

WHY DO ISLAMIC MASS-BASED PARTIES ACCOMMODATE NON-ISLAMIC LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES: THE CASE OF CHINESE ETHNIC IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to find out why Islam-based parties in Indonesia accommodate non-Muslim legislative candidates from ethnic minorities in the 2014 North Sumatra Provincial DPRD election. A qualitative research using a combination of case studies and ethnography is used as the research method. Data were obtained through in-depth interviews, literature studies and documentation studies. The findings show that there are three dominant factors that cause the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the National Mandate Party (PAN) to accommodate non-Muslim candidates from ethnic minorities, namely 1) the electoral system, 2) the party platform and 3) the availability of legislative candidates.

Keywords: Chinese ethnicity, Legislative candidate, Minority ethnic, Political parties.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui mengapa partai berbasis Islam di Indonesia mengakomodasi caleg non muslim dari etnis minoritas dalam pemilihan DPRD Provinsi Sumatera Utara tahun 2014. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah penelitian kualitatif dengan kombinasi studi kasus dan etnografi. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara mendalam, studi pustaka dan studi dokumentasi. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ada tiga faktor dominan yang menyebabkan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) dan Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) mengakomodasi calon non-Muslim dari etnis minoritas, yaitu 1) sistem pemilihan, 2) platform partai dan 3) ketersediaan calon legislatif.

Kata Kunci: Etnis Minoritas, etnis Tionghoa, Kandidat Legislatif, Partai Politik

INTRODUCTION

Political recruitment is one of political party functions that has a role in locating the best party cadre in the structure of political authorization such as legislative institution. Political party has a process mechanism in conducting political recruitment. The process runs based on the party rules and law. The central issue in political recruitment is related to the aspect of society representation in each segmentation in plural and multi-ethnic society (see Pitkin, 1967; Marin, 2001; Seitz, 1995; Ankersmit, 2002; Bybee, 1998; Protsyk & Sachariew, 2012) and democratic aspect in the recruitment process in party internal (see Norris, 2006; Smith & Tsutsumi, 2016; Rahat & Hazan, 2001; Ishiyama & Marshall, 2015; Ashe & Stewart, 2012). In the process of political recruitment in party internal, the issue of political representation in ethnic segmentation can be used by the parties to gain the vote support from certain ethnic group in certain region by accommodating the legislative candidate from certain ethnic.

In the opened election system, the party strategy to get the mass support can be measured by neither ideological distance nor party platform although Dienaputra (2009) noted according to the ideological history of political party in Indonesia in the past was divided into three types of party. They were 1) Nationalist ideological party, 2) Religious ideological party, and 3) Communist ideological party. Those three ideologies developed in the political area around 1955 and then in 1960 the Communist ideological party was collapsed in Indonesia, so there were only Nationalist ideological party and Religious ideological party (Dienaputra, 2009: p. 90).

The division of political party based on ideology and the development of party ideology is closely related to the rules of election system and the development of global political tradition that is used at

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that time. The development of modern political tradition in the pasca reformation era is the direct election with opened proportional system. The effect of this election system causes the political parties to competitively enlarge the vote support in electors' demographical across segmentation. The easiest way to do is by transforming the party identity becomes opened party, so nowadays in the pasca reformation era the political party in Indonesia is divided into 2 types of party ideology. They are: 1) nationalist party and religious-nationalist party (lihat Riyadh U.B & Sukmana, 2015: 194). This situation also blurs the ideological distance among political parties.

The recruitment pattern conducted by nationalist party and religious-nationalist party nowadays in the procedural aspect is using the combination of opened recruitment system and closed recruitment system (see Salsabila & Tinov, 2016: pp. 9-10; Prasojo, 2013: p. 28; Warsito & Prasetyo, 2006; Yunita Kurniaty, Hidayat, Efendy, & Sinaga, 2016; Thamrin, Dewi, Ridho, & Sinaga, 2018). The recruitment process has a tendency to run closely and the candidate fulfillment stage inclines to be oligarchy (Budi, 2013: pp. 51-66), "closed" (Andriana et al., 2012), and dominated by political cartel domination (see Slater, 2004). The characteristics of decision making in party internal through oligarchy and elicit has been mentioned since long time ago by Michels (1959) and Ostrogorski (1902).

Opened recruitment system is defined as the political recruitment form political party cadres and non-cadres that is largely unlimited to the religion, ethnic, and profession segmentation (see Ashe & Stewart, 2012), closed recruitment is defined as a recruitment that is influenced by the political consideration related to the aspect of party concern that looks like ignoring the procedural principle in party internal (Kumalasari, Utomo, & Yuwanto, 2016: p. 14-16). If the religious-based party conducts opened recruitment system (religious across segmentation) to recruit the legislative candidate, there is a strangeness in this phenomenon and need to conduct the empirical and comprehensive study. The legislative candidate recruitment phenomenon held by Islamic political party towards some non-Moslem candidates even from the minor ethnic. This strangeness comes from two assumptions. They are 1) if the party has Islamic basic values and norms, why the party can openly accommodate the non-Moslem candidate and 2) if the party has the goal to enlarge the vote gain in the election, why the party accommodated the minor ethnic candidates.

This study is started from the phenomenon and assumption described above. To understand why Islamic political party accommodated the representative of non-Moslem candidate from minor ethnic, this study is helped by the theory of political representation. In the book literature scope there are some concepts of political representation like written by Pitkin (1967); Cohen (1968); Seitz (1995); Bybee (1998); Marin (2001); Ankersmit (2002). This study uses the representative concept proposed by Pitkin (1967) who gives 4 types of political representative. They are: 1) formalistic representation, 2) substantive representation, 3) descriptive representation and 4) symbolic representation (Pitkin, 1967: 209-213). The main reason of using Pitkin's theory are 1) the characteristics of demography of Indonesia with a heterogeneous area which is multi ethnic, multi religion, and multicultural, 2) the election system applied in Indonesia is opened direct proportional election system.

Political representation has been an attention in some studies in democratic country. In some democratic country, the political representative across segmentation (ethnic, religion, and gender) has been a formal requirement that has to be fulfilled in the process of candidate recruitment in party internal in the country that has not required political representative issue yet to be used as a part of party strategy to enlarge the vote support across segment electors. Some studies in the global area has discussed about the political representation of minor ethnic as reading the dissertation written by Hughes (2008); Ruedin (2009); Harden (2012); Fang (2015); McKee (2017); Loncar (2017). In the modern democratic country the political representation do not only accommodate the political representation based on ethnic but also religion like discussed in the article written by Dancygier (2014) that explored the Moslem society political representation in non-Moslem country. In Indonesia, the study of political representation of various society has been conducted by Hatherell (2014) by analyzing from the perspective of the influence of party system and the dissertation written by Marzuki (2007) started from the election perspective.

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Election is the only formal medium to gain the political representative in political institution structure. To get the opportunity to compete in the election, the party has first to follow the political recruitment mechanism done by political party internal. The dissertation of the study of political recruitment in Indonesia has been written by Gregory (1976) that explored the political recruitment in the Guided Democracy and New Order era using the social and profession background approach and some other studies about political recruitment in the Pasca reformation era in the form of article. From the exploration towards some previous studies, the study of non-Moslem legislative candidate recruitment from minor ethnic in Islamic political party in the Moslem major country. This study takes the position to fill the gap from previous studies to find out why the Islamic political party accommodated the non-Moslem legislative candidate especially from minor ethnic that is limited in the population. This study takes the case in the non-Moslem Chinese ethnic legislative candidate recruitment in National Mandate Party (or: Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN) and National Awakening Party (or: Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa/PKB) in the election of the member of Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Local Parliament or DPRD) of North Sumatera Province in the Post-New Order era (election of 1999 until 2014). This study gives a contribution of analysis framework to find out the dominant factors cause why PAN and PKB accommodated non-Moslem legislative candidate from minor ethnic (Chinese ethnicity) in the election of the member of local parliament in North Sumatera Province-Indonesia, post-new order.

METHOD

Previous research provides an overview of changes in party identity in the general election arena that occur in response to wider vote support from voters. In this case, the party does not just show a change in party identity but also expands the mechanism for recruiting legislative candidates that is more open beyond the public's understanding of the concept of party identity. This study aims to investigate why political parties with Islamic identities accommodate legislative candidates from non-Muslims, especially from ethnic minorities. Determination of the method in this study is based on the research objectives to be answered. This research question relates to phenomena related to behavior, interactions and processes in a certain time. With the characteristics of research like this, according to Creswell (2014) it is very relevant to use qualitative research because it will try to get meaning from reality. This qualitative research uses a combination of case study and ethnographic approaches. Collecting data using interviews, literature study and documentation. Interviews were conducted with several politicians who are involved in determining internal party decisions. Literature of books and articles related to research related to the involvement of ethnic Chinese in the political arena are used to complement the data and theory. Documentation studies were obtained from the general election organizing agency in Indonesia, namely the general election commission to obtain a description and gain of vote results in elections. The results of the study found that the party which was originally based on Islamic ideology changed political identity into an open party as an answer to respond to vote competition between parties in an open proportional electoral system carried out by a direct election mechanism.

DISCUSSION

The Issue of Political Representation in Political Recruitment

The concept of political representation emerged after the ideas about national concepts in Europe found the important substance related to the society's role in the nation. The work of Hobbes (1651) entitled "*Leviathan*" that explain the building of a country based on the collective willingness in the society. People give the authority to Country to manage the society's life. Hobbes' concept in this context indicated the society hand over their role to the country. From the Hobbes' work, then the representative concept is strongly formed through the work of Rousseau (1762) entitled "*The Social Contract*" that gives the main attention in forming new country based on the society collective willingness and insist the society's participation and role in running the country through an institution

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that has a function to accommodate the society's need which is legislative institution. The fulfillment of an individual as a legislative member is facilitated by political party through the competition in the election (Veenendaal, 2016: p. 28).

The people participation in running the country is a characteristic of modern democratic country signed by the existence of institution that delegates' people's need called legislative institutions. In the modern democratic era, the concept of society's representation has been developed in the legislative institution especially related to heterogeneous characteristic, there is a relevant concept to accommodate the representation of society in legislative institution as stated by Pitkin (1967) by proposing 4 types of representation which are: 1) formalistic representation is a delegation that runs its function with authorization and accountability, 2) substantive representation is a delegation functions to struggle the need of groups that he delegates, 3) descriptive representation is a delegation functions to delegate his region and 4) symbolic representation is a delegation to delegate the national concerns (Pitkin, 1967: pp. 55-213).

The population of Chinese ethnicity in Indonesia is 1,2 % or about 2.832.510 people from 236.728.379 of all Indonesian (Central Bureau of Statistics, Republic of Indonesia/BPS RI, 2011: p. 9; Chong, 2015: p. 492). In the context of North Sumatera, the population of Chinese ethnicity is 2,55 % (about 340.320 people) and the population of all North Sumatera people is 12.981.432 (BPS RI, 2011: p. 36-41). The number of population that is much smaller than other ethnics makes the position of Chinese ethnicity as a minor ethnic in North Sumatera Province. In political field, Chinese ethnicity in North Sumatera Province has been fully in the level of political awareness. This condition can be seen from the political participation through election not only as electors but also as candidates (Sofyan Tan as a candidate in the local leader election of Medan City in 2010). The number of Chinese ethnic candidates increase in the election of the member of Local Parliament of North Sumatera Province.

Their political participation is not only done individually in the context of voting and voted in the election but also the political participation in the institution by the involvement a part of Chinese people to give the vote support to candidate in regional head elections (see Humaizi, Ermansyah, & Sinaga, 2018). This argumentation gives a strong indication to state that Chinese ethnic in North Sumatera has fully been in their political awareness. Although the political awareness has fully been come about, the effort of Chinese ethnic to delegate their political representation in Local Parliament of North Sumatera has not been reached yet. The result of the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province that is held in four elections Post-New Order (1999-2014), in 1999 there was a candidate from Chinese ethnic who competed but failed. The candidate of Chinese that won as the member of Local Parliament is started in the election of 2004 is 1 out from 3 candidates. In the election of 2009, there were 3 out of 10 legislative candidates competed and in 2014 there were 2 out of 12 Chinese legislative candidate competed (see Sinaga et al., 2018: pp. 2081-2082; Sinaga, Warella, Yuwanto, & Setiyono, 2019: pp. 74-76).

According to the data from General Elections Commission of North Sumatera Province (Komisi Pemilihan Umum or KPU), there is a fact that the legislative candidate from Chinese ethnic in the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera is spread in some parties. In the 1999 election, there was only 1 political party accommodated Chinese legislative candidate which was Justice and Union Party (Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan or PKP). In the next election, PKP changed its name into Indonesian Justice and Union Party (Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia or PKPI). In the election of 2004 there were 3 political parties. They were Party of Struggle for New Indonesia (Partai Perjuangan Indonesia Baru or PPIB) accommodated 1 legislative candidate. PPIB In the next election changed its name into New Indonesia Alliance Party (Partai Perhimpunan Indonesia Baru or PPIB). PKPI accommodated 1 legislative candidate, and Democrat Party (Partai Demokrat or PD) accommodated 1 candidate.

In the 2009 election, there were 8 political parties. They were Prosperous *Peace Party* (Partai Damai Sejahtera or PDS) accommodated 1 candidate, PKPI accommodated 1 candidate. Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan or PDIP) accommodated 1

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candidate. New Indonesia Alliance Party (Partai Perhimpunan Indonesia Baru or PPIB) accommodated 2 candidates, PD accommodated 1 candidate, National People's Concern Party (Partai Peduli Rakyat Nasional or PPRN) accommodated 1 candidate, National Front Party (Partai Barisan Nasional or PBN) accommodated 1 candidate and Party of Functional Groups (Partai Golongan Karya or Golkar) accommodated 2 legislative candidates. Then in the election of 2014 there were six political parties. They were National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa or PKB) accommodated 1 candidates, PKPI accommodated 2 candidates, PDIP accommodated 5 candidates, Greater Indonesia Movement Party (Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya or Gerindra) accommodated 2 candidates, National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional or PAN) accommodated 1 candidate, and PD accommodated 1 legislative candidate. Most of political parties that accommodated legislative candidate from Chinese ethnic in the election of 1999 until 2009 were nationalist ideological parties. Then in the election of 2014 there were religious-nationalist Islamic political parties accommodated non-Moslem Chinese ethnic legislative candidate.

Election in Indonesia applied the direct election system with opened proportional system. This system targets to reach the political representation based on the regional and society segmentation (including the religious and ethnic group) based on the attention pressure in this election system, so political party gains vote by accommodating the political actors representation based on regional segment and society group in the process of legislative candidate recruitment in the political party internal. The opened recruitment system become so popular applied in the party internal to recruit the candidate in each segmentation (regional and group) that has an opportunity in gaining the vote in the election.

The Non-Moslem Legislative Candidate from Chinese Ethnic in PKB

In the election of 1999 until 2009 PKB had not accommodated the representation of Chinese ethnic as a legislative candidate in the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province. In the election of 2014, for the first time PKB of North Sumatera accommodated 1 non-Moslem Chinese as a legislative candidate in the election of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province. The candidate was Ng Kok Pheng with the serial number of 4 who was placed in the election region of North Sumatera 4 including Serdang Bedagai Regency and Tebing Tinggi City. Ng Kok Pheng has Indonesian name as "Suhardy" born in Tebing Tinggi City of North Sumatera Province and embracing Budha but officially he is Christian (General Elections Commission of North Sumatera, 2014).

Related to Ng Kok Pheng as a legislative candidate of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province, Jansen Harahap said that party do not target the ethnic representation, it only targets the representation of woman to reach 30 percent of woman representative quota. PKB which accommodated non-Moslem Chinese legislative candidate is due to the status of PKB as an opened party that respects plurality with Islamic values (Harahap, interview, March 20th, 2018). Plurality becomes an important attention for PKB. PKB sees diversity as a plurality, nationality, and PKB admits the concept of democracy by positioning the part attitude as an opened party. (see Introduction, paragraph 5 Basic Budget of PKB from the result of Great Congress in 2008). In the Basic Budget of PKB from the result of Great Congress in 2008 there is no prohibition or limitation for nationals to be cadres of PKB both in ethnic and religion segmentation. (see paragraph 4 Basic Budget of PKB, 2008).

In respecting plurality, PKB started from Islamic values that compassing the Holy book of Allah (Al-Quran) and Sunnah Rasul Allah (Muhammad). This group is called Ahlusunnah Waljama'ah or Sunni or Aswaja (Saleh, 2001: p. 52; Asy'ari, 1999: p. 9; Bouchier & Hadiz, 2003: p. 84). Rofieq (2011: p. 66) stated that Ahlusunnah Waljama'ah or Aswaja has the character of consensus, opened, and compromise by maintaining the good old cultural values and accepting the better values. With the character of PKB as an opened party that accepts the plurality and facing the political difference by consensus and compromise as explained in the result of Great Congress of PKB in 2008, so it is normal

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that PKB of North Sumatera accommodated non-Moslem Chinese legislative candidate in the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province in 2014.

The representation of non-Moslem Chinese legislative candidate (Ng Kok Pheng) in the election area of North Sumatera 4 was done by PKB through certain considerations. The considerations took by PKB in North Sumatera was explained by Jansen Harahap (Secretary of PKB of North Sumatera Province) by paying attention on democracy in Indonesia with direct election system that requires parties to be careful to see all potential to increase the vote result in the election (Harahap, interview, March 20th, 2018). The explanation stated by Harahap indicated that certain Election Area needs the figure of legislative candidate to gain the vote. In addition, the figure of legislative candidate has the function as party “ambassador” to describe the party identity to the voters in the election area so that the voters know the identity of PKB as an opened party with religious-nationalist ideology (not a religious party). This way will help voters to identify party platform so that PKB will be easier to gain the vote from Chinese ethnics in election area of North Sumatera 4 and the voter’s segmentation from larger religion group.

The result of the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province published by General Elections Commission of North Sumatera (or KPU) showed the vote gained by Ng Kok Pheng in Serdang Bedagai Regency is 957 votes and in Tebing Tinggi City is 828 with the total vote number gained by Ng Kok Pheng in the election area of North Sumatera 4 is 1.785 votes. The legislative candidate who won in the election area of North Sumatera 4 is Zulfikar from Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) with 15.958 votes, Wasner Sianturi from Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) with 12.993 votes, Indra Alamsyah from Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar) with 26.320 votes, Ramses Simbolon from Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra) with 15.581 votes and Hartoyo from Partai Demokrat (PD) with 7.656 votes (General Elections Commission of North Sumatera Province, 2014).

Non Moslem Legislative Candidate from Chinese Ethnic in PAN

PAN had not accommodated yet the representative of non-Moslem Chinese legislative candidate in the election of 1999 until 2009 in the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province. The election of 2014 is the first time for PAN in North Sumatera Province to accommodate the non-Moslem Chinese legislative candidate in the election of Local Parliament of North Sumatera. PAN accommodated Tjia Susanto Wijaya (Wijaya) as a legislative candidate number 3 in Election area of North Sumatera 3. From the bibliography of Wijaya in General Elections Commission in North Sumatera he is Chinese embracing Budha born in Bagan Siapi-Siapi in 1965 but grow up in Medan City. He involved as a cadre of PAN since 1998 (General Elections Commission of North Sumatera Province, 2014).

Generally, North Sumatera people see PAN as an Islamic political party related to some figures who build PAN come from Muhammadiyah organization such as Amin Rais. This phenomenon creates some questions of why PAN accommodated the non-Moslem legislative candidate from minor ethnic. To understand this phenomenon, the history exploration of the founding of PAN in 1998 was related to some Muhammadiyah figures that need to conduct political *ijtihad* by building the party (PAN) after the President Suharto collapsed through a mass action called Reformation (see Asyari, 2008: p. 25-33; Nikolaev, 2016: p. 78, 148; Setiyono, 2010: p. 102).. Although some Muhammadiyah figures involved in the building of PAN but officially between PAN and Muhammadiyah there is no relation in hierarchical organization (Nasution, 2015: p. 7). According to Usman, the vice leader of PAN of North Sumatera Province, PAN has a Party platform as a nationalist, religious, and opened party (Usman, interview, October 22nd, 2018). In the Basic Budget of PAN as the result of 3rd Congress in 2010 in paragraph 4 stated that PAN as a party with the basis of Pancasila and based on religion then in paragraph 5 it is mentioned that PAN is an opened and independent party. Both this paragraphs (4-5) has insisted that PAN as a nationalist party that follow the religious values such as the belief in the Almighty God.

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From the information that PAN is a nationalist, religious, opened party, there is no problem if PAN accommodated non-Moslem legislative candidates. PAN's attitude in accommodating non-Moslem legislative candidate in the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province emphasize the characteristics of PAN itself as an opened party to every religion group. The consideration of PAN in accommodating Chinese legislative candidate in election are is related to the electors' demography in the election area. According to Iskandar Batubara, one of PAN cadre in North Sumatera Province, stated that PAN considers the figures of legislative candidate needed by certain election area (Batubara, interview, August 6th 2018). PAN attitude in locating Tjia Susanto Wijaya in the election area of North Sumatera 3 to gain vote from supporters network that he has in the area. The network can be from the Chinese ethnic segmentation and others. The result of the election of the member of Local Parliament of North Sumatera Province published by the General Elections Commission showed that Wijaya get 665 votes. The number of vote is far from the competitor, Sukiran, a Chinese legislative candidate from PDIP who get 7.000 votes.

The Dominant Factor: PKB and PAN Accommodated non-Moslem Legislative Candidate from Minor Ethnic

The change in the division of party ideology happens little by little since the Guided Democracy era, the New Order era until the Post-reformation era caused by the change in the election system and democracy trend developing. Based on the party ideology in Guided Democracy era, party is divided into three types of ideology which are 1) nationalist, 2) religious, and 3) communist then change in the New Order era become 2 types of party ideology which are 1) nationalist party and 2) religious party. The last party change happen in pasca reformation era seems like placing all parties in nationalist ideology by modifying party character as opened party by considering political support from religious group segmentation so the party ideology type in the Pasca Reformation era still can be divided into two types which are 1) nationalist party and 2) religious-nationalist party.

Political party will respond the election system applied in certain mass by modifying some instruments in political party internal such as the characteristics of party from closed to opened party, the opened to be widely opened. In the case of non-Moslem candidate representation from minor ethnic accommodated by PKB and PAN in the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province in 2014 even though it was the first time for PKB and PAN in North Sumatera Province based on the exploration of party identity which is ideology and platform from both parties show the strong values toward the admission of diversity so for both parties there is no contradiction toward the existence of non-Moslem legislative candidate because both parties follow the religious-nationalist ideology. In the other hand, the election system applied through opened proportional system has a strong character to enlarge the access for each society group to reach their political representation. In other words, opened proportional system indirectly give the admission of social diversity with the same right from this situation so the party character with religious-nationalist ideology is strengthen through the realization in legislative candidate recruitment stage.

The multiparty system enlarges the societies' political choice alternative in the election including the interested candidate. To enlarge the opportunities of party to get the vote in the election area so the party looks for the figures that influence the increase of party vote in the election. The way that the party's do is by locating the candidate in the appropriate place. The population of Chinese ethnic in North Sumatera Province is not too big but the population contributes enough votes in the election. In the other hand, the economical network in Chinese ethnic of North Sumatera also becomes the party attention. Therefore, the most important way to get the vote support or network from Chinese ethnicity in North Sumatera Province is by accommodating the candidate from Chinese ethnicity in certain election area.

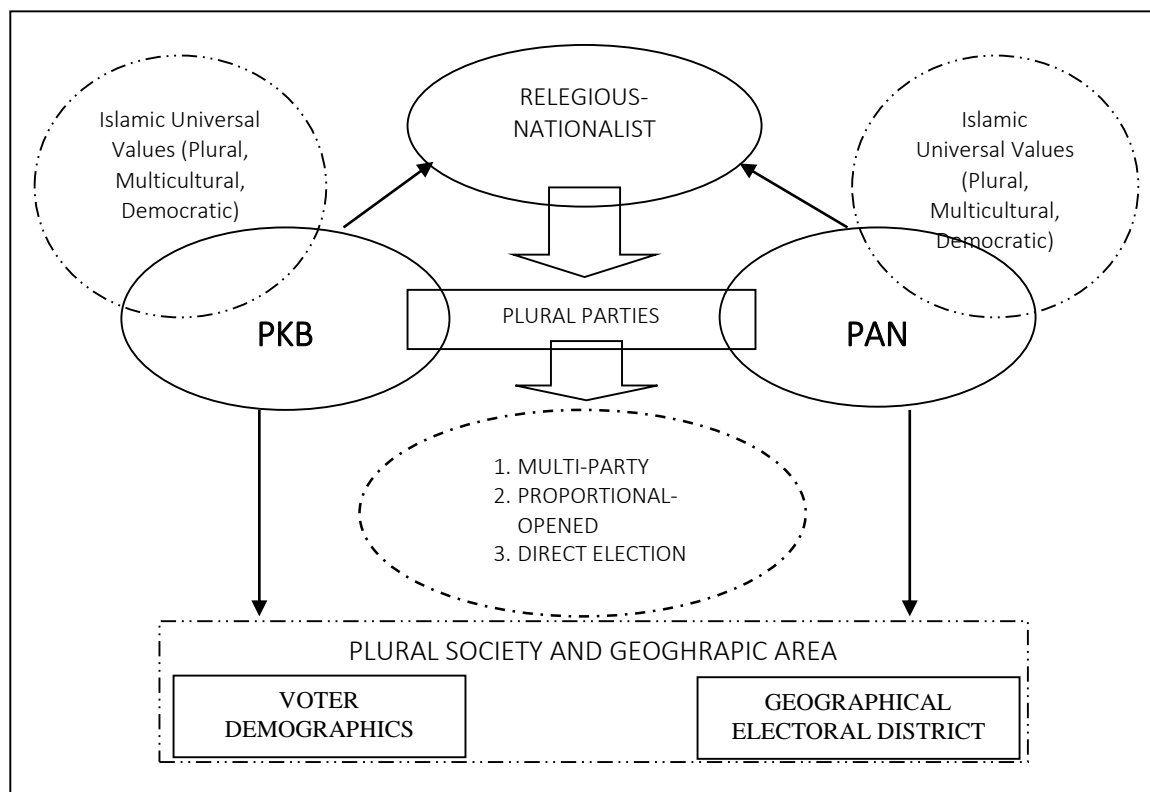
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Figure: The Dominant Factor that Causes PKB and PAN Accommodated Non-Moslem Candidates from Minority Ethnic (Chinese ethnicity) in Local Parliament Election in North Sumatera Province-Indonesia. Post-New Order.



CONCLUSION

This study found that the representation of non-Moslem candidate from Chinese ethnicity in PKB and PAN is caused by three dominant factors: 1) the election system used in the four elections in the Post-New Order era use the direct election system with open proportional system (only the election in 1999 using the closed proportional system) based on the highest vote, 2) since the beginning of the building of both parties (PAN and PKB), they have considered plurality, multiculturalism, and democracy values as a party platform that is in line with the Islamic values and 3) the plural voters demography in North Sumatera. Based on those three causes, PAN and PKB as a religious-nationalist party conducted the candidate recruitment with opened recruitment system. Representation of non-Islamic candidates who come from ethnic minority segments, in this case non-Islamic Chinese ethnicity in both parties as a manifestation of the party platform as well as the party's response to the open proportional election system and the demographic characteristics of the people in North Sumatra Province which are plural and multi-ethnic.

The representation of non-Moslem Chinese ethnicity as a candidate in four election Post-New Order (1999-2014) in both parties (PAN and PKB) in the election of the member of Local Parliament in North Sumatera Province is accommodated by two parties in 2014 election with 1 candidate in each party. This situation is related to the availability of human resources in the Chinese ethnicity in North Sumatera who are available to be candidate and have the opportunity in winning the election.

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