

# Balinese and Thai Women's Political Movement: A Discourse Study on Social Media

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**Abstract**—This study aims to describe the political movements of Balinese and Thai women on social media, with a focus on the analysis of actor networks, concept networks, and affiliation networks in the political discourse of Balinese and Thai women on Facebook. This study uses a netnographic research method. The data for this study are political discourses conveyed by the Facebook accounts of Ni Luh Djelantik and Rukchanok Srinork. The discourse data in this study are 18 discourses from 2020 to 2024. The data were analyzed using Discourse Networks Analysis (DNA). The findings showed that Balinese and Thai women share a common consensus in discourse and exhibit a similar pattern in conveying their political ideology on Facebook. The concept network showed that the issue of women in the progress of Balinese and Thai politics is widely agreed upon by the public. The affiliation network showed that both Balinese and Thai women received positive responses from other actors and received highly positive responses to the concepts conveyed on Facebook. It can be concluded that there is a transformation of Balinese and Thai women in the political field, with the concept of women and political progress being one of the important issues in the political movements of Balinese and Thai women. The political movements of Balinese and Thai women have received public attention and approval. This research suggests that Balinese and Thai women should participate in political education, and that the government should launch a social awareness campaign for the wider community.

**Index Terms**—Balinese and Thai Women's political movement, critical discourse analysis, social media

## I. INTRODUCTION

In general, women have a very small role in the world of politics (Bessell, 2016; Shin, 2016). It can be seen in the role of women in politics in most countries around the world. The primary factor limiting women's political roles is social norms in society (Cerqueira et al., 2024; Diabah, 2022). In this regard, women's political movements in ASEAN are very interesting to study. Indonesia, particularly Bali and Thailand, has social norms that still strongly bind women. What's interesting about these two regions' women's political movements is the use of social media in women's political activities. The discourse on women's political movements on social media has multiple dimensions, encompassing advocacy, activism, and the formation of collective identity. Social media plays a crucial role for women in overcoming patriarchal norms, fighting for political rights, and mobilizing support at both the local and global levels (Tye et al., 2018; Yuce et al., 2015).

Several research results show that Balinese women have a very small role in the world of politics. Despite the importance of women's roles in various sectors, their political representation remains low. For instance, Bali has not succeeded in sending female representatives to the Indonesian Parliament, largely due to discriminatory selection processes by political parties and various obstacles faced by women candidates, such as financial constraints, lack of political experience, and limited social networks (Gelgel & Apriani, 2019). In local government, women in Bali do hold positions in local government, but their empowerment is hindered by cultural and structural barriers. Factors such as achievement motivation and human capital positively influence their positions, while cultural and social barriers have a negative impact (Marhaeni & Saskara, 2018). Balinese women face significant challenges in political participation due to entrenched patriarchal norms and cultural barriers. However, efforts to increase their representation through education, affirmative action, and local initiatives show promise in promoting gender equality and empowering women in the political sphere. Addressing these barriers and providing broader opportunities for women are crucial steps towards achieving greater political participation and representation for Balinese women.

There are several reasons why Balinese women have a small role in the political arena, namely, patriarchal society and cultural barriers. In patriarchal society, Balinese society is deeply patriarchal, which marginalizes women's rights within the family and customary affairs. Women are often excluded from decision-making processes and inheritance rights, making their position vulnerable in marriage and divorce (Dewi, 2020). On Cultural Barrier, Balinese women are traditionally seen as caretakers and maintainers of family harmony, which conflicts with the values of emancipation and career success (Suryani, 2004). This traditional view limits their opportunities for political engagement. Traditional

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customs, such as patrilocal marriage and patrilineal inheritance, place women in subordinate roles. Upon marriage, women move into their husband's family and remain outsiders, further limiting their influence and involvement in political and public spheres.

Furthermore, the political movement of Thai women has evolved significantly over the years, marked by their increasing participation and influence in various political and social spheres. Here are some key aspects of their involvement. The political landscape in Thailand, especially during and after the coups in 2006 and 2014, has presented both challenges and opportunities for women's political activism, in which authoritarian governments have sometimes used women's rights to legitimize their rule. These periods have also expanded political spaces for women to advance social and gender justice (Buranajaroenkij, 2023). On patriarchal structures, the deeply entrenched patriarchal system in Thailand poses significant challenges for women in politics. Despite increasing acceptance, female politicians still face difficulties, and there are calls for measures like a female quota system to ensure equal opportunities (Chinudomsab & Chantra, 2022).

In religious and cultural contexts, women in Thailand have also sought greater justice and gender equality through religious avenues, such as the movement for higher Buddhist ordination. This movement challenges the traditional gender roles reinforced by the Buddhist monastic community and aims to promote gender equality within the religious and broader social context (Litalien, 2018; Tomalin, 2006). In terms of labor activism in Thailand, female rural-to-urban migrants have engaged in labor activism, challenging exploitation and asserting their rights in urban settings. This activism not only addresses workplace justice but also contests their exclusion from public and political spaces (Mills, 2008). In recent years, young women and LGBTQ+ individuals have taken the lead in national protests against autocratic governance, advocating for significant political reforms and challenging traditional power structures (Horatanakun, 2024).

In a recent development, Thai female politicians are using online activism to influence others. The rise of social and digital media has transformed political participation for Thai women. During the 2013/2014 Bangkok protests, women used these platforms to discuss political issues and women's rights, highlighting the importance of online engagement in a restrictive political environment (Guntarik & Trott, 2016).

Balinese female politician Ni Luh Djelantik also used social media as a political campaign tool ahead of the 2024 Indonesian senatorial elections. Ni Luh Djelantik successfully became a senator for the Republic of Indonesia, using social media as a campaign tool. Similarly, in Thai women's politics, Ruchanok Srinok used social media as a campaign tool and successfully became a female member of parliament in 2023.

The social media platform used by these two female politicians is Facebook. They use Facebook to promote their ideologies and secure their senatorial candidacy. The following is a snapshot of the campaigning conducted on Facebook by these two politicians.

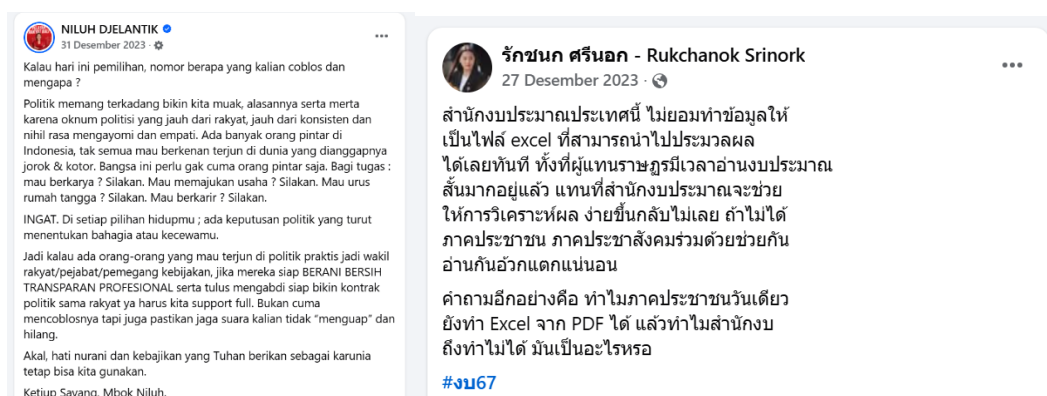


Figure 1. Political Campaign by Ni Luh Djelantik and Ruchanok Srinok on Facebook  
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/niluhdjelantik>  
[https://www.facebook.com/nanaicez112/?locale=th\\_TH](https://www.facebook.com/nanaicez112/?locale=th_TH)

The use of social media is very interesting to study. Based on Figure 1, Ni Luh Djelantik delivered a discourse about the senatorial election and who the people chose. Based on the discourse presented, Ni Luh Djelantik attempted to convince voters to choose her by emphasizing the use of conscience in making choices. This discourse received a positive response from various groups in the community in the comments. This shows that the public tends to like Ni Luh Djelantik's character.

Then, in Thailand, Ruchanok Srinok delivered a speech criticizing the government's budget management and public information. This received a positive response from the public through comments on Facebook. Most expressed the view that as a young politician, she could make changes in these areas. In this case, through her speech, Ruchanok Srinok sought to gain public sympathy by criticizing the government.

The two discourses above demonstrate the existence of social interaction on Facebook. From a social interaction theory perspective, Facebook provides people with the opportunity to build and maintain social relationships with members of their network. They can identify themselves, create self-presentations, and participate in various social roles. Facebook influences online identity and how people interact with others online. Facebook profiles reflect actual personality, not

self-idealization (Back et al., 2020). Furthermore, Facebook is a place for individuals to share experiences, ideas, and information with their friends. They can participate in groups and communities based on shared interests, creating an environment where social interaction occurs within a specific context. Social interaction theory allows us to examine how these social dynamics develop on Facebook and how these online interactions can influence real-world social relationships. One aspect related to female politicians is that their social interactions on Facebook can influence real-world social relationships, particularly those related to their electability. The online interactions they engage in on Facebook constitute a discourse presented to influence their readers. This Facebook discourse is the focus of this research, which is linked to the women's political movements in Bali and Thailand.

Based on the above explanation, the focus of this research is (1) how is the actors' network of Balinese and Thai women's political discourse on Facebook? (2) how is the concept network of Balinese and Thai women's political discourse on Facebook? and (3) how is the affiliation network of Balinese and Thai women's political discourse on Facebook?

## II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### A. Discourse Network Analysis (DNA)

The data for this research comes from Facebook. One way to analyze discourse on Facebook is by using discourse network analysis theory, which helps us to understand people's relationships with each other on the platform. This theory views Facebook as a network of relationships between individuals consisting of nodes (users) and ties (relationships). A social network is a structure composed of individuals or units called nodes, and the relationships between them called ties (Carrington & Scott, 2011). Discourse network theory also helps us understand how the network structure on Facebook can influence user experience. For example, a dense network with strong ties can create a highly connected environment, while a looser network can provide access to a wider variety of ideas and information. Thus, this theory helps us to explore how social network structure influences user interactions and experiences on Facebook.

A social media network consists of two things. First, there are actors (nodes), namely social media accounts. Second, there are relationships (link/edge), namely the responses to conversations on social media (Leifeld, 2017). There are several things analyzed through social media network analysis, namely network form, modularity, and centrality.

Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) is an analytical approach that straddles discourse theory and social network analysis. DNA aims to understand the construction of meaning and complex relationships in a social or political context by exposing the interactions of actors and discursive elements. Fischer and Hajer (1999) describe DNA as a method of analysis that links discursive analysis with an understanding of the social networks that shape those discourses.

It is important to understand that in DNA, discourse is considered the primary means of understanding social and political dynamics. Fischer (2003) emphasizes this by stating that DNA considers discourse as the primary locus of knowledge and policy construction. Thus, DNA believes that through discourse analysis, we can uncover the complex web of meanings that are formed in a society or political environment.

The basic concept in DNA involves understanding how discursive elements and actors interact with each other and form a network. Fischer (2009) explains that this analysis examines the structure, dynamics, and evolution of discursive networks in shaping social and political meaning. In this regard, DNA opens a space to examine how words, concepts, and ideas interrelate and form a shared narrative. The network form is the primary focus in DNA, and this analysis opens the door to understanding the structure of interconnections between discursive elements. Fischer (2009) states that network form analysis helps in identifying complex patterns of relationships and understanding how discursive elements relate to each other. Thus, network form becomes a primary tool for understanding the structure and dynamics within a discursive context.

Degree centrality is a concept that highlights the important role played by certain actors or elements in maintaining the stability and balance of a network. Fischer and Hajer (1999) explain that level centrality helps in identifying actors or elements that have a central position in maintaining the network structure. Understanding level centrality helps describe the distribution of power and influence in a discursive context.

To recognize DNA, it is important to recognize that this analysis provides a deep understanding of how social meaning and knowledge are constructed through discursive interactions and form complex networks. By integrating discursive elements with social network analysis, DNA provides a powerful tool for unraveling complex dynamics in a variety of social and political contexts.

Leifeld (2017) introduces three types of discourse networks in DNA, which provide insight into how actors in a discourse are connected: actor networks, concept networks, and affiliation networks.

An actor network depicts the relationships between actors and debates within a discursive context. Actors are represented as nodes in the network, while edges reflect actors' involvement in a particular debate or issue. This network shows how actors engage in various debates and form alliances or conflicts depending on the topic (Leifeld, 2017).

Concept networks highlight the interrelationships between actors and concepts or ideas in a discourse. Nodes in the network represent actors and concepts, while edges describe how actors relate to or represent particular concepts. Actor-Concept networks reflect the dynamics of how particular actors influence or are influenced by the interpretation of concepts (Leifeld, 2017).

Affiliation networks focus more on direct relationships between actors in a discourse. Actor-Actor Networks highlight social interactions between individuals or groups and help identify patterns of interconnection, alliance, or conflict between them (Leifeld, 2017). The nodes in this network represent actors, and the edges reflect the relationships or social interactions between them.

### *B. Women's Political Movement*

The literature on women's political movements is vast and interdisciplinary, encompassing studies from political science, sociology, history, gender studies, and other fields. These movements gained momentum in the 1960s, increasing awareness of women's issues in various aspects of life, including economic, social, political, cultural, and religious domains, with women facing widespread discrimination and Western literary theory and criticism being predominantly shaped by white male theorists (Mhamane, 2017). Scholars have examined the historical trajectories of women's suffrage movements, the role of women in revolutionary struggles, the emergence of feminist organizations and activism, and the impact of women's political participation on policy outcomes. Contemporary scholarship focuses on how women's movements are adapting to new challenges and opportunities in the 21st century, such as globalization, neoliberalism, and the rise of right-wing political movements (Dimitrova et al., 2020). Furthermore, gender is seen as pervading the realm of politics in that it reflects the distribution of power and reinforces notions of masculinity and femininity, influencing the patterns of political participation by women and by men (Moghadam, 2010).

Several key factors contribute to the emergence and success of women's political movements. These include the presence of supportive political and social contexts, the availability of resources and networks, the emergence of strong leadership, and the ability to frame issues in ways that resonate with a broad range of women. Framing processes, like those seen in the Women's Suffrage Movement, are vital for enhancing collective and individual identity, while also fueling participants' emotions and actions (Crawford, 1999). The state also plays an important role in influencing the trajectory of women's movements by offering various opportunities or presenting obstacles, with the strategic decisions of these movements depending on particular state configurations. Cultural norms and stereotypes, limited access to education and resources, and discrimination and violence remain significant barriers to women's political participation (Baker & Palmieri, 2023). The establishment of broad women's coalitions can play an important role; however, favorable political conditions combined with strategic actions from key female figures are critical to ensuring that mobilization translates into tangible outcomes (Waylen, 2007).

Women's political movements employ a variety of strategies to achieve their goals, including grassroots organizing, lobbying, advocacy, public education, and direct action. Grassroots organizing involves mobilizing women at the local level to raise awareness, build solidarity, and advocate for change. Lobbying and advocacy efforts target policymakers and government officials to promote legislative and policy reforms that advance women's rights and interests (Keiser, 1997). Public education campaigns aim to challenge stereotypes, raise awareness about gender inequality, and promote positive images of women in society. Direct action tactics, such as protests, demonstrations, and civil disobedience, are used to disrupt the status quo and demand immediate action on pressing issues (Mahmud et al., 2019). Considering issues like reproductive rights and violence against women is crucial, though these are not always embraced by all women's organizations.

Women's political movements have had a significant impact on societies around the world, contributing to advances in women's rights, gender equality, and social justice. Despite these achievements, women's political movements continue to face numerous challenges, including backlash from conservative and religious forces, limited resources and funding, internal divisions and conflicts, and the persistent underrepresentation of women in positions of power. There are also inherent limitations to how influential women's organizations can be because they often lack access to mainstream political agendas (Nazneen & Sultan, 2010). Furthermore, many scholars and activists have highlighted that the underrepresentation of women in politics leads to continuous systemic discrimination due to the lack of sufficient legislation and policy interventions focused on women (Korir, 2021).

## III. METHODOLOGY

This study analyzes Facebook using online communities as data sources. The dimensions of discourse networks and discourse coalitions are examined within these online communities, thus employing a netnographic research method. Netnography is a method used to study the culture of digital media users, as observed through online traces (Kozinets, 2015). The data for this study are political discourses conveyed by the Facebook accounts of Ni Luh Djelantik and Rukchanok Srinork. The text data of the Facebook discourses were collected through observation. The data source for this study is the online community on Facebook social media. The data source for this study was taken from the Facebook accounts of Ni Luh Djelantik and Rukchanok Srinork. The discourse data in this study are 18 discourses in the period 2020 to 2024. This time was chosen because Ni Luh Djelantik and Rukchanok Srinork began their campaigns to become senatorial candidates starting in 2020 and were elected in 2023 and 2024. The research data was analyzed using Discourse Networks Analysis (DNA). DNA is used to analyze data in the form of political discourse networks. The stages of data analysis that refer to the netnography method are: (1) Coding, at this stage, adding codes or categories to the data collected in the research. (2) Noting, at this stage, reflecting on the data or other comments recorded on the edge of the data. (3) Abstracting and Comparing, at this stage, data is filtered to be identified to find similar, sequential, related, and different

data. At this stage, data is collected based on the type of data and indicators of data types using critical discourse analysis and Discourse Networks Analysis (DNA). (4) Checking and Refinement, at this stage, returning to the virtual world (Facebook) to collect the next wave of data to isolate, examine, and refine understanding of patterns, processes, similarities, and differences. (5) Generalizing, at this stage, the discourse that has been collected and analyzed according to the indicators makes generalizations of the data that are already consistent. (6) Theorizing, the data that has been processed, refined, and extracted can then be formulated into a theoretical statement that leads to a new understanding of the research phenomenon.

#### IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

##### *Balinese and Thai Women's Political Discourse Network on Facebook*

##### *(a). Actor Networks*

Actor network is a visualization that displays the relationships between actors. Visualizations of actor networks in the discourse of Balinese and Thai women's political movements can be seen in Figures 2 and 3 below.

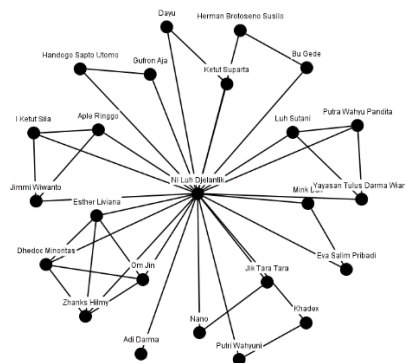


Figure 2. The Balinese Women's Political Movement Discourse Actors Network on Facebook

Based on Figure 2, there are 24 actors involved in the discourse on the Balinese women's political movement. These 24 actors responded to the discourse presented by Ni Luh Djelantik, a Balinese female politician. An analysis of this actor network can be seen in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1  
THE CENTRALITY OF THE ACTOR LEVELS OF THE BALINESE WOMEN'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT DISCOURSE

No.	Name of the Actors	Level of Consent (%)	Degree of Involvement (%)	Mediating Role (%)
1	Adi Darma	1.42	2.42	0.00
2	Aple Ringgo	1.42	2.50	0.00
3	Bu Gede	1.42	2.46	0.00
4	Dayu	1.42	2.54	0.00
5	Dhedoc Minoritas	1.42	2.54	0.00
6	Esther Liviana	1.42	2.46	0.00
7	Eva Salim pribadi	1.42	2.46	0.00
8	Gufron Aja	1.42	2.46	0.00
9	Handogo Spto Utomo	1.42	2.46	0.00
10	Herman Brotoseno Susilo	1.42	2.46	0.00
11	I Ketut Sila	1.42	2.50	0.00
12	Jik Tara Tara	1.42	2.50	0.00
13	Jimmi Wiwanto	1.42	2.50	0.00
14	Ketut Suparta	2.85	2.50	0.07
15	Khadex	1.42	2.46	0.00
16	Luh Sutani	1.42	2.50	0.00
17	Mink Bali	1.42	2.46	0.00
18	Nano	1.42	2.46	0.00
19	Ni Luh Djelantik	15.71	5.13	41.14
20	Om Jin	1.42	2.54	0.00
21	Putra Wahyu Pandita	1.42	2.50	0.00
22	Putri Wahyuni	1.42	2.46	0.00
23	Yayasan Tulus Darma Wiarta	1.42	2.50	0.00
24	Zhandi Hilmy	1.42	2.54	0.00

Table 1 provides information on the centrality of the actor in this discourse, which includes the three primary metrics: mediating role, degree of involvement, and level of consent. Ni Luh Djelantik has the highest consent, which is 15.71%, indicating that she is in a dominant position in this discourse. This high score highlights its significant impact in discourse, which may stem from its position as a politician and reputation that has been established. Ni Luh Djelantik also indicates

a significant Degree of Involvement, which is 5.13%. This indicates that they are not just useful as information sources but also as actors that are well-connected to other actors. This connection can help with idea dissemination and community mobilization in political campaigns. The most notable is Ni Luh Djelantik’s moderating role, which reached 41.14%. This indicates that they function as the primary link in this network, assisting in connecting other actors. This procedure is very important for ensuring accurate information and helping to strengthen the bonds between the various actors involved in the movement.

The results of this study confirm the importance of Ni Luh Djelantik in the discourse of the women's political movement in Bali. Her significant involvement as a central figure in the network of actors not only strengthens her position as a leader but also reflects the social dynamics within this movement. These findings demonstrate the expanding role of women in politics and how they can be drivers of change in the broader social context. This is consistent with the view that women's involvement in social movements can significantly increase their political participation and agency (González-Malabet, 2023; Grabe & Dutt, 2020). In addition, this research shows that Balinese women have begun to go beyond the norms and traditions that apply in the world of politics (Lenz, 2006).

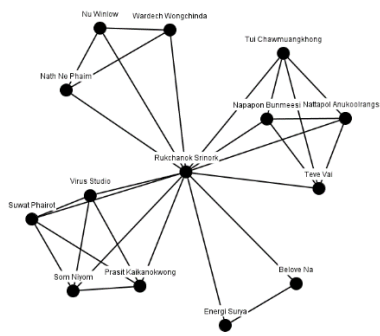


Figure 3. The Thai Women's Political Movement Discourse Actors Network on Facebook

Based on Figure 3, there are 14 actors involved in the discourse on the Thai women's political movement. These 14 actors responded to the discourse presented by Ruchanok Srinok, a Thai female politician. This network composition demonstrates the structure of relationships between actors, where connections are crucial for disseminating ideas and support in the context of women's politics in Thailand. An analysis of this actor network can be seen in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2  
THE CENTRALITY OF THE ACTOR LEVELS OF THE THAI WOMEN'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT DISCOURSE

No.	Name of the Actors	Level of Consent (%)	Degree of Involvement (%)	Mediating Role (%)
1	Belove Na	3.48	4.37	0.00
2	Energi Surya	3.48	4.37	0.00
3	Napapon Bunmeesi	6.98	4.67	0.00
4	Nath Ne Phaim	5.17	4.51	0.00
5	Nattapol Anukoolrangsans	6.89	4.67	0.00
6	Nu Winlow	5.17	4.51	0.00
7	Prasit Kaikanokwong	6.89	4.67	0.00
8	Ruchanok Srinok	22.41	8.59	37.00
9	Som Niyom	2.63	4.67	0.00
10	Suwat Phairot	5.26	4.84	0.00
11	Teve Vai	2.63	4.67	0.00
12	Tui Chawmuangkhong	2.63	4.67	0.00
13	Virus Studio	2.63	4.67	0.00
14	Wardech Wongchinda	2.63	4.51	0.00

Through Table 2, we can see the three primary metrics used to analyze the actor's performance in this network: mediating role, degree of involvement, and level of consent. As the central figure, Ruchanok Srinok has the highest percentage of the target, which is 22.41%. This indicates that she is responsible for this discourse and has made a significant contribution to the discussion of women's politics in Thailand. In addition to this, there are a few other actors that indicate a higher threshold for goal attainment when compared to other actors, such as Napapon Bunmeesi, Nattapol Anukoolrangsans, and Prasit Kaikanokwong, with goals ranging from 6.89% to 6.98%. Despite this, these scores are still somewhat close to Ruchanok's influence.

8.59% is the highest Degree of Involvement, as stated by Ruchanok Srinok. This indicates that they are not just acting as the discourse leader but also interacting with many other actors in the network, which can help them make this discourse more comprehensive. Several other actors have a relatively low Degree of Involvement, ranging from 4.37% to 4.84%, which indicates weaker connections within the network.

The most significant finding in this analysis is Ruchanok Srinok’s mediating role, which reached 37.00%. This illustrates how they function as a team that connects many actors in a network. Her involvement in this Mediating Role is very important for facilitating communication and collaboration between the aforementioned actors.

Conversely, almost all other actors indicate a Mediating Role of 0.00%, indicating that they do not function as a team in this particular political network. Comparison with other actors in the network indicates significant differences in participation. Even if some people, like Napapon Bunmeesi and Nattapol Anukoolrangsang, have higher goals than average, they are still far from being the leaders or hubs of the network. This indicates that, despite their good intentions, their ability to influence women's political discourse is not as strong as Ruchanok Srinok's.

The analysis of the actor's network in Thai women's politics on social media highlights Ruchanok Srinok's dominance in fostering political discourse. Her active involvement as a central actor with a high level of consent, Degree of Involvement, and Mediating Role highlights the importance of leadership in promoting women's politics. All of this indicates that other actors need to be strategic to increase their influence in the network, make more active contributions, and create unity in political decision-making. This study offers valuable insights into how social media can be used to improve women's status in Thai politics. It is in line with the study of Buranajaroenkij (2023), who stated that social media platforms provide a space for women to acquire political knowledge and engage in political discourse.

Based on the research findings, Ni Luh Djelantik (a Balinese woman) and Ruchanok Srinok (a Thai woman) have the same consent in the discourse conveyed on Facebook. This reflects that both have a similar pattern in conveying their political ideology on social media. Furthermore, this shows the transformation of Balinese and Thai women in the political world. The transformation of women's roles in society, driven by the modern women's movement, has brought about significant social and political changes, including the redefinition of gender roles and increased political participation (Anleu & Mack, 2013; Szente & Németh, 2021).

#### (b). Concept Network

A conceptual network is the relationship between two or more concepts. Figures 4 and 5 below visualize the conceptual networks of discourse on the Balinese and Thai women's political movements.

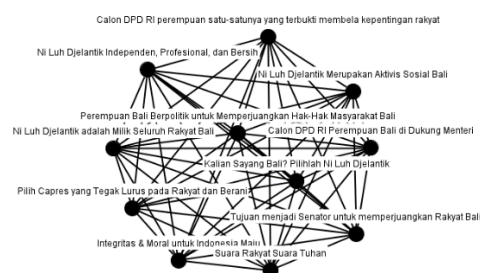


Figure 4. The Balinese Women's Political Movement Discourse Concept Network on Facebook

Figure 4 shows that each actor presented different arguments in support of or against the discourse presented by Ni Luh Djelantik. There were 14 arguments presented by the actors. These arguments served as the basis for the actors' support for Ni Luh Djelantik. Figure 4 visualizes each argument (concept) and the network between those concepts. The arguments presented by the actors support Ni Luh Djelantik.

In addition to actors, the data analysis also identified the centrality of concepts in the discourse of the Balinese women's political movement. Table 3 below presents the analysis of the centrality of concepts related to consent, involvement, and the mediating role in the discourse.

TABLE 3  
THE CENTRALITY OF THE CONCEPTUAL LEVELS OF DISCOURSE IN THE BALINESE WOMEN'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT

No.	Concept	Level of Consent (%)	Degree of Involvement (%)	Mediating Role (%)
1	<i>Calon DPD RI perempuan Bali di Dukung Menteri</i> (The Balinese Woman of the Republic of Indonesia Senator Candidate is supported by the Minister)	4.28	3.40	3.85
2	<i>Calon DPD RI Perempuan Satu-Satunya yang Terbukti Membela Kepentingan Rakyat</i> (The Only Balinese Woman of the Republic of Indonesia Senator Candidate Proven to Defend the People's Interests)	7.14	3.57	10.00
3	<i>Integritas &amp; Moral untuk Indonesia maju</i> (Integrity and Morale for Progressive Indonesia)	4.28	3.40	5.16
4	<i>Kalian Sayang Bali? Pilihlah Ni Luh Djelantik</i> (Do You Love Bali? Choose Ni Luh Djelantik)	4.28	3.40	5.16
5	<i>Ni Luh Djelantik Independen, Profesional, dan Bersih</i> (Ni Luh Djelantik is Independent, Professional, and Clean)	4.28	3.40	5.16
6	<i>Ni Luh Djelantik Merupakan Aktivistis Sosial Bali</i> (Ni Luh Djelantik is Balinese Social Activist)	5.71	3.48	7.62
7	<i>Ni Luh Djelantik adalah Milik Seluruh Rakyat Bali</i> (Ni Luh Djelantik belongs to all Balinese People)	4.28	3.40	5.16
8	<i>Perempuan Bali Berpolitik untuk memperjuangkan Hak-Hak Masyarakat Bali</i> (Balinese Women Enter Politics to Fight for the Rights of the Balinese People)	5.71	3.48	7.62
9	<i>Pilih Capres yang Tegak Lurus pada rakyat dan Berani</i> (Choose a Presidential Candidate Who is Upright and Courageous Towards the People)	4.28	3.40	5.16
10	<i>Suara Rakyat Suara Tuhan</i> (Voice of the People Voice of God)	2.85	3.32	2.62
11	<i>Tujuan menjadi Senator untuk Memperjuangkan Rakyat Bali</i> (The Goal of Becoming a Senator is to Fight for the People of Bali)	2.85	3.32	1.23

Table 3 shows the centrality of concepts related to the consent, involvement, and mediating role of the Balinese women's political movement discourse. Based on Table 3, the concept of “The Only Balinese Woman of the Republic of Indonesia Senator Candidate Proven to Defend the People’s Interests” is the concept with the highest percentage of consent and mediating roles between concepts, namely the level of consent of 7.14% and a mediating role of 10.00%. This means that this concept dominates the discussion of the Balinese women's political movement discourse on Facebook. Furthermore, it is the discourse concept that best connects actors in the discourse. These results indicate that society is beginning to take an interest in the role of women in politics. This may be because the global women's movement and international actors have played a significant role in promoting women's political representation, resulting in important milestones such as women's suffrage and increased parliamentary representation (Brechenmacher & Mann, 2024; Paxton et al., 2006).

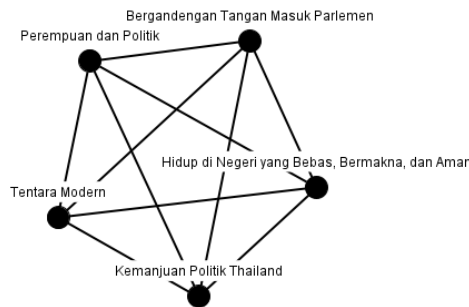


Figure 5. The Conceptual Network of Thai Women's Political Movement Discourse on Facebook

Figure 5 shows that each actor presented a different argument in support of Ruchanok Srinok's discourse. Five arguments were presented by each actor. These arguments served as the basis for their support of Ruchanok Srinok. Figure 5 visualizes each argument (concept) and the network between these concepts. The arguments presented by each actor support Ruchanok Srinok.

TABLE 4  
THE CENTRALITY OF THE CONCEPTUAL LEVELS OF DISCOURSE IN THAI WOMEN'S POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

No.	Concept	Level of Consent (%)	Degree of Involvement (%)	Mediating Role (%)
1	<i>Bergandengan Tangan Masuk Parlemen</i> (Joining Hands into the Parliament)	7.89	6.05	10.09
2	<i>Hidup di Negeri yang bebas, Bermakna, dan Aman</i> (Living in a Free, Meaningful, and Safe Country)	5.26	5.79	1.98
3	<i>Kemajuan Politik Thailand</i> (Thailand's Political Progress)	13.15	6.66	18.96
4	<i>Perempuan dan Politik</i> (Women and Politics)	13.15	6.66	16.67
5	<i>Tentara Modern</i> (Modern Military)	10.52	6.34	14.67



Table 4 provides information on the centrality concept of discourse in Thai women's politics. The concepts that are analyzed in this table include a wide range of topics related to women's politics, with an emphasis on how each concept works to support and influence political will. The three primary metrics used in this analysis are mediating role, degree of involvement, and level of consent.

The concepts "Women and Politics" and "Thailand's Political Progress" raised the highest consent with 13.15%. It indicates that both of these concepts are very relevant and have gained more attention in public discussions about women's politics. The concept "Joining Hands into the Parliament" is in the third position with a level of consent of 7.89%, indicating that there is a desire to promote cooperation and female representation in legislative bodies. In contrast, the lowest level of consent (5.26%) of the concept "Living in a Free, Meaningful, and Safe Country" indicates the lack of relevance or interest conveyed by the actors in this discourse.

Concepts "Women and Politics" and "Thailand's Political Progress" also indicate a very good involvement, which is 6.66%. It indicates that the two concepts are not just related but also closely related in the context of women's politics. Concept "Joining Hands into the Parliament" indicates a 6.05% involvement, indicating a strong relationship with participation in legislation. Concept "Modern Military", with the involvement of 6.34%, indicates some skepticism or disagreement between political issues and literary aspects that may have an impact on women's relationships. The concept "Living in a Free, Meaningful, and Safe Country" has the lowest involvement degree (5.79%), indicating that, although its importance, this concept may not always be directly related to sharper political discourse.

The concept "Thailand's Political Progress" has the highest percentage (18.96%), indicating that it serves as the primary link and helps to explain many issues that arise in women's politics. Concept "Women and Politics" also has a significant percentage (16.67%), indicating the importance of women's role in influencing politics and the strong correlation between gender and political issues. Concept "Modern Military" indicates a moderating role that can be observed (14.67%), indicating that even though the focus is on literature, this topic is relevant in longer political debates. The concept "Joining Hands into the Parliament", with a percentage of 10.09%, indicates that understanding the link between gender politics and legislation is crucial, even though it is not a fundamental concept. The lowest level of moderating role was the concept "Living in a Free, Meaningful, and Safe Country" (1.98%), which highlights the difficulties they face in addressing issues in women's political discourse.

The high level of attention paid to the concept of Thailand's political progress shows that Thai society wants change in Thai politics, particularly about the role of women and young people. Women have been active in political movements, such as the Red and Yellow Shirt movements, which have provided them with political knowledge and opportunities to engage in politics in Thailand (Buranajaroenkij, 2023). These movements have allowed women to form groups, act as informal representatives, and enter formal politics (Buranajaroenkij et al., 2018).

### (c). Affiliation Network

Affiliation networks illustrate the relationships between actors and concepts. Figures 6 and 7 below represent the affiliation networks of discourse in the Balinese and Thai women's political movements.

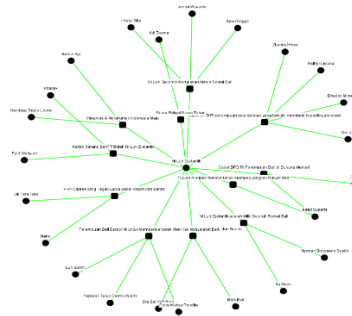


Figure 6. Balinese Women's Political Movement Discourse Affiliate Network on Facebook

Figure 6 presents a visualization of the affiliation network that shows the relationship between actors (marked with circles) and concepts (symbolized by squares). In the Balinese Women's Political Movement Discourse on Facebook, there are 14 actors and 5 concepts. The relationship between actors and concepts is shown by a line. Based on Figure 6, all actors agreed with the actor. This can be seen from the green line. Furthermore, all actors agreed with the concept presented by Ni Luh Djelantik.

The visualization of the affiliation network in the context of Bali's political discourse indicates the existence of a strong collective relationship between actor and concept. Every actor not only contributes to the same goal, but also reflects the vision expressed by Ni Luh Djelantik. This environment creates a strong foundation for cooperation in achieving shared goals in the field of women's politics. This study highlights the importance of social networks in fostering effective political leadership and indicates that mutual respect and cooperation among actors can be crucial in addressing issues facing women in Bali (Ida et al., 2025).

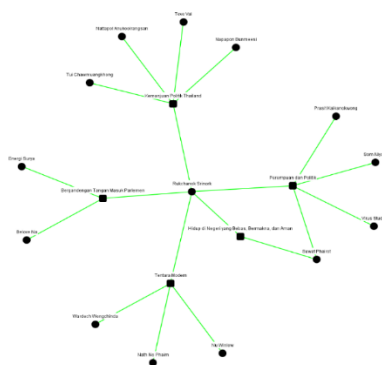


Figure 7. Thai Women's Political Movement Discourse Affiliate Network on Facebook

Figure 7 presents a visualization of the affiliation network that shows the relationship between actors (marked with circles) and concepts (symbolized by squares). In the Thai women's political movement discourse on Facebook, there are 14 actors and 5 concepts. The relationship between actors and concepts is shown by a line. Based on Figure 7, all actors agreed with actor Ruchanok Srinok. This can be seen from the green line. It means Ruchanok Srinok is not only a participant in political discourse but also a leader who can facilitate social change. Every actor's goal is to convey that there is respect and understanding for women's contributions to politics, whether in the form of advocacy or representation. Ruchanok Srinok and other actors suggest that individuals can engage in the role of a leader in addressing and resolving pertinent issues in society, such as gender equality, social justice, and political participation. It is in line with the research finding that stated women have played significant roles in social movements, such as the Red and Yellow Shirt movements, which have provided platforms for women to gain political knowledge and engage in political activities (Buranajaroenkij et al., 2018).

## V. CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion, it can be concluded that the network of political discourse actors of Balinese and Thai women on Facebook shows that Balinese and Thai women have the same consent in discourse, and have the same pattern in conveying their political ideology on Facebook. This shows the transformation of Balinese and Thai women in the political world. Furthermore, the concept network of Balinese and Thai women's political discourse on Facebook shows that the issue of women in the progress of Balinese and Thai politics is an issue that is highly agreed upon by the community. This means that the concept of women and political progress is one of the important issues in the political movements of Balinese and Thai women. Finally, the affiliation network shows that both Balinese and Thai women received positive responses from other actors and received very positive responses to the concepts conveyed on Facebook. This shows that the political movements of Balinese and Thai women received public attention and approval in order to demonstrate gender equality in politics and progress in politics.

Based on these conclusions, it is recommended that women in Bali and Thailand participate in political education to increase their understanding of the political process, women's rights, and how to actively participate in public policy. They can also use Facebook as a platform for sharing political knowledge. The government is also advised to launch a social awareness campaign for the wider community regarding the importance of women's roles in politics. This campaign could include visual content, inspirational videos, and articles promoting women's success stories in achieving political positions and their impact on community well-being.

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