

EXPLORATION OF HI-RES SIKAP: PATRIARCHAL ATTITUDE AND SUPPORT FOR MILITARISTIC GOVERNMENT IN INDONESIA

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis hubungan antara sikap patriarkal dan dukungan publik terhadap pemerintahan bercorak militeristik di Indonesia, di tengah menguatnya kekhawatiran mengenai kemunduran demokrasi dan meningkatnya kembali pengaruh militer dalam ranah sipil. Dengan memanfaatkan data survei HI-RES SIKAP 2025 ($N \approx 2.500$), studi ini menguji apakah keyakinan bahwa laki-laki merupakan pemimpin politik yang lebih baik dibandingkan perempuan berkaitan dengan kecenderungan mendukung peran militer ketika institusi sipil dianggap tidak efektif. Analisis dilakukan menggunakan regresi ordinary least squares dengan penambahan variabel kontrol secara bertahap, meliputi nasionalisme, kepercayaan terhadap tokoh agama, pendidikan, pendapatan, jenis kelamin, religiositas, dukungan terhadap demokrasi, toleransi terhadap kekerasan elektoral, serta preferensi politik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sikap patriarkal secara konsisten dan signifikan meningkatkan dukungan terhadap pemerintahan militeristik. Efek ini bahkan lebih kuat pada responden perempuan, yang mengindikasikan internalisasi nilai hierarki gender. Secara keseluruhan, temuan ini menegaskan bahwa ideologi gender berperan penting dalam membentuk orientasi masyarakat terhadap otoritas dan tata kelola yang bersifat koersif.

kata kunci: *Patriarki; Militerisme; Kemunduran Demokrasi; Ideologi Gender; Indonesia.*

Abstract

This study investigates whether patriarchal attitudes predict public support for a militaristic government in Indonesia amid concerns about democratic backsliding and renewed military influence in civilian politics. Drawing on nationally distributed survey data from the 2025 HI-RES SIKAP project ($N \approx 2,500$), the analysis examines whether agreement with the belief that men are better political leaders than women is associated with stronger endorsement of military rule when civilian institutions are perceived as ineffective. Using ordinary least squares regression with sequential model specifications, the study controls for nationalism, trust in religious leaders, education, income, sex, religiosity, support for democracy, tolerance for electoral violence, and presidential preference. The findings demonstrate that patriarchal attitude is a robust and statistically significant predictor of support for militaristic governance across all models. Interaction analysis further reveals that the effect is particularly pronounced among female respondents. Overall, the results underscore the central role of gender

ideology in shaping orientations toward authority, hierarchy, and coercive political order.

Keywords: *Patriarchy; Militarism; Democratic Backsliding; Gender Ideology; Indonesia*

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Introduction

As a developing democratic country, Indonesia has experienced some of the most erratic institutional dynamics in recent decades. The backdrop of post-1998 democratic reform has majorly driven Indonesia's political landscape to flourish, while also reconfiguring the structure of political elites and agents to become more decentralized and independent. Consequently, this tendency not only led to the establishment of more democratic institutions, but also gave rise to the new generation of power-seeking elites and agents who operate through a different strategy, yet aiming for the exact motives as the pre-1998 authoritarian regime of Soeharto. In recent years, Indonesia's media has listed a wide range of such dynamics, which include the rise of populism and reintensification of military influence in the civilian government. On the other hand, the increasing cases of corruption and power abuses at both national and local levels have worsened the situation and introduced unprecedented challenges to Indonesia's democratic governance. The repercussions of this problem have led to a decline in public trust in civilian political actors and a renewed enthusiasm for military authority, which is often perceived as more responsive and effective in addressing pressing societal problems (Muhtadi, 2022).

The latest survey from *Indikator Politik Indonesia (2025)* indicates that the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) receives the highest level of public trust among other state institutions. In contrast, the House of Representatives (DPR), alongside the organization of political parties, has consistently scored poorly these past three years (Indikator, 2025). An older study by Muhtadi (2022) reveals that one-fifth of Indonesians prefer an authoritarian leader, while over one-third agree that active military personnel should be allowed to lead the government. Such a trust in a strongman's authority is often associated with the alternative of civilian leadership, which is deemed incapable of reaching a common understanding and taking decisive action in responding to various social problems in Indonesia. Concurrent to this trend, the topic of democratic backsliding has also become a major spotlight and exemplified by

the recurring electoral fraud, political violence, the shrinking of civil space, and discrimination towards minorities and women (Anugrah, 2020).

Placing both issues of militarization and democratic backsliding side by side has been a common research theme in political science. However, in the context of Indonesia, where democratic backsliding is also characterized by a systemic marginalization of women's rights—exploring the relation between the gender issue and public support for militarization would offer us a breath of fresh air to understand the intensification of illiberal democracy itself. Beyond the context of Indonesia, vast arrays of comparative politics and international relations literature have portrayed how public support for authoritarian governance can be deeply entrenched by gender hierarchies (Brechenmacher, 2024). Furthermore, findings from Brechenmacher (2024) indicate that voters with sexist attitudes have a higher propensity to vote for ultra-conservative parties and figures. Although the inclination to vote for far-rights candidates can not be equated with support for militarization, this trend shows that preserving gender hierarchies is a central agenda of autocratic elites and their sympathizers (Korolczuk, Graff, & Kantola, 2025).

In this scenario, we may find that patriarchal systems, which are denoted by the enduring traditional gender hierarchy, will only disregard femininity as one of the inseparable forces for political leadership, while also promoting a more masculinist approach—where dominance and subjugation are accepted as the basis of legitimate authority (Hallagan, 2012). Interestingly, regardless of the existing discourse about Indonesia's democratic backsliding and the persistent public reverence for the TNI, there is a lack of prior quantitative inquiry dedicated to examining the extent of patriarchal attitudes in shaping the Indonesians' support for a government with a militaristic accent. Building up to this notion, this paper addresses the gap by analyzing nationally representative data from New Mandala's 2025 HI-RES SIKAP survey to evaluate the extent to which patriarchal attitudes predict support for a militaristic government in Indonesia.

To provide a comprehensive explanation for these inter-phenomena analysis, this paper will include critical reviews of existing literature on patriarchy, militarism, and public support for authoritarian alternatives. Subsequently, the paper will present a methodological section, which discusses the format and statistical properties of the dataset, variable operationalization, and modeling strategy, providing the basis for the analysis. Furtherly, subsequent sections will present descriptive statistics and the multivariate

regression results, along with robustness checks to evaluate the validity of the findings. The paper will conclude by discussing the theoretical and empirical implications of the results for understanding democratic backsliding and the trajectory of militaristic government in Indonesia.

Literature Review

Existing scholarship inquiries about Indonesia and the military's influence in its governance mainly centered on several topics, including the dimension of institutional trust towards military authority, collective memory and social struggle surrounding the military order, perceived threats of militaristic rule, and disillusionment with civilian-driven governance (Muhtadi, 2022). On the other hand, vast arrays of research in peace and conflict studies may provide us with a richer discourse about the intersection of gendered politics with the propensity to war and how the patriarchal system is highly associated with the emergence of conflict and warlike behavior (Cockburn & Enloe, 2012; Prügl, 2023). Nonetheless, neither of these streams talks directly to address the relationship between patriarchal views and the support for militaristic government, nor do they provide micro-level evidence from post-authoritarian democracies where the military figures and authority continue to wield substantial influence in the civilian sphere. This leaves an empirical gap to address, particularly whether patriarchal beliefs at the individual level might be translated into greater acceptance of military influence in the context of fragile democracies—where renowned scholars, such as Huntington (1957), claim that authoritarian legacies are embedded in state–society interactions.

Seminal work from Huntington (1957) suggests the term subjective civilian control, which refers to the condition where civilians attempt to politicize the military factions and merge them with civilian institutions. In the context of Indonesia, subjective civilian control is majorly driven by the presence of ex-military elites who cut their teeth in politics by establishing their own political parties (Rabasa & Haseman, 2002). In the present day, there are at least five political parties that were established or shaped by retired military elites, including Soeharto's Golongan Karya and Prabowo's Gerakan Indonesia Raya—two emblematic examples of military-backed presidential leadership in Indonesia's political history. Given this enduring presence of military figures, the public may become more accustomed to seeing the military as a legitimate political actor, which will increase public support for militaristic government when civilian institutions appear ineffective (Rabasa & Haseman, 2002).

On the other hand, the growing tendency toward militarization also signals a deeper underlying dynamic, suggesting that public favour toward the military often reflects an extension of masculinist perspectives (Blanchard, 2003). In practice, military characteristics are often associated with rationality, decisiveness, power, autonomy, and independence—masculine traits that are widely regarded as potent values for establishing an effective political leadership (Blanchard, 2003). Consequently, values associated with femininity are often disregarded in high-politics arenas and critical decision-making, as women are frequently denied claims to rationality and degraded as emotionally driven (Enloe, 2014). This marginalization is not merely symbolic—it reflects the profound impact of patriarchal attitudes, which not only shape common political preferences of the people, but also cultivate ways of thinking that normalise oppression. In this respect, societies that conformed with patriarchal norms will exhibit greater tolerance toward various forms of violence, whether in interpersonal relations or through state practices such as militarism (Cockburn, 2010).

From this discourse, we can affirm Brechenmacher's (2024) notion that emphasises the mutually reinforcing properties between patriarchy and militarism. In this respect, feminist theorists and advocates mostly perceive militarism and gender relations as two closely related phenomena, where military institutions are often able to achieve social stability through the reinforcement of traditional gender roles and hierarchy (Khalid, 2014). The discourse about the intersection of gender relations and militarisation also highlighted that the discrimination and marginalization of women and minorities is a fundamental part of militarization and not just a mere consequence of this problem (Enloe, 1983; Burke, 1998). The link between this phenomenon is also illustrated by the empirical study from Koch and Fulton (2011), who found that there is a negative relationship between women's legislative representation, conflict, and military spending in 22 major democracies during the period of 1970 to 2000. Other empirical findings from Park (2017) also indicate that higher women's representation in OECD countries is positively correlated with the increase of social spending in education, healthcare, and citizens' well-being programs. Taken together, these findings demonstrate that the general positioning of women in political institutions may bring substantive implications for the exercise of governance.

Other empirical analysis from the Economic Research Forum's working paper series shows that there is a significant relationship between militarization

and gender inequality in 133 countries from 1990 to 2017 (Elveren & Moghadam, 2019). The finding uses the Gender Inequality Index (GII) and the Global Militarization Index (GMI) to illustrate that a higher inclination towards militarism is significantly correlated with gender disparity and a lower level of female employment rate (Elveren & Moghadam, 2019). The model also shows that the results remain significant even after controlling for conflict, level of democracy, type of regime, and urbanization rate (Elveren & Moghadam, 2019). These studies serve as a sufficient initial point of departure for the present research, as it examines a diverse set of countries and demonstrates how variations in gender representation systematically shape state behavior across different political and institutional contexts.

Research Design

To begin with the hypothesis formulation, it is important for us to first map out the conceptual and operational definitions of each of the primary dependent and independent variables that we use in this study. In this respect, this study will take support for the militaristic government as the main dependent variable. The concept of support for militaristic government stems from militarism or a belief that a country and a unit of government should be operated under a strong military influence, where governing practice relies on organized physical force to maintain order and authority (Hallagan, 2012). On the other hand, militarization can be seen as the process of internalizing the influence of military institutions in the social, political, and economic spheres of society, or commonly known as the civilian sphere (Bayer et al., 2023). If we contextualize this process to the political realm, “political militarization” can be referred to as the degree of prerogatives that the military holds in terms of their decision-making power and influence within the operation of the ruling coalition (Bayer et al., 2023). Therefore, we can define the support for a militaristic government as the extent of agreement that the military should claim governance when civilian institutions cease to function competently.

According to Hallagan (2012), the military is the epitome of an institution that perpetuates patriarchal order, where gender structure and dominance of male authority are reproduced. In this respect, patriarchal order or patriarchy can be understood as the social construct that places male and masculine characteristics in a superior position by devaluing women and feminine characteristics (Kaplan, 1994). The dominance of males is further strengthened by embedding idea that men are the most ideal bearers of power, social control, leadership, and material wealth (Hallagan, 2012). Through this practice,

patriarchal society will justify the subjugation of women and become accustomed to the practice of domestication, while granting the highest trust for men to earn the place as the authority in decision-making and leadership (Alotaibi et al., 2024). Hence, the patriarchal attitude in this research will be best defined as an agreement that men are better political leaders compared to women, or simply the societal preference to have men fulfil the leadership roles.

From these theoretical frameworks, this paper will investigate how patriarchal beliefs at the individual level influence the citizens' acceptance of hierarchical and coercive forms of governance. In the Indonesian context, the perception that men make "better" political leaders is expected to reinforce preferences for institutions associated with masculine authority, discipline, and order, including the military. Therefore, this research hypothesizes that:

H1: higher levels of patriarchal attitude is significantly correlated with stronger public support for a militaristic government

This hypothesis will be tested by controlling for several variables, including nationalism, level of education, sex of respondents, level of income, trust in religious leaders, opinion on the use of violence during elections, presidential candidate preferences, and democratic commitments. In this sense, patriarchy is expected to operate as a foundational value system that leads individuals to interpret political stability through the lens of masculine power and coercive authority, which is reflected by the militaristic accent within the government.

This inquiry utilizes the individual-level survey data from the High-Frequency Surveys on Indonesians' Knowledge of and Attitudes on Politics (HI-RES SIKAP) project, which was authored by Nathanael Gratias Sumaktoyo and Nicholas Kuipers of the National University of Singapore. The dataset of this survey was publicly disseminated through New Mandala in 2024 and is funded by Singapore's Ministry of Education and the National University of Singapore (NUS). The HI-RES SIKAP dataset consists of findings from weekly online surveys that targeted Indonesians and were held from late 2023 to early 2025, with each wave collecting approximately 1,650 respondents or approximately 95,000 adult respondents in total. The project's design blends the strengths of repeated cross-sectional surveys with limited panel features, since respondents may be re-contacted after eight weeks. This strategy from the survey is aimed at capturing short-term fluctuations in political attitudes from the respondents while maintaining broad diversity across each wave (Sukmantoyo & Kuipers, 2024).

For this study, I draw the sample of observations from the available waves and conduct the analysis on a multi-thousand respondent dataset. Considering the nature of the survey that exhibits uneven item-level response rates, particularly on several political preference and demographic items, the number of complete observations turns out to be varied across variables. In this respect, it would be methodologically unfit to rely on strict complete-case exclusion, as this would eliminate a large share of otherwise valid data and produce an artificially reduced and potentially biased sample (Brunelli, 2013). Therefore, I employ an available-case analysis (ACA) strategy, in which each regression model uses all respondents who provided valid responses for the variables included in that specific specification (Brunelli, 2013). This approach maximizes the amount of usable information in the dataset, avoids unnecessary data loss, and prevents distortions that would arise if all analyses were restricted to respondents who provided answers to every variable in the study.

The strategy is particularly appropriate given the structure of HI-RES SIKAP that displays heterogeneous item-response patterns. In this respect, the captured sample sizes differ slightly across models, which reflects the genuine characteristics of the fetched data rather than inconsistencies in the analytical procedure of this inquiry. At the same time, several caveats inherent to the dataset must be acknowledged. Regarding this matter, HI-RES SIKAP is not fully representative of the Indonesian electorate, as it indicates a skewed trend where there is a high number of more educated, more digitally connected, and more urban respondents. Although demographic quotas were applied for gender, age, and region, certain groups remain underrepresented. Additionally, because some respondents can participate again after eight weeks, there exists a possibility of respondent duplication, which may introduce mild non-independence in the observations. Consequently, the findings reported here should be interpreted as associational patterns among HI-RES SIKAP respondents, rather than as nationally representative estimates.

Given that the dependent variable is measured on a numeric scale that approximates continuous variation, the analysis will be conducted using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression as the primary estimation strategy. In this case, OLS is an appropriate strategy for assessing linear associations between attitudinal variables, allowing the author to establish a straightforward interpretation of the generated coefficients. Generally, the analysis of this paper will be conducted in two steps, which firstly involves a bivariate model to establish the unconditional relationship, followed by a multivariate model that

incorporates relevant covariates. This inquiry will begin with a bivariate specification to capture the raw association between patriarchal attitudes and support for militaristic governance, which can be annotated as follows:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Patriarchy}_i + \dots \varepsilon_i.$$

1. Y_i represents support for a militaristic government (democ_characteristic_military),
2. Patriarchy_i represents respondents' belief that men are better suited for political leadership (genredist_gender_leader),
3. β_0 is the intercept,
4. β_1 captures the expected change in militaristic support for a one-unit increase in patriarchal attitudes, and
5. ε_i is the error term.

This model serves as the basis for understanding the unconditional relationship between the two core variables.

To estimate the impact of demographic factors, sociocultural conditions, and political factors that may confound this relationship, this inquiry will estimate a multivariate OLS model based on the study's core specification:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Patriarchy}_i + \beta_2 \text{Sex}_i + \beta_3 \text{NatPride}_i + \beta_4 \text{TrustRelLead}_i + \beta_5 \text{Education}_i + \beta_6 \text{Income}_i + \beta_7 \text{Muslim}_i + \beta_8 \text{CivilServant}_i + \beta_9 \text{PrabowoSupport}_i + \beta_{10} \text{SupportDemocracy}_i + \beta_{11} \text{SupportElecViolence}_i + \beta_{12} \text{Religiosity}_i + \varepsilon_i.$$

When conducting the analysis, these multivariate models are estimated sequentially. There will be seven models tested, ranging from simpler specifications to increasingly complex ones. This approach is pursued as a model robustness strategy, allowing the coefficient of patriarchal attitude (β_1) to be evaluated as covariates are added gradually. If the size and significance of β_1 remain relatively stable across the models, this suggests that the relationship between patriarchal attitude and support for a militaristic government is not merely a spurious effect of demographic composition, nationalism, trust in

authority, religiosity, democratic values, tolerance for political violence, or presidential preference of the respondents.

Apart from running the primary models, this inquiry can also be incorporated with an interaction term. This addition of the interaction term aims to test whether the effect of patriarchal attitude differs by the sex of the respondents. The interaction term can be annotated as follows:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Patriarchy}_i + \beta_2 \text{Sex}_i + \beta_3 (\text{Patriarchy}_i \times \text{Sex}_i) + \sum_k \beta_k X_{ki} + \varepsilon_i.$$

This model is designed to provide a clear framework for assessing whether patriarchal attitudes can consistently predict support for militaristic governance among different-sex respondents in the HI-RES SIKAP survey.

Results and Discussion

This study uses support for a militaristic government as its main DV, and it is measured by the item “democ_characteristic_military” in the dataset. This set of responses portrays the approval of the idea that the military should continue to govern when civilian institutions are deemed incompetent. In this respect, higher scores of the DV indicate higher support for militaristic governance. On the other hand, the primary IV is patriarchal attitude, which is marked by “genredist_gender_leader” in the dataset. The variable measures respondents’ agreement with the idea that men are more capable of political leadership compared to women. Furthermore, this variable reflects the degree of support from the respondents regarding the traditional gender hierarchy and serves as the theoretical foundation of the analysis.

Apart from the primary DV and IV, the regression models will also incorporate a broad set of control variables closely associated with political attitudes and preferences in Indonesia, as outlined in the literature review. These control variables pervade: sex (demog_sex); national pride/nationalism (identity_natpride); trust in religious leaders (trustciv_groups_religiousleader); last attained degree (demog_edu); level of income (demog_income); a dummy variable of Muslim identity (demog_religion_muslim); a dummy variable of civil servant employment status (demog_job_civilservant); a dummy variable whether the respondents opt for Prabowo-Gibran or not (polpref_prabowo); democratic support (democ_support); a dummy variable whether the respondents support electoral violence (elecint_violence_support), and a dummy variable of religiosity that captures both Muslim and non-Muslim

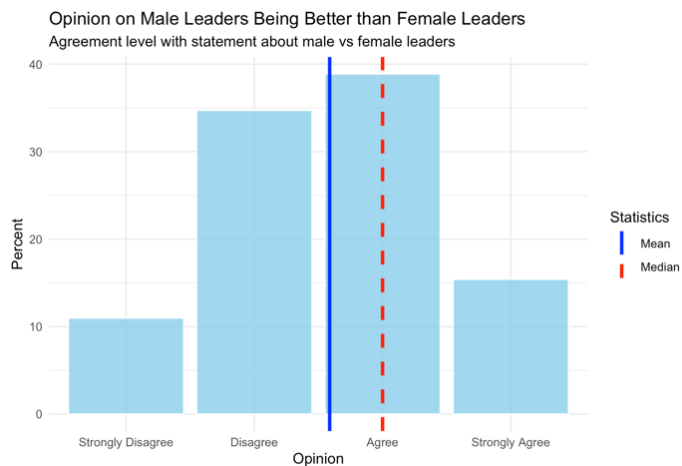
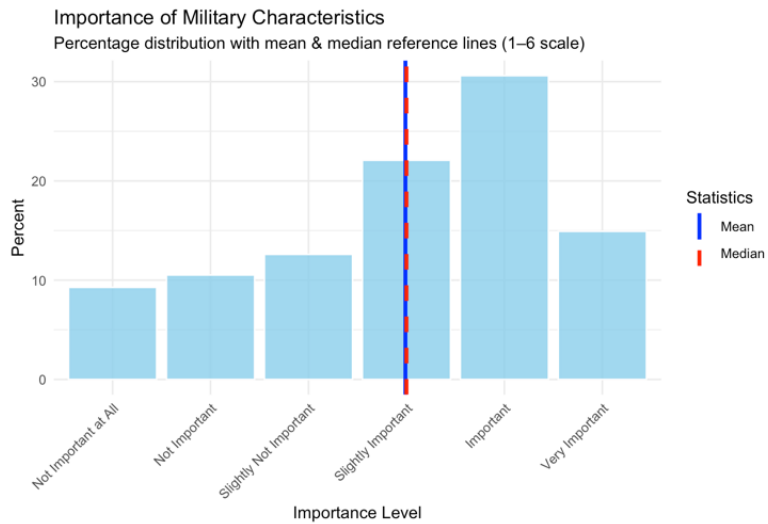
respondents (religiosity_dummy). These covariates isolate the relationship between patriarchal attitude and support for militarism by controlling for demographic background, socio-economic status, and submission towards the traditional authority.

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	MEDIAN	SD	MIN	MAX
democ_characteristic_military	2500	3.99	4	1.512	1	6
genredist_gender_leader	2497	2.588	3	0.878	1	4
demog_sex	2500	0.512	1	0.501	0	2
identity_natpride	2491	3.568	4	0.585	1	4
trustciv_groups_religiousleader	2496	3.129	3	0.616	1	4
demog_edu	2500	4.597	5	0.678	1	6
demog_income	2500	6.653	6	3.357	1	11
demog_religion_muslim	2500	0.796	1	0.403	0	1
demog_job_civilservant	2500	0.065	0	0.246	0	1
polpref_prabowo	813	0.551	1	0.498	0	1
democ_support	2500	0.75	1	0.433	0	1
elecint_violence_support	1447	0.686	1	0.464	0	1
religiosity_dummy	2498	0.956	1	0.206	0	1

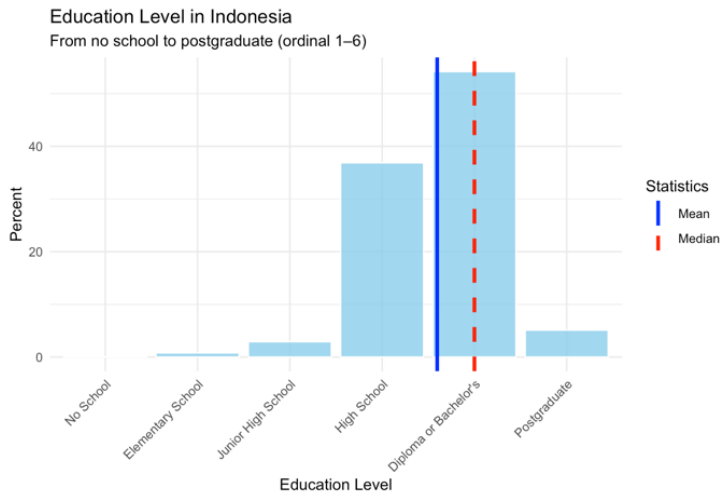
Table 1 Basic Statistic of Variables
 Source: Author’s analysis of HI-RES Sikap Dataset

From the table above, we can see that the variable of “support for a militaristic government” shows the mean and median are nearly identical, indicating that attitudes toward military intervention in governance are neither extremely polarized nor clustered at one end of the scale. The data distribution suggests that militaristic preferences are differentiated across respondents, which indicates a suitable basis for linear regression modeling. On the other hand, the “patriarchal attitude” as measured by the belief that men are better leaders, also displays a wide distribution. The median of 3 indicates that a substantial share of respondents leans toward patriarchal attitudes. However, the presenting variation implies that both egalitarian and strongly patriarchal

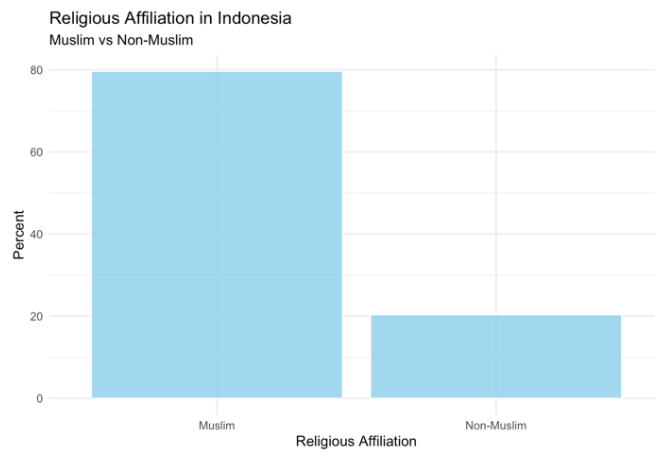
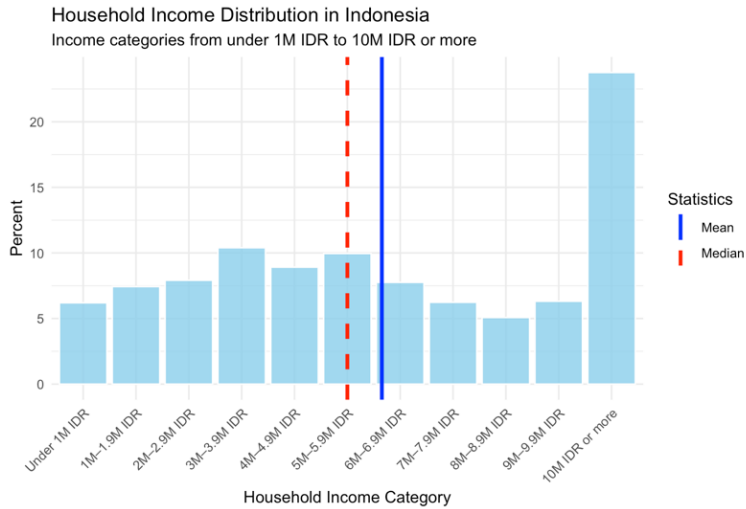
views coexist in the sample (as indicated by the histogram). This variation is essential for testing whether support for male leadership may substantially predict militaristic preferences.



On the other hand, the demographic control variables indicate quite a mixed pattern. The table shows that the respondents' sex is close to balanced, which means that the sample is almost evenly split between male and female respondents. This is essential, since this inquiry will also assess the gender-related interactions between sex and the patriarchal attitude. Apart from this tendency, several control variables show skewed distributions. The last educational attainment of the respondents is relatively high, indicating that the sample is inclined toward more educated respondents.

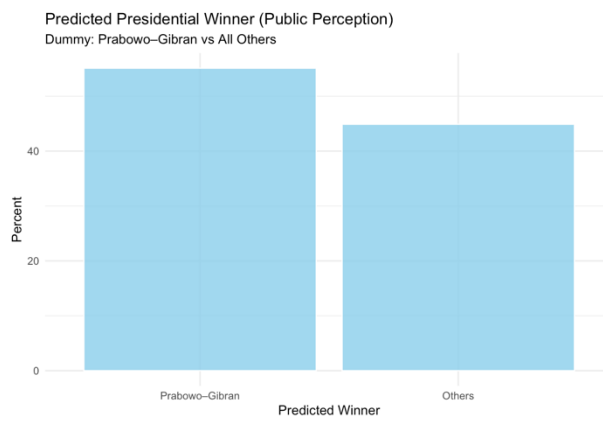
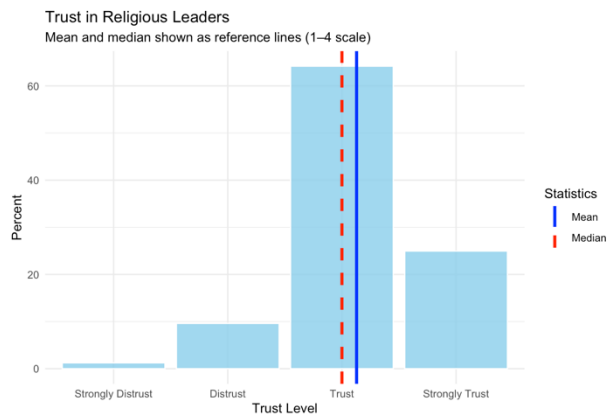
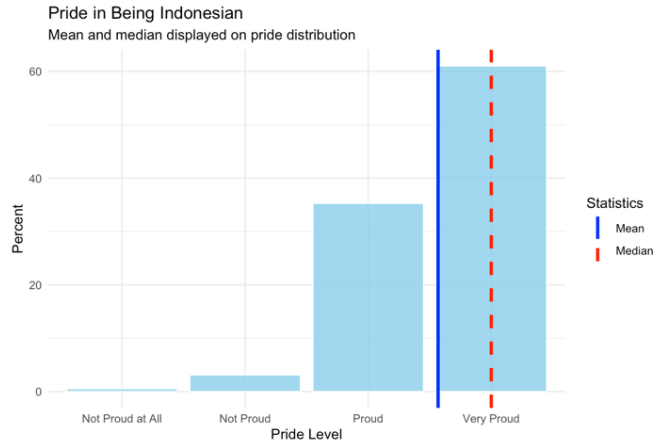


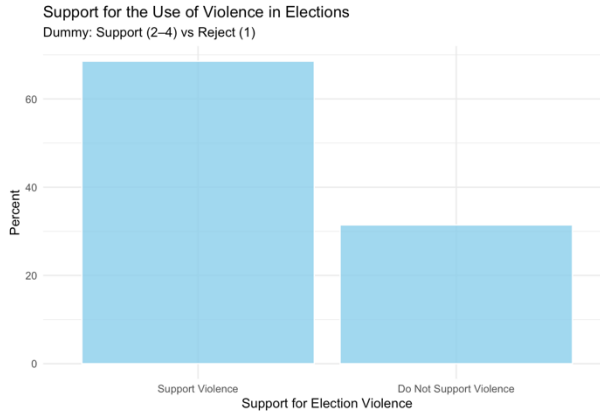
Households' income level is also positively skewed, which suggests substantial socioeconomic spread with a concentration in middle-to-upper income categories (as indicated by the histogram). While for religious affiliation, the dataset and visualization for the dummy variable show that the respondents are predominantly Muslim. Lastly, the dummy variable for the employment status indicates that civil servants represent a very small minority of the sample.



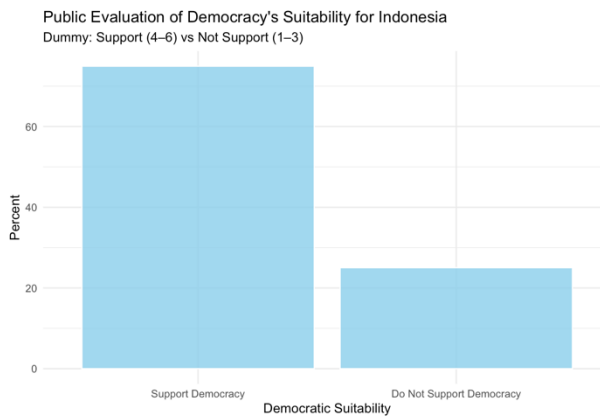
Apart from the demographic control variables, the attitudinal control variables also exhibit patterned distributions. The figures below demonstrate that the variable of nationalism is relatively high, while the trust in religious leaders is concentrated around moderate values.

On the other hand, the dummy variable that reflects the support for Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka in the 2024 presidential election shows that more respondents cast their support for the pair. Furthermore, both support for democracy and support for election violence are considerably high, which articulates the state where pro-democracy attitudes are common, while the tolerance for political violence is still present.





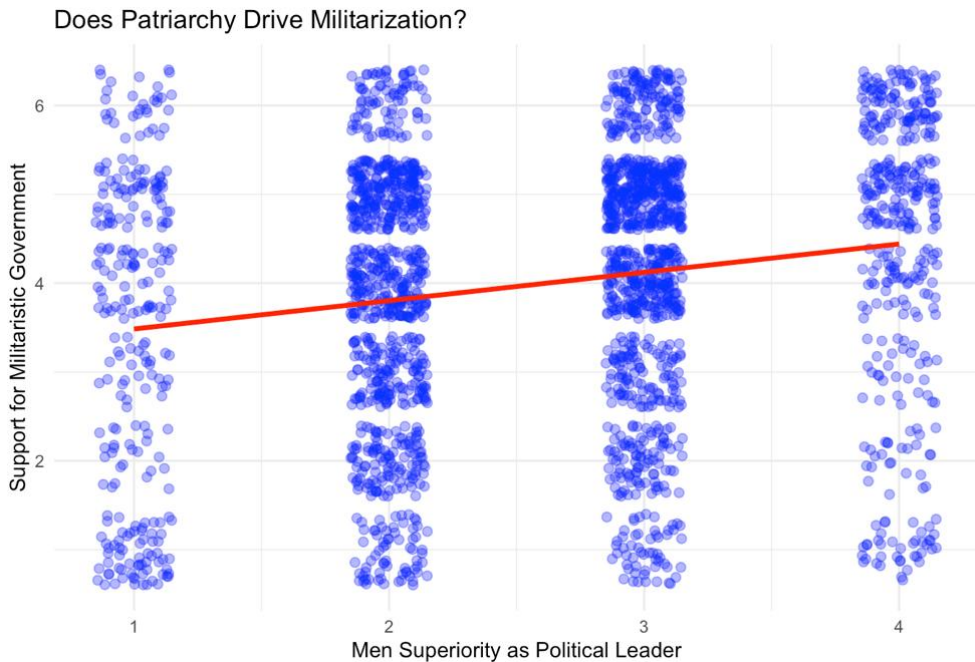
Lastly, the religiosity, which was measured as a dummy, is excessively high, suggesting the sample is generally religious. Overall, these descriptive patterns demonstrate that the dataset contains adequate variation in both the dependent and independent variables and includes a rich set of demographic and attitudinal controls. While some covariates are visibly skewed, the main predictors exhibit sufficient spread to allow robust multivariate estimation.



Regression analysis of variables

This section presents the empirical analysis from the HI-RES SIKAP survey, beginning with the bivariate association between patriarchal attitude (preference for male leader) and support for a militaristic government, followed by multivariate models that incorporate a range of demographic, attitudinal, and political controls. The section concludes with an examination of the interaction between sex and patriarchal belief to assess whether the relationship varies

across different sexes. Together, these analyses evaluate the theoretical expectation that patriarchal belief plays a central role in shaping public support for military governance in Indonesia.



From the regression plot of the bivariate model, we can see a compelling indication that patriarchal attitude is positively associated with the public support for a militaristic government. The regression line itself demonstrates a clear upward trend, which means that respondents who more strongly endorse the idea that “men make better political leaders” are likely to express higher levels of support for military rule when civilian institutions are perceived as ineffective. Model 1 in the regression table below confirms this pattern, showing that the standardized coefficient for patriarchy is positive and highly significant ($\beta = 0.185$, $p < 0.01$). Although the relationship explains only a modest share of the variance (Adjusted $R^2 = 0.034$), the effect is consistent with theoretical expectations that patriarchal worldviews valorize masculinity, authority, and hierarchy—values that align closely with the logic of militarized governance.

From the regression table provided below, we can see that the multivariate models offer a sequential view of how the relationship between patriarchal attitudes and support for militaristic government evolves as additional predictors are added. Model 2 incorporates nationalism, an attitudinal factor that often correlates with support for strong state authority.

The coefficient for patriarchal attitude remains virtually unchanged ($\beta = 0.184$), and national pride emerges as an additional positive predictor ($\beta = 0.102$). The adjusted R^2 increases to 0.045, indicating that nationalism helps explain some of the variation in militaristic support but does not diminish the central effect of patriarchal attitude. Model 3 adds trust in religious leaders, another common social anchor in Indonesian public opinion. Both variables remain significant after being tested, with confidence in religious leaders exhibiting a positive association ($\beta = 0.080$). The adjusted R^2 increases to 0.050, a modest yet considerable gain. The slight reduction in the patriarchal attitude coefficient (to $\beta = 0.168$) suggests that individuals who accept the influence of traditional religious authority (religious leader) may also be more likely to hold patriarchal beliefs. However, patriarchal attitudes remain a robust predictor of support for the militaristic government in Indonesia.

Support for Military Government: OLS Regressions (Standardized)

Dependent variable:

Support for Military Government

	Model 1 (1)	Model 2 (2)	Model 3 (3)	Model 4 (4)	Model 5 (5)	Model 6 (6)	Model 7 (7)
Patriarchy (Male Better Leader)	0.185** (0.020)	0.184** (0.020)	0.168** (0.020)	0.177** (0.020)	0.175** (0.021)	0.211** (0.036)	0.199** (0.036)
National Pride		0.102** (0.020)	0.085** (0.020)	0.088** (0.020)	0.087** (0.020)	0.098** (0.037)	0.109** (0.037)
Trust Religious Leaders			0.080** (0.021)	0.084** (0.021)	0.082** (0.021)	0.138** (0.038)	0.134** (0.038)
Education				-0.019 (0.021)	-0.017 (0.022)	-0.066 (0.039)	-0.068 (0.039)
Sex (Female = 1)				0.053** (0.020)	0.053** (0.020)	0.057 (0.035)	0.052 (0.035)
Income				-0.039 (0.021)	-0.037 (0.021)	0.035 (0.039)	0.032 (0.039)
Muslim (Yes vs No)					0.013 (0.020)	-0.004 (0.039)	-0.003 (0.039)
Civil Servant vs Other Employment					0.001 (0.020)	0.091 (0.035)	0.094** (0.035)
Vote for Prabowo-Gibran (Yes vs No)						0.164** (0.036)	0.165** (0.036)
Support Democracy (Yes vs No)						-0.036 (0.036)	-0.036 (0.036)
Support Election Violence (Yes vs No)							0.115** (0.036)
Religiosity (Religious vs non-religious)							-0.005 (0.036)
Constant	-0.00001 (0.020)	-0.003 (0.020)	-0.002 (0.020)	-0.002 (0.020)	-0.002 (0.020)	-0.071 (0.035)	-0.076 (0.035)
Observations	2,497	2,488	2,486	2,486	2,486	809	808
Adjusted R2	0.034	0.045	0.050	0.054	0.053	0.103	0.113

Note: ** Significant at $p < 0.01$.

Values are standardized beta coefficients.

Furthermore, the multivariate table above indicates that education does not significantly improve model fit, nor does it have a meaningful independent effect. This suggests that the educational attainment of the respondents does not strongly structure variation in support for militaristic government, once

patriarchal attitudes and other attitudinal factors are taken into account. Subsequently, model 5 takes sex into the equation and reveals an intriguing pattern, that women exhibit slightly higher support for militaristic government than men ($\beta = 0.053$, $p < 0.01$), holding other factors constant. This result is counterintuitive if one assumes that men, by virtue of gender advantage, should be more supportive of military authority. However, as outlined in the literature review, we can see that women who internalize patriarchal norms may be more likely to support masculine authority structures when they perceive them as sources of order, stability, or protection (Enloe, 2014). Importantly, patriarchal attitude remains highly significant ($\beta = 0.175$), reinforcing the notion that gender beliefs drive variation in militaristic support.

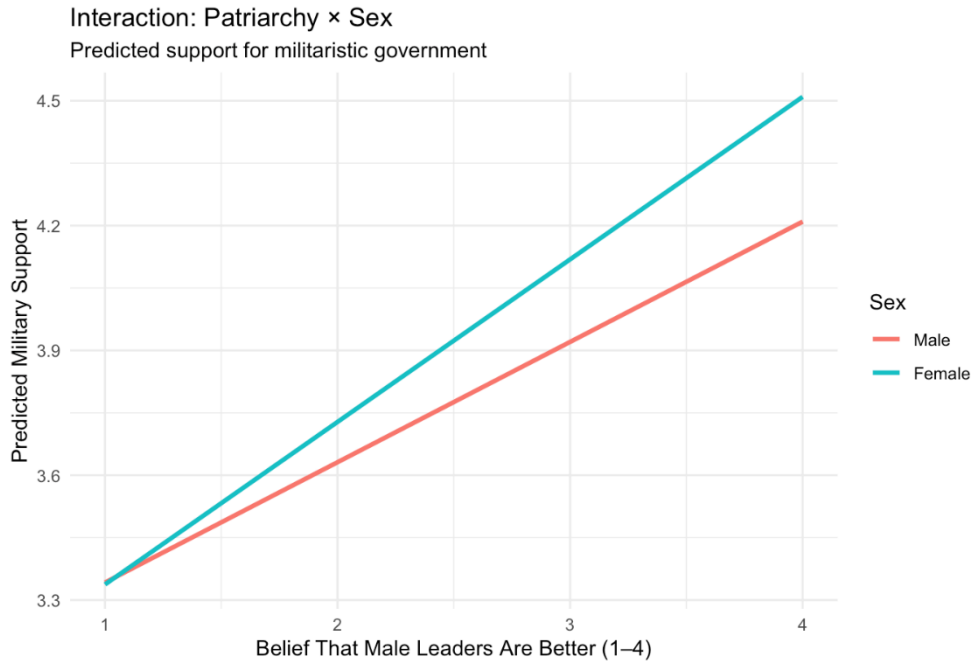
To proceed with the robustness check, model 6 incorporates the respondent's income level and their religious affiliation, specifically whether they are Muslim or not (reflected by the dummy variable). The addition of these variables results in the first substantial increase in the model's explanatory power (Adjusted $R^2 = 0.103$), reflecting the influence of socio-economic and religious contexts in the analysis. However, after testing both variables, neither income nor Muslim identity is a significant predictor, suggesting that attributional characteristics do not directly influence the respondents' support for militaristic government once core beliefs and political preferences are taken into account. The coefficient of patriarchal attitude becomes even stronger in this model ($\beta = 0.211$), indicating that its influence remains and even intensifies after controlling for class and religion. This highlights the distinct role of gender belief systems as foundational psychological orientations that shape how individuals understand legitimacy, authority, and political order.

The final and most comprehensive model incorporates the dummy variable of political preference (whether the respondents support Prabowo Gibran in the 2024 presidential election), support for democracy, support for election-related violence, civil servant employment status, and religiosity. This model achieves the highest adjusted R^2 (0.113), marking it as the most theoretically complete and empirically informative model. As the test is implemented, we can see that several new predictors become significant. Support for democracy surprisingly shows a positive association with the support for militaristic government ($\beta = 0.164$). Although the correlation is not statistically significant, this suggests that some Indonesians may simultaneously support democratic ideals while endorsing military intervention under certain circumstances. Attitudes in favor of electoral violence also correlate

significantly with militaristic support ($\beta = 0.115$, $p < 0.01$), signaling that individuals who support coercive or illiberal political strategies are more inclined to support military involvement in governance.

Lastly, it is also essential to note that respondents who support the current president also incline to significantly support a militaristic government ($\beta = 0.165$, $p < 0.01$). This dummy variable of support for Prabowo-Gibran consistently showed a significant correlation with support for a militaristic government in models 6 and 7, indicating a strong tendency towards militarism among respondents who identified themselves as sympathizers of the current president. It is crucial to emphasize that even in this fully saturated model, patriarchal attitude among the respondents remains a strong and statistically significant predictor ($\beta = 0.199$, $p < 0.01$). The coefficient itself tends to remain stable across models and only shifts modestly after the inclusion of demographic, attitudinal, and political variables. This consistency of result suggests that patriarchal attitude functions as an embedded worldview that influences how citizens evaluate political authority. Unlike many covariates whose effects fluctuate as new controls are added, the impact of patriarchal attitude demonstrates structural centrality in shaping militaristic preferences.

To further understand whether the effect of patriarchy differs between male and female respondents, an interaction term between sex and patriarchal attitudes is examined. The predicted values plot reveals that while militaristic support increases with patriarchal belief for both sexes, the slope is notably steeper for the female respondents. At the lowest levels of patriarchal belief, male and female respondents exhibit similar levels of support for militaristic government. However, at high levels of patriarchal attitudes, women surpass men in their endorsement of military governance. This finding implies that patriarchal belief is not simply a male-dominated ideology but a belief system that can also be internalized by women, shaping their political preferences in ways that reinforce male authority and militarized structures of power. Feminist scholars such as Enloe (2014) and Cockburn (2010) have argued that patriarchal systems sustain themselves not only through institutional practices but also through the internalization of values that elevate masculine dominance. The interaction observed here provides empirical evidence in support of this theoretical claim.



Taken together, the inquiry shows that a patriarchal attitude is a consistent predictor of the respondents' support for militaristic governance. The effect remains stable across the multivariate regressions, strengthens in more comprehensive models, and produces differential patterns across gender groups. While nationalism, trust in religious elites, and support for Prabowo-Gibran also contribute to militaristic support, patriarchal attitudes remain the most stable and conceptually central predictor. These findings underscore the importance of gender belief systems in shaping not only interpersonal norms but also broader political orientations toward authority, coercion, and the role of the military in public life.

Conclusion

This inquiry provides clear evidence that a patriarchal attitude is a strong and consistent predictor of public support for militaristic government. From the multivariate analysis, we can see that the individuals who believe men are better political leaders than women express significantly higher support for military intervention in government. This statistically significant relationship remains robust even after controlling for several variables, including nationalism, trust in religious leaders, demographic characteristics, political preferences, and attitudes toward electoral violence. Furthermore, the interaction analysis reveals that this effect is not uniform across gender groups. In this respect,

women who internalize patriarchal norms demonstrate an even steeper increase in support for militaristic government as patriarchal attitudes intensified. These patterns collectively reflect the deep ideological role of gender hierarchy in shaping Indonesian citizens' orientations toward authority and coercive governance.

Despite these meaningful insights, the findings must be interpreted with caution. As disclosed in the earlier section, the HI-RES SIKAP dataset is not a representative depiction of the Indonesian population. Thus, the estimates presented here should be understood as identifying patterns within the sample, rather than making definitive claims about the entire country. Additionally, the cross-sectional design prevents causal inference, and the attitudinal measures may be subject to social desirability bias. Future research should validate these relationships using more representative sampling designs, longitudinal approaches, and alternative operationalizations of gender ideology and militaristic support. Even with these limitations, the results demonstrate that patriarchal worldviews and the attitudes that accompany them play a pivotal role in shaping political orientations toward military authority in contemporary Indonesia.

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