

ALIGN REPORT

Indonesia: women's political engagement and gender norms

PART 1: The relationship between norms around caregiving and breadwinning, and political participation



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Table of contents

Key terms	4
Key findings	5
Introduction	6
Understanding women's participation in politics	8
Citizen political participation	8
Gender norms and women's engagement in political activities	9
Indonesia: the political, social and economic context	11
Methodology	13
Data collection	13
Ethical considerations	14
Limitations	14
Women's attitudes around gender norms, agency and engagement in political activities	15
Attitudes towards breadwinning and caregiving norms	15
Participation in community activities and permission from husbands	17
Women's engagement in political activities	20
Relationship between gender norms and women's engagement in political activities	26
Measuring types of views around gender norms	26
How are gender norms associated with women's political engagement?	29
Are gender norms associated with women's motivations to participate in political activities?	32
Summary of findings	35
Implications for policy and research	35
References	37
Annexes	41
Annex 1	41
Annex 2	45

Key terms

Breadwinning norms: Perceived norms that men are responsible for earning income and that women's main responsibility is to provide care for their children and family.

Citizen political participation: This term refers to any kind of actions, either voluntary or mobilised, by private citizens to influence government decision-making. It can include their involvement in any type of political activities (such as participating in campaigns, volunteering with political parties, joining online discussions and voting) other than running for elected office.

Injunctive norms: Perceptions of what other people consider to be appropriate, or expectations about what people should do (Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change, 2019).

Kodrat: The perceived biological traits of men and women, which are often used in cultural and religious contexts in Indonesia to describe the traditional roles and responsibilities attributed to men and women.

Money politics: A term used to describe the influence of wealth and financial resources on political processes such as elections and policymaking. It can have a profound impact on democratic systems, as it can create an unequal playing field for candidates and parties, and lead to policies that favour the interests of wealthy individuals and corporations over those of the general public.

Reference group: People around an individual whose opinion matters for them in relation to a particular behaviour or context. The opinions of reference groups influence the actions of many individuals (Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change, 2019).

Social norms: Beliefs about which behaviours are appropriate within a given group of people. These are informal rules, often unspoken and unwritten, that most people absorb, accept and follow (Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change, 2019).

Key findings

- The majority of women in this study of four cities in Indonesia, continue to follow patriarchal norms. More than 90%, for example, adhere to the traditional norms around men as breadwinners. Their adherence to such patriarchal norms is also confirmed by the high share of women (69%) who believe that men make better political leaders than women.
- More than 75% of women in this study participated in different types of political activities. Around 60%, however, were motivated primarily by the money they can receive for participating in political rallies, regardless of their education and income levels, or whether they adhere to egalitarian, moderate or patriarchal gender norms.
- One key finding is that women's adherence to conservative gender norms, such as men as breadwinners, seems to increase their political participation and reduce the likelihood they will participate purely for money. This suggests that women with more egalitarian views may be more sceptical about politics and may only participate if they are paid to do so.
- The findings imply the need for action in five areas:
 - building genuine political engagement at the grass roots level
 - strengthening women's economic security to reduce the influence of money incentives on political participation
 - challenging traditional gender norms by engaging cultural and religious leaders and the media to promote gender equality and the value of women's political participation
 - reforming Indonesia's General Election Commission, with stricter regulations on campaign financing to curb 'money politics' and make the electoral process more inclusive and accessible
 - conducting further research on the ways in which gender norms shape political participation, given their influence on attitudes and behaviours.

Introduction

More than 205 million people in Indonesia went to the polling stations on 14 February 2024 to elect their president, vice president, and members of parliament (MPs) for the country's national and local legislatures. In this Muslim-majority and young democracy, the elections that take place every five years offer a unique opportunity to observe women's participation in electoral rallies and campaigns.

Women in Indonesia – as in many other parts of the world – are under-represented in politics. Since the *Reformasi* era began in 1998, affirmative action policies have been implemented to boost women's political representation (Prihatini, 2019a). These include laws requiring political parties to ensure women comprise 30% of their party board members and candidates. Parties that do not meet the requirement are disqualified by the General Election Commission *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU). However, the enforcement of these quotas has been inconsistent. Women's parliamentary presence in the Lower House of the Indonesian Parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR) only reached 20.5% in 2019 (Prihatini, 2022). A new record was achieved this year, as 127 women were sworn in among 580 MPs (22%) on 1 October 2024 (Prastiwi, 2024).

The under-representation of women in politics is often mirrored by the lower citizen participation of women in political activities compared to men (Gallego, 2009). However, Inglehart and Norris (2003) and Coffé and Dilli (2015) suggest modernisation is helping to close the gender gap in political participation – a finding confirmed by the result of the 2019 General Election. Of the country's 102.6 million women who were eligible to vote (Hayati, 2023), 83.75% cast their votes in the presidential election – a slightly higher percentage than for men voters (80.2%) (KPU, 2019).

High voter turnout among women in Indonesia reflects their active participation in political activities, yet this engagement does not necessarily signify improvements in their education or labour force participation, or their wider participation in politics (other than by voting). Despite their increased access to education and job opportunities, women remain heavily burdened by unpaid care work (Prospera et al., 2023) and are predominantly employed in the informal economy, where they earn low wages and have limited autonomy (Liu, 2022). The persistence of norms around the male breadwinner (YouGov and Investing in Women, 2020) continues to undervalue women's contributions and restrict their economic independence. Therefore, while women are voting in large numbers, their participation may be more aligned with traditional roles and responsibilities rather than indicating genuine progress in gender equality and the transformation of patriarchal norms.

This study, exploring the association of gender norms on women's engagement in political activities, builds on the literature that investigates persistent barriers to women's political participation. These barriers include socioeconomic, political institutions, and cultural/ideological factors (Prihatini, 2019c; Aspinall et al., 2021; Lorenzini and Bassoli, 2016). The study uses a gender norms lens to understand how perceptions of women's role in the family shape their political interest and engagement.

It focuses on male-breadwinning norms, which are rooted in the interpretation of *kodrat*, a concept of traditional gender roles linked to a perceived natural trait or biological disposition that leads most women to prioritise their roles as wives and mothers over their roles as workers (Ford and Parker, 2008). These norms have been linked to women's limited participation in the economy and in the public sphere.

This research explores how women perceive these gender norms in relation to their engagement in political activities (including political rallies run by presidential candidates) as a potential precursor to their later decision to become candidates and run for office. Existing literature indicates gender norms often curtail women's participation in the labour market (Altuzarra et al., 2021; Kabeer, 2021). However, their caregiving responsibilities may be less of a constraint when it comes to taking part in public events where their spouses share similar values, including political activities (Halimatusa'diyah and Prihatini, 2021).

This study provides insights into how women perceive their caregiving responsibilities while volunteering in activities or attending political meetings, with a focus on the 2024 presidential and legislative elections. The type of political participation matters for two reasons. First, with domestic responsibilities strongly embedded as part of *kodrat*, women may perceive attending political meetings to be too demanding in terms of their time and commitment. Second, women's participation in campaign activities sheds light on whether they are improving their political knowledge and becoming well-informed voters who could, ultimately, run for office. This is essential for the improvement of an inclusive, representative democracy in Indonesia – a democracy in which women participate on an equal basis.

About this report

This report is the first of two reports that present the study findings on key norms around women's engagement in political activities in Indonesia. The objective of this quantitative analysis is to explore how women negotiate the perceived gender norms regarding breadwinning and childcare, and how these norms relate to their decision-making about public engagement and political participation. In other words, it examines the extent to which political participation demonstrates agency and a desire to align with political norms of their reference groups (the people around an individual whose opinion matters to them). It draws on a survey of 1,059 women attending 2024 presidential campaign rallies in four major urban areas of Indonesia: Jakarta, Medan, Surabaya and Makassar.

The second report (Prihatini et al., 2024) uses a qualitative approach to explore the strategies used by political parties to engage women voters during candidates' presidential and legislative campaign. It aims to understand whether or not these strategies lead potential women voters to shift away from their perceived traditional gender norms and participate in the campaigns and election. The report draws on findings from qualitative interviews with politicians and party representatives on the experiences of women who ran for political office and participated in presidential campaigns.

This report is structured as follows. The following section outlines the key literature on citizen's participation in politics and different types of engagement. It also discusses women's political participation in the global and regional contexts, including an exploration of gender norms and women's political activities at the grass roots level. The next section provides the over-arching social, economic and political context for Indonesia. This study then sets out the methodology for the quantitative data collection and analysis. The following sections present the findings. The concluding section provides policy recommendations and further research avenues.

Understanding women's participation in politics

Citizen political participation

Citizen political participation is crucial to the functioning of democratic systems as it ensures effective representation and political repertoires (the ways in which citizens express their opinions). Strong political participation indicates the connections between democracy and citizenship (Grassi et al., 2024) and is shaped by two key determinants: resources and political attitudes (Brady et al., 1995; Quaranta, 2018). Resources here include, but are not limited to, independent income, political information, civic skills, and social networks. However, as a result of gendered expectations about familial duties, women are often prevented from engaging in politics in the way that men do (Inglehart and Norris, 2000).

While studies indicate contrasting conclusions on whether political attitudes determine the likelihood of participation (Quintelier and Van Deth, 2014), a commonly accepted view is that citizens who are interested in politics, who support democratic norms and values, who trust political institutions and feel politically efficacious are much more likely to become politically active than those who are uninterested, alienated and less confident. People are unlikely to get involved in politics if it does not interest them because involvement requires them to commit both time and energy. In a similar vein, people are hesitant to participate in government-instituted voting systems if they do not think that the government is impartial and open. In other words, people are less inclined to try to influence political issues if they don't think they have any power over the government (Liu, 2022).

Political participation can be defined as any kind of actions, either voluntary or mobilised, by private citizens to influence government decision-making (Uhlener, 2015). Types of citizen political participation range from the least to the most active memberships, based on the participants' political motivations (interest, efficacy) and resources (time and skills). One of the most common distinctions between various forms of political participation is conventional versus unconventional (Stockemer, 2014). Conventional political activities, such as voting, becoming a party member and attending political rallies, aim to affect the political process through the electoral arena. Unconventional political engagement aims to influence politics using non-institutionalized techniques, such as demonstrations, boycotts, and petitions.

There is a strong correlation between political participation and resources, such as wealth, networks and education (Inglehart and Norris, 2003), as well as age and marital status (Jeroense and Spierings 2023; Pacheco and Owen, 2015). These sociodemographic factors shape the cost of participating, the cost of conventionality, and the identification of personal values. Jeroense and Spierings (2023) found that the most active political 'insiders' are likely to be men and unmarried individuals because political activities require intense participation; while the most expressive 'outsiders' tend to be young people who are unhappy with the institutions. 'Inactive' citizens are often those with low levels of educational attainment; while 'faithful' voters are those who are relatively well-off, financially secure and older. Older participants who are married and in good health will significantly play an active role if they participate in the political domain. The irony is, even though male participants are less likely to participate, they will more likely be promoted once joining, compared to females.

Another study by Zimmer et al. (2016) argues that broad variations in the medium for political participation, depending on different types of government. Participation in politics is shaped by

socio-political context and can develop in various forms, including using e-government platforms, expressing support to political organisations, joining protests or rallies, voting in elections, and running for a public office.

Citizen participation in politics also includes joining a party as a volunteer or a member, helping with pressure groups, and supporting voluntary groups with a focus on advocacy at the grass roots level.

Gender norms and women's engagement in political activities

Gender norms are the implicit and informal rules that prescribe how people are expected to behave based on their gender (Harper et al., 2020) – rules that are embedded in institutions and reproduced through social interaction. Gender norms shape women and men's access to resources and freedom, affecting their voice and power in exercising their agency (Marcus, 2018). How a woman exercises her agency, such as making a decision to participate in work or in community activities independently from – or jointly with – her husband, is shaped by her understanding of gender norms (Donald et al., 2017; Kavanaugh et al., 2019).

The gender norms that confine women to their role as caregivers can limit their time, resources and opportunities to engage in political activities. In a setting of strong traditional gender norms – as seen in Indonesia – the level of women's political representation and their participation in civic activism is likely to be low. Political engagement in such settings is seen as a male domain (Paxton and Kunovich, 2003; Inglehart and Norris, 2003) or as an activity that conflicts with women's 'feminine' roles (Osawa, 2015). The social structure within a traditional gender-norm setting also hinders women from participating in politics as it creates inequality in wealth, assets, income and networks, leading to different risks associated with joining political activities for women and men (Liu, 2022).

Some studies have found an unclear relationship between traditional gender roles and the gender gap in electoral participation (Gallego, 2007; Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita, 2014). These studies argue that the higher turnout of women on election days since the 1990s is related to norms about 'civic duties' that have been internalised in early adulthood through socialisation and social pressure (Gidengil et al., 2016; Knack and Kropf, 1998). Studies such as those by Carreras (2018) and Costa and McCrae (2005) argue that the narrowing of the gender gap in voting is the result of women citizens tending to have higher civic duties than men, given that women are more likely to follow social norms and behave in a dutiful way. However, the intense sense of obedience to civic duties among women might also be affected by their lack of representation in politics and in leadership positions, leading to a greater sense among women that they should follow the norms set by predominantly male leaders (Eagly and Karau, 2002).

Gender norms do not just create differences in the political participation of men and women. They also intersect with other forms of disadvantage to create disparities among women based on their class (George et al., 2020). These norms also result in gender inequality in the ownership of assets and other sources of finance, which are vital when running for office. This economic disparity makes political involvement more costly for women and creates a situation where economic inequality benefits elite women who have more assets and better access to financing than women at the grass roots level. Harper et al. (2020) found, for example, that the rise of women politicians often leads to 'elite capture': meaning that politics becomes dominated by an exclusive group, such as women who have familial ties with politician elites or with strong financial or monetary resources, limiting broader representation for women in politics.

Pervasive traditional gender norms also create bias in voters' attitudes to women politicians. They embed feminine stereotypes that lead voters to see female candidates as lacking experience,

strength and authority (Schneider and Bos, 2014). Such stereotyping could affect voter decisions, although this depends on whether voters have more explicit information about female candidates that confirm the stereotypes (Bauer, 2015). However, Schwarz and Coppock (2022) found that voters' bias may not affect women's low representation in politics. The study, which summarises 67 studies from developed and developing countries, found that voters do, on average, vote for women. They argued that supply side factors, such as political ambitions, party structures, and donor preference might better explain the low female representation in politics (Thomsen and Swers, 2017).

Gender norms in Indonesia

Traditional or conservative¹ gender roles in Indonesia have been shaped by the notion of '*kodrat*', which differentiates the roles of women and men based on their perceived natural biological traits. This concept positions women as child bearers and, because of this, they are responsible for caring for their family and children. *Kodrat* was reinforced as the social value system through government policies during the 'New Order' regime² which portrayed women as primarily responsible for bearing children and taking care of the family and children (Robinson, 2008). The notion often referred to as 'state ibu-ism' ('*ibu*' meaning mother in Bahasa Indonesia) propaganda emphasised that women had a dual role: they were allowed to work outside the home but they were expected to be subservient, obedient and pleasing to their husbands and families (Suryakusuma, 2011; Utomo, 1997).

The notion of *kodrat*, initially imposed by the state to suppress the introduction of more egalitarian norms through education has been internalised by many women and hampers their aspirations to participate in the public domain. In terms of economic participation, studies have concluded that gender norms limit women's participation in the economy. It has been argued, for example, that the low participation of married women in the labour force is the result of social expectations that position women as the main providers of care, and not as the breadwinners for their families (Setyonaluri, 2013; Cameron et al., 2020). Even when they work, women tend to label themselves as 'homemakers' (Singarimbun, 1999; Indraswari, 2006; Blackwood, 2008) and consider their own income-earning activities as 'secondary' to their husband's employment (Utomo, 2012).

In such a context, women are not simply exercising their agency when they work, but rather negotiating their caring role and seeking their husbands' permission (Setyonaluri et al., 2021) while not reneging on their care responsibilities. A woman is also more likely to seek her husband's permission on other household decisions, such as spending her husband's income, visiting health care services for herself and her children, buying household appliances, visiting relatives, etc. (BKKBN et al., 2018).

Gender norms in Indonesia remain conservative, despite the country's progress on educational attainment and modernisation. Around 43% of Indonesian men prefer women to not work for pay outside the home – a percentage that is the same as for Saudi Arabia and higher than for India (35%) (Gallup and ILO, 2017). The 2018 World Values Survey found that over 75% of Indonesians agreed with the statement that men have more right to jobs than women when jobs are rare (Haerpfer et al., 2022). Such conservative views are also found among younger, more urbanised, generations. The 2020 Social Norms Attitude and Practice Survey (SNAPS) among young millennials in urban Indonesia found that most women conform to the gender roles that position them as family caregivers and men as the primary income earner (YouGov and Investing in Women, 2020).

1 The terms traditional, conservative and patriarchal gender norms are used interchangeably in this report. These terms refer to norms that uphold male domination in the participation in the public space and formal employment.

2 Instituted by former President Suharto from his rise to power in 1966 until his resignation in 1998, the "New Order" aimed to achieve political order, including the removal of mass participation in the political process. It featured a strong political role for the military, the bureaucratisation and corporatisation of political and societal organisations, and repression of opposition.

With Indonesia implementing an open-list proportional representation (PR) system, the election regime can also exacerbate women's under-representation. An open-list PR system relies on a strong individual persona, which makes political competition fiercer. In addition, women with less access to financial sources than men often find the system prohibitively expensive (Prihatini, 2019b). Despite affirmative action, such as gender quotas, women candidates tend to compete for lower-list positions and 'hopeless' constituencies. In terms of electability, female nominations might yield results that are similar to those for their male counterparts. However, women candidates face the challenge of the 'electability factor' to even get nominated, which is determined by political parties based on the ability of candidates to finance their campaigns – a factor that favours men.

Indonesia: the political, social and economic context

Political context

Indonesia was ruled by an authoritarian government under President Suharto between 1966 and 1998. The post-Suharto era is known as *Reformasi* (English: Reform) and has been characterised by a more open and liberal political-social setting. A series of reforms, with four key amendments to the Constitution generated important changes. These include the restructuring of the country's national Parliament which became a bicameral legislature in 2004 with the creation of the *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* (DPD) as the Upper House, which consists of four members from each province. This is an addition to the existing *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR) as the Lower House.

Indonesia has made substantial democratic achievements since 1998, with significant political and media pluralism and peaceful transfers of power. However, significant issues remain, including systematic corruption, discrimination and violence against minority groups, conflict in Papua, and the politicisation of defamation and blasphemy laws. In 2024, Freedom House labelled Indonesia as a 'partly free' country with a score of 57 out of 100 – one point lower than the previous year, with a notable decline in political pluralism and participation. Freedom House also highlighted the ruling of the Constitutional Court, then headed by a relative of President Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo, to create an exception to an election law to allow one of the President's sons to run for the office of vice president in 2024 (Freedom House, 2024).

Of the 18 parties participating in the 2024 elections, almost all failed to meet the criteria of having a minimum of 30% female candidates on their lists. This occurred despite the Election Law No. 7 of 2017 Article 245, which stipulates that there must be women's representation of at least 30% in the party tickets in each electoral district, rather than as a national total.

Political socialisation remains gendered. Women are often discouraged from engaging in public affairs and are less likely to be asked for their political opinions, resulting in their lower level of political participation (Verba et al., 1997). A systematic comparison of the gender gap in political participation in 13 East and Southeast Asian (ESA) countries, including Indonesia, finds that men and women overwhelmingly vote at an equal rate in elections, yet major gender gaps persist in other types of political action (Liu, 2022). Women are, for example, 4% less likely than men to participate in political campaigns. They are also 2% and 5% less likely than men to engage in protests and collective action, respectively.

Social and economic context

Indonesia continues to face gender inequality, despite its improving performance in every component of the Gender Gap Index: education, health, life expectancy and political empowerment (Cameron, 2023).

Violence against women, persists. A nationally representative survey on violence against women in 2016 found that 33.4% of women aged 15-64 had experienced violence throughout their life (Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, 2017). Although it has declined somewhat, its prevalence was still high in 2021, with 1 out of 4 women having ever experienced violence (Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, 2023). The persistent prevalence of violence against women is reflected in adherence to the country's social norms. Indonesia's 2017 Demographic Health Survey (DHS) found that 32% of women aged 15-49 justified wife-beating by husbands, while the share of young women who agreed with male violence was even higher (40%)(BKKBN et al., 2018).

Women also continue to be over-represented in low-paid jobs in Indonesia's informal sector. Around 64% of women worked in this sector in 2023, compared to 55% of men, and the share of women working as unpaid family workers accounts for the largest share in terms of job statuses (BPS, 2023). The gender pay gap in Indonesia continues to be wide, with an average monthly wage of IDR 3,840,084 (around \$235) for men, and IDR 2,454,023 (around \$150 for women (ILO, 2020).

Despite norms that continue to emphasise men as the primary breadwinners, Indonesia's rapid economic growth has expanded work opportunities for women. Economic challenges, such as poverty and job insecurity, are leading more women to enter the workforce, even though traditional social norms persist. In addition, the poverty rate has declined, falling from 11.96% to 9.36 % between 2012 and 2023 (BPS, 2023). The Indonesian government has been providing social assistance through social safety net (SSN) programmes to reduce poverty since 1997, with most social assistance provided as conditional cash transfers that are given to families living under the poverty line.

Progress in terms of educational achievements, has not yet translated into greater labour force participation. The participation rate for both men and women has been stagnant at 81.4% and 52.5%, respectively, for the last two decades. In addition, Indonesia's labour market remains dominated by informality, with 59% of its workers concentrated in the informal sector (BPS, 2024). Indonesia imposes a monthly minimum wage policy at provincial and district (kabupaten/kota) level. The average minimum wage in Indonesia in 2024 is IDR 3,113,359.85 (around \$191)(Ministry of Manpower, 2024).

Indonesia also continues to experience persistent economic inequality. Between 2019 and 2023, the Gini Coefficient³ increased from 0.379 to 0.383, a sign of growing income inequality in the country. Economic inequality in Indonesia is in the mid-range when compared to other countries in the region, particularly Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Viet Nam (World Bank, 2023).

Methodology

This research used a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative data analysis to understand how gender norms, identities and associated values shape women's interest in engaging with political activities (the subject of this report) and what political parties and politicians do to increase women's political participation (the subject of an accompanying report: Prihatini et al., 2024). This research approach provides an empirical connection between women as voters and women as legislative candidates, and presidential campaign team members.

This report focuses on understanding women as voters and citizens participating in local politics. It draws upon a survey of 1,069 women to explore their attitudes to gender norms (in particular, men as the primary breadwinners and women as the primary caregivers) which can affect women's interest in, resources for, and agency in relation to political activities. The analysis offers a critical examination of political interests in general, and the association between gender norms and women's political engagement during presidential elections.

Data collection

The quantitative data collection focused on women's political participation in four urban-metropolitan areas: Jakarta, Medan, Surabaya and Makassar. Previous studies have shown that women's participation in the labour market in urban areas is more likely to be impacted by caring responsibilities than in rural areas (See Cameron et al., 2020). In addition, this study selected metropolitan cities because large political rallies were more likely to be held in bigger cities than in smaller ones, with urban women having a greater exposure to political activities than rural women.

The quantitative survey of 1,059 respondents in the four cities was conducted between 21 February and 10 March 2024. The survey sample consisted of women aged 19-64 years-old who are married or have been married (widowed/divorced) (see Annex 1 for more information on participants' demographic characteristics). It focused on women's perceptions on statements around traditional gender roles at home and at work as they pertain to their decisions to participate in political activities.

A stratified sampling method was used to select the smallest enumeration area in each city in the survey. The strata selected was the *Kecamatan* (sub-district area), with the three *Kecamatan* that have the largest populations selected in each of the four cities. Within each of *Kecamatan*, three *Kelurahan* (urban villages) were randomly selected. The researchers also randomly selected 2-3 neighbouring *Rukun Tetangga* (RTs, meaning hamlets or neighbourhood areas) where the survey was conducted. A snowballing method was used at the RT level to select the women to be interviewed (see Annex 1).

We developed the questionnaire (see separate Report Supplement document) by adapting the gender norms measurements from Mackie and Monet (2014). In the gender norms section, this researchers asked women to share their perceptions of gender norms by asking whether they agreed with statements around male breadwinning norms, forms of injunctive norms (e.g., whether it is acceptable for women to work outside the home), women's agency in participating in public activities (e.g., whether they need permission from their husbands) and decision-making, and the reference group that influences women's political choices.

In the political participation section, this researcher examined different layers of women's engagement in politics, from their participation in any political activities to volunteering for political parties. The researchers also asked them about their perceptions of women as political leaders and

corruption among political actors. The data collection process utilized Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) software, which was installed on the researchers' mobile phones. After each interview, the collected data were synchronised and stored securely on LPEM FEB UI's server.

Ethical considerations

The study received ethics clearance through the Research Ethics Committee at LPEM FEB UI and obtained a research permit from the Ministry of Home Affairs and from the local authorities in the four cities.

Before each interview, the researchers provided information and forms on informed consent to each respondent. This form included information about potential risks, recognising the possibility that vulnerable women might be selected, including those with disabilities or survivors of gender-based violence (GBV). The form noted that some survey questions might trigger memories of past traumas, such as political oppression and the violence experienced by women. The survey was anonymised to conceal the respondents' identities and their full information was password protected and stored securely in the internal server of LPEM FEB UI.

Given that there were male and female researchers, some respondents chose to be interviewed outside their house, particularly when interviewed by male researchers. However, the researchers ensured that the respondents were interviewed in a safe space with minimum interventions from other people. If respondents did not want to be interviewed by male researchers, interviews were paused until a female researcher could join the interview.

Each respondent received a payment of IDR 50,000 (around \$3) for their time (the survey included 75 questions and took around 15 to 30 minutes to complete). The payments were made, electronically, after the respondent completed the interview to avoid any assumption that the payment was linked to a presidential campaign.

Limitations

The quantitative survey was initially designed to interview women who were participating in the presidential and legislative candidate campaigns and rallies during the 2024 Presidential and Legislative election. However, the campaign period was short (between December 2023 and the end of January 2024) and there were also concerns that conducting surveys during rallies might present safety risks for the researchers (such as accusations of spying on the campaign activities for opponents). As a result, the survey was conducted a week after the nationwide election on 14 February 2024. The sampling design of the survey did not aim to capture a nationally representative picture of the perceptions of urban women across Indonesia.

Women's attitudes around gender norms, agency and engagement in political activities

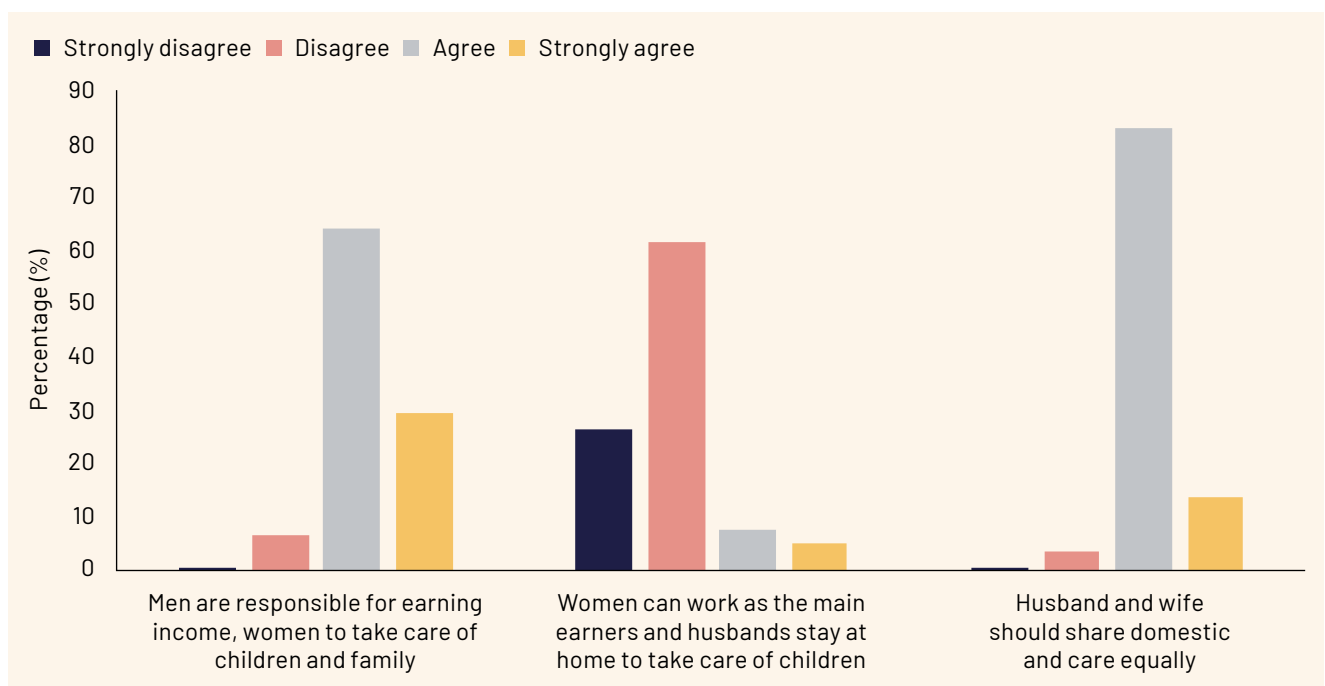
Most of the survey respondents are middle-aged (aged 35 years and older) and have senior secondary and higher level of education. More than 90% of women in the sample are married women and at different life stages in relation to childbearing, demographic and social characteristics in each region. Only 35% of women in the sample are working for pay. Similar patterns were found across all four cities, with the exception of a higher share of women in Jakarta who work for pay compared to others.

More than 46% of women belong to middle-class households with an average monthly expenditure of between \$153 and \$214, while only 10% women come from high-income households with average household expenditure of more than \$ 244 per month. For further information about the sample, including visualisations of the demographic data, see Annex 1.

Attitudes towards breadwinning and caregiving norms

More than 90% of women in the survey agree or strongly agree with the statement that men are responsible for earning income and women are taking care of children (Figure 1). These 'conservative' gender norms are consistently confirmed in the low share (around 12%) of those who agree with the 'reverse' statement: that women can work as the main breadwinner and husbands can stay at home. However, when it comes to statements on the equal distribution of domestic and care responsibilities, the majority of the respondents agree or strongly agree with such statements. High acceptance of shared caregiving indicates a distinction between men's responsibility to earn an income and what men should do in terms of childcare.

Figure 1 Proportion of women who agree/disagree with statements related gender norms (%)(N=1,059)



As discussed in subsequent sections of this report, the level of education is one of the key variables effecting women's decision making on engagement in community and political activities. For the purposes of this report, 'low education' refers to women who have an education consisting of junior high school and lower, while 'high education' consists of senior high school and higher level of education.

The proportion of women who hold conservative gender norms varies across education levels (Table 1). The share of women with higher education (senior secondary and higher) who strongly agree with male breadwinning norms is higher (33%) than among to women with lower education (19.5%). However, women with higher levels of education are also more likely to strongly agree with an equal distribution of household work between husband and wives (16.8%) compared to those with lower education (6%).

Table 1 Proportion of women who agree/disagree with statements related gender norms by education level (%)

	Low education*	High education**
AGREE with the following statements:		
<i>Men are responsible for earning income, women to take care of children and family</i>		
strongly disagree	0.7	0.1
disagree	4.0	7.7
agree	75.8	59.2
strongly agree	19.5	33.0
<i>Women can work as the main earner and husband stays at home to take care of children</i>		
strongly disagree	20.5	28.4
disagree	71.9	57.3
agree	7.6	7.4
strongly agree	0.0	6.9
<i>Husband and wife should share domestic and care equally</i>		
strongly disagree	0.0	0.3
disagree	5.0	2.5
agree	89.1	80.5
strongly agree	6.0	16.8
N	302	757

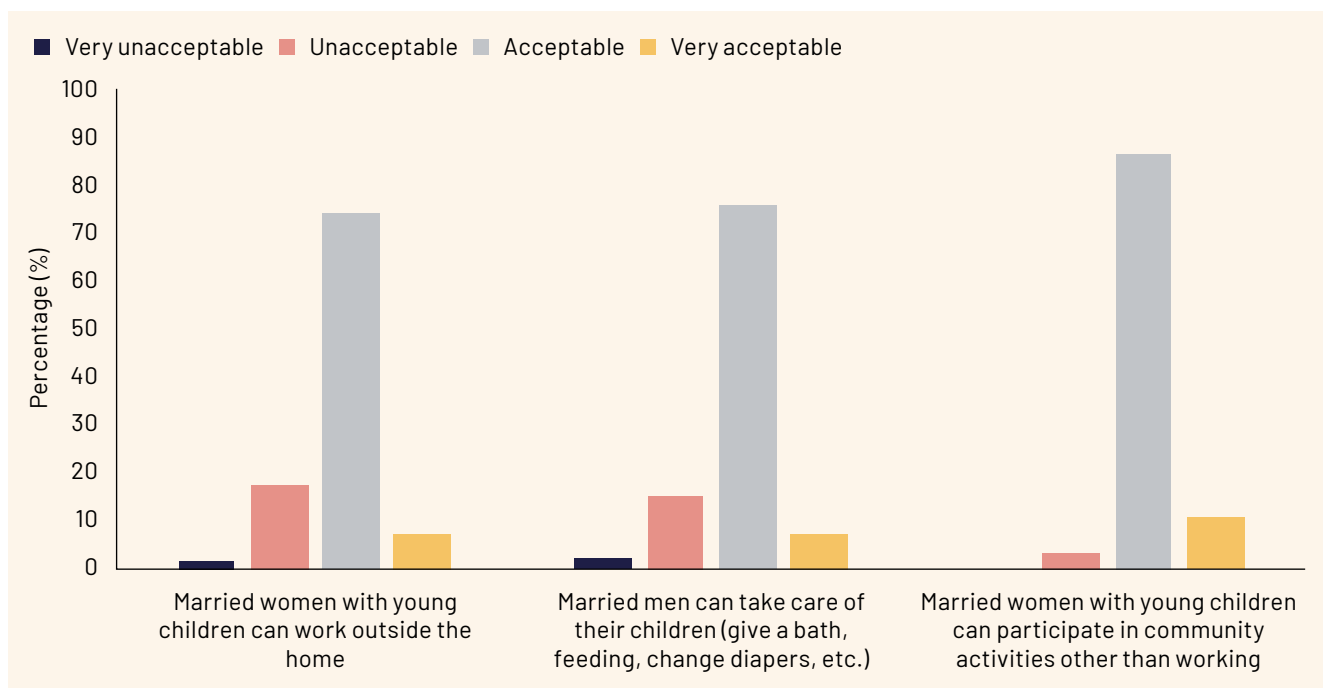
*No schooling, Elementary and Junior High School

**Senior High School, Diploma and Tertiary Education

The perceived gender norms held by individuals, however, may not necessarily be reflected in the everyday practices in the society where they live. When participants were asked whether it is acceptable for women with young children to earn an income outside the home and for men to provide care for their children (Figure 2), the majority (74.2% and 75.6% respectively) stated that both situations are acceptable in their neighbourhood. Similarly, the majority of women (86.4%). also feel that it is acceptable for women to participate in community activities.

The inconsistency between perceived gender norms and what is accepted in the society (i.e. injunctive norms) may indicate that women continue to hold to the male breadwinning norms, but they also recognise that most women in their community who work are, nevertheless, accepted. This gap or misperception between personal and injunctive norms on women working outside the home was also observed in Cameron et al. (2024) who found that most men and women underestimated the level of support from the community for this. Alternatively, the gap between personal and injunctive norms could indicate that gender norms are negotiable. Women may adhere to the traditional norms, but they would work when there is a need to do so.

Figure 2 Proportion of women who situations describing gendered division of labour as acceptable or unacceptable (%) (N=1,059)



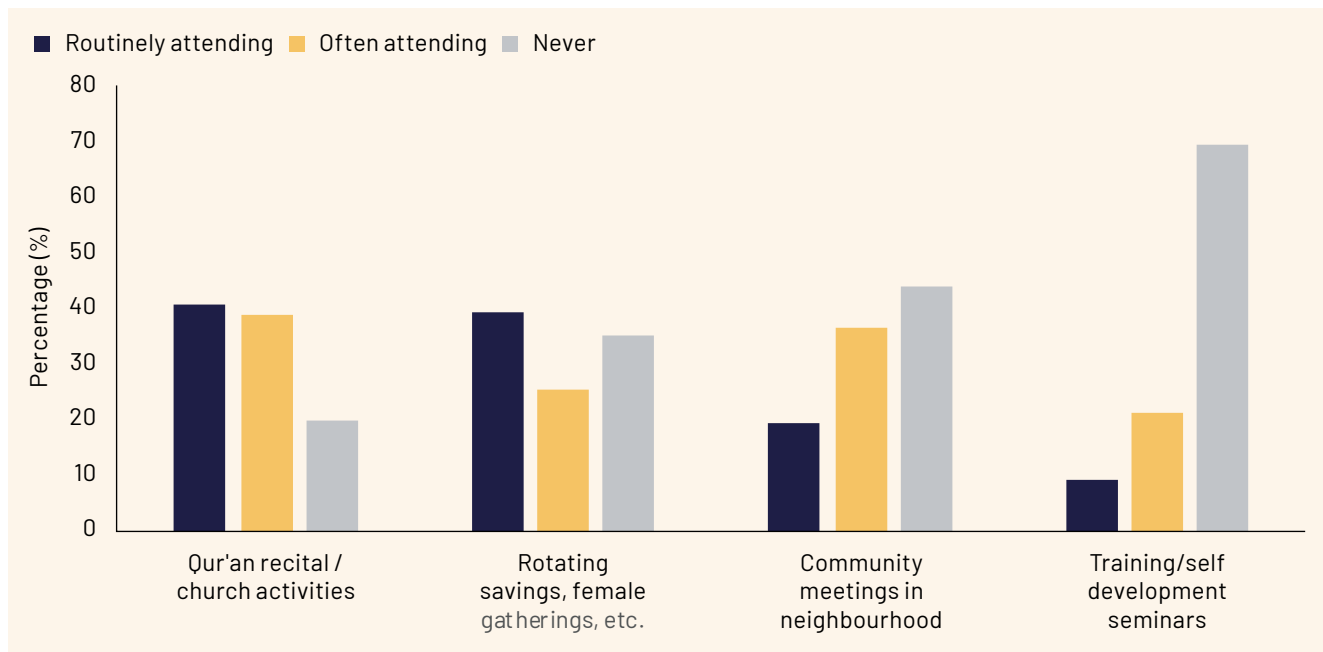
Participation in community activities and permission from husbands

This research captures women's participation in community activities as a measure of their agency in participating more generally in the public domain. A higher level of community participation can reflect a higher engagement in political activities, given that women have more exposure to political networks through their community participation, such as a *pengajian* (Qur'an recital group) or other neighbourhood gatherings.

The survey finds that the majority of women have an active participation in community activities (Figure 3). Qur'an recital or other religious activities were the most common forms of activity, followed by rotating savings (*arisan*) and community meetings. Of the four urban areas covered by the survey, Surabaya has the highest share of women who routinely attend Qur'an recital and rotating savings meetings. The majority of women who undertake such activities often or sometimes, always asked for their husbands' permission to attend.⁴ This suggests that the respondents may be influenced by personal and injunctive traditional gender norms about public participation and have limited agency in decision-making.

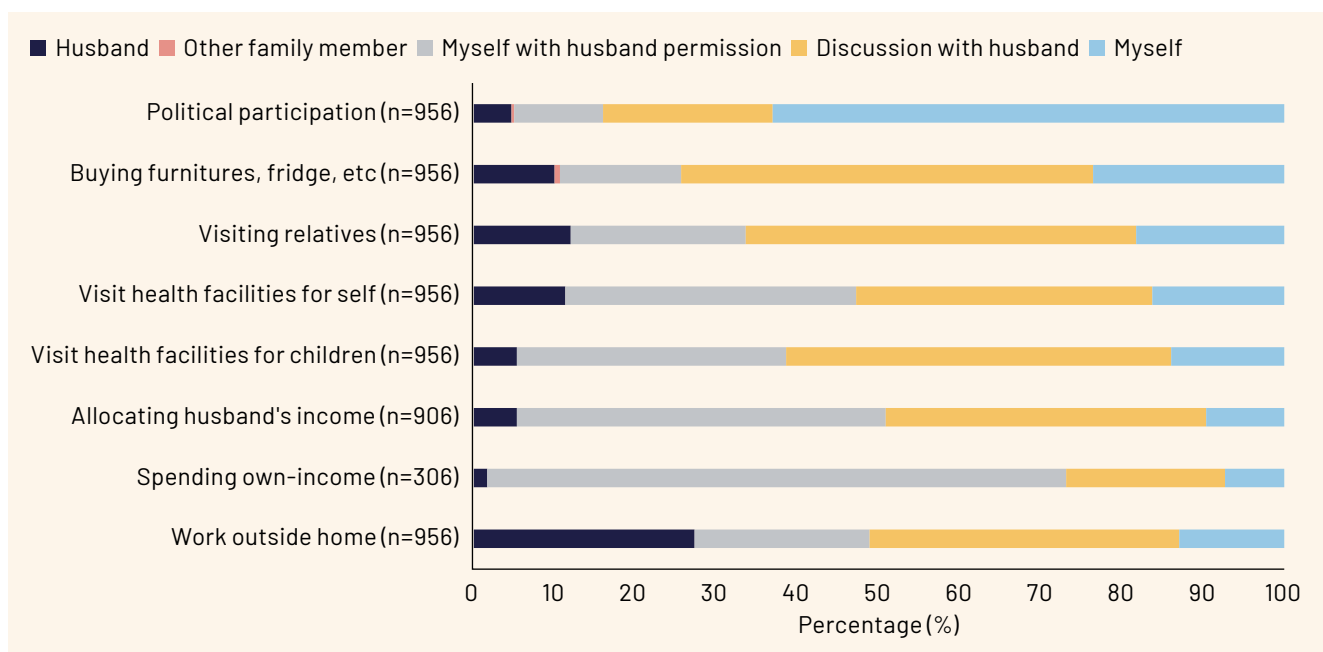
⁴ The shares of women who always asked for husband's permission to go to Qur'an recital, rotating savings, community meetings, and training for self-development are: 72.4%, 68.9%, 66.6%, and 77.1%, respectively.

Figure 3 Proportion of women attending community activities (%) (N=1,059)



The survey also found that husbands' involvement in decision making at home (Figure 4) is similar to their involvement in decision making about women's community activities. In most aspects of decision-making, a large share of women in the survey either asked permission from their husbands or had a discussion and reached agreement with their husbands. Women seemed to have less of a say in deciding whether to work to earn income outside the home, and more authority in decisions about major household purchases (dark blue bar). Contrary to expectations, women in this survey seem to have the highest level of agency in decisions about their engagement in political activities. More than 63% of women usually make their own decisions about their political participation, which, however, did not involve running for office for the purposes of this survey.

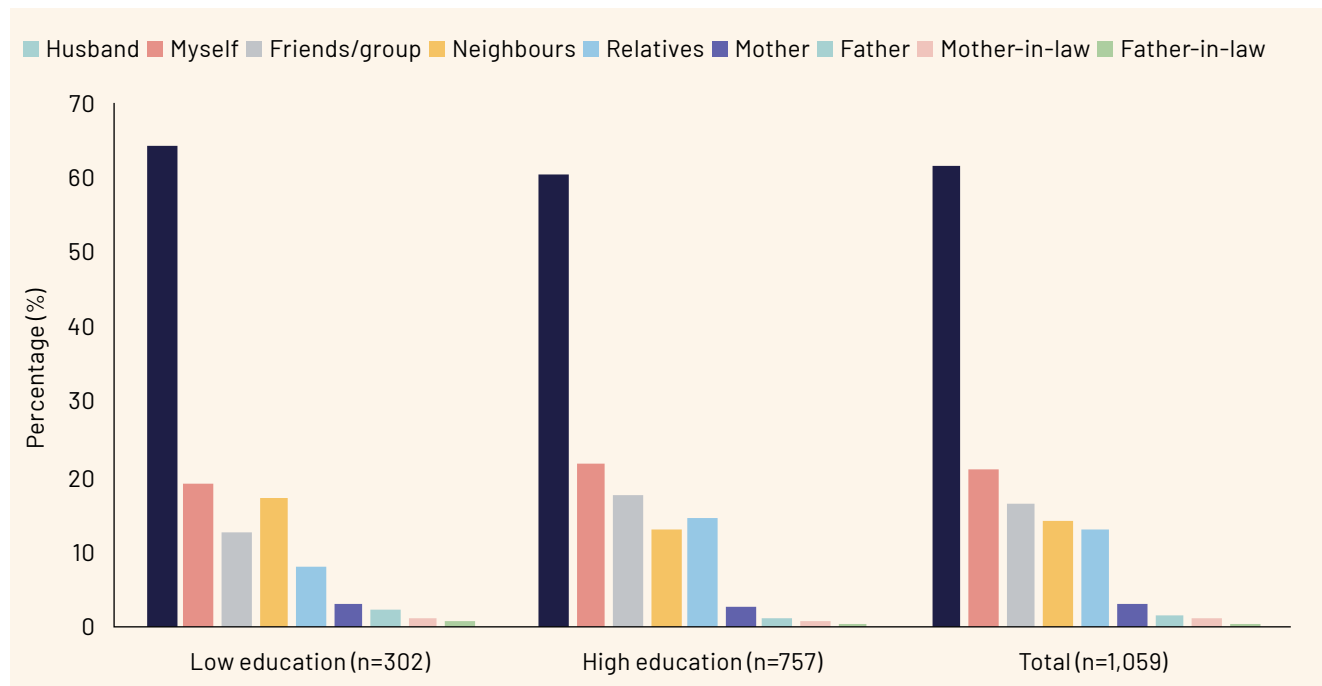
Figure 4 Women's participation in different types of decision-making at home



**Note: political participation refers to any types of citizen's engagement/political activities other than running for office (participating in campaigns/rallies, volunteering in political parties, etc.).*

The survey asked each woman about those who have the greatest influence on their political views, including their choice of presidential candidate, political party and candidates for legislative positions. In all, 61% reported that their husbands influenced their political choices, followed by themselves (21%), friends or peers in the community (16%), and neighbours (14%) (Figure 5). Only a few reported that their mothers and fathers had any influence on their political choices.

Figure 5 Reference groups: Who has the greatest influence on women's political choices?

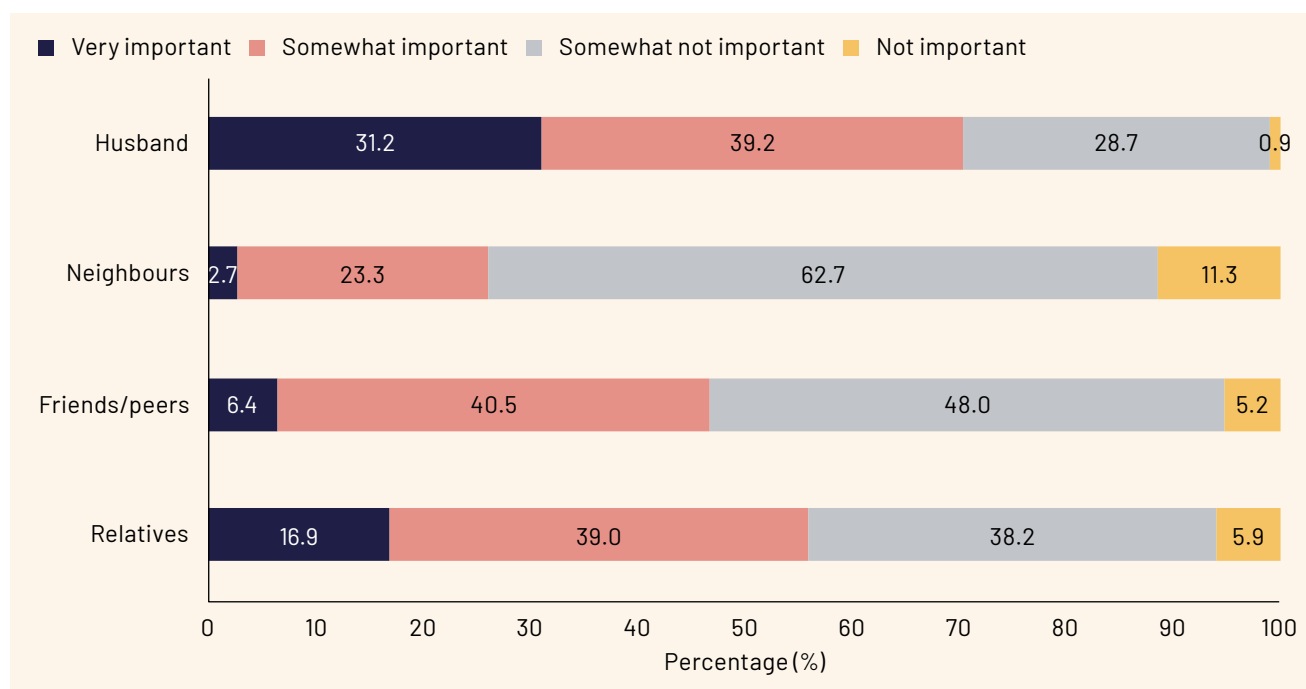


There is a slight difference in the top influencers between women with low and high education levels. A larger share of women with lower education consider neighbours to have an influence on their political choices compared to those with higher education (17.1% and 13.1%, respectively). Meanwhile, a higher share of highly educated women reported that their relatives influenced their political views compared to women with lower education (14.5% and 8.2%, respectively). These findings indicate that women with higher levels of education may have more access to social networks outside their community than those with less education.

The majority of women whose husband had an influence on their political views considered his opinion to be important (31.2% very important; 39.2% somewhat important) (Figure 6). Around 50% of those who saw their husband's opinion as important to their political participation were concerned that they would have a fight with their husband if they did not agree with them.

Among the women who stated that their neighbours and friends had an influence on their political views, the majority said that this influence was somewhat not important for them (62.7% for neighbours; 48% for friends/peers). Women's responses were also divided on relatives' influence on their political views and participation, with 39% regarding their influence as somewhat important and 38.2% as somewhat not important.

Figure 6 Importance of the opinion of different reference groups



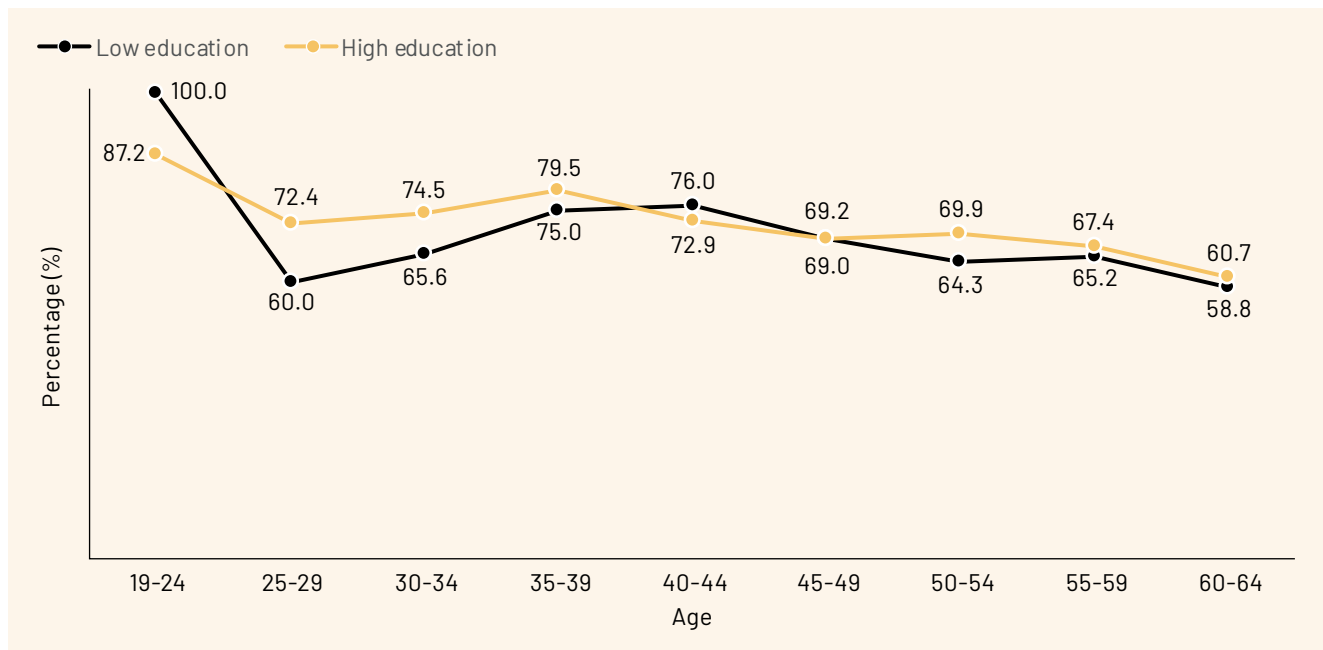
Women's engagement in political activities

As mentioned, women tend to have a lower level of participation in sustained, long term political activities than men in a setting of traditional gender norms, as such a setting creates gender inequality in both time and resources. The findings in the previous section show that the majority of women lean somewhat towards male breadwinning norms. This would indicate that women may have more limited participation in political activities, given that they adhere to traditional gender norms.

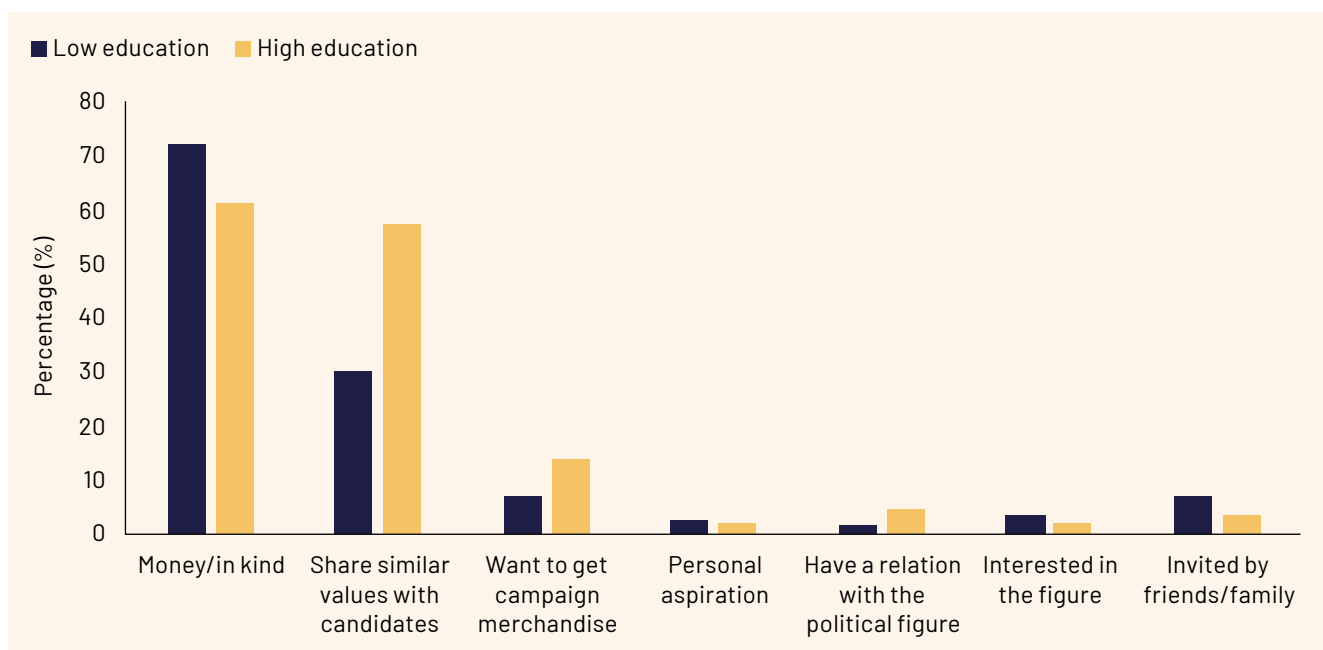
The survey, however, suggests otherwise with regards to sporadic, short term political activities. More than 72% of the women in the survey state that they have participated in (any type) political activities (e.g. campaigns, rallies, local gatherings, supporting legislative candidates). The highest share of women who have participated in political activities was found in Makassar.

Women aged 19-24 and 35-39 have the highest share of participation in politics across education levels⁵ (Figure 7). Across all age groups, the share of women with higher levels of education who participate in political activities is slightly higher than among those with lower education. A similar pattern is found across age groups, except among young women aged 19-24 where more of those with lower education participate in politics than those who have higher levels of education. These findings indicate that those who have actively participated in political activities tend to come from the younger and more educated segment of population.

⁵ The number of respondents aged 19-24 is relatively small (45 women; 7 with low education and 38 with high education) compared to the overall sample.

Figure 7 Proportion of women who ever participated in any type of political activities by age group (%)

'Money politics' - the influence of wealth and financial resources on political processes - is widespread in Indonesian elections. Candidates across all political levels engage in vote-buying where cash or goods are given to voters, especially during rallies or on election day. According to Noor et al (2021), the value of these 'bribes', ranging from IDR 10,000 to 50,000, varies by region and was observed in multiple elections from 2011 to 2018. Besides cash, goods like cooking oil, rice, sarongs and headscarves are also offered. As a result, the researchers asked whether women were motivated by the money they might receive (for taking part in political rallies, for example), getting campaign's merchandise, such as T-shirts or other goods, or sharing the values of political parties and candidates. The highest share reported that they were motivated by the financial pledges made by politicians, followed by sharing similar values with the party or the politician (Figure 8).

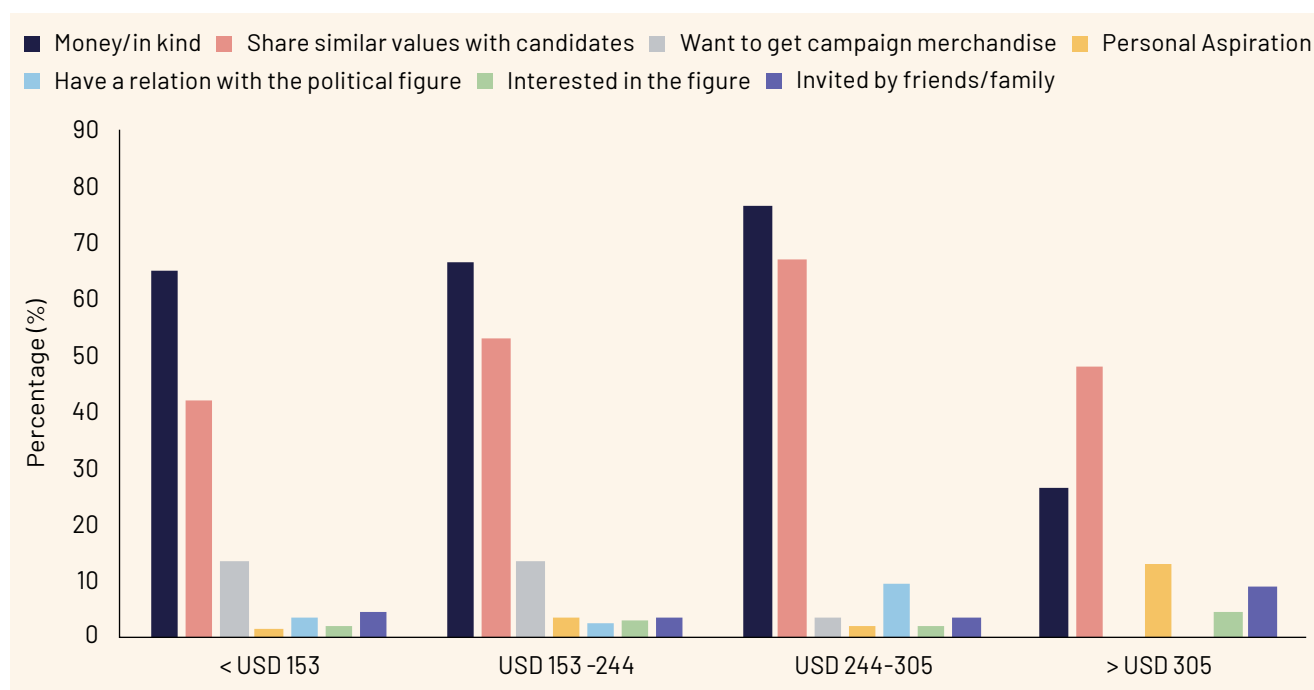
Figure 8 Motivation for women's participation in political activities by education

Note: Respondents could select more than one reason.

This suggests that women's participation in political activities is driven primarily by the desire to obtain economic resources. Such behaviour can still be considered to be in line with the large share of women agreeing with gender norms around male breadwinning, as participating in low-resource, intensive political activities alongside other women in the community might avoid the need to challenge gender norms and threaten the masculinity of male heads of households. In this case, gender norms may correlate with political participation.

The prospect of having more money is consistently becoming the main incentive for women's participation in political activities across all expenditure groups (Figure 9). However, women from the richest group seem more likely to have a 'pure' motive when they participate in the political activities: nearly 48% said they shared similar values with the party/presidential candidate/politicians. Nevertheless, these findings seem to confirm that money may play a role in incentivizing women in the survey to join political activities, particularly among those from low-middle income groups.

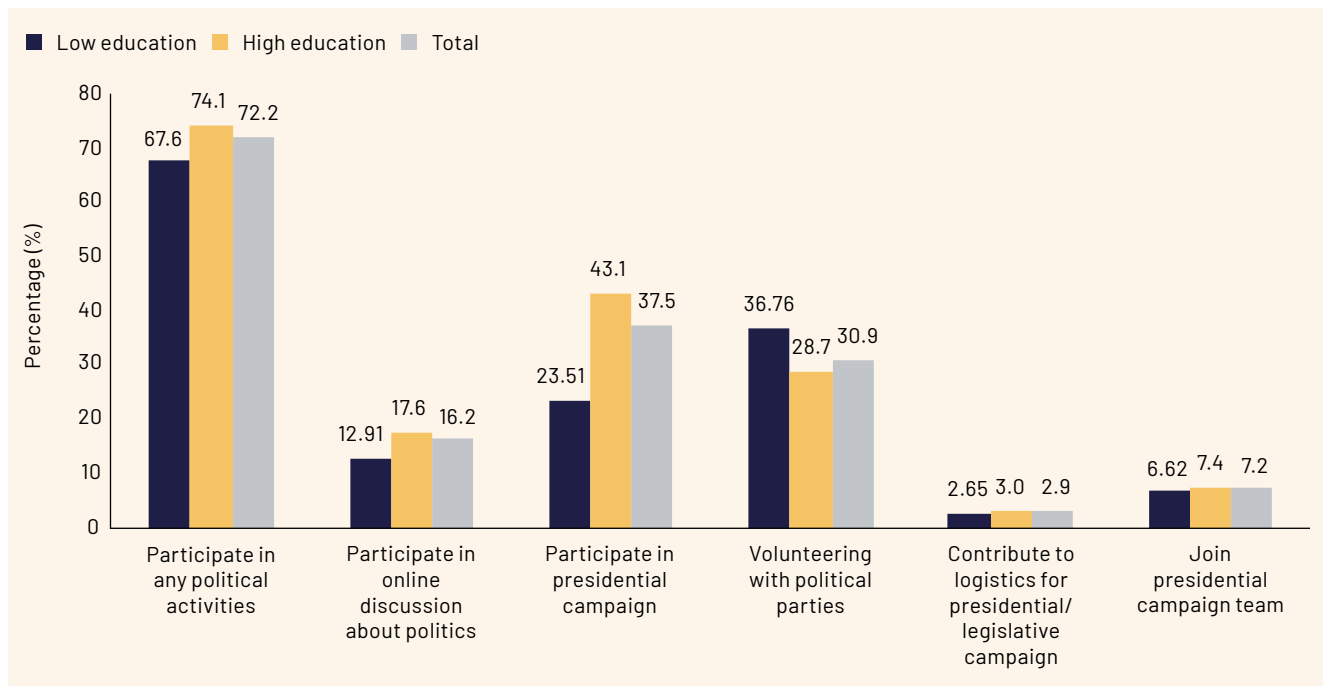
Figure 9 Motivation for women's participation in political activities by monthly income group



The survey finds a gradation of women's political participation. While the share of women who have ever participated in different types of political activities is high (72.2%), the share of women who have engaged intensively is smaller (Figure 10). For example, only 16% of women have ever engaged in political discussion in online platforms. Around 37.5% of women have participated in presidential campaign and 30.9% have volunteered with a political party. The share of women who have engaged intensively in campaign activities is particularly low: only 2.9% have ever contributed to the logistics for a political campaign and just 7% of women joined a presidential campaign.

While there is little difference in the share of women who have engaged in political activities between those with higher or lower levels of education, there are some exceptions. A larger share of women with higher levels of education have participated in a presidential campaign (43.1%), while more of women with lower levels of education have volunteered with political parties.

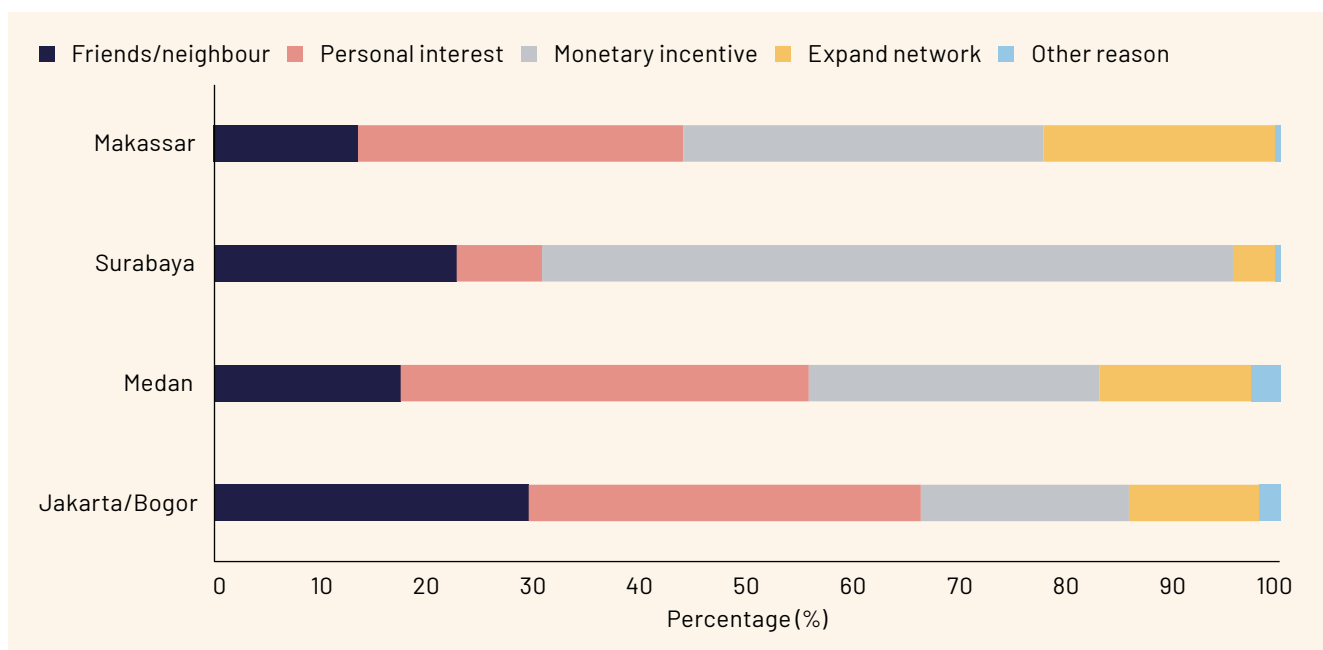
Figure 10 Proportion of women by types of political participation and level of education



Note: Joining a presidential campaign team can involve a variety of roles, from serving as advisers to organizing crowds for rallies

The survey found that the majority of women do not seem to be interested in political activism (Figure 11). In parallel with the information about participating in political campaigns, the most common reason for women's interest in becoming political party volunteers are linked to the monetary or financial incentives to do so (36.5%). Across the four cities studied, women in Surabaya seem to be most motivated by monetary incentives to participate in political parties' activities, while the share of women motivated by their own personal interests is highest in Jakarta/Bogor.

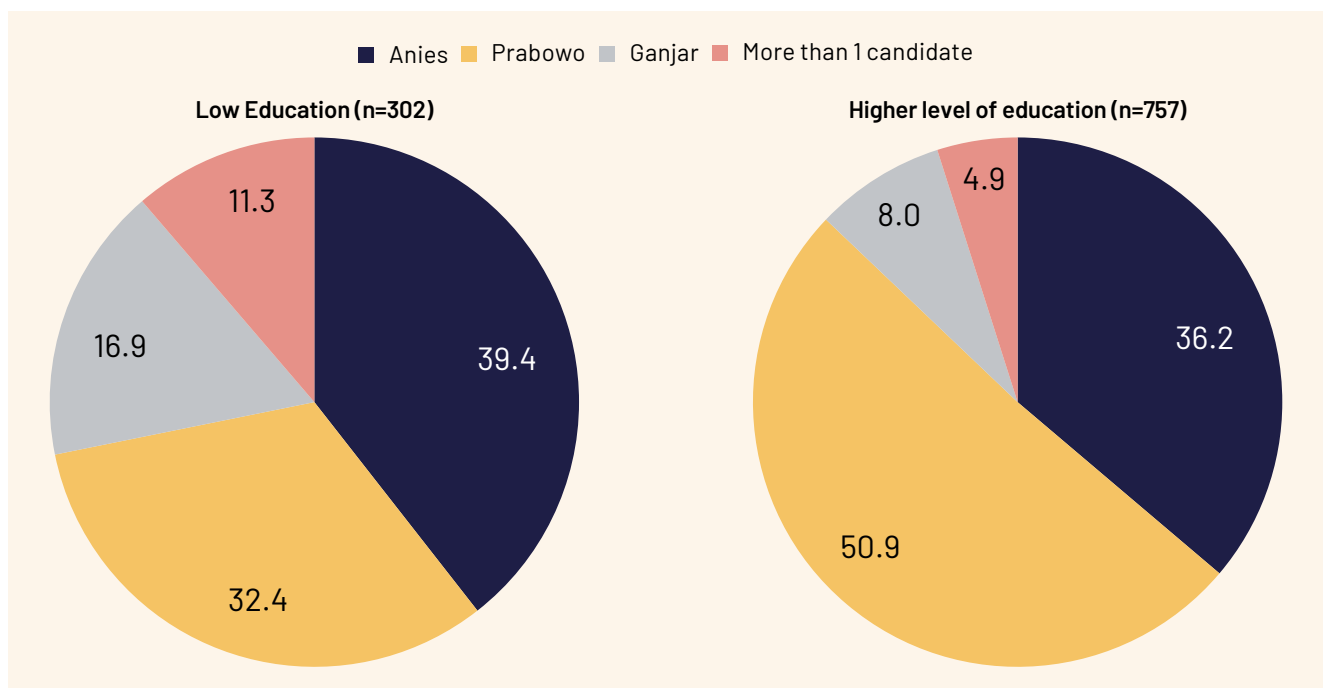
Figure 11 Proportion of women by their motives to volunteer with political parties



There are two possible explanations for this finding: the first is that women may need to be incentivised to engage in political activities. Women may only be interested in a monetary incentive and may be unaware of the wider objectives of engaging in the activities of political parties. Given their limited time and resources, women may decide to participate in activities that are likely to provide the greatest economic benefits for them and their family. The second is that women choose to participate in political activities that allow them to meet the social expectation of being the carer for the family. In this case, women may exercise their agency, but only within the boundaries of their perceived personal norms.

Despite money being the main motivation to participate in political activities, women do not tend to participate in a range of different campaigns in order to gain the most financial benefits. Figure 12 shows that the shares of women attending more than one presidential campaign are relatively small (11% and 4.3% respectively) compared to those who stick to the campaign of one presidential candidate, regardless of whether they have higher or lower levels of education.

Figure 12 Attendance in a presidential campaign by level of education and presidential candidate



Similarly, the number of campaigns ever attended by women also indicates that they do not maximise the potential economic benefits by taking part in many campaigns. Around 68% of women attended only one campaign, while 31.5% attended two or more. There is a small difference in the share of those motivated by money only between those who joined only one campaign and those who joined many campaigns (Table 2). Those who attended just once seem to be 'loyal' to one candidate, with a significant share of women coming to one rally because they share the same values as the candidate. It is possible, however, that women might have joined only the largest rally, given their limited time and mobility.

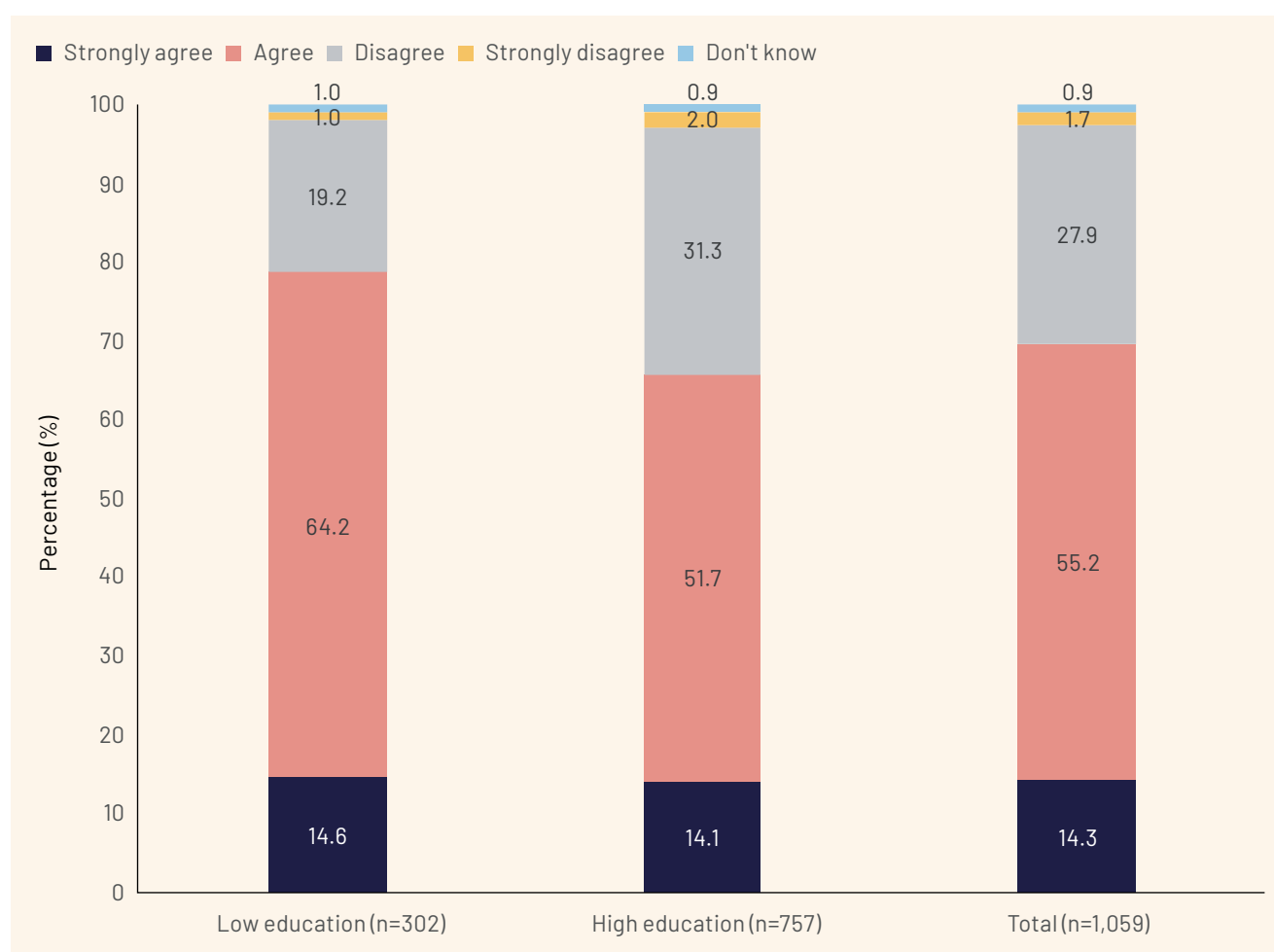
Table 2 Reason for attending a campaign event and number of attendances in a presidential campaign

Reason for attending campaign*	Number of attendances	
	1	2 or more
Money and shared values	25.7	27.4
Money only	34.2	33.9
Shared values only	34.2	29.0
Other reasons	6.0	9.7

Note: Respondents were free to select more than one reason.

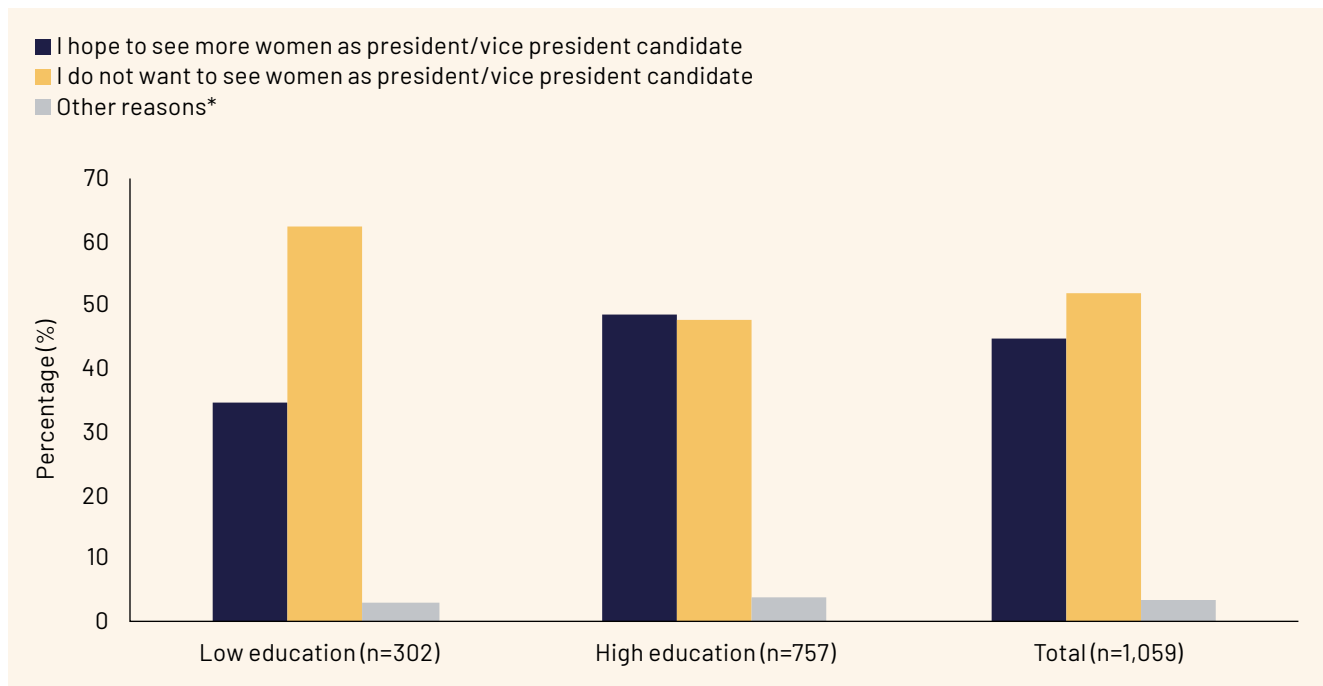
Women's lack of participation in politics may also be influenced by their views about women's representation in politics. Although lower than the percentage of women who agree with male-breadwinning norms (63.9% agree and 29.2% strongly agree), the share of women who agree with the idea that men make better political leaders is relatively high (55%). Those with lower levels of education account for a higher share than those with higher levels of education (64.2% and 51.7% respectively)(Figure 13).

Figure 13 Proportion of women who feel that men are better political leaders than women



Women are divided in their expectations about seeing women presidential candidates in the next election. More than half of women in the survey (51.8%) do not want to see female candidates in the next election (Figure 14). However, this negative viewpoint regarding female candidates is more prevalent among less educated women (62%) than among women with more education (47.7%).

Figure 14 Women's views on the prospects of female presidential candidates by level of education (%)



Note: *35 out of the 37 who gave 'other reasons' suggested that women should not be leaders of a country.

Relationship between gender norms and women's engagement in political activities

Measuring types of views around gender norms

We use bivariate and multivariate analyses to understand how various gender norms shape women's interest and engagement in political activities.

For bivariate analysis, a score was generated to indicate the type of views around gender norms by adding the Likert scale of four perceived gender norms (agreement/disagreement with main breadwinner norms, women as the main breadwinner, shared domestic and care responsibilities between husband and wife, and men are better political leaders than women).⁶

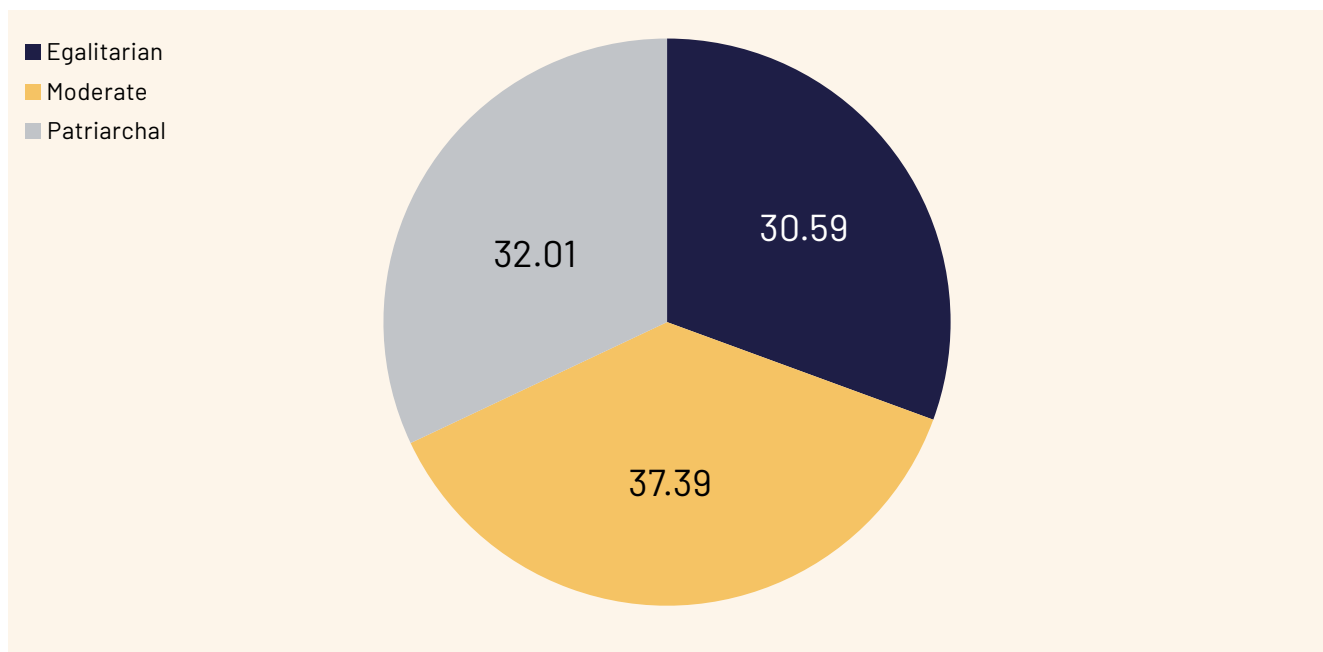
⁶ We reversed the Likert scale for the women as the breadwinner and shared household responsibilities. If women agreed with the statement, their answers were recoded into 1, which indicates that they are egalitarian.

The resulting score was then divided into three categories using the median of the score as the cut-off to identify three types of perceptions of gender norms:

1. egalitarian: if the women's score is below the median
2. moderate: if the women's score is at the median, and
3. patriarchal: if the women's score is above the median.

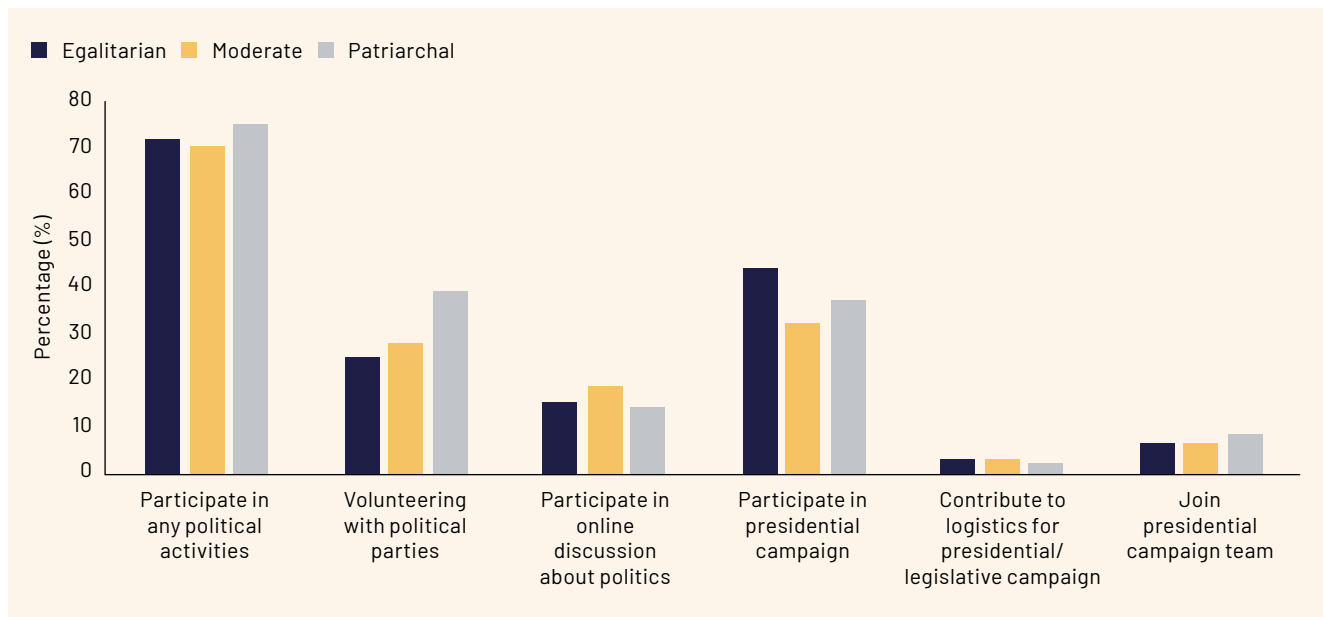
We find that the shares of women who fall under the egalitarian, moderate, and patriarchal categories are fairly similar: 30.6%, 37.4%, and 32% respectively (Figure 15).

Figure 15 Proportion of women by their type of views around gender norms



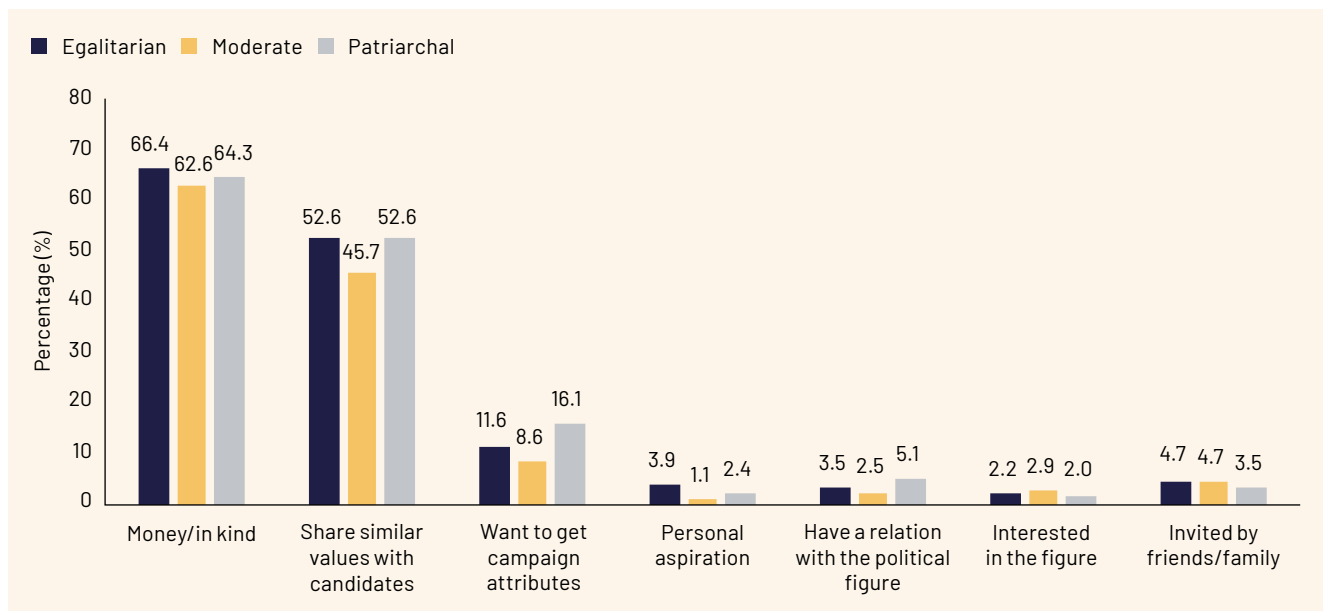
Contrary to the assumption that those with more egalitarian views tend to be more open to participating in politics, the bivariate analysis shows that women with patriarchal views have a higher share of engagement in political activities than those with moderate and egalitarian views (Figure 16). A similar pattern is also found in terms of different types of political engagement for women at the grass roots level: with the exception of participation in presidential campaigns, the share of women who hold egalitarian views is higher than the share for those with moderate or patriarchal views.

Figure 16 Proportion of women's political participation by type of views around gender norms



Given that one-third of women in the survey (32%) have patriarchal views regarding gender norms, the researchers further explored whether monetary incentives sway adherence to these norms. Surprisingly, the share of 'egalitarian' women whose participation was motivated by money is the highest compared to that for women in the other categories. Women with egalitarian views are, however, more motivated by shared values in participating in political activities (Figure 17) than those from the moderate and patriarchal groups.

Figure 17 Women's motivation to participate in political activities by their type of views on gender norms



We conducted a multivariate analysis to confirm whether breadwinning, caregiving and political norms are associated with the promotion of women's engagement in political activities.

There are four types of gender norms estimated in the logistic regressions:

- Norm 1: male breadwinning norms
- Norm 2: female as the main breadwinner
- Norm 3: shared care responsibilities between men and women, and
- Norm 4: men as better political leaders than women.

Each norm variable consists of a Likert scale from 1 to 4 that shows the level of conservatism, with a higher Likert score indicating a more conservative/patriarchal view of the gender norm.

The first set of logistic regressions examined the role of gender norms in predicting the likelihood of a woman participating in different level of political activities, from engaging in any of political activities to volunteering with political parties and taking part in political campaigns. Volunteering with political parties indicates a deeper participation in politics, while taking part in political campaigns can signal that a woman is interested in politics but has only limited time to engage in political activities. The control variables in these models include women's participation in different community activities (Qur'an recital, rotating savings, community gathering and seminars), their agency score (developed from their decision-making on different aspects)⁷, their education (lower or higher education), whether they work for pay or not, their monthly expenditure brackets, age, number of children, and ethnicity.

How are gender norms associated with women's political engagement?

Table 3 shows that the norms on male breadwinning are the only norms that have a significant impact on the likelihood that a woman will participate in any type of political activities (Model 1). The more conservative the women are, or the more they agree with the breadwinning norm, (as indicated by the higher score of Likert scale) the more likely they are to participate in political activities. Norms on caregiving and gender bias in politics have a significantly association with volunteering for political parties (Model 2). The greater the disagreement with the norm on shared care responsibilities between husband and wife, the lower the chances of a woman volunteering with political parties. However, the more that women agree that men are better political leaders, the more likely they are to volunteer with political parties. This research found no significant correlation between norms and participation in political campaigns (Model 3). These findings indicate that women who adhere to patriarchal norms are more likely to participate in political activities, including volunteering with political parties (for an exploration of what makes women more likely to stand as candidates, see the qualitative report: Prihatini et al., 2024).

7 The agency score is developed from variables that measure women's participation in different aspects of decision-making at home. There are eight aspects of decision-making: working outside home, spending their own income, spending their husband's income, visiting health facilities for children, visiting health facilities for themselves, visiting relatives, buying household goods, and participation in political activities. For each aspect, the options for decision-making are: husbands, other family members, the woman herself with her husband's permission, a decision made in discussion with her husband, and the woman herself. These answer options are further re-coded, with 1 indicating that the woman made her decision by herself or in discussion with her husband, and 0 if the decision was made solely by husband, other family members, or by the woman but with her husband's permission. A value of 1 indicates that women have agency in decision-making, while 0 indicates a lack of agency, given that someone else decides for her. The agency score is further calculated from these dummy values of 0 and 1 for all eight types of decision-making. The maximum score is 8 if women make all of these decisions for themselves or in discussion with their husbands.

Table 3 Result of logistic regression result for the probability that a woman will participate in political activities

Variables	(1) Participate in Political Activities	(2) Volunteering with political parties	(3) Participate in Political Campaign
Norm 1 "Male breadwinning norm"	.261*	.075	-.158
	(.146)	(.167)	(.23)
Norm 2 "Female as main breadwinner"	.004	.159	.028
	(.132)	(.141)	(.19)
Norm 3 "Husband and wife share childcare"	-.061	-.497**	-.169
	(.198)	(.245)	(.338)
Norm 4 "Men are better political leaders than women"	-.071	.371***	.153
	(.112)	(.13)	(.182)
Participate in Qur'an recital	.465**	.346	.552
	(.193)	(.271)	(.417)
Participate in rotating savings	-.289*	.686***	-.108
	(.171)	(.216)	(.304)
Participate in community gathering	.542***	.329	-.019
	(.185)	(.221)	(.311)
Participate in seminar activities	-.199	-.039	.503*
	(.193)	(.213)	(.294)
Agency score	-.073*	.015	-.01
	(.041)	(.044)	(.065)
Senior High School (HS) and above (reference: Junior HS and lower)	.008	-.122	.18
	(.181)	(.214)	(.326)
Work	.056	.099	.442
	(.169)	(.198)	(.272)
Expenditure (ref < \$153)			
\$153 - 244	-.064	.177	.275
	(.174)	(.202)	(.289)
\$255	-.587**	-.034	-.492
	(.234)	(.289)	(.401)
Age	-.015*	.014	.03**
	(.008)	(.01)	(.014)
Number of children	.017	-.33***	-.209*
	(.075)	(.092)	(.125)

Variables	(1) Participate in Political Activities	(2) Volunteering with political parties	(3) Participate in Political Campaign
Ethnicity			
Java	.016	.425*	-.29
	(.171)	(.223)	(.387)
Bugis	3.239***	-1.882***	.384
	(.534)	(.336)	(.453)
Sunda	.286	.685**	1.754***
	(.235)	(.282)	(.353)
Makassar	3.655***	-2.124***	.873*
	(1.022)	(.456)	(.526)
Constant	.738	-2.391**	-4.778***
	(.909)	(1.062)	(1.483)
Observations	1059	765	1059

Standard errors are in parentheses

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

Table 3 also shows that participation in some community activities – such as active attendance in Qur'an recital and community gatherings – has a significant association with the likelihood of a woman participating in political activities. While active attendance in women's rotating savings has a negative association on political participation, it does, surprisingly, have a significant and positive association with volunteering for a political party. Similarly, active attendance in seminars for skill development is also associated with higher participation in political campaigns.

One possible explanation for the contradictory associations of community participation on political participation could be linked to the type of community activities. Qur'an recital and community gathering usually involve larger networks than women's rotating savings. Qur'an recitals are often attended by religious leaders/clerics and joined by people outside the community. Similarly, community gatherings also involve the majority of people in the village or hamlet. In contrast, female rotating savings are often conducted by a segment or small group of women that may consist of individuals with the same shared interest. It seems, therefore, that activities that involve larger network expose women to a more active participation in politics.

One particularly surprising finding is a negative association between a woman's agency score and her participation in political activities. The higher the agency score, the lower her participation. This means that women who have better bargaining positions, indicated by making decisions on their own or in discussion with their partner, are less engaged in political activities than those with less bargaining power.

Across all three models, no significant association was found between education and working for pay with women's participation in political activities. Being from a richer household actually reduces the likelihood of participation in political activities (Model 1), but it does not influence volunteering or participating in rallies. Age, however, has a significantly negative association with the likelihood of participating in political activities and positive with joining political campaigns. This means that the older one is, the less likely they are to participate in activities, but more likely to join a campaign

The number of children has a significant but negative association with volunteering and joining political campaigns, suggesting that having more children limits women's active participation in political activities. Ethnicity also shows significant associations, with Bugis and Makassar women more likely to participate in political activities (in Model 1), but less likely to be active insiders (volunteering). Meanwhile, Sundanese women are more likely to volunteer and actively join political campaigns.

Are gender norms associated with women's motivations to participate in political activities?

The second part of the multivariate analysis explores whether women's views on gender norms are associated with their motivation to participate in political activities because of money or because they share the values of particular candidates or parties. Table 4 shows that the male-breadwinning norm has a significant and negative association only with money-related motives. However, norms on females as the main breadwinner have a significant and positive association with the participation of women who share the same values as the candidates or parties. These findings indicate that the higher a woman's adherence to patriarchal norms, the lower her money motives and the greater the motivation of having shared values.

Table 4 also shows that active attendance in community activities has no significant association with women's motives to engage in political activities. The exception is participating in skills development seminars. Here, participation reduces the likelihood to participate in politics due to money and shared values motives. Education and income seem to restrain the money motives, while having more children increase the motives of shared values among women. Lastly, geography also has an impact - Bugis and Makassar women, for example, are far less likely to be motivated to participate by money.

Table 4 Logistic regression: probability of political participation motivated by money or shared values with candidates/parties

Variables	(1) Participation driven by monetary incentives	(2) Participation driven by shared values
Norm1 'Male breadwinning norm'	-.359** (.152)	-.064 (.162)
Norm2 'Female as main breadwinner'	.139 (.121)	.279** (.124)
Norm3 'Husband and wife share childcare'	.04 (.223)	.103 (.241)
Norm4 'Men are better political leaders than women'	.116 (.116)	-.074 (.125)
Participate in Qur'an recital	-.277 (.236)	.167 (.281)
Participate in rotating savings	.066 (.195)	-.144 (.224)
Participate in community gathering	-.248 (.198)	.405* (.228)

Variables	(1) Participation driven by monetary incentives	(2) Participation driven by shared values
Participate in seminar activities	-.636*** (.201)	.697*** (.206)
Agency score	-.045 (.041)	.007 (.045)
Senior HS & above (reference: Junior HS and lower)	-.565*** (.196)	.651*** (.239)
Work	-.353* (.183)	-.056 (.199)
Expenditure (ref < \$153)		
\$153 - 244	-.255 (.179)	-.245 (.201)
\$255	-.579** (.255)	-.149 (.26)
Age	-.013 (.009)	0 (.01)
Number of children	-.038 (.08)	.209** (.087)
Ethnicity		
Java	.322 (.219)	-.432* (.257)
Bugis	-.716*** (.253)	.971*** (.262)
Sunda	-.582** (.28)	-.074 (.316)
Makassar	-.103 (.311)	.178 (.333)
Constant	2.646*** (.956)	-3.075*** (1.04)
Observations	765	765

Standard errors are in parentheses

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

The multivariate analysis shows results that contradict the expectation that having conservative views is associated with political participation and reduces the impact of motives linked to money. This raises questions on whether socioeconomic characteristics matter in determining the level of conservatism.

Table 5 shows the results of logistic regressions that estimate the association between socioeconomic characteristics (education, work status, household expenditure, age and ethnicity)

and level of conservatism in each type of gender norm. Working for pay, for example, is shown to have a strong and significant association with all gender norms. Women who work for pay seem to have less conservative views in relation to each type of gender norm. Education and household expenditure are significant in relation to caregiving norms, with a higher level of education reducing the level of conservatism (with women more likely to agree the shared caregiving). Ethnicity, however, shows contradictory results. Bugis and Makassar women tend to agree with male-breadwinning norms, but they also tend to agree with the ideas of a woman as the main breadwinner and shared caregiving, and disagree with the idea that men make better political leaders.

Table 5 Result of linear regression for determinants of gender norms

Variables	(1) Norm 1 'male breadwinning'	(2) Norm 2 'female as main breadwinner'	(3) Norm 3 'husband and wife share childcare'	(4) Norm 4 'men are better political leaders than women'
Senior High School (HS) and above (ref: Junior HS and lower)	.05 (.041)	.034 (.052)	-.081*** (.03)	-.084 (.052)
Work	-.11*** (.036)	-.102** (.047)	-.056** (.026)	-.18*** (.046)
Expenditure (ref < \$153)				
\$153 -244	.031 (.038)	-.066 (.049)	-.057** (.028)	-.047 (.048)
\$255	.001 (.052)	-.024 (.066)	-.05 (.038)	-.001 (.065)
Age	.002 (.002)	-.001 (.002)	-.001 (.001)	.005** (.002)
Ethnicity				
Java	.073* (.043)	.07 (.055)	-.037 (.031)	-.078 (.054)
Bugis	.21*** (.052)	-.418*** (.067)	-.142*** (.038)	-.228*** (.066)
Sunda	.005 (.057)	.202*** (.074)	.035 (.042)	-.101 (.073)
Makassar	.516*** (.069)	-.089 (.089)	-.198*** (.05)	-.096 (.087)
constant	3.142*** (.095)	3.295*** (.122)	2.153*** (.07)	3.017*** (.121)
Observations	1059	1059	1059	1059

Standard errors are in parentheses

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

Summary of findings

This study has demonstrated the connection between gender norms and women's political participation in Indonesia. Statistical analysis based on the responses of 1,059 respondents in four major cities suggests the majority of women still approve of norms that see men as traditional breadwinners. However, in contrast to their acceptance of patriarchal norms, 75% of the women have, at some time in their lives, participated in political activities (other than running for elected office). The majority of women also have full autonomy in their decisions to participate in political activities. This high percentage of women who have participated might be linked to their sense of civic duty, as outlined in other research studies showing women have higher turnout rates for elections than men because women are strongly expected to follow social norms, including norms on voting (Gidengil et al., 2016; Knack and Kropf, 1998; Carreras, 2018; Costa and McCrae, 2005).

The motivation to engage in political activities is, however, dominated by the economic incentives offered by political actors. The majority of the women in this study were motivated by money, including those who are regular and active participants and regardless of their degree of alignment with gender norms regarding breadwinner roles and political participation. Yet women with egalitarian values have a slightly higher share of expectations around economic incentives. This finding is contradictory to a previous study by Eagly and Karau (2002), where the motivation to participate follows norms and expectations designed by male leaders.

The findings of this study's multivariate analysis show that gender norms influence women's participation in political activities. However, the results contradict the premise that adhering to strong and conservative gender norms limits women's engagement in political activities. Indeed, the logistic regression finds that the more conservative women have higher levels of participation and are less likely to attend political activities for purely monetary or economic motives.

The findings may suggest that the norms that position men as breadwinners and women as caregivers do not conflict with women's involvement in political activities. Such norms even seem to reduce the likelihood that women participate because they are motivated by money alone. One possible explanation is that having 'conservative' norms may incite a stronger sense of civic duty. This sense could be further enhanced by the political platforms of the 2024 presidential candidates, which adhere to the traditional gender norms that are seen as widely acceptable by the population, and that have attracted those who share similarly conservative views.

Another important finding from this analysis is that education and employment play significant roles in curbing monetary incentives as the motivation for participation in political activities. These findings suggest that while conservative gender norms may seem to restrict women's political engagement, they also foster community involvement through structures like religious gatherings. These structures can strengthen social bonds and mobilise women for political participation, even if their engagement is constrained by traditional caregiving roles and the continued need for male permission.

Implications for policy and research

The relationship between gender norms and political participation is complex. This study shows that women's adherence to conservative gender norms seems to increase their political participation and reduce the likelihood of being involved in 'money politics'. This finding seems to indicate that having more egalitarian views increases scepticism about participating in politics and those who hold such views may only be involved in politics if they receive money incentives to do so. However, a more careful analysis is needed to better understand the ways in which norms shape women's decisions to participate in politics, as well as the political context of the 2024 presidential elections.

Based on these empirical observations, there are several implications for the policies of key stakeholders, such as the Government of Indonesia, political parties and women's movements that aim to improve women's meaningful participation in the country's political life.

- **Expanding strategies beyond gender quotas:** Shift the focus from increasing women's representation through quotas alone to fostering genuine political engagement by integrating capacity-building and political education programmes that empower women and political parties beyond money incentives.
- **Addressing economic vulnerabilities:** Strengthen women's economic security by expanding access to decent work and social protection, linking economic empowerment with political participation to reduce reliance on money incentives.
- **Challenging gender norms:** Research on gender norm change (Harper et al., 2020) suggests that in a highly religious societies, one strategy to shift norms is to engage cultural and religious leaders in the promotion of gender equality, and establish media campaigns that highlight the value of women's political participation and challenge traditional gender roles.
- **Reforming electoral processes:** Reform the General Election Commission (KPU) to improve its integrity and its independence from political interests that potentially contribute to persistence of money politics. Implement stricter regulations on campaign financing to curb money politics and make the electoral process more inclusive and accessible to encourage authentic participation.

This study also highlights the need for further research to understand the mechanisms that enable gender norms to affect the profiles of political participation within a 'pragmatic' political system such as Indonesia. It is crucial to understanding these dynamics, given that gender norms can shape individual attitudes and behaviours, affecting who participates and how they engage politically. In a context of money politics, where practical considerations often outweigh ideological commitments, an examination of how these norms impact political involvement could reveal underlying barriers and opportunities for women. Follow-up research on women's political participation and economic incentives could investigate, in particular, social expectations and institutional constraints, especially through religious institutions, communities and family structures.

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Annexes

Annex 1

Table A6 Distribution of respondents by demographic characteristics and region

Characteristics	Jakarta - Bogor	Medan	Surabaya	Makassar	All regions
Age group					
19-24	2,4	4,7	1,6	7,6	4,3
25-29	7,6	7,9	7,5	14,5	9,6
30-34	12,8	15,4	11,9	12,2	13,0
35-39	11,6	17,8	19,8	15,5	16,2
40-44	18,8	20,2	18,3	20,1	19,4
45-49	17,2	15,0	15,1	10,9	14,4
50-54	17,2	9,1	13,5	11,5	12,8
55-59	8,0	5,9	7,5	4,0	6,2
60-64	4,4	4,0	4,8	4,0	4,3
Education					
Elementary	8,0	15,4	18,7	4,0	11,1
Junior high	14,8	20,2	24,2	4,6	15,4
Senior high	66,0	47,4	46,8	79,6	60,9
Diploma 1/2/3/4	7,6	2,8	2,0	2,6	3,7
Tertiary	3,6	7,1	7,1	9,2	6,9
no schooling	0,0	7,1	1,2	0,0	2,0
Number of children					
0	2,0	5,1	5,2	7,9	5,2
1	20,0	11,5	18,7	20,4	17,8
2	36,0	29,3	41,3	29,9	33,9
3	29,6	27,7	21,4	23,4	25,4
4+	12,4	26,5	13,5	18,4	17,8
Age of last child					
under 5	24,5	29,2	23,0	32,3	27,4
5-12	29,0	40,8	37,2	36,6	35,9
13-17	16,7	13,3	13,4	11,1	13,6
adult	29,8	16,7	26,4	20,1	23,1

Characteristics	Jakarta - Bogor	Medan	Surabaya	Makassar	All regions
Marital status					
currently married	82,0	87,4	100,0	91,5	90,3
divorce	5,6	4,7	0,0	2,3	3,1
widowed	12,4	7,9	0,0	6,3	6,6
Work status					
not working	58,4	53,4	69,8	76,3	65,1
working for pay	41,6	46,6	30,2	23,7	34,9
Monthly expenditure					
Rp 0 -1 mil	0,98	2,26	0,79	0	0,94
> Rp 1 - 2,5 mil	35,61	31,67	48,41	39,57	39,23
> Rp 2,5 - 4 mil	38,54	56,56	46,03	44,24	46,34
> Rp 4 - 5 mil	16,59	5,43	3,57	13,67	9,73
> Rp 5 mil	8,29	4,07	0,79	2,16	3,56
Undisclosed	0	0	0,4	0,36	0,21
N	250	253	252	304	1059

Figure A18 Distribution of respondents by age group and education (N=1,059)

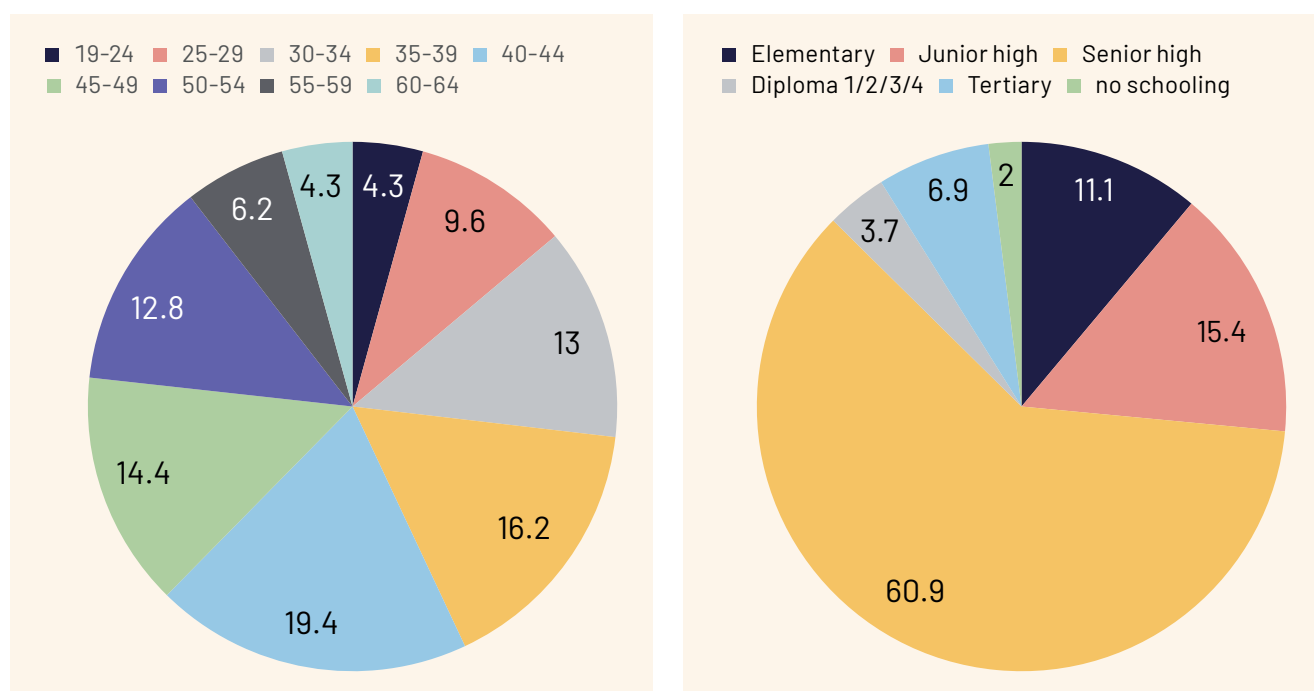
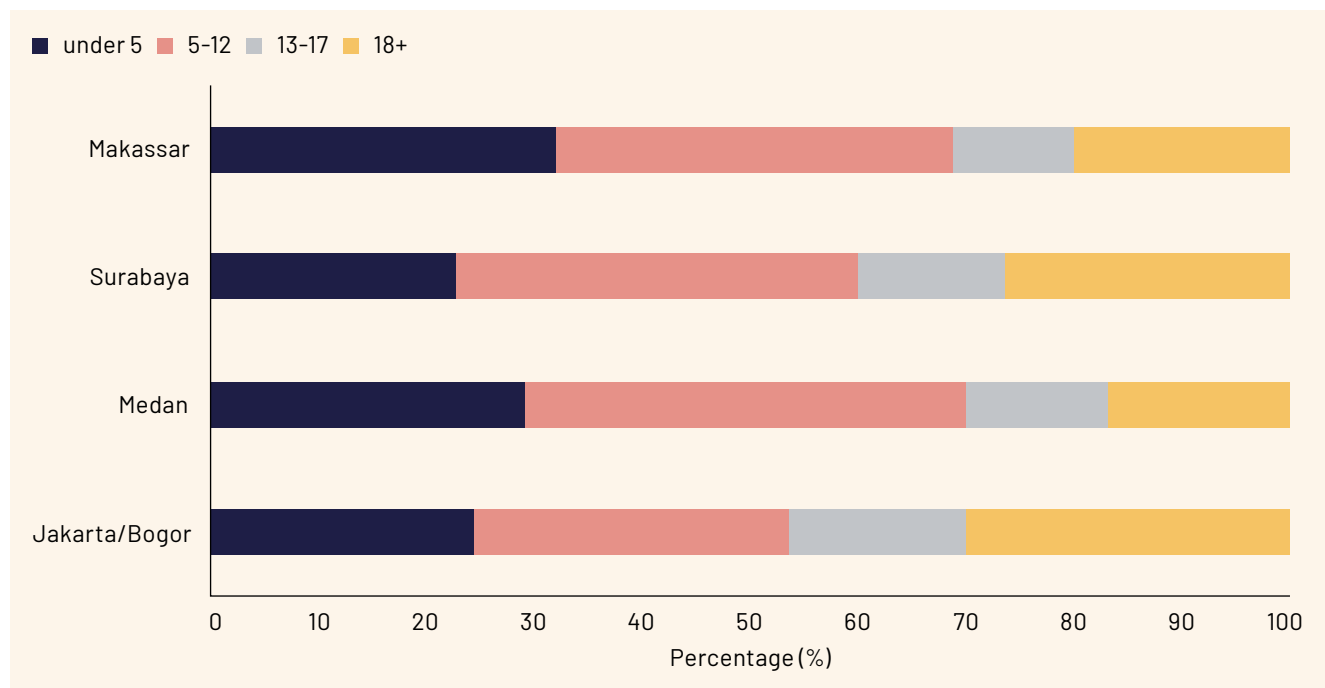
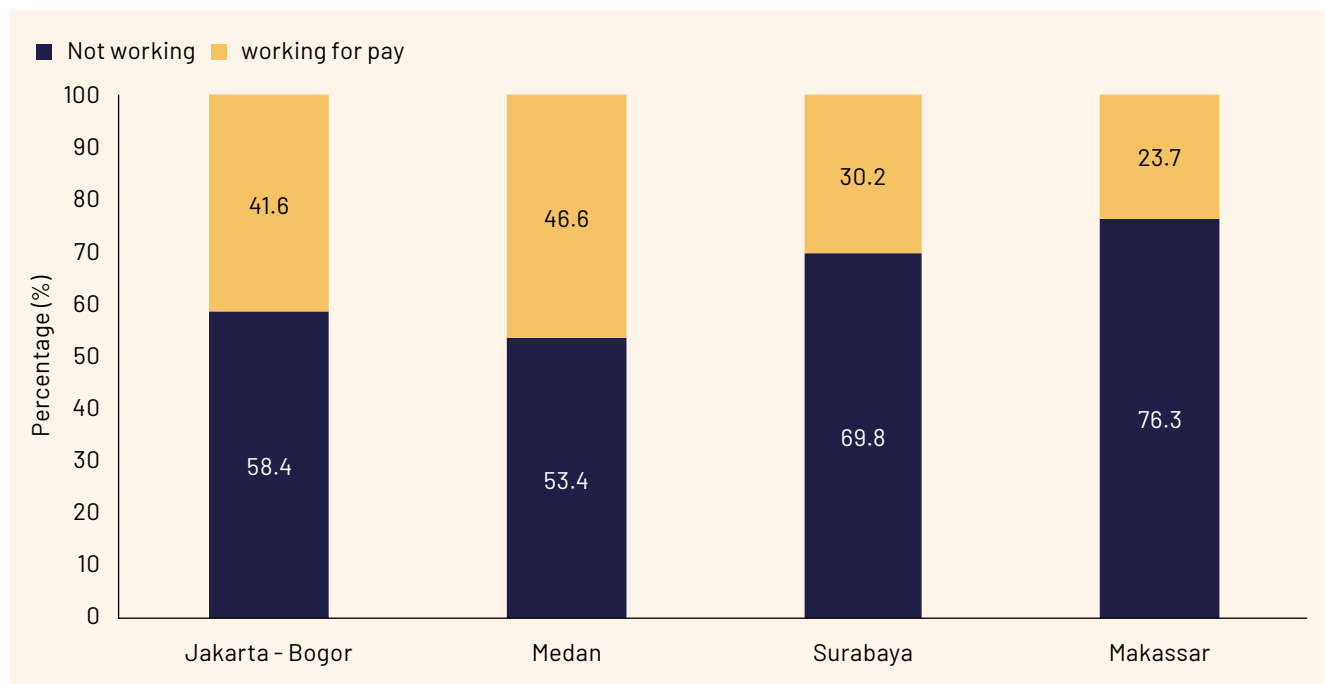


Figure A19 Distribution of respondents by age of youngest child and region



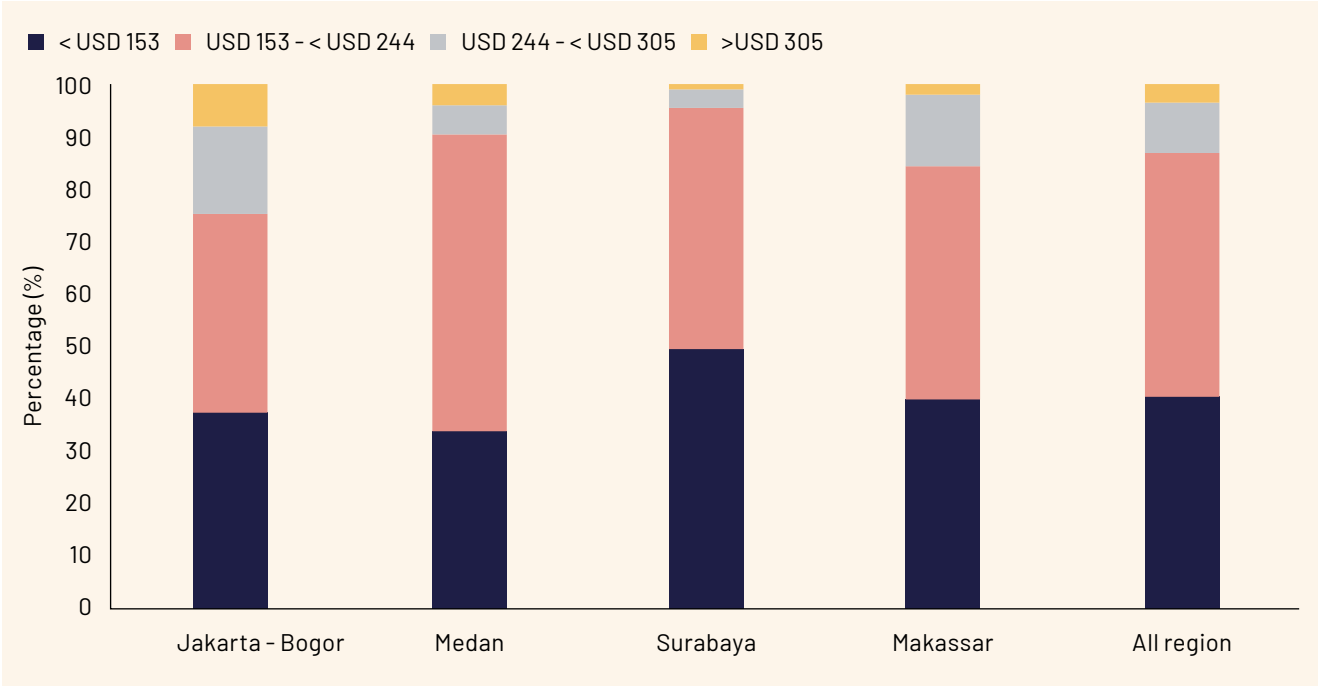
Notes: n Makassar = 279; n Medan = 240; n Surabaya = 239; n Jakarta-Bogor = 245

Figure A20 Distribution of respondents by work status and regions



Note: n Jakarta-Bogor = 250; n Medan = 253; n Surabaya = 252; n Makassar = 304

Figure A21 Distribution of respondents by household monthly expenditure and regions



Note: n Jakarta-Bogor=250; n Medan=253; n Surabaya=252; n Makassar=304

Annex 2

Table A7 Definition of variables used in logistic regressions

Variables	Explanation
<i>Dependent variable</i>	
Participate in political activities	The women who joined the presidential election or legislative election campaign this year.
Pure money motivation for participating in political activities	The women who participated in political activities solely because of monetary incentives.
<i>Main independent variable</i>	
Norm1	'Men's main responsibility is to earn income for the family while women are responsible for taking care of children and family' - score 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).
Norm2	'Women can work as the main earner and husband can stay at home to provide care for the children' - score 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).
Norm3	'Husband and wife should share domestic and care responsibility equally' - score 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).
<i>Control variables</i>	
Educ_rec	The dummy variable which is 1 is for women who have graduated from senior high school (SMA) or higher.
Expenditure	The dummy variable which is 1 is for women's households that have more than 2.5 mil Rupiah expenditure per month.
Religious gathering	Women who are actively following religious gatherings/Qur'an recitals in their neighbourhood/network (dummy of 1 if routine/often attending; 0 if never attending)(dummy of 1 if routine/often attending; 0 if never attending).
Rotating savings (Arisan)	Women who are actively following rotating savings (arisan) in their neighbourhood/family/network (dummy of 1 if routine/often attending; 0 if never attending).
Community gathering	Women who are actively following community gathering in their neighbourhood/network (dummy of 1 if routine/often attending; 0 if never attending).
Seminar activities	Women who are actively following training/seminars for skill development (dummy of 1 if routine/often attending; 0 if never attending).
Work	Women who are working.
Age	Women's age.
Kids	Whether the women have kids.

About ALIGN

ALIGN is a digital platform and programme of work that is creating a global community of researchers and thought leaders, all committed to gender justice and equality. It provides new research, insights from practice, and grants for initiatives that increase our understanding of – and work to change – patriarchal gender norms. Through its vibrant and growing digital platform, and its events and activities, ALIGN aims to ensure that the best of available knowledge and resources have a growing impact on discriminatory gender norms.

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