

ORIGINAL

Women Recruitment in Winning Party 2019 Election for DPR RI Seats; PDIP Case Study

Reclutamiento de mujeres en el partido ganador Elecciones de 2019 para escaños de la DPR RI; Estudio de caso del PDIP

Ardhana Ulfa Azis¹  , Chusnul Mar'iyah¹  , M.Mossadeq Bahri¹  , Eva Achjani Zulfa¹  

¹Center for Strategic and General Studies, Universitas Indonesia. Indonesia.

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Corresponding author: Ardhana Ulfa Azis 

ABSTRACT

Only 26 women or 20,15 % of the total 129 seats in the Indonesian House of Representatives were obtained by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), indicating that PDIP is not yet serious about recruiting women in the 2019 election. In fact, PDIP is the winning party in the 2019 election and its general chair, Megawati Soekarno Putri, is a woman who holds the prerogative in her party who determines the attitude and policies in each nomination of DPR members. This is the purpose of this study, namely to find out why PDIP has not been able to present 30 % of women in the DPR RI in the 2019 election and how the nomination of women in PDIP for DPR RI seats has still not been able to realize women's representation in the DPR RI as a result of the 2019 election. Using the perspective of Pippa Norris' political recruitment theory and qualitative methods with data from interviews, documents and literature reviews, this study found that there were the most prominent internal party reasons, namely Megawati as the center and top of the selector implementing an elite nomination recruitment strategy based on considerations of personal loyalty and party loyalty requirements that are identical to Soekarno's political teachings, in addition to still requiring political capital, especially networks and financial capabilities, as well as motivation requirements, especially women who come from the nuclear family of loyal party cadres. With these requirements, women recruited by PDIP are still limited.

Keywords: Political Recruitment; Women in Politics; PDIP.

RESUMEN

Solo 26 mujeres o el 20,15 % del total de 129 escaños en la Cámara de Representantes de Indonesia fueron obtenidos por el Partido Democrático de Lucha de Indonesia (PDIP), lo que indica que el PDIP aún no tiene serias intenciones de reclutar mujeres en las elecciones de 2019. De hecho, el PDIP es el partido ganador en las elecciones de 2019 y su presidenta general, Megawati Soekarno Putri, es una mujer que tiene la prerrogativa en su partido de determinar la actitud y las políticas en cada nominación de los miembros del DPR. Este es el propósito de este estudio, es decir, averiguar por qué el PDIP no ha podido presentar el 30 % de mujeres en la DPR RI en las elecciones de 2019 y cómo la nominación de mujeres en el PDIP para los escaños de la DPR RI todavía no ha podido lograr la representación de las mujeres en la DPR RI como resultado de las elecciones de 2019. Utilizando la perspectiva de la teoría de reclutamiento político de Pippa Norris y métodos cualitativos con datos de entrevistas, documentos y revisiones de literatura, este estudio encontró que existían las razones internas del partido más prominentes, a saber, Megawati como el centro y la cima del selector implementando una estrategia de reclutamiento de nominación de élite basada en consideraciones de lealtad personal y requisitos de lealtad al partido que son idénticos

a las enseñanzas políticas de Soekarno, además de capital especialmente político, especialmente redes y capacidades financieras, así como requisitos de motivación, especialmente mujeres que provienen de la familia nuclear de cuadros leales del partido. Con estos requisitos, las mujeres reclutadas por el PDIP aún están limitadas.

Palabras clave: Reclutamiento Político; Mujeres en la Política; PDIP.

INTRODUCTION

Political recruitment is the process of searching, finding, and selecting talented people to be placed in certain political positions by political parties. Starting from the process of determining the criteria/requirements, the candidate nomination process to the selection process that places women in Parliament.

In the Indonesian Parliament or the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2019 General Election, women only won 120 seats (21 %) out of a total of 575 seats. This figure has indeed increased, where in the 2014 election women only won 97 seats (17 %). However, this increase still does not meet the 30 % quota as desired by the affirmative action policy for women's representation in the DPR. The low representation of women in the DPR RI reflects the lack of seriousness of the parties in carrying out their political recruitment function. The three parties with the largest number of votes in the DPR RI in the 2019 election had female candidate numbers exceeding 30 %, such as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle or PDIP (37,5 %), Golongan Karya or Golkar (37,8 %), and the Great Indonesia Movement Party or Gerindra (36,5 %), but have not been able to place 30 % of women in parliament. PDIP as the first winner of the 2019 election which nominated 215 (37,52 %) women in the Indonesian House of Representatives, only managed to win 26 seats or 20,15 % of the total 129 seats won.

In implementing affirmative action policies, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) which was in power for two consecutive terms (2014-2023) is interesting to observe more closely considering that this party since its formation in 1999 until now has been led by a woman, namely Megawati Soekarno Putri. Since leading PDIP, Megawati has fully controlled the party which has the prerogative to determine the composition of the candidate list has not succeeded in fulfilling the affirmative action policy: a 30 % quota in parliament. PDIP has not been able to fulfill the mandate of Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning political parties Article 11 Paragraph (1) Point e which emphasizes that political parties function as a means of "political recruitment in the process of filling political positions through democratic mechanisms by paying attention to gender equality and justice", even though it has fulfilled the mandate of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections Article 245 which must include women's representation of at least 30 % in the list of prospective candidates for the Indonesian House of Representatives in the 2019 election, but the results have not achieved an electability of 30 %.

PDIP in the recruitment of women in parliament is inseparable from accusations of using kinship ties, nepotism, and political capital considerations. This is not entirely an accusation considering that at the national level the existence of Puan Maharani (PDIP DPP Management and DPR Speaker) and Puti Guntur Soekarno are the children and niece of Megawati Soekarno Putri where Megawati, apart from being the General Chairperson since PDIP was founded, is also the biological guardian of Soekarnoism-Marhaenism. Referring to Ben,⁽¹⁾ it can be emphasized that the presence of PDIP women in parliament from the political kinship path and political capital considerations indicates the existence of informal and closed practices involving PDIP elites during the recruitment of legislative candidates by utilizing the 30 % women's quota policy. This informal practice in PDIP not only narrows opportunities for other qualified women, but also denies democratic mechanisms, meritocracy, and inclusivity.⁽²⁾

In fact, if we refer to the contents of the PDIP Struggle Charter, where Megawati Soekarnoputri's position as the elite determinant (selector demand) in political recruitment should have provided space for women's representation in the PDIP. Megawati's central and strong position refers to the contents of the PDIP Struggle Charter which emphasizes four main points, namely: (1) the prerogative of the General Chairperson in determining democracy within the party; (2) the central leadership of the party as the center of the movement; (3) leadership led by the Pancasila ideology of June 1, 1945; and (4) leadership containing one-way management.

Referring to the low number of women in parliamentary nominations in PDIP, this study was conducted to answer the main question, namely why PDIP has not been able to recruit women who meet the 30 % quota for seats in the Indonesian House of Representatives. This question is answered through an analysis of PDIP recruitment in the nomination of women members of the Indonesian House of Representatives in the 2019 election.

To analyze the political recruitment process, Pippa Norris (1997:1-14) divides it into four levels of analysis, namely: (1) analysis at the political system level consisting of the legal system, election system and party

system; (2) analysis at the recruitment process level by looking at internal party democracy; (3) analysis of the candidates, and; (4) selector analysis level. Pippa Norris's four levels of analysis are described in the recruitment of female parliamentary candidates in the PDIP in the 2019 election.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method, which is a method or method chosen and used to conduct further research in depth and understand the meaning of a number of social problems including the actors involved (3) with the focus of research on the case of the PDIP women's recruitment process in parliament in the 2019 election, this type of research is descriptive analytical, which aims to describe or depict existing facts, then analyze the data to understand the meaning behind the phenomenon being studied.

The research data comes from interview results, literature reviews, official documents, both written documents and from electronic media. The data were analyzed using interactive analysis techniques developed by Matthew B. Miles and Michael Huberman (1992: 20) where all data were sorted, selected, simplified, abstracted, and interpreted based on the previous theoretical framework. The narrative description of the research results is the result of analysis (data interpretation) based on theory and literature.

DEVELOPMENT

Writings discussing the recruitment of female legislative candidates in Indonesia by PDIP can be seen from various writings such as writings from the research of (4) taking the dynamics of Chinese Women in the PDIP Party in the 2014 Semarang City legislative election. This study uses the political recruitment theory of Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski which divides political recruitment into three levels of analysis, namely the political system, internal party democracy, and candidates. In the process, PDIP recruitment is carried out in a closed manner by considering ideological similarities and mapping of potential candidates. According to, (5) popularity and capital alone are not enough, so candidates are required to have access to time, capacity, and ability so that they can become social magnets for their constituents regardless of the Chinese ethnicity attached to them. The findings in this study are also interesting, for example one of the party's considerations for choosing female candidates is based on financial resources and networks from her husband.

Wawan Ichwanudin's writing in the book *Political Parties and Simultaneous Elections 2019; Candidacy and Coalition*, wrote an article entitled *Recruitment and Selection of Candidates for DPR Members of Nationalist Parties in the 2019 Election*. In the article which is the result of research, Wawan discusses the level of centralization and inclusiveness of the recruitment and selection process for legislative candidates in six parties, one of which is the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). In PDIP, recruitment and selection are carried out as with other election participating parties, PDIP refers to the general requirements regulated by the Election Law and the requirements within PDIP, namely through PP 025-A/2018 concerning Recruitment and Selection of Candidates for DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD PDIP Perjuangan. Among other things, PDIP emphasizes the loyalty of the proposed legislative candidates to the party, both in the past, namely not being involved in the PDI anti-Megawati camp or currently. The Party Regulation also does not allow its legislative candidates to be involved in the activities of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) Congress in Medan in 1996 and the PDI Congress in Palu in 1998. PDIP also requires a statement of willingness to carry out assignments given by the party and support for the victory of the presidential and vice presidential candidates from PDIP. PDIP gives top priority to its cadres in the recruitment of legislative candidates, although it still opens up space for new members to be nominated. These requirements are more or less the same for the recruitment of female legislative candidates. (2) For certain regions where PDIP still experiences a shortage of female cadres, in order to meet the quota of 30 % female candidates, the DPP asks party administrators in the regions to be responsible for recruiting from outside parties to cover the shortage by continuing to follow up on their cadre development process. PDIP does not set a specific number or quota provided for legislative candidates from among new members and the number is adjusted according to needs. (6)

RESULTS

The accommodation of women in PDIP indicates that PDIP has provided space for the struggle of women's interests and brought them to the policy-making room. PDIP is at least part of the institutional construction that reflects the expression of liberal feminists to achieve gender equality (Tong; 1989). In general, the implementation of PDIP gender equality can be seen in the analysis of presenting women through the parliamentary candidate recruitment process which is dissected through four factors according to Pippa Norris (1997), namely: (1) political system: legal system, election system and party system; (2) candidate recruitment process factor: internal party democracy; (3) female candidate supply factor; and (4) the following parliamentary candidate selector factor.

Political System Factors

Legislative recruitment involves aspects of the political system, such as the legal framework, election system and party system (Norris, 1997, 2006; chapter 9). Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections and Law Number 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties are the legal basis for recruitment in the legislature including regulating female candidates in the 2019 election.⁽⁷⁾ Specifically, Law 7 of 2017 regulates that political parties can become Election Participants after fulfilling the requirements, including including at least 30 % (thirty per hundred) female representation in the management of political parties at the central level; and also contains provisions on the Zipper System in Article 55 paragraph 2 that “In the list of prospective candidates, every 3 (three) prospective candidates must have at least 1 (one) female prospective candidate”. The legal basis has clearly regulated the opportunity for Indonesian women to be candidates as an affirmative action which Pippa Norris in ⁽⁸⁾ calls the Legal Gender Quota, namely the gender quota contained in the Law. Because it has become a mandatory provision, all political parties including PDIP must fulfil the requirement of 30 percent women in the central level management and in compiling the list of female legislative candidates, there must be one in every three prospective candidates submitted to the General Election Commission.⁽⁹⁾

The 2019 election uses an open proportional election system. The proportional election system by ⁽¹⁰⁾ is recommended as an election system that allows more women to be elected than other election systems. However, the typical open proportional system has consequences for competition that occurs not only between candidates outside their party but also within their party. This tight competition is also faced with the reality that society, especially women, is not always aware of choosing female candidates.⁽⁹⁾ This is because the patriarchal culture in Indonesian society is still strong. For this reason, it is recommended to return to using a closed proportional election system. With a closed proportional system, the space for struggle is narrower and acceptance by party elites can be more objective and oriented towards the ideas of the candidates.⁽¹¹⁾ It can be seen from the fact that even though the number of legislative candidates has reached 30 % women or even more, their electability has not yet reached the critical figure of 30 %. The following is data on female legislative candidates and elected candidates in the 2019 election.⁽¹²⁾

Political party	Total Candidates	Candidates Pr	% Candidates Pr	Total Elected Candidates	Elected Pr legislative candidate	% Elected Pr Legislative Candidates
PKPI	140	77	55			
Garuda	226	109	48			
PSI	574	274	48			
PPP	554	233	42	19	5	26,3
Hanura	428	180	42			
PKS	531	212	40	50	8	16
Demokrat	573	226	39,4	54	10	18,5
Perindo	569	220	39			
PAN	575	223	39	44	7	15,9
Nasdem	575	222	38,6	59	19	32,2
Berkarya	554	214	38,6			
PKB	575	220	38,3	58	12	20,7
Golkar	575	216	38	85	19	20,7
PDIP	573	215	37,52	128	26	20,3
PBB	482	177	37			
Gerindra	575	212	36,87	78	12	15,38

With a multi-party system on one hand and the existence of a parliamentary threshold, it has made it difficult for female candidates from new parties and small parties to sit in the DPR, but on the other hand, it has given a mechanical effect to the electability of female candidates from large parties, such as PDIP as the winning party in the election. In fact, the number of female legislative candidates from PDIP, Golkar, and Gerindra is far below the parties that did not pass the parliamentary threshold, such as PKPI (55 %), Garuda Party (48 %), and PSI (48 %).

In the 2019 election, the number of female legislative candidates nationally reached 40 % of all election participants. This figure increased by 2 % compared to the 2014 election which only reached 38 %. In the 2019

election, the number of female representatives in the DPR reached 21 % (120 seats out of 575 seats in the DPR), an increase compared to the 2009 election of 18 % (101 people). In the 2014 election, the number of female representatives in the DPR was 17,3 % (97 people), a decrease compared to the 2009 election of 18 % (101 people). In the previous election, the 2004 election, the number of female representatives in the DPR was 11 % (61 people), an increase compared to the 1999 election which was only 9 %.

The high electability of PDIP, Golkar, and Nasdem women in the 2019 election was also influenced by the district magnitude. Using Sartori's (1968) framework, the high electability of PDIP, Golkar, and Nasdem women was due on the one hand to the large number of seats contested in the bases of each party, and on the other hand to the increasing number of political parties involved in the electoral district. Sartori's Law states that the more seats contested in an electoral district, the more political parties involved, and at the same time the higher the representation, as evidenced by the representation of PDIP, Golkar, and Nasdem women in the 2019 election.

The multiparty system adopted in Indonesia has consequences for high contestation in general elections, especially if the election system used is an open proportional system. Competition between legislative candidates is not only outside their political parties but also within their political parties.⁽¹³⁾ Therefore, special measures for female legislative candidates are needed not only as administrative requirements for political parties to be able to become election participants, but also strict regulations are needed within political parties, including placing female legislative candidates on the priority list.⁽¹⁴⁾

The following is data on the number of female legislative candidates based on the placement of the serial number in the 2019 election.

No	Political parties	Female Legislative Candidate Sequence Number									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	PKB	15	15	50	16	21	46	20	19	10	3
2	Gerindra	14	16	54	17	28	42	22	8	9	0
3	PD	13	22	48	10	15	55	20	19	11	1
4	Golkar	12	26	53	17	18	48	10	20	11	1
5	Nasdem	19	25	52	21	18	41	24	10	10	1
6	Garuda	13	46	30	9	5	2	1	0	0	0
7	Berkarya	20	14	56	19	25	36	17	13	7	2
8	PKS	6	24	52	16	36	31	27	7	8	1
9	Perindo	16	17	53	22	24	39	25	20	6	0
10	PPP	15	20	54	15	32	43	23	14	10	2
11	PSI	17	31	50	30	37	44	28	20	9	4
12	PAN	14	22	51	18	24	43	22	16	12	1
13	Hanura	12	18	57	18	27	24	6	8	2	0
14	Demokrat	18	21	48	16	19	48	23	19	9	2
15	PBB	4	30	49	14	17	28	8	10	2	2
16	PKPI	26	25	14	6	3	1	1	0	0	0
	Total	234	372	777	264	349	571	277	197	116	20

The data from the table above shows the number of female DPR RI legislative candidates placed at serial numbers 1-10 in the DCT, PDIP as the political party with the most female seats in the DPR RI placed the most female candidates at serial number 6. The following is data on the serial numbers of female legislative candidates elected in the 2019 election.

The data in the chart above shows the details of the serial numbers of elected female legislative candidates based on the political parties that won seats in the DPR. Of the 26 elected female legislative candidates from PDIP, 10 were candidates placed at serial number 1. In terms of placement on the candidate list, most of the female legislative candidates elected to the DPR RI were candidates placed at serial numbers 1 and 2. As many as 48,31 % of the women elected to the DPR RI were candidates at serial number 1 and as many as 24,58 % were candidates at serial number 2. Furthermore, as many as 12,7 % were candidates at serial number 3. As many as 14,41 % were candidates at serial numbers 4 to 10. Thus, the 2019 Election again proved that the placement of women at the top of the candidate list still significantly determines electability in the election, and PDIP is the

party that placed the most elected candidates at serial number 1.

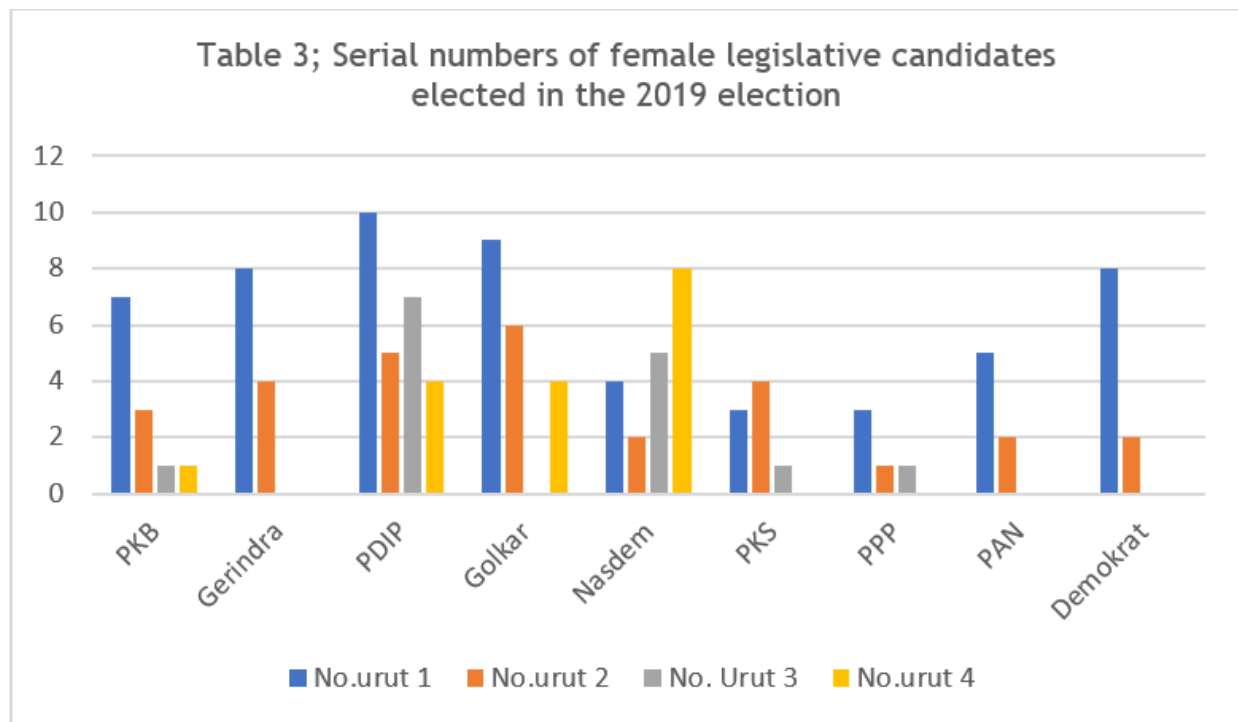


Figure 1. Serial numbers of elected female legislative candidates based on the political parties that won seats in the DPR

Seeing that the electability of female legislative candidates is at serial numbers 1 and 2, the placement of many PDIP legislative candidates at serial number 6 in the 2019 election should be a note for PDIP so that later they can place their female legislative candidates at serial numbers 1 or 2, because according to Almond and Powel (1978) the urgency of a candidate's victory is determined by the position on the list determined by the party.

Internal Party Recruitment/Democratization Process Factors

In Indonesia, women's representation in parliament (DPR RI) is closely related to party policies determined by internal party mechanisms. According to ⁽⁷⁾ the internal party recruitment process is influenced by three factors, namely party organization, party rules and culture. Regarding party organization, PDIP is an egalitarian political party organization, providing equality, equality for men and women. This can be seen from the vision, mission, duties and functions of PDIP written in the PDIP Articles of Association.⁽⁸⁾ There is no bias or special action for men or women. PDIP prioritizes how to present cadres or party officers who are able to fight for the aspirations of the people who have a pioneering spirit, and have an understanding, ability to explain and implement Bung Karno's teachings in community, national and state life.⁽¹⁵⁾ This party's attitude on the one hand shows equal treatment for male and female cadres which indicates that there are no barriers to the party's political culture. Bung Karno's advice (1947) reads "The issue of women is not just a matter of women, but a matter of society, a matter of women and men". This advice was written by Soekarno in an article ⁽⁸⁾ which reads:

"Indeed, we must learn to realize that the issue of society and the state is an issue of men and women, an issue of women and men. And the issue of women is an issue of society and the state. Later, if the reader has read my explanation further, then the reader will understand that the issue of women is not an issue for women only, but an issue of society, an issue of women and men. And truly, an issue of society and the state that is very important!"

For Soekarnoists, this advice is a clear view of how women's issues are important issues that can be resolved not only by women but also by men. This indicates that the Soekarnoist PDIP responds to gender equality issues, and does not ignore women's issues. Even the affirmative policy in the form of special actions for women is regulated in the PDIP Articles of Association contained in Article 60 of the PDIP AD.⁽¹⁶⁾

However, the low electability of PDIP female legislative candidates in the 2019 election which has not reached the critical figure of 30 % even though the number of female legislative candidates proposed is 37 %, PDIP shows that it has not yet firmly shown its support for women. It seems only to fulfill administrative requirements. The "considering" clause in the provisions of Article 20 Point 3 of the PDIP AD that the placement

of Party Members in political and public positions is carried out through a selection process by considering at least 30 % female representation, means that PDIP is not serious about presenting women in parliament. This can also be seen from the placement of female legislative candidates who are mostly placed in serial number 6.

There is a Party School and an election winning organization owned by PDIP as the best instrument to strengthen the capacity of cadres in facing the election. However, unlike other major parties, PDIP does not have a special women's wing organization such as Golkar has the Golkar Party Women's Unity (KPPG), Gerindra has Perempuan Indonesia Raya (PIRA), Nasdem has Garnita Malahayati Nasdem, or Perempuan Bangsa PKB. The absence of a women's wing organization indicates that there is no special effort to develop female members and cadres to be prepared to become reliable party figures. However, PDIP cares about women's issues. A department or division for women's issues has been formed in the PDIP structure both in the DPP, DPD and DPC which is combined with health issues and children's issues.⁽¹⁷⁾

PDIP, which has been in power for two consecutive terms (2014-2023), has not been able to implement affirmative policies within PDIP. In fact, since its formation in 1999 until now, PDIP has continued to be led by a woman, namely Megawati Soekarno Putri. Megawati since leading the PDIP has fully controlled the party as stipulated in the Articles of Association and Bylaws that the general chairman has the prerogative to determine strategic decisions including deciding the composition of the Party's DPP management, the composition of the list of legislative candidates for the Indonesian House of Representatives, determining the ballot number and determining the Electoral District.⁽¹⁸⁾ This was acknowledged by Chicha Koeswoyo, a PDIP cadre who was nominated as a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives in the 2019 election. Chicha said that her desire to occupy the Tuban Electoral District because of considerations of the potential votes from her extended family had to be held back because of the decision of the General Chairperson who placed her in the DKI 3 Electoral District, namely the East Jakarta area.⁽¹⁹⁾

The PDIP Struggle Charter affirms that the PDI Perjuangan adheres to the principle of democracy that places the Party's Central Leadership as the centre of the movement, a leadership led by the ideology of Pancasila June 1, 1945, a leadership that contains one-way management and one goal, namely a just and prosperous society, and a leadership that is in accordance with the personality of the nation, namely mutual cooperation. The General Chairperson has the prerogative to determine democracy within the party, which limits itself to the limits of the people's interests in accordance with the mandate of Pancasila June 1, 1945 and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.⁽⁴⁾

This mechanism clearly identifies that recruitment in the PDIP is centralized or centralistic. Cantered on the general chairperson who determines the party's attitude and choice that is of course in accordance with the character of the party. Megawati's figure is a strong figure in order to strengthen the character of the party which is identical to the nation's cadres who have a pioneering spirit, and have an understanding, ability to explain and implement Bung Karno's teachings in the life of society, nation, and state.⁽²⁰⁾

⁽¹⁸⁾ regarding the implementation of special measures in the form of quotas in addition to the legal quotas that have been implemented in Indonesia, it is also expected that every political party implements voluntary quotas within the party seriously. PDIP has written it in its Articles of Association regarding the involvement of women but has not been serious as in its clauses it still uses the word "consider" or "pay attention" replaced with mandatory placement.⁽²¹⁾ In addition, Pippa Norris in Richard Katz also directs that there be an equal opportunity policy so that women can pursue their political careers on the same basis as men. If there is financial assistance, candidate training, networks, campaigns must apply equally and be open between male and female candidates.⁽²²⁾

Selection of Female Candidates in PDIP

Candidate selection is part of the recruitment process that greatly determines the purpose of the recruitment carried out by selectors within the party. In this context, Norris (1997) mentions the concept of selector demand, namely the attitude of selectors based on the criteria required by political parties. In the Recruitment and Selection of DPR Candidates in the 2019 election in PDIP, it is stated in PDIP Regulation Number 25-A of 2018 concerning the Recruitment and Selection of DPR, DPD, Provincial and Regency/City DPRD Candidates.⁽¹²⁾

The requirements determined by PDIP for those who will participate in the selection of legislative candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election include, among others, must be members or cadres as evidenced by ownership of a membership card; cadres or members must include recommendations and a curriculum vitae signed by the Party administrator where the person is domiciled; Not currently subject to organizational sanctions; Not involved directly or indirectly in the "Medan Congress" and/or "Palu Congress"; Not opposing the results of the Second Party Congress in Denpasar, Bali; Never been involved in drug problems directly or indirectly; Party cadres whose commitment and struggle for the Party are not in doubt; Have an honest, fair, and corruption-free leadership spirit; Able to empower the Party's potential in their region, and participate in developing and fighting for the achievement of the party's ideals as outlined in a written program; Can provide an overview of opportunities to win the election, including from community support and other support.⁽²³⁾

This requirement really emphasizes that legislative candidates must be members and cadres who truly understand the party's orientation, loyal to the party so that this indicates that the PDIP selection is fairly exclusive. This candidate selection is carried out in stages:

1. The selection stage includes research into administrative completeness including the legality of diplomas, health, and legal exemption certificates as well as psychological tests.
2. The screening stage is the stage of assessing the weight of the administrative documents submitted at the selection stage, where it is mandatory to pay attention to the results of the psychological test, the results of party assignments, track records of service in the party and the community, assessments based on scoring weights, and the results of drug and psychotropic free tests.
3. The registration stage with the KPU, namely after being approved by the DPP, the legislative candidates who have been determined through screening are declared as DPR Member Candidates and are included in the Temporary Candidate List proposal which is submitted to the KPU.

This recruitment stage appears to be carried out using a bottom-up mechanism (from below) and also with a merit system, namely through scoring, but the scoring results are obtained from calculating the track record of devotion in the party and society, the results of party assignments that indicate loyalty to the party. So that the exclusivity of PDIP legislative candidate recruitment is increasingly apparent from the scoring mechanism in addition to the results of psychological tests which are also considered necessary to strengthen the quality of legislative candidates.⁽¹¹⁾

From this stage, the selection of PDIP candidates is not only about completing administrative requirements but there is a weighting that emphasizes the quality and loyalty of legislative candidates, avoiding pragmatism. In PDIP, legislative candidates are also seen, even those elected, come from family ties.⁽¹³⁾ The family or descendants of Soekarno are very clearly visible, such as Puan Maharani, Prananda Prabowo, Puti Guntur Soekarno, Guruh Soekarno Putra. Or female legislative candidates who are detected to have family ties with party administrators such as Vanda Sarundajang, daughter of the Governor of North Sulawesi Dr. Sinyo Hari Sarundajang, Maria Lestari, wife of the Deputy Regent of Landak, Harculanua Heriadi/Chairman of the PDIP Landak DPC, Paramitha Widya Kusuma, eldest daughter of Indra Kusuma, Chair of the PDIP DPC of Brebes Regency, who was once the Regent of Brebes and her mother Maryatun, deputy chair of the PDIP DPD of Central Java. The existence of this kinship element indicates that there are patronage, oligarchic factors and considerations of reciprocity towards the party in the selection of legislative candidates which strengthens the exclusive mechanism as an extreme continuum of selectors in PDIP.⁽²³⁾

In the recruitment of female parliamentary candidates for the 2019 election, General Chair Megawati Soekarno Putri as a selector demand used three recruitment strategies, namely: (1) elite nomination, which is closed in nature; (2) party nomination, which is semi-open in nature; and (3) non-party nomination, which is open in nature. The implementation of these three strategies is each based on the requirements determined by PDIP. In the party elite nomination recruitment strategy, the Soekarnoists, Marhaenists, and PDIP loyalists are the main priority in filling the party's top management and female parliamentary candidates. This strategy is very thick in filling the list of female candidates for central and regional parliaments (DPR RI, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/City DPRD) including the management of the party's top structure (DPP) and middle party structure (DPD and DPC). Starting in 2019, filling the candidate list and forming the management structure at the DPD level in the province and the DPC level in the district/city is directly decided by the DPP.⁽²⁰⁾

Specifically for the nomination of people outside the party, it is entirely the authority of the General Chairperson Megawati which is based on considerations of the needs and interests of the party, where the risks, requirements, and nature are very closed to party cadres who sit in the management structure at the provincial and district/city levels. The strategy for recruiting non-party nominations is limited to certain people only, namely people who are considered to have broad influence in the region and are believed to be loyal to the party.⁽¹⁷⁾ In this strategy, the main concern of PDIP in filling the list of candidates and the management of the party structure is professionals, businessmen, former bureaucrats, retired military and police. Like Chicha Koeswoyo, an artist who was recruited by PDIP as a legislative candidate.

Supply of PDIP Female Candidates

The last level of analysis, namely candidate supply, includes political capital and motivation. Political capital includes political networks, party experience, career flexibility, educational qualifications and legislative skills. Meanwhile, the motivation underlying candidates to participate can come from family traditions, personal political ambitions, the desire to become party leaders and support from the community or surrounding community.⁽⁴⁾

Regarding recruitment for political or public office, Article 20 Point 3 of the PDIP Articles of Association emphasizes that every party member elected or sitting in political and public office is a party officer who must submit to and obey the party's rules and orders. Loyalty to the party is the main factor. Political capital in the

form of party experience shows consistency in the party. Also, women who are nominated by PDIP because they are seen as having a support base pioneered and built by their families: fathers or mothers who are or have held strategic political positions, such as members of the DPR, governors, regents, and mayors.⁽⁵⁾

Meanwhile, on the political motivation track, women recruited to fill parliamentary candidates are those who come from the family line of PDIP loyalists. These women are nominated by PDIP because they are seen as being able to continue their family tradition as loyal cadres and have personal political ambitions that can be relied on to become party leaders, and have support from the surrounding community.⁽²⁴⁾ Visually, women who can be appointed in this category are female members of the Indonesian House of Representatives who have relationships with elite PDIP loyalists. Chicha Koeswoyo is one of the DPR RI candidates, although she was recruited because of her artistry, her traces as a Soekarnoist were detected by PDIP. Chicha admitted that she came from a family of PNI (Indonesian National Party) activists formed by Soekarno, so that Soekarno's ideology had been socialized in her.⁽²⁵⁾

Judging from the sources of political capital owned by female candidates, including finances, political connections, party experience, career flexibility, educational qualifications and legislative skills required by Norris (1997). So it can be seen that PDIP women who were elected in the 2019 election from their financial capabilities can be seen from their career paths. From a business background, there are 8 people out of 29 of them, such as Riezky Aprilia, Sondang Tiar Debora, Tuti Nusandari, Evita Nursanti, Paramita Widya Kusuma, Dewi Aryani, Ina Amania, Irene Yusiana. Those who have previously served as members of the DPR and DPRD are 18 out of 29 people, including Elva Hartati, Itet Trijayati, Dyah Pitaloka, Ribka Tjiptaning, Selly Andriany, Evita Nursanty, Agustina Wilujeng, Puan Maharani, Dewi Aryani, My Esti Wijayati, Puti Guntur Soekarno, Indah Kurniawaty, Sri Rahayu, Sadarestuwati, Vanda Sarundajang, Sarce Bandaso, Mercy Chriesty, and Irene Yusiana Roba. The income and facilities of the DPR and DPRD can be economic capital to run and win elections. There are also 2 selected artists, namely Rieke Dyah Pitaloka and Krisdayanti, where the career of artists is said to have a fairly large income that can be used as capital for political costs during the 2019 campaign. Some of them are legislative candidates whose careers come from company employees and/or government employees such as Elva Hartati who was at the Bengkulu Health Service and then became a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives in 2004-2009 and the 2014-2019 period, Itet Trijayati was once the head of the Medical Record section at RSCM, Dyah Pitaloka then became the Indonesian House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 period, Tuti Nusandari worked at PT Unilever Indonesia, Agustina Wilujeng is a lecturer at LPK IMKA Semarang, Vita Ervina was once a special staff of the Secretary General of the PDIP DPP, Indah Kurniawaty as an employee of BCA, Sadarestuwati was once a lecturer at Wijaya Kusuma University, Adriana Charlotte was once an employee/head of the Bitung City Environmental Agency. Experience as an employee or civil servant may not have much impact on the material/money ownership of some of these female legislative candidates, but most of them come from families of politicians who have held political positions.

Regarding the elected female legislative candidates who have family or kinship ties with previous political officials, there are 15 out of 29 of them, namely Riesky Aprilia, the daughter of the former mayor of Lubuk Linggau for 2 terms, H. Ridwan Effendi Sulaiman. Then Elva Hartati, the wife of Senior Politician of PDIP Bengkulu, Dadang Mishal. Her father is also a politician, the chairman of the PNI Marhaen party in Bengkulu, was once a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives before the reformation. Sondang Tiar Debora, the daughter of Nurdin Tampubolon, a former member of the Hanura Faction of the DPR and also the conglomerate Nurdin Tampubolon Corporation (NT Corp).^(26,27) Diah Pitaloka, a relative of Rudi Harsa, was once the Chairperson of the PDIP DPD for West Java Province. Tuti Nusandari, her father was close to Bung Karno. By Bung Karno her father was asked to become the director of the Solo Madu sugar factory. Puan Maharani is the daughter of Megawati Soekarno Putri. Paramitha Widya Kusuma, Daughter of the Regent of Brebes (2002-2010), Indra Kusuma and also Chair of the PDIP DPC of Brebes Regency.^(28,29,30,31) Puti Guntur Soekarno, is the niece of Megawati Soekarno Putri.^(28,29)

Sri Rahayu, wife of the former Chair of the PDIP DPD of East Java and also a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives.⁽³²⁾ Maria Lestari, wife of the deputy regent of Landak Regency 2017-2022 who is also a PDIP cadre. Aidah Muslimah, wife of the former deputy governor of South Kalimantan Rosehan Noer Bahri who is also a PDIP cadre. Adriana Charlotte, Sister of Olly Dodokambey, Treasurer General of the PDIP DPP 2019-2024. Vanda Sarundajang, daughter of the Governor of North Sulawesi for 2 terms, Sinyao Hary Sarundajang. Sarce Bandaso, wife of PDIP politician Ersu Lamban who is also a member of the South Sulawesi DPRD. Irene Yusiana Roba, daughter of the former Regent of West Halmahera (2006-2021), Namto Hui Roba, is now a member of the Indonesian DPD. Family and kinship relationships with previous politicians are also indicators of having sufficient money.^(33,34)

The average experience of being in a party is possessed by the elected female PDIP legislative candidates, such as Riezky Aprilia who was once the Chairperson of the Nasdem Youth Guard for the DKI Jakarta region in 2011-2013 and was once the Declarator of the Perindo Mass Organization in 2013-2014. Elva Hartati began to become a member of the PDIP in 1983. Itet Tridjayati has been a member of the Indonesian House of

Representatives for the PDIP faction in 2009. Dyah Pitaloka has been a member of the PDIP since 2010. Ribka Tjaning even became the Chairperson of the Tangerang City DPC in 1996. Rieke Dyah Pitaloka before joining the PDIP in 2008 was a member of the National Awakening Party (PKB). Selly Gantina was the treasurer of the West Java PDIP in 2010-2015. Agustina Wilujeng before being in the Indonesian House of Representatives was in the Semarang City DPRD in 1999-2004. Puan Maharani has held the position of Chair of the Women and Community Empowerment Division from 2007 to 2010. Vita Ervina was a member of the East Jakarta PDIP DPC from 2006 to 2010. Paramita Widya Kusuma became the Chairperson of Banten Muda Indonesia in 2018. Dewi Aryani has been a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives from the PDIP Faction in 2009. My Esti Wijayati became the deputy chairperson for Politics of the DIY PDIP DPD in 2004. Puti Guntur Sukarno became the secretary of the Internal Bureau of the PDIP DPP in 2015. Indah Kurniawati has run as a legislative member in 2003. Sri Rahayu became the Chairperson of Beguna DPD East Java in 2005. Ina Ammania has been active in Banten Nusa, the PDIP wing since 2008. Sadarestuwati became the chairperson for agriculture, fisheries and plantations of the East Java PDIP DPD in 2005. Maria Lestari became the deputy secretary for internal affairs in 2015. Sarce Bandaso was once the deputy chairperson of the South Sulawesi PDIP DPD in 2009. Mercy Chriesty was once the deputy chairperson for Banten Muda Indonesia in 2004-2009. And Irene Yusiana Roba became the Central Board Secretary of PDIP in the creative economy activities of the PDIP DPP in 2015-2019. Those who are relatively new to the party include Evita Nurasnty, a businesswoman, Krisdayanti, an artist, Aidah Muslimah, the wife of former deputy governor of South Kalimantan Rosehan Noer Bahri.^(35,36)

In terms of educational qualifications, in general, PDIP female legislative candidates are 13 Masters graduates, and some even have 4 Doctoral degrees, namely Rieke Dyah Pitaloka, Evita Nursanty, Agustina Wilujeng and Dewi Aryani. Those with Bachelor's degrees are Sondang Debora, Tuti Susndari, Puan Maharani, My Esti Wijayati, Sri Rahayu, Ina Ammania, Maria Lestari, Aida Muslimah, Vanda Sarundjang, Mercy Chriesty. And those who are only high school graduates are Krisdayati. In terms of legislative experience, among the 29 female legislative candidates elected in the 2019 election, there are 7 people who have never been members of the legislature either in the Indonesian House of Representatives or the Regional People's Representative Council, namely Riezky Aprilia, Sondang Tiar Debora, Tuti Nusandari Roosdiono, Vita Ervina, Paramita Widya Kusuma, Krisdayanti, and Hj. Aidah Muslimah.^(37,38) Those who do not have legislative experience are not a concern for PDIP.⁽⁷⁾

From the information on the political capital owned by the elected legislative candidates, it was concluded that the women who were recruited by PDIP and elected in the 2019 election were women who had adequate qualifications to meet the requirements mentioned by Pippa Norris, namely having financial assets, political networks, party experience, career flexibility, educational qualifications and legislative skills.^(39,40)

Meanwhile, the motivation underlying the candidates to run for office can be traced from family experience, personal political ambition, the desire to become a party leader and support from the community or surrounding community.⁽¹⁶⁾ Here are some statements from female candidates elected in the 2019 election, such as Ribka Tjiptaning explaining her motivation that with the capital of medical and health knowledge, Ribka carried out social health service activities in the electoral district where she was placed in West Java IV and finally was able to be elected for 4 fixed terms in the electoral district. Ribka also fought for the fate of workers.⁽⁴¹⁾ Ribka is very Soekarnoist, her struggle for workers is linked to Soekarno's message quoting Bung Karno "the produce of the earth is by us, for us, from us."⁽¹¹⁾

Dyah Pitaloka, a student activist who joined the family women's program in the village. With this background of activism, Dyah Pitaloka considers the presence of women in politics important. She joined the PDIP because she considered it a party that did not have a problem with the presence of women. Elva Hartati, a member of Commission IX of the Indonesian House of Representatives, said that her father was a politician, a leader of the PNI Marhaen party in Bengkulu and had been a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives before the reformation.⁽¹³⁾ This is what underlies Elva's deep passion for a career as a politician. Her father taught her politics, and her husband was also a politician and a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives in 1999-2004 who supported her.^(42,43) Selly Andriany answered that politics is instinctive because in fact women's daily lives are politics. According to her, politics is fun, and interaction with the community is politics. Selly admitted that she was invited by Maruarar Sirait to be active in the party and in 1998 she finally joined the PDIP.^(35,44)

From these motivational statements, female parliamentary candidates were motivated by personal political motivations for issues they were interested in, as well as for reasons of having a political history in their families and support from their families.

CONCLUSION

Following the legal quota mechanism in Law 7 of 2017, PDIP has fulfilled the requirement to include 30 % women as a condition for its party to participate in the election. The strong impression that the involvement of women in the election is only limited to fulfilling administrative requirements but at least forces PDIP to

present women on the political stage. This has become better even though the applicable open proportional election system does not make it easy for women to be elected. Because the society that is still patriarchal is still reluctant to elect women. The high competition between legislative candidates as a consequence of the multi-party system means that female legislative candidates must struggle extra. The strategy of placing women on the list of numbers 1 and 2 has not been implemented consistently, even though it has been proven that female legislative candidates placed on the list of numbers 1 achieve better victories.

The internal democratization factor of PDIP in recruiting female legislative candidates is influenced by three factors, namely party organization, party rules and party culture. PDIP is an egalitarian political party organization, providing equality, equality for men and women equally. On the one hand, this is read as an ideal principle of equality in the relationship between men and women, but in reality this position of equality cannot be implemented, women still need affirmative policies within PDIP which require descriptively to present women.

Three recruitment strategies in PDIP are: (1) elite nomination, which is closed in nature; (2) party nomination, which is semi-open in nature; and (3) non-party nomination, which is open in nature, finally all wrapped up with the conditions of being loyal, Soekarnoist, Marhaenist, based on considerations of the needs and interests of the party and fully under the authority of the General Chair Megawati Soekarno Putri as the holder of the prerogative to strengthen the centralistic and exclusive mechanism. In this situation, not all PDIP women can be easily nominated even though female legislative candidates should receive special attention and be a priority for the General Chair who is also a woman.

The women who were recruited by PDIP and elected in the 2019 election were women who had adequate qualifications to meet the requirements mentioned by Pippa Norris, namely having financial assets, political networks, party experience, career flexibility, educational qualifications and legislative skills. And the motivation of candidates is generally due to family experience, personal political ambition, the desire to become a party leader and support from the community or surrounding community. However, both capital and political motivation are still colored by the power of kinship, and the involvement of the family, especially men.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION

Conceptualisation: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Data curation: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Formal analysis: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Research: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Methodology: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Project management: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Supervision: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Validation: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Visualisation: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Writing - original draft: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.

Writing - review and editing: Ardhana Ulfa Azis, Chusnul Mar'iyah, M.Mossadeq Bahri, Eva Achjani Zulfa.