021;5(2):198–213.
- 14. Weber M. The theory of social and economic organization. Henderson AM, Parsons T, editors. New York: The Free Press; 2009.
- 15. Alfarabi A. Simbol Eksistensi Identitas Etnik Melayu Riau di Pekanbaru. J Kaganga J Ilm Sos dan Hum. 2019;3(1):67–77.
- 16. Creswell JW, Inquiry Q. Research design: choosing among five approaches. London, United Kingdom Sage







Publ Ltd[Google Sch. 2007;

- 17. Lincoln YS, Guba EG. Naturalistic inquiry. New York: sage; 1985.
- 18. Nasution S. Metode Penelitian Naturalistik Kualitatif Tarsito. Bandung: Tarsito; 1996.
- 19. Moleong LJ. Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosda karya Offset Nawawi; 2009.
- 20. Dila S. Simbolisasi Etnik Muna di Bandung: Studi Identitas Etnik Orang Muna. Mediat J Komun. 2008;9(2):317–26.
- Hidayat T. Komunikasi Politik Etnis Tionghoa dalam Mengungkap Identitas Relasi Sosial dan Politik (Studi pada Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (DPRD) Kota Medan). Persepsi Commun J. 2019;2(1):70– 7.
- 22. Saptono B. Orientasi Modal Sosial dan Modal Kultural di Fakultas Ilmu Pendidikan UNY. J Penelit Ilmu Pendidik. 2013;6(2).
- 23. Bourdieu P. The Forms of Capital, dalam Richardson, JG. Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. Westport: CT: Greenwood Press; 1986.
- 24. Putnam R. Bowling Alone: the strange disappearance of civic America. J Democr. 1995;6(1):65-78.
- 25. Christoforou A. Social capital and economic growth: the case of Greece. In: London School of Economics: Paper for The 1st PhD Symposium on Social Science Research in Greece of The Hellenic Observatory. European Istitute; 2003.
- 26. Grootaert C, van Bastelaer T. The Role of Social Capital in Development: An Empirical Assessment. Putnam RD, editor. Cambridge University Press; 2002. 341 p.
- 27. Sabarudin D. Politik Identitas dan Jejaring Politik Dalam Pemilihan Gubernur DKI Jakarta Tahun 2012. Media Komunika (Jurnal Komunikasi) Univ Sangga Buana YPKP. 2018;3(1):25–41.

