

Donna Sweinstani & Mariyah, 2017

Volume 3 Issue 2, pp.1156-1174

Date of Publication: 12th October, 2017

DOI-<https://dx.doi.org/10.20319/pijss.2017.32.11561174>

This paper can be cited as: Sweinstani, M., & Mariyah, C. (2017). Political Recruitment of Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate: Study of Pdi Perjuangan's Recruitment in Semarang City Legislative Election 2014. PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences, 3(2), 1156-1174.

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POLITICAL RECRUITMENT OF CHINESE-INDONESIAN WOMEN CANDIDATE: STUDY OF PDI PERJUANGAN'S RECRUITMENT IN SEMARANG CITY LEGISLATIVE ELECTION 2014

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Abstract

This research aims to explain the dynamics of Chinese-Indonesian Women in their candidacy in local legislative elections in 2014 seen from the political recruitment conducted by PDI Perjuangan, the only party that can seat Chinese women candidate in DPRD Semarang City. Using qualitative methods by conducting in-depth interviews to PDI-Perjuangan elites in Semarang City and analyzing the result using political recruitment theory, Chinese-Indonesian Women's recruitment in PDI Perjuangan is based on party ideology that upholds diversity as well as the popular values and the role of the party elite as the gatekeeper that gives assessment of the resources offered by legislative candidates, where the decisive ones are the social resources, financial resources, and network resources. The author also found additional factors that Pippa Norris did not mention; those are cultural capital and relationships with male

political elites. Besides, political recruitment conducted by PDI Perjuangan to Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate was an open political recruitment, while usually it conducts the close mechanism one. Meanwhile, seen from the typology of recruitment according to Geddes, this recruitment is Immediate Survival typology that does not consider the competence of candidates and aims to foster good relations with the Chinese group in Semarang City. This recruitment is patronage and only takes into consideration to the candidate resources, especially financial and network resources (which is owned by the husband's candidates). Therefore, the factors influencing the party recruiting Chinese-Indonesian Women in PDI Perjuangan Semarang are the political system of the country, the party's internal democracy, and the candidate's capitals including social capitals, network capitals, kinship with the elite, and one new capitals, culture, which are all supported by the candidate's financial capital.

Keywords

Chinese-Indonesian, Legislative Election, PDI-Perjuangan, Political Recruitment, Women Candidate

1. Introduction

After nearly two decades of reforms era in Indonesia, the implementation of free and fair election is still face some problems. The first issue related to elections in Indonesia is about equality of access between men and women to the sources of formal power. Stereotypes that dichotomize roles between men and women have a serious impact on equality of access for women to be actively involved in the elections. Hanna Pitkin in Squires states that historical experience shows women's political participation is often not included. This is due to male identification in politics so that politics becomes too masculine. Such assumption of politics is often used to limit the role of women in various public sectors, including considering women as *liyan*¹ in politics. Furthermore, women is only associated with domestic affairs which ultimately construct a stereotype showing that the main task and the only thing that can be carried out by women is related to domestic sphere (Mosse, 1993). In a slightly better situation, even if women are included in parliament, their votes and interests are still marginalized from the main debate in

¹ The term *liyan* (comes from Javanese) is the standardization of the English word "the other". *Liyan* in post-colonial theory is a very important term in defining the identity of the subject. *Liyan* refers to a colonial subject whose position is placed as a marginal human in imperial discourse (Aschcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1999)

parliament. As the result, the presence of women in the parliament is difficult to represent women's groups. This is what keeps women underrepresented in parliament.

In addition to the above problems, a pluralistic society structure is also a challenge in Indonesia's democratic practice. As a multination and polytechnic country, the composition of Indonesian population consists of native Indonesians (indigenous) and the rest are ethnic immigrants. Some of the ethnic immigrants are Chinese, Arabs, European, Indian, etc. However, from the various ethnic immigrants, related to their activities in politics, Chinese ethnic has their own dynamics that cannot be separated from the construction of this ethnic history in Indonesia.

As ethnic immigrant, they have been placed by the government to master economic field since the Dutch colonialism. Under the Dutch East Indies Colonial Administration, Chinese ethnic residing in Indonesia was placed in the second social strata (the foreign Orientals) to assume the status of a middle-class economic ruler, while Indonesian was placed in the lowest strata. This placement made their relationship with the indigenous groups not harmonious (Freedman, 2000). Moreover in the New Order Government, the government placed Indonesian-Chinese in the business sector and conceptualized their identity to form a special discourse in accordance with the needs of the authorities. Placing the role of Chinese community in the field of economics and business has led to the emergence of assumptions in society which states that Chinese people are economic beings with a very exclusive social life (Meij, 2009). Therefore, the experience of this history can be said to be the forerunner of Chinese ethnic stereotypes placement as a mover and ruler of the national economy.

If any of them who during the New Order had a role in influencing policy, it does not mean that Chinese ethnic became political actors participating in the policy-making process directly. However, what they did was to be government partners in political economy relationship so that they can influence political economy policies to protect their business interests. Due to the huge influence and mastery in the economic field by Chinese ethnic, it often leads to a certain sentiment toward Chinese ethnic who will join politics. Looking at the fact, what about the involvement of Chinese-Indonesian Women in politics? Is her economic capital may be a tool that facilitates her nomination or, on the other hand, is her acceptance as a woman and the possibility of sentiment towards ethnic Chinese in response to this ethnic economic domination influences her candidacy in the election?

2. Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidacy in Semarang City

After the 1998, women's participation in politics is no longer co-opted by the Country (Blackburn, 2004). Women can pursue issues related to women and even wider social issues either through their free movement or their presence in parliament to influence policies directly. During the elections in the Reform Era and since the introduction of affirmative action to gain women political participation in the 2004, the nomination of women in legislative elections began to show a significant increase (Puskapol UI, 2014). For example, in the composition of members of the House of Representatives (DPR), the representation of women constantly moves in numbers above 10%, which was 11% in the 2004 elections, 18 in the 2009 elections; and 17% in the 2014 elections. Although it is still far below the minimum critical mass standard of 30% and below the average standard of women's representation at the national level in the world parliament of 23% (IPU, 2016), the number is certainly better than the average representation of women from the election result before the reform period which only reached 9.27%.

Table 1: *Number of Women Members in DPR RI 1955-2014*

Election	National MPs Member	Women MPs	%
1955	272	17	6,25
1971	460	36	7,83
1977	460	29	6,30
1982	460	39	8,48
1987	500	65	13,00
1992	500	62	12,40
1997	500	54	10,80
1999	500	45	9,00
2004	550	61	11,09
2009	560	101	18,04
2014	560	97	17,32

Source: Puskapol UI, 2014

The openness of political participation for all citizens is also felt by Chinese-Indonesian. However, it can be seen from the above data, during the elections conducted in the Reform Order, Chinese-Indonesian Women have not been elected to become the members of House of Representative Republic of Indonesia. Whereas in this Order, the openness of political participation can also felt by Chinese descents because the era of political liberalization in the Reform Period is interpreted as the openness of public participation for all citizens without exception, not limited to certain gender and ethnic. Moreover, with the capital resources

possessed by Chinese-Indonesian as the author explained in the previous section, I argue that Chinese-Indonesian women actually have an easier access to become candidates in the election compared to women of other ethnicities, including indigenous women who may only have limited economic resources.

The above argument starts from, first, the research result conducted by Bintang Darawijaya on the influence of money (financial capital) on the election of a candidate. By using the econometric calculation of the Ordinary Least Square (OLS) method to measure the influence of money and other factors on the vote acquisition and election probability of a candidate in the 2014 Legislative Election, it is known that the financial capital factor has positive influence on the election. Meanwhile, other factors indicate that there are only a few variables that have a positive influence on election, such as incumbency status, age, sex, place of birth, and occupation (Darawijaya, 2014). In addition, if it is seen from the economic control conducted by Chinese descents in general, then obviously their financial capital can help the candidacy and even increase the chance to be elected in the election. Therefore, in line with Darawijaya's finding, if the financial capital owned by Chinese descents can be utilized properly, then it will make easier for Chinese-Indonesian, including Chinese-Indonesian Women, to be able to nominate themselves and even to be elected in the election. In other words, when some literatures and scholars state that for women, one of the obstacles that must be faced in her candidacy in the election is the financial problem because women are considered not financially independent, then it can be assumed that this statement is incorrect because for Chinese-Indonesian Women, they already have financial capital. Furthermore, what Darawijaya has said about the influence of financial capital on the election of a candidate has also been proven in several other studies related to the electability factors of Chinese Candidates done Idil Akbar (2013) and Tirta Susesno (2014), and the electability factors of women candidates done by Fitriyah and Supratiwi (2014). A common thread that can be drawn from the various studies above is the importance of financial capital in the nomination of both women and Chinese-Indonesian.

None of these studies have specifically mentioned the activities of Chinese-Indonesian women in politics. So far, the study of Chinese-Indonesian women who can be used as a reference is a study conducted by Al-Rafni. However, the study was limited to the role of Chinese-Indonesian women as voters. In her 2007 study in Padang City, it was shown that the

political orientation of Chinese-Indonesian women is still low. This led to their low participation as candidates (Al-Rafni et al., 2007). While in the next Al-Rafni study, it is shown that access and control of Chinese-Indonesian women so far is still limited to just as a voter who is usually used as a means of repeating the voice of a certain candidate. (Al-Rafni, 2008). Therefore, looking at some of the previous studies above, this study will provide a new perspective on the study of Chinese women's activities in politics because this studies not only sees Chinese women as voters, but Chinese women as candidates. This study will also provide a new perspective on women's election in the election by adding ethnic background variables to the women's candidates. It is hoped that this research can complement the study of women in politics and Chinese Indonesian in politics in Indonesia.

Even though it has been explained earlier that at the national level, Chinese-Indonesian Women have not been elected to become members of House of Representative RI, in some areas, especially those areas that become one of the cultural centers of Chinese ethnic in Indonesia, there are some Chinese-Indonesian Women who are elected to legislative members, either in the level of Provincial DPRD (People's Regional Representative Council) or Regency/City DPRD. One of the regions that have a women Chinese descent of legislative member is Semarang City. In the 2014 legislative elections, a number of Chinese-Indonesian women in Semarang City participated as candidates for legislative members. Their involvement as candidate is a new and unique phenomenon because so far based on the various studies on the political involvement of Chinese-Indonesian Women in Indonesia show that the role of Chinese-Indonesian Women in politics are still limited as voters. Based on the fact occurring in Semarang city in the 2014 parliamentary elections, this research will provide another view of the involvement of women Chinese descents in elections that are not only associated as voters but also as candidates. This research will focus more on the process of political recruitment conducted the women Chinese descents bearer party, especially PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle). The selection of PDI-Perjuangan as the subject of this research is because only this party can eventually lead women Chinese descent to sit in the parliamentary seat in Semarang City. PDI-Perjuangan is also a consistent party in accommodating and opening up to women candidate of Chinese descents even since before the Reformation.

Table 2: Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate in DPRD Semarang City Election 2014

No	Name	District	Party	List Number	Remark
1	Dr. Hana Soefia Rini	I	Nasdem party	3	Unelected, votes : 370
2	Ita Yuliasari Kusuma	I	Democrat Party	5	Unelected, votes: 195
3	Trifena Weyatin Soehendro, S.Kom	II	PDI-Perjuangan	9	Elected, votes :7.925
4	Ika Putri Angajaya	II	Democrat Party	5	Unelected, votes : 1.336
5	Anggreini Angjaya	III	Democrat Party	3	Unelected, votes : 269
6	Helena Ningsih Mulandari	IV	PKPI	4	Unelected, votes : 150

Source: Semarang City Election Commission

Through this research, the author will reveal what makes party recruiting women Chinese descents. This research will also prove whether the financial capital owned by them will effectively support the nomination seen from the party's point of view when nominating the them. Therefore, by using qualitative method with explanative research type, the author proposes the research question, "How is the political recruitment performed by PDI-P in determining the list of candidates to place the Chinese-Indonesian women candidates in certain district in the parliamentary elections of Semarang City in 2014"? The author will answer the question by conducting in-depth interviews to the party officials/elites and documentary study through related documents.

3. Political Recruitment of Chinese-Indonesian Women in Theoretical Study

The study of political recruitment on women and certain ethnicities is a complex study because in some countries, the political role of women and a particular ethnic is often distinguished. For that reason, in a political recruitment process undertaken by a party there will be special considerations affecting the party's decision. One theory that can be used to discuss the facts behind party efforts to accommodate and recognize the identity of women and certain ethnic is the theory of political recruitment proposed by Pippa Noris and Joni Levonduski. They specifically discussed how political recruitment conducted by party related to gender, class, and ethnicity.

According to Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski, there are three levels of analysis in the recruitment model of political parties so that the recruitment model can accommodate the interests of certain gender, race and class. The three levels of analysis are, first in the broad context of a country (Political System). At this level, it is necessary to see how the political system of a country. Does the political system allow certain women and groups to sit as representatives of the people or not by looking at (1) “political culture”, which measures whether the political culture of a country contains values that exclude women and marginalized groups in politics and defines whether the culture in politics is traditional or egalitarian; (2) the electoral system, how the electoral system chosen by a country supports the election of women and certain ethnic/racial groups by looking at the ballot structure, the district magnitude, and the degree of proportionality, (3) the legislative competition, which considers the number of candidates in the election, and (4) the party competition, which sees from the dimension of party power (in numbers) in parliament and party ideology (Lovenduski & Norris, 1993). Second, the analysis is carried out by looking at the context of the party itself by looking at the party organization by analyzing the dimensions of the institutionalization process in the party, whether it is formal or informal, and the dimension of decision-making in the party, whether it is centralized or decentralized, and the party ideology. Third, the analysis is conducted on the candidate unit itself relating to the factors influencing candidate recruitment in the party’s internal selection process. The factors include; the social background of the candidate seen from occupation, education, age, marital status in which married candidates are assumed to be more competent than unmarried candidates because working for constituents is often regarded as teamwork, , gender, and race; The candidate’s resources include financial resources, time resources in which they are willing to spend time working on relevant party, networking, political experience, and skill; and motivations that include ambition and interest of candidates. All of these factors are the supply side of prospective candidates who can influence party demand and gatekeepers’ behavior in recruiting candidates (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995).

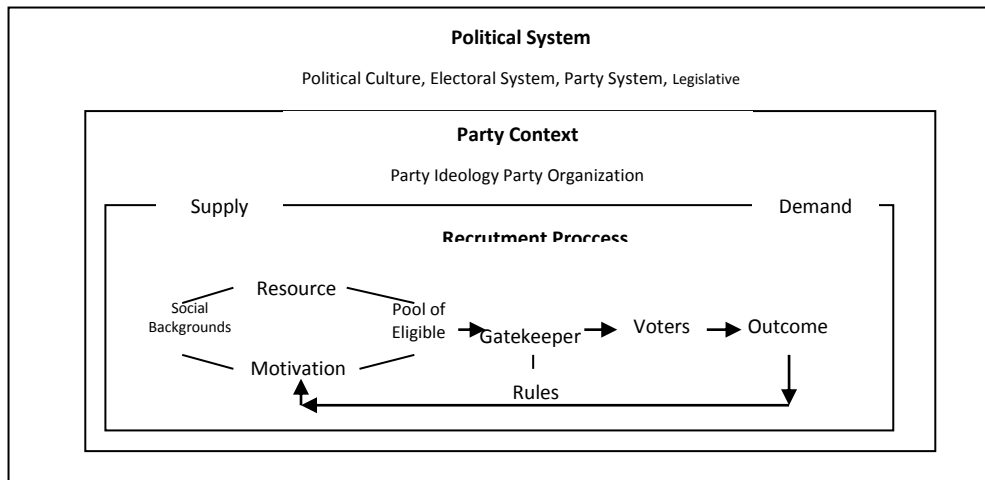


Figure 1: Model of Political Recruitment Process According to Lovenduski

Source: Norris & Lovenduski (1995)

In addition, the author will also identify how the mechanism of political recruitment conducted by the party. According to Almond and Powell, there are two mechanisms of political recruitment (Almond & Powell, 1966). First is Open Recruitment, in this mechanism, political party opens opportunities to every qualified citizen. Terms and procedures in this recruitment mechanism can be known by the public. By using this mechanism, the people can naturally see and assess the ability of their political elite. Second is closed political recruitment. In this mechanism, the terms and procedures of candidacy cannot be freely known by public. If in an open recruitment mechanism, the party serves as a tool for qualified political elites to gain support from the community, then in this mechanism, the political party serves as an elite promoter from within the party itself.

Apart from the mechanism, the author will also identify the typology of political recruitment conducted by the party. As Barbara Geddes discloses, the type of political recruitment is divided into four types based on the candidate's competence and interests to keep the party alive in political competition (Geddes, 1966). First, Civil Service Reform, based on this typology, a person who may be recruited by the party is a person who has competence and loyalty to the party. In this typology, there is also a meritocratic recruitment based on a series of selections. Meanwhile, promotion to those who follow the selection is based on their performance. Second, compartmentalization, a recruitment typology that is also based on competence and loyalty. The difference with the first typology is that in typology there is an informal meritocratic recruitment in which promotion remains based on the candidate's performance to place people in positions deemed critical to the party's success but, the goal of

gaining short-term support and developing loyalty is also a consideration of gatekeepers. This is what makes this strategy allow the party to make appointments in other ways. Third Partisan, in this typology the recruitment of political parties based on loyalty to the party and trying to gather partisan as much as possible for the party. It pays less attention to the competencies possessed by prospective candidates. Fourth, Immediate survival, a typology of political recruitment that does not take account to candidate competence and aims to foster good relationships with key groups (communities). This recruitment is based on candidate resources and tends to be patronage.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1 PDI-Perjuangan Political Recruitment Mechanism

Political Recruitment is one of the functions of political parties in which political parties seek to place their people in political office. Political recruitment has an important aspect in it, the selection of candidates. This selection is another form of internal party competition to determine which candidates that will compete with other candidates from other political parties in the election. There are many things that are considered by the party in selecting the candidates, such as the popularity and electability of candidates so that they can determine the performance of the party in the election which will further influence the performance of the party in public offices. Therefore, the recruitment process becomes an important part in the political party in which each party has its own mechanism.

In the case of PDI-Perjuangan, general provisions on PDI-Perjuangan political recruitment are listed in the party's AD / ART (Articles of Association). Furthermore, specifically related to the political recruitment of legislative candidates in 2014 has been regulated in the Decision Letter Number: 061/ TAP/ DPP/ III/ 2013, About: Procedures for Selection, Screening, Determination and Registration of Legislative Candidates in the 2014 General Election. In the provisions on the procedure for recruitment of prospective legislative candidates, especially for regency / municipality level, DPC (*Dewan Pimpinan Cabang* or Branch Executive Council) domiciled in regency / municipality is the party entitled to perform recruitment on DPP (*Dewan Pimpinan Pusat* or Central Board) orders. However, in this case, DPC is not the only party working in the recruitment of candidates for legislative members at the Regency / Municipality level. DPC itself is assisted by PAC (*Pengurus Anak Cabang* or Head of

Sub Branch) domiciled in sub-district in conducting selection of prospective legislative candidates.

Broadly speaking, the stages conducted by PDI-Perjuangan Semarang in performing the recruitment function in 2014 include three stages, namely the stage of selection, screening, and determination. The selection stage is the stage undertaken by PAC and DPC to recruit anyone who wants to become a prospective legislative candidate from this party. This stage is usually more emphasis on the role of PAC because PAC is the party who will perform the selection of potential cadres from below to be proposed as the names of prospective candidates for legislative members. The selection process is admitted by party officials, preferably from internal parties. Internal parties referred here are those from party management structure ranging from village office level to DPC and other cadres even though they do not occupy structural positions of the party. In addition, the party also allows the opening of opportunities for persons from outside the party to be able to run for prospective legislative candidate of PDI-P with the condition that the person concerned must already have a membership card (KTA) at least 1 year before the registration period of the prospective legislative member stipulated by the KPU (General Election Commission). However, the quota for candidates from outside the party is usually limited. This is because PDI-Perjuangan wants to empower the PDI-Perjuangan cadres who have contributed to the party for a long time. Moreover, when compared to the other parties, the open recruitment intended by PDI-Perjuangan is not entirely open because those from outside the party still have an attachment to the PDI-Perjuangan that can be seen from the background of the identification of their family party, their status as a party sympathizer, and so on. The recruitment of prospective legislative candidates from outside the party must also consider the people characters. At least, someone who will be recruited by PDI-Perjuangan has the same struggle and ideology with the party, namely diversity and democracy. They also must be people who are considered potential and worthy to be secured as party cadres.

“The legislative candidates are commonly taken from the internal party. Internal party includes the party structures, ranging from branch, cadres, sub-branch, branch, PAC and DPC. It also includes the potential figures who are worth to be secured as party cadres. They have to be registered in the party for at least 1 year to be selected as prospective legislative members” (The statement of Tiono, Secretary of DPC PDI-P Semarang City).

Furthermore, after conducting the selection of prospective legislative candidates, PAC conducts a special sub branch meeting (Musancabsus) to determine the names that will follow the next process at the DPC (Regency / Municipality) level. After it was obtained the names of prospective legislative candidates, the next stage is the screening stage. This stage is done by DPC but the result set by the DPP (National Level) in the plenary session in accordance with the accumulation of value or scoring system against the background of the aspirants/candidate-to be (bacaleg). In this stage the authority of the DPC is to carry out the selection, verify, and then provide recommendations to the DPD (Provincial Level) which is then forwarded to the DPP Party for decision taken anyone who is eligible to become a candidate of the PDI Perjuangan. In this process the DPC also has the authority to provide recommendation memos to the DPP to potential candidates. Prospective legislative candidates who have been established through the screening process are subsequently declared candidates as proposals of the Temporary Candidate List (DCS). The proposed DCS DPRD of Semarang City must be submitted by DPD Party and DPP Party. The result of the assessment also determines the serial number for a candidate, in addition to their role in the structural party which also determines this numbering.

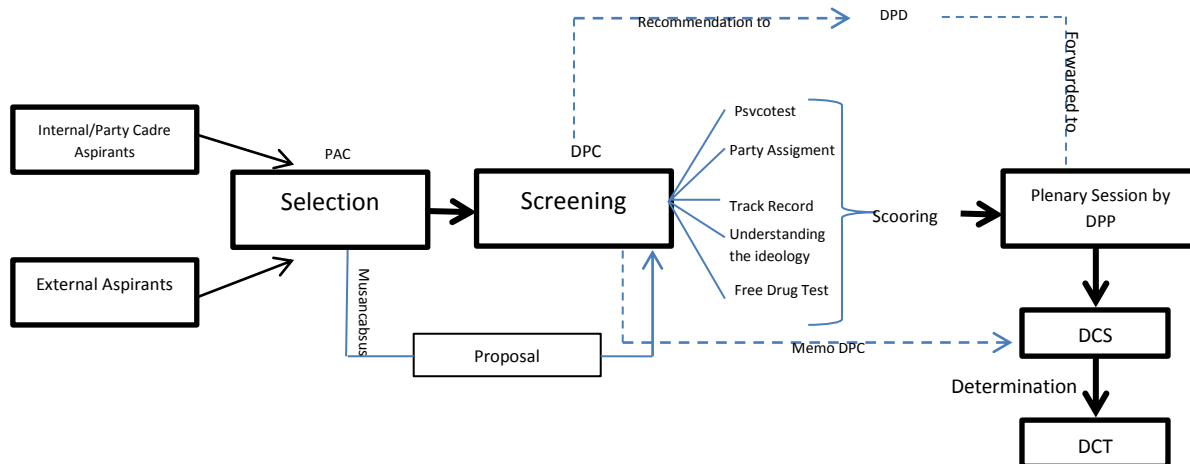


Figure 2: Political Recruitment Scheme PDI Perjuangan Semarang

From the explanation of PDI-Perjuangan political recruitment mechanism above, by using an analytical perspective on the political recruitment stated by Almond, the political recruitment conducted by the PDI-Perjuangan is a closed political recruitment. This is because the party prioritizes party cadres rather than those outside the party. Another thing proving that the recruitment conducted by PDI-Perjuangan is a closed recruitment can be seen from the registration of prospective candidates that is not explicitly open to the public. The party

recognizes that the recruitment process of prospective legislative candidates that come from outside the party is not conducted as the selection of searching event in which all people can follow the recruitment process. On the contrary, the party mapped the outsiders who can potentially be recruited as party cadres and represent the party in the candidacy of legislative members. The closed selection process conducted by PDI-Perjuangan indicates that if it is grouped based on party membership according to Maurice Duverger, then PDI-Perjuangan is a cadre party. The proof is that the party has relatively limited members and the potential activists or figures are recruited competitively and with a formal nomination process by the party.

4.2 The Party's Reason to Support Women Legislative Candidates of Chinese Descent

After knowing the general mechanism of PDI-Perjuangan political recruitment, then the author will discuss more deeply about how the party recruit Chinese-Indonesian Women candidate. In recruiting a candidate for legislative member, the party does not only consider the contributions that the cadre has made to the party or ideological similarity and the mapping of potential candidate for the people outside the party, but also various capitals owned by prospective legislative candidates in carrying out the function of political recruitment. There are at least three capitals considered by the party. The first capital as the priority of PDI-Perjuangan when recruiting prospective legislative candidates is social capital of the candidate. This capital is important because in maintaining the quality of party cadres who later become the representative of the community, the popularity and capital alone are not enough to secure and maintain the party's vote. Therefore, the prospective legislative candidates must have access, time, capacity, and capability so that they can become a social magnet for their constituents. The second one that cannot be denied is financial capital. Although it is not a dominant factor, the ownership of a candidate's capital can greatly influence party decisions. This is because with an open election system such as the 2014 election, a candidate's financial capital is necessary for campaign and administration expenses of candidacy such as the cost of duplicating the curriculum vitae but not the cost of a candidate dowry. Therefore, besides having social capital, a prospective of legislative candidate of PDI-P also needs financial capital to support its candidacy.

So what does the party see from the support to women legislative candidate of Chinese descent? It is explained by the Secretary DPC of PDI-P, the Chinese-Indonesian Women candidate recruited have some mapped specificity that may encourage party decision even

though the aspirant is not party cadre. The process of PDI-Perjuangan political recruitment to Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate in the 2014 election of Semarang City was then recognized by the party that there is no particular obstacle. When the author asks how the party sees the Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate identity as a woman with ethnic Chinese background, the party declares that it is not a problem for the Party. Associated with indicators of political culture according to Pippa Norris and Levonduski interpreted as the dominant values that live in society that allows the political recruitment of women and certain races and classes, party sees that the value of diversity which is become the characteristic of this nation is also a principle upheld by the party. Thus when a *bacaleg* enrolls, the party will not question the ethnic or religious background attached to it. Therefore, when Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate came to stand, the party saw that it was a symbol of the diversity that characterized the Indonesian nation and the PDI-P.

Meanwhile, if associated with the electoral system and some rules of the elections in 2014, recruitment of Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate also cannot be separated from the rules that require the party to include at least 30% of women in the list of candidates. This is acknowledged by party officials who argue that besides Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate can be a symbol of diversity carried by the PDI-P, its identity as a woman is also needed by this party to be able to meet the requirements of party administration in the 2014 election. Even precisely because she is a woman who indeed required by the party, then the nomination is easier than the male legislative candidate as long as she is the women figure has a dedication and a clear contribution to the surrounding community. Thus, when viewed from the level of analysis of the political system, the recruitment Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate in PDI-Perjuangan Semarang City is not separated from the seriousness of the party reading the diversity values that exist in Indonesia and Semarang City which later values are adopted in the platform of the party. The party also did not deny that the reason the party recruited Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate because the party requires women candidates to be able to meet the minimum requirements of a party to be an election participant, which meets at least 30% of women representation in the list of candidates.

Furthermore, judging from the level of analysis of the recruitment process leading to the candidate analysis unit, Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate recruitment by PDI Perjuangan can be seen from three indicators, namely candidate's social background and candidate's

resources or capital. Although there are several aspects that can be assessed by the party on the candidate's social background indicator, but in the recruitment of Chinese-Indonesian Women candidates, there are only three aspects are considered superior by the party. The three things that the party considers to be the added value of Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate are related to their identity as women, ethnic identity, and marital status. Why can this matter be Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate's superiority? In relation to its identity as a woman, as the author has previously explained, the party does require women candidates as the administrative requirements of the parties following the election. Thus, there is no discrimination against her as a woman. The party is actually looking for female candidates. Secondly, in relation to ethnic identity, Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate is also expected to become a symbol for Chinese in Semarang City, especially related to this ethnic acceptance of politics in general and PDI Perjuangan in particular because of the low level of ethnic political participation. Therefore, the party hopes that when Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate can later be elected in the election, she can represent this ethnicity and can establish easier communication with this ethnicity because there are similarities of social identity between the Chinese-Indonesian Candidate and the Chinese-Indonesian community in Semarang. It is also possible that she can attract the participation of other Chinese ethnic, especially Chinese-Indonesian Women to join the PDI Perjuangan. In addition to the above factors, the author also found one factor that adequately influenced the gatekeeper party or elite party in determining the Chinese descent woman in the list of candidate. These factors are the existence of kinship ties with party elites and Chinese figures in Semarang City. It is known that the Chinese-Indonesian Women candidate recruited by PDI Perjuangan is the wife of a Chinese figure who also became the elite of other party (Democrat Party) and former member of the previous period council. The male elite figure turns out to give a very big influence on her candidacy process because PDI-Perjuangan can map the votes that might be obtained by this her derived from her husband's social and political network. This votes mapping is possibly conducted by PDI-P because in the 2014 election, the husband of Chinese-Indonesian Women recruited by PDI-P is not a participant in the election. Thus, the party predicts that this legislative candidate will get support from the husband's network.

Furthermore, seen from the candidate's resources indicator, in terms of time resource that related to the spare time owned by the candidates to socialize and follow political activities, the party does not see it as a capital of herself. Even so with the political capital owned Chinese-

Indonesian Women Candidate, the party did not see that this capital is in her. The party even considered her as a figure who is totally ignorant of politics and PDI Perjuangan. The party acknowledged that those who had political capital were her husband. Things that can be seeded from the figure Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate is her financial capital and network. Related to the financial capital, as Chinese-Indonesian business women it is reasonable if she has the capital over other women candidates. This is what then makes the party believe that with such financial capital, Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate are able to support themselves in the candidacy. Meanwhile, with regard to her network, the party also sees it as an added value of Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate. At least she can take advantage of the surrounding Chinese community network and her husband's network of sympathizers while still active in the party. Moreover, she was willing to bring the Chinese Culture in her candidacy. So that, this ethnic Chinese network can even become a cultural capital for each candidate because it recognizes that there are elements to specifically target ethnic Chinese and accommodate Chinese culture in the party. Although the party believes that when compared between Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate's and her husband's networks, the more helpful candidature is the network owned by her husband.

The overall forms of accommodation to Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate conducted by PDI-P in the political recruitment ahead the 2014 election, can be performed because the party is able to see the opportunities derived from the political system in Indonesia, the system at the party level, and potential of the candidate herself. At the level of political system especially related to the political culture, the party sees that the diversity that exists in Indonesia in general and Semarang City in particular as a thing that should be accommodated by the party. Moreover, the party considered that ethnic Chinese in Semarang City has been mingling with the people of Semarang City. They have even become part of the history of the people of Semarang City. However, in their political activities, this Ethnic is less actively participating. Therefore, with the existence of Chinese candidates and especially the Chinese-Indonesian women above, they are expected to be the bridge of government (legislative) and party with this ethnicity. They are also expected to be a symbol of a party that values diversity. This recruitment is also influenced by how the decision-making process within the party in which the more decentralized party systems become, the easier it is to recruit women's candidates because the lower-level structures know the true potential of each candidate. In PDI

Perjuangan, the decision-making process is generally centralized, but if it returns to the author's explanation of the process of determining the candidate, the DPC has the right to make a decision through memos from the DPC to the DPP. This is also done when recruiting Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate. PDI-Perjuangan's decision when carrying them to be legislative candidate in General Election of City Council of Semarang in 2014 more tend to be dominated by DPC. The decision by the DPC was even taken in informal ways with the direction of the party chairman for the party to carry them. Thus the decision-making process in this case is informally decentralized.

The party can also utilize the potential of Chinese-Indonesian Women candidate from all aspects; the aspects of social background that are adjusted to the characteristics of the people in Semarang and the resources of legislative candidate including financial resource and network support. Unfortunately, the author does not find the motivation factor of legislative candidate to be the party's consideration because this recruitment is also contained a pragmatic consideration to fulfill the party administration requirement as the election participant by fulfilling the minimum quota of 30% women in the candidate list. Thus, in accordance with Pippa Norris's theory of political recruitment, the whole level of analysis have been performed by the party. Even a gatekeeper or the chairman of DPC is able to harmonize between the demand that is the need of the party and a supply that is a candidate resource in the recruitment process so that all the considerations is beneficial for the party

5. Conclusion

As a party that upholds the values of Pancasila, diversity and democracy, supporting the women legislative candidate of Chinese descent is not a difficult thing for this party. This is because the party is able to read the opportunities derived from the political context of the country, namely the political system of democracy based on the values of plurality, the chances of the party context seen from the nationalist party ideology and autonomy owned by the DPC to conduct selection and screening of aspirants/candidate to-be (*bacaleg*), and acuteness of a gatekeeper in seeing conformity between supply from prospective legislative candidate and demand required by the party.

Although in general the recruitment of PDI-Perjuangan is defined as closed recruitment as stated by Almond, but on special consideration the party performs an open recruitment in

nominating Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate. This can be seen from the background of the Chinese woman who is not a party cadre. She is an outsider of the party whose party considers eligible to be secured for the benefit of election even though the personal capacity is not very prominent. Such party considerations then make this recruitment can be categorized as Geddes' recruitment typology, that is Immediate Survival that does not consider the competence of candidates and aims to foster good relations with the Chinese group Semarang City. This recruitment is patronage and only takes into consideration candidate resources, especially financial and network resources (husband's candidates). Therefore, it can be concluded that the factors affecting the party in recruiting Chinese-Indonesian Women in the PDI-P in Semarang are the political system of the country, the party's internal democracy, and the candidate's capitals including social capitals, network capitals, kinship with the elite, and one new capitals, culture, which are all supported by the candidate's financial capital.

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