**Voting against Women: Political Patriarchy, Islam, and Representation in Indonesia**

Sally White, Eve Warburton, Pramashavira, Adrianus Hendrawan and Edward Aspinall

**Online Appendix**

Table 1: Attitudes to social roles of women

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Percentage of respondents that strongly agree or agree with the following statements |
| 1. | The man should be the head of the household, and the woman should support him.  | 97 |
| 4. | Women should first seek the permission of their husbands if they want to work.  | 94 |
| 5. | In general, men are more capable in business than women.  | 50 |
| 6. | Having a job is the best way for a woman to be independent.  | 61 |
| 7. | When a mother works for a wage, her children suffer.  | 25  |
| 8. | It is more important to provide higher (university) education to boys than girls. | 37 |

Table 2: Determinants of political patriarchy - adding interactions

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |
|   | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|  | t3a | t3b | t3c |
| VARIABLES | Political Patriarchy Index | Political Patriarchy Index | Political Patriarchy Index |
|   |   |   |   |
| Age (years) | -0.00115 | -0.00130 | -0.00125 |
|  | (0.00115) | (0.00114) | (0.00114) |
| Gender = 1, Male | 0.172\*\*\* | 0.0668 | 0.170\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0307) | (0.0875) | (0.0307) |
| Education group = 2, SD | -0.120 | -0.0808 | -0.0778 |
|  | (0.159) | (0.0465) | (0.0465) |
| Education group = 3, SMP | -0.0355 | -0.149\*\* | -0.146\*\* |
|  | (0.159) | (0.0518) | (0.0518) |
| Education group = 4, SMA | -0.321\* | -0.185\*\*\* | -0.183\*\*\* |
|  | (0.146) | (0.0516) | (0.0516) |
| Education group = 5, College | -0.348\* | -0.376\*\*\* | -0.371\*\*\* |
|  | (0.174) | (0.0675) | (0.0676) |
| Muslim = 1, Muslim | 0.359\*\* | 0.335\*\*\* | 0.364\*\*\* |
|  | (0.133) | (0.0678) | (0.0532) |
| 1b.edugroup#0b.muslim | 0 |  |  |
|  | (0) |  |  |
| 1b.edugroup#1o.muslim | 0 |  |  |
|  | (0) |  |  |
| 2o.edugroup#0b.muslim | 0 |  |  |
|  | (0) |  |  |
| 2.edugroup#1.muslim | 0.0454 |  |  |
|  | (0.167) |  |  |
| 3o.edugroup#0b.muslim | 0 |  |  |
|  | (0) |  |  |
| 3.edugroup#1.muslim | -0.123 |  |  |
|  | (0.166) |  |  |
| 4o.edugroup#0b.muslim | 0 |  |  |
|  | (0) |  |  |
| 4.edugroup#1.muslim | 0.158 |  |  |
|  | (0.154) |  |  |
| 5o.edugroup#0b.muslim | 0 |  |  |
|  | (0) |  |  |
| 5.edugroup#1.muslim | -0.0331 |  |  |
|  | (0.186) |  |  |
| Rural/Urban = 1, Urban | -0.0576 | -0.0551 | -0.0532 |
|  | (0.0319) | (0.0318) | (0.0319) |
| Income group = 2, 1M to 2M | -0.0260 | -0.0292 | -0.0257 |
|  | (0.0369) | (0.0370) | (0.0369) |
| Income group = 3, 2M to 4M | -0.0322 | -0.0320 | -0.0309 |
|  | (0.0420) | (0.0419) | (0.0419) |
| Income group = 4, More than 4M | 0.0179 | 0.0189 | 0.0225 |
|  | (0.0569) | (0.0569) | (0.0569) |
| Java = 1, Java | -0.0879\*\* | -0.0888\*\* | -0.247\* |
|  | (0.0316) | (0.0316) | (0.121) |
| 0b.gender#0b.muslim |  | 0 |  |
|  |  | (0) |  |
| 0b.gender#1o.muslim |  | 0 |  |
|  |  | (0) |  |
| 1o.gender#0b.muslim |  | 0 |  |
|  |  | (0) |  |
| 1.gender#1.muslim |  | 0.116 |  |
|  |  | (0.0922) |  |
| 0b.java#0b.muslim |  |  | 0 |
|  |  |  | (0) |
| 0b.java#1o.muslim |  |  | 0 |
|  |  |  | (0) |
| 1o.java#0b.muslim |  |  | 0 |
|  |  |  | (0) |
| 1.java#1.muslim |  |  | 0.167 |
|  |  |  | (0.124) |
| Constant | 3.006\*\*\* | 3.037\*\*\* | 3.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.135) | (0.0933) | (0.0841) |
|  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 1,220 | 1,220 | 1,220 |
| R-squared | 0.124 | 0.121 | 0.122 |
| ll | -877.5 | -879.3 | -879.2 |
| Standard errors in parentheses |  |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05 |  |  |  |

Table 3: Tabulation of party vote and patriarchy index

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Party supported at election time | Political Patriarchy Index  |
|   | Egalitarian | Leaning egalitarian | Leaning patriarchal | Patriarchal |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| PKB (National Awakening Party) | 10.10 | 31.31 | 34.34 | 24.24 |
| Gerindra (Greater Indonesia Movement Party) | 10.69 | 17.56 | 41.22 | 30.53 |
| PDI-P (Indonesia Democracy Party -Struggle | 17.47 | 28.25 | 39.41 | 14.87 |
| Golkar | 7.26 | 30.65 | 30.65 | 31.45 |
| NasDem (National Democrats) | 15.28 | 18.06 | 45.83 | 20.83 |
| PKS (Prosperous Justice Party) | 11.11 | 19.75 | 29.63 | 39.51 |
| PPP (Unity Development Party) | 4.35 | 17.39 | 39.13 | 39.13 |
| PAN (National Mandate Party) | 6.67 | 23.33 | 31.67 | 38.33 |
| Demokrat (Democrat Party) | 11.25 | 18.75 | 43.75 | 26.25 |

Table 4: Tabulation of presidential vote choice and patriarchy index

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Political Patriarchy Index (groups) |
| Egalitarian | Leaning egalitarian | Leaning patriarchal | Patriarchal | Total |
| Prabowo | 8.00 | 16.47 | 37.65 | 37.88 | 100.00 |
| Jokowi | 14.09 | 30.02 | 37.52 | 18.38 | 100.00 |
| Total | 11.69 | 24.68 | 37.57 | 26.07 | 100.00 |
|  |

Table 5: Quota and vote choice - adding presidential vote

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |
|   | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
|  |
| VARIABLES | Support for 30% quota | Support for 50% quota | Voted for female candidate (DPRD) | Voted for female candidate (any legislative) |
|   |   |   |   |   |
| Political Patriarchy Index | -0.935\*\*\* | -1.529\*\*\* | -0.483\* | -0.534\*\*\* |
|  | (0.242) | (0.229) | (0.222) | (0.135) |
| Age (years) | -0.0203\* | -0.0218\* | -0.00595 | -0.00124 |
|  | (0.00965) | (0.00872) | (0.00877) | (0.00510) |
| Gender = 1, Male | -0.575\* | -0.777\*\*\* | 0.0311 | -0.0842 |
|  | (0.254) | (0.228) | (0.228) | (0.139) |
| Muslim = 1, Muslim | -0.640 | -0.590 | 0.560 | 0.0404 |
|  | (0.460) | (0.378) | (0.398) | (0.223) |
| Rural/Urban = 1, Urban | -0.247 | -0.532\* | 0.0457 | 0.0611 |
|  | (0.262) | (0.241) | (0.235) | (0.143) |
| Education group = 2, SD | 0.711 | 0.253 | -0.302 | -0.0950 |
|  | (0.378) | (0.355) | (0.333) | (0.207) |
| Education group = 3, SMP | 0.371 | 0.0816 | -0.301 | 0.219 |
|  | (0.414) | (0.391) | (0.375) | (0.233) |
| Education group = 4, SMA | 0.404 | -0.392 | -0.457 | 0.178 |
|  | (0.408) | (0.382) | (0.372) | (0.230) |
| Education group = 5, College | 0.536 | -0.518 | -0.0586 | 0.402 |
|  | (0.563) | (0.500) | (0.481) | (0.311) |
| Income group = 2, 1M to 2M | -0.00481 | 0.241 | 0.178 | -0.200 |
|  | (0.300) | (0.270) | (0.268) | (0.164) |
| Income group = 3, 2M to 4M | -0.197 | 0.174 | 0.351 | 0.0233 |
|  | (0.326) | (0.300) | (0.287) | (0.186) |
| Income group = 4, More than 4M | 0.296 | 0.728 | -0.326 | -0.659\* |
|  | (0.456) | (0.411) | (0.474) | (0.281) |
| Java = 1, Java | 0.285 | 0.0760 | 0.188 | 0.221 |
|  | (0.267) | (0.244) | (0.241) | (0.145) |
| Partisan = 1, Jokowi | -0.122 | 0.281 | 0.282 | 0.414\*\* |
|  | (0.260) | (0.233) | (0.235) | (0.143) |
| Constant | 5.611\*\*\* | 6.809\*\*\* | -0.535 | 0.912 |
|  | (1.113) | (1.024) | (0.940) | (0.577) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 480 | 478 | 704 | 1,074 |
| ll | -236.4 | -276.8 | -302.3 | -696.1 |
| Standard errors in parentheses |  |  |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05 |  |  |  |  |

Table 6: Quota support - adding party choice

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Variables | Support for 30% quota | Support for 30% quota | Support for 30% quota | Support for 50% quota | Support for 50% quota | Support for 50% quota |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Patriarchy Index | -0.770\*\*\* | -0.773\*\*\* | -0.755\*\*\* | -1.461\*\*\* | -1.444\*\*\* | -1.442\*\*\* |
|  | -0.225 | -0.225 | -0.225 | -0.213 | -0.213 | -0.214 |
| Age (years) | -0.0166 | -0.016 | -0.0168 | -0.0270\*\* | -0.0275\*\*\* | -0.0268\*\* |
|  | -0.0092 | -0.00924 | -0.00919 | -0.0083 | -0.00833 | -0.00832 |
| Gender = 1, Male | -0.538\* | -0.536\* | -0.530\* | -0.606\*\* | -0.600\*\* | -0.585\*\* |
|  | -0.243 | -0.243 | -0.242 | -0.215 | -0.215 | -0.216 |
| Muslim = 1, Muslim | -0.721 | -0.685 | -0.649 | -0.732\* | -0.667 | -0.615 |
|  | -0.442 | -0.433 | -0.433 | -0.357 | -0.349 | -0.349 |
| Rural/Urban = 1, Urban | -0.381 | -0.387 | -0.362 | -0.500\* | -0.476\* | -0.462\* |
|  | -0.253 | -0.253 | -0.252 | -0.23 | -0.231 | -0.23 |
| Education group = 2, SD | 0.555 | 0.593 | 0.554 | 0.095 | 0.0858 | 0.138 |
|  | -0.365 | -0.368 | -0.365 | -0.337 | -0.338 | -0.337 |
| Education group = 3, SMP | 0.225 | 0.256 | 0.241 | -0.216 | -0.211 | -0.143 |
|  | -0.391 | -0.39 | -0.392 | -0.367 | -0.367 | -0.368 |
| Education group = 4, SMA | 0.376 | 0.385 | 0.378 | -0.571 | -0.575 | -0.526 |
|  | -0.391 | -0.39 | -0.392 | -0.361 | -0.361 | -0.361 |
| Education group = 5, College | 0.275 | 0.311 | 0.287 | -0.717 | -0.72 | -0.63 |
|  | -0.515 | -0.515 | -0.517 | -0.466 | -0.466 | -0.47 |
| Income group = 2, 1M to 2M | 0.102 | 0.089 | 0.089 | 0.296 | 0.284 | 0.302 |
|  | -0.291 | -0.29 | -0.291 | -0.258 | -0.258 | -0.26 |
| Income group = 3, 2M to 4M | -0.0492 | -0.0527 | -0.0532 | 0.152 | 0.149 | 0.135 |
|  | -0.311 | -0.311 | -0.311 | -0.282 | -0.282 | -0.282 |
| Income group = 4, More than 4M | 0.299 | 0.317 | 0.289 | 0.401 | 0.384 | 0.386 |
|  | -0.42 | -0.421 | -0.419 | -0.376 | -0.376 | -0.377 |
| Java = 1, Java | 0.301 | 0.283 | 0.292 | 0.081 | 0.078 | 0.0438 |
|  | -0.247 | -0.247 | -0.247 | -0.225 | -0.225 | -0.227 |
| V\_144==PDI-P = 1 | -0.209 |  |  | -0.15 |  |  |
|  | -0.263 |  |  | -0.235 |  |  |
| V\_144==Gerindra = 1 |  | 0.294 |  |  | -0.115 |  |
|  |  | -0.334 |  |  | -0.294 |  |
| V\_144==PKS = 1 |  |  | -0.00117 |  |  | -0.758 |
|  |  |  | -0.448 |  |  | -0.45 |
| Constant | 5.070\*\*\* | 4.918\*\*\* | 4.901\*\*\* | 7.223\*\*\* | 7.105\*\*\* | 6.999\*\*\* |
|  | -1 | -0.972 | -0.979 | -0.94 | -0.921 | -0.925 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 516 | 516 | 516 | 512 | 512 | 512 |
| Observations | -257.8 | -257.7 | -258.1 | -304.1 | -304.2 | -302.8 |
| ll |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Standard errors in parentheses |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 7: Vote for woman – adding party choice

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| LABELS | Voted for female candidate (DPRD) | Voted for female candidate (DPRD) | Voted for female candidate (DPRD) | Voted for female candidate (any legislative) | Voted for female candidate (any legislative) | Voted for female candidate (any legislative) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political Patriarchy Index | -0.507\* | -0.522\* | -0.559\*\* | -0.546\*\*\* | -0.550\*\*\* | -0.541\*\*\* |
|  | -0.211 | -0.209 | -0.209 | -0.127 | -0.127 | -0.127 |
| Age (years) | -0.00397 | -0.00417 | -0.00364 | -0.00193 | -0.002 | -0.00194 |
|  | -0.00849 | -0.0085 | -0.00851 | -0.0049 | -0.0049 | -0.0049 |
| Gender = 1, Male | 0.0114 | 0.0137 | 0.00805 | -0.113 | -0.11 | -0.11 |
|  | -0.218 | -0.218 | -0.218 | -0.133 | -0.133 | -0.133 |
| Muslim = 1, Muslim | 0.569 | 0.482 | 0.404 | -0.203 | -0.21 | -0.194 |
|  | -0.399 | -0.386 | -0.385 | -0.216 | -0.213 | -0.213 |
| Rural/Urban = 1, Urban | 0.00842 | 0.0131 | -0.0154 | 0.0092 | 0.0154 | 0.0237 |
|  | -0.227 | -0.226 | -0.227 | -0.137 | -0.137 | -0.137 |
| Education group = 2, SD | -0.263 | -0.261 | -0.273 | -0.0957 | -0.0964 | -0.0883 |
|  | -0.33 | -0.329 | -0.33 | -0.201 | -0.201 | -0.201 |
| Education group = 3, SMP | -0.161 | -0.164 | -0.208 | 0.26 | 0.262 | 0.271 |
|  | -0.363 | -0.363 | -0.363 | -0.222 | -0.222 | -0.222 |
| Education group = 4, SMA | -0.378 | -0.356 | -0.447 | 0.204 | 0.208 | 0.228 |
|  | -0.364 | -0.365 | -0.366 | -0.222 | -0.222 | -0.222 |
| Education group = 5, College | 0.0924 | 0.0679 | -0.0631 | 0.33 | 0.323 | 0.368 |
|  | -0.458 | -0.457 | -0.464 | -0.292 | -0.292 | -0.293 |
| Income group = 2, 1M to 2M | 0.113 | 0.113 | 0.118 | -0.197 | -0.193 | -0.194 |
|  | -0.261 | -0.261 | -0.261 | -0.158 | -0.158 | -0.159 |
| Income group = 3, 2M to 4M | 0.333 | 0.339 | 0.337 | 0.000501 | 0.00737 | 0.00824 |
|  | -0.278 | -0.278 | -0.278 | -0.179 | -0.179 | -0.179 |
| Income group = 4, More than 4M | -0.302 | -0.308 | -0.283 | -0.684\*\* | -0.685\*\* | -0.677\*\* |
|  | -0.426 | -0.425 | -0.425 | -0.257 | -0.257 | -0.258 |
| Java = 1, Java | 0.308 | 0.34 | 0.33 | 0.351\* | 0.358\*\* | 0.351\* |
|  | -0.232 | -0.23 | -0.23 | -0.138 | -0.137 | -0.137 |
| V\_144==PDI-P = 1 | 0.283 |  |  | 0.068 |  |  |
|  | -0.237 |  |  | -0.15 |  |  |
| V\_144==Gerindra = 1 | -0.434 |  |  | -0.12 |  |
|  |  | -0.399 |  |  | -0.199 |  |
| V\_144==PKS = 1 |  | 0.657 |  |  | -0.382 |
|  |  |  | -0.356 |  |  | -0.26 |
| Constant | -0.54 | -0.324 | -0.18 | 1.368\*\* | 1.406\*\* | 1.360\*\* |
|  | -0.877 | -0.848 | -0.848 | -0.525 | -0.514 | -0.516 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 744 | 744 | 744 | 1,159 | 1,159 | 1,159 |
| ll | -321.5 | -321.5 | -320.6 | -752.2 | -752.1 | -751.2 |
| Standard errors in parentheses |  |  |  |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |