

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The election becomes one form manifestation of democracy system which is used in Indonesia. The process election is to define a leader as the existence of representative in large group such as Indonesia where the territory is vast and the population is huge. Democracy system is one of suitable system to use in Indonesia that has diversity characteristics in the culture, religion, local language and social background. Michael J.Sodaro (2004, p. 31) defines democracy as: “The essential idea of democracy is that the people have the right to determine who governs them. In most cases, they elect the principal governing officials and hold them accountable for their actions. Democracies also impose legal limits on the government’s authority by guaranteeing certain rights and freedoms to their citizens.”

Inside the democracy system there are political actors who can move in on between the interests and needs of a country and the actors can be defined as Political Parties, NGOs, Pressure Groups, Interest Groups, Political Infrastructures, Political Superstructures. The important actor in establishing political representative is the one who able to express his opinion and deliver the opinions of the people through his representation which is called a political party. La Palombara, J., & Weiner, M. (2015). They said that political parties defined required instead: First, continuity in organization that is, an organization whose expected life span is not dependent on the life span of current leaders. Second, manifest and presumably permanent organization at the local level, with regularized communications and the other relationships between local and national units. Third, self-conscious determination of leaders at

both national and local level to capture and to hold decision making power alone or in coalition with others, not simply to influence the exercise of power. The last is a concern on the part of the organization for seeking followers at the polls or in some manner striving for popular support.

The one functions of political parties is to create qualified politicians, which mean the representation of political party candidates afford to bring the interests of the community, therefore political parties become an important part in political dynamics. The most important part in creating the quality of politicians is the mechanism recruitment of members and candidates for political parties, which is each party has different mechanisms in determining its members and candidates. According to Cholisin (2007), "political recruitment is the selection and appointment of a person or group to carry out a number of roles in the political system in general and government in particular". After recruitment, parties take a step to define political steps forward the interest of peoples, influencing the constellation of politics.

One of terminology to define quality of candidate is to consider the theory of Supply and Demand sides. Besides, the theory is inside back office of recruitment every single party. According to Norris & Lovenduski (1993) significant differences in social background and political experience are expected because MPs (Members of Parliament) represent an older generation. The outcome can only be understood if we identify each stratum: MPs, candidates, applicants, party members and voters. By comparing strata, we can see whether the outcome of the selection process reflects the supply of those willing to stand for Parliament or the demands of party activists when adopting candidates for local constituencies. The Supply and demand side concept containing three subjects: The first is Social Background which compare factors affected to candidates from Occupational class, Education, Gender, Race and Age.

This concept relates to this subject about gender where affect the quality of candidates. However, lack of woman representation in legislative is barrier to gender equality which women have a right to share their interest in public.

The second is Demand-sides which compare the abilities, qualification and experience of candidates. It is the kind of judge perception by voters, where the candidates selected based on their Abilities, Qualification and Experiences in political field. The third is Supply-sides which containing of Resources and Motivational factors, these kind of insight political parties to recruit their candidates. The resources of candidates are divided by their Time, Financial resources, Support networks and Experience. According to Norris & Lovenduski (1993), the resources and motivation applicants bring to the role will vary according to their social background. Younger teachers from the Midlands, well-established middle-aged lawyers, self-employed company directors, experienced Scottish trade unionists and London women social workers will bring different skills, qualifications and assets to political life. Meanwhile every candidate has a different resource like financial resource, it is important to build their campaign by buying supporter attribute for example.

The supply-side contains specific and deep factors for understood women representation from recruitment process, based on social background, resources and motivation. If demand-side factors are important, we would expect a significant difference in the characteristic of applicants and candidates. Meanwhile, supply-side factors are important, we would expect significant difference in the characteristic of party members and applicants. Thus, supply-sides more related to the recruitment process which means factors of supply-side influencing political party recruit their member and candidates.

In history, based on Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Election Commission) data, Indonesian women data have had low levels of representation, during the early years of reform. The introduction of a legal candidate quota provided a jump-start for women's representation, which reached 17.86% of national parliamentary seats in the 2009 elections. In the 1999 election, the number of women who occupied in DPR (House of Representative) was 44 people or 8.8%. This proportion increased to 65 women in the 2004 election or received a portion of 11.82% in DPR. In the last four election periods, the highest representation of women was in the 2009 elections, with 99 women representing a proportion of 17.86%. However, in the 2014-2019 period, the number of women who became members of the House of Representatives dropped to as many as 97 women or 17.32% of the total members in DPR RI from 560 people.

Table 1. 1 Members DPR RI of (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat) by Gender in 1955-2019

Period	Gender			
	Male		Female	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
1955	256	94,12	16	5,88
1971	429	93,26	31	6,74
1977	423	91,96	37	8,04
1982	418	90,87	42	9,13
1987	441	88,20	59	11,80
1992	438	87,60	62	12,40
1997	442	88,40	58	11,60
1999	456	91,20	44	8,80
2004	485	88,18	65	11,82
2009	460	82,14	100	17,86
2014	463	82,68	97	17,32
2019	457	79,48	118	20,52

Sources: Processed from General Election Commission (KPU) data

Increasing the role of women has been carried out based on laws that guarantee increased representation of women in the DPR. The regulation was formulated in (Law No. 31/2002) concerning Political Parties, (Law No 12/2003) concerning General Elections and (Law No. 2/2008) concerning Political Parties and (Law No.

10/2008) concerning General Elections of Representative Council Members The people. The Regional People's Representative Council which also regulates the 2009 elections Introduced via legislation (Law No. 12/2003), the legal candidate quota be appointed that: Each participating of political party may nominate candidates for the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (National House of Representatives), Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Regional House of Representatives), and Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah I and II (People's Representative Council Provincial and Region/City level), for each electoral region must giving consideration to representation of women of at least 30%.

Marzuki (2009), argues that affirmative action is an effort made for substantive development that seeks equality for women who have become fully minorities and do not have explicit representation and expect to be taken into account based on race, gender which is often a factor of discrimination. Marzuki (2009), stated affirmative action as a special and temporary policy aimed at increasing women's participation in social, political, and economic. Norris also argues that there are 3 efforts that can be made in improving the representation of women, namely:

- a) Implementation the electoral system.
- b) Modifying the policies.
- c) Political parties.

Affirmative action is a tool to provide opportunities for women to remain in decision-making positions, at least 30% of women in order to minimize the illegitimate rules aimed at achieving gender equality. Affirmative action is a policy created in the form of quotas.

Law No. 2 of 2008 contains a policy that requires political parties to include at least 30% representation of women in establishment and management at the central level.

Furthermore, in Law No. 10 of 2008 affirms that new political parties can participate after fulfilling the requirements including at least 30% of women's representation in the management of central political parties. Another rule is support to implement system which every three prospective candidates have at least one woman. This provision is contained in Article 55 paragraph (2) of Law No. 10 of 2008. These two policies aim to avoid the dominance of one gender in political institutions that formulate public policy.

Table 1. 2 Total Members of DPR RI of each Political Party based on Gender

Political Parties	2009-2014		2014-2019	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Nasdem	0	0	31	4
PKB	21	7	37	10
PKS	54	3	39	1
PDIP	77	17	88	21
Golkar	88	18	75	16
Gerindra	22	4	62	11
Demokrat	113	35	48	13
PAN	39	7	40	9
PPP	33	5	29	10
Hanura	14	3	14	2

Sources: Processed from KPU data

In some previous elections, based on Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Election Commission) data, party which won general election will have more women DPR members than the other parties. In 2009 general election which won by the Democratic Party, there were 35 women DPR members from this party. Meanwhile in the 2014-2019 period, the majority of DPR members came from the PDIP party (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) with 21 women. The PDIP party as the last party which has the most seats of women's representation in parliament will fulfil the demand for women's quota of 30 per cent in the 2019 election. Supply of legislative candidates for the PDIP party can be seen from several aspects, which is defined by the quality of candidates accompanying political network, experience, education,

funding and motivation. The perspective quantity for fullfil the quota of 30% is important. It is balanced and fulfilled as women's representation needs in parliament also has quality. Related to supply, it also assessed from the perspective of the recruitment mechanism which is used by the party to create qualified legislative candidates. However, the recruitment mechanism of each party has a different method.

Table 1. 3 Total Percentage of Woman Representation Candidate each Political Party in Wonosobo 2009 General Election.

No	Name of Political Party	Woman candidate	Total candidates
1.	PKB	38,6%	44
2.	Partai Gerindra	50%	40
3.	PDI-P	40%	45
4.	Partai Golkar	40%	40
5.	Partai Nasdem	44,4%	45
6.	Partai Berkarya	46,6	15
7.	PKS	40,7	27
8.	Partai Perindo	48,7%	41
9.	PPP	41,8%	31
10.	PSI	50%	22
11.	PAN	43,1%	44
12.	Partai Hanura	38,4%	39
13.	Partai Demokrat	35,5%	45
14.	PBB	55,5%	9

Sources: Processed from KPU data

This research refers to Wonosobo city because PDIP is one of the biggest parties in Wonosobo city which has a big support and the development of this party is quite progressive there, it is shown by the party movement which are massive in several places of Wonosobo by showing party symbols as a form of their existence towards the political constellation in Wonosobo. Based on the table data above, it is shows that PDIP Wonosobo have 40% of woman representation candidate in 2019 general election in Wonosobo, that was more than enough to fulfill 30% quotas in requirement of general election.

Table 1. 4 Total Members of DPRD by Political Parties and Gender in 2014-2019 in Wonosobo Regency

Political Parties		Male	Female	Total
1	PDI Perjuangan	9	0	9
2	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa	8	0	8
3	Partai Golkar	4	0	4
4	Partai Gerindra	4	0	4
5	Partai Amanat Nasional	2	1	3
6	PPP	4	0	4
7	Partai Nasdem	2	2	4
8	Partai Demokrat	4	0	4
9	Partai Hanura	4	0	4
10	PKS	1	0	1
Total		42	3	45

Source: The Parliament Secretariat of Wonosobo Regency

However, PDIP Wonosobo did not have a woman representation before based on data above. As big political party in Wonosobo this can be a big question how was the supply side and mechanism of recruitment candidate of PDIP. The decrease number of women representatives in the legislative is due to several obstacles and one of obstacles is the patriarchal culture in Indonesia which makes discriminated women hampered to join the elections for women representation. Regarding to gender issues, the cultural assumptions where a leader must be a man, this perspective is a burden on women in private and public spaces. Considering the woman representation is still lacking in parliament, then people expect the emergence of laws about minimum quota limit which is expected to increase the number of woman representative and reduce barriers in elections for women. The absence of sanctions in fulfilling the 30% quota for the party that cannot fulfill it, also has not been able to encourage the implementation of either policy. This representation of women in parliament needs to be an important concern because women's representation in parliament gives women

the authority to contribute to making policies regarding women's rights, especially gender equality.

Therefore, the researcher is interested to conduct research related to analyze the supply woman legislative candidate of PDIP to fulfill the 30% requirement in Wonosobo Regency based on 2019 general election.

1.2 Research Question Formulation

Based on the background, the authors formulate the problems in this study as follows:

1. How is the supply-side of woman political recruitment of PDIP Wonosobo 2019 general election ?
2. How is mechanism and procedure of the recruitment of woman legislative candidates of PDIP Wonosobo in 2019 general election ?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To identify Supply-side constrain of first resources such as time, financial resource and experience. Second is motivational factors such as drive, ambition and interest, relate to woman political recruitment of PDIP Wonosobo conducted analyze fulfilment 30% quote in to general election 2019 based on term of supply-side.
2. Understanding mechanism and procedure toward the recruitment of woman legislative candidate of PDIP Wonosobo in 2019 general election.

1.4 Research Benefits

The result and findings throughout this research need to be translated into new findings that maintain a recommendation for future development. Regarding the proposed goals of this research, the benefits can be drawn from this research are: Tightly bonded with Supply concept, this research has an outer benefit for the readers, in instances, bureaucrats, political parties and politicians as a new reference for future prospect which contain related information on Supply side woman legislative candidate of PDIP Yogyakarta to 2019 general election.

1.4.1 Theoretical Benefits

Tightly bonded with Supply woman candidates in legislative concept, this research has an outer benefit for the readers, in instances, woman candidates as the new references for future prospect which contain related information on recruitment system in Special Region of Yogyakarta.

1.4.2 Practical Benefits

Beyond theoretical benefits that might be presented as the benefit of this research, it is also expected to carry out practical benefits in searching the key element of strategy analysis for Supply side woman legislative candidate in PDIP Wonosobo to 2019 general election.

1.5 Literature Review

The researcher examines women's political participation solely in the context of descriptive representation. There is a general consensus among Woman in Politics actually in Supply-sides, woman political recruitment that quota woman is often more constrained than affordability in legislative representative and for instance that they are restricted to holding certain gender specific portfolios in the parliament. Meanwhile an examination of woman's qualitative political participation is very valuable. There are a few different measurements that will be useful in determining woman legislative candidates. The most obvious of these measurements is gender as the researcher examining females as opposed to males. Second, the percentages of woman currently holding appointed office will serve as indicators of political participation. The researcher considers Political Capital in Woman legislative candidates which is on capacity of candidate. It is explained also by Kurniawan Hastuti Dewi, et al (2018) in Journal "Modal, Strategi dan Jaringan Perempuan Politisi dalam Kandidasi Pilkada Langsung". Meanwhile, according to Meryl Kenny & Tania Verge (2016) "Opening Up The Black Box: Gender and Candidates Selection in a New Era", quotas regulation is key to new era for woman political participation like open the black box, a gate of old cage to elder political circumstance with quotas regulation.

In the term of theories even Demand and Supply theory is getting more specific. Based on Joni Lovenduski (2014) research, "Feminist Political Science, Institutionalism and The Supply and Demand Model of Political Recruitment: Some Reflections", since the 1993 he was trying to break down about Supply and Demand sides, but he trying to be more specific to input about Feminist and Political recruitment. It means that the issues about woman political participation is developed until now. Meanwhile, Neil Matthews (2012) "Gendered Candidate Selection and the Representation of Women in Northern Ireland" he said that supply-side factors influencing legislative recruitment and female participation rates, namely the strongly embedded social norm of female domestic responsibility, a masculinized political culture and the lack of confidence of potential female candidates. The critique about political culture affects the woman participation in political circumstance.

According to Rodney Stark and Laurence R. Annacone (1994) "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the "Secularization" of Europe". The religious term that affects to some model recruitment as consideration of social culture have been disparate in Europe with secularization concept.

1.6 Theoretical framework

1.6.1 Political Participation

A. Political Participation Concept

In the Indonesian dictionary (1996:56) the definition of participation is: "Things relating to involvement in an activity or take a part in an activity. Thus, it can be interpreted that participation is a form of cooperation provided when a party is carrying out an activity ". With involvement, it means the involvement of thoughts

and feelings, for example: participating (you can feel yourself), then you do the activity because you think it is necessary and even feelings agree to do it.

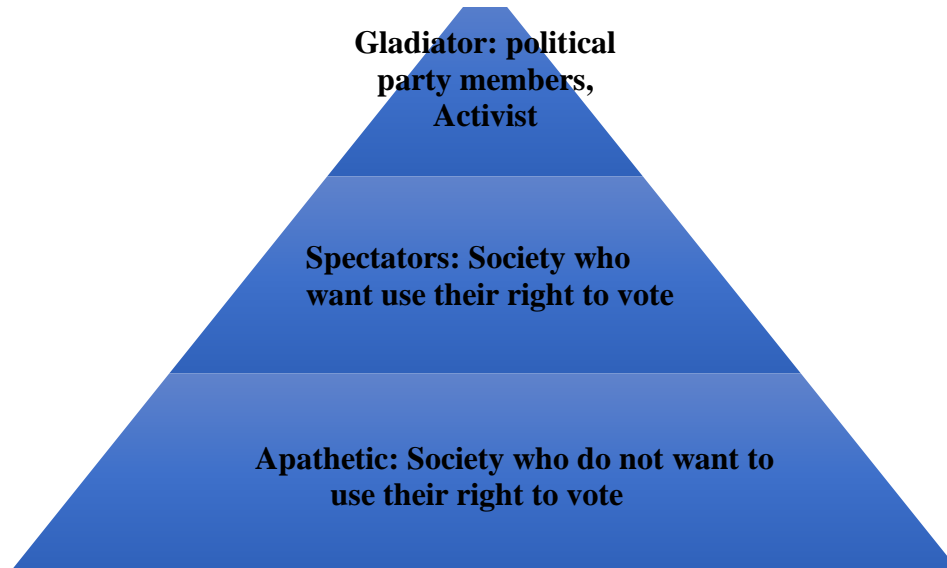
The classical definition of political participation is the one that refers to: MilbMilbrath & Goel (1977:2) However there are two ways to understand broadness when defining the concept political participation: (1) in terms of the kinds of tools or actions that are included, (2) in terms of the target of the actions. Seen from the first perspective this definition is broad but since the government is the sole target it can also be viewed as a narrow definition. There are other definitions of the concept of political participation which the researcher will discuss below. In the discussion on political participation scholars often try to explain human behavior as it relates to the political system but they also recognize that the political system and the political culture have a significant impact on individual political behavior. Still many scholars believe that at a basic level people follow the same behavioral laws irrespective of the culture they live in. McClosky, H (1968: 252) said those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy.

There was some definition of participation politics by expert, first according to Ramlan Surbakti (2007, p.140) what is meant by political participation is the participation of ordinary citizens in determining all decisions concerning or affecting his life. Miriam Budiarjdo (2008: 367) generally defines political participation as someone's activity or groups of people to actively participate in political life that is by way of electing state leaders directly or indirectly influences public policy.

B. Types of Political participation

Political participation itself has been classified by Milbrath and Goel into a pyramid structure which is divided into three parts as seen in the following picture:

Figure 1. 1 Pyramid of Political Participation



Sources: Miriam Budiarjdo, 2008

The picture of the pyramid shows that someone who is included in the gladiator is they who are actively involved in politics with a small amount but has a very large influence. Their position is the highest. The next position is the Spectator, people who participate in exercising their voting rights participate only by voting during the General Election. Last, Apathetic people who do not want to exercise their right to vote in elections. Generally, they are not party activists. They are just ordinary citizens who use their voting rights when the election time. After finishing they are no longer involved in any political activities.

Some expert defines type of participation politic. According to Ramlan Surbakti (2007: 142), political participation is divided into two namely active participation and passive participation. Active participation is to propose a general

policy, propose alternative public policies that are different from the policies made by the government, submit criticisms and improvements to straighten out policies, pay taxes and elect government leaders. Conversely, activities that fall into the category of passive participation in the form of activities that obey the government, accept, and carry out only every government decision. Meanwhile, Milbart and Goel (1977: 143) distinguish participation into several categories. First, apathy. That is, people who do not participate and withdraw from the political process. Second, the spectator. That is, people who at least ever voted in elections. Third, the gladiator. This means that those who are actively involved in the political process, namely communicators, specialists hold face-to-face contact, party activists and campaign workers, and community activists.

Meanwhile, political participation as activities can be divided into (Rahman H.I, 2007: 288):

- a) Active participation, namely participation oriented to the process of input and output.
- b) Passive participation, namely participation that is oriented only to output, in the sense of only obeying government regulations, accepting and implementing any government decision.
- c) The white group (abstentions) or apathetic groups, because they consider the existing political system to deviate from the ideals.

C. Form of Political Participation

According to Mas'oeed and MacAndrews (2000: 225) public political participation in general can be categorized in several forms as follows:

- a. Electoral activity, namely all forms of activities that are directly or indirectly related to the election. Included in this category are participating in contributing to campaigns, volunteering in campaign activities, taking part in a political campaign or rally, inviting someone to support and vote for a party or prospective leader, voting in elections, overseeing giving and vote counting, evaluating candidates submitted and others.
- b. Lobbying, which is the action of a person or group of people to contact government officials or political figures with the aim of influencing them regarding certain issues.
- c. Organizational activity, which is the involvement of community members in social and political organizations, whether he is a leader, activist, or as a regular member.
- d. Contacting, namely participation by the public directly by government officials or political figures, both individually and in small groups of people. Usually, this form of participation will bring benefits to those who do it.
- e. Violence, that is by means of violence to influence the government, namely by means of violence, disorder and destruction.

Meanwhile, Dalton (2009) defines groups the forms of political participation as follows:

- a. Vote. Namely forms of political participation associated with the election (voting / electing). Voting is the simplest form of measuring participation.
- b. Campaign activity. Namely campaign activities that represent forms of participation that are an extension of the election (extension of electoral

participation). This includes working for a party or a candidate, attending campaign meetings, persuading others to vote, and all kinds of activities during and between elections.

c. Communal Activity. These forms of participation differ from campaign activities because communal activities take place outside the electoral setting (outside electoral setting). Including involvement in community groups with an interest and concern with public policies such as environmental studies groups, women's groups, or consumer protection.

d. Personal contacting on personal matters. This form of participation in the form of individuals making contact with someone related to a particular material attached to that person. High initiative and information are needed regarding specific issues, in this individual contact. This form of participation is often used to build understanding, trust, seek connection, or build networks.

e. Protest. Namely unconventional forms of participation such as demonstrations and protest movements. Although individuals who choose this form of participation are often outside the normal channels / channels, they are often an important part of the democratization process.

1.6.2 Political Recruitment

A. Political Recruitment Concept

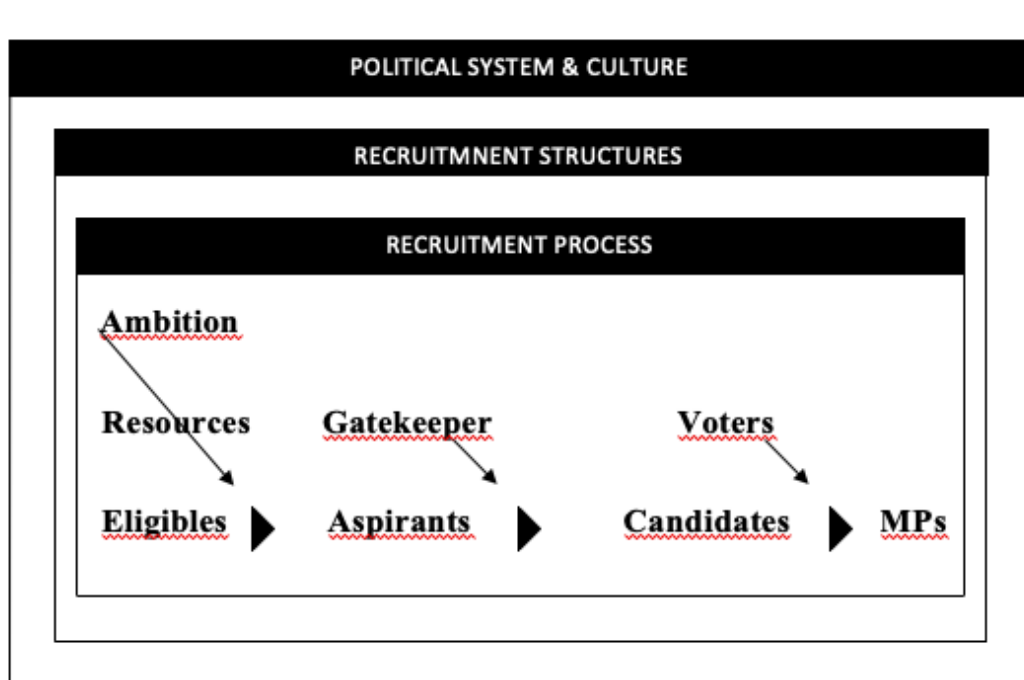
One of important things to select the candidates by political party is recruitment, which means by every recruitment system it has different result of candidate by extracting the qualities of candidates. This are some definitions of political recruitment by expert. According to Ramlan Subakti (2007: 118), political

recruitment in question is the selection or appointment of a person or group of people to carry out a number of roles in the political system in general and government in particular. Miriam Budiardjo (1998: 19) stated that political recruitment is a process through which the party looks for new members and invites talented people to participate in the political process.

Rush and Althoff (2003), define political recruitment as a process by which individuals guarantee or register themselves for an office. Recruitment is a two-way process, and can be formal or informal. Said to be two-way, because individuals may be able to get a chance, or may be approached by other people then hold certain positions. Referred to as informal is when the individuals are recruited privately (alone) or "under the hand" without going through or very little through institutional means.

The recruitment politic indeed both of Legislative and Executive, so chance give a representation both will consider of quality candidates, without decreasing possibility to obtain more chair in Legislative or Executive. The purpose is to involve to make a public policy and suggest formulation which represent public interest. The political party recruitment to determine the candidate, can be described as structure bellow.

Figure 1. 2 Recruitment System



Sources : P. Norris “Legislative Recruitment” in L. Leduc, R. Niemi and P. Norris, red. 1996. Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective, London: Sage. Hal. 196.

a). Eligible to Aspirants

There are many factors that affect a potential aspirant’s evaluation of whether she will campaign for election, including an assessment of the costs of time, energy, financial commitment and the likelihood of winning, personal ambition and the benefits of serving as an elected official in terms of remuneration, status and political power. Calculations are affected by a potential candidate’s perception of whether there are substantial openings for new candidates, by how friendly the political environment is to their candidacy, and by an estimation of the resources needed to run an effective campaign. One of the most important factors that can help increase the number of women considering entering politics is the extent to which a country has a women's movement or organizations focusing specifically on women's issues. Women's organizations provide women with experience in

public settings, help build their self-confidence, and provide a support base. A woman who can draw on resources from a woman's organization to help support her campaign is more likely to run and is more likely to be seen as a viable candidate by the party apparatus.

b). Aspirants to Candidates

The stage at which the party gatekeepers actually choose the candidates is perhaps the most crucial stage for getting women into office. Here, parties face both external and internal pressures that affect their decisions about candidate nomination. External pressures that bear on parties include how they will be evaluated by voters and presenting candidates the party believes will maximize their vote. If certain candidates are seen as liabilities (often times women), they will not be nominated by the party. Additionally, an aspirant's track record and activism in the party organization is important - those with name recognition or who are visible in the community through their profession or by holding public office will stand a better chance of nomination.

The actual process of selection of candidates differs from party to party and country to country and can be distinguished by a number of features, including, for example, the breadth of participation and centralization or decentralization of the process. Party rules and norms will affect the way in which a party carries out the actual process of nomination. For women, bureaucratically-based systems that have incorporated rules guaranteeing women's representation are a significant advantage. When the rules are unwritten it becomes much harder to devise a strategy to break into the inner circle of power.

c). From Candidate to Member Parliaments

A common perception is that sexism by voters at the final stage serves as a brick wall for women seeking to enter parliament. The evidence is mixed and it is hard to draw firm conclusions as this will vary according to electoral systems. Studies from advanced industrialized democracies suggest that voters elect parties rather than individual candidates, although this may certainly be truer for closed list proportional representation systems than majoritarian systems or open list systems. In closed list systems where electors vote for parties rather than candidates, the crucial stage is the process for women is nomination by the party. In open list systems, the voter has the option to influence which of the candidates on the party's list should be elected by altering the composition of the list by either demoting specific candidates, for example by striking their name, or promoting a candidate by advancing the candidates name to a higher position on the party list. This system is thought to harm women's chances for election. In majoritarian systems, being a female may be a liability where there are underlying cultural perceptions about the ability of women to perform leadership tasks.

B. Political Recruitment Method

There is a method to define political candidate recruitment by political party. This part describes how candidate is chosen by political party to join and be candidate who join election. Michael Rush and Philip Althof (2000) said that the political recruitment system used by a political system are:

- a. Selection of selection through exams and training. This form is the most commonly used form, usually done to fill bureaucratic and administrative positions.

- b. Selection through sorting. One of the oldest methods used to strengthen the position of political leaders is by sorting or drawing lots.
- c. Selection via rotation or turn. The same method, which was made to prevent the domination of positions and positions of power by certain individuals or groups of individuals.
- d. Selection through power compete. Generally, it is found in the political system is the struggle for power by means of using or threatening violence.
- e. Selection by patronage. It is a complex system of bribery and corruption, which enters many areas of people's lives, for example in the UK.
- f. Selection by bringing up natural leaders. Contrary to patronage, this event is more of a crude justification for aristocratic rule.
- g. Selection by coops. A more limited method by which existing leaders can assist in the recruitment of certain types of leaders.

Meanwhile, According to Haryanto (1982) there are several criteria that must be met, including:

- a. Organizational experience

This experience was good as long as he was a member of the party and before becoming a member of the party, because this was an absolute necessity for a candidate for MP in running the wheels of the organization later.

- b. Level of education

At the level of education both formal and informal, the level of education is closely related to one's insight in dealing with an organization's problems and behavior. However, in the association article of any party not included criteria for the level of education as a requirement.

c. Cadre Training or Organizational Skills

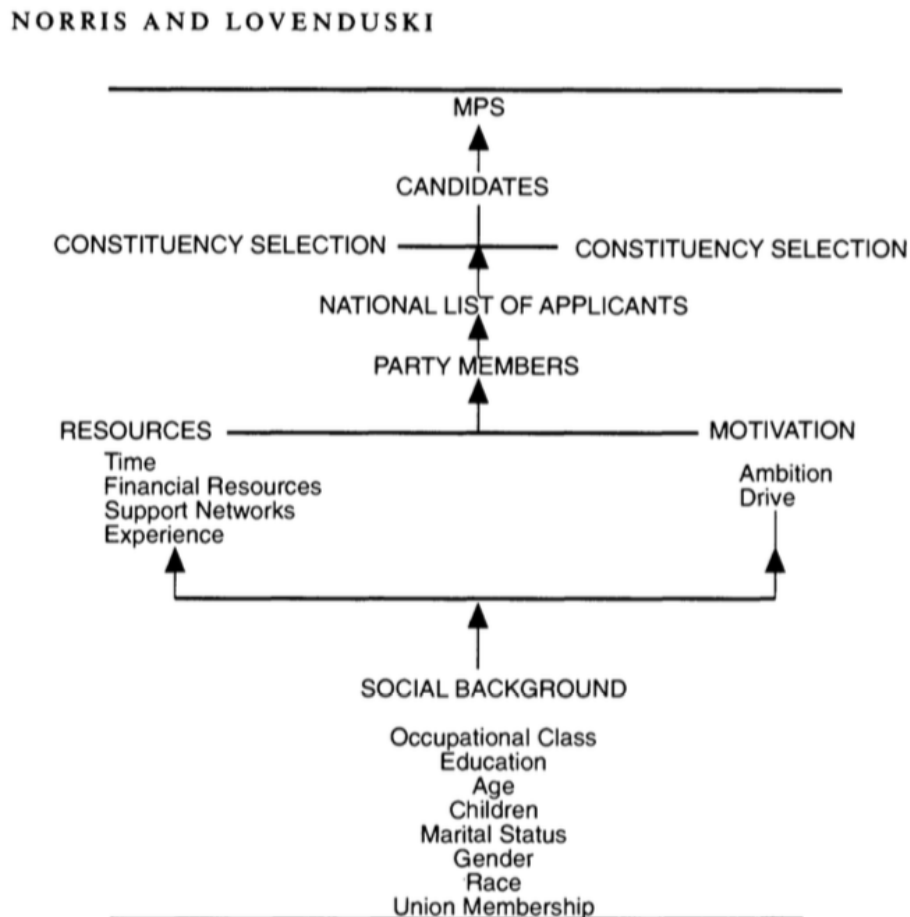
Where this is a training to provide the skills and abilities of a prospective member in managing the organization later.

1.6.3 Supply and Demand

A. Supply and Demand Concept

Supply and Demand Sides is divided into three parts. The first is Social Background as the basic analysis candidates for some factors. The picture 3 more simplifies the concept of demand and supply sides as follows.

Figure 1. 3 Supply and Demand Model of Recruitment



Sources: Pippa Norris; Joni Lovenduski *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 23, No. 3. (Jul., 1993), pp. 373-408.

a) Demand-sides

Understanding Supply and Demand sides is kind of economics theory while Supply things are based on demand market, but in political approach can be defined as fulfillment of part of political mobilization. Therefore, it is important that political parties have a strong candidate to compete in general election, considered by supply and demand sides. Norris & Lovenduski (1993) said on the demand side, selectors choose candidates depending upon their perception of the applicant: abilities, qualifications and experience. Since candidates are rarely well known to most selectors, these perceptions may be colored by direct and indirect prejudice about certain types of applicants. The term 'prejudice' is used here in a neutral sense. Prejudice can be for or against certain groups, whether lawyers, farmers, trade unionists, southerners, women or Asians.

The point of Demand side is perception voters depending on abilities, qualifications and experience of candidates. Those can be explained by Norris & Lovenduski (1993) as,

- 1). Abilities means, skill of political leadership, influence and decisions making, persuasive or mass mobilization.
- 2). Qualification means, candidate able to qualified to administration as candidates legislative and qualified to compete in general election and qualified while they selected as representative.
- 3). Experience means, have an experience in political field get more values for example: join a political organization, pressure group, activist social and politic.

Explanation above gives some preparation to candidates before they join to selection by political parties to compete in general election. Meanwhile, the

perception of voters into general consideration to choose by considering abilities, qualification and experience.

b) Supply-sides

Norris & Lovenduski (1993) said Supply-side explanations suggest the outcome reflects the supply of applicants wishing to pursue a political career. Constraints on resources (such as time, money and experience) and motivational factors (such as drive, ambition and interest). Only two main points Resources and Motivational factors, the resources containing Time, give out their time to active in political career dedication on participation active politic and include in political circumstances. Money, affordable to campaign and support their political activities. Experience, active in political activity or political parties. Second, motivational factors containing Drive, persuasive kind to mobilize mass and purpose to change be better. Ambition, ego to bring their political ideology in political decisions. Interest, bring his political interest into public interest or political party interest.

The point of Supply-sides outcome reflects the supply of applicant's candidates by resources and motivational factors. Those are explained by Norris & Lovenduski (1993) below.

1. Social Background

Norris & Lovenduski (1993) said that we can start by considering differences between party strata in the social characteristics commonly including occupational class, education, age, gender, ethnicity, children and marital status. They define on the down of part recruitment politic, social background as consideration things that used before into perception of

political parties and voters. The explanation of social background from understanding of supply and demand sides, are as follows:

a. Occupational Class

The most important and complex of the background factors is occupation. It is well established that over time Parliament has become more socially homogeneous on both sides of the aisle.

b. Education

In terms of education, it is well known that Parliament contains far more graduates, especially from Oxford and Cambridge, and far more from public school, than the general electorate. Despite the extensive attention given to this phenomenon, the reasons for it are not well established. Yet, equally plausibly, on the supply-side education may influence recruitment through motivation and resources.

c. Gender

The influence of gender on recruitment can be treated as a product of demand, if the selectors employ direct or indirect prejudice against women. Parties have been reluctant to nominate women in winnable seats because selectors are directly prejudiced against women candidates or because indirectly, they fear women may lose votes. Some people believed men and women party members, particularly the older generation, discriminated against women candidates.

d. Race

The data on race in the electorate and party elite is derived from a small number of cases and hence may prove unreliable. Somehow in some country this issue spread and influence some voters to decide their vote.

e. Age

In the term of age, younger candidates might be most strongly motivated to ascend the greasy pole of political office. Age could also affect demand: those looking for seats in their mid-to late-30s might be best placed, since of public service and good party networks. In contrast, as some of stressed, those over 50 might be considered over the hill by selector.

2. Resources

a. Time

On this basis, it tests for direct differences in the resources of applicants and candidates. Resources are defined as assets which can be employed to advantage in pursuing a political career, including time, money, political experience, social networks. Among resources time may be among the most important, since standing for office is a demanding activity requiring attendance at regular constituency meetings, social and fund-raising events, local 'surgeries', public speaking engagements, door-to-door leafleting, canvassing and campaigning in local as well as general election.

b. Financial Resources

Financial resources effect supply rather than demand: those without a comfortable income may feel they just cannot afford the financial

investment required to nurse a seat, particularly given the risk of electoral failure. In Britain, financial resources are less significant today than in the prewar period, where contemporary accounts suggest personal expenditure was sometimes decisive in gaining good seats.

c. Political Experiences

Political experience may be another vital resource. Members who have already held public office can be expected to have developed political expertise, speaking skills, practical knowledge of government and social contacts, which will be useful in gaining a seat. The candidates need to demonstrate some political experience, to have 'done their bit', but given the amateur tradition no more is required.

d. Support Network

Support networks may be an important resource of information, advice and direct endorsements. We would expect those who received widespread encouragement from close friends, party members, party agents, community groups, business associates, trade unionists and employers, as well as their immediate family, would be more likely to consider a parliamentary career, and better placed to get a good seat.

3. Motivational Factors

a. Political Ambition

The combination of resources plus motivation produces the necessary and sufficient conditions for candidacies. Motivational factors are defined as psychological predispositions to become involved in politics. Previous research has commonly explained activism by higher

levels of political ambition, interest and confidence. This is a very limited measure but it provides an indication of the initial motivation. Reasons for standing were explored in greater depth in the personal interviews with some respondents. Six major categories according to whether applicants were motivated primarily are by personal career, ideology, public service, party standard bearers, single issues and group representatives.

b. Drive

Plausibly we would expect drive to be important, since candidates who were more persistent would be expected to be more successful. Plausible to suggest these are usually experienced members who have given years of faithful party service, and have stood before, but who are no longer seen as attractive or electable candidates because of their age. They find themselves, often bitterly, left on the party shelf.

The relative importance of supply and demand factors are tested using simple descriptive statistics, with multiple regression for the final analysis. The model controls for party given important differences selection process and outcome. The two basic hypotheses derived from our understanding of the process, are as follows:

- a). If demand-side factors are important, we would expect a significant difference in the characteristic of applicants and candidates.
- b). If supply-side factors are important, we would expect significant difference in the characteristic of party members and applicants.

Figure 1. 4 Analysis Supply and Demand sides



Sources: Pippa Norris; Joni Lovenduski *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 23, No. 3. (Jul., 1993), pp. 373-408.

1.6.4 Affirmative action of Law of 30% women representation candidates quotas

Affirmative action is a policy that creates opportunities and opportunities for women to participate in politics. According to Citra (2014) said affirmative action is a certain qualification of a basic consideration for women in providing opportunities to minority groups. The creation of affirmative action aims to improve the gender gap in order to become gender equality. One of important aspect that must be followed in general election is the law that there is requirement of 30% women quotas that should be fulfilled.

Chapter VII Section 65 paragraph 1: "Every political party participant can apply for prospective DPR, provincial DPRD, and Regency/city DPRD for each electoral district with respect to the representation of women at least 30%"

The fulfilment of 30% quota for woman representation in legislative tend to not mandatory because political parties not ready and lack of woman candidates numbers. It stimulus to political party to get more attention about woman representation in legislative which tent to affirmative. Soetjipto (2005: 92) said in International Parliamentary Union (IPU), the significant number or we can called it with critical numbers which can affect public policy is 30%.

Through to stimulus 30% quota of woman representation become a tools to gain the numbers in legislative body and woman interest. Even it tends to affirmative but it kinds of positive public policy to woman rights in political ecosystem.

1.7 Conceptual Definition

The purpose of conceptual definition is to explain about the restriction between one concept with another concept in order to avoid misunderstanding or confusion. Meanwhile the concept, is a term or definition used to describe abstractly the event, the state of the group or the individual who becomes the center of science. The conceptual definitions used by the author in this study are as follows:

1) Political Participation Concept

However, there are two ways to understand broadness when defining the concept of political participation: (1) in terms of the kinds of tools or actions that are included, (2) in terms of the target of the actions. Seen from the first perspective this definition is broad but since the government is the sole target it can also be viewed as a narrow definition. There are other definitions of the concept political participation which will discuss below. In the discussion on political participation scholars usually try to explain human behavior as it relates to the political system but they also recognize that the political system and the political culture have a significant impact on individual political behavior.

2) Political Recruitment Concept

Political recruitment as a process by which individuals guarantee or register themselves for an office. Recruitment is a two-way process, and can be formal or informal. Said to be two-way, because individuals able to get a chance, or approached by other people then hold certain positions.

3) Supply Side Concept

Supply Side concept are tested using simple descriptive, with multiple regression for the final analysis. The model controls for party given important differences selection process and outcome. Demand side, selectors choose candidates

depending upon their perception of the applicant and Supply side, suggest the outcome reflects the supply of applicants wishing to pursue a political career.

- 4) Affirmative Action of Law of 30% Woman Representation Candidates Quotas
Determination of law 30% woman representation candidates quotas expect every political parties to fulfill it, but this determination tends to affirmative. Thus, it becomes tool to gain the numbers of woman representation in legislative through political parties.

1.8 Operational Definition

Operational definition is the measurement variables that have been discussed in the conceptual definition and theoretical framework. In simplifying the data analysis, it is compulsory to provide the limitation and scope of research which identified with the purpose to answer the research problem. The definition used in this research are as follows:

A) Political Participation

Assessment of increasing participation of woman in politics, there is an assessment of the regulation about 30% quotas in general election.

B) Political Recruitment

Recruitment system in political parties have considered some factors to select their candidates. There are several factors that are considered by political parties in determining candidates for party members, namely as follows:

- 1) Characteristics of abilities which include: a good speaker, has special expertise, has high enthusiasm and have a deep knowledge of political issues.
- 2) The inherent characteristics include: gender, age, ethnicity and appearance.

- 3) The level of local orientation includes: commitment to the area of choice, popularity at the local level, mass support from political parties and social organization.
- 4) Religion, norms and values include: religious observance, caring, and stability in domestic life.
- 5) Political experience includes: political experience and experience as a party worker.

C) Supply Side

- Supply sides, to define the quality of candidates. Contain some aspect below.

1. Social Background

- a) Occupational class
- b) Education
- c) Age
- d) Gender
- e) Race

2. Resources

- a) Time
- b) Financial Resources
- c) Support Network
- d) Experience

3. Motivation

- a) Ambition
- b) Drive

1.9 Research Methodology

This research entitled “The Supply-sides Analysis of Woman Political Recruitment of PDIP Fulfill 30% Quota in to 2019 General Election Wonosobo” designed in descriptive type of research (Qualitative method). Sugiono (2007) said Qualitative research is

research methods used to examine the conditions of natural objects, where researchers are as a key instrument, techniques of the data collection conducted in the combined inductive in nature, the data analysis, and the results of the qualitative research emphasizes the significance of generalization.

Qualitative researchers can relate the value of case studies with the interpretation of Organizations, Entity, Companies or Event. Case study involve a deep understanding of multiple types of data sources. Case study can be explanatory or descriptive and the data collection will use Interview, Document, Reports and Observation. Yin (2003) said notes that case study research is often chosen when you cannot directly manipulate the behavior of participants, the context is important, or it's not clear where the context of what you are studying ends. However, the last point also contains a word of caution – to make sure that the research questions are aimed correctly, so that the research project does not out of the topic. Setting exactly what is the specific and interesting part of the context of the case is probably the most important factor in designing case study research.

1.9.1 Research Location and Target

The next stage of research method is deciding the location and target of research specifically to further gain related data and analyze the data presented. The research purposed was conducted in PDIP Wonosobo regency. It is definitely co-related with the purposed research about recruitment system, because PDIP is one of biggest political party in Wonosobo regency.

1.9.2 Types and Data Sources

In general, the data in this study can be divided into two types, among others, as follows:

1. Primary Data

Primary data is data collected directly from research field. In this research, the primary

data is data obtained from research participants through conducting an interview. The data collected are regarding how the mechanism recruitment of PDIP woman candidates to fulfill 30% quotas requirement in 2019 general election and the supply sides as qualification candidates who is selected to join 2019 general election.

2. Secondary Data

Secondary data is data collected to support the primary data to help researcher answer research questions. Secondary data usually doesn't collect from the field directly. In this research, secondary data are books, journal, websites and other literature that can explain about how Supply sides and mechanism of recruitment in PDIP Wonosobo to compete get qualified candidates and compete in general election 2019. Also Manage 30% quotas requirement of general election.

The technique of determination of the informant used in this study is purposive sampling technique". According to Sugiyono in Arizma (2012): Purposive sampling is a technique of sampling data sources with certain considerations. The example he as a ruler so that it will make it easier for researchers to explore the social object/situation are examined". The technique of this determination was Chosen because that easy for Researchers to collect the data in the field and make it easier to Determine who the informant was Considered capable of answering the research questions.

1.9.3 Data Collection Techniques

Data collection technique is the way of researcher used in a research to collect a data required to answer a research question. This research uses a depth-interview with some important actors.

A. In-dept interview

In-depth interviews, according to Sugiyono (2007) in the interview is the meeting of two communities to exchange information and ideas through the facts, Thus, makes constructed within a topic. Researchers will conduct in-depth interviews with sources, namely data collection through interviews done directly to a number of informants be considered knowing against problems that staple is examined using the manual instrument.

In this thesis, researchers used a type of unstructured interview is where the unstructured interview aimed at finding information rather than raw information. (Moleong, 2011) said the results obtained from this kind of interview is pressed on the exclusion, deviation, unusual interpretation, interpretation of the back, a new approach, the view of the expert, or a single perspective. Form of questions used in this research is the question with regard to the background or demographics. The type of questions that could be posed to respondents is about behaviour, opinions, knowledge, feelings, and the memorable question – the question of demographics. In Moleong (2011) according to Guba and Lincoln (1980:178), that there are several ways to classify the questions to be posed to respondents, as follows:

1. Hypothesis questions or what if.
2. A question that asks something ideal and the respondents were asked to give a response about the alternative hypotheses about the past, present or future.
3. The question that asks respondents and opposed to respond by giving alternative hypotheses and explanations.
4. An interpretive question that suggested to respondents to give his exposition about the incident or event.
5. Question that gave advice.

6. Question about the reason why the redirect so that the respondent gave an explanation of the events or feelings.
7. Question of the type of argument that seeks to teach the respondents to express feelings or show the attitude which, when the interviewer is not there and it will not appear.
8. Questions about the source of that attempt to reveal additional resources, information, and data or additional documents.
9. Question that expects answers *Yes – No*, that is a question that sought to cover up the intensity of feeling or belief about something while the interviewers are not yet sure.
10. Leading questions, in this case the respondents were asked to provide additional information on the information provided.

The questions were proposed to DPC PDIP Wonosobo and Specifically to woman candidate of PDIP Wonosobo in 2019-2024 general election, The whole information regarding of obstacle to win the election and what they did to compete in the 2019-2024 general election.

B. Documentation

Documentation according to Sugiyono (2015: 329) is a method to obtain data and information in the kind of book, archives, documents, writing numbers and image in to form of reports and information that can support research. The documentation used to collect data was reviewed. The documentation used to this research include the result of 2019 general election data from KPU, PDIP profile and regulations about general election. The method of documentation according to Arikunto (2006: 231) is to find data

about variables in the form of notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, inscriptions, minutes of meetings, agendas and so on.

Based on the two opinions of experts, it can be concluded that the collection of data by means of documentation is something done by researchers in order to collect data from various matters of print media discussing the sources to be examined. This study uses the documentation method to look for data about PDIP Wonosobo supply-side of woman political recruitment in 2019 general election.

C. Questionnaire

According to Walgito (1999: 35-37), the questionnaire is a method of collecting data on research using the list of questions that must be answered by respondents. The form of the questionnaire is divided into three as follows.

1. Open questionnaire is a questionnaire that does not provide answers to questions that answers to questions given.
2. Closed questionnaire is a questionnaire that provides alternative answers to the questions given, so that respondents do not have the freedom to answer questions.
3. Open-closed questionnaire is a combination of open and closed questionnaires.

Meanwhile, questionnaire method still divided into two between direct questionnaire and indirect questionnaire, as explain below,

1. Direct questionnaire is a questionnaire given directly to respondents to answer questions without going through an intermediary.
2. Indirect questionnaire is a questionnaire that is given indirectly to respondents to answer questions through an intermediary.

According to Arikunto (2006), the procedure for preparing the questionnaire is as follows:

1. Formulate the objectives to be achieved in the questionnaire.
2. Identify the variables that will be used as target questionnaire.
3. Describe each variable into more specific and single sub-variables.
4. Determine the type of data to be collected, while determining the analysis technique.

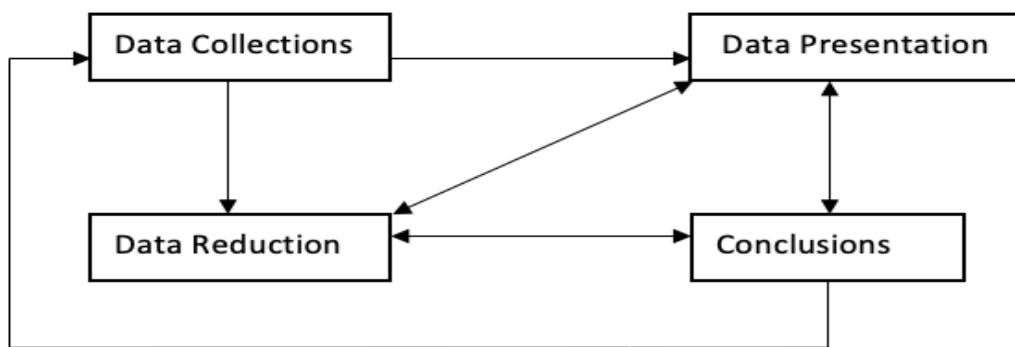
1.9.4 Data Analysis Techniques

Bogdan (1982) in Sugiyono (2008) said that data analysis is a process of searching and organize data systematically that collected from interview, field note, and other resources, so it can be easily understood and its finding may be informed to other people. There are some types of data analysis technique. This research uses descriptive method of analysis. This method aims to explain the phenomenon that is happening. This research aims to describe the analysis of supply woman legislative candidates of PDIP Wonosobo to fulfil 30% quotas requirement in 2019 general election. Meanwhile, there are some the steps of data analysis according to Miles and Huberman (1992: 15-19), as follows:

1. Data collection is collecting data at the research location by conducting observations, interviews, and documentation by determining data collection strategies that are accountable and to determine the focus and insight of the data in the subsequent data collection process.
2. Data reduction, a process of selection, focusing, abstracting, transformation of data in the field, and continued. This data reduction starts when the researcher focuses to decide the area research.

3. Presentation of data, which is a path of organize information that enable to research. Presentation of data obtained various types, networks, linkages activity or table.
4. Conclusions is while collecting data, researchers must understand and respond to something that is researched directly in the field by composing patterns of direction and as a consequence.

Figure 1. 5 Cycle of Interactive Data Model Analysis



Sources: Miles, B. Mathew dan Michael Huberman. 1992. Analisis Data Kualitatif Buku Sumber Tentang Metode-metode Baru. Jakarta: UIP.