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## **MONEY FACTOR IN THE NOMINATION OF CHINESE-INDONESIAN WOMEN LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES: A CASE OF LOCAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTION IN SEMARANG CITY, INDONESIA<sup>1</sup>**

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### **Abstract**

*Financial capital associated with the ownership of money is an important factor in candidates' nomination in an election. For candidates who have substantial financial capital, it is assumed that they can be easier to be elected. This argument can also be used to discuss the case of the nomination of Chinese-Indonesian Women. This study aims to explain how money is used by Chinese-Indonesian women candidates in Semarang City in the 2014 legislative election and how this factor can support their winning. Using qualitative research methods with primary data source obtained from in-depth interviews to four Chinese-Indonesian women candidates and elites from their bearer party in Semarang City, it is known that financial capital was used to finance each candidate's campaign needs. Financial capital they owned could also be their supremacy compared to other candidates that was promoted by them in the recruitment process within the party. Unfortunately, this capital had not been able to deliver all Chinese women*

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is my further exploration of my previous research titled "Political Recruitment Of Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidate: Study On PDI Perjuangan Recruitment In Nominating Chinese-Indonesian Woman Candidate In Semarang City Legislative Election 2014"

*candidate to be elected as MPs. Factors that support their winning were the socio-cultural closeness capital with voters and kinship ties with male elites.*

### **Keywords**

Chinese-Indonesian Candidate, Chinese-Women Candidate, Financial Capital, Legislative Election, Money Factor, Gender and Election

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## **1. Introduction**

Seeking elections that meet the values of equality and freedom is not an easy thing for Indonesia. The unique structure of society that can be seen from the reality of social unity based on the difference of ethnic, religious, custom and regional tribes has become a challenge in seeking national integration and fulfillment of democratic values mentioned above. 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. (Sweinstani & Mariyah, 2017). However, from those various ethnic immigrants, this study will focus on Chinese-Indonesian. Chinese-Indonesians are the most visible ethnic immigrants in the structure of Indonesian society. In addition, their existence in the Indonesian political constellation has their own dynamics in accordance with its history in Indonesia that is interesting to serve as the object of study related to the participation of ethnic Chinese in Indonesian politics.

According to Leo Suryadinata, the number of Chinese-Indonesian rose by 1.45% to 2.04% annually. The number is spread almost in all parts of Indonesia. Meanwhile, based on the 2010 population census, the total number of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia is 2.83 million (BPS RI, 2016). In addition, here I present the composition of the Indonesian population by Ethnicity in accordance with the results of the population census of 2010 by the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Indonesia in Table 1.

**Table 1:** *Composition of Indonesian Population by Ethnicity in 2010*

Numb	Ethnicity	Total population	%
1	Java	95,217,002	40.229
2	Sunda	36,301,670	15.330
3	Batak	8,466,969	3.577
4	Celebes Ethnics	7,634,262	3.225
5	Madura	7,179,356	3.033
6	Betawi	6,807,968	2.876
7	Minang	6,462,713	2.730

Numb	Ethnicity	Total population	%
8	Bugis	6,359,700	2.686
9	Melayu	5,119,581	2.163
10	Banten	4,657,784	1.968
11	East Nusa Ethnics	4,184,923	1.768
12	Banjar	4,127,124	1.743
13	Bali	3,946,416	1.667
14	Sasak	3,173,127	1.340
15	Dayak	3,009,494	1.271
16	Chinese-Indonesian	2,832,510	1.197
17	Papua	2,693,630	1.138
18	Other Indigenous Peoples of Indonesia	27,941,378	0.118
19	Other Ethnic Immigrants	162,772	0.0007
	Total	236,278,379	100

Source: 2010 Population Census in Political Statistics 2015, BPS RI

As ethnic immigrants, their dynamic in politics is not as free as the rest of Indonesian. Although some of them, who in the early days of independence and the old order, were already engaged in practical politics-such as being ministers-in later ages, their political participation was narrowed and diverted to the economic sector. This can be seen primarily in the New Order Era. In this era, the government by its monoculture policy did oppression and discrimination against Chinese-Indonesian. However, the oppression was not done in all public sectors in Indonesia. Uniquely as a substitute for such treatment to them, the government gave privileges to them to become the ruler of the national economy.

The arrangement of public role of Chinese-Indonesian conducted during the New Order period was almost the same with what was constructed by the Dutch colonial government. The Dutch East Indies Colonial Government and the New Order government had placed the Chinese-Indonesian as “*liyan*”<sup>2</sup> in the mosaic of Indonesian-ness. Under the Dutch East Indies colonial administration, Chinese residing in Indonesia were placed in the second social strata (the foreign east) to assume the status of the middle-class economic ruler, or differ only one stratum with the European. Meanwhile, indigenous peoples were placed on the third social stratum which means that the people in this stratum have difficult access to economic resources. The impact of such social stratification made the Chinese relation with the indigenous group (called as Boemi Poetra at the time) was not harmonious (Freedman, 2000).

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<sup>2</sup> 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 (Aschroft, Griffith, & Tiffin, 1995).

Such pattern was also done by the New Order Government. The New Order government placed Chinese-Indonesian in the business sector. Moreover, the politic of identity conceptualized by the government had a goal to construct a special discourse of Chinese-Indonesian community in accordance to the needs of the rulers. They did not directly engage in practical politics, but they could participate in politics through financial support they provide to the government that often more effective to influence government policy. Due to that condition, Meij, as quoted by Sweinstani and Mariyah, said that the government action in placing them in the economics and business sector has led to the emergence of assumptions in society which states that Chinese-Indonesian is an economic being with fancy social life (Sweinstani & Mariyah, 2017). Thus, this historical experience can be said as the forerunner of the stereotype of Chinese-Indonesian placement as the national economic drivers.

Entering the reform era, political participation channels are fully open to all Indonesian citizens. This momentum can certainly be a potential path for Chinese-Indonesian to be able to act an active role in politics directly, no longer just a shadow of the government. In the legislative branch, in the 2004 election, there were at least 200 legislative candidates participating in the election of members of the DPR RI and DPRD. Of the 200 candidates, some of them managed to occupy the seat of the House of Representatives and approximately 30 of them managed to occupy seats in the DPRD scattered in various regions. Furthermore, in the 2009 elections, the participation of Chinese-Indonesian politicians was increased. Quoted from Media Indonesia, in this election there were about 11,000 Chinese-Indonesian candidates spread across 33 provinces in Indonesia (Andi, 2009). Among all the candidates, 12 of them managed to sit in the seats of the House of Representatives and 2 of them sat in the DPD seat. Meanwhile, in the 2014 election, 6 Chinese-Indonesian succeeded in occupying the seat of the House of Representatives and 1 Chinese-Indonesian occupied the seat of DPD.

**Table 2:** *List of Chinese politicians who were elected as DPR RI and DPD Members in 2009 and 2014*

No	Name	Selected Year	Fraction	MPs in
1	Hang Ali Saputra Syah Pahan	2009	PAN	DPR RI
2	Basuki Tjahja Purnama	2009	Partai Golkar	DPR RI
3	Enggartiasto Lukita	2009	Partai Golkar	DPR RI
4	Rudianto Tjen	2009	PDIP	DPR RI
5	Sudin	2009	PDIP	DPR RI
6	Prof. Hendrawan Supratikno	2009	PDIP	DPR RI
7	Herman Herry	2009	PDIP	DPR RI
8	Ichsan Soelistio	2009	PDIP	DPR RI

No	Name	Selected Year	Fraction	MPs in
9	Eddy Sadeli	2009	Partai Demokrat	DPR RI
10	Albert Yaputra	2009	Partai Demokrat	DPR RI
11	Lim Sui King	2009	Partai Demokrat	DPR RI
12	Sony Waplau	2009	Partai Demokrat (PAW)	DPR RI
13	Telli Gozeli	2009	-	DPD
14	Bahar Buasan	2009	-	DPD
15	Daniel Johan	2014	PKB	DPR RI
16	Prof. Hendrawan Supratikno	2014	PDIP	DPR RI
17	Charles Honoris	2014	PDIP	DPR RI
18	Darmadi Durianto	2014	PDIP	DPR RI
19	Sofyan Tan	2014	PDIP	DPR RI
20	Hang Ali Saputra Syah Pahan	2014	PAN	DPR RI
21	Telli Gozeli	2014	-	DPD

Source: [dpr.go.id](http://dpr.go.id) and [infocaleg.org](http://infocaleg.org)

In the executive branch, both within the body of ministries / agencies and regional leaders, Chinese-Indonesian began to show a lot of their existences. Some names such as, Kwik Kian Gie (Minister of National Development Planning / Bappenas 2001-2004), Ir. Laksamana Sukardi (Minister of State-Owned Enterprises of Gotong Royong Cabinet), Amir Syamsudin (Minister of Law and Ham of United Indonesia Cabinet II), Mari Elka Pangestu (Minister of Trade of United Indonesia Cabinet I and Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy of United Indonesia Cabinet II), and Ignatius Jonan Minister of Transportation of the Cabinet of Work) are the examples of Chinese-Indonesian who occupy ministerial seats. In addition, several top executives at the local level, currently many from Chinese-Indonesian, such as Singkawang Mayor 2007-2012, Hasan Karman; Vice Governor of West Kalimantan 2008-2013, Christiandy Sanjaya; Regent of East Belitung 2010-2015, Basuri Tjahya Purnama; Basuki Tjahya Purnama as East Belitung Regent 2005-2006 and Governor of DKI Jakarta 2014-2017; and Regent of Banjarnegara 2017-2022, Budhi Sarwono (Natalia, 2015).

Based on the list of some Chinese-Indonesian politicians above, most of them are still dominated by men. There are only a few of Chinese women who try to run for office. Studies on the political involvement of Chinese women in Indonesia show that the role of Chinese-Indonesian women in politics is still limited as voters (Al-Rafni, 2007). Al-Rafni, Suryanef, and Estika Sari even concluded that the Chinese-Indonesian Women's cognitive and evaluative orientation towards Indonesian political conditions is still low. It has an impact on the performance of the attitude of Chinese-Indonesian women in politics. Based on the five attitudes tested, Chinese women only have a sense of trust on the political system that is running. While the sense of political involvement; sense of political efficacy; sense of civic awareness; and sense

of community political knowledge is in negative category (fair) (Al-Rafni, Suryanef, & Sari, 2008). However, of the few Chinese women who dare to run for office, some Chinese women in Semarang City can be the example of this new phenomenon. Their presence in the legislative elections of Semarang city in 2014 is a new phenomenon that became antithesis from the studies conducted by Al-Rafni. This fact can be a good starting point for Chinese women to be able to pursue their political career. This fact will be discussed more deeply in this article, especially how Chinese Women candidates utilize the financial resource that has already assumed to be attached to them in their respective nominations and how the financial capital supports the election of Chinese Women candidates

## **2. Will Money Become Their Problem?**

Besides being seen as a new study that rejects the conclusions of previous studies on the political participation of Chinese-Indonesian women who is identified only as voters, the study of the use of money factor by Chinese-Indonesian women candidates can also be seen as another perspective in gender-political studies. The study done by the author shows that for certain groups of women, the money factor is not a major obstacle to women's participation in running for office. Theoretically, the low involvement of Chinese women as candidates in the elections could be happened because women's representation in the general practical politics itself is still become a problem in the journey of Indonesia's democracy. Moreover, in parliament, women almost all over the world at every socio-political level still feel themselves less represented in the membership of parliament and away from decision making process. In general, women will face four issues at the time of their political candidacy. The four things I will mention called as 4C, they are: (1) culture in society that still marginalize women in public space, (2) confidence in which some of women have low confidence because they think that a have limited capacities to be MPs, (3) consideration of reproductive work (Caring), and (4) financial independence (Cash).

In more detail Shvedova in her article entitled *Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament* states that the obstacles for a woman when going to stand for legislative candidate can be seen from two main domains, namely the structural and cultural barriers that are both characterized by three things: First, Political obstacles, namely obstacles related to the identification and domination of men in politics, lack of support from parties for women candidates, and electoral systems. Second, the barriers of Psychology and Ideology, which

comprise the culture of society on the acceptance of women in the public sphere, confidence, perceptions of politics, the role of the media in representing women. Finally, the socio-economic barriers associated with women's financial independence. According to her, socio-economic conditions have a decisive role in the recruitment of women legislators in almost all democratic countries. Some of these obstacles are poverty, lack of adequate financial resources, productive and reproductive workload balance, and education. In relation to these obstacles, Razia Faiz, First Women Parliament Member in Bangladesh, explained that the two biggest obstacles for women entering parliament are weak constituents and weak financial resources (Shvedova, 2005).

For Chinese-Indonesian women, financial resources may not be a problem for them to run for office. Since, in the socio-economic life, Chinese-Indonesian generally has become the economic ruler of this country through various businesses they developed. Even, through the capital resources possessed by Chinese-Indonesian, Chinese women actually have an easier tendency in their political nominations compared to other women including indigenous women who may have only limited economic resources. The argument departs from, first, Chinese-Indonesian have long been known as those who control the national economic resources. This can be seen from the results of research conducted by Credit Suisse Data showing that there is only 1 percent of the richest people in Indonesia who controls half or 49 percent of the total national wealth and there are only 10 percent of Indonesians who control 77 percent of the total wealth of Indonesia in the year 2016 (Credit Suisse). Furthermore, the data released by Oxfam in February 2017 states that the level of economic inequality in Indonesia is still quite high as seen from the fact that the richest four millionaires in Indonesia have the wealth of more than 100 poor people in Indonesia (Oxfam, 2017). If adjusted to the data released by Forbes Magazine, the people who are categorized as the richest people or economic rulers in Indonesia from year to year are always dominated by The Chinese-Indonesian (Oxfam, 2017). This becomes possible because the historical context that makes up this ethnic identity has indeed placed them in the economic and business sectors. Thus, when we cursory look at the ethnicity background of Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidates, we can assume that they will be more independent in financial resource so that it can help them running for office.

Secondly, the reason is related to how money works for someone's candidacy. Previous study done by Jacobson (1990), Steven D Levvit (1994), Benoit and Marsh (2003), and Gerber

(2004) suggest that campaign spending has a positive effect on someone's winning in election. However, they speak in two different arguments. According to Levvit, it does not have a large enough influence for both the incumbent and its competitors. He didn't speak about who spend more money; incumbent or competitor, he / she will still master the election as long as he / she spends the money for the campaign needs. This is in contrast to what Jacobson, Benoit and Marsh, as well as Gerber, who suggest that the influence of campaign spending is greater in favor of the incumbent competitor candidate's election than the incumbent itself. The more competing candidates spend the money, the more votes they can get. Instead, the incumbent will lose more votes as more money he / she spent. Besides, current research conducted by Bintang Darawijaya about the influence of money (financial capital) on the election of candidate shows that people with great financial capital are more likely win the election. By using estimation of econometric calculation of Ordinary Last Square (OLS) method to measure the influence of money and other factors on vote acquisition and election probability of a candidate in Legislative Election Year 2014, it is known that the financial capital factor gives positive influence to 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, gender, birth place, and occupation (Darawijaya, 2014). The importance of financial capital in the nomination of a person in the current elections becomes conceivable especially since the current electoral system is an open proportional system. With this system, candidates must be able to finance their own needs while socializing, so that voters are willing to choose them.

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 election factors of a candidate, including the election of women candidates and Chinese candidates by Idil Akbar (2013), Tirto Soeseno (2015), and Fitriyah and Supratiwi (2015) which shows that both in the ethnicity of Chinese and Women's election, financial capital has always been one of the factor that can support the election of a candidate. Thus, because the financial capital of a candidate is one of the important factors to support their election, when there is a candidate who is assumed to have sufficient financial capital, money will tend to facilitate her/his election (Sweinstani & Mariyah, 2017).

In relation to the case studies conducted in this research, the authors will conduct an in-depth analysis on how the participation of Chinese women candidates in Semarang City in the



Legislative Elections of Semarang City in 2014 specifically about how they utilize the financial capital they have during their nomination process. In the 2014 Legislative General Election of Semarang City, six Chinese women participated to become legislative candidates. Five of them are entrepreneurs, either the big one or the middle one, while one of them is a doctor who comes from a respected family in Semarang City. The six Chinese women are carried by the NasDem Party (1 person), PDI-Perjuangan (1 Person), PKPI (1 person), and the Democrat Party (3 people). However, this study took only four of them as the key informants; they are the one who was nominated by the Nasdem Party, one from PDI-Perjuangan, and two from the Democrat Party. The reason for choosing them is based on the diversity of the parties who get seats in the DPRD and the composition between the elected (PDI Perjuangan legislative candidate) and not elected (Democrat Party candidates and NasDem Party candidates).

Looking at the facts of such informant's background, when some literature and scholars stated that for a woman, one of the obstacles that must be faced in her candidacy in the election is financial problems because women are considered not financially independent, then it can be assumed less precise because Chinese-Indonesian Women already have financial capital that can support their nomination. So how do they utilize their respective financial capital in their nominations? That is the question that this study will answer. The author will look at how the utilization of financial resources of each informant from two aspects, those are the utilization of financial resources in the process of recruitment of legislative candidates and the utilization of financial resources in winning strategies run by each informant.

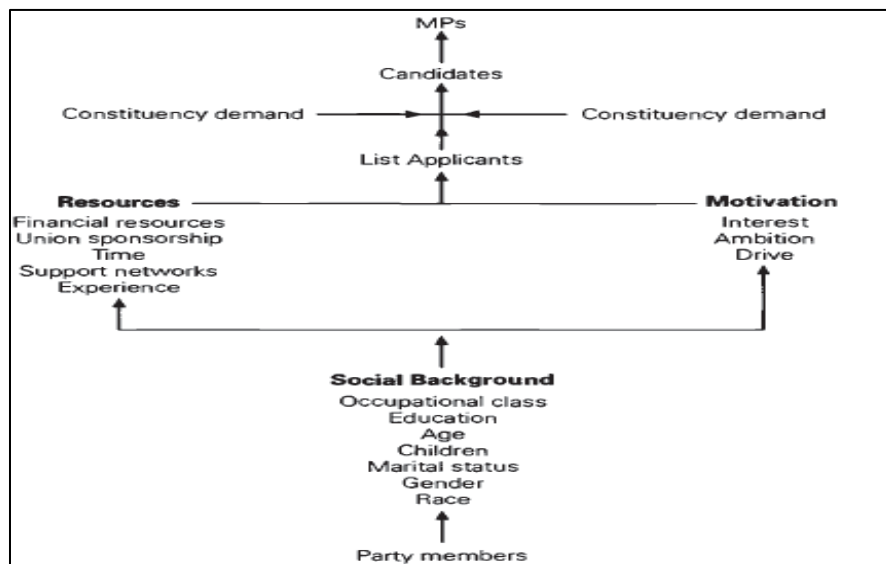
### **3. Theoretical Framework**

As an analytical tool that deals with the process of political recruitment in each party, the authors use political recruitment theory for gender, class and ethnicity proposed by Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski. 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 gender, race, certain classes. The three levels of analysis are, first, in the broad context of a country (Political System) that sees how a country's political system allows certain women and groups to sit as MPs or not (Lovenduski & Norris, 1993). Second, the analysis is done 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 formal or

informal, and the dimensions of decision-making in the party whether centralized or decentralized, and party ideology. Third, analyze the candidate unit related to the factors influencing candidate recruitment in the party's internal selection process which is the supply side of candidates which include:

1. Candidate's social background: occupation, education, age, child, marital status, gender, and race;
2. Candidate resources: financial resources, time resources in which he / she is willing to spend time working on relevant parties, networks, political experience, and expertise; and
3. Motivation that includes ambition and interest of candidates.

All of these factors are the supply side of prospective candidates who can influence party demand or gatekeepers' behavior in recruiting candidates (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). In this case the authors will conduct an analysis only at the level of the third analysis and directly on how gatekeepers see financial resources as capital that can convince the party to recruit Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidates.



**Figure 1:** *Supply and Demand Model in Recruitment Process*

Source: Norris & Lovenduski (1995)

The second thing that I will discuss in this research is the utilization of financial resources in the winning strategies run by each of the Chinese women candidates. The author uses the theory of political strategy combined with Pierre Bourdeau's thoughts about the habitus,

capital, and area. According to Schröder, there are two preferred patterns in the political strategy planning model. The first strategy called as SWOT analysis that limits itself to the situation and strategy formulation by viewing and analyzing the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats that will be faced by the candidates. The other one is the conceptual planning model which goes further in the evaluation of the strategy and on the implementation of that strategy. This planning model consists of three phases that must be executed sequentially, i.e. Situation analysis phase, Strategy decision, and strategy implementation phase. The three phases consisted entirely of ten steps that must be carried out sequentially<sup>3</sup>. However from those 10 steps, I conclude it into four main indicators, they are mission formulation process, target determination process, method defining for persuading the target process, and capital utilization process.

Related to the fourth process, as Schroder does not provide a more in-depth explanation of what capital a person can take advantage of in his/her political strategy, I combine this theory with Bourdieu's notion of habitus, modality and arena. In his thoughts about habitus, capital and arena, Bourdieu states that someone can master the arena (the domain of a competitive struggle) when he / she is in the right habitus and have the right capital. Habitus is defined as a mental or cognitive structure, which actors use to cope with their social life that describes a set of tendencies that encourage actors to act and react in certain ways. While capital according to Bourdieu is an asset owned by the individual in his/her social environment which is used to determine his/her position. He mentioned four types of capital, those are: Economic capital: any form of capital owned in the form of material; Social capital; Cultural capital includes various knowledge legitimate; and symbolic Capital derived from the honor and prestige of a person (Bourdieu, 1990). Related to the capital mentioned above, the author will only focus on economic capital. The author will simultaneously test whether Bourdieu's thoughts about someone who has mastered a capital can master the arena by looking at the role of financial capital in Chinese-Indonesian women legislative nomination. In this case I will analyses whether by having mastered economic capital and utilizing it, Chinese women candidates are easier to be elected in legislative elections of Semarang City in 2014.

#### **4. Research Method**

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<sup>3</sup> According to Peter Schroder in his book entitled *Political Strategies* the ten steps in question are; formulating a mission, situational assessment and evaluation, sub-strategy formulation, target formulation, image targeting, target group determination, message to the target group, determining key instruments or utilizing resources owned as campaign tools, strategy implementation, and strategy control (Schroder, 2008)

The research method used in this research is qualitative method with explanatory research type. Explanatory research is a study that not only provides an overview of research but also searches for the causes and reasons for a phenomenon. Related to this research, I will explain deeply about the utilization of financial capital by each candidate in her nomination in the legislative elections city Semarang 2014. Data collection techniques used in this study are in-depth interviews to four women candidates of Chinese women Semarang City in 2014, the Chairman of the Party and the Election Winning Board (BAPPILU) from each party bearer. Besides conducting in-depth interviews, the authors also use other primary data in the form of documents related to the list of permanent candidates for each party, party documents related to political recruitment, as well as other relevant documents.

## **5. Research Result**

### **5.1 Money and Political Recruitment of Chinese Women Candidates in Semarang City**

In general, the recruitment process of legislative candidates in PDI-Perjuangan, Nasdem Party and Democrat Party allows the mechanism to recruit external person outside the stewardship and party membership. However, the degree of openness of the open recruitment process among them is different. Those who come from outside the party must already have a membership card (KTA) at least 1 year before the registration period stipulated by the General Elections Commission (KPU). In the PDI-Perjuangan, recruitment of legislative candidates tends to be more closed than the other two parties. The party prioritizes cadres and party officials to be recruited as prospective members. This is because since the beginning of this party, PDI-Perjuangan is known as the party cadres. Therefore, PDI-Perjuangan will prioritize its party cadres to become representatives of its constituents in the legislature. However, in certain cases, if there are people who are considered potential and have ideological similarities with PDI-Struggle, then it is possible for the party to recruit them. This open recruitment is also very limited. The party only provides very few portions for external parties which must meet the following criteria: have the same ideological understanding with PDI-Perjuangan, have a family background as PDI-Perjuangan activist and has been a sympathizer as well as a successful team candidates nomination from PDI-Perjuangan.

Meanwhile in the Democrat Party, 80% of its legislative candidates are prioritized for cadres, incumbents, and party administrator. While the rest 20% is given to the external people

who really want to become a legislative candidate from the Democrat Party. However, the external people mentioned above are preferred for the one who are consider as community leaders. This is because the Democrat Party wants to recruit people who have a qualified social capital and can provide good quality for representing its constituents in the parliament (Danur, 2017).

Whereas in the Nasdem Party, the recruitment process of legislative candidates is carried out more openly than the two previous parties. The Nasdem Party is even willing to accept all the people who want to join this party to become prospective legislators. This is because in 2014, Nasdem party is a new party in Indonesia which previously was a community organization with the same name. Therefore, due to Nasdem did not have lots of party cadres that time, the requirement of prospective legislative candidates is relatively easier compared to the previous two parties. In addition, Nasdem is also willing to be a place for anyone, including politicians from other parties, who want to make Nasdem as his/her political channel to be MPs. However, as an honor Nasdem to the party administrators and Nasdem (in form of community organizations) activist, this party will give special consideration to anyone who formerly incorporated into Nasdem (the organization one) (Febri, 2017).

Since not all Chinese women who became the subject of this research were a party cadre, the existence of an opportunity for external parties to become legislative candidates of these three parties has a significant impact for them. They could utilize this situation as the gap for them to enter the political arena although they were not party insider. There were only two of the four Chinese women here who were party administrators. They were the candidates nominated by the Democrat Party. Of the two, only one of them was the outstanding cadre and one of Democrat Party's candidates in the previous election as well. She is IP from Democrat Party.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that if the party is only oriented to the political capital seen from the membership status of each of them, their chance to be recruited as candidates from each party was very limited. Then, what factors that convince the party to recruit them?

Based on interviews conducted by the authors to the party elites of each party bearer, we can infer that each party has the same considerations when recruiting Chinese-Indonesian women

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<sup>4</sup> Based on the tracking of political traces of the four subjects of the study that the authors did by looking at the documents of curriculum vitae (KPU Kota Semarang, 2013) (KPU Kota Semarang, 2013) (KPU Kota Semarang, 2013) (KPU Kota Semarang, 2013) of the General Election Commission of Semarang City and the results of interviews with each party elite bearer in March-April 2017

candidates. Using analytical tools on political recruitment from Pippa Norris and Lovenduski, particularly at the level of candidate resource analysis unit, the three parties revealed that the candidate's financial resources encouraged the party not to hesitate to recruit them. The three parties also did not deny that their recruiting considerations were to fulfill the requirements of party administration related to the minimum number of women in the list of candidates as stated in the election regulation. Parties also argued that their motive in recruiting Chinese-Indonesian Women as one of their candidates was to gain vote from Chinese community resides in Semarang which proportioned almost 25% of the entire population of Semarang (Fitriyah, 2017). Moreover, the existence of larger and more favorable financial capital held by Chinese women compared to other women candidates in general, made the recruitment process of these Chinese women is easier. The Party believes that in the current electoral system (Open PR-List), the financial capital of a candidate can greatly assist the nomination of a candidate because he/she is assumed to be able to fund himself/herself during the election stage.

### **5.1.1 Money versus Political Experience in Recruitment Process**

The superior financial capital owned by Chinese women candidate even sometimes makes the party override other ideal conditions in the recruitment process candidates that usually should be done by the party. In the case of TR recruitment by PDI-Perjuangan, the party elite admitted that the recruitment process of TR is an anomaly of the candidate recruitment process normally performed by PDI-Perjuangan. In general, the initial phase of candidate recruitment is carried out by the branch leaders (PAC) domiciled in the district. However, TR was directly register herself to DPC resides in the City. Since TR had been known as a financially independent Chinese woman and the wife of the Democrat Party Elite, PDI-Struggle accepted her easily although she was an entirely new actor in the politics of Semarang City and had no capacity or experience in politics. The party admitted that they did believe that she could finance herself in the election process and she could use her financial capital to support other capital she owned, for instance the famousness of her husband. TR and PDI-Perjuangan even acknowledged that TR's listing process in the PDI-Perjuangan short-term candidate list was very short. According to TR, she just registered herself directly to the DPC on two or three days before the list of names was approved by the Central Board of PDI Perjuangan (DPP).

In the case of recruitment process done by Democrat Party, financial capital was also a factor that becomes party consideration in deciding to recruit Chinese women. IP and AA were

recruited by the Democrat Party on the grounds that their financial capital was deemed to be able to sustain other capital that already exists within them. In contrast to TR from PDI-Perjuangan which was considered to have no experience in politics, these two sisters are the members and officials of the Democrat Party of Central Java Province (IP) and the City of Semarang (AA). Moreover, IP is a cadre who has a fairly good reputation in the Democrat Party in Central Java. So, if the party only saw the political capital possessed by these two Chinese women, then it became normal that they were recruited by the Democrat Party. However, what makes them different from other Democratic women's candidates? Based on the results of in-depth interviews conducted by the authors with the Chairman of the Democrat Party Faction of Semarang City, Head of the Democrat Party Secretariat of Semarang City, and Chairman of the Democrat Party of West Semarang, it is known that their financial capital is a distinct advantage that distinguishes them with other women candidates because they are also considered to be able to finance the needs of their own campaigns. Therefore, it can be concluded that in the case of IP and AA recruitment by Democrat Party, the party sees that financial capital, though not the main factor that encourages the gate keeper's attitude to recruit them, is considered as the capital that can sustain the utilization of political capital and social capital they had had. That was why party also argued that all of their political experiences combined with their financial capital were the perfect composition for women to be recruited as candidates in legislative election.

We can also find those kinds of party motives in the recruitment process of dr. HR. As a doctor who comes from a quite well-regarded family in Semarang City and comes from a Golkar party politician family, the social capital she had had is good enough to support herself as a legislative candidate in Semarang City. However, Nasdem also considers the financial capital she held which the party considered it as the supporting system for her to utilize her other capital. Therefore, taking into account to the financial independence of dr.HR, the Nasdem Party also saw that this capital became the factor that distinguishes her from other women legislative candidates and could convince the gate keepers to recruit her.

Thus, referring to the similarity of the party's worldview to the ownership of the financial capital of each Chinese woman, it can be concluded that the theories offered by Pippa Norris and Lovenduski on the process of gender, class and ethnic recruitment apply in this case, in particular, analysis of the recruitment process with the unit of analysis of resources / capital held by the candidate. The financial capital possessed by Chinese women legislative candidates

proves to be one of the factors that support her nomination as well as become a decisive factor for decision makers within the party to recruit them. The gate keepers in each party interpreted that this capital can be a support system for them to empower other capital owned by each of the Chinese women candidates. This phenomenon also shows at once that, in Bourdieu's view, the Chinese women candidates have been able to control one of the modalities described. Even in my further analysis, they are already in the right habitus because the large Chinese population in Semarang City and the party placed them in areas mostly inhabited by the Chinese-Semarang community. Then, can they control the area as described by Bourdieu and can they be elected as MPs by utilizing this factor? A further explanation of the authors will be explained in Section 5.2 concerning money in the winning strategy of Chinese women candidates.

## **5.2 Money in the Winning Strategy of Chinese Women Candidates**

As the authors have pointed out in the previous section, the four Chinese women candidates who were the subject of this study have been able to master the financial capital that could be the factor to convince the gatekeepers attitude to recruit them. However, based on the theory of political strategy proposed by Schroder, the capital possessed by the candidate must be utilized so that their political strategy can be achieved. Based on the results of interviews with the four women legislative candidates, it is known that the financial capital of most of the Chinese women candidates was used for their campaign funding purposes.

TR who was carried by PDI-Perjuangan said that for her campaign purposes she spent approximately Rp 500.000.000 (five hundred million rupiah) or around \$34.000. Although not explicitly explain the specific use of the money in detail, associated with information from the chairman of PAC PDI-Perjuangan in West Semarang, on the campaign trail TR displayed thousands of billboards about herself in almost all areas of Semarang City and of course more and more in her district. Therefore, it can be conclude that most of the financial capital was used to her publication. I did not find any proof that the money she owned was used to compensate the votes for voting her. When I rechecked that fact to many parties such as the PDI-Perjuangan Officers; Democrat Party; and Political Scientist from the Diponegoro University of Semarang, they all stated that there were limited possibilities for that used. This is because, seen from the party bearer, she had benefited from the strength of PDI-Perjuangan in Semarang City as the support base for this party. Moreover, even though she did not specifically address the issue of Chineseness and made Chinese ethnicity as the target of her electorate, her way of identifying



herself as a Chinese citizen using the term "cici"<sup>5</sup> on every publication of her, made the Chinese voters in her area indirectly identify TR as a representative of Chinese group. Therefore, it can be concluded that the efficient use of financial capital to maximize the publication of herself as a representation of the Chinese group in Semarang City which is massively done, proved effectively attract voters' attention to elect them. This will certainly be difficult to do if not supported by large financial capital.

Meanwhile, in the case of IP and AA promoted by the Democrats and dr.HSR promoted by the Nasdem Party, it is known that the financial capital issued by each of them was also quite large. Based on the data obtained from the board of DPC Democrat Party of Semarang City, IP spent about Rp 159,000,000 (one hundred and fifty Nine million) or \$11.000 for his nomination.<sup>6</sup> The funds she spent heavily on donations of community services and campaign attributes. While dr. HR acknowledged to the author that she had spent about Rp 20,000,000 or \$14.000 for her nomination. The funds she used to print business cards and coupons for free medical treatment, transportation for her team, and a little compensation for the people who have been present at the socialization that she did. However, the number she spent had not included the fee for free medical treatment. Related to the need for free medical treatment, based on data that the authors collect from several medical community in Indonesia it is known that the average fund needed for free treatment with approximately 200 participants will const around Rp 100 million or \$6.000. Meanwhile, based on the data of KPU Semarang City, the number of voters in her distict is 161,221 voters. Therefore, it can be concluded that the funds spent by dr. HR for campaign purposes is more or less above Rp 120 million (over \$8.000). It shows us that HR also spent lots of money for her nomination in 2014.

Unfortunately, the author cannot find out the used of financial capital by AA due to the absent report in Democrat Party campaign fund report. The data showed that she did not spend money for her campaign. This could be happened because from the beginning stage of her recruitment, she was only recruited to meet the requirements of the party administration although initially the party was convinced that AA financial capital could help its election.

After knowing some facts about the use of financial capital of the four Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidates, in fact, not all of them can be elected to be MPs. There were

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<sup>5</sup> Cici or Cicie is the pronoun for sisters in Mandarin

<sup>6</sup> Based on Democrat Party Campaign Fund report.

other factors that influence the election of TR as the only Chinese Women MPs Semarang City. When viewed from the amount of money that she spent, it is true that TR is a Chinese women candidate with the largest campaign financial expenditure among the others. However, various parties claim that the financial capital utilized by TR is not necessarily the most influential factor in her election. This financial capital, indeed, facilitates her activities to communicate with her voters in a massive way, but the voters didn't necessarily choose her just because of that factor. There are other considerations regarding to the election of TR. Some facts that the authors found indicate that TR's election as MP is related to the use of cultural capital (similarity of identity with Chinese groups) that she optimized in her winning strategy. As explained earlier, she was able to identify herself as a representation of the Chinese group in all publications about her. It becomes a very powerful way to attract votes from voters in her area (District 2 Semarang) which is dominated by Chinese. In addition, she also has a strong network capital both from her family network and her colleagues as well as her husband's political, business, and social network. TR even greatly benefited from her husband status as the party elite and members of Parliament Semarang City in previous period. Fortunately, in the 2014 election, he did not run for office anymore. That is why some expert said that she was benefited by her husband vote in the past election. In other word, his votes were estimated to be transferred to her.

PDI-Perjuangan and two other political parties in the study also confirmed that her husband's clear status was very beneficial for TR because she could utilize her husband's support network in her election-winning strategy. Those kinds of factors were not owned and utilized by the other three candidates. In the case of IP, even if she had used her financial capital, but in her campaign process, IP winning team was not solid. She also tried to be neutral in using her identity by not associating herself as a part of Chinese society. The strategy is quite unfortunate because actually she might be able to take advantage of the captive markets (her district that has been dominated by Chinese society) that have been available to improve the acquisition of her votes. In Bourdieu's word, she actually had been placed in the right habitus yet she could not empower it as her added value in her nomination.

The same cases also happened to the nomination of HR. Even though she has utilized her financial capital, even used to "buy" voter votes, in fact, her strategy was only temporary and unable to convince the voters to vote her. The people in her area (dapil 1, which there is also a large enough Chinese population) only utilize free treatment at that time. Nor can she take

advantage of ethnic Chinese presence in her area to be targeted as her voters. Last but not least, in the case of AA, her unelected is obviously because she didn't use her financial capital well and she relies heavily on her sister's network, IP. She even only recognizes as the complement for the party the administrative requirements to qualify party verification.

**Table 3:** *Distribution of Chinese Women Candidate Voites in every Sub-District in An Electoral District (KPU Kota Semarang, 2013)*

District Magnitude 1							
No	Name	Number in List	Party	West Semarang	South Semarang	-	Votes
1	dr. HR	3	Partai Nasdem	207	163	-	370
District Magnitude 2							
No	Name	Number in List	Party	Semarang Timur	Semarang Tengah	Semarang Utara	Votes
1	TWS	9	PDI Perjuangan	2.563	2.625	2.737	7.925
2	IPA	5	Partai Demokrat	344	462	530	1.336
District Magnitude 3							
No	Name	Number in List	Party	Pedurungan	Gayamsari	Genuk	Votes
1	AA	3	Partai Demokrat	185	54	30	269

Source: Data is processed from Appendix Model D-1 Semarang City Electoral Commision Year 2014

Based on the finding above, we can infer that the utilization of financial capital conducted by each candidate cannot fully guarantee their election. This is because both elected and non-elected Chinese women candidates had utilized their respective financial capital in sufficient quantities to finance the campaign attributes, the provision of services, to the compensation of voters. However, financial capitals unfortunately only become the supportive mean for them to utilize their other capitals. Identifying Chinese identity with Chinese society in Semarang City becomes the more efficient factor to support the election of Chinese Women Candidates. This is possible because they already have a specific market originating from Chinese residents living in their respective electoral districts, especially district 2 (TR and IPA) and some district 1 (dr.HR) as well as a small part of the district (AA). In addition, the kinship tie with the male elite is also still one of the factors that support the election of women candidates. Thus, the utilization of financial capital is more accurately said as the supporting factor that

sustains the use of other capital owned by women candidates, including cultural capital associated with ethnic identity.

## **6. Conclusion**

As a new actor in Indonesia political constellation, previous studies on Chinese-Indonesian women's involvement in elections concludes that their political participation is still limited only as voters. Thus, the study of them as candidates is still quite limited as well. However, it does not mean that the study of Chinese women candidates is not interesting. This study adds new variables in the study of women's election that is the ethnicity background attached to her. This study may also provide a new perspective especially in the study of women, parties, and politics, which often state that one of the major obstacles for women to actively participate in the practical politics is the question of financial independence rarely owned by a woman. However, looking at the facts about Chinese-Indonesian women in this study, it can be concluded that in certain groups of women likewise Chinese women, financial capital is not a significant obstacle. Even, the assumption that then emerged is the Chinese Women's Candidates would get more ease elected when running in elections because they already have financial independence.

Even though has been utilized properly, this study concludes that financial capital was not able to fully guarantee the election of a Chinese women candidate such as previous studies on the money factor that gave a positive correlation to the wining of a candidate. In this study, it financial capital only affects the recruitment process of candidates in each party. The excellence ownership of financial capital by Chinese women legislative candidates is indeed the party's consideration which ultimately convinces the party to recruit them, regardless their capacity and capability both in politics and in other aspects. Unfortunately, in the implementation of winning strategies, financial capital is not the main factor supporting the election of women candidates. This capital is only a supporting element that sustains the utilization of other capitals owned. The capital that effectively supports the election of Chinese women candidates is cultural capital (by affiliating themselves as part of Chinese culture), networking, and kinship ties with man elites. Some of those wining supporting factor of a women is in line with some previous studies such as the study that has done by Gender and Political Science Research Team of The Center of Political Studies from Indonesian Institute of Science in 2016 and 2017 about the nomination of

women in local executive election. Those studies conclude that the winning of women is still related to the oligarch and political dynasty that exist in her candidacy district (Dewi, et.al, 2017). Besides, network that can come from her own network or her men relative's network also becomes one of her winning factors (Dewi & Kusumaningtyas, 2018). However, due to the time and resources limitation of this research I recommend further research about Network and Kinship Ties Factor of Chinese Indonesian Women Candidates in their nomination to provide further analysis about how Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidates utilized these networks. I also recommend boarder scoop of study that will not only capture the dynamic of Chinese-Indonesian Women Candidates in one place but also compared it with other places in Indonesia where have significant Chinese Women Candidates.

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