

Original Article

Inclusivity and Decentralisation: Women Legislative Candidacy from the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan in Manado City

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Abstract:

In general, studies on women's political representation in political parties tend to highlight issues such as low quotas, gender bias, or a lack of structural support for female candidates. This perspective often positions women as victims of a masculine and hierarchical system, without sufficiently revealing the internal mechanisms of parties that actually open up space for women's active and strategic participation. This study examines the political candidacy process for women in the PDI-P. The success of PDI-P in Manado City in the 2024 elections, with a 40% quota for women as legislative candidates, has drawn attention to how candidate selection is conducted within the party. This research focuses on two main dimensions: inclusivity and decentralization in candidate selection. Although women's representation in the list of legislative candidates has formally reached or exceeded the 30% quota, few studies have highlighted how this selection process unfolds internally within the party's local structures. The internal institutional configuration of the party allows for the nomination of women not merely as an administrative obligation but as part of political strategy and cadre development. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observations, and analysis of official documents, and then analyzed qualitatively. This finding is important; it shows that real gender inclusion happens not just through quotas, but through internal party practices—especially ideology, local empowerment, and structured cadre development. These are key lessons for how parties can move beyond symbolic representation.

Keywords: Women Politics, Candidate Selection, PDI-P, Inclusive, Manado.

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Introduction

There is a growing global discourse on women's political representation, particularly in developing countries where women's representation is still relatively low despite a wave of democratization and gender equality efforts over the past few decades. A combination of structural, cultural, and institutional factors causes this low

representation. Structurally, women's limited access to education, economic inequality, and gender-based division of labor limit their participation in politics ([Inglehart & Norris, 2003](#)). From a cultural perspective, patriarchal norms and strong gender stereotypes still consider politics as a male domain, thus inhibiting women's political motivation and reducing public support for female candidates ([Krook, 2009](#)). Meanwhile, institutionally, the weak implementation of affirmative policies, the dominance of men in party structures, and the non-transparent candidate selection process have also narrowed the space for women to compete in general elections ([Bauer & Tremblay, 2011](#); [Hinojosa, 2012](#)). This combination of barriers explains why, although many countries have implemented gender quotas, a substantive and sustainable increase in women's political representation is still challenging to achieve in the countries of the Global South.

Some developing countries that embrace democratic systems, such as Indonesia, have adopted gender quota policies to increase women's representation in politics. Indonesia, through the Election Law since 2003 until the latest in Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections, stipulates that every political party is obliged to nominate at least 30% women in the list of legislative candidates in each constituency. This policy is a form of state affirmation to encourage gender equality in the political sphere, which men have dominated. However, although quantitatively political parties have fulfilled mainly these administrative provisions, challenges still arise in their substantive implementation. Many women nominated are placed in non-strategic order on the list of candidates, come from political dynastic backgrounds, or are recruited to fulfill quotas without the full support of the party structure ([Buehler, 2013](#); [Krook, 2009](#)). Thus, while gender quota policies in Indonesia reflect a formal commitment to inclusivity, their effectiveness in encouraging meaningful women's political representation remains questionable.

Gender quota policies are often used as a key strategy to increase the descriptive representation of women in the legislature, namely by ensuring that the number of women elected reflects their proportion in the population ([Dahlerup, 2013](#); [Krook, 2009](#)). This descriptive representation is considered important as a first step to address historical inequalities in political participation, as well as to open space for gender-sensitive agendas. In many cases, gender quotas have been shown to increase the number of women in parliament, especially in countries that previously had very low representation. However, several studies emphasize that the success of quotas in driving a more inclusive political transformation is highly dependent on policy design, implementation mechanisms, and support from political parties and the wider community. Without substantive commitment from political actors, the quota risks becoming a mere symbol without producing a real influence on the strengthening of women's voices and bargaining positions in political decision-making.

However, although quota policies have been implemented in various countries, including Indonesia, women's representation in the legislature remains relatively low ([Wasi, 2020](#); [Kontu & Pesak, 202](#)). This shows that the existence of gender quotas does not necessarily guarantee a significant increase in women's representation. In many cases, the quota is only met administratively without a real commitment from political parties to support women in competitive positions. In addition, women are often placed in unstrategic sequential numbers on the list of candidates or carried as complementary candidates without having a strong political support base. Structural barriers, such as patriarchal culture, the dominance of male elites in the party, and women's lack of access to political and economic resources, also weaken the effectiveness of these policies.

Therefore, the main challenge is not only the formal implementation of quotas, but also how to create a more inclusive political climate and support women's empowerment substantively. Political parties have a central role in the candidate selection process because they function as the central intermediary between the public and state power institutions. One of the main functions of the party is to select candidates, namely, to capture and screen individuals who will be submitted as candidates in general elections, both at the legislative and executive levels. Through this selection process, the party not only determines who is worthy of being nominated, but also indirectly determines the direction of policies and political representation to be carried out. In increasing women's political representation, political parties must be open and transparent in the selection process. Despite its development, the candidate selection process has become an untouched "secret garden" for women ([Bjanegard & Kenny, 2015](#)).

However, this situation does not apply in the selection of legislative candidates of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) in Manado City in the 2024 election. In contrast to the general trend of low substantive representation of women, even though the quota policy has been implemented, PDI. In fact, Manado City shows a relatively high proportion of female legislative candidates, especially from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), which carries 40% of female legislative candidates who exceed the 30% quota policy threshold. This phenomenon indicates the existence of party institutional factors that allow for a more inclusive candidate selection process, both due to a more substantial commitment from the party structure at the regional level and a more effective internal recruitment strategy. Therefore, the case of Manado warrants further study to understand how the principles of inclusivity and decentralization can be implemented more optimally at the local level, as well as what lessons can be learned to encourage increased women's political representation in other regions.

Studies on women's politics have been widely conducted and have become an important topic in the political science literature, especially related to democratization, gender equality, and political participation. In general, women's representation in parliament is still relatively low globally, especially in developing countries. This has prompted the adoption of affirmative policies, such as gender quotas, which aim to increase the descriptive representation of women in the legislature ([Dahlerup, 2013](#); [Krook, 2009](#)). In the context of developing countries, gender quotas have become a key strategy to address inequality of representation. Indonesia, as the largest democracy in Southeast Asia, has set a minimum quota of 30% female legislative candidates since 2003, which was reaffirmed in Law No. 7 of 2017. This quota requires each political party to nominate a minimum of 30% women in each constituency as a form of commitment to political equality ([Elizabet et al, 2021](#); [Damayanti et al, 2024](#)).

However, studies have shown that this policy has not fully succeeded in encouraging substantive women's representation in parliament. Political parties often only meet quotas administratively, without providing adequate support to female candidates to compete equally ([Nurbayani et al., 2019](#); [Lefkofridi et al., 2019](#); [Mansell et al., 2022](#); [Buehler, 2013](#)). One of the main challenges in the implementation of gender quotas is the selection process of candidates within political parties. This process generally takes place behind closed doors and is heavily influenced by considerations of power, loyalty, and personal relationships with party elites. In Indonesia, candidate selection is still very centralistic, where the Central Leadership Council (DPP) plays a dominant role in determining who will be nominated, including for female candidates

[\(Aspinall, 2013; Gunawan, 2018\)](#). This creates a tension between the need for decentralization in political decision-making at the local level and the practice of centralism in party structures. In addition, there is still limited research that specifically highlights how the selection process for female candidates is carried out at the local level, and the extent to which party structures in the regions have autonomy in determining candidacy. Many previous studies have focused more on aggregate national or party data at the central level, without exploring local variations that hold different and more inclusive dynamics [\(Hinojosa, 2012\)](#).

In this context, the case of Manado City becomes relevant and important to be researched. In the 2024 election, the PDI-P in Manado recorded several female legislative candidates that exceeded the 30% threshold, an achievement that rarely occurs consistently in other regions. This phenomenon has not been widely discussed in the existing literature, even though it has the potential to provide a new understanding of the practice of inclusivity and decentralization in the selection of candidates at the sub-national level. This research aims to fill the gaps in the literature by addressing a key question: Does this success stem from party institutions' encouragement of party commitments in regions that promote gender equality, or is it merely a pragmatic electoral strategy controlled by the center? Thus, this study will contribute to enriching the study of candidate selection, internal party democratization, and women's political representation in the context of local Indonesian politics. This study aims to understand why the representation of female legislative candidates in Manado City, especially in the body of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P), is relatively high and exceeds the 30% quota threshold in the 2024 election. This objective is directed at exploring the extent to which the principles of inclusivity and decentralization are implemented in the candidate selection process at the local level. How will the selection process for female legislative candidates be carried out within the Manado City PDI-P in the 2024 Election? To what extent are the principles of inclusivity and decentralization applied in the process of nominating women by party structures at the local level?

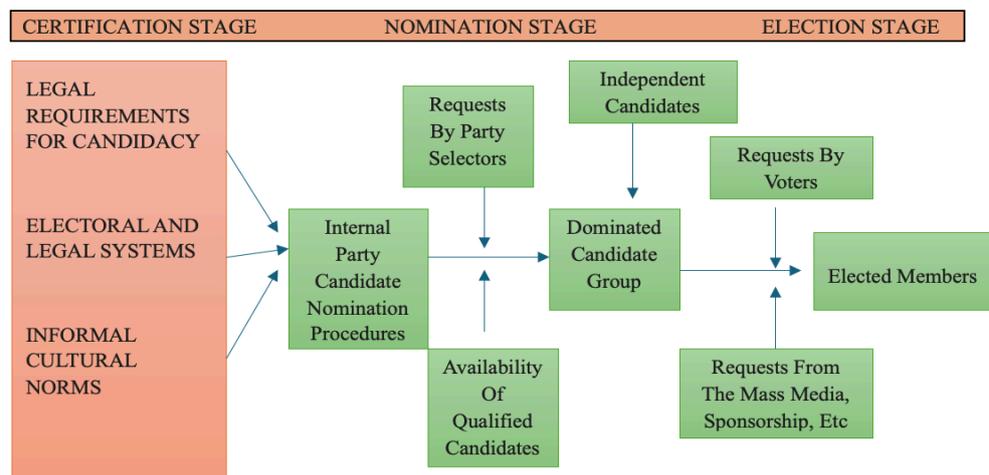
Framework Analysis

Intra-Party Democracy (IPD) is the basis for political parties to build their organizations. The concept of IPD refers to the level of institutionalization of internal democracy in political parties, especially in terms of how the party carries out organizational functions democratically, including in the process of political recruitment, candidate selection, decision-making, and the involvement of party members. IPD is a crucial element for strengthening democracy as a whole, and political parties need to develop rules, structures, and practices that allow for member participation, transparency, and accountability in internal decision-making, especially in the process of selecting candidates and electing party leaders [\(Scarrows, 2013\)](#). Political parties as democratic institutions must first realize democratic values internally and then become agents in encouraging a democratic political system. Although the relationship between the candidate and IPD is still under debate in the empirical development of the study [\(Witianti et al., 2021\)](#). However, the author believes that the selection of candidates illustrates the value of democracy in the party. As [Titale et al. \(2025\)](#) show, the candidate selection process provides insight into who is appointed, as well as into intra-party democracy and the level of internal democracy of political parties..

Candidate selection is interpreted as the process of individuals or groups of individuals involved in active political roles. This process involves various factors,

including formal and informal rules, party ideology, elite interests, and pressure from community groups. These factors collectively contribute to the sources of political recruitment, particularly in the context of first political parties. Parties play an important role in recruiting prospective leaders and candidates for political office. Additionally, civil society organizations also play a significant role in this process. Civil society organizations such as interest groups, non-profit organizations, and social movements can also be sources of political recruitment. Third, the political elite. Individuals who are already established in politics can recruit and support new candidates. According to Noris in [Katz and Crotty \(2006\)](#), the candidate selection process can go through three stages, namely certification, nomination, and election. The certification stage involves defining the criteria that can be included in the candidacy. Furthermore, in this stage, it is influenced by election rules, party rules, and informal social norms. The Nomination Stage includes the availability of qualified candidates and requests from the selectors when deciding who is nominated. Furthermore, the election stage is the final stage of the contest. This reflects the big question that Noris asks, namely, why do some pass and some succeed in becoming politicians, and some fail?.

Figure 1. Framework Analysis



Source: Noris, in Katz and Crotty (2006:90)

Each stage becomes something crucial for candidates to go through. Any choice of candidate selection method used by the party can describe the institution. The process of selecting candidates is a test for political parties, whether their affairs are carried out democratically or not. For example, in the nomination process, it becomes a gray area for political parties to determine candidates. So that this "secret garden" becomes an institutional obstacle to building political representation. The treatment of political parties towards all stages of political recruitment is closely related to how political parties organize themselves. This effort aims to portray a political party that effectively carries out its functions. 4 important things can show how a political organization operates in political recruitment ([Noris in Katz and Crotty, 2006](#)), namely: (1) Who are the candidates who can be nominated, (2) Who selects? (3) Where are Candidates selected? (4) How the candidate is decided. For analysis, it is focused on two significant aspects, namely inclusivity and territorial decision-making.

Cizens of the country (voters) are included in the category of eligible voters. If only party members can become candidates and have special requirements, then they are included in the exclusive category. It is also added that if the candidate is a party member, it falls into the category between inculcation and exclusivity. The same goes for

who the selector is or the selectorate. In this item, the electorate can be categorized on a continuum; if all voters choose candidates, it is categorized as inclusive. While the person who chooses or determines the candidate is typically one individual, it is categorized exclusively. Meanwhile, among all voters and one party leader, three categories were also added. That is, first, if the one who votes is all party members (open convention), it is still in the inclusive category, but less accessible. Second, if the candidate is a party body, the inclusivity or exclusivity of the party body can be determined by tracing the election process itself. If the party body consists of all party members, it is categorized as inclusive; otherwise, it is categorized as exclusive. Third. If the candidate is chosen by a party body that is not elected, it is categorized as exclusive. The more inclusive the selection process, the better. Decentralization is interpreted in the selection of candidates in a territorial context. Whether the determination of candidates is made by the region (local) or the national (central). When candidates are selected exclusively by a selectorate at the center, they fall into the centralistic category. Meanwhile, when local voters or local party administrators choose candidates, they are categorized as decentralized or hybrid. The selection process is a combination of central and local elements. So that the more decentralized it is, the more democratic.

Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach with a case study design, as explained by [Creswell \(2013\)](#), which is suitable for exploring social phenomena in depth and contextually, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are unclear. This study seeks to understand holistically how the selection process for female legislative candidates is carried out within the Manado City PDI-P in the 2024 election, and how the principles of inclusivity and decentralization are implemented in the process. According to [Creswell \(2016\)](#), the design of the case study allows researchers to explore a "bounded system" or a system that is limited by space and time—in this case, the selection process of female candidates by the DPC PDI-P Manado ahead of the 2024 elections. This research focuses not only on actors but also on institutional contexts, internal party power networks, and local socio-political dynamics. The data collection strategy was carried out through in-depth interviews with purposively selected key informants, such as PDI-P DPC administrators, female legislative candidates, party women administrators, DPD/DPP administrators related to candidacy, and women activists or local political observers. The purposive sampling technique was chosen because it allows researchers to get sources who have direct knowledge and experience with the phenomenon being studied. In addition to interviews, data collection is also carried out through document analysis, such as internal party regulations (AD/ART, guidelines for the implementation of candidate recruitment), KPU decisions, and local media reports. This is in accordance with the triangulation approach suggested by [Creswell \(2016\)](#), which is to combine various data sources to strengthen the validity of the findings.

Data analysis is carried out thematically using the inductive coding approach as described by [Creswell & Poth \(2016\)](#), which involves organizing data into main themes based on empirical findings, then connecting them with the theory used. The researcher conducted a manual coding process by reading interview transcripts, identifying patterns, and compiling thematic categories such as "access and opportunities for women cadres", "internal party selection mechanism", "the role of the DPP in the determination of DCT", and "decentralized space at the DPC level". To maintain the

validity and credibility of the data, triangulation techniques of sources and methods, member checks with informants, and trail audits are used to document the research process. The principle of reflexivity is also applied, namely, the researcher's awareness of positions and potential biases that may affect the data interpretation process. With this approach, it is hoped that the research can provide an in-depth understanding of the factors that encourage strong women's political representation in Manado City, as well as fill the gaps in the study of women's representation that have so far lacked representation of the internal dynamics of the party at the local level.

Results

Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) Institution

Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) is one of the main political parties in Indonesia that has a nationalist-populist ideological base. PDI-P was born as a continuation of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), which was formed during the New Order period through the fusion of several nationalist and Christian parties. However, the identity and strength of the PDI-P were significantly formed post-reform, especially after the internal split of the PDI in 1996 that gave birth to Megawati Soekarnoputri's faction and became the foundation for the official establishment of the PDI-P in 1999. Ideologically, the PDI-P adheres to Marhaenism, which is interpreted as popular nationalism, rooted in Karno's thoughts. In its political practice, the PDI-P prioritizes the issues of populism, people's sovereignty, and the people's economy, and makes the ideology of Pancasila as the moral and political basis of its struggle. As the largest nationalist party, the PDI-P has a strong structural network from the central to the regions, including significant influence in various strategic regions such as Central Java, East Java, Bali, and some regions in Sulawesi and Sumatra. The PDI-P is also known to have a relatively centralized and hierarchical party structure, where strategic decision-making, including the selection process of regional head candidates or legislative candidates, is often controlled by the Central Leadership Council (DPP). However, this party also has quite active wing organizations, including women's wings such as Women Volunteers and Struggle (REPDEM) and the People's Legal Aid and Advocacy Agency (BBHAR), as well as the Education and Training Agency (Badiklat), which provides space for women's political regeneration. In the context of political affirmation, the PDI-P formally declared its commitment to women's representation through the legislative candidacy of at least 30 percent women, as stipulated in the legislation.

However, the realization of this commitment varies significantly between regions, depending on local dynamics, internal structures, and the strength of women cadres at the grassroots level. Nationally, the PDI-P has won victories in four post-reform legislative elections (1999, 2014, 2019), and succeeded in carrying its cadres as President of the Republic of Indonesia, namely Megawati Soekarnoputri (2001–2004) and Joko Widodo (2014–2024). This success shows the party's electoral strength as well as its institutional capacity in managing modern political organizations in Indonesia. PDI. P is a party that upholds the basis of ideological values during increasingly intense electoral political demands ([Bachtiar & Andrean, 2022](#)). The ideology (Platform) of PDI Perjuangan, as the foundation of the party's struggle to carry out its role and function, PDI Perjuangan strives to always be in harmony with the party's ideology, namely:

1. Realizing the ideals of the Proclamation of August 17, 1945, as referred to in the

Preamble to the 1945 Constitution.

2. Preserving the independence and sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with the widest possible regional autonomy and as a democratic state of law.
3. Realizing a just and prosperous society that is equally material and spiritual, based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.
4. Developing the democratic life of Pancasila by stimulating the spirit of nationalism in the life of the community, nation, and state.
5. Participate in implementing a world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice.

To fight for these ideological values, PDI Perjuangan has determined to make itself a modern party that maintains its identity as a people's party while adhering to the principles of sovereignty in the political field, independence in the economic field, and personality in the cultural field. The structure of the Party Leadership and Management in stages is as follows: Party Central Leadership Council abbreviated as Party DPP at the national level, Party Regional Leadership Council abbreviated as Party DPD at the provincial level, Party Branch Executive Council abbreviated as Party DPC at the district/city level, Party Foreign Representative Council abbreviated as Party DPLN abroad, Party Sub-Branch Management abbreviated as Party PAC at the sub-district level or other designation, Party Foreign Representative Management abbreviated as Party PPLN in a state/province or other designation in a country, Party Branch Management at the village or sub-district level or other designations, Party Branch Child Management at the hamlet/hamlet/village/RW level or other designations.

PDI-P in Manado City is a local branch of the national party that holds strong political dominance in North Sulawesi (North Sulawesi). Manado City, geographically the capital of North Sulawesi province, consists of 11 sub-districts. In the 2024 election, there will be five electoral districts. In the 2019 and 2024 elections, the PDI-P became the winning party in Manado City, so it obtained the highest number of legislative seats. Making the PDI-P the most significant contributor to women's representation in the North Sulawesi DPRD. At the Manado City DPRD level through the 2024 election, the PDI-P won 16 out of 40 seats, while maintaining the position of chairman of the DPRD for the 2024–2029 period. The party's internal structure in Manado appears to be strong with formal networks and political regeneration. DPC PDI-P Manado has been actively organizing cadre education since 2022, involving elements of the DPC, DPRD factions, PACs, and party wings such as women's bodies, as an effort to improve the quality and militancy of party cadres at the local level. This shows that the party provides a structural regeneration path to form worthy candidates, not just meeting administrative quotas.

Candidate Selection Process

Political parties play a central role in the democratic system. As the leading actor in the candidate selection process, the party must prepare cadres to occupy strategic positions and determine who has the right to represent public aspirations in the legislature. Therefore, the candidate selection process is an important instrument in ensuring the effectiveness of political representation. In this context, the quality, ideological commitment, and attachment of candidates to the party structure are the primary considerations in the selection process. The selection mechanism carried out by the party, both centralized and decentralized, can affect the diversity and quality of elected representatives. Therefore, candidate selection is not only a technical or

administrative matter, but also reflects the character of the party organization, the degree of internal democratization, and the party's orientation towards the representation of certain groups, including women. In the case study of the PDI-P in Manado City, a more open and accommodating selection process for female candidates shows that the party can become an inclusive space for articulating interests when the recruitment process is carried out seriously and oriented towards strengthening representation.

Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections stipulates that political parties carry out the mechanism for the selection of prospective legislative candidates. The mechanism for selecting candidates is not determined in detail by law, but is the responsibility of political parties internally. Political parties conduct the selection of prospective candidates democratically and openly. Therefore, the selection process for legislative candidates in each party is different. There is no standard and uniform selection method for political parties, considering internal factors in political parties. However, the selection process of candidates for legislative candidates can be traced in general through the stages of certification, nomination, and election (Norris, 1997). The certification stage is where the prospective candidate must meet the administrative, legal, and organizational requirements before entering the nomination stage. Certification serves as an initial filter that determines who is worthy of being considered by political parties as potential candidates, either based on formal regulations such as the Election Law or internal party criteria, for the DPC PDI. The Manado City certification stage is the initial stage that administratively meets the criteria for candidates. This stage involves meeting the criteria and conducting an initial interview to check the individual's capacity. All requirements refer to the provisions of the law. The party did not bargain regarding the requirements. This is a standard that both old cadres and newcomers must meet. Requirements in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections Article 240, that is:

1. Have been 21 (twenty-one) years of age or older
2. Fear of God Almighty
3. Residing in the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia
4. Be able to speak, read, and/or write in Indonesian
5. Have a minimum education of high school, madrasah aliyah, vocational high school, vocational aliyah madrasah, or other equivalent school
6. Loyal to Pancasila, the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika
7. Have never been sentenced to prison based on a court decision that has obtained permanent legal force for committing a criminal act that is threatened with imprisonment of 5 (five) years or more, except. openly and honestly stated to the public that the person concerned was a former convict
8. Be physically healthy, spiritual, and free from narcotics abuse
9. Be registered as a voter; willing to work full-time
10. Resign as regional heads, deputy regional heads, state civil servants, members of the Indonesian National Army, members of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia, directors, commissioners, supervisory boards and employees of state-owned enterprises and/or regional-owned enterprises, or other bodies whose budget is sourced from state finances, which is stated by irrevocable resignation letters
11. Willing not to practice as a public accountant, advocate, notary, land deed making

- official, or not to perform the work of providing goods and services related to state finances and other jobs that may cause a conflict of interest with duties, authorities, and rights as members of the House of Representatives, provincial representative council, and district/city Representatives council in accordance with the provisions of laws and regulations;
12. Willing not to concurrently hold positions as other state officials, directors, commissioners, supervisory boards and in state-owned enterprises and/or regional-owned enterprises and other entities whose budgets are sourced from state finances
 13. Become a member of a Political Party Participating in the Election
 14. Nominated only in one representative institution and
 15. Nominated only in one constituency.

The next agenda is for the DPC management to conduct initial interviews with the first prospective candidates, related to motivation in candidacy. This includes the extent of the call to serve the community or just to make a profit. Second, the understanding of the party for the DPC is an important factor, so that the prospective candidates are candidates who understand the orientation of the party's struggle. If the one who registers is a "newcomer, they must be ready to submit to the party's ideology through being ready to take part in cadre education. Third, the ability of individuals to speak and lead. This is the supporting factor that the party wants. The individual quality of prospective candidates is beneficial in contesting such as campaigns, as well as in service when becoming a legislator. Next is the Nomination stage. The nomination stage is a crucial part where political parties act as gatekeepers on who will be carried as official legislative candidates. Once a person is declared legally eligible (eligibility), the candidate must go through the party's internal selection to get political blessing from the party, which allows his or her name to be included in the list of candidates. At this stage, many factors affect party decisions, such as political loyalty, internal network, electability, financial strength, and gender representation. The DPC conducts the nomination by paying attention to several aspects.

First, prioritize cadres. Regeneration is the primary consideration in the nomination process. This is a reflection of PDI, P is a cadre party. PDI. P can be categorized as a cadre party and a mass party that, in decision-making, is ideologically based ([Ufen, 2008](#)). The leveling of cadres, starting from beginners, intermediate, and primary, is a form of commitment to party loyalty and ideology. Second, has a good track record, DPC PDI. P will review the candidate's profile, considering the nominated candidate's good ethics and morality. This consideration will be strengthened by recommendations from the PAC and Branch levels. Third. The electability survey is conducted as a consideration in the contest, considering whether the candidate is known to the public, accepted, and has the opportunity to be elected. However, this consideration is not the primary factor in the determination process; it is a rare occurrence in shaping the party's political strategy during the contest. Fourth. Gender considerations. For Perta, consistency towards gender is important. DPC encourages and accommodates women to contest. Article 245 of Law No. 7 of 2017 requires the nomination of at least 30% of women. This commitment is still held in respect for human rights and gender equality for this party. Especially PDI. A female figure leads p, which also sends a signal. Women are given political space in contestation.

The third stage is the Election. An election is a stage when all candidates who have been certified and officially registered by the party or electoral authority then fight

in the general Election to gain vote support (Norris, 1997). In this stage, it is the choice of voters that determines who will actually occupy legislative office. Although this stage is seen as an "open and democratic" process, Norris stressed that the outcome of the Election is heavily influenced by the previous stages, especially the nomination process by the party. This means that voters can only choose from a list of candidates that the party has filtered. Therefore, if the nomination process is not inclusive (e.g., discriminatory against women), then the chances of representation of certain groups remain small even if the Election takes place democratically. When the party conducts the nomination process with considerations, it is designated as a provisional candidate list to be submitted to the DPD. It requests approval from the DPP to be registered with the KPU as a permanent candidate list. So that in the 2024 election, the list of PDI Permanent Candidates will be. The Manado City P set by the KPU consisted of 40 legislative candidates, comprising 24 men and 16 women. Table 1.1

Table 1. List of Permanent Candidates for the PDI-P Manado City for the 2024 Election of Regional/City Representative Council

NO.	NAME OF CONSTITUENCY	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES		TOTAL
		L	P	
1	We're Going to Be Your Sunshine - Wanna	5	3	8
2.	Sario - Free	4	3	7
3.	Tuminting – Bunaken – Bunaken Kep	5	3	8
4.	A Short Story - A Brief History	5	5	10
5.	Tikala – Paal Dua	5	2	7
	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIONS FEMALE = 40%	24	16	40

Source: jdih.kpu.go.id

The Mechanism for Selecting Legislative Candidates in the 2024 Election is in accordance with the party's Laws and Regulations (Articles of Association/Bylaws). Although this process already has guidelines and standards, it is not easy for the party to decide on legislative candidates. Whether male or female, the candidate selection process is carried out fairly and proportionately. The nomination process of the DPC includes space for gender equality in the composition of prospective legislative candidates. Although this party seems rigid and ideological, it opens up space for women to appear in political contestation.

Inclusivity and Decentralization

There are various dimensions to explain the party's internal democracy, including Inclusivity and Decentralization. Inclusivity in the context of political parties refers to the extent to which the internal process of the party, including in terms of candidate selection, opens a vast space for participation for various groups in society, including women, youth, minority groups, and cadres at the local level. Inclusivity emphasizes the importance of equal access to the political process and decision-making, as well as recognition of diversity in party structures and policies. Inclusivity discusses who can be a candidate and who is a selector or selection team (Rahat & Hazan, 2001). The

more inclusive, the more democratic the candidate selection process. In the selection of candidates for legislative candidates in PDI, P Manado City, the DPC opens space for anyone, whether male or female, to take part in the selection. This means that all citizens have the right to run as legislative candidates, meaning that all citizens can be candidates. It describes an inclusive process. There are no restrictive rules in the requirements process to prioritize specific individuals and inhibit women's roles. Likewise, in the nomination process, gender considerations are used by the party in determining candidates. Institutionally, this is a party strategy aimed at opening up space for the realization of increased women's political representation. Especially in the midst of a patriarchal social and cultural situation, the party often tends to be unfriendly to women. The nomination process becomes a black box that remains unseen and unobserved by anyone. This gives rise to various assumptions that political parties facilitate or hinder women's access to political positions ([Kenny & Verge, 2016](#)).

Selectors are individuals or groups within the party who are directly involved in the candidate's decision-making. In general, the selector in the candidacy process by political parties is the team assigned by the party. Whether it is a networking team, a selection team, or another name. There is still no political party that implements primary elections like the United States. The selectorate dimension has the potential to become a source of transactional politics and conflicts. Candidates compete to influence the selectors, aiming to pass and secure adequate sequential numbers. This gives us an idea that transactional politics actually starts in this process to get a strategic ticket. This can be exacerbated by pressure from party elites and factions within the party that affect the performance of the electorate. Who is the selector in the selection of candidates for the PDI legislative candidate? The P of Manado City is the DPC (party structure administrator). The DPC is given space to determine the composition of prospective legislative candidates. However, in this process, it is still monitored and supervised by the DPP. Selective decentralization has been shown to have significant consequences for the factional affiliation of legislative candidates ([Cowburn & Kerr, 2022](#)). However, this is highly dependent on the political dynamics and internal structure of the party. Next lies decision-making (centralization or decentralization). The level of decision-making for the PDI-P legislative candidacy process can be described as whether the candidacy process is conducted at the center, in the region, or regionally. P is carried out at the Regional or DPC level to ensure decentralization. Indeed, most political parties in the legislative candidacy process generally vary depending on the context and internal political parties. [Siavelis and Morgenstern \(2008\)](#) argue that within each party, within the same institutional framework, there are variables of the party organization that highly determine a different way of responding. In the Indonesian context, the legislative nomination process is more decentralized than the regional head candidacy process ([Sukmajati, 2016; Budi, 2020](#)).

Dimension	Findings
Candidate	All Citizens
Selector	DPC (Political Party Structure Administrator)
Territorial	Regional Level

The process of selecting party candidates describes the quality of the party. Under certain conditions, the party selects candidates based on supply and demand

(Lovenduski, 2016); however, for PDI. P. Regeneration is an important factor in the selection process of candidates for legislative members. Anyone who joins the party must go through a cadre school in stages to understand the ideology and values of the party's struggle. Leveling must be passed by prospective legislative members, both beginners, intermediates, and primaries. The composition of legislative candidates in the 2024 election in terms of the percentage of female candidates reaches 40% of the candidacy composition. Although it is known that in the candidate selection process, political parties find it difficult to meet the 30% figure, even though the DPC is a selector that is concerned about the party's ideology, it gives opportunities to women.

Conclusion

The selection of candidates is one of the reflections of the realization of the party's internal democracy. Through the process of candidate selection, it can tell a lot about the party organization, the distribution of power, the quality of candidates that party members like, and the path to enter the parliamentary career. This is a test for political parties to see whether their affairs are carried out democratically or not. IPD is an important analytical tool to see the extent to which the party implements democratic principles, such as member participation, process transparency, and accountability of organizational structures. Sukmajati argued that IPD is actually very important in the development of political parties in a country. However, this topic is usually considered as something that will run correctly (taken for granted), so that it does not receive the attention it deserves. Political parties as intermediary institutions must accommodate various gender groups, especially women. In a democratic political system, parties must provide political space for women. DPC PDI. P in Manado City, as a party that promotes regeneration and loyalty to party ideology. The candidate selection process goes through the stages of certification, nomination, and determination. Candidate selection is carried out in an inclusive and decentralized manner. The composition of 40% women in the 2024 legislative candidacy is an internal strategy of the party in its commitment to increasing political representation. This is particularly relevant in the context of theoretical debates about whether parties facilitate or hinder women's access to politics. So, through this research, the party institutionally facilitates women's access to contestation.

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