Gender Mainstreaming in Education:

Case Studies of Islamic Primary Schools in
South Sulawesi, Indonesia 2000 - 2006

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Abstract

This thesis examined the extent and the manner of the gender mainstreaming policy implementation in three Islamic primary schools in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. It investigated the commitment, gender ideology and practices of policy makers, school principals, teachers, and the school committees. Furthermore, the thesis analyzed gender roles depiction in the primary school textbooks as well as investigated the students' perception of gender roles.

The thesis argued that implementation of gender mainstreaming in Islamic education was varied. Firstly, in the government itself, the implementation of the gender mainstreaming policy was greater in the upper level than in the lower levels of the administration. Secondly, the Indonesian government's initiative to mainstream gender in primary school textbooks has shown some positive results, although the influence differed according to discipline, grade levels, schools and place of publication and the market. Thirdly, stereotyped gender role ideology and practices were shared by the three school communities, yet the patterns were different. The government school in the village was the most progressive. Whereas, the private schools in the town and the city were both less progressive. Fourthly, the students generally had similar views on gender roles although there were markedly different patterns of perceptions among them. Students of the state school engaged in the least stereotyping in their selection of famous people and their favourites among the

famous as well as in their occupational aspirations, whereas the students of Muhammadiyah schools engaged in the most stereotyping.

The supporting factors of gender mainstreaming were reflected in the curriculum program and strategies, gender awareness training, and changes in social practices. Whereas, the hindering factors mostly come from cultural perspectives, the patriarchal values and the ambivalence of decision makers and teachers as well as the lack of opportunities for teachers from Islamic schools to participate in gender training workshops.

Doctor of Philosophy Declaration

"I, Siti Azisah, declare that the PhD Thesis entitled Gender Mainstreaming Policy in Education: Case study of Islamic Primary School in Indonesia is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work."

28 June 2012

Signature   Date

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Chapter 1

Introduction

A. Background of the Study

Gender mainstreaming is a relatively new concept that originated from a series of the United Nations Women's Conferences. It can be traced from the first UN Women's Conference in Mexico 1975 (Tiessen, 2007). The concept appeared in the document of United Nations Third World conference on women in Nairobi in 1985 (Council of Europe, 1998; UNESCO, 2003). However it was not prominent until the fourth women's conference in Beijing 1995 (Council of Europe, 1998; Rees, 2002) when the conference included it in the declaration and the platform for action that called the institutions of the UN to incorporate gender perspective systematically into Policy making (Council of Europe, 1998, 2004). It is as key strategy to achieve gender equality (Bazinet, Sequeira & Delahanty, 2006).

Indonesia, as one of the UN members, has given encouraging responses and undertaken affirmative action by giving official support to implement gender mainstreaming. This Indonesian response was motivated by the commitment of international community to mainstream gender perspectives into all policies and system of the United Nations as placed in the Beijing platform for action and the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (Parawansa, 2000).

The Indonesian government identified gender equality and gender justice as one of Indonesia's national development objectives in its Broad Outline of State Policy *(GBHN)* 1999 (Parawansa, 2000; Suryadi & Idris, 2004). Moreover, President Abdurrahman Wahid issued Presidential Instruction No. 9 on gender mainstreaming in 2000. The latter policy gave instructions to all levels of government, including the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Religion, to implement gender-mainstreaming-based policy in each aspect of national development. As a consequence, Indonesian national development programs (PROPENAS) 2000 to 2004 have shown responsiveness to gender issues in many sectors, including education. Gender responsiveness in the education sector can be seen in three main activities: scholarship grants to increase the proportion of female students from poor families participating in schooling at every level of education; the development of competency-based curriculum that is not gender biased and is gender responsive at every level of education; and accelerating the effort to reduce women's illiteracy rate (Ministry of Women's Empowerment Republic of Indonesia, 2002).

The Ministry of National Education, which has the responsibility to mainstream gender in education, has shown its commitment to the policy of gender mainstreaming by doing a number of related activities starting in 2002 (Suryadi & Idris, 2004). One example of its commitment was the commissioning by the Ministry of National Education of Women's Studies Centres at universities in the major provincial cities around Indonesia to undertake research on gender issues in

education and to work with publishers, writers and illustrators for the publication of textbooks in 2004.

Looking at the commitment of the government above, I intend to examine the implementation of the policy of gender mainstreaming in Islamic primary schools in terms of the attainment of the policy devised by the educational policy makers and practitioners. The policy makers and administrators of Islamic schools are officials in the Ministry of Religion from national level to provincial and district levels and those Islamic organisations that run Islamic schools (Muhammadiyah and Asadiyah respectively). I also investigated the commitment, gender ideology and practice of those policy makers toward the gender mainstreaming policy.

In the schools, I also analyzed the commitment, gender ideology and practices of the principals, teachers, as well as the school committee. I also investigated the teaching process in the classrooms as well as the events in the staffroom. Furthermore, I examined the depiction of gender roles in school textbooks by comparing the disciplines, the year of publication before and in or after 2004, grade levels, place of publication and market as well as the three schools. In addition, I investigated the students' perception on gender roles by analyzing the students' responses to questions about gender role depiction in textbook pictures shown to them as well as the students' own drawings of men or women performing a role of their choice. The students were also asked to make a list of famous people, and then select a favourite

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person from their list. These lists and the students' occupational aspirations were analyzed from a gender perspective.

It is argued in this thesis that there has been a debate on gender mainstreaming in the Islamic schools since the implementation of policy in the Department of Religion. The policy has faced severe critiques from traditional Muslim groups (Swaramuslim, 2004). Those groups consider the issue of gender mainstreaming as a contravention of Islamic law. The traditional Muslim groups also oppose women activists and women's organizations, which try to implement gender mainstreaming in the Islamic school curriculum (Viviani, 2001).

It is also argued that many of the educational decision makers and administrators in South Sulawesi were not aware of gender issues. Therefore, they are more likely to deliver biased Islamic teaching. Kodir (2003) argues that biased interpretation of religion is a major factor in the dissemination of a gender-biased ideology. This suggests that gender bias ideology remains pervasive in South Sulawesi where 89.20 percent of the population is Muslim (Suryadinata, Ananta & Arifin, 2003). The Muslim population of this province is not only a large majority but it is also devout.

The Buginese and Makassarese are the two predominant ethnic groups in South Sulawesi and the main focus of this study. About 95 percent of the population of this ethnic group embrace Islam as the fundamental aspect of their culture (Said, 2004).

Besides the Islamic religion, they have also cultural values which are integral with their religious identity.

The most notable Buginese and Makassarese value is *siri*. *Siri* is defined by Abidin (1999) as dignity, self-esteem and shame. These values of honor and shame define the norms for behavior in everyday life, including gender relations. According to *siri* values, a woman is a symbol of family dignity and a man must take care of family dignity (*to masiri*) (Hading, 2003). In traditional Bugis-Makassarese society, it was shameful for a man if a male outside the family comes into contact with a female member of his family, either his wife or his daughter.

To protect a woman from contact with other males, Buginese-Makassarese culture segregates men and women to defined spaces and roles. Accordingly, 'the woman's domain is around the house and the man's domain reaches the border of the sky (the horizon)' (Pelras, 1996, p. 101). This spatial separation and segregation led to the gender division of labor where women's roles were limited to around the house, while men's roles were the opposite, namely, they were not limited to staying at home. However, in practice, Buginese and Makassarese women can be found in occupations and activities outside the home, including trading, laboring, agricultural work, migration for work, professional work, and politics. This study explored how Islamic as well as Buginese-Makasarese values have influenced gender mainstreaming in Islamic primary schools in South Sulawesi.

B. Purpose and Aims of the Study

This research explored the extent and the manner in which the Indonesian government has implemented the policy of gender mainstreaming in Islamic primary education in the province of South Sulawesi. The research sought to identify those factors supporting and inhibiting the policy's implementation as well as to ascertain whether greater gender equality had been achieved since implementation of gender mainstreaming policy in education began in 2002.

In particular, the research reported in this thesis:

- Investigated gender ideologies in Indonesian society, especially in South Sulawesi, as they are reflected in Islamic primary school curriculum;

- Examined the extent to which the government policy commitments have been implemented in Islamic primary school curriculum and teaching;

- Examined how men and women were portrayed in curriculum materials of three different Islamic primary schools; and

- Explored the supporting and inhibiting factors of a cultural and religious nature in South Sulawesi society in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Islamic schools.

C. The Scope of the Research and Location

In this section the perimeters, scope and the limitations of the research project are established. This research did not cover gender mainstreaming in all sectors of

national development of Indonesia, but it was limited only to gender mainstreaming in the education sector. A specific focus was Islamic schools at the primary level. The Islamic primary schools consisted of government and private schools The government schools are known as *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Negeri* (MIN, State Islamic Primary School), while the private Islamic schools were owned by the Islamic organizations, one "traditional" and the other "modernist" in orientation. The Islamic primary school owned by the traditional organization was a *Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah* (MI, Islamic Primacy School) and the school owned by the modernist organization was a *Sekolah Dasar* (SD, primary school). The study did not cover all Islamic primary schools in Indonesia, but selected three Islamic schools in South Sulawesi which are located in three different socio-economic and geographical locations: the capital city of Makassar, the provincial town of Sengkang-Wajo, and a village in Bone District.

D. Conceptual Framework

In designing the study of gender mainstreaming policy in education, I employed the definition of gender mainstreaming used by Leo-Rhynie (1999). She defines gender mainstreaming as using a gender perspective consistently at all level of development and implementation stages of rules, plans, and projects. She further stated that the implementation of gender mainstreaming in education sectors, would take account of the government activities and those of schools, colleges, and education institutions, as well as NGOs and the private sector, if relevant (Leo-Rhynie & The Institute of Development Labour Law University of Cape Town South Africa, 1999).

Leo_Rhynie's and The Institute of Development Labour Law University of Cape Town South Africa's statement above is congruent with the report of the Council of Europe (1998, 2004). The implementation of gender mainstreaming in education requires political will, education techniques and awareness-raising tools and training courses, follow up action, mobile or flying expertise, manuals and hand books, booklets and leaflets and educational materials for use in schools (Council of Europe, 1998, 2004). For the purpose of this study I examined the government's political will, education techniques, tools involving awareness-raising and training courses, as well as the educational materials used in schools. Gender awareness training should also reach beyond government institutions to involve all stakeholders including teachers, parents, students, and religious organizations (Leo-Rhynie & The Institute of Development Labour Law University of Cape Town South Africa, 1999). I involved these stakeholders in this study and I chose the school textbooks for the assessment of educational material for use in schools.

E. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into nine chapters. *Chapter One Introduction* provides the background needed to understand gender mainstreaming in Indonesia, covering the historical background of gender mainstreaming leading to its adoption in Indonesia. This chapter also explains the aims of the study. In addition the scope and the research location are also discussed.

Chapter Two, reviews the literature and provides the key concepts related to gender and gender mainstreaming, gender issues in Indonesia in general, in Islam, in the

local cultures, and in education. The provision of key concepts is aimed at facilitating the understanding of the research topic. These key concepts are derived from academic and institutional works about the topic. Gender issues were presented to provide a background discussion of gender issues related to this topic.

Chapter Three describes the research methodology, method of data collection and analysis, validity and reliability, as well as ethical values of the research.

Chapter Four is a report on the role of women activists who supported the gender mainstreaming Policy. It covers the history of women's movement in Indonesia by tracing the women movement from early twentieth century and provides the inspiration for women's movement and gender movement today.

Chapter Five discusses policy development on gender mainstreaming in Indonesia. It starts with a discussion of the origin of gender mainstreaming that came to be adopted in Indonesia. Then, it considers gender mainstreaming in education involving the Ministry of National Education as the coordinator of gender mainstreaming in the education sector of national development. Finally, it analyses gender mainstreaming in the Ministry of Religion, which is responsible for the state Islamic schools, and two private educational institutions run by two different Islamic organizations.

Chapter Six reports on the analysis of gender role depictions in Islamic primary school textbooks. In this chapter I analyze gender roles depictions in the textbooks of Islamic primary schools by using a framework of analysis based on balance/imbalance or equal/unequal, stereotype and non-stereotype, gender-neutral and gender progressive criteria. This framework is employed to compare the textbooks according to disciplines, year of publication, grade levels, place of publication and market and the schools.

Chapter Seven presents the findings of the investigation into gender role ideology and practice of the three school communities. It analyses the gender ideology and perspectives of the school communities as represented by the school principals and teachers, as well as the Head of School Committee.

Chapter Eight presents the analyses of the students' perception on gender roles. The findings of this analysis revealed that students had gender-neutral and non-stereotype views on gender roles. It also identifies the predominant stereotype views of gender roles among the students. In addition, the comparison of students' views in the three schools uncovered that students in the state Islamic primary school based in the village had more gender neutral views than the students from the other two private Islamic primary schools in the town and in the city.

Chapter Nine discusses the main findings of the research and policy implications flowing from it.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

A. Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to provide a review of the literature. Initially the key concepts and theories related to gender, gender equality and gender mainstreaming are explained and discussed to provide the theoretical background for the review of literature concerning gender mainstreaming in Islamic education in Indonesia.

After that I discuss the literature about Indonesian national gender norms and ideologies as well as those of Bugis-Makassar society in South Sulawesi and Islam to facilitate understanding of gender mainstreaming in Islamic education in the province of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Finally, I discuss the literature about gender role socialization in education, particularly related to the analysis of textbooks and teaching practices, including studies of Indonesian textbooks.

B. Gender and Gender Equality

There is a widespread misunderstanding and confusion over the meaning of gender mainstreaming and related concepts. In this section I discuss the meaning of key terms in order to facilitate explanation of the concept of gender mainstreaming and the interpretation of these terms displayed by participants in my study. This will

enable me to examine the understanding that they have of gender issues and gender mainstreaming. There are several terms that need to be examined closely for these purposes: gender, gender roles, gender subjectivities, gender identities, sex roles, gender bias, gender stereotypes, sexism, sexist, gender equality, gender equity, and gender mainstreaming.

Gender is a term that it is often used synonymously with the term sex. Sex is a system of biological reproduction, a matter of natural fact (Hurley, 2007). It is the biological term that differenciates between males and females based on genitalia. . Females are those who have ovaries, uterus and vagina. While males are those who have testes and penis (Holmes, Hughes & Julian, 2003). It is a category of male and female human animal. This difference are natural from birth and relatively unalterable.

The word 'gender' derived from the latin word genus (pl. genera). Genus is a classification of animals or plants with common structural features. It is also means kind of things including inferior category of species (Thompson, 1992). In grammar, gender refers to the specific distinction more or less between classes of nouns.

Connell (2002, p. 10) defines that "Gender is the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices (governed by this structure) that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes".

Gender is a social construction of what society expects from the fact of being a man or a woman concerning their roles and responsibilities, characteristics, aptitudes and behaviours (Connell, 2002; European Commission, 2005; Holmes, Hughes & Julian, 2003; President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2000).

The Council of Europe (1998) identified two aspects of gender: the socially constructed definition of, and the relationship between, men and women. Discrimination and inequality currently characterizes both the socially constructed definition of gender and the relationship between men and women. The notion of tasks, functions and roles assigned to men and women in society verify the socially constructed gender of a man or a woman. Likewise the socially constructed relationship between men and women assumes an "unequal power relationship with male domination and female subordination in most spheres of life" (Council of Europe, 1998, p. 8).

Robeyns, (2007) defined gender as follows:

> Gender is a social position that men and women occupy. A person belongs to a gender because she is thought to have certain bodily features that reveal her reproductive capacities. These bodily features function as markers for evaluating individuals as either men or women, and for justifying their respective social position (p.56).

This definition implies that to be a man and woman is a social position determined by the biological features. Robeyns (2007) presents four concepts to facilitate

understanding of gender conceptualization: norms, stereotypes, identity and institutions.

Robeyns noted that "norms can be legal, social or moral but all have in common that a person violating the norms will be sanctioned, either by a legal punishment, or by the contempt and disgust of others, which will trigger shame in the violator" (Robeyns, 2007, p. 56). She further stated that many norms are gendered since they are applied to males and females in different ways. Norms, in particular gender norms, produce and reinforce gender inequality because they impose the code of masculinity and femininity and prescribe of what is appropriate and normal behavior for a man and a woman.

The second concept listed by Robeyns (2007) is stereotypes. Gender stereotypes are defined by Shaw (cited in Gooden & Gooden, 2001, p. 90) as "assumptions made about characteristics of each gender, such as physical appearances, physical abilities, attitudes, interests, or occupation." A more complete definition of stereotypes presented by Robeyns (2007) as follows:

> Stereotypes are cognitive devices that operate at the non-conscious level, and help us to make sense of the staggering amount of information that our brain constantly has to process. They are hypothesis about sex differences, which affect our expectations of men and women and our evaluations of their work, qualities, and abilities. These expectations will affect individuals' actual performance, as well as the aspirations they hold. They are shared by the members of a society, and are formed as part of socialization processes. Both men and women form expectations and judge other people with the same gender stereotypes (p. 58).

Although Gooden and Gooden's definition is simpler than Robeyns' definition, it is similar since assumptions about characteristics of each gender and hypotheses of gender differences mean the same thing. Both mean that people hold a proposition about the characteristics of a man or a woman. Robeyns further explains that the hypothesis about sex differences affects our expectations and our expectations affect an individual's actual performance and aspiration. So, the difference between stereotype and norm is the association with expectation and punishment respectively. Like norms, stereotypes also infer gender inequality because they affect different behaviors and expectations toward men and women.

Gender roles means "the behaviors that society teaches are correct for boys and correct for girls" (Gooden & Gooden, 2001, p. 90). Gooden and Gooden's definition of gender roles implies that society plays an important role in preserving the gender norms in terms of appropriate behaviors for males and females. Another broader definition of gender roles is provided by the National Committee for the Advancement of Women (NCFAW) in Viet Nam (2004). The NCFAW defined gender roles as follows:

> What women and men are expected to do and how they are expected to behave toward each other. Gender roles are different across communities and across the world. They change over time in response to changing community circumstances (e.g. during wars – when women take on more leadership roles) and changing ideas about what is acceptable or not acceptable behaviors and roles. Gender roles and characteristics affect power relations between men and women at all levels and can result in inequality in opportunities and outcomes for some groups (National Committee for the Advancement of Women in Viet Nam, 2004, p. 1).

The NCFAW's definition of gender roles is similar to the stereotyped and normative activities and behavior of women and men that have been discussed by Robeyns (2007). That is because it noted the expected, and acceptable and non-acceptable behaviors and roles. It also implies gender inequality as a consequence of the dominant and subordinate roles of men and women respectively in power relations. Besides this, it highlights how gender roles vary across communities and evolve over time. More complex than the idea of gender roles is gender subjectivities.

The concept of gender subjectivities is the individuals themselves construct their own gender based on their conscious knowledge, intentions, imagination and unconcious desires, emotion and trauma. Lyn Parker (1997) stated that

"children will not turn out like their parents; that societies will not duplicate themselves; that there will be a wide variation among individuals in any one group; that some cultural notions, meaning and practices will be taken for granted and others shared, modified and argued over (Parker, 1997: 497).

She further argued that

Gender cannot, therefore, be a coercive ideology existing outside human subjectivity, waiting to mould babies into boys and girls. Human constitute their own gender and are constituted in their gender by their own history of interaction with others. Gender is produced through perceptions of, and interpreation of, bodily difference and biological function (Parker, 1997, 498).

Gender subjection for children can be seen in a story the fairy who wouldn't fly where "chldren were subjected – made into subjects – made appropriate to the contexts in which they find themselves" (Davies, 2005, p173).

The third concept of gender conceptualization proposed by Robeyns (2007) is personal gender identity or notion of self by a woman or by a man. The identity of an individual is not necessarily a conscious decision taken by a person. It emerges through their social interactions and based on perceived, or actual, positive or negative repercussions of behaviors. That is because an individual will face punishment in terms of shame when opting for an identity that differs from gender norms. Likewise, normally one will adopt a gender identity which is expected by society. However, many individuals adopt identities that do not conform to their society's norms and expectations.

The final concept related to gender construction proposed by Robeyns is the role of social institutions. Social institutions include education systems, media, families and workplaces. Robeyns (2007) argues that the structure of a social institution creates and preserves gender inequalities. She exemplifies the education system as a social institution that preserves gender inequalities, arguing that many textbooks convey gender stereotypical messages. Institutions and ideologies that change society's expectations of gendered behaviors open up possibilities for diverse gender identities.

Gender identity and norms discussed by Robeyns are related to the ideas of gender ideology. The term gender ideology is defined by Adeney (2003, p. 27) as "organized and legitimated understandings of culturally constructed ideas about the

differences between males and females and the appropriate task designated to each".
Thus gender ideology ascribes the details of the expected behaviors of men and
women based on their sex (Blackburn, 2004b). The use of the term ideology suggests
a theoretical position. It is different from norms whereby people are passive
acceptors of assumptions regarding males and females.

Indeed gender awareness and consciousness occurred when feminists critiqued
existing norms and argued that gender norms were not merely passive constructions
of society but constituted through belief systems. The term gender ideology is the
belief systems of various people and institutions about gender, gender roles and
gender identity. The ideology of superior male and the dangerous female are
outstanding in many societies throughout the world (Spiro, 1997). This reality was
the basis for activists to promote a new ideology of gender equality and equity and
justice through gender mainstreaming.

As a social construction, gender is culturally specific and varies remarkably
according to time, societies, cultures, ethnic origin, religion, education, geographical
locations, economic and political environment (European Commission, 2005;
National Committee for the Advancement of Women in Viet Nam, 2004). Sharyn G
Davies (2006) introduced a notion of the holistic concept of gender in her study of
society in Sulawesi where gender was constituted through a variety of intersecting
factors, including biological sex, spirituality, sense of self, roles, behaviors,

occupation, dress, sexuality, government and religious ideology, and subjectivity. This construction of gender is not as simple as that presented by Robeyns, who only notes gender as a social construction determined by the biological features: a man or a woman. Davies definition of gender above created five types of gender: a man (Bugis: *orawane*), a woman (Bugis: *makkunrai*), a biological male who behaves socially as a woman (Bugis: *calabai*), a biological female who behaves socially as a man (Bugis: *Calalai*) and an androgynous shaman called bissu.

Although the term gender is different from the term sex, gender roles and sex roles are used synonymously in the literature, for example Gooden and Gooden (2001) and Abraham (1989). Sexism means "the view that certain socially and culturally produced actions/values/roles/desires are naturally derived from a person's biological sex" (Abraham, 1989: 36), and sexist is "the advocacy of, promotion of, or support for, such assumptions, in the theory and practice" (Abraham, 1989, p. 36).

Gender equality is defined according to different principles by several authors. These principles include: equal and different treatments according to the circumstances (European Commission, 2005); sameness, special provision and transformation (Rees 1998); visibility, empowerment and participation (Council of Europe, 1998, 2004; Tiessen, 2007); neutrality of difference and diversity (Squires, 1999); realizing human rights and contributing to, and benefiting from, economic, cultural and political development (UNESCO, 2003); and equal treatment perspective, women's perspective and gender perspective (Booth & Bennett, 2002).

These different definitions have concepts or principles in common. The principle of equal treatment described by the European Commission (2005) and Booth and Bennett (2002) is similar to the principle of sameness (Rees & Ebooks Corporation., 1998), visibility (Council of Europe, 1998, 2004; Tiessen, 2007), realizing human rights and equal opportunity (UNESCO, 2003). These authors and organizations claim that humans are the same and have the same rights in all fields of life. These ideas are all derived from the liberal principle that guarantees equal rights and equal treatment for men and women before the law (Booth & Bennett, 2002). This principle of equality was endorsed by liberal feminists.

The second principle, that of different treatment (European Commission, 2005), is similar to the ideas of special provision (Rees & Ebooks Corporation., 1998) and empowerment (Council of Europe, 1998, 2004; Tiessen, 2007) since each acknowledge women's perspectives (Booth & Bennett, 2002) and differences between men and women (Squires, 1999). This principle of equality was advocated by radical feminism.

The final principle of gender equality, that of transformation (Rees & Ebooks Corporation, 1998) is similar to the principle of participation advocated by Council of Europe (1998, 2004) and Tiessen (2007). It is also compatible with the ideas of supporting diversity (Squires, 2005), contributing to, and benefiting from, development (President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2000; UNESCO, 2003), and

including gender perspectives (Booth & Bennett, 2002). They are similar or related to each other because each seeks transformation of the existing system that "engender the subject" (Squires, 2005, p. 3). For example, the principle of participation seeks the transformation of the system by involving women in decision making. These principles of gender equality relating to transformation originated in post modern and post structural feminist theory.

Gender equality is the expected outcome of the successful implementation of gender mainstreaming strategy and is dependent on the three perspectives of gender equality described above. Booth and Bennett (2002, pp. 433-8) used a metaphor of "three-legged equality stool" to explain that these three perspectives of gender equality are a unity. One gender equality perspective is dependent upon the others. These three perspectives will be examined in this thesis.

Gender equity or gender justice is defined as a process of being fair to men and women (National Committee for the Advancement of Women in Viet Nam, 2004; UNESCO, 2003). This process is consistent with the approaches to gender equality above as gender equity also has three aspects: equal opportunity, treatment and outcomes, recognizing difference and using different treatment, and empowering those who are disadvantaged (Bishop & Forgasz, 2007; Fennema, 1993; Jungwirth, 2003). Recognizing difference can involve compensation for disadvantage of certain

gender as a means to achieve equality (National Committee for the Advancement of Women in Viet Nam, 2004; UNESCO, 2003).

The principles of equality and equity: equal, sameness, visibility, and neutrality, discussed above are in common with the principles recognizing human rights used by the government of Indonesia (President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2000). Other principles adopted by the government of Indonesia include that of contributing to, and benefiting from, economic, cultural and political development as well as the related principle of transformation, participation, supporting diversity and gender perspectives. The definition of gender equity - the process of being fair to men and women − has also been adopted by the Indonesian government and reflects the influence of the ideas discussed above. The government of Indonesia has not accepted the idea of different treatment, special provision and empowerment for women. However, the establishment of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment suggests an openness to the idea (Parawansa, 2002).

C. Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy to place gender issues at centre-stage, in the main stream, not on the margin. It has been defined by many organizations and experts in different ways according to their own perspectives: some refer to it as a strategy, a process, an approach, a method, and a tool. The most often quoted definition is the

definition of Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1997. ECOSOC defined

gender mainstreaming as

> The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. (United Nations. Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, 2002, p. 1).

This definition emphasizes the process, strategy and the goal of gender

mainstreaming to achieve gender equality. This definition has become the

reference used by United Nations member countries to define gender

mainstreaming according to the context of their own countries. For example,

according to the Council of Europe,

> Gender mainstreaming is the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies, at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making (Council of Europe, 1998, p. 15).

The Council of Europe's definition of gender mainstreaming is more complete

because it includes not only the process and the objective of gender mainstreaming

but also the policy makers. Including them is important because they have important

roles in making gender equal policies. The European Commission, which is another

organization in Europe, defines gender mainstreaming briefly as an action to achieve

equal benefit for women and men.

Gender mainstreaming is to make gender equality part of this dominant (mainstream) trend in society so that women and men benefit equally. It means looking at every step of policy – design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation – with the aim of promoting equality between women and men (European Commission, 2005, p. 10)

These definitions indicate that gender mainstreaming is a strategy to integrate the concerns and experiences of women and men in the planning, and implementation of all policies and programs in all political, economical and societal spheres. Gender mainstreaming denotes "a comprehensive strategy that involves both women-oriented programming and the integration of women/gender issues into overall existing programmes, throughout the programme cycle" (UNESCO, 2003, p. 6). Similarly, according to Rees (2002), gender mainstreaming is the systematic integration of gender equality into all systems and structures, policies, programmes, processes and projects, into ways of seeing and doing, into cultures and their organizations.

Other definitions suggest that gender mainstreaming is a strategy to achieve gender equity and equality that incorporates gender and development (GAD) perspectives (Innes, 2000; Leo-Rhynie & The Institute of Development Labour Law University of Cape Town South Africa, 1999). Gender mainstreaming is putting gender perspectives into the whole process of development and decision- making process (Leo-Rhynie & The Institute of Development Labour Law University of Cape Town South Africa, 1999) by assessing thoroughly the relationship between men and

women in their access to and control over resources, decision making, and benefits and rewards within a particular system such as an organization, a government or a whole society (Innes, 2000).

Since the objective of gender mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality and equity, the experts also associate gender mainstreaming in line with gender equality perspectives mentioned earlier in this section. Rees (1998) identified gender mainstreaming as the approach of equal treatment, positive action and discrimination, and politics of difference. Likewise, Judith Squires (1999) presented three principles and three strategies to achieve gender equality: the principle of gender neutrality with the strategy of inclusion; the principle of difference with the strategy of reversal; and the principle of diversity with the strategy of displacement of patriarchal gender hierarchies and gender regimes. Whereas, Rounaq Jahan (1995) only associates gender mainstreaming with two types of approaches: integrationist and agenda setting.

The strategies of gender equality developed by Rees, Squires, and Jahan are parallel ideas since both equal treatment (Rees & Ebooks Corporation., 1998) and inclusion (Squires, 1999) aim to achieve gender equality in term of equal rights and equal treatment. They are both rooted in the liberal feminist perspective. According to this perspective, men and women have equal rights, and women's rights are human rights. Meanwhile, the strategy of positive action and discrimination (Rees & Ebooks

Corporation., 1998), reversal (Squires, 1999), and integrationism (Jahan, 1995) are all derived from radical feminist perspectives. These perspectives see that men and women are different and women have been disadvantaged for a long time. So, to achieve equality, women have to be empowered, there must be positive discrimination towards women in order that they experience equality with their male counterparts or they have to be integrated within existing development.

The politics of difference (Rees & Ebooks Corporation, 1998), the strategy of displacement of patriarchal gender hierarchies and gender regimes (Squires, 1999), and agenda setting (Jahan, 1995) also describe the same thing. The politics of difference has an agenda of transforming andocentric institutions by facilitating the full participation of women. The politics of difference also respects, and responds to, the differences among men and women. The strategy of displacement tries to change the engendering regimes. Agenda setting is transforming the women in development agenda with a gender perspective by prioritizing the participation of women in decision making process to determine development priorities. The women's agenda gets recognition from the mainstream. This strategy should also represent the interest of diverse classes and groups of women. So the politics of difference, the strategies of displacement and agenda setting are all transforming the previous strategy of equal opportunity and equal treatment for gender equality. The politics of difference and agenda setting recognize the diversity of men and women. These strategies are often labeled post modernist feminist.

Having discussed the definitions of gender mainstreaming, I would like to examine the definition of gender mainstreaming used in the Presidential instruction of the Republic of Indonesia Appendix 1.1 p. 3. In this instruction gender mainstreaming is defined as a strategy to integrate gender concerns in all steps of the national development process that is, planning, budgeting implementation, monitoring and evaluation of national policies and programs (President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2000).

The definition used in the President's instruction does not include the objective of gender mainstreaming. Many other organizations and experts such as the United Nations, Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (2002), the Council of Europe (1998), the European Commission (2005), Leo-Rhynie and The Institute of Development Labour Law University of Cape Town South Africa (1999) and Innes (2000) have each explicitly mentioned gender equality as the objective of gender mainstreaming. The definition of Indonesian government is in line with the definition of UNESCO (2003) and Rees (2002) which only incorporates women/gender issues. The Presidential Instruction is entitled "Gender Mainstreaming in National Development" and the objective of the policy is to achieve gender equality and equity. In the instruction, the President did not state explicitly which gender mainstreaming strategy would be used. Was it to be the

equal treatment strategy or positive discrimination or the strategy of diversity? This research will explore this question.

In summary, gender is a socially constructed definition of men and women and the relations between them. Both gender construction and the relations between men and women often create gender inequality between men and women. There are various strategies that have been employed to mitigate or even eliminte this inequality based on gender equality perspective that the different gender equality perspectives derive from three feminist theories: liberal feminist perspective, radical feminist perspectives, and the post modernist feminist perspectives. The current research utilises the last perspective.

D. The national gender ideologies and practices in Indonesia

Gender ideology of a country refers to the state gender ideology "The state gender ideology refers to assumptions about gender on which the state acts and the way it attempts to influence the construction of gender in society" (Blackburn, 2004b). Blackburn argues that sometimes these assumptions on the part of the state are obvious and contained in official statements about policies relating to women. She further remarks

> More often assumptions have to be deduced indirectly from actions and policies, for example by examining policies on the education of girls and boys. These reveal what the state believes is appropriate for men and women in that society, or what aspirations the state has for gender relations (Blackburn, 2004b, p. 9).

The gender ideology of the state is most usually irrational and paradoxical (Abraham, 1989; Blackburn, 2004b; Siapno, 2002). This is a result of the state adopting practices reflecting the concerns of the different sectors of the state and practical responses to pressure applied from different quarters, Indonesia has experienced many kinds of regimes: colonial, democratic and authoritarian, some of them more "monolithic" in their ideological attitude than others (Blackburn, 2004b, pp. 9-10). Discussing gender ideology for all of Indonesia is a difficult task considering the variety of ethnic groups (Adeney, 2003; Sear, 1996). However, the discussions of gender in Indonesia at the national level usually focus on a "view of women as primarily family-oriented and men as public oriented persons" (Adeney, 2003, p. 42).

The emphasis on home and family roles for women is the existing gender ideology of Indonesian society. Getting married, bearing children, and taking care of the home, children and husband are what society expects from women. Included in society's expectations are doing housework, shopping, cooking, caring for children, managing the children's schooling and fulfilling the husband's requirements and desires. It is also expected for village women to produce income and for the middle class women to manage the household help. Although today it is not expected for middle class women to work outside the home, many of them do, and they are still expected to perform mainly family and social responsibility (Adeney, 2003).

The Indonesian state has preserved the notion of *kodrat* or natural fate or intrinsic nature (Blackburn, 2004b; Robinson, 2000; Tiwon, 1996) for men and women throughout the twentieth century and it has become the foundation of the state's policies. Men are projected as main income-earners and women as child-rearers, housewives, and mothers (Blackburn, 2004b; Robinson, 2000). The New Order government officially defines the citizenship of women in term of their *kodrat* difference from men and their "primary civic duties are performed in their roles as wives and mothers" (Robinson, 2000, p. 141). The term *kodrat* is in line with the term gender as destiny (Thorbek, 1994) that causes women's subordination to men. Women's *kodrat* as mothers and wives is socialized in the society through schools, families, and the official women's organizations. The existing notion of *kodrat* is consistent with the gender values in Indonesian Islam as these are propagated in the state school system (Blackburn, 2004b).

However, as far as gender is concerned, divergent parts of the state system will often have contradictory policies and objectives. For example, the army, with its vision of domesticated women influenced the state gender ideology during the New Order, but the Department of Labour, that increasingly required the exploitation of women as cheap labour in the industrialized sector, deviated from this ideal of women (Blackburn, 2004b). In the New Order, the state gender ideology was based on the idealized notion of femininity which was implemented through the concept of state *ibuism* (Silvey, 2000; Suryakusuma, 1996). Julia Suryakusuma (1996) identifies the

gender ideology of the New Order as *'state ibuism'*. *State ibuism* defines women as "appendages and companions to their husbands, as procreators of the nation, as mothers and educators of children, as housekeepers, and as member of Indonesia societies" (p. 101).

The critique of state *ibuism* that sees women as appendages and companions to their husbands (Suryakusuma, 1996) is similar to the idea of Rosemarie Putnam Tong (1995) who argues that "To treat someone as a mere means is to treat her as less than a person, as someone who exists not for herself but as an appendage to someone else" (p.15). She gives the example that "if a husband treats his wife as no more than a pretty indoor plant, he treats her as an object that he nurtures merely as a means to his own delight" (p.16).

The stereotyped gender ideologies of the Indonesian people, who consider that there is no need for girls to go to 'higher education' since they will become a housewife, mother and child carer, may be responsible for the lower percentage of girls than boys who graduated from junior secondary schools both in urban and rural areas Doloksaribu (2003).

In the decade since the end of the New Order government, one may ask the question: To what extent has the state gender ideology remained the same or have there been some changes with the regime change? The assumption is there has been a shift of

state gender ideology since the reformation era because the government has adopted gender mainstreaming as a national policy and it has established a Ministry for Women's Empowerment. This gender mainstreaming policy from the national government aims to promote the ideology of gender equality and equity in all aspects of national development.

However, the implementation of this gender mainstreaming policy has faced many challenges since 2001. Under the Laws No. 22 and 25 of 1999 there has been a process of decentralization, implemented from 2001, which has devolved significant powers to *Kabupaten and Kota* (district and town) governments (Noerdin, 2002). The district governments that have used their new powers often have contradicted the objectives of the gender mainstreaming policy. For example, many districts in Indonesia including some in South Sulawesi have created and implemented *shariah* (Islamic) law that curtail women's rights (Chandraningrum, 2006; Suryakusuma, 2008). This law is mostly influenced by the "hardliner" interpretations of Islamic law (Suryakusuma, & Lindsey, 2006). Beside local regulations, there have been campaigns to revise the constitution so that Muslims would be obliged to follow *shariah* law and an Anti Pornography Law has been passed. Like the regional regulation of *shariah* law, the Anti Pornography Law would force women to wear a head scarf and to absent themselves from public spaces especially at night time. Ideally, Islam does not discriminate against women as discussed in the section of gender ideology and practice in Islam later in this chapter.

E. Gender Ideology and Practices in South Sulawesi

Graham (2004) and Davies (2006) introduced a holistic concept of gender when analyzing gender in Sulawesi society. They argued that gender is constructed through a variety of intersecting factors, including biological sex, spirituality, sense of self, roles, behaviors, occupation, dress, sexuality, government and religious ideology, and subjectivity (Davies, 2006; Graham, 2004). The construction of gender according to Davies was related to the state gender ideology when she included the government and religious ideology as factors. Gender ideology in South Sulawesi is influenced by the local culture values, Islam and the national government's evolving gender ideology.

In this section, I only discuss gender norms of the Buginese and Makassarese of South Sulawesi. Discussing gender norms of these ethnic groups is important to understand how gender norms and gender practices in these societies have supported or inhibited the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy. The Bugis-Makassar norms that I present in this section are related to the gender division of space and labor.

The space and labor division according to gender is clearly stated in the Bugis-Makassar saying The domain of women is around the house, while the domain of men reaches the border of the sky (horizon) (Chabot, Rèossler & Rèottger-Rèossler, 1996; Pelras, 1996). This saying indicates that women's roles are limited to activities

around the household. It is also similar with what Susan Millar (1983) noted about the Bugis tradition that "the work of women is centred within their household: they do most of the childcare, cooking and laundry" (Millar, 1983, p. 486). She also noted that it was not considered appropriate for women to undertake public roles because this might harm their family honor, called *siri* (Millar, 1983). That is because "women are viewed as being the primary symbols of their family *siri'*, and would potentially threaten their family *siri'* if they undertook actively aggressive roles in public" (Millar, 1983, p. 485). Therefore, women should stay home to protect the family' *siri* from harm. It is not enough that women only stay home but they should also withdraw to the back part of the house in the presence of a male guest (Pelras, 1996). This is the reason why women are invisible in public (Spender, 1982). Since the Bugis saying states that the domain of men reaches the border of the sky, men do not have a space restriction like women.

This division of territory has a consequence for the gender division of labor. Since women's domain is around the house, they are responsible for household tasks: cooking, washing the dishes and the laundry, ironing, cleaning the house and caring for children and elderly as well as ill family members. They can do productive jobs around the house such as weaving, sewing and knitting. This kind of productive work is suitable for women who should not neglect their household responsibilities. A woman is also responsible for most of the expenditure of her family's income. The breadth of the male domain inside and outside house is due to their responsibility for

the welfare and security of their female family members. Men play roles as income providers for the household whether as a farmer, a fisherman, a gardener, or an officer. They also act as *tomasiri* (the security guard) who guard their female family members from any harm.

However, this division of labor is not clear cut. In reality, women do productive work outside the home and men also work inside the house. Yet, women who work in informal employment are not officially considered as part of the work force. It is not acknowledged in national statistics. This is despite the fact that their income is higher than the men's or even they are the main income earner in the family (Idrus, 2003). Also a husband who shared responsibilities for household activities is considered no more than helping his wife. A husband is judged as powerless and under control of his wife if he participates in household affairs such as cooking and washing (Idrus, 2003).

Millar (1983) noted that in Bugis society, gender relations are almost entirely subordinate to a cultural preoccupation with hierarchical social location. Social location is an attribute of each individual and has far less to do with gender than with individual characteristics distributed without reference to gender. According to Millar in such a cultural context, the pattern of gender differentiation merely comprises general paths different for men, women, and *calabai* (male transvestites) (Millar, 1983, p. 477). However Nurul Ilmi Idrus (2003) argued the opposite

position, females were considered lower than males. She cited a local anthropologist, Mattulada, who noted that women's opinion cannot be used for final decisions although they have the same right with men to involve in *permusyawaratan* (deliberation*)*. That is because they are considered to have physical as well as psychological weaknesses (Idrus, 2003).

Women of aristocratic background in Bugis society in pre-colonial times has been acknowledged by many historians as having equal rights with men in public (Andaya, BW, 2003; Reid, 1988). They enjoyed freedom and were held in more esteem than could be expected from the state of civilization in general, and undergone none of the severe hardships. Women appeared in public without any scandal; they took an active part in all the business of life; they are consulted by the men on all public affairs, and frequently raised to the throne, including when the monarchy is elected (Pelras, 1996, p. 161). John Crawfurd (1783-1866) cited by Andaya (2003) remarked that "Bugis women are consulted by men, at public festivals women appear among the men" (p.79).

Anthony Reid acknowledged that many Bugis rulers before the colonial era were females such as the ruler of the Buginese kingdoms of Bone and Wajo. The role of Bugis women as a partner of her husband in politics and as a mediator is exemplified in the role of Daeng Talele, the wife of Arung Palakka, the great King of Bone in the early colonial occupation, by We Ada Datu ri Watu, the Datu Soppeng's sister, who

was in authority to oversee affairs in Soppeng (Andaya, LY, 1981). These gender roles that women have played in South Sulawesi's pre-colonial history imply that the role of women has been at variance with the gender ideals of Bugis Makassar, discussed earlier, which remain patriarchal, with women in subordinate positions especially in public life. The Buginese and Makassarese are Muslim and the attitudes to gender are also informed by Islamic teaching and values.

E. Gender Equality in Islam

Talking about gender in Islam, one ought to differentiate between the fundamental and the instrumental values (Mas'udi, 1994) or between the normative teaching or basic principle of Islam and the cultural practices of adherents of Islam (Badawi, 1995). The fundamental values or normative teaching which is available in the primary sources of Islamic teaching consist of the Qur'an (the holy scripture of Islam) and *Sunnah/ Hadist* (deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad). The normative teaching of Islam is gender neutral. It does not treat differently men and women as Qur'an surah Al Hujurat (49:13) says

> O mankind! We created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know one enother. Verily the most honourable of you with Allah is that (believer) who has At-Taqwâ (he was one of the Muttaqûn (the pious – See V.2:2). Verily, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Aware (Al-Hilali & Khan, 1996).

The teaching of Qur'an is egalitarian not only in term of gender but also egalitarian in other social status including races, nationalities and tribes. Gender inequality in Islamic teaching exist because of people's understanding and interpretation of the

Qur'an and Hadist that are contextualized and usually involve cultural background, beliefs, values, and practices (Badawi, 1995; Mas'udi, 1994; Shihab, Q, 1994; Sukri, 2002; Umar, 1994, 1999; Wahab, 1997). Shariah is the body of Islamic jurisprudence (Engineer, 2005). It is supposed to support gender equality since it was made based on the Qur'an and Hadist. Shariah law that has been applied by many local governments in Indonesia since 2001 is in contravention with the principle of gender equality which was the goal of gender mainstreaming policy introduced by the Indonesian government at the national level. For example, imposing dress codes and controlling the time women may be outside the home contradicts what gender mainstreaming seeks to promote, that is, equal rights for men and women. These local government regulations do conflict with the implementation of the national government's gender mainstreaming policy.

Research conducted by the women's studies centre of the State Institute of Islamic Studies, Walisongo Semarang, identifies various forms of discrimination against women (Sukri, 2002). Sukri argued in her introduction that Islam normatively teaches equality between men and women but wonders why it is not free from gender bias. According to her, some feminist Muslims are suspicious about gender bias in understanding Islamic teaching because of *Mufassir* (the interpreters) and *Fuqaha* (the scholars of Islamic law) are men. Sukri attests that it is not surprising their understanding and interpretation is patriarchal and women are subordinated to men.

Although some interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadist are male biased and contextual, many Muslims both males and females still follow them as a divine truth. The study of a male academician, Wahyuddin Halim (2001), in South Sulawesi and the research undertaken by Pusat Studi Wanita IAIN Alauddin Makassar and Kantor Menteri Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan (2001) in six provinces in Indonesia, under the commission of the Ministry of Women Empowerment of the Republic of Indonesia, illustrated how the male bias interpretation of several texts were still believed by many Muslim in various socio economic backgrounds. For example, interpretations of the Qur'an (An-Nisa/4: 34) have often been quoted to justify women's oppression and obidience to their husbands (Halim, 2001) and to disqulify women from leadership roles (Pusat Studi Wanita IAIN Alauddin Makassar & Kantor Menteri Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan, 2001).

There is other research about gender in Islam, written not only by female but also by male scholars globally and nationally, such as Engineer (Engineer, 2005) and Subhan (1999, 2002). Most of them demonstrated how gender inequality exists because of gender biased interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadist. Asghar Ali Engineer (2005), a male writer from India, demonstrated how the Muslim orthodox subordinate women because they literally interpret the Qur'an and Hadist without looking into the history and cultural background of where the Qur'an and Hadist had been revealed. His book also analyzed gender equality and Islam and provides some examples of male Muslim scholars who advocated women's rights. He argued that

the Qur'an treats both men and women equally in terms of personal, democratic and human rights. Jamal Badawi (1995), a male Muslim scholar based in Halifax, Canada, argued that gender equity can be found in four aspects: the spiritual, economic, social, and political and legal aspect of the original Islamic teaching (Badawi, 1995).

In Indonesia, a number of male Muslim scholars have developed arguments similar to those of Engineer (2005). On the basis of his textual analysis of the Qur'an, Nasaruddin Umar (1999) argues that Islam teaches gender equality. Quraisy Shihab (2005) did not use the term gender but rather the word *Perempuan* (women). Quraisy Shihab discusses the debates about the subordinate position of women in Islam. Shihab believes that men are more superior to women and those men and women are created differently according to their roles that support each other. However, he did not agree with those who support the argument that women's place is only at home, although he is still stereotyping the ideal women roles in public. Other male Indonesian writers, such as Masdar Mas'udi (1994), Alie Yafie (1994), Abdullah Sattar (2002), Fauzi Ummah (2002), and Hasyim Asy'ari Ulamai (2002), who have discussed women and Islam, have been supportive of gender equality.

Of the female Indonesian Muslim scholars who have written extensively about gender equality in Islam, Zaitunah Subhan (1999, 2002) and Siti Musda Mulia (2007; 2005) have played important roles in the decision making of the policy of gender

mainstreaming. They are senior staff of the Ministry of Women and Empowerment and Ministry of Religion respectively. Zaitunah Subhan in her study of gender bias in exegesis of the Qur'an, *"Tafsir Kebencian"* (Hatred Exegesis) (1999), based on her doctoral dissertation, argued that fundamental teaching of God concerning men and women is normatively equal even though they are biologically different. To support her argument, she illustrated some verses of the Qur'an concerning the fairness of men and women. She admitted the Qur'an stated that men were superior to women, a point that is often cited by many Islamic jurists, but she argued this was a statement made in the context of the character and values of Arab society of the time of the Prophet and does not necessary apply to contemporary societies with different cultures.

Siti Musda Mulia, who wrote a number of books about women in Islam, as the coordinator of gender mainstreaming in the Ministry of Religion has often been criticized for disobeying Islamic law. She argued, in "*Islam dan Inspirasi Kesetaraan Gender"* (Islam and the Inspiration of Gender Equity, 2007), that Islam teaches equality for all human beings including the equality of men and women. According to her, the discourse of Islam discriminates against women and the fact of inferiority of women in Muslim societies and their Islamic texts, including *Fiqh* (jurisprudence or legal prescription) are based on the interpretation of Qur'an and Sunnah (the primary sources of Islamic teaching). According to her, as a human interpretation, it is not absolute as the interpretation of the Ulama (Muslim scholars) was often

influenced by their socio cultural and socio historical background. She further remarked that their interpretation was probably suitable for certain societies and probably not for others (Mulia, 2007).

F. Gender Role Socialization in Education

Education is one of the sectors of society thought to be effective for promoting gender equality. The international conference 'Education for All' in Dakar in 2000 showed the commitment of governments to promote gender equality in education by agreeing upon a specific goal, that is "Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to, and achievement, in basic education" (UNESCO Bangkok, 2005). The 'Education for All' goal was also adopted by the Indonesian government. It stated its commitment in its National Plan of Action: Indonesia: Education for All 2003-2005. The government addressed three areas of concern which are: access to education, quality and relevance, and management. The issue of quality and relevance relates to the lack of gender responsiveness and the stereotyping of female roles in curriculum and teaching materials (UNESCO Bangkok, 2005).

The Beijing platform for action identifies areas in which discrimination in education exists globally, including discrimination in education resources in the form of inadequate and gender biased teaching and educational materials; lack of educational

schooling facilities, particularly for girls' special needs; stereotyped images of women and men in educational materials and teaching; gender biased science curricula and text; and insufficient resources for education, particularly for females (Leo-Rhynie & The Institute of Development Labour Law University of Cape Town South Africa, 1999).

Studies of gender portrayals in school textbooks and curriculum materials have been extensively documented (Abraham, 1989; Deliyanni-kouimtzi, 1992; Logsdon, 1985; Muthali'in, 2001; Parker, 1997; Spender, 1982; Spender & Sarah, 1980; Zittleman & Sadker, 2002); These studies reveal four categories were used for analyses: visibility, equity depiction, stereotyped gender roles and gender neutral. The first category was visibility. The depiction of both males and females in textbooks either together or alone can be categorized as male visible and/or female visible. Alternatively if the textbooks depicted only one sex and the opposite sex was absent, the textbook was coded as males invisible or females invisible. The visibility category can be found in the argument of Dale Spender (1982) and Sadker and Sadker (1994). Spender in her book "Invisible women" argued the trend of invisibility of females in the textbooks and curriculum material. Also, Sadker and Sadker (1994, p. 73) argued "when women are left out of the curriculum, the students knew nothing about them".

The next category was the equality of depictions with respect to balance or imbalance, that is, equal or unequal gender representation. Imbalance means that one

particular sex was predominant (Abraham, 1989; Deliyanni-kouimtzi, 1992; Logsdon, 1985; Spender & Sarah, 1980) and the other was poorly represented in the texts and/or illustrations. This category can be found in a number of the following studies. In 1980 Dale Spender and Elizabeth Sarah revealed that gender role depiction in British curriculum material and textbooks were male predominant and in 1982 Spender found similar results. Almost ten years later, John Abraham (1989) employed textual analysis to what he called 'crude quantitative analysis.' His findings corroborated those of the earlier research that showed males persistently dominated the textbooks. Like Spender and Abraham, Deliyanni-Kouimtzi (1992) examined the Greek government's educational policies for gender equality enacted in the 1980s, which had led to the publication of reading books meant to mitigate the sexism problem in education. She discovered that the new books had the same weaknesses as the old. The authors of the books had proved unable to remove the gender discrimination that characterized the older books as the new reading texts were dominated by men quantitatively and by a range and diversity of male performance, with a limited role for women. Sadker and Sadker (1994) spent almost two decades and thousands of hours of classroom observation and found few females in children's textbooks. What is more, they also revealed that the school collections they were looking at had even fewer books on eminent American women. In Indonesia, unequal gender role depiction was also found by Marta Logsdon (1985). She investigated gender roles in moral education texts for elementary school and she

found that the proportion of males' pictures in textbooks was far higher than that of females (72 percent and 28 percent respectively).

The third category is whether gender roles depictions are stereotyped or not. Stereotyped gender roles were found in number of studies such as Yenowitz and Weather (2004), Lyn Parker (1997), Ahmad Muthali'in (2001) and Marta Logsdon (1985). Yenowitz and Weather (2004) examined character stereotypes in educational psychology textbooks in secondary education and discovered that male characters were more likely to be depicted as having negative masculine characteristics than were female characters. Textbooks of the pre-service teachers showed a slight gender stereotyping, but this time it was bias against the male.

In Indonesia, Marta Logsdon uncovered male predominant depiction in the textbooks (Logsdon, 1985). She also found stereotypical images of the social and economic roles of men and women. According to her, the images were far from accurate as women in Java often played "an important economic role in the family" (Logsdon, 1985, pp. 249, 51), and that "these textbooks presented Indonesian society as more sexist than it is in reality" (Logsdon, 1985, pp. 258, 60). Besides, Lyn Parker (1997) studied the school textbooks used by the primary and secondary schools in Bali as a part of her major study on gender and schools in Bali. She discovered that pictures of those textbooks vividly depicted "gendered social roles" (p. 5). What she meant was gender stereotyping in the depiction males and females in the textbooks, such as with

the English textbook for a first grade secondary school that depicted a job interview in which the man was the employer and the woman was his secretary. Furthermore, Ahmad Muthali'in (2001) focused his study on school textbooks and the learning processes in primary school. He investigated gender bias in these schools in the form of gender division in extracurricular subjects, gender difference in uniform and differences in teachers' treatment of boys and girls. Muthali'in concluded that the most obvious examples of gender bias in the teaching and learning process were in textbooks in the form of text and pictures. He found that most of both the text and pictures examined were gender stereotyped.

The final category used to analyze textbooks was gender neutral or non-sexist language. Marta Logsdon (1985) remarked that the Indonesian language does not present sexist language in the way that some languages include male and female forms of pronouns. The third person singular pronouns in Bahasa Indonesia, *dia or ia* and *nya,* are non-gender-specific. *Dia* can refer to he or she or it and *nya* can refer to his or her or its. This category of gender neutral or non-sexist language is used to analyze the meaning of text and pictures.

Study of teacher's beliefs about gender roles have been undertaken by many scholars such as John Abraham (1989, 1995) in England. Abraham studied teachers' general beliefs by using ethnographic approaches including classroom and staffroom observation, and interviewed teachers as well as gathering data from more informal

situations in the school. He discovered three categories of teachers' views on the change in sex roles: those who accept the change but not necessarily feminism; those who oppose; and those who consider the need for change, such as male carer. Yet none of the male teachers wanted to do this role full time.

In Indonesia the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and the Ministry of Education commissioned research from the Women's Research Centre of the State University of Jakarta (Pusat Studi Wanita-Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Negeri Jakarta), the Women's Studies Centres of State University of Makassar (Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Negeri Makassar). The Women's Research Centre of the State University of Jakarta analyzed the gender perspective of teaching materials used by elementary schools including teachers and students' perspective in six provinces in Indonesia. The study also compared urban and rural schools. The study found gender biases in the teachers' perspectives and that the teachers in the urban schools were more gender biased than teachers in rural schools. The study conducted by Women's Studies Centre of the State University Makassar found that teachers, the males in particular, were still influenced by patriarchal ideology in treating male and female students.

To summarize, the studies on gender depiction in textbooks presented several types of analysis: invisibility, where females tend to be invisible (see Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Spender, 1982); inequality, where males are depicted predominantly in

curriculum material and textbooks (Abraham, 1989; Deliyanni-kouimtzi, 1992; Logsdon, 1985; Spender & Sarah, 1980); and stereotyped gender roles (Logsdon, 1985; Muthali'in, 2001; Parker, 1997; Spender, 1982).

G. Conclusion

The concept of gender, gender equality and gender mainstreaming discussed in this chapter are used in this thesis to facilitate and inform the analysis of gender ideology and practices of society in South Sulawesi and Indonesia more generally. This research will be informed by the argument that gender as a social construction is not universal, but varies according to culture of the society, its geographical location, and evolves over time. This argument recognizes that gender constructions, ideologies and practices in Indonesia are numerous and may be different from as those in other countries. Within Indonesia itself, gender constructions differ across the numerous ethnic and religious communities. The Buginese and Makassarese are the two dominant ethnic groups in South Sulawesi and resemble each other and are grouped together 'Bugis-Makassar'. The gender roles are evolving, reflecting broader socio-cultural and religious changes.

Gender equality can be seen in three perspectives: as equal rights and treatment, as positive discrimination and as transformation. The liberal approach of equal rights and treatments before the law delivers legal products. This perspective and action has

been adopted in Indonesia where the government has produced a number of legal documents concerning gender equality.

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy to achieve gender equality by considering gender equality perspectives in all stages of national development. It has been adopted by the government of Indonesia. Gender equality, as the goal of gender mainstreaming, is actually not new in Indonesia and Islam, in particular Indonesian Muslim societies, where Islam has universal and particular values. The universal values of Islam actually support gender equality. Those Muslim people who did not support gender equality are those who referred to the specific values of the Qur'an and Hadist, which was actually delivered in a certain historical and cultural context. Besides, gender inequality in Islam reflects the influence of the socio-cultural background of the interpreters. The interpretation of Muslim scholars who lived in the early period of Islam is difficult to apply in the modern world when gender issues are different. Yet many Muslims still refer to the interpretation of the Muslim scholars from the early period Islam.

The ideology of the people is derived from socialization that occurs in educational institutions like Islamic primary schools. School textbooks are one element of education that plays an important role in socializing gender roles. Research on textbooks has shown that gender equality has not been achieved. The study of gender role depiction in textbooks all over the world has shown the depiction of gender

inequality including female invisibility, male predominance, and gender stereotype roles, and this is also happening in Indonesia.

Chapter 3

Methodology

A. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the design of the research, the method of data collection, the method of data analysis, the validity and reliability of the research as well as the ethical considerations.

B. Research Design

This research is a qualitative study. It was considered appropriate to explore how the people in Islamic education communities in South Sulawesi understood gender equality as the goal of gender mainstreaming. There are various definitions of qualitative research. The difference is mainly based on the focus.

Gilham (2000) defined the qualitative research based on its contents as he stated that:

> Qualitative methods focus primarily on the kind of evidence (what people tell you, what they do) that will enable you to understand the meaning of what is going on. Their great strength is that they can illuminate issues and turn up possible explanations (Gillham, 2000, p. 10)

Miniciello, Aroni and Hays (2008) differentiated qualitative research from quantitative research. They argued that "qualitative research attempts to capture people's meanings, definitions, and descriptions of events. In contrast, quantitative research aims to count and measure things" (Minichiello, Aroni & Hays, 2008, p. 8).

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) define qualitative research approaches as follows:

> Qualitative research is multi media in focus involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach in its subject matter. This means that qualitative research study things in different settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involve the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials-case studies, personal experiences, introspective, live story, interview, observational, historical, interactional and visual texts-that describes routine and problematic moments and meanings in individual lives (p. 3).

According to Denzim and Lincoln, qualitative studies are multimedia in focus. The multi media of research include a case study design framework, which is the qualitative approach that I employed in this study. This approach is defined by Yin (2003) thus:

> Case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context. Such a phenomenon may be a project or program in an evaluation study. Sometimes, the definition of this project or program may be problematic, as in determining when the activity started or ended- an example of a complex interaction between a phenomenon and its (temporal) context. Other examples of such complex interactions abound, including varied situations such as community organization and its neighborhood (p. 5).

A case study approach is suitable for exploring specific issues concerning gender perspectives of one society. This is consistent with the objective of this research, namely to examine the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Islamic education system, where each of the three schools in the research was managed by different organizations and located in three regions of South Sulawesi, one of 33

provinces in Indonesia. Gillham further elaborates the possibilities of a case study approach.

> A case can be individual: it can be a group- such as a family, or a class, or an office, or a hospital ward; it can be an institution- such as a school or a children's home or a factory; it can be a large scale community- a town, an industry, a profession. All of these are single cases; but you can also study multiple cases: a member of single parents; several schools; two different professions (Gillham, 2000, p. 1).

Using this definition, the cases for this study could be categorized as institutions, specifically Islamic primary schools. The rationale for selecting three Islamic primary schools as the case studies is that these are among the educational institutions that should be implementing government policy on gender mainstreaming, However, in light of the vigorous criticism of some Muslim groups about government policy and the programs of the Department of Religious Affairs (Swaramuslim, 2004), it is important to evaluate the implementation of government policy. These critics consider the issue of gender mainstreaming as a contravention of Islamic law. The traditional Muslim groups may also oppose women activists and women's organizations, which promote gender mainstreaming in the Islamic school curriculum (Viviani, 2001).

The rationale for selecting South Sulawesi was that gender bias ideology might be reflected in this society where 89.20 percent of the population is Muslim (Suryadinata, Ananta & Arifin, 2003). The Muslim population of this province is not only a large majority but it is also devout. As discussed in the previous chapter, Buginese and Makassarese cultures of South Sulawesi have strong patriarchal values.

In addition, the case study schools were chosen to reflect differences between government owned Islamic schools and two others managed by two private Islamic organizations. I chose primary school students instead of secondary school students with the assumption that learning in the early years of schooling is important for the formation of children's early beliefs.

C. Research Context

The government schools are known as *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Negeri*, while the private Islamic schools are those owned by the Islamic organizations: one represented a 'traditional' and the other represented a 'modernist' orientation. The Islamic primary school owned by the traditional group is the one called *Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah* As'adiyah, and that owned by the modernist is the *Sekolah Dasar* Muhammadiyah. The school called *madrasah* adopted the curriculum of the Ministry of Religion, while the school called *sekolah* adopted the curriculum of Ministry of National Education.

The schools are located in three different geographical locations: the capital city of Makassar, the provincial town of Sengkang-Wajo and the village of Bone District representing urban, semi urban and rural communities respectively. The case study schools also represented the different socio-economic backgrounds of the school

communities: low and middle economic background; different religiosity level of the schools' community: the nominal, puritan and pious groups.

The case study of the primary schools were focused on three grades only, namely grade one, grade three and grade six which represented the lower, middle and the upper grades respectively. By selecting these three grade levels, I was aiming to provide the analysis of gender mainstreaming across the primary school levels. Firsly, the textbook of these grades were analyzed instead of their curriculum and syllabus because the textbooks were more likely to reflect the gender ideology and practices of the society. Furthermore, I interviewed the school principals, the leaders of the school committees, the education decision makers and women activists, the class teachers of gradeone, two and three as well as teachers for the Islamic studies subject to ascertain their views on gender roles. Besides, students of grade six were interviewed in group, analysing their list of famous and favourite persons and their employment aspirations. I only focused on the students of grade six, the highest grade of the primary level on the assumption that they were more fluent in expressing their ideas than the students in the lower grades. I also analyzed.

To understand the nature of the case study, the context of the case is important. According to Gillham, "case study is also known as a unit of human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now; that merges in with its context so that precise

boundaries are difficult to draw"(Gillham, 2000, p. 1). Providing the context of the study sought to explain the boundaries within which generalization might be drawn about the finding of this study. Since the focus of this study is on Islamic primary schools in Indonesia, it is essential to discuss the education system and the role of Islamic schools within it.

Indonesia has a dualistic system of education with two types of schools. The first type of school is called *sekolah*. This type of school follows the curriculum of the Ministry of National Education. The majority of this type of school have more hours devoted to the secular subjects than the schools called *madrasah*. The schools called sekolah consist of *Sekolah Dasar* for primary school, *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* for junior high, and *Sekolah Menengah Atas* for senior high, and other vocational schools. Some *sekolah* are Islamic schools. The second, is the type of school called *madrasah*. All schools called *madrasah* are Islamic schools. The madrasah follow the curriculum of the Ministry of Religion. The *madrasah* comprises*: Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah* for primary school, *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* for junior high, and *Madrasah Aliyah* for senior high.

Madrasah, such as *Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah* is the counterpart of the *Sekolah Dasar* in the public education system in that it prepares students for further studies (President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2003). Both the *Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah* and the *Sekolah Dasar* graduates can continue their education to Junior High Schools, either

Madrasah Tsanawiyah or *Sekolah Menengah Pertama.* Private schools follow the curriculum of either of the two Ministries. A private school named *Sekolah* has to follow the curriculum of the Ministry of National Education, whereas a private school named *Madrasah* has to follow the curriculum of the Ministry of Religion.

As'adiyah is one Islamic institution founded by a Buginese Muslim Scholar born in Mekka, Saudi Arabiah called K.H. M As'ad in 1930 in the town of Sengkang, Wajo District. In the beginning, the school was called Madrasah Arabiah Al Islamiyah. The theology of Asadiyah is similar to Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama (NU) that is "purifying Islamic teaching". Moreover, the majority of As'adiyah followers espoused the teaching of *Ahlusunnah Waljamaah,* which is similar to the teachings adopted by the NU. The school was named *As'adiyah* after the death of As'ad in 1952 (Al Bone, 1986; Walinga, 1981). From that year on, *As'adiyah* has developed as a big educational institution: It has three types of schools: *pesantren* (boarding school), *Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah, Madrasah Tsanawiyah and Madrasah Aliyah* and *sekolah dasar). As'adiyah* also has an undergraduate program for Islamic Studies and a special program for *Kyai muda* (young Muslim scholar). In 2005, *As'adiyah* had 250 active branches all over Indonesia. Like the state Islamic primary school *Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah As'adiyah* follows the curriculum of the Ministry of Religion. The schools also adopt some local curriculum content decided by the General Leader of *As'adiyah*. It had allocates eight and a half hours for Islamic subjects out of a total of 28 hours per week (Fieldwork notes 29/11/2005).

Muhammadiyah is one of the two biggest Indonesian Islamic organizations. It is considered as a modernist reform movement and is well-known as an Islamic social organization providing education (Fuad, 2002, 2004). Its schools were originally modeled on the public schools of the Dutch colonial government and those of Christian missionaries and adopted the national education system after Indonesia gained its independence (Fuad, 2004). Nowadays, though *Muhammadiyah* runs *madrasah* and *pesantren* (boarding schools), the general schools such *Sekolah Dasar Muhammadiyah* and colleges are still the dominant type of its educational institutions. *Sekolah Dasar Muhammadiyah* adopts curriculum of the Ministry of National Education with an additional curriculum developed by the *Muhammadiyah* itself.

D. Methods of Data Collection

There were several methods employed in this study including qualitative interviews, group interviews, content analysis and observation. Each method was used for different data sources. Qualitative interviews were used to explore gender ideologies and practices of government and education system policy makers and bureaucrats, primary school decision makers and teachers as well as women activists. Group interviews were used to assess the primary students' understandings of gender roles and attitudes. Content analysis was employed to examine gender role depiction in

textbooks, the students' drawing on gender roles and their list of famous and their favourite people.

Qualitative interviews

To obtain the first set of data about gender ideologies and practices of primary schools decision makers and teachers, I employed qualitative interviews with the following procedures: Thirty one people were interviewed in four different locations (See Appendix 1). The research subjects who were interviewed included policy makers, curriculum decision makers and curriculum developers as well as the policy implementers and practitioners.

Since the state primary schools were still part of a top down system where the curriculum was set by the Department of National Education in Jakarta, then developed and distributed at the provincial level and regional level respectively, so the Directors in the Departments and institutions in Jakarta, Makassar, and Bone were useful informants. Similar to the state school, *Muhammadiyah* School also adopted a centralized system, so three levels of directors of *Muhammadiyah* (national, provincial, and regional) were also interviewed. On the other hand, the As'adiyah is an independent educational institution. Therefore the leaders of this institution were included as informants. The decision makers in the schools included the school principals and the Head of the School Committee.

The curriculum implementers were the school teachers in the three schools. Four categories of teachers were selected for qualitative interviews: the teachers of grade one, three and six as well as the teachers of Islamic subjects. There were 10 female teachers and two male teachers from three schools altogether.

Other informants were women activists from government and non-government organizations, included the Deputy Minister for Gender Mainstreaming of Women's Empowerment in Jakarta, the Head of the Section of Women's Empowerment in Makassar, and Women in Development Management Team in Bone Regency, as well as Women's Studies Centres in Makassar.

The qualitative interviews that I conducted were semi-structured and lasted between 50 and 90 minutes. All the interviews were conducted in the Indonesian language. The interviews were carried out face to face and were recorded using an audio-tape recorder with permission of the interviewees. The interviewees were asked to provide a brief personal biography. Then I asked them open-ended questions concerning gender roles in the community. I also assessed their knowledge about gender and gender mainstreaming and their attitudes toward the policy of gender mainstreaming, about the application of gender mainstreaming policy in the curriculum decision-making, curriculum development and curriculum implementation processes within the schools and from government bodies. The interviewer (the researcher) also obtained data from the informants about gender

ideology of the informants as well as their expectation for teaching gender roles to students. All the interviews followed the interview structure, but with probing and follow up questions based on the participants' responses. Most of the interviews were conducted at the participants' work place, where a private space was made available. All teachers and principals interviews were conducted in schools and all school committee members interviews were conducted at their own homes.

The data collection of students' perception on gender roles

Data were collected through a variety of research techniques because "giving a voice to school children does not, of course, only imply the collection of oral data" (Lloyd-Smitt & Tarr, 2000, p. 61). The techniques used were group interviews (Lewis, 1992) students' drawings, students' lists of famous people (Sadker & Sadker, 1994) and their favourite famous person. According to Docrell, Lewis and Lindsay (2000)t "group interviews allows for the possibilities that the discussion between individual will spark new ideas, criticism or development" (p. 52). I was alert to the possibilities that one individual might dominate and some participants might be cautious to express a different idea and that is often difficult to trace an individual argument. Therefore, I had to encourage all group members to participate and provide equal opportunity for each to contribute.

The group interviews were conducted with the students in grade six. There were three group interviews: one for each school. Two group interviews involved all the

available students in grade six because they were only small classes. Another group interview's participants were selected randomly, but included males and females on a proportional basis.

For the group interviews, I employed a set of pictures such as Figures 1 and 2. Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi, 2005, p.111). I asked the students to tell me what the pictures were about. For example: *gambar apa ini anak-anak? Apa yang dilakukan oleh anak laki-laki, apa yang dilakukan oleh anak perempuan? Bagaimana pendapat anda tentang peran yang dilakukan oleh laki-laki dan perempuan dalam gambar ini?* [What is this a picture of? What roles are performed by boys and what about girls? What is your opinion about the roles performed by males and females in these pictures?] Then, I asked what they thought about the picture. After that, I enquired what they thought about gender roles in the pictures. The pictures used were taken from various school textbooks that illustrated the role of males and females in sport and games; employment and other social activities.

Figure 1: Girls are skipping, as shown to the students

Figure 2: Boys are playing chess. Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi, 2005, p.111

Secondly, I asked the students to draw at least one female and male in whatever roles they thought that they performed. The students were permitted to copy the images from textbooks and the images of the interview tools if they chose. They were also asked to color their pictures to give a clear indication of males and females. Thirdly, I asked the students to make a list of famous people, both males and female, in whatever role they performed at the local, national or international level. Having asked the students to list their famous people, I asked each student to choose their favourite person from their own list. I also asked them to write the reason why they nominated that person.

Fourthly, I examined the students' employment aspirations. What future roles did they dream about? The objective was to seek the students' perceptions of gender roles. The data of students' aspiration were gathered at the end of the class interviews. The interview participants were asked, one by one, to state their future dreams.

Content analysis of primary school textbooks

Content analysis was applied for analyzing textbooks. The textbooks analyzed were selected from the textbooks used by these three schools. Having identified the textbooks used by the three schools in the study, I selected 21 books for analysis (See the Appendix 2) by using several criteria: the subject, place of publication and market, year of publication before and in or after 2004, and grade level (See the Appendix 3). The criteria for selecting the books were based on subjects that reflect gender ideology and practices based on religion and culture of the society. In this case the subjects chosen were: Islamic studies, languages, both national and local, as well as social science. These subjects were chosen as their content more explicitly reflected the cultural norms, values and practices. The subjects of science and mathematics were not included since these subjects did not explicitly expose the norms and practices of the society in the content of their curriculum though cultural norms, values and practices may form part of the hidden curriculum in these subjects.

The next criterion for textbooks selection was the grade levels. Three grade levels were chosen. Grade one was chosen to represent the early years of schooling, grade three was for the middle years and grade six was as the final year of the primary school. By selecting these three grade levels, I was able to provide an analysis of textbooks across the primary school curriculum.

Another criterion was the place of publication, local versus national publications. The books published locally were only for the local curriculum content such as the local languages. The rest of the textbooks used by the three schools were published nationally. For the textbooks published nationally and locally, I endeavored to identify the extent to which different values and practices were reflected in the textbooks. Did local values and practices reflect a more patriarchal ideology than the national one? Would the local publications with the local market be more strongly influenced by the local gender ideology than the national publications with the national market?

The final criterion was the year of publication. Textbooks published before and after the implementation of the gender mainstreaming policy in 2004 were included in the study. This was done in order to identify whether there had been progress in gender role representation in the textbooks published after the implementation of the policy of gender mainstreaming in education. The issuance of gender mainstreaming policy would have been a signal to publishers and writers of the government's attitude.

Observation

Another technique used was observation. Following the model of Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte (1999) I observed school settings, specifically the classrooms and staffrooms, observing the events and event sequences such as teaching process, counting the research participants and mapping of the location, as well as searching

for indicators of gender role difference. I spent three weeks in each school observing the classroom activities and children played in the school yard. I observed classrooms during lessons across a number of subject areas, as these were being taught during my class visit. The observations were recorded in the form of field notes. This technique was used to verify data gathered from teachers' interviews. The number of classes and grade levels that were observed was decided in the field in consultation with the schools. Besides observing the formal events in the classroom, I also observed the informal events in the play ground to find out the students' gendered play patterns (Yelland, 1998)**.**

E. Data Analysis

The data were analyzed qualitatively. The procedures of data analysis were varied due to the different nature of the data.

Data from the qualitative interviews and field notes

The interviews transcripts and field notes were analyzed qualitatively by following the model of Taylor and Bogdan cited by Minichiello (1995) who identified three different steps. "The first stage involves coding the data, discovering themes, and developing propositions. The second stage is refining one's themes and propositions. The third stage is concerned with reporting the findings" (p. 247). Coding is a process of putting codes against pieces of data (Punch, 1998). Codes are tags, names or labels. There were three stages of coding applied in this study following Punch (1998) who identified three kinds of codes: "substantive codes, which are the initial

conceptual categories in the data; theoretical codes, which connect these categories, and core codes, which is the higher-order conceptualization of the theoretical coding, around which the theory is built" (p.210).

These codes derived from three steps of coding respectively: open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Punch, 1998). The first stage of coding is open coding. In this stage, I read the data and put codes on the themes appearing in the data. The second stage is axial coding where I organized the coded data into several categories included as the areas of investigation: gender ideology, gender role practices, gender awareness, gender roles teaching and commitment to implement the gender mainstreaming policy (See the Appendix 4).

I translated into English the sections of the interviews quoted in this thesis.

Then, the categories were analyzed in terms of visibility and invisibility, stereotyped and non-stereotyped, balanced or imbalance, and progressive or non-progressive (See the Appendix 5). The third stage is selective coding. In this stage, I selected one aspect as a core category. Then I integrated and pulled together the developing analysis.

Data from the students' perspectives on gender roles

In analyzing the data of students' perspective on gender roles, I followed the framework above which included open coding, axial coding and selective coding. In the open coding, I analyzed the data by gender. This involved counting the number

of each category. I then compared the number of male and female famous people chosen by students in each school. After that, I analyzed gender roles selected by the students by categorizing into the concept of gender neutral or non-stereotyped, gender stereotyped. Then I grouped the coded data into these categories.

The data from group interviews of students concerning gender roles were analyzed as follows: First, I identified the students' opinions concerning gender roles depicted in the cards in each school. After that I put them in the table to compare the students' opinions between the three schools. I grouped the data by using the categories: gender neutral and gender stereotyped.

The data from the list of famous people was discussed in three level of analysis: The first level is comparing the number of male and female famous people. The second level was assessing the most often listed of famous people in each school. Finally I examined whom the male and female student nominated (See the Appendix 6).

The students' favourite people were analyzed as follows. Who came to mind of a student when asked to mention his/her favourite person? Which genders were the predominant figures? Who were the figures selected by the male and the female students? Were they different? What roles of those students' favourite men and women performed? Were they performing stereotyped or non-stereotype or unclear gender roles? (See the Appendix 7).

Data from the students' drawing were analysed when the pictures of gender roles drawn by students were collected and coded. The first stage of coding is labeling the sex of the pictures. This coded data was then organized into four categories; stereotyped or traditional gender roles, non-stereotyped or progressive gender roles, gender-neutral and unclear (See the Appendix 8).

Data from students' occupational aspirations were coded. I then compared the differences between the boys' and girls' aspirations. After that I compared the students' occupational aspirations between the three schools, then compared those of the boys and girls in each school. Then, I compared the aspiration of boys and girls in three schools. After that, I compared the students' aspirations among three schools.

Textbooks analysis

a. Framework of Analysis

In analyzing the textbooks, I used the following categories: visible and invisible, balance and imbalance, male stereotype, female stereotype, neutral and progressive. This framework was derived from a number of studies I mentioned earlier.

The first category was visible/invisible (Litosseliti, 2006; Spender, 1982; Zittleman & Sadker, 2002). This category was used to assess male and female representation

both in text and illustration. If both males and females were depicted, either together or male alone/female alone (Gooden & Gooden, 2001) the text was categorized as male visible and/or female visible. Alternatively if the textbooks had only one sex and the opposite sex was absent in this case the textbooks were categorized as males invisible or females invisible.

For the textbooks where both males and females were visible, the next category was balance/imbalance or equal/unequal gender representation. This category was employed to assess the space allocations for each male and female. Imbalance means that one particular sex was predominant (Abraham, 1989; Deliyanni-kouimtzi, 1992; Logsdon, 1985; Spender & Sarah, 1980) and the other was poorly represented in the texts and/or illustrations. For example, males and females were represented 1:3 or the opposite representation was 3:1. Imbalance category also included which sex dominated the texts. In this case I analyzed which sex became the central characters of the stories in the textbooks. In addition, imbalance took account of which sex became the focus of the images as it might be that both males and females were depicted equally, but the focus was only the males or the vice versa. The opposite sexes were only depicted as a background and often unclear. Balance means both gender is represented equally. If gender representation was a ratio of 2:3 or 3:4 or 4:5 I categorized as balance.

The third category was gender stereotypes or non-stereotypes (Gooden & Gooden, 2001; Litosseliti, 2006; Logsdon, 1985; Muthali'in, 2001; Parker, 1997; Spender, 1982; Stewart, 2003). Gender stereotypes was defined by Shaw (cited in Gooden & Gooden, 2001, p. 90) as "assumptions made about characteristics of each gender, such as physical appearance, physical abilities, attitudes, interests, or occupation." Litosselity found that "the males characters tended to have more powerful and varied occupational roles (e.g. bank manager, school principal, doctor) than the female characters occupied the roles of nurse, housewives, or secretary"(Litosseliti, 2006, p. 87). Furthermore, Stewart (2003) discovered that in some mathematics textbooks, men were depicted as active, alert, and scientific. Women were often depicted as dull and insignificant and are rarely involved in a career situation (Stewart, 2003). On the other hand, gender non-stereotyped demonstrated by Gooden and Gooden (2001, p. 96) where "female children included as dressing up as a pilot, ambulance driver, and scuba diver. One male child was seen attending a tea party and another helping with the laundry".

Another category was gender neutral or non-sexist language. Marta Logsdon (1985) remarked that the Indonesian language does not present sexist langauage. The third singular pronouns in Bahasa Indonesia *dia, ia, nya* are non-gender specific. *Dia* can refer to he or she or it and also *nya* refer to either his or her or its. Makassarese and Buginese, the local languages that were also included in this analysis, are more gender neutral than the Indonesian Language. That is because these local languages

more often used the same word when referring to males and females. For example, the word *amure* in Bugis is used for both aunt and uncle or *tante* and *paman* in Indonesian.

The final category used was progressive or not progressive. This category used to summarize the other four categories. So, a progressive textbook has both males and females visible and equally represented and is more likely non-stereotyping and to use neutral language. A non-progressive textbook retained at least one aspect of gender bias and gender stereotyping.

F. Validity and Reliability

The validity and reliability concept are used to judge the quality of research in terms of "the rigor of research processes and trustworthiness of research finding" (Roberts, Priest & Traynor, 2006, p. 41). Roberts, Priest and Taynors defined that validity is "about the closeness of what we believe we are measuring to what we intended to measure" (p. 41) and reliability "describes how far a particular test, procedures or tool, such as questionnaires, will produce similar results in different circumstances, assuming nothing else has changed" (p. 41). The rigor and trustworthiness of validity and reliability of qualitative research are addressed in different terms. Guba in Shenton (Shenton, 2004) proposed four criteria in pursuit of a trustworthiness of qualitative research. The four criteria are: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Lincoln and Guba in Twycross & Shields (2005) simplified into

three criteria that included credibility and transferability. They added auditability which included dependability and confirmability.

Credibility or believability

Credibility involves a number of criteria including the adoption of well established research methods, the development of an early familiarity with the culture of participating organizations before the first data collection dialogues take place, and triangulation (Shenton, 2004) of different methods and data sources.My research is credible because I followed the criteria mentioned above. First, I followed the well established procedures of research methods. For example, I asked a follow up question for the unclear answers. I recorded and transcribed the qualitative interviews. I also translated the transcripts and I included both the original language (Indonesian) and the translation (English) when presenting the findings in the forthcoming chapters. Therefore the readers can make a judgment on the trustworthiness of the research findings.

My research is also credible because I am familiar with the research setting. I myself have a background in Islamic studies. I studied in Islamic education institutions from primary schools to graduate degree. Since graduation I have worked in Islamic education institutions. Besides, I know the cultural context of the study of Bugis and Makassar as I myself am Bugis and live in the Makassar community. I also knew many of my informants through my professional duties. All of these experiences facilitated the credibility of my research.

Furthermore, I triangulated the findings by using different data collection methods and different data sources. To measure the implementation of gender mainstreaming I examined various data sources: education policy makers, school decision makers, teachers as the educational practitioners and students as the target groups. I also studied the textbooks as the tools for raising gender equality awareness for students.

Since the data sources were various, I also employed a wide range of data collection methods appropriates for each data source. So this study employed methods of data collection comprising qualitative interviews with the teachers, principals and policy makers; content analysis for the textbooks; and observation of gender relations in the classroom and in the staff room. For the students I employed various methods including group interviews, students' drawings, students' listing of famous people and selecting favourite persons on their own list.

Transferability

Twycross and Shields (2005, p. 36) stated that "transferability relates to the extent to which we can see similarities in the findings that may relates to other settings". They further stated that "this requires the researchers to provide a lot of detail about the setting and the events taking place, and is described as thick description" (Twycross & Shields, 2005, p. 36).

In order to ensure that my research is transferable, I have provided the research context by explaining the Indonesian education system. The brief explanation

provided earlier in this chapter is elaborated on in Chapter 5 when presenting the findings from interviews of policy makers. In Chapter 6 I provide information about cultural context of each of the schools studied, that is the cultural contexts of schools located in urban and middle urban as well as village districts in South Sulawesi. These schools represented the government owned Islamic schools and the private ones. The private schools included one owned by a large Islamic organization and the other was a locally organized educational institution.

I also included the context of the urban and semi urban as well as village schools. These schools represented the government owned Islamic schools and the private ones. The private schools included one owned by Islamic mass organization and the other was only organized by an educational institution.

Dependability (reliability)

In qualitative research, Appleton (1995) used the terms consistency or dependability for reliability. Twycross and Shields (2005) used the concept of auditability to assess the dependability of qualitative study. For this the researcher needs to provide a sufficiently clear and full account of the research process, called the decision trail or audit trail (Twycross & Shields, 2005).

Confirmability

According to Shenton (2004, p. 72) "the concept of confirmability is the qualitative investigator's comparable concern to objectivity."

Furthermore, Miles and Huberman in Shenton (2004, p. 72) presented that "a key criterion to achieve confirmability is the extent to which the researcher admits his or her own predispositions". For this, furthermore, I have indicated my own interpretation identified in brackets in the interview transcripts.

G. Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted with the approval of the Ethics Committee of Victoria University to collect data from the field that involved humans. This approval is for a period of three years from August 2005 to 2007.

I explained the nature and objectives of the research to the informants and obtained their consent to participate. The adult informants were asked to give their agreement to be interviewed and to be taped. Those who agreed to be interviewed were also asked if they wanted their identity to be disclosed or kept confidential. I have respected their decision. In addition, I asked informed consent to the parents of students who involved in the research. I made the participants aware of the nature of the research.

Chapter 4

The Role of Women Activists for Gender Equality

in Indonesia

A. Introduction

In this chapter, I would like to discuss the roles of Indonesian women activists in the struggle for gender equality in the late colonial era (1879-1945), in the period of the New Order government (1965-1998) and in the early phase of reformation at the time of the issuance of gender mainstreaming policy in 2000. Women activists are those from government organizations, women's studies centres, women non-government organizations and individuals active in promoting gender equality and equity through their struggle to promote education for girls and in support of the strategy of gender mainstreaming in the planning, implementation and monitoring of the national development programs instituted as a Presidential Instruction in 2000.

B. Indonesian Women Activists in the Late Colonial Era (1900-1945

Women activists have been aware of women issues since the end of 19th century in Indonesia either individually or through women organizations; both government and non-government with secular, nationalist or religious affiliation. The existence of women activists indicates the presence of a women's movement in Indonesia. The women's movement in Indonesia cannot be separated from the women's movement in the world. In France, women liberation emerged and became strong in the late 18th

century when women took part in the struggle in the French Revolution (1789-1793), but they received treatment from distinguished men which did not accord with their goal (Suryochondro, 2000). The women's movement in Britain emerged when women protested for the right to vote. Women eventually got their right to vote after the end of The First World War (Suryochondro, 2000). The women's movement in Britain became known with the founding of The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1903 by Emmeline Pankurst and her daughter Christabel Pankhurst (History learningsite, 2000-2010). Equally important was the National Union of Women Suffrage Society (NUWSS) and the Women Freedom League (WFL) that ensured women's participation in politics by the end of the First World War (Humm, 1992). In America, the women's movement starting with the Anti-slavery and Temperance campaigns was led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B Anthony 1840s (Humm, 1992). The women's movement not only happened in Europe and America, but also in Asia including Indonesia.

In Indonesia, women had a different experience in their movement, since they were not only struggling against the male domination but also struggling for independence from Dutch colonialism. The women's movement has a long history in Indonesia. It has existed since the colonial era. In colonial Indonesia, the Dutch women founded a branch of The Netherland's women's suffrage association in 1908 (Blackburn, 2004a; Locher-Scholten, 1999). A few years earlier, we can see the role of RA Kartini (1879-1904), an aristocratic Javanese woman, who fought for gender equality

as the first feminist. Kartini's struggle on gender equality especially her ideas for the development of women's education were discussed in correspondence with her Dutch friends (Blackburn, 2004b; Porter, 2006) such as Stella Zeehandellaar from 1899-1903 (Coté, 1995). Kartini's family: her father and brothers who had progressive views about education allowed her to attend school (Coté, 1995).

Although Kartini had the chance to enjoy education, it was discovered in her letters that she and her other sisters experienced gender discrimination. They could only get primary education while the boys could go as high as possible. All her brothers completed Dutch language high school education. Even more, men could go overseas to pursue their education, like her brother, Sosro Kartono who went to The Netherlands. However, the *adat* (traditional custom) did not allow girls to go anywhere including going to school. Since the higher education was often far away from home, girls could not carry on their further study. Kartini wrote in one of her letters:

> We girls, chained as we are to the old practices and customs, have only been able to profit slightly from this progress as regards education. It had already been a great offence against the morals of my country that we girls went out to study and had therefore to leave home every day to attend school. You see the *adat* (traditional law) of our country strongly forbid young girls to go outside their home. We were not allowed to go any where else-and the only educational institution with which our little town is blessed is just an ordinary public elementary school for Europeans (Coté, 1995, p. 3).

Kartini's statement in her letter obviously showed her experience of gender discrimination regarding educational opportunities for girls compared to boys. Gender discrimination was based on traditional law and morals of Javanese society

that prohibited girls to go out even to school. The girls of Javanese elite like Kartini who reached 12 years old were incarcerated at home for the necessary preparation to fulfill the role of wife (Coté, 1995; Suryochondro, 2000; Tiwon, 1996). According to Kartini in Coté (1995), there was only one model of the life path of young Javanese girls. Girls cannot have ideals, they can only dream to become a wife. Besides segregation, other issues included arranged marriage by parents and polygamy. Another issue faced by Kartini was the etiquette expected of aristocratic Javanese or formality where "If a young lady should laugh she must not open her mouth ….If a young girl is walking, she has to do this sedately, with short, neat steps, as slowly as a snail; if you walk a little more quickly then they accuse you of being a galloping horse" (Coté, 1995, pp. 12-3). This etiquette for Kartini and her other sisters was considered a restriction on freedom, as she said, "These forms, these petty laws instituted by people, are an abomination to me" (Coté, 1995, p. 11).

In addressing these inequalities, Kartini had several objectives. First, she intended to eradicate the adverse practices of giving preference to boys and the deprivation of girls. She remarked "We cannot be surprised at the egotism of the man if we realize how, already as a child he has been favored above the girl, his sister. And already as a child, the man learns to despise the girl" (Coté, 1995, p. 46). Gender difference and discrimination were taught to children from an early age.

Her second objective was to teach her future offspring, boys and girls to consider each other as equals and give them precisely the same upbringing, unsurprisingly based on their individual nature. She saw education as the most effective device for advancing and overcoming all kinds of hardship faced by women (Coté, 1995). Those hardships included traditions and customs such as polygamy and segregation for girls of the Javanese aristocrat after reaching puberty (Suryochondro, 2000). She was convinced the removal of the barriers would not disadvantage men, "as civilized and educated men would not deliberately keep away from the companionship of women who are their equals in culture and education, in order to throw themselves into the arms of unrespectable women" (Coté, 1995, p. 46). Moreover, Kartini called others to work together to work out the gender issues that they experienced as she stated "Come, women, young girls, stand up let us join hands and let us work together to bring change to these unbreakable conditions" (Coté, 1995, p. 46). Because of her ideas, Kartini then, is formally acknowledged as a heroine of national sovereignty by a Presidential Decree No.108 May 2, 1964 (Junsim, 2000) and a women's movement champion (Suryochondro, 2000). Her birthday is celebrated every year on April 21 since then; the day is called *Hari Kartini* (Kartini's Day). Nevertheless, the Indonesian government in particular the New Order Government of Suharto employed Kartini's Day to promote government programs for women which stressed motherly and wifely duties rather than Kartini's ideals of women's liberation (Robinson, 1999; Suryakusuma, 1996).

Following Kartini, there were also several women who established school for girls, such as Dewi Sartika in West Java, and Maria W Maramis in North Sulawesi in the early twentieth century. The women's struggle focused on educational provision for women which was considered a prerequisite for national liberation (Parawansa, 2002).

There were a growing number of women's organizations along with the ethnic, nationalist and religious organizations in the early twentieth century but they were mainly focused on national independence rather than women's emancipation (Blackburn, 2004a). For example, Poetri Merdeka (Independent Women) organization was established in 1912. It was associated with Budi Utomo and Aisyiah established in 1917 as part of Muhammadiyah which was one of the biggest Muslim organizations (Parawansa, 2002; Suryochondro, 2000). These women's organizations gathered for the first time in a conference in 1928 and formed an association called Association of Indonesian Women's Organizations, which finally became Indonesian Women's Congress (KOWANI) and continues until today. In the 1930s, they started to campaign for women's rights although there were two native Indonesian Western educated women involved in the Dutch Women's Suffrage Association. There were Rukmini and Rangkayo Chailan (Blackburn, 2004a; Suryochondro, 2000).

After Indonesian independence in 1945 there were considerable achievements regarding women's rights. The government established a number of policies to address gender equality in Indonesia. Gender equality was enshrined in the 1945 Indonesian Constitution, as it stated that all citizens (men and women) have the same rights and obligation (Article 27). Furthermore, the government ratified several conventions of the United Nations on gender equality that women activists supported. In 1957 the Government accepted the International Labour Organization (ILO) Equal Remuneration Convention No 100 (1951) which pledged equal pay for women and men for equal work. Law No 80/1957 legislated this in Indonesia. The government also ratified the UN Convention on Political Rights of Women under the Law No.68/1968. Ten year later, in 1978 the Broad Outline of the State Policy (GBHN) included a chapter on the role of women in national development for the first time. In the same year the government established a Junior Ministry for Women Affairs in 1978, which became the Ministry for Women Empowerment in 1999 as part of Indonesia' response to the agenda of the UN sponsored Decade for Women (Parawansa, 2002; Robinson, 1999). In addition, Indonesia ratified the UN Convention to Eliminate Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1980. Yet, another policy was the Ministry of Home Affairs' Decree No. 17/1995 that instructed provincial and district governments to establish the Women in Development Management Team (TP2W) (Parawansa, 2002).

As a consequence of these government policies, women became more visible in public spheres. Women's participation in the labour force was 48.4 percent in 2005. In 2005, 41.8 percent of all Indonesians employed in the public services were females, which increased to 42.4 percent in 2006 (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2011). Nevertheless, Indonesian women were still relatively disadvantaged. Women's representation in legislatures elected in the 2004 general election was were only 11.27 percent. Although almost a half women employed in public sevices, only a few of them hold the highest positions. There were only 210 females compared to 1,369 males at the most senior level of the public service in 2009 (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2011).

Furthermore, the Indonesian government since the New Order era upheld gender disparities. This gender difference can be seen in many official celebrations and women organizations. The celebration of Kartini Day and Mothers Day fall on 21 April and 22 December, respectively. In Kartini's day celebration, the government emphasizes Kartini's role as a mother and wife instead of demonstrating her struggle for expanding "her life's possibilities beyond the strictures of Javanese Court Culture. Kartini expressed her hopes for autonomy in marriage and the right to pursue her education as well as her dream in establishing government's school for girls" (Robinson, 1999, p. 224). Like Kartini's Day, Mother's Day also promotes women's difference by demonstrating women's roles as mothers and wives even though it is celebrated to recall the first women's congress in 1928 where the

members declared the "equality between men and women within the liberal discourse of equal social rights for all". So the main point of these national days for women was gender equality, not to limit the role of women in domestic spheres. Since the end of the New Order Government, Kartini's Day and Mother's Day are still celebrated. However, many women use these national days as a chance to express their views on gender inequality. In one seminar to mark Kartini Day (21 April 2007) and a mailing list discussion in which I participated (2007) there were several women who disagreed with the celebration of Kartini Day because it only promoted traditional gender roles that restricted women's mobility.

C. Indonesian Women Activists and the New Order Government

The Indonesian women activists in the New Order government were organised through two national wide women organizations: Dharma Wanita (The Civil Servants' Wives organization) and PKK (Women's Welfare Movement). Dharma Wanita was established as an auxiliary organization of civil servants (KORPRI) to support the civil servants in order that they could work without the disturbance of family problems (Suryakusuma, 1996). This organization was successful in proposing the revision of marriage law in 1974, the implementation regulation (PP 9/1975), and additional law for marriage and divorce of the civil servants (PP 10/1983). These laws banned polygamy for civil servants and military personnel.

However, those organizations and marriage laws were criticized by other contemporary woman activists such as Julia Suryakusuma (1996) who argued that Dharma Wanita reflected the manipulative concept of women as wives or mothers or both (p.99). The New Order regime stressed women's dual role in public and domestic spheres as guarantor of harmonious social and family relations, as well as her supporting roles to her husband. It was expected that wives of public servants would maintain harmony with their husband to support their husband's important duties. It defined women's primary role as that of housewife, to educate the children, and to obey and serve the husband. Dharma Wanita was conceived and designed for the purpose of organizing and controlling the civil servants' wives and eventually the civil servants themselves as their wives performance in Dharma Wanita affects their career (Suryakusuma, 1996). Dharma Wanita "masculinizes public power" (Robinson, 1999, p. 246) when the senior positions of the male public servants determined the position of their wives in Dharma Wanita. If a male civil servant was the Head of the office, his wife would automatically be the Head of Dharma Wanita in the office. For example, the wife of the Governor is automatically installed the Head of Dharma Wanita in the governor's office (Robinson, 1999; Suryakusuma, 1996). The idea that the civil servant's wives have to participate in a chapter for furtherance of their husband's career by undertaking voluntary work does not fit with a civil servant's wife who is also a civil servant herself and may be in a higher position than her husband. The women's subordination in this organization is clear

when it is stated that their main and their second duty are as wives and mothers respectively.

Like Dharma Wanita, PKK (Women's Welfare Program) for the rural areas was also established by the government to disseminate the state gender ideology to the village women (Sullivan, 1994). The leadership of this organisation was also determined mechanically based on the status of husbands. It was organized centrally by the wives of the Minister of Home Affairs, down to the Governor, Regent/Major, and to the Village Head's (Robinson, 1999; Sullivan, 1994; Suryakusuma, 1996). Julia I Suryakusuma (1996) also criticized the New Order Government's control on the sexuality of the people as she points out that the state has a strong role in controlling sexuality in particular with respect to the civil servants and their spouses. Suryakusuma illustrated how the government controls the civil servants through their corps KORPRI (Civil Service Corps of the Republic of Indonesia) and their wives organization, Dharma Wanita, concerning family planning and the promotion of the ideal family in Indonesia as it was stated in the Five Creeds of the Fifth Development Cabinet "The life of a civil servant should be supported by harmonious family life so that she/he is able at all times to carry out his/her duties without disturbed by their family problem" (Suryakusuma, 1996, p. 97). While the appendage organization of KORPRI, the *Dharma Wanita* organization has established "an *ikut suami* (follow the husband culture) which characterize the state ibuism."(Robinson, 1999; Suryakusuma, 1996) Suryakusuma defined "state ibuism is women as appendages

and companions to their husbands, as procreators of the nation, as mothers and educators of the children, as housekeepers, and as members of Indonesian society-in that order" (Suryakusuma, 1996, p. 101).

The marriage law of 1974 (UU I /1974) and the Law of Marriage and Divorce of the Civil Servants (PP 10/1983) are also the official ideology that propagates the traditional gender roles (Robinson, 1999; Suryakusuma, 1996). Although the Marriage Law of 1974 basically stated gender equality such as article One, Three and Thirty five which is a victory for women's movement activists (Robinson, 1999) who had struggled for a long time ago to revise the family law since Kartini (1879-1904) (Coté, 1995). It clearly stated the stereotyped roles of a wife and a husband: a husband is the head of the household and a wife is a housewife (Chapter VI Article 31 and a husband is responsible for taking care his wife and a wife responsible for managing the household affairs (Chapter VI Article 34).

Another government regulation on marriage is PP 10/1983, which applies to all civil servants, high officials of the state ministries, officers of state owned companies, village heads and administrators (Suryakusuma, 1996). Under this law, a male civil servant has to obtain permission of his superior if he will divorce his first wife and marry a second one. A husband who does not follow the rules will be punished by being deprived of further career advancement. Nonetheless, Suryakusuma (1996, pp. 108-9) observed that "PP 10 / 1993 is profoundly problematic beset by inherent

contradictions…. It was imagined as *senjata pemungkas* (the ultimate fatal weapon) created by Dharma Wanita, it turns out to be a boomerang". The wives of civil servants were often reluctant to propose divorce even though they knew their husbands took another wife as they would also suffer if their husbands were fired from their jobs (Suryakusuma, 1996).

In short, women activists in the New Order government women's organizations, such as Dharma Wanita, and the marriage laws they supported, perpetuated the gender ideology of women's domestication and homogenisation. This ideology failed to reflect the diversity of Indonesian women in terms of ethnicity, class, and religion. The impact of this ideology on women became more apparent following the fall of the New Order Government in 1998. Women activists raised the awareness of gender equality and discrimination against women that had been tolerated by the state and culture (Mulia, 2005). These women demanded gender equality and fair treatments in all aspects of women's lives.

D. Women Activists at the Beginning of the Reformation Era

After President Suharto's resignation in 1998, democratic values and far reaching political reforms were introduced by President BJ Habibie. This allowed people to express their opinions and aspirations (Parawansa, 2002). The Ministry of Women's Empowerment (formerly the Ministry of the Role of Women) in Abdurrahman Wahid's presidency became more critical of the government policies concerning

gender equality (Blackburn, 2004a, 2004b; Edwards & Roces, 2004). Various Women's NGOs emerged. Many of them were active in the area of women's rights (Parawansa, 2002). The reformation era according to the women's groups is "the structural change from women's perspectives" (Rahayu, 2001, p.9). During the period of President Habibie, two issues came to the fore: violence against women and women's participation in politics.

Violence against women (Blackburn, 2004a, 2004b; Edwards & Roces, 2004; Porter, 2006) was one of the main themes at the Fourth United Nations Women's Conference. The eradication of violence against women is a fundamental human right. This theme guided Indonesian women activists to campaign in their own country (Porter, 2006). The sexual assaults and rapes of many women during the May chaos in 1998 when 500 people died according to the official figures and the unofficial sources claimed that about 1200 people died (Porter, 2006), triggered a number of women activists to campaign against the violence towards women. They represented various women's social and religious groups, academicians, and individuals who were organized as the group of Civil Society of Violence Against Women (Porter, 2006). These groups were successful in urging President Habibie to condemn the rapes and rapists as well as to establish KOMNAS PEREMPUAN (the National Commission for Anti Violence against Women). Two hours after the meeting the President made a speech and a week later the President also launched the

formation of the National Commission of Anti Violence against Women (Bianpoen, 1999; Porter, 2006; Rahayu, 2001).

Another prominent issue was women's representation in politics, in particular the debate about female presidents (As'adiyah, 2002; Blackburn, 2004b; Platzdasch, 2000). Bianpoen (1999) notes the "Sentiments against a woman filling the position of the nation's Presidents were expressed by a number of religious and political leaders as well as individuals" (Bianpoen, 1999, p. 1). This debate developed around the candidature of Megawati Sukarnoputri as President of the Republic of Indonesia proposed by The Indonesia Democratic Party of the Struggle (PDI-P) after the 1999 election, when the PDI-P emerged as the largest political party. There were two issues raised in this debate - religious teaching and capabilities of the candidate. The argument that a female president is not acceptable under Islam came from *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU) and the United Development Party (PPP). For example, the highest religious authority of the NU, Rais Am Ilyas Ruchiyat, asserted that most of the Ulama do not consent to a female president. The United Development Party led by Hamzah Haz also would not support a woman as a president for political and theological reasons (Platzdasch, 2000). The issue of capability came from The National Mandate Party (PAN) led by Amin Rais, The Crescent Star Party (PBB) and The Justice and Prosperity Party (PKS) (Platzdasch, 2000). They had doubts about Megawati's leadership capabilities. Academic Arif Budiman cited in Sen (2002, p. 14) argued that *"Kalau Mega jadi Presiden Bisa Berbahaya* (It could be

dangerous if Mega become President)" According to Budiman, Megawati was unsuitable "because her capacities are limited, she will be unable to take advice judiciously. She is more likely to take instinctive decision than a rational one" (Sen, 2002, p. 15). Reflecting the controversies surrounding her candidature, Megawati failed in her endeavour to be elected as president, however, Megawati was elected as the Vice-President in 1999 with Abdurrahman Wahid as President.

The debate about a female president in 1999 "seem to have been a flash in the pan, motivated more by political expediency than religious principle" (Blackburn, 2004b, p. 107). After the impeachment of Abdurrahman Wahid by the People's Consultative Assembly, the Vice President Megawati stepped into the Presidency in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. In July 2001 Megawati became the fifth president of the Republic of Indonesia. Blackburn remarks that "the Islamic leaders declared that they had dropped their objections to the female political leaders (Blackburn, 2004b, p. 107). For example, Hamzah Haz, the leader of PPP (United Development Party) who strongly opposed Megawati becoming a president, agreed to be the Vice President (Bessel, 2004; Oey-Gardiner, 2002). The shift from the strong opposition to the acceptance of female leadership was probably due to the campaigns of women activists (Blackburn, 2004b). Two hundred and eighty four individuals from 21 NGOs issued a statement to support women's political right to be President in Indonesia (Bianpoen, 1999; Yusanti, 1999). The signatories included the leader of National Committee of Human Right Marsuki Darusman, the leader of

PKB (National Awakening Party) Khofifah Parawansa, the leader of PAN (National Mandatory Party) Prof Dr Toety Heraty, Ny.Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid, Dr Dewi Fortuna Anwar, the former Minister of Environment Emil Salim and the Head of National Commission for Women Ny Saparinah Sadli (Bianpoen, 1999; Yusanti, 1999). They made a statement that it was unconstitutional to violate the political right of a woman to become President since men and women had the same rights in law. Those who used the religious interpretation to undermined women's political right discredited the religion itself because religion, Islam in particular, respects the human rights without discriminating between women and men (Yusanti, 1999).

Blackburn (2004b, p. 107) argues that the crusade of women political participation seemed to have triumphed. "There is no significant opposition on religious grounds to women taking any public political roles. Women have taken seats in parliament and in the highest positions on the land". In 2004, Indonesia held the first direct election for president. Megawati was one of the candidates in 2004 and again in 2009, although unsuccessful, there was little or no debate about the suitability of her candidacy on these occasions.

Megawati established a precedent in becoming President, but women's participation in national politics has not improved much since Soeharto, with women still constituting a minority in political activity when more than a half of the Indonesian total population were women according to the 2000 population census. Women made

up less than ten percent of the members of legislatures in the period of 1999-2004. This increased slightly in the period 2005-2009 (Parawansa, 2010).

E. The women Activists in the Reformation Era

The issue of violence against women and women's political participation, in particular the debate about a female president, became the catalysts for women activists from government institutions, women studies centres in several universities around Indonesia, and NGOs both religious and non religious (Blackburn, 2004b) to campaign for gender equality. The women activists from government institutions included the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and the Women's Studies Centres (WSC) at universities all over Indonesia and they functioned as the national machinery for women's empowerment (Rahayu, 2001).

The establishment of Women's Studies Centres (WSC) at universities was one of the recommendations of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment National meeting with regional and central government agencies to support the program of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment in the regions in 1990 (Luhulima, 2005). There were 84 such centres in total; both in state and private universities until 2002 (Parawansa, 2002). In 2005 the number of these Women's Studies Centres increased rapidly to 122 throughout Indonesia (Luhulima, 2005). WSCs support women's empowerment and children's protection through three goals of Indonesian higher education. WSCs play roles in research, assistance, socialization and counseling, education and

training, monitoring and evaluation (Ministry of Women's Empowerment Republic of Indonesia, 2003).

From January 1996 to January 2002 the Women's Support Project, Phase II (WSP II) was developed by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in cooperation with the government of South Sulawesi. This project supported three women studies centres in Makassar, South Sulawesi to undertake action research on gender with the objective of developing provincial and national government policy (Agriteam Canada Consulting Ltd, 2010). WSP II became the catalyst for the implementation of the presidential instruction on gender mainstreaming. The three women's studies centres in Makassar, supported by WSP II, played an important role in the campaign by providing researchers, gender training facilitators, consultants both at the local and national level, both before and after the president issued the gender mainstreaming policy in 2000 (CIDA, 2005). For example, The WSC Hasanuddin University conducted the training program for bureaucrats on 10 May 2006 in Makassar on the way to include gender issues design in government planning (Tribun Timur, 2006).

Although President Habibie led the country for only one year (1998-1999), he created an atmosphere that had a positive influence on the position of women (Parawansa, 2002). For example, the number of women participating in various NGOs increased their activities to fight for women's rights including women's

political rights and violence against women. After President Habibie did not have enough support in parliament to get re-elected as president, he was succeeded by Abdurrahman Wahid, popularly known as Gus Dur.

The Government under Abdurrahman Wahid continued to give space for women's empowerment. He was well-known as making several institutional reforms in an effort to improve Indonesian women's status (Parawansa, 2002). As Davies (2005, p. 235) notes President Abdurrahman Wahid created "political space for women". President Wahid himself was well-known as a liberal and progressive (Barton, 1996, 2002). His liberal and progressive view was influenced by many factors including his progressive family that allowed him to acquire modern and Western thought (Barton, 2002). Moreover, Adele K O'Conner (2003) claims that the 'inner female family circle' of Abdurrahman Wahid, his mother, his sister, his wife and his daughter, had a great influence on his way of thinking about gender roles. As a progressive and liberal president, he was concerned about women issues comprising the issue of women's political rights, violence against women and traditional gender roles (Bernas, 2000).

President Abdurrahman Wahid took action in support of women's rights. Firstly, he appointed two vocal women activists in his cabinet, Khofifah Parawansa as the Minister of the Role of Women and Erna Witoelar, the Minister of Housing and Regional Development. Secondly, he issued the Presidential Instruction on gender

mainstreaming that was proposed by his Minister of Women's Empowerment. The Minister of Women's Empowerment, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, who was aware of gender issues and defended women's rights (Blackburn, 2002) made several reforms in her ministry. Before leading this Ministry, Parawansa had said she wished to abolish the Ministry of the Role of Women as it was not empowering women. Therefore, soon after she took over the Ministry, Khofifah Indar Parawansa changed the Ministry's name to the Ministry of Women's Empowerment (Blackburn, 2002; Oey-Gardiner, 2002). The implication of this new name was to signal the government intention to empower women instead of perpetuating the traditional roles of women as had occurred under previous administration. That Ministry then became a promoter of women's rights and gender equity (Bessel, 2004).

As an Indonesia Minister, Parawansa along with the President Abdurrahman Wahid and his wife Sinta Nuriyah, were open and accessible to women's organizations (Blackburn, 2002). In the early phase of her position as a Minister, she invited women from all elements of the community including women in academia to an introductory meeting to involve them in her agenda (Rahayu, 2001). Another effort that she undertook to empower women was proposing a policy of gender mainstreaming to the President which is the main focus of this research. The proposal of the progressive Minister of Women's Empowerment for the policy of gender mainstreaming was accepted by the progressive President Abdurrahman Wahid when he issued the Presidential Instruction No 9 Year 2000. In the same year,

the government of Indonesia as a member of United Nations, signed the Millenium Declaration in New York called the Millenium Development Goal. The third Millenium Development Goal is to promote gender equality and empower women (Sattertwhite, 2003; UNDP, 2012). This objective is consistent with the gender mainstreaming policy.

F. Conclusion

In brief, Indonesian women activists have fought for gender equality since the colonial era to the issuance of gender mainstreaming policy. In the late colonial era, Raden Adjeng Kartini fought for gender equality in education. There were many other women who followed Kartini who struggled for the provision of education for women including Dewi Sartika and Maria W Maramis. In early twentieth century women activists were organised into women's organizations called the Association of Indonesian Women's Organizations that was later renamed and known as KOWANI (Indonesian Women Congress) today. They fought for Indonesian independence and women's advancement after Indonesian independence with great success. The government has formulated a number of policies addressing gender equalities. The 1945 constitution addressed gender equal rights and obligations of the citizens including men and women. The government also ratified a number of UN Conventions on gender equality: ILO equal remuneration, UN convention on Political Rights of Women, and CEDAW. Furthermore, in responding to the UN Decade for Women, the New Order government included a chapter on the role of

women in the Broad Outline of the State Policy starting in 1978. Also in 1978 the government founded the Junior Minister for Women's Affairs. It also issued a decree for the establishment of Women's Development Management Teams in provincial and district governments. These policies had a great impact on women's empowerment. Women became more visible in public spheres: education, employment, and politics. However, issues of gender inequality and inequity remain in these sectors of social development. These issues became the catalyst for women's activists to fight for gender equality and equity. The result of these struggles included the issuance of the Presidential Instruction No. 9, 2000 concerning the gender mainstreaming policy as well as the Government of Indonesia committed itself to the achievement of the Millenium Development Goals, one of which is to promote gender equality and to empower women.

In the next chapter, gender mainstreaming policy development in Indonesia is discussed. This includes the global and local gender issues, the presidential instruction on gender mainstreaming, gender mainstreaming in education, implementation of gender mainstreaming in education in the ministry of national education, gender mainstreaming in the Department of Religion, gender mainstreaming in Muhammadiyah and gender mainstreaming in As'adiyah institutions.

Chapter 5

Gender Mainstreaming Policy Development

in Indonesia

A. Introduction

In this chapter I analyze the policy of gender mainstreaming in Indonesia. I begin by illustrating the global and local gender issues that required gender mainstreaming strategy. After that, I explain the nature, the rationale, and the requirements for implementing gender mainstreaming policy. Furthermore, I investigate gender mainstreaming in education starting with the policy making in the Ministry of National Education. Since my research focused on gender mainstreaming in Islamic primary education both state and private schools which are managed by national organizations, I also investigate the responses of Department of Religion, Muhammadiyah, and As'adiyah organizations from the national to the district levels.

B. The Global and Local Gender Issues

The inequalities between men and women cause gender to become an issue. Several gender issues are globally relevant although the manifestation may differ in specific countries. These issues are: inequalities in political power, inequalities within households, differences in legal status and entitlement, gender division of labor within the economy, inequalities within the domestic/unpaid sector, violence against women, and discriminatory attitudes (United Nations. Office of the Special Advisor

on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women., 2002, Chapter 3, point 46). The Beijing Platform for Action and the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategy as well as Gender Mainstreaming in all policies and programs that originated from the Fourth UN Conference on Women in Beijing 1995 identified 12 areas of concern of gender discrimination against women as follows:

a. The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women.
b. Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training.
c. Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services.
d. Violence against women.
e. The effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation.
f. Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all form of productive activities and in access to resources.
g. Inequalities between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels.
h. Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women.
i. Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of women.
j. Stereotyping of women and inequality in women's access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media.
k. Gender inequality in the management of natural resources and in the safe guarding of the environment.
l. Persistent discrimination against and violations of the rights of the girl child (University of Minnesota, 1995, Chapter 3, point 46).

These twelve areas of concern called the Beijing Platform for Action identified at the 1995 conference were listed as actions for women's empowerment. Governments around the world, including Indonesia, signed this Platform for Action and its

endorsements of commitment to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of women (Moser & Moser, 2005; Parawansa, 2000).

With respect to the area of education and training, the UN was concerned about the persistent discrimination against girls in accessing education in many countries and regions. According to the UN, this discrimination is a consequence of traditional values, early marriages and pregnancies, inadequate and gender-biased teaching and educational materials. Another concern to the UN is curricula, and teaching material that remain gender-biased to a large degree and are rarely sensitive to the specific needs of girls and of women. According to them gender biased curriculum and teaching materials strengthen traditional female and male roles that repudiate women's opportunities for full and equal partnership in society. The UN also acknowledged that gender biased curriculum and teaching material was worsening because of lack of gender awareness by educators at all levels. This strengthens existing inequities between males and females by reinforcing discriminatory tendencies and undermining girls' self esteem (University of Minnesota, 1995).

To solve the problem, the UN identified strategic objectives and action to be taken by governments, educational authorities and other educational and academic institutions:

    (a) Elaborate recommendations and develop curricula, textbooks and teaching aids free of gender biased stereotypes for all levels of education, including

teacher training, in association with all concerned-publishers, teachers, public authorities and parents' associations;

(b) Develop training programs and materials for teachers and educators that raise awareness about the status, role and contribution of women and men in the family…. In this context promote equality cooperation, mutual respect and shares responsibilities between girls and boys from pre school level onward and develop educational modules to ensure that boys have the skill necessary to take care of their own domestic needs and to share responsibility for their household and for the care of dependants.

(c) Develop training programs and materials for teachers and educators that raise awareness of their own role in the educational process, with a view to providing them with effective strategies for gender sensitive teaching (University of Minnesota, 1995, Platform of Action, point 85).

The Beijing Platform for Action is not the first policy for women's empowerment endorsed by Indonesian government, since the Indonesian government has a long history for legislating for women's empowerment. Since independence, Indonesian government has included gender equality in the 1945 constitution. In article 27 stated that every citizen (men and women) have equal right in law and government. Furthermore, the government under President Sukarno ratified the UN Convention on Women's Political Rights through the law No 68/1958 that allowed women to vote. Besides, in 1984 the government also ratified the UN Convention on the elimination of all discrimination against women (CEDAW) through the Law No.7/1984 under the presidency of Suharto. In addition, the government under President Habibie endorsed the optional Protocol of Women's Convention in 1999.

Since 1999 gender policies to improve the status of women and gender mainstreaming in particular have been adopted by the government of Indonesia

(Sucipto, 2006). The GBHN (Indonesian Broad State Policy Guidelines) is a basis for the government function and the state policy implementation that has explicitly endorsed gender equality and gender equity as one of Indonesia's national development objectives in 1999 (Parawansa 2000). Gender equality is the goal of the Beijing Platform for Action and the UN policy on gender mainstreaming. GBHN before 1999 (1988, 1993, 1998) had only contained the stipulation concerning the roles of women (Parawansa, 2002). However, the government adoption of gender policy did not mean there was no debate regarding gender equality and equity. The debate as to whether a woman could become a president was one example of gender being used to disqualify a woman's rights.

The issues of women in decision-making were raised by Dr Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment for Gender Mainstreaming. He acknowledged that few women were involved in the decision making or held senior positions in government. He stated that women's representation in legislative positions was only 11.09 per cent. According to him that percentage did not represent women in decision making since their number was almost half of the total population but they had few representatives. Therefore, women were the "silent majority" (interview, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005). The lack of women in decision-making was also stressed by Ms Betty Sinaga, the Co-ordinator for gender mainstreaming in the Ministry of National Education. She stated that there are no women in positions at the highest level of the

Indonesian bureaucracy (Echelon I) and a very small number of women in positions at the lower level (Echelon II) (Interview, Betty Sinaga, an official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006). This inequality is also reflected in the low level of women's representation in the legislature in 2004 when 11.27 percent of members were women (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2011). Concerning the representation of women in the highest level of the Indonesian bureaucracy, the 2008 data indicates that women's representation has improved to 7.3 percent (Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, 2011).

Soeparman argued that the absence of women in the process of law making and administration resulted in many gender-biased laws. He also argued that religious values were partly responsible for perpetuating gender bias. He gave the example of the Indonesian marriage law No. 10 year 1974 (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005). The marriage law is gender bias such as the law allow a husband to have more than one wives. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment argued that the government development policies have not specifically considered development benefits for men and women equally which inadvertently, contributed to gender inequality and inequity (Ministry of Women's Empowerment Republic of Indonesia, 2002).

Soeparman also considered that women still lagged behind in every sector of development compared to their male counterparts, even though the founders of the

state had committed Indonesia to gender equality as stated in 1945 Constitution, Article 27 that every citizen (men and women) has equal rights in law and government. According to him, the social cultural, institutional and structural conditions still hampered the implementation of gender equality as stated in the 1945 constitution. Gender inequality can be seen through sex-disaggregated data in various fields of development including education, health, and law:

> …in its implementation, as a consequence of social cultural, institutional and structural factors, women have been left behind, compared to men, in various sectors of society and development. This is evident in the sex disaggregated data in the areas of education, health, and law. There remains a gap between men and women even though we have been independent for nearly 60 years. (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005).

C. The Presidential Instruction on Gender Mainstreaming Policy

The Platform for Action endorsed in the Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing represented a commitment to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. The essential method to achieve this goal was gender mainstreaming (Moser & Moser, 2005). This gender mainstreaming strategy was approved as a policy by the government of Indonesia when the President Abdurrahman Wahid issued a Presidential Instruction No 9/2000 on gender mainstreaming in all sectors of national development. This instruction of the President requires eight groups of government leaders to implement gender mainstreaming in the national development policies and programs and to take a serious note of the technical guidelines for the implementation of gender mainstreaming in National

Development. These government leaders include: the Government Ministers of the Republic of Indonesia; Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia; Commanders of the Indonesian Army; Chief of Police of the Republic of Indonesia; Head of Non Department Government Institutions; Chairperson of Secretariat of State high and highest Institutions; Governors; Heads of Districts/Mayors. In addition, they are required to establish further a set of laws reckoned as essential for the realization of this Presidential Instruction collectively or individually, based on its own scope of duties, functions and authority (Ministry of Women's Empowerment Republic of Indonesia, 2002). This presidential instruction according to Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, was actually the starting point of the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming policy (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005).

Beside these eight groups of government leaders, the President assigned the State Minister of Women's Empowerment to provide technical support to the government bureaus and institutions at the national and local level in the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment was also required to report on the outcome of gender mainstreaming to the President (Ministry of Women's Empowerment Republic of Indonesia, 2002). The President of the Republic Indonesia ordered the ministries, armed forces, police forces, high court, head of local government and head of all

other governmental agencies to implement gender mainstreaming in the national development of Indonesia which is aimed to mainstream gender in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of government policies and programs (President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2000; Surbakti, 2002).

The starting point of the implementation of the gender mainstreaming policy was the establishment of eleven 'focal points'[1] of gender mainstreaming: which were in the National Development Planning Board, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of National Education, The Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration, the State Ministry for Cooperatives and Small and Medium-scale Enterprises, the State Ministry for the Environment and the Coordinating Ministry for Political and Security Affairs. These 'focal points' were responsible for disseminating the programs of gender mainstreaming in the line ministries. Furthermore, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment has conducted briefing, advocacy, communication, information and education through the mass media as the Deputy Minister said in the interview "We have implemented the policy] through socialization, advocacy, communication, the provision of

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[1] The gender focal point is not a full-time position; persons appointed as gender focal points normally have other areas of responsibility. The work of a gender focal point is to support gender mainstreaming by advocating, advising and supporting professional staff and monitoring and reporting on progress - if necessary through the use of / support from consultants or external specialists. Dissemination of information and competence development, through training and seminars, is also part of the work of the gender focal points (http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/gmfpdrafttors.htm accessed June 10, 2010)

information and education in several media platforms" (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005).

Another implementation of the policy at the national level according to Soeparman was developing models based on sectors of development including law, economy, politic, education, health, environment, defense and security. Those models according to him were expected to be replicated in the regional and district offices as Soeparman related: "… in its implementation we developed models such as in the education and health sectors. Such models were replicated in the regional offices to minimize the gender gap." (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005). At the regional level, the Head of the IAIN Alauddin Women's Studies Centre ascertained that many institutions both government and non government were already committed themselves to the gender mainstreaming program as she said:

> Actually, nowadays we have seen ….because there are already many program concerning gender….the programs have been embedded in the community by various groups including academics, NGOs and even the government has programs on gender. We can say all government institutions have had programs to promote gender (Interview, Nurnaningsih, The Head of Women's Studies Centre of IAIN Alauddin Makassar, 24 October 2005).

In the implementation of the policy, of course there have been impediments and supporting factors. The impeding factors identified in the interviews conducted for

this research were mainly concerned with cultural values[2]. According to them, cultural values are difficult to change. It needs time to change. Soeparman observed that "….these values have been deeply rooted for a long time and as such are difficult to change in a short span of time. To change the mind set of the society in order to adopt gender equality and equity requires a lot of time" (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005). Another obstacle identified by Nurland was the lack of gender awareness among the officials responsible for implementation both at the provincial and district levels. She observed that

> …those responsible for implementation [of gender mainstreaming] were not aware of gender [equality]. So it was often the case in implementation both at the provincial and district levels that it was about women's needs. Hence, I observed that from the perspective of implementation, it was considered as women's activities, involving women rather than men. (Interview, Farida Nurland, the Head of Women's Studies Centres of Hasanuddin University, December 14, 2005).

Misconceptions about gender also appeared at the national level as Soeparman noted that, people associated gender with sex and even women. As he said "Gender was still associated with sex, and even more mistakenly, gender was identified with women" (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005).

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[2] (interviews, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005, Nurnaningsih, The Head of Women's Studies Centre of IAIN Alauddin Makassar, 24 October 2005 and Betty Sinaga, the Officer of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006).

Asia Muhammadiyah gave an example of lack of awareness among local officials when she discovered one male participant from BAPPEDA (District Planning Board) who disagreed with the gender mainstreaming program. He often questioned the objective of gender programs whenever he attended gender briefing sessions as Muhammadiyah recalled:

> Nearly every time we held gender training programs, they often attended, there was an official from the District Planning Board, if I am not mistaken from Pare-Pare, every time we met at the same training program, and the questions asked were always the same. He always wondered what the importance of this gender business was. There was always the sense that gender was something probably adopted from western countries (Interview, Asia Muhammadiyah, the Secretary of Women's Studies Centre of the State University of Makassar, December 15, 2005).

That was an example of an official who disagrees with gender because he did not understand about it although he often attended gender training sessions. His attitude on gender training hindered him to understand gender issues. Such an attitude has been reflected in the debates about gender in the media such as in the Swara Muslim.net in February 2005. This publication labeled the people who actively campaigned on gender issues as having relinquished the rules of God (Chamzawi, 2005).

However, according to Soeparman there were also supporting factors. He mentioned the legal and institutional factors. The legal aspects include Presidential instruction No. 9, 2000, Letter of Ministry of Domestic Affairs No. 1, Year 2003, and the Medium Term Planning of Development (RPJM) 2004-2009. Institutional supporting

factors are the gender focal points in every sector of development. The availability of Bureau of Women's Empowerment, and gender working groups in every provincial and district government also form the supporting factor of gender mainstreaming. The supporting factors also included gender awareness of some intellectuals and women activists mostly in the cities who encourage gender awareness among the public (The Jakarta Post, 2000a, 2000b).

The implementation of gender mainstreaming in the national level has required nine strategic development sectors comprising education, religion, agriculture, labor and transmigration, cooperation and small and middle industry, Judicial Affairs and Human Right, environment, social, health/family planning. My research only focuses on the sectors of national education including the education under the Ministry of National Education.

D. Gender Mainstreaming in Education

Education is one of the strategic sectors of social development targeted under the gender mainstreaming policy. Gender issues in education sectors in Indonesia can be observed in five major issues which are: illiteracy rate, enrolment rate, learning materials, gender stereotyped decision making, and gender segregation (Ministry of National Education, 2005).

Firstly, the illiteracy rate of females is higher than that of males. In 2008 the rate of illiteracy rate of females aged 15-24 was 0.62% and the male was 0.46% (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2011). Secondly, the rate of school enrolment for females in 2006 was lower than that of males both in urban and rural high schools from secondary to university levels. The enrolment rate of females in urban high schools was 64.38% compared to 66.60% of males. In rural high schools, the females participation was 44.99 and 45.03 for males (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2011).

Thirdly, gender bias learning materials were evident particularly in certain subjects such as civics, Indonesian language, social studies, religious studies and physical education. Gender bias of textbooks material was supported by the predominantly male textbook writers in every level of education. For example the textbook writers of primary education in 2002 were 77.36% males and only 22.64% female. (Ministry of National Education, 2005). These biased learning materials will hinder the achievement of gender equality and equity. Fourthly, the gender biases of educational decision making were the consequence of factors such as the under representation of women in strategic educational management (structural and functional positions) and the educational administrator and manager did not have awareness on gender equity and equality (Ministry of National Education, 2005). Finally, gender segregation was clear in the streaming programs in general secondary schools, vocational schools and universities. In the senior vocational

schools 2002-2003 for example, the most striking gender gap was the technology and industry schools consisting of 99% males and 1% of females. It was contrary to the tourism schools where only 6% were male and 94% were female enrolling at these vocational schools (Ministry of National Education, 2005).

The issues of gender bias textbooks were discussed in my interviews with three leaders of the women's studies centres in Makassar, the Coordinator of Gender Mainstreaming in the Ministry of National Education, and the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment for Gender Mainstreaming. The head of women's studies centre of Hasanuddin University Makassar, Farida Nurland, who was also a member of the expert team of the Department of National Education affirmed that gender bias in textbooks can also be seen in terms of authors. She stated that almost all authors are males. Nurland further illustrated that one of the research projects in Java discovered most of the primary school textbooks authors were males (Interview, Farida Nurland, the Head of Women's Studies Centres of Hasanuddin University, December 14, 2005).

The following chapter also shows that from 21 textbooks I analyzed, all of them were written by males. As the authors are male, the male mindset or male bias predominated in the textbooks (Interview, Betty Sinaga, an official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006). According to Sinaga the contents and illustrations of textbooks were based on male perspectives because the authors were

males. She asserted that the textbook contents and illustrations were gender biased as she observed: "If we consider the [text books] from the perspective of their content and their illustrations, indeed they have a gender bias" (Interview, Betty Sinaga, an official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006). By gender bias she meant both male predominant depiction and also stereotyped gender roles. She gave example of male predominance in the history books and stereotyped roles in mathematics textbooks. She exemplified gender stereotyped texts in mathematic books such as, a man borrowed millions from a bank, and a woman borrowed thousands from the grocery shop (Interview, Betty Sinaga, an official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006). This text is gender stereotyped since the text indicated a man is responsible for the big amounts of money which has implication of men in productive roles while a woman borrowing money in the grocery shop indicated women's domestic roles (Interview, Farida Nurland, the Head of WSC, December 14, 2005).

This gender stereotyping in textbooks was acknowledged by the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment for gender mainstreaming, Soeryadi Soeparman, the Head of Women's Studies Centre of State Islamic University, Nurnaningsih, and the Secretary of Women's Studies Centre of State University Makassar, Asia Muhammadiyah. Suparman argued that gender stereotyping in textbooks can be seen in text illustrations where men are depicted in the public sphere and women in domestic sphere: He generalized that a text says a father goes to his office and a

mother goes to the market and cooks in the kitchen (Interviews, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005).

Nurnaningsih also gave examples of history books as being gender biased where they only recorded the male heroes in struggling for the Indonesian Independence, such as Pattimura and Diponegoro. She assumes, it was possible there were a lot of females involved in wars but they were not recorded in history and there were also many female national heroes recognized by the state, but not used in text books (Interview, Nurnaningsih, The Head of Women's Studies Centre of IAIN Alauddin Makassar, 24 October 2005).

Furthermore, Asia Muhammadiyah, the Secretary of Women's Studies Centre of the State University of Makassar asserted that the local language textbooks were gender stereotyped. She said: "The local language textbooks were obviously gender stereotyped" (Interview, Asia Muhammadiyah, the Secretary of Women's Studies Centre of the State University of Makassar, December 15, 2005). The research conducted by the Women's Studies Centres of Makassar State University in 2004 when Asia Muhammadiyah herself was involved, described gender stereotyping in local language textbooks in terms of longer lists of men's role than women's and stereotyped list of gender roles (Pandang et al., 2004). My analysis of textbooks in chapter 6 broadly confirms these findings of stereotyped representations prior to the implementation of gender mainstreaming.

The following section discuses gender mainstreaming in the national education system by describing the implementation in the Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Religion, and Muhammadiyah and As'adiyah educational institutions.

E. Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Education in the Ministry of National Education

According to Soeparman and Nurland, the Department of National Education of Indonesia has already adopted the policy of gender mainstreaming when the government has adopted the Education for All (EFA) in its national education program. They argued that EFA has clear goals of gender equality. For example, the goal of EFA No. 5 is "eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality" (UNESCO, 2008, p. 19). The Indonesian government adopted EFA by implementing the compulsory nine-year basic education for children aged 7-15 years old and early childhood care and education.[3] The implementation of gender mainstreaming in national education could be seen in several points. Firstly, the Department of National Education started to undertake research on educational policy by commissioning the Women's Studies Centres of Universities all over the country. In 2002, they started to conduct research in eight provinces. In the following

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[3] (interviews, Surjadi Soeparman, the Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment, October 9, 2005 and Farida Nurland, the Head of WSC, December 14, 2005)

year, the number of provinces increased to 15. Three years later, in early 2006, the number reached 25 provinces (Interview, Betty Sinaga, an official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006).

The research project on gender in education in South Sulawesi in 2003 found that many teachers misunderstood gender as a concept, teachers treated boys differently from girls and most of them did not recognize gender bias in the learning process and teaching materials. Moreover, the school principals did not really understand about gender policy (Pandang, Arismunandar & Sunarty, 2003). In 2004 the research project focused on the profile of gender perspectives and factors of gender discrepancies in education in South Sulawesi. This study found boys had lower performance than girls in terms of the ratio of school enrolment, graduation, class repetition, and drop out. This case of South Sulawesi case was different from other provinces. Factors were identified were the bad environment (electronic game and drug) and economic condition of the family required boys to help parents to earn. The research also found that the local textbooks, local language in particular, depicted a lot of gender bias that sustained gender stereotypes. Furthermore, it was found the males were predominant in educational management at the Office of Department Education both in the District and Provincial Offices; as well most of the school principals were males (Pandang et al., 2004).

The local research in South Sulawesi produced similar results as the national study compiled by the Ministry of National Education as a position paper of gender mainstreaming in education. The Ministry of National Education highlighted the inequality of boys' and girls' school participation, gender stereotyping of streaming programs and vocational schools, gender biased learning materials, mostly male textbook writers, a majority of teachers in kindergarten and primary levels were females, while males dominated in high schools and other higher levels as well as in educational management (Ministry of National Education, 2005).

The policy implications of the research suggested the need to overcome the existing gender disparities in the education sector comprising equality and equity; quality and relevance; and educational management. The equality and equity were related to a need to increase the school participation which varied among provinces and districts and urban and rural areas. The quality and relevance were related to the need to revise comprehensively the gender stereotyped school textbooks. Educational management was related to the need to formulate and establish gender perspective policies and regulations as well as to build the capacity of institutions to be aware of gender perspectives (Ministry of National Education, 2005).

Having done the research, the Department of National Education published the guidelines for gender responsive textbook writing to the publishers[4]. As Nurland noted, "Now there is a policy in the Department of National Education, a reference book and guidelines for the [text book] publishers so that the competency based curriculum is also responsive to gender and the textbook revision has been facilitated by the Women's Studies Centres of State University of Jakarta (Interview, Farida Nurland, the Head of Women's Studies Centres of Hasanuddin University, December 14, 2005).

In addition, the Department of National Education commissioned the Women's Studies Centres to conduct gender equality briefing for the IKAPI (Association of Indonesian Publishers) including writers and illustrators, both at the national and regional level[5]. Furthermore, women activists have conducted gender briefings for teachers: from kindergarten to high schools. The aim of the briefing was to raise the awareness of the teachers to teach gender fairness material[6]. Besides, they also undertook briefing on gender for the decision makers and stakeholders in the school levels including school principals, school supervisors, and school committees

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[4] interviews,. Farida Nurland, the Head of Women's Studies Centres of Hasanuddin University, December 14, 2005 and Betty Sinaga, the Official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006).

[5] (interview, Asia Muhammadiyah, the Secretary of Women's Studies Centre of the State University of Makassar, December 15, 2005 and Betty Sinaga, the Official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006)

[6] (interviews, Farida Nurland, the Head of Women's Studies Centres of Hasanuddin University, December 14, 2005, Asia Muhammadiyah, the Secretary of Women's Studies Centre of the State University of Makassar, December 15, 2005 and Betty Sinaga, the Officer of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006)

(Interview, Farida Nurland, the Head of Women's Studies Centres of Hasanuddin University, December 14, 2005).

Another program of gender mainstreaming in education was a campaign for gender equality and equity through television. The aim of this program according to Sinaga was to raise awareness of the teachers about gender fairness. As she said:

> We hope teachers' perception will change through our television campaign; that there is a way of teaching children. Although the teaching material only illustrates a male president, a teacher can explain that we just had a female president. A president can be a male or a female and students will appreciate that both males and females can aspire to any profession (Interview, Betty Sinaga, an official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006).

A further program of gender mainstreaming in education was raising gender awareness for families[7]. This program started in 2003 when the Department of National Education employed 30 Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) in 15 provinces in Indonesia. This program is conducted every year.

All of these training programs and briefing sessions did not involve the teachers of Islamic schools. In Islamic education, according to Soeparman, gender mainstreaming has been done as well, but it did not run as smooth as in the Department of National Education. According to him, there were internal impediments that needed to be addressed. He thought it was probably because of gender stereotypes in the interpretations of Islamic teaching:

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[7] (interview, Farida Nurland, the Head of Women's Studies Centres of Hasanuddin University, December 14, 2005 and Betty Sinaga, the Officer of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006)

…in religious education, gender mainstreaming was also implemented, but it was not so smooth as with the Department of National Education probably because of gender biased in interpreting religious teaching. This possibly means that integrating gender into the programs of the Ministry of Religion need to be improved that is because the existence of internal obstacles – there is still a battle (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, an official of Ministry of Women's Empowerment October 9, 2005).

This statement of Soeparman, as the Coordinator of gender mainstreaming policy in Indonesia, indicated that he was aware of that gender mainstreaming policy was still a matter of debate in the Ministry of Religion and its implementation was an issue. This could also be seen in the debate on the Bill of Islamic Law promoted by the gender mainstreaming team in the Ministry of Religion in 2004 (Chamzawi, 2005). The bill was cancelled by the Minister without further discussion as it was assumed to be in conflict with Islamic teaching. Soeparman observed "…that there was still a battle…" (Interview, Surjadi Soeparman, an official of Ministry of Women's Empowerment October 9, 2005). This implies that there needs to be a change in the mindset of the officials in the Ministry of Religion in order that they have a clear understanding of the goals of the government's policy. Surjadi Soeparman's observation is consistent with a Jakarta Post article, "Fighting gender bias in Islam", that discussed the efforts of a handful of women and men who fight gender bias in Islam such as Musda Mulia, Sinta Nuriyah and Qomaruddin Hidayat (The Jakarta Post, 2000b).

Betty Sinaga emphasized the limitation of the Ministry of National Education to undertake gender training for all schools all over Indonesia. Ministry of National

Education had a limited capacity to train all its teachers (Interview, Betty Sinaga, an official of the Ministry of National Education, January 2, 2006). Hence, it was understandable, if the training had not yet been provided to all teachers, including the teachers in Islamic schools.

The Ministry of National Education has shown its commitment to implement gender mainstreaming in the education sector. The Indonesian government has adopted Education for All which has clear goals of gender equality. The Ministry also commissioned the women's studies centres of universities to conduct research study on educational policy around the country. The finding and the recommendations of the studies were incorporated in the Ministry's position papers on gender mainstreaming in education. Then the Ministry used these papers as the basis to do capacity building for the decision makers and to conduct gender training programs in the schools and with the textbooks publishers, writers and teachers.

F. Gender Mainstreaming in the Department of Religion

The State Islamic Schools were still part of a top down administrative system where the curricula were set by the Ministry of Religion in Jakarta, four year after the regional autonomy law began to be implemented. At the national level, the Department of Religion determines the school curricula then it was distributed to the provincial and regional levels. The Director of Curriculum Administration of Madrasah and Pendidikan Dasar in Ministry of Religion, Dr Subaidi, claimed that the

school curricula were gender neutral since they only contained the basic competency that should be achieved. The texts of the curricula only contain the general statements. Dr Subaedi explained:

> We at the national level of government, with respect to curriculum, we only make decisions about standards and competencies in the curriculum without any gender specific classifications of what is for males and what is for females. The national policy is general and does not go into that sort of detail. I think the curriculum is neutral. For me, there were no problems. It means the curriculum was not prepared to be either male or female oriented. (Interview, Zubaidi, an official of the Ministry of Religion, September 5, 2005).

Subaedi's opinion was consistent with the curriculum document. In this document, all statements concerning students were gender neutral. The documents only use the words *peserta didik* for students without specifically mentioning boys and girls or males and females For example, the Curriculum of Arabic 2004 stated: "…the basic competency for Arabic language is the competency that students should have after learning Arabic" (Department of Religion Republic of Indonesia, 2004, p. 2). One of the basic competencies in learning Arabic is stated that: "…the students are able to understand short and simple speaking texts, descriptions and narratives." (Department of Religion Republic of Indonesia, 2004, p. 4) The statement of *peserta didik* (students) used in this curriculum document indicated that the National Government's curriculum documents are framed in gender-neutral language.

Concerning school textbooks, Dr Subaedi said that the Department of Religion did no longer provide textbooks for schools for the last two to three years. The schools developed their own curricula (Interview, Zubaidi, an official of the Ministry of

Religion, September 5, 2005). The Head of Curriculum Section of Madrasah and Pendidikan Islam Department of Religion South Sulawesi, Hamriah, the school principals and school teachers as well as my field notes about the different and similarity of textbooks used by the three schools in this research confirmed that textbooks decisions were made at the school level. For example, Hamriah said "…nowadays, there are no 'sacred' textbooks that formerly we called "packaged" books. Now the curriculum only establishes the basic competencies. The details will be developed in each school." (Interview, Hamriah, Provincial Official of the Ministry of Religion, October 5, 2005).

Hamriah said that textbook decisions were made at the school level, so school principal and teachers were responsible for the textbook selection (Interview, Hamriah, Provincial Official of the Ministry of Religion, October 5, 2005). This implied that the gender ideology of school principals and teachers would have a profound impact on textbook selection and teaching. As a consequence the principals and teachers needed to have gender awareness in order to be able to identify gender equality in textbooks.

Hamriah also revealed that her office tried to implement gender mainstreaming policy for school teachers and principals by integrating gender perspectives into the existing training conducted by the Provincial Office of the Ministry of Religion. For example, she included the awareness of stereotyped gender role depiction in

textbooks. She also encouraged the training participants to challenge the stereotyped gender roles depicted in textbooks. As she said:

> Yes indeed, for example, I have talked in a number of forums…what if Mina (a female) went to the rice fields, while Ali (a male) cooked in the kitchen, we pose the opposite roles in order that the social perceptions about gender roles would change. Ali could cook and a female could go to the rice fields.(Interview, Hamriah, South Sulawesi Provincial Official of the Ministry of Religion, October 5, 2005,).

Hamriah's argument about the implementation of gender training was reinforced by the Head of Madrasah and Pendidikan Islam Department of Religion of Bone District when he admitted that he often heard the term gender in various events such as teacher training (Interview, Syarifuddin Husain, Bone District official of Ministry of Religion, November 21, 2005). Though, the provincial office has conducted gender training on many occasions, it did not mean that gender stereotyped values of the people under her management will change a hundred percent instantly. Hamriah acknowledged the traditional values and beliefs of eastern people, especially the Bugis are the barrier. As she observed:

> Yes it has. In my opinion gender segregation in South Sulawesi is not as strict as it was; it's still present, because it will not suddenly disappear. We are Eastern people, what is more Buginese. We have cultural values which are impossible to change in a short time. I think the cultural values have changed gradually.. (Interview, Hamriah, October 5, 2005, South Sulawesi Provincial Office of the Ministry of Religion).

The official of Department of Religion of Bone District had a clear ambivalent attitude toward gender mainstreaming policy when he admitted that he did not fully accept it. He could accept gender equality as long as it did not contradict with

qodrat/fitrah (nature). The *qodrat* he meant was the biological nature of women and the appropriate professions and activities for them as he argued that "The nature of a woman means she does the jobs suited to her physical characteristics such as housewife and teacher. However, I do not agree if a woman behaves not according to her physical nature such as boxing, playing volley ball or football." (Interview, Syarifuddin Husain, Bone District official of Ministry of Religion, November 21, 2005). In this case, he himself stereotyped the roles and activities of women based on biological criteria. He also knew about the content of the gender briefings for teachers, but he disagreed with the approach and argued that the training had little impact: "I see there has long been a sort of balance, if, coincidentally, it is illustrated that a father goes to work and a mother is in the kitchen this means that there is a balance of roles. Gender [activists] want this to be changed so that both mother and father go to work and that social values are changed also. However, I do not see that this approach has had much influence." (Interview, Syarifuddin Husain, Bone District official of Ministry of Religion, November 21, 2005). This government official seemed to understand the objective of the policy. Nevertheless, he did not fully agree and went on to explain further: "Until now, I do not have a plan to implement the gender mainstreaming policy, because of the role of gender here, for me it is still 50-50" (Interview, Syarifuddin Husain, Bone District official of Ministry of Religion, November 21, 2005).

The ambivalent opinions of this District government official on gender mainstreaming indicated he did not accept the shift of stereotyped to neutral gender roles even though he understood the term. His attitude was fixed with what Hamriah argued that some people misinterpreted the Islamic teaching on gender mainstreaming since many people claimed that gender movement means women intention to take the men's right (Interview, Hamriah, Provincial Official of the Ministry of Religion, October 5, 2005). That was because people misunderstood. In 2005, Hamriah was committed to socialize the correct interpretation about gender and she believed that gender equality is not in conflict with the Islamic teaching. She argued:

> There was no contradiction with Islam, however, people often misinterpreted the gender mainstreaming policy because many men still perceived that [the objective] was that women wanted to assume men's rights. In fact, it was not like that, but many men still thought like that. It was as if by gender equality women wanted to rob men's right. Because of that misunderstanding, people need to be enlightened on gender equality (Interview, Hamriah, Provincial Official of the Ministry of Religion October 5, 2005).

As the "focal point" in her office of Department of Religion in the Provincial Office, Hamriah understood if many people misunderstood gender mainstreaming since her office had just started building the capacity of the officials in 2005. It began with integrating gender into training and workshops for the Head Section of *Madrasah* and *Pendidikan Islam* of Department of Religion in District Offices, school principals and teachers. She expected in the future year the officials of Department of Religion of South Sulawesi including school principals and teachers would have

better understanding of gender (Interview, Hamriah, Provincial Official of the Ministry of Religion, October 5, 2005).

In brief, the Islamic school curriculum document made by the Ministry of Religion published in 2004 did not show any gender stereotyping since the document only uses gender-neutral language without specifically stating males and females. Gender inequality is available in the forms of texts and illustrations. However, that is not the responsibility of the curriculum decision makers. The textbooks selection was the responsibility of school principals and teachers. The provincial offices of the Department of Religion tried to implement the policy of gender mainstreaming by integrating gender awareness in the offices' other programs. This statement was reinforced by the Head of Madrasah and Pendidikan Islam Department of Religion of Bone District. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of the training was limited as people's values were slow to change as evidenced by the ambivalent attitude of the District Officials toward gender equality.

G. Gender Mainstreaming in Muhammadiyah

Like the State Islamic schools, the Muhammadiyah schools are also part of the top down administrative system centralized in Jakarta. It also has offices in the provincial and district levels. In the national level, the Head of Basic and Secondary Education Council of Muhammadiyah Centre, Yunan Yusuf, admitted that he was often involved in the discussion of gender, even though he did not remember exactly the time and place. He remembered one topic of discussion was about how gender

issues could be integrated into religious teaching and how to increase the number of female preachers. He was impressed with the discussion. He also claimed that the Gender Mainstreaming policy had been implemented in his office for a long time. He related:

> Yes, we introduced it long time ago in Muhammadiyah Schools, eh it started by making the policy for this gender mainstreaming such as urging our female school principals to develop their skills, by giving them education and training so that their competencies could compete with those of our male school principals (Interview, Yunan Yusuf, the Head of Muhammadiyah Council for the Basic and Secondary, September 9, 2005).

Ambo Asse, the Head of Basic and Secondary Education Council of Muhammadiyah South Sulawesi and Darwis Muhdina, the Head of Basic and Secondary Education Council of Muhammadiyah Makassar City admitted that they had never had a gender briefing in their office. However, they had attended seminars and presentations on gender equality in the university where they work. Although both of them attended seminars, these two senior officials in the Muhammadiyah did not have the same impressions about gender. One of them recognized that he was still unclear about gender terms. This indicated that he had attended the seminar, but he had not engaged with the issues. The other one seemed to understand well and agreed with the concept of gender equality, but there was a qualification:

> My impression was good in that we could understand those concepts, what was more as preachers, we should understand gender terms, and at least we should not misunderstand the ideas. Since many people assumed that gender means equality or equity, but it did not mean that. The gender activists only wanted women to be the same opportunities for advancement as men, that is was I understand (Interview, Darwis Muhdina, the Head of Madrasah and Basic Education in District Office, October 29, 2005).

These views suggest that while he engaged with the discussion, this did not mean full support or understanding with gender equality, yet he agreed women should have equality of opportunity. He still put the requirement for a woman not to forget her primary duty as a housewife if she worked in public. There are certain matters on which we have to agree, so that we can progress together, for example, "we have to be firm that housewives continue to perform their responsibilities" (Interview, Darwis Muhdina, the Head of Madrasah and Basic Education in District Office, October 29, 2005).

In terms of gender equality in textbooks, Yusuf also realized the need to change gender role depiction in order to have equal gender representation as he said:

> In my opinion, there needs to be more improvement [in textbooks], because they are related to language expression. For example, depictions always give priority for the father and put the mother in the second position as well as priorities boys over girls. Hence, I think that this paradigm should be changed so that there is a balance and equity in our textbooks in the future (Interview, Yunan Yusuf, the Head of Muhammadiyah Council for the Basic and Secondary Education, September 9, 2005).

According to Yusuf, the textbooks should be re-written by writers who have an understanding of gender issues and gender mainstreaming (Interview, Yunan Yusuf, the Head of Muhammadiyah Council for the Basic and Secondary Education, September 9, 2005). Yusuf's office has begun to brief the school principals and provide gender training programs for writers and teachers. The program aimed for textbooks writers to write gender fairness in textbooks.

Muhammadiyah primary schools in South Sulawesi implemented the policy of gender mainstreaming as the Muhammadiyah Office accepted the government policy even though they have their own policy. The Head of Basic and Secondary Education council of Muhammadiyah South Sulawesi explained this with a touch of ambiguity.

> The Muhammadiyah Office in South Sulawesi as well as in its schools has never made gender an issue. Gender is not an issue, which means that government policies are implemented because Muhammadiyah schools also have their own policy that enriches government policies so that our schools do not question gender issues. (Interview, Ambo Asse, the Head of Basic and Secondary Education council of Muhammadiyah South Sulawesi, October 6, 2005).

His understanding about gender was limited only to participation of males and females in schools as students, teachers and principals. Muhammadiyah schools especially the primary school did not segregate boys and girls. The schools were co-educational. Also, the teachers and the school principals in primary schools were mainly females. As this senior Muhammadiyah official asserted: "we never considered gender as an issue." (Interview, Ambo Asse, the Head of Basic and Secondary Education council of Muhammadiyah South Sulawesi, October 6, 2005).

So Muhammadiyah schools would follow the policy if the government policy reached the Muhammadiyah schools. However, the Head of Basic and Secondary Council in South Sulawesi admitted that he had never attended a briefing concerning gender mainstreaming in education. He only attended seminars in his capacity as a

university academic, which might help explain why he did not understand well the concept of gender mainstreaming in education.

In brief, the notion of gender was not new for the Council of Basic and Secondary Education in the Muhammadiyah from National to District Offices. All of the councils had been involved in seminars on gender both for academic and for the Muslim preachers, although they had different understandings of the policies. The council in the National Office was aware of gender issues such the issues of women advancement and gender bias in textbooks. These issues according to Yunan Yusuf, the Head of the Muhammadiyah Council for Primary and Secondary Education, has been addressed in his office by briefing the school principals on gender equality and making program of gender training for textbooks writers and teachers (Interview, Yunan Yusuf, the Head of Muhammadiyah Council for the Basic and Secondary Education, September 9, 2005). The Council in the Provincial Office had unclear idea about gender. Yet the office was committed to implement gender mainstreaming if it is the government's policy (Interview, Ambo Asse, the Head of Basic and Secondary Education Council of Muhammadiyah South Sulawesi, October 6, 2005). The Head of the Council in the District Office had a good impression of women's advancement. Yet, he put the condition as long as women did not forget their primary duty as housewives (Interview, Darwis Muhdina, the Head of Madrasah and Basic Education in District Office, October 29, 2005).

H. Gender Mainstreaming in As'adiyah Institution

As'adiyah schools are run independently by the *Assadiyah* Institution. The Institution of *As'adiyah* is discussed on page 57. The institution is located in a district capital in South Sulawesi. As'adiyah is organized in a similar way to Muhammadiyah. It has a General Leader and Head of Councils. The Head Office is based in the district of Wajo, South Sulawesi and has about 200 active branches all over Indonesia (Interview, HM Rafii Yunus, the General leader of As'adiyah, December 15, 2005). Having interviewed HM Rafii Yunus, the General Leader of As'adiyah, and the Head of Education Council for Preschool and Primary School in Sengkang, Wajo in 2005, I found that the Institute was not unfamiliar with gender issues. The institute had collaborated with a National NGO, Rahima and Puan Amal Hayati, both of them concerned about women's empowerment and gender issues in Islam. As H M Rafii Yunus said "Here, we collaborated with an NGO called Rahima …. Ah, we have collaboration with Rahima to educate people about what is called gender" (Interview, HM Rafii Yunus, the General leader of As'adiyah, December 15, 2005).

Rahima is the Centre for Education and Information on Islam and Women's Rights Issues and focuses on the empowerment of women, particularly in Islamic boarding schools (Rahima, 2007). The As'adiyah staff including the Head of Preschool and Primary Education Council, school principal and teachers had attended training, discussion and workshops conducted by Rahima and PUAN Amal Hayati Foundation in Jakarta. The participation of As'adiyah staff in those activities of

Rahima and Puan Amal Hayati would enable them to be aware of gender issues in their own institutions and to educate people to be aware of gender issues to eliminate it in the community. However, in practice, I did not find such programs in As'adiyah schools. The Head of Preschool and Primary Education Council admitted that he only disseminated information about gender issues in preaching to the community. In school, in particular, there was no such program. The reason was that he attended the gender training program in his capacity representing the Muslim scholars of Wajo District, not in his capacity as Head of the Education Council of As'adiyah's institution (Interview, Muhammad Harta, the Head of Preschool and Primary Education Council of As'adiyah, November 30, 2005).

In summary, the officials in A'sadiyah were familiar with gender issues. They have collaborated with NGOs that are concerned about gender issues. The officials and the teachers had been sent for training. However, the office has not done anything on gender mainstreaming in education.

I. Conclusion

The implementation of gender mainstreaming in education was greater in the upper levels than at the lower levels of administration. At the national level of administration, the implementation was extensive and systematic. At the provincial level, the administrators had undertaken capacity building training for the district administrators and the school principals, but the district administrators had limited commitment as they still had ambivalent attitudes toward gender equality. The

ambiguity is reflected in the statements of the District officials of the Department of Religion and the District officials of Muhammadiyah and As'adiyah. The District officials of the Department of Religion and the district officials of Muhammadiyah accepted women's advancement provided that a woman did not forget her primary duty as a mother and a housewife. In the case of an As'adiyah official, he admitted that he had attended an NGO's gender training program, but he had not implemented the programs in the schools under his management.

Chapter 6

Gender Role Depiction in Islamic Primary School

Textbooks

A. Introduction

This chapter examines the influence of gender mainstreaming policy on the textbooks used in Indonesian education. Several research questions were posed: Did the policy influence the gender values of the textbooks published after 2004 for all the subject areas? Was any change in gender values reflected in the textbooks for all classes? Can the policy's influence be detected in gender role depiction in the textbooks published locally for the local market and for those published nationally for the national market? Did local values and practices reflect a more patriarchal ideology than the national one? Would the local publications for the local market be more strongly influenced by local gender ideology than the national publication for the national market? Did any changes in gender role depiction in textbooks influence all schools?

The textbooks used by the three schools studies in this research were identified, however not all were analyzed. As detailed in chapter 3, I developed a set of criteria to select the textbooks for the study and discussed the framework of analysis use to examine the gender depictions in the textbooks.

B. Gender Depiction in each Discipline

The textbooks were classified into four broad disciplines: Islamic studies, local languages, national language and Social Sciences. As noted earlier, the reasons for choosing these four discipline areas were the content more explicitly reflects the cultural, gender norms, values and practices of the society.

Islamic Studies

In the discipline of Islamic studies seven textbooks were analyzed (see the list in the Appendix 2). In these Islamic Studies textbooks, males and females were visible, yet the depictions were male dominated. These findings were similar with those of Deliyanni-kouimtzi (1992), Abraham (1989), Logsdon (1985), and Spender (1982). Also, these textbooks illustrated obvious gender role stereotypes for both males and females in the family, in the community and in the professions. For example, a mother was depicted as being responsible for cooking (Rasyid, 2002a:19; Rasyid, 2002b: 29-31) and a father or a man was depicted in more powerful and a wider range of professions such a leader and a principal. This finding is congruent with Litosseliti's argument that the male characters tended to have more powerful and varied occupational roles.

However, a progressive depiction of gender representations and roles was also evident, for example, the illustration in Figure 3, Source: Maksum, (2004a, p. 10). In this picture there are an equal number of girls and boys, but there was still gender segregation since the girls are sitting in front and boys at the back. However, this

arrangement in the classroom is progressive since traditionally boys were privileged by sitting at the front of the classroom.
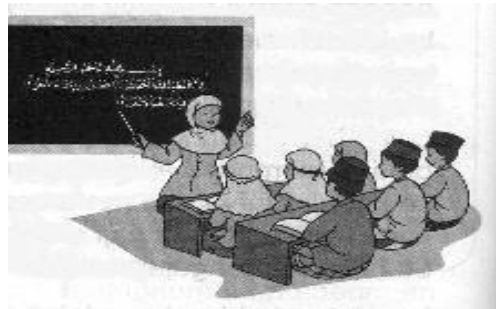
Figure 3: Equal but segregated gender representation. Source: Maksum, (2004a, p. 10).

Progressive representations were more evident in the lower grade and the newer textbook publications. The textbook for grade one, written by Rasyid and Alfat (2002a), includes several images with equal numbers of males and females depicted in the same role (see p. 4, 6, 34-37, 48). The text also showed a non-stereotype depiction of a husband and his wife preparing food for their friend (see p. 48). The textbooks for grade three written by the same author and published in the same year showed several images with equal gender representation, yet there were also a lot of stereotyped depictions. The textbooks for grade six, also written by the same author and published in the same year, showed gender role stereotypes and unequal gender representation, yet the textbooks used a lot of gender neutral words such as Muslim, president, and sibling.

The most recently published textbook, written by Maksum (2004c) for grade six included several depictions showing equal gender roles and representation (see the cover, pp 1, 26, 29 and 42). This textbook also promoted a girl as a model of good behavior (see p. 8). Since there were some progressive gender role depictions and the number of female representations improved in the textbooks published in 2004, one can contend that the policy of gender mainstreaming in education implemented by the Ministry of National Education started 2002 has influenced gender roles depiction and representation in textbooks.

Local Languages: Buginese and Makassarese

I analyzed eight local language textbooks used by the three primary schools in South Sulawesi. All of them were published long before the introduction of the Gender Mainstreaming policy, but were still in use during this research (see Appendix 2). Depictions of women alone were invisible in the majority of these local language textbooks, but men alone were visible as can be seen in Figure 4, Source: Pannamo (1995a, p. 1). Women were visible only when they were depicted with men. This is related to the patriarchal cultural values of Bugis Makassar call *Siri* and also the concept of *muhrim* in Islamic teaching. Because a woman is a symbol of family *siri* (dignity), a woman has to be kept in the domestic domain. A woman can go into the public only if she is accompanied by her *muhrim* or male family member. According to *siri*, men are responsible for the wellbeing of the female family members. Since men were depicted alone but not women, most of the texts were male predominant.

Besides, stereotyped gender roles for males and females were evident in textbooks in terms of jobs, type of jobs, language, position and access to education. The textbooks illustrated men in various productive jobs, such as farmers, gardeners and fishermen while women did a range of reproductive jobs, such as cooking, shopping and processing produce. Equal gender representation was rarely found, yet there was a lot of gender-neutral language. This gender-neutral language predominated in one textbook.

Figure 4: A male figure dominated most of the space of local language textbooks. Source: Pannamo (1995a, p. 1)

Looking at gender role depictions in the local language textbooks, women alone were invisible. The illustrations of the textbooks were male predominant and gender stereotyped. It would appear that the government's gender mainstreaming policy has had little influence on local language texts. The local language textbooks have not been changed to be more equal in their gender representation or more progressive in their depiction of gender roles. The schools continued to use the old publication

even though their gender depiction differed from those in textbooks published in 2004. For example, the textbooks written by Pannamo in 1995 and 2004 were almost the same. There was no improvement to the gender representations and roles in the textbook. The changes were only in the structure of the textbook and some additional words in Indonesian were included.

As noted above, all the local language textbooks were local publications. Since the local languages textbooks used by schools in the study were published before 2004, it was not surprising that the local cultural values were represented in these textbooks. However it would seem that the policy of gender mainstreaming, and gender-neutral textbooks in particular, had not impacted on local publications of educational materials published in 2004. Local writers had not adopted the policy nor been encouraged by local schools or local education authorities.

National Language

The national language textbooks selected were *Aku Cinta Bahasa Indonesia* (I love the Indonesian language) 1, 3, and 6. Males and females were shown on their own and with each other, but more males than females were depicted (either alone or with women) in these textbooks. In all three textbooks, males alone were depicted more frequently than the depiction of females alone. The ratio of females to males in these textbooks varied from one female to ten males (1:10) to one female to two males (1:2). This finding was consistent with Logsdon (1985). When males and females were depicted together, females were still underrepresented, that is two or three, even

four males to one female was represented in any one image. Furthermore, gender stereotyping was evident in three textbooks in terms of the occupations of men and women as well as the type of work and play for boys and girls. For example, Figure 5: the boy is reading and the girl is sweeping the floor. Source: Surana (1994, p. 43).

Figure 5: Different activities of a girl and a boy. Source: Surana (2004a, p. 43)

However, progressive representations in terms of balance in gender representation and non-stereotyped roles were more apparent than those in the textbooks for local language and Islamic studies published before 2004. The textbooks for this subject depicted more females in a non-stereotypical way. For example, a female student acted as a leader at a raising flag ceremony for the National Youth Anniversary. The texts also included many females as central characters of several stories. For example, one textbook narrated a story about Asnah (a girl) and Mrs. Citra (a rich woman) who helped the evacuation of a village community during a flood disaster. Another story where a female was the central character was a story about a girl who did not obey her mother's advice to have clean and neat personal belongings including books. A further example was a non-stereotyped depiction of a boy

watering the flowers, which is usually understood as a girl's job. According to this analysis of textbooks, the policy of gender mainstreaming has exerted some influence on gender representation in the textbooks for Indonesia's national language, though they remain male dominated.

Social Science

Three textbooks for social science were selected. Each textbook was written by a different author (see Appendix). In these three textbooks, males and females were visible on their own and together except in the text for grade six, where no females were shown alone. In the Social Science textbook for grade one, more females than males were depicted on their own, which was not the case with the textbooks for the other grades, in which males were predominant. Female predominance in the early grades indicates that these texts promoted the role of girls and women.

The social science textbooks recorded the highest frequency for depictions of males and females together when compared with the textbooks of other subjects. Males and females were mostly depicted in balanced gender representation that was contrary to what Logsdon (1985) previously discovered. Besides, these texts recognized the diverse roles of women in Indonesian society today in both the narrations and illustrations. For example, one text included the following statement:

> Today Indonesian women have developed. Many women become engineers, doctors, judges, teachers, and so forth. What is more, many of them become members of the Indonesian National Army and Indonesian Police Force. Obviously, Kartini's dreams have become a reality (Said, 2004: 19, translated by author).

The texts also depicted the participation of girls' and boys' traditional play such as Figure 6, Source: Adisukarjo et al., (2004, p. 28) which shows an image of three boys and two girls who are going to play kites in Adisukarjo et al. (2004), as well as boys doing domestic work such as cleaning the house narrated by Said (2004) and a boy making up his bed portrayed by Sartono, Enco and Suharsanto (2002).

Figure 6: Boys and girls are playing with kites. Source: Adisukarjo et al., (2004, p. 28)

However, gender role depictions in the social science textbooks were still rich with gender role stereotypes that were similar to the findings of Muttaliin (2001), Parker (1997) and Logsdon (1985). There were gender divisions of labor in households, different type of jobs for different genders, different toys for boys and girls and a gender division of labor in the community. In brief, these textbooks were more progressive than other subjects in terms of visibility and balanced gender

representation. Yet, gender stereotypes were still evident. Hence, the policy has had some limited impact.

C. Year of Publication: before and after 2004

There were 13 textbooks published before 2004 and eight published in 2004. All local language texts and some Islamic studies texts were old publications. In the textbooks published before 2004 males were predominant in all cases. Furthermore, in seven out of 12 textbooks published before 2004, females were invisible except when with men. The invisibility of women in the old textbook publications reflected the traditional cultural values adopted by the writers. In addition, stereotyped gender roles were evident which were consistent with the finding of Muttaliin (2001), Parker (1997), Logsdon (1985) and Spender (1982). In spite of that, some equal representation and non-traditional jobs were evident.

The majority of books published in 2004 were still male predominant with stereotyped gender roles and representation. Nevertheless, there were improvements in the depiction and representation of gender roles. In the new publications, females could be found in non-stereotype gender role representations that were difficult to find in the textbooks published before 2004. Furthermore, the majority of these textbooks depicted women as visible on their own which was not the case with the depictions before 2004. The visibility of female representation in textbooks could also be seen by the increase in the depiction of males and females together.

Moreover, progressive gender roles and representations in the books published for the curriculum in 2004 were more frequent. There was a wider range of progressive gender representations and roles than those in the earlier publications. The current Islamic Studies textbook for grade one depicted equal representation on several pages (cover, p. 6, 10, 11, 12, 23, 25, 29, 45, 47, 53, 56, and 60) and the previous textbook only allocated a few pages for this type of representation. The promotion of girls and women in a variety of roles did not appear in the books published before 2004, but they were evident in the new publications.

D. Grade Level Comparisons

Of 21 textbooks analyzed, six of them were from grade one, seven from grade three and eight textbooks were from grade six. Gender role depictions in the lower grades were more equitable in terms of the visibility of females. In grade one, five out of the six textbooks depicted visibly females by themselves. In grade three, females by themselves were visible in three out of seven textbooks while in grade six females alone were visible in two out of eight textbooks. The disappearance of females in the textbooks of later grade levels is evidence of continuing gender bias. The traditional culture and Islamic practice of segregating the sexes at puberty is still influencing the writers of the textbooks.

The lower grade was also more progressive in terms of fewer stereotyped roles for males and females and higher frequency in equal gender representation. For example,

gender role depiction in the textbook for *Aqidah Ahlaq* (Islamic studies) published in 2002 revealed that the grade one textbook included one gender stereotype (p. 19). The textbook for grade three devoted five sections to stereotyped males and females (pp. 29-31). The grade six assigned four sections to male and female stereotypes: A man was a leader, gentlemen, responsible, truthful and wise for his people (pp. 14-15). Also males were depicted in the front and females were at the back (pp. 30, 41) signifying the space division according to gender and the power of men.

Furthermore, the textbooks for the lower grade were more progressive in terms of equal gender representation and non-traditional gender roles. For example, in the same *Aqidah Akhlaq* textbooks published in 2002, grade one portrayed a number of equal gender representation images (pp. 4, 6, 34-37, 48) as well as male depiction in female dominated activity (p. 48). Grade three also depicted a number of equal gender representations (pp. 10, 12, 65, 76), but there was no depiction of non-stereotyped male or female roles. The textbook for grade six did not show any equal gender representations at all. Therefore, the lower grade was more progressive in depicting gender roles than the higher grades. This pattern was observed in the textbooks for other subjects in the study, including those published in 2004.

E. Place of Publication and Market

The majority of textbooks analyzed were published nationally for the national market. The only textbooks published locally were textbooks used for the local

content of the curriculum, such as the local language. These textbooks were only used locally. The textbooks published locally were male predominant. Women were mostly invisible and not depicted on their own. They were visible in the majority of books only if they were depicted with men. Men were visible with and without women. Even though the Makassarese and Buginese languages use more gender-neutral terms than the Indonesian language there was evidence of gender role stereotyping (see Figure 7. Source: Chaeran (1992c,p.18).

Figure 7: A boy is feeding a chicken. Source: Chairan (1992c, p. 18).

The majority of textbooks published by national publishers were male predominant and loaded with stereotyped gender roles. However, they visibly depict women alone and with men, and they were much more progressive than the local publications in terms of more equal gender representation and non-stereotype gender roles as shown

in Figure 6 where boys and girls are playing with kites together. Traditionally playing kites were for boys, but in this figure girls are also shown.

F. School Comparison

In this section I compare three schools according to the textbooks they used for local languages and Islamic studies to find out whether there was a difference between the schools regarding the use of more progressive texts. Social science and Indonesian language textbooks were not used for comparison because MIN, in a village of the Bone District, and SDM, in Makassar, used the same non-Islamic subject textbooks from the same authors and publishers. Their textbooks were mainly published by PT Tiga Serangkai Pustaka Mandiri in Solo, Central Java and these textbooks were not analyzed in this study. On the other hand, MIA, in a provincial town of Wajo District, used different non-Islamic subject textbooks. The majority of MIA's textbooks were published by CV Yudistira, Jakarta in 2004. Although MIA's textbooks were different from those of MIN and SDM, the content of these non-Islamic subject textbooks were not compared as the three schools used post 2004 publications. As discussed above national publications post 2004 for social science and Indonesian language were more progressive with respect to the visibility of females, balanced images of males and females and presence of some non-stereotyped roles.

The three schools used different textbooks for local language and a different selection of compulsory and supplementary textbooks for Islamic studies. MIN used local language textbooks entitled *Lantera* published in 1992 for all grades. The *Lantera* textbooks for grades one, three and six showed that males and female were visible either on their own or together with males. MIA used textbooks entitled *Mattappa* for grade one and three. These books were written by Pannamo in 1995. Grade six of MIA used the textbook about the biography of the As'adiyah founder. SDM used textbooks called *Bahasa Makassar* for grades three and six. These textbooks were written by Tika Abdul Fattah in 1995. I did not get the textbook of grade one as the grade one teacher did not show the researcher this textbook. She said that she only used an unpublished source in teaching. Neither of the local language textbooks of SDM and MIA portrayed women alone. Women were visible only when they were depicted with men.

In fact, the local language texts (Lantera, Mattappa, and Bahasa Bugis Makassar) were textbooks used by all the schools (*Madrasah* or *Sekolah*) in each district. That is, all the schools in Bone used Lantera textbooks, all the schools in Wajo used Mattapa textbooks, and in Makassar, all the schools used Bahasa Bugis Makassar. So, the textbooks of local language reflected the local culture of the districts where the schools were located rather than reflecting the types of school, either Islamic or general. The only local language textbook that reflected the Islamic culture was the biography of the As'adiyah founder.

The selections of Islamic studies textbooks in three schools were different in terms of the compulsory and supplementary textbooks. The difference was actually related to the type of school: *Madrasah* (Arabic) or *Sekolah* (Indonesian). MIN and MIA are both *Madrasah,* while SDM is *Sekolah*. MIN and MIA used several compulsory textbooks for several subjects of Islamic studies. All of their textbooks for those subjects were published before 2004. In this study, I only analyzed the textbooks for one Islamic subject: *Aqidah Akhlaq* (theology and ethics). These textbooks were written by Rosyid and Alfat in 2002. SDM like other general schools (*Sekolah Dasar* or SD) used the compulsory Islamic studies textbooks published in 2004.

Another difference between MIN, MIA and SDM was in their selection of supplementary textbooks for Islamic studies. MIN used the new textbooks published in 2004, as did SDM. Whereas MIA used the textbooks published before 2004. The difference between SDM and other SD was in relation to the supplementary subjects for Islamic studies. SDM used complementary Islamic textbooks similar with those of MIN and MIA compulsory textbooks, but the general SD only relied on the compulsory text. They were also differences in the time allocated for Islamic subjects. General SD allocated two hours whereas SDM allocated 12 hours. As discussed previously, the textbooks published in 2004 were more progressive in terms of equal gender role representation than those published before 2004.

Looking at the local language and the Islamic studies textbooks selected by the three schools, it could be concluded that MIN used the most progressive textbooks for local language where females alone were visible, while SDM used the most progressive Islamic studies textbooks. Overall, MIA used the least progressive and most gender biased textbooks for both local language and Islamic studies textbooks of the three schools.

G. Conclusion

The efforts of the Indonesian government to mainstream gender in the textbooks used in primary schools has shown some positive results, although their influence varied according to discipline, grade levels, schools and place of publication and the market.

Gender role depictions in the textbooks in each discipline revealed that social science textbooks had the highest frequency in female visibility and equal gender representation, yet they were still rich with gender stereotypes. On the other hand, the local language textbooks, all published prior to the announcement of gender mainstreaming policy, showed the opposite in regards to visibility and representation. Females were invisible in most of the textbooks, yet they had high frequency of gender-neutral language.

The year of publication, whether before or after 2004, did make a difference. The textbooks published after the issuance of the gender mainstreaming policy were more progressive. Women were more visible and frequently depicted in these textbooks and though they remained male dominant and stereotyped, non-stereotyped representations were present. The portrayals of gender roles were also different at different levels of schooling. The lower grade was more progressive than those in the upper grade in terms of visibility of women, fewer stereotypes as well as more equal gender roles and representation.

Moreover, in terms of place of publication and the market, the national publications were more progressive. There was more equal gender representation and non-stereotyping of roles. This did not apply in the local publications that were all published before the issuance of the policy. Nevertheless, schools continued to use the older publications for teaching local languages.

Furthermore, the three schools had different textbooks. The SDM of Makassar, used the more progressive, recently published Islamic textbooks, and the other two schools used less progressive older textbooks. MIN, however, used a more progressive local language text that depicted women alone and with men that were not included in the other language texts used by either of the other two schools located in the town and in the city. In general, MIA used the least progressive textbooks for both local language and Islamic studies.

Since many textbooks published before 2004 in this study comprised local language textbooks and several textbooks for Islamic studies, there is the possibility that textbooks in these disciplines will have progressive gender role depictions in future publications. It remains to be seen whether the textbooks will be more progressive for all school grades for these subjects and whether the schools will choose to use these newer publications for these subjects. The Ministry of National Education needs to continue to encourage and persuade publishers to produce progressive textbooks and the Ministry of Religion needs to work with schools in the provinces to encourage them to use gender-neutral textbooks.

In the next chapter, gender roles in Islamic primary schools are discussed. This includes three types of Islamic primary schools: the state Islamic primary school, the As'adiyah Islamic primary school and Muhammadiyah Islamic school.

CHAPTER 7

Gender Roles in Islamic Primary Schools

A. Introduction

Until 2004 South Sulawesi had four major ethnic groups: the Buginese, Makassarese, Mandarese and Torajanese. The Buginese and the Makassarese were the major ethnic groups in South Sulawesi. The Mandarese became the major ethnic group in a new province of West Sulawesi, which was split off from South Sulawesi in 2004.

The Buginese and Makassarese resemble each other in terms of gender role ideology and practices. In Buginese culture, there was a space division within the house according to gender: men in the front part and women in the back part. This division was most evident "when the formal meals are being taken and when male visitors who are not kin are in the house…women entering only to bring food or other refreshment" (Pelras, 1996, p. 101). According to Pelras, this gender division was aimed at protecting women from the intrusion of male outsiders who are restricted to the front part of the house. Pelras (1996) quotes the Bugis saying "the woman's domain is around the house and the man's domain reaches the border of the sky (the horizon)" (101).

The formulation of gender role domain leads to the division of gender roles in a household where the man is the breadwinner who works in public while a woman

does domestic tasks and is "the main income spender" (Pelras, 1996, p. 162). However, Pelras argues that this is not the whole picture as many women play a part in providing income for the family and men can perform domestic tasks on certain occasions, such as when his wife is ill. In terms of productive jobs, there are restrictions for masculine and feminine activities. Tilling and sowing are example of masculine activities, while the example of feminine activity is textile production (Pelras, 1996).

The space division according to gender and the interpretation of the verses of Qur'an suggest that a woman must stay home. The Qur'an, chapter 33, verse 33 says "And stay in your houses, and do not display yourselves like that of the time of ignorance" (Al-Hilali & Khan, 1996). This verse is in line with the Buginese-Makassarese cultural value called *siri* or family honor/self esteem (Abidin, 1999). *Siri* or *sirik* is central to the gender norms of Bugis and Makassarese society and is defined by Abidin (1999) as dignity and self esteem where women become the symbol of family honor. To protect the family honor, women had to stay in the back part of the house where a male outsider is not permitted to enter.

The question is to what extent the *siri* social ideals and Islamic values still influence social attitudes when social practice even in rural areas has changed markedly from the ideal. Are these concepts a factor in hindering the policy of gender mainstreaming in education? To search for the answer to these questions, I examined

the three schools below: the State Islamic Primary Schools (MIN), the As'adiyah Islamic Primary School (MIA), and Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School (SDM).

B. The State Islamic Primary Schools

1. Background of community and community expectations

The state Islamic primary school is located in a village of Bone District. The communities of this village are all Buginese and all Muslim adherents. This village is located not far away from the town of Watampone, the capital of Bone. It is about eight kilometers to the north. Many people from this village have become Muslim scholars and some of them were successful in business including Haji Kalla, the father of HM Yusuf Kalla, the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, in the period 2004 until 2009 and all his progenies called by Pelras (1996, p. 334) as "The Kalla Dynasty".

However, although many of its people were successful regionally and nationally, the community in this village still lacked access to communication and educational resources. In addition, the gender division of labor in the community - where a man did public work and a woman was responsible for domestic jobs – was still very rigid, especially for the noble families, for example, I noticed a woman who was sick but still doing domestic jobs. The husband was not allowed to do domestic jobs if the wife was available or even the wife was a little bit sick (field notes, 26/10/2005).

This community also adopted the value of *Siri* (family honor) where the woman was a symbol of family honor like other Buginese Makassarese society. The school communities (the staff and students) of MIN Mallari were all Buginese who adhered to this *siri* value. All students were originally from Mallari Village, but the school staff came not only from Mallari Village but also from other neighboring villages within the sub-district of Awangpone and other villages in different sub-districts of Bone and from Watampone town, the capital of Bone. Although some students came from the middle class, the majority of them were mostly from low socio-economic status whose parents worked as farmers and fishermen. MIN Mallari was a model for other state Islamic schools in Bone District. The students' parents, particularly those with higher aspirations for their children, have been attracted to MIN Mallari, instead of to the two other goverment schools, because it offers in-depth religious studies.

2. The Distribution of Power in the School

The distribution of power in school could be seen in the school organization of the State Islamic Primary School (MIN). This school had 13 staff, but only 12 staff (six male and six female) were present when the fieldwork was undertaken. Looking at the ratio of male and female staff, one could say it was equal. Yet, inequality existed within the school organization. Gender division of power was evident and there were patterns of practices that created various kinds of masculinity and femininity among the staff which is called a "gender regime" (Kessler et al., 1985, p. 42).

The most prestigious and powerful position was the school principal which was occupied by a man. The hierarchy of other important positions within the school organization followed the grade levels of the classroom teachers. The patterns of grade levels for male teachers were different from those of female teachers. For the male teachers, the pattern was that the more senior the male teacher the higher grade level he taught. Meanwhile, the pattern for the female was the opposite; the more senior the female teacher the lower grade level she taught (Field notes 2005). These gender divisions according to the grade levels were considered natural by the teacher of grade one (Interview, teacher of grade one, September 28, 2005). As the youngest students, the students of grade one in particular were in the process of transition from home to school. They still needed nurturing and help from females like their mothers, she said. The male teachers could not do that as they were not patient with the small children (Interview, teacher of grade one, September 28, 2005).

3. Gender Role Ideology and Practice of the State Islamic School Community

There are several gender role ideologies and practices that emerged from the interviews with members of the state Islamic school community. The first gender ideology is that men and women could participate in public roles. This could be seen from the views of school principal teachers and the head of the school committee.

The School Principal was aware of progressive gender role practices in the community when he acknowledged the visibility and non-stereotyped roles of males and females in public in several ranges of occupations. He pointed out that many

women were involved in the public domain, such as members of police. He also acknowledged that there were two females Village Heads in Awangpone Sub District of Bone. Yet, he remarked that the involvement of women as village leaders was not as result of their ability but because they were from aristocratic families. He also gave an example of women's involvement in business by pointing to his wife's involvement in business before she fell ill. According to him, his wife traveled alone to the business centre in Surabaya and Jakarta to buy goods to sell. She often spent two to three months away from home. Listening to him, one could infer that he did not mind his wife working in public. This inference was strengthened by his statement: "if his wife works he can do the domestic jobs" (Interview, Andi Tawakkal, the school principal, September 28, 2005). It would be the case that his wife earned more money than he himself.

The female teachers of grade one and grade three[8] believed that the involvement of women in business was a matter of experience. When women obtained experience, they would have the courage to travel for business as described by the female teacher of grade one. Accessing education was believed to be a matter of economic circumstances rather than simply making a choice between sending male or female to school.

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[8] Interviews. the teacher of grade 1, September 28, 2005 and the teacher of grade 3, December 9, 2005

The second gender ideology is that it is the female's responsibility to do all the domestic jobs while men can only be involved in certain conditions. The involvement of males in domestic roles was practiced by the school principal. Like the school principal, teachers of the state Islamic primary school accepted the involvement of men in certain domestic roles: caring for children, cooking and washing. They also acknowledged women's roles in public: in the economy, education and as female preachers as well as High School Principals[9].

The third ideology is that men should have priority when it comes to leadership. The school principal believed that a woman could be involved in the public domain as a leader as long as she had the capability. Yet he gave priority to men: "...in general, a man is the leader; a woman possibly can participate, but probably can not be the leader as long as there is a man available." The school principal further pointed to the small number of women (two females out of eighteen male Head of the Villages) as Village Heads in Awangpone, Bone District (Interview, Andi Tawakkal, the school principal of State Islamic school, September 28, 2005). This ideology was reflected in the school leadership of this state primary school.

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[9]Interviews, school principal, september 28, 2005, teacher of grade 6, September 29, 2005

4. The Knowledge and Opinions of the School Community about the Policy of Gender Mainstreaming.

This study demonstrated that gender mainstreaming policy implementation had reached several schools in Bone District. This could be seen in the familiarity of the Head of School Committee on gender terms. As he remarked "The gender issue means there should be no difference between men and women. We should not differentiate gender roles that women should only have these tasks and men those ones" (Interview, the Head of School Committee, September 30, 2005). So, this indicated that the policy has reached the school in Bone District as the Head of School Committee of the school selected was familiar with the policy. This Head of School Committee was also one of the Islamic school supervisors in Bone District.

However, information about the policy had not been understood by the teaching staff of this state Islamic primary school. This was evident when the School Principal and none of the teachers had ever attended briefings about gender mainstreaming. They were unfamiliar with the term gender and gender mainstreaming policy. For example, the teacher of grade one was confused when I asked her if she had ever heard the term gender mainstreaming. Her answer was *"apa itu gender?* [What is gender?] This indicated that it was difficult to elicit opinions from the principal and the school teachers about gender mainstreaming policy as it had not reached those people.

5. Awareness of gender issues in textbooks

The community of this school was aware of three types of gender role depiction in textbooks: gender stereotypes and male predominance. Firstly, they were aware of gender stereotyped depiction. For example, textbooks depicted only females as cooks in although the reality was that a lot of males cook.[10]

Secondly, they were aware of the male predominance in textbooks' depictions [11]. This was consistent with the finding in gender role depictions in the textbook where the Islamic studies textbooks, the textbooks published before 2004, and the textbooks for the upper grades were male predominant (see chapter six, Islamic Studies Subject and textbook publication before 2004).

The school principal and teachers' consciousness about what was depicted in textbooks also reflected the common practice in society. However, in selecting the textbooks, the school principal and the school teachers did not consider depictions of gender roles. They choose textbooks that were suitable for the school curriculum.

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[10] Interviews, the school principal, September 28, 2005, teacher of grade one, September 28, 2005, and the teacher of grade 3, December 9, 2005).

[11] Interviews, the Teacher of grade six , September 29, 2005 and the subject teacher of Islamic studies, December 2, 2005

6. The Teaching of Gender Roles

Generally speaking, the state Islamic primary school taught gender roles in non-stereotyped ways. My observation in three grades of this school revealed that non-stereotyped gender was taught by teachers when they encouraged all of their students to aspire to high education and employment. The school teacher of grade one of this state school taught non-stereotyped gender roles when she encouraged all her students both males and females to have high aspirations. The teacher of grade three and grade six as well as the teacher of Islamic Studies were all encouraging their students, both males and females, to continue their education. These teachers did not differentiate between the male and female students in giving advice regarding further education. This was supported by the school principal who wanted the students to be taught equal roles, especially in education[12].

7. Gender Roles in Classroom

Gender roles in the classroom could be seen in the pictures displayed on the wall and the classroom dynamics. In all classrooms, the pictures and the chair arrangement as well as the furniture were almost the same. There were a lot of pictures displayed on the wall including pictures of the six military officers, national heroes (all males), who died in the 30 September 1965 Coup killed by the Indonesian Communist Party (G30S PKI), President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono and the Vice President Yusuf

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[12] Interviews, teacher of grade one, September 28, 2005, the teacher of grade 3, December 9, 2005, the Teacher of grade six , September 29, 2005 and the subject teacher of Islamic studies, December 2, 2005 and the school principal, September 28, 2005)

Kalla (both males), the national heroes and heroines who resisted Dutch colonial authority: Diponegoro (male), Ki Hajar Dewantara (male), R.A Kartini (female), Tuanku Imam Bonjol (male), Sultan Hasanuddin (male) and Cut Nya Dien (female).

The classroom dynamics could be seen in the student seat arrangement and teachers and students interaction in three grades. All classes observed were small. Such small classes are very unusual in Indonesia. The school was located in a small village. In this village, there were four primary schools altogether. So, the school had to compete with other three schools to attract students.

In grade one there were only six students present when the observation was conducted. The students were sitting in one row. The male students were sitting on the right side and the female student on the left side. A senior female teacher was sitting in front reading the short verses of the Qur'an and the students followed the teachers by repeating the verses. The teacher did not appear to be treating boys and girls differently. She greeted girls in the same way as boys. This situation was observed when the students were ready to go home. The students were standing in line greeting their teacher. The teachers greeted them one by one warmly.

The grade three had only eight students (four girls and four boys) present. The students sat in two rows and four columns. Boys and girls sat separately. The boy sat in two rows and two columns to the right side, while the girls sat opposite of the boys

to the right side. A young female teacher aged in her twenties sat in her chair in the front right next to the door. She gave assignments to the students. Then the students did the task given to them. In doing their assignment, many students (three girls and two boys) often consulted with the teacher if they were not sure whether they were on the right track or not, but the other three students (one girl and two boys) never consulted their assignment with the teacher until the bell rang. Those three students seemed not to care whether they finished the task or not and whether they got a high mark or not. Every time a student asked a questionthe teacher responded directly without considering the students' gender. She often approached the student who asked a question to give an explanation. The first student who finished the task and handed it for the first time was a girl. She sat in the front left, and then another girl followed her. After that, a boy came in front to hand his work to the teacher. Following the boy was another girl, after that another boy.

The grade six was also organized in the same way as grade three. The desks were organized in rows and four columns. The class was divided into two sections. Two columns on the left were for female students while the other two columns in the right were for male students. There were six male students who sat in two columns and two rows. Since there were only four female students in the classroom, they only occupied the chairs in the front row.

By looking at the decoration, the classroom dynamics, it can be deemed that males and females were visible. The pictures of national heroes decorated the wall were also represented by the pictures of national heroines even though the pictures of male heroes were predominant. It was not surprising given that there were many more male national heroes than heroines.

In terms of teachers and students interaction in the classroom, the teacher did not show any discrimination to the students. This could be seen in her response to the students' questions. She responded each question from students promptly without considering the students' gender.

C. As'adiyah Islamic Primary School

1. Background of the community and the community expectations

The As'adiyah Islamic primary school is located in the capital district of Wajo called Sengkang. The Wajo population is dominated by the Buginese people. The majority of the population work as traders. Their role as traders is the typical role of the Wajo Buginese in Indonesia.

Sengkang town is the centre of Islamic education for the Buginese. This town has been the centre of Islamic education since the late colonial era, since KHM As'ad came from Mekkah to Sengkang in 1928. He was a Buginese man born in Mekkah, Saudi Arabia (Ismail, 1989). His teaching in Sengkang attracted many Buginese from several districts in South Sulawesi: Bone, Soppeng, Barru, and Pare-Pare. The

alumni from this institution have developed other Islamic educational institutions in many provinces in Indonesia. Some of them created new independent institutions and others still depend on the As'adiyah Institution (Interview, Rafii Yunus, The General Leader of As'adiyah, December 15, 2005). In terms of gender roles, the majority of As'adiyah schools were single sex especially for the high schools although the primary school selected for this study was co-educational. The As'addiyah school was also a private Islamic school in the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) tradition.

The Centre of As'adiyah Institution was located in Lapongkoda Complex of As'adiyah Islamic Boarding School. In this complex there were a kindergarten, an As'adiyah Islamic Primary School (MIA), an As'adiyah Islamic Junior High School (MTsA) for boys and an As'adiyah Islamic Senior High (MAA) for girls, as well as a a big mosque, an office for As'adiyah Institution, the students' dormitories and staff housing.

The As'adiyah Institution was originally developed from the *Madrasah Al Arabiyah Al Islamiyah* (the school of Arab Islam), founded by KHM As'ad. The name of *Madrasah As'adiyah* was given when the founder of this institution K H M As'ad passed away on December 29, 1952. At that time, the leadership of *Madrasah Al Arabiyah Al Islamiyah* was taken over by KH Daud Ismail who was one of KHM As'ad students (Ismail, 1989; Walinga, 1981). The original school was conducted in

a mosque in 1930 until the government and the community of Wajo helped to provide the school building one year later. Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah As'adiyah Lapongkoda itself was founded on 15 January 1968 by the second successor of As'adiyah leader (Wahidah, 2005). The As'adiyah institution aims to protect and develop the Islamic teaching of *Ahlusunnah Waljamaah* based on the *Syafi'* School (As'adiyah, 2002). This *Ahlusunnah Waljamaah* teaching has been adopted by significant numbers of devout Muslims in Indonesia.

The As'adiyah school community (the staff and the students) comprised a Buginese majority. They came from several districts around South Sulawesi, such as Bone District. Many of them had been living in Sengkang for a long time. For example, there were 14 school staff, some of them were originally from Wajo District and others came from Bone and Sinjai Districts. In addition, the chair of school committee was not from Wajonese but was originally from Bone District.

The As'adiyah Islamic primary school attracted students from the community as the school is located in the centre of the town. The school had 186 students (92 males, 94 females) (Samad, 2005). These students came from the community around the school. They were generally devout Muslims. Many of the students' parents were the alumni of As'adiyah boarding school who were the teachers of this school and the teachers of other schools under Pesantren As'adiyah management. In sending their

children to this school parents were influenced by As'adiyah's status as an institution of religious education in the province and their support of As'adiyah teachings.

2. Distribution of Power in the School

The distribution of power in school could be seen in the general structure of the As'adiyah Islamic Primary School. This school had 14 staff. Thirteen of them were females and only one male. The staff ages were divided into two groups: The first group comprised three teachers (two females and one male) aged in their fifties and the other group comprised 11 teachers aged below their forties (all females). In terms of education, nine members of staff had university degrees. All of these were females aged below forty, and the other four teachers had diploma qualifications. Many of the teachers were graduates from the State Islamic University in Makassar and others had graduated from As'adiyah's teacher training program.

In terms of quantity, levels of education and seniority, females predominated in the school staff, but the power was still dominated by a male staff member, who acted as a school principal. During my fieldwork, there was no principal available as the former school principal was retired. The only one male teacher aged in his early fifties and who only had a diploma was appointed by other staff as acting school principal. Even though the school teachers had seen that the retired school principal before was a female, they still considered a man as the priority to be a leader in school. In fact, the retired school principal was not the only female principal; the first school principal had also been a female. She led the school for 10 years from 1968 to

1978. Since then, four males had led the schools until 2000 when H Sitti Marhah, a female school principal led the school until 2005 (Wahidah, 2005).

The appointing of the male teacher as an acting school principal was consistent with the gender ideology of the teachers. One of the senior female teachers acknowledged the cultural tradition where men are leaders and women are led. In addition, one of the university graduated young female teachers believed that a man is better as a leader "…most appropriately, it is better for a man than a woman to be the leader" (Interview, the teacher of grade six, November 24, 2005). A woman was not to be a preference as a leader as her nature was to be a housewife. A woman can take over a man's position (such as a leader) if no man is available. As she argued "…if we return to a woman's nature (*kodrat*), it is better for her to be a housewife, but if no one else is available, there is no choice" (Interview, the teacher of grade six, November 24, 2005).

3. Gender role Ideology and Practice of Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah As'adiyah Community

Gender ideology and practice of the community of Madrasah Ibtidayyah As'adiyah emerged from the interviews comprised both stereotyped and non-stereotyped gender roles.

The stereotyped gender roles were discovered in both ideology and practices. The acting school principal believed that managing the household and doing domestic work are a woman's responsibility, while earning a living is a man's responsibility. However, in practice this acting school principal himself carried out non-stereotyped roles of domestic work: such as washing the laundry. The other stereotyped gender roles that men are suitable for is as leader both at home and in public, as believed by the teacher of grade one. The teacher of grade six believed that the role of men was as a leader at home and in public, men are leaders and women are led. As she noted: "Because it is the man who leads, women are led, so they stay home" (Interview, the acting school principal, November 24, 2005).

The non-stereotyped gender roles could be seen through the gender roles which were practiced by teachers and the community where they live. The teachers of this school (all females) had practiced gender non-stereotyped roles of women in public, since all of them had professional careers as teachers. They also mentioned other non-gender stereotyped roles played by women in public such as in the bureaucracy and the business sector. However, teachers also identified stereotyped and unequal roles. Although a woman had a job in public such as a teacher, she was still assigned with the responsibility at home: caring children, cooking, washing and so on. The teacher of grade one told of her own experience in taking care of her four small children alone when her husband worked as a teacher in a different place far away from her home. Her husband came home once in three days. In her husband's absence she did

all domestic work alone including taking care of her baby and getting the infants to school, while continuing her work as a teacher. There was no childcare facility available (interview, teacher of grade one, November 24, 2005).

According to the Head of School Committee males and females were involved both in public and at home. The participation of males and females in public could be seen in schools as teachers, school principals and school supervisors. Women were also active in government, such as the Deputy Regent and the Member of Parliament. According to him, in the community, women participated as preachers. Many females had been trained to become *kyai* (Muslim scholars) that usually was for males (Interview, Amiruddin, December 5, 2005).

In general, gender ideology of the school community conformed to stereotypes but many gender roles practiced by teachers themselves and gender role practices more broadly in the community were non-stereotypical, reflecting the expansion of education and economic changes occurring for a generation or more.

4. The Knowledge and Opinions of the School Community about the Policy of Gender Mainstreaming

The male, acting school principal was confused about the policy of gender mainstreaming. He admitted that it was the first time he had heard the term "gender". This was also the case with the senior female teacher of grade one. They may not

have been familiar with the term, but they seem to understand the idea. Yet she was aware of women's roles in public. Both of them were in the senior group, aged fifties. While other female teachers who were aged below 40 year old and had university degrees admitted that they were familiar with the term "gender", although each of them had different understandings of the term. They claimed their knowledge on gender had been acquired from their experience as university students before they came to As'adiyah School. In other words, they had studied about gender during their pre-service training and not as part of their in-service training at As'adiyah. This means the information about the government's gender policies and programmes had not reached the As'adiyah schools.

These teachers had a strong commitment to gender equality that could be seen, for example, in that the female teacher of grade three wanted to change gender bias texts to suit real life, as per the following transcript:

> *I:* I saw in the textbooks that the Head of the Village was male and the community leaders were also males.
> R: This needs to be changed; now men and women are equal. In this town, Sengkang, behind the big mosque, there is a village called Tokampu, where the head is a woman. So we have equality here in Sengkang town, we do not differentiate between men and women, a man or a woman can be a leader (Interview, teacher of grade three, December 1, 2005).

In another example, the teacher of Islamic Studies and Social Science for grade six had shown her commitment by using new textbooks for the subject of social science,

even though she still used the old Islamic studies text, as she said that she only used the books provided by the school.

The Head of School Committee was aware of gender issues, including the policy of gender mainstreaming. He was aware of the issue of a 30% quota of women for Members of Parliament. He knew a lot about women's roles in public life: in schools, in politics and as Muslim scholars. He was aware of women's involvement in public. The majority of them were in the education sector in low level positions. He realized that the higher the political positions the smaller number of women participate. Nevertheless, there were some women who had assertiveness to fight the political position with men. His awareness on gender issues was not surprising, as he himself had attended gender briefings (Interview, Amiruddin, December 5, 2005).

5. Awareness of Gender in Textbooks

The acting school principal of the As'adiyah school was aware of the male predominant depiction in doing physical work in textbooks (Interview, the acting school principal, November 24, 2005). The teacher of grade one was not aware of gender role depiction in textbooks, but she mentioned gender roles in classroom. She agreed with the male depicted going to work and female depicted at home cooking (Interview, teacher of grade one, November 24, 2005). Like the teacher of grade one, the teacher of grade three also was not aware of gender role depictions in the textbooks (interview, teacher of grade three, December 1, 2005).

However, the teacher of grade six was not sure about gender equality in textbook depiction. She guessed it was female predominant and stereotyped gender roles. For example, females were depicted doing traditional domestic work. The Head of School Committee did not pay attention to the textbook content; he believed what the students learned in school was fine as the curriculum had been determined by Department of National Education and Department of Religion.

6. The Teaching of Gender Roles

The acting school principal taught gender roles to students in stereotyped ways in sport, gender division of labor and the skills taught for boys and girls. He limited the sport games for female students such as they could not play soccer but he did not limit roles for men. Gender division of labor existed also in school where females were assigned for decorative roles while male students were assigned for external and security affairs. The skills taught to girls were different from those taught to boys. Girls were taught decorating and sewing skills while boys were taught farming and carpentering skills. This gender division of labor is according to the cultural values of the Buginese society where it is not appropriate for girls to do the hard job and men should not do the soft work (Interview, Abdul Samad, the Acting School Principal, November 24, 2005).

Like the Acting School Principal, the teachers of grade one and grade three[13] also taught gender role in stereotyped ways. In teaching Islamic subject, the teacher of grade one still taught the role of men in public and women at home. However, in teaching the secular subject she emphasized gender equality of men and women.

Even though the teacher of grade three taught boys and girls together for the same subjects, she paid more attention to boys since the boys demanded more attention as they were naughty, according to her. The head of the school committee thought that the teachers tended to pay more attention to the boys than to the girls because the boys were more aggressive and attention seeking in their behaviour. This observation is consistent with Spender's (1982, p. 54) argument: "if males do not get what they want, they are likely to make trouble". The aggressiveness of the boys demanded a space division according to gender to protect girls who were expected to be feminine (Interview, Amiruddin, December 5, 2005).

7. Gender Roles in Classroom

The grade one of Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah As'adiyah had 35 students consisting of 18 males and 17 females (Field notes 7/12/2005). The classroom was arranged like the chair arrangement in MIN Mallari Bone. The chairs were in rows and columns. Two columns were for the boys and another two for the girls. The difference from those in MIN Mallari was that in relation to the seat position of each sex. In As'adiyah, boys'

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[13] Interviews, the Acting school principal, , November 24, 2005, teacher of grade one, November 24, 2005, teacher of grade three, December 1, 2005.

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seats were on the left hand side while girls' were on the right hand side. This seat positions were the reverse in MIN Mallari. This seat arrangement was permanent. It means the arrangement of seat positions were fixed for all subjects. For example, the students' seat positions when they learned Entrepreneurship subject were the same when they learn the Local Language.

The grade three of MI As'adiyah had 28 students comprising 12 males and 18 females (Field notes 14 December 2005). Unlike in grade one, the grade three students sat in groups. There were six groups altogether. Some of the groups consist of six students, five, four and two students. Boys were grouped together and girls also clustered together. Groups one to three were girls group located in the right close to the blackboard and group four to six were for boys located in the left side at the back.

The students of grade six were grouped into six: three groups for the boys and three groups for the girls too (field notes 24 November 2005). The number of students in each group varied: three groups had three students, two groups had four members and one group had five students. The groups of boys were called by the names of wild and aggressive animals: tiger, deer, and lion. While the groups of girls were called by the names of beautiful flowers: orchid, jasmine and rose. These groups and names were used for a wide range of classroom activities on a daily basis.

Looking at the group names, one could assume how the young female teacher constructed gender difference in her classroom. The group names were consistent with the chair arrangements in the U letter where group of boys sat in the left hand side next to the door and the girls sat in the right hand side, inside part of the classroom. These arrangement suggested gender stereotyped roles that boys should be the protectors of girls who sat in the inside part.

In the teaching and learning process of the entrepreneurship subject, the female teacher of grade one clearly gave more attention to the boys than to the girls. The teacher gave reading assignments to the students. After that, the students were tasked to read in front of the class. The first chance was given to one boy, then another boy, after that two more boys come to read in front of the class and then another two boys before the chance was given to two girls to read. Following that, the boys were given a chance again. Although the number of boys and girls in grade one were almost the same (18 males and 17 females), the boys got much more of the teacher's attention than girls. Girls only received opportunities to read in front of the class after several boys had done so. The majority of girls did get the chance to read in the class only in group situations.

Nevertheless, when the teacher taught the local language subject with its gender biased text, she did not differentiate in giving attention to the boys and girls significantly. For example, she only wrote the spelling of Buginese words on the

board. After that she read them and it was followed by all students (males and females). After reading, the teacher asked all the students to write down on the students' notebooks. When the students finished writing, the teacher read it again, followed by the students. Then the students read the words on their own. After this, the students were asked to practice the words at home.

However, in the learning process of the subject apprentices, boys dominated the classroom activity. Boys were given exercises more often when they learned the subject.

The only thing that could be categorized as a gender issue was when the teacher saw a lot of rubbish on the floor during the teaching process. At this time, she asked the female students to pick it up. The other students were continuing their learning. One could question why were the females only asked to clean up the rubbish on the floor? Why were not the boys? Was it because cleaning was a female task as depicted in textbooks such as the Indonesian Language textbook for grade one or was it that cleaning was the female task at home?

The students of grade three were studying the lesson of Social Science when I came to visit the class. In the teaching and learning processes, the teacher of grade three gave a reading assignment to the students. While the students were doing their assignment, the teacher often came to the groups to monitor them. The teacher spent more time with the boys helping them to understand the assignment, for example, the

teacher came twice to a group of five boys but she never came to the female groups. This practice was consistent with the interview that she admitted the boys got more attention as they were naughty. Girls on the other hand did not demand attention as there were already behaving well and they did what the teachers asked them to do. This could be seen when the teacher asked the students who had finished their tasks to come to read in front of the class. Three girls came in front for the first time to read. After that, three other girls filled the second session. The third session was also filled by five girls. After that, a group of six boys came in front. At the conclusion of the class, a girl came in front to lead the class for going home. The students went out the classroom in groups starting from group one, two, three (all girls) and the rest (all males). All of these explained by the teacher that the girls were smarter and more assertive than the boys and the teacher facilitated this pattern of behavior.

Field notes were taken also when the students were learning the mathematics lesson taught by the classroom teacher of grade six. The teacher gave assignments to the students to write on the board. The first four students who did the task were boys but they failed so they remained standing in front of the class. Then the teacher assigned one of the girls and she was successful in helping the four boys. Then all of them sat in their own group. After that the teacher explained the task and continued giving the task to the students (field notes 24 November 2005). This pattern of behavior was the same as that in grade three. My fieldnotes confirmed the assessment of Hamri, the teacher of grade 3, that the girls appeared to be smarter than the boys and, therefore,

the boys deserved more attention than the girls (Interview, Hamri, December 1, 2005).

D. Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School

1. Background of Community and Community Expectations

Muhammadiyah Primary school was located in the large urban community of Makassar. Makassar is also the centre of politics, administration, culture and education for South Sulawesi and the eastern part of Indonesia. It is a major trading centre in Eastern Indonesia as well. The school population: principal, teachers, administrative staffs, and students comprised people of different ethnicities. The ethnic groups in these schools were dominated numerically by the two main ethnic groups in South Sulawesi: Bugis and Makassarese.

The members of this urban community were well educated people as the access to schooling was easier than that in the rural area. This attribute also applied to the school population including the level of education of students' parents and the school staff. For example half of the staff held a Bachelor Degree. The school attracted pupils from educated elite families. For example, some students' parents in this school were university lecturers and one the Deputy Rector of a university. There seemed to be a greater receptiveness among the school community to new ideas, including gender.

This school was located in a complex of Muhammadiyah Educational institutions starting from Kindergarten to Senior High. It was one of the comprehensive Muhammadiyah education centres in Makassar. This complex was also completed with a small school mosque and some accommodation for the staff. The school principal and the Grade 6 teacher of Islamic Studies lived in this complex.

The Muhammadiyah Primary School Perumnas Makassar has 164 students (85 males and 79 females). The students came not only from the neighborhood around the school, but also came from different areas of Makassar where there were other primary schools (field notes, 26 November 2005). Therefore, it is important to recognize the particular characteristics and values of the Muhammadiyah Primary School that become the focus of education in Makassar city.

Muhammadiyah Primary School tended to be chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, teaching was based on a combination of three curricula: General Primary School (SD) curriculum of the Department of National Education, *Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah* curriculum of the Department of Religion, and the curriculum of *Muhammadiyah* itself, which included the subject of the *Muhammadiyah's* own teaching *(Kemuhammadiyahan)* that was taught from grade three to grade six and the recitation of Qur'an was practiced every morning in each classroom.

Secondly, the teachers of Muhammadiyah schools were members of the Muhammadiyah organization (Interview, Darwis Muhdina, the Head of Madrasah and Basic Education in District Office, Ocober 29, 2005). This served to reassure the parents that Muhammadiyah's approach and values would be consistently implemented and teaching would not be influenced by other schools of thought including those that sought to impose stricter distinctions of gender roles (Interview, Ambo Asse, the Head of Basic and Secondary Education Council of Muhammadiyah South Sulawesi, October 6, 2005).

Thirdly, there was a limited number of Islamic schools in Makassar. There were only 37 *madrasah* in Makassar compared with 71 in Bone District (Baturante, 2005). This made the Muhammadiyah school, with its long history and national standing, a popular choice for more devout parents of modernist inclinations. The Muhammadiyah School offers more extensive teaching of Islamic studies than a government school that only offer two hour a week for Islamic studies. The schools like these three schools studied provided much more in depth and intensive religious teaching. In addition Muhammadiyah and Asadiyah School offer parents Islamic teaching of specific theological orientations.

2. Distribution of Power in the School

Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School has 15 staff. The majority of them were females: thirteen females compared to two males. In terms of ages, there were eight staff aged in their early fifties, late fifties and early sixties. There were also eight

staff below fifty years of age which included staff in their early forties, late thirties, middle thirties and late twenties. In terms of levels of education, the number of senior staff who held a university degree was equal with those among junior staff.

  In terms of power, the number and ratio of male and femalel staff was the same as those in As'adiyah. Yet with respect to power arising from distribution of positions and responsibilities, they were different. Women in the Muhammadiyah School were more predominant. The school principal and also the classroom teachers were all females. Almost all of them were senior teachers. Grade one was the exception as the class room teacher was the junior teacher. Grade two was also a different case where the junior teacher aged in her late twenties partnering with the senior teacher aged in her early sixties. The appointment of a junior teacher in lower grades was the opposite of what happened in MIN Mallari Bone where the more mature teachers were assigned with the younger aged of students. Other female staff who were the subject teachers and administrative staff were predominantly younger, below fifty. The only two male teachers were the subject teachers for the subject of Islamic Studies and Kemuhammadiyahan.

Since the school was dominated by females, decision making including textbook decisions was also dominated by women. The school principal noted: "Here, there are no male teachers, apart from one male teacher of religious studies. Thus the role of women in choosing textbooks was dominant" (Interview, Sitti Rabiah, the School Principal, October 13, 2005).

The statement of the school principal above was consistent with what happened in school practice every day. The staff that entered the office every day and the staff meeting were all females comprising all classroom teachers and subject teachers. The male teachers were rarely found in the office. One male teacher entered the staff office occasionally, but, I never found the other one entering the staff office. So, the school principal forgot counting the two male teachers and the quote suggests that the female school principal did not regard the teacher of religious subjects to be of high status.

3. Gender role Ideology and Practice of Muhammadiyah Primary School and its Makassar Community

There are a number of gender role ideologies that emerged from the interviews with people from the school community. Firstly, the gender role ideology that a husband is the main income earner is still believed by the Makassarese although it was not a common practice since nearly all teachers at this school were women. According to the female senior teacher of grade six, people believed that a man (a husband or a father) has responsibility for the welfare of the family members. This ideology is practiced by people when she also identified that a husband who does not earn a living is not common in society (Interview, the teacher of grade six, 22 October 2005).

The second, gender ideology was that of the inappropriateness of a husband doing domestic work. The informant identified the difference between the cultural tradition and the practice of urban Makassarese. The cultural tradition prescribed that the involvement of a male in the domestic work was considered inappropriate "According to the cultural tradition it is not proper if a father/husband does the cooking and other domestic duties, as he is the income earner" (Interview, Sitti Rabiah, the School Principal, October 13, 2005). However, the informants acknowledged that the urban community could not adopt that kind of cultural tradition since the social conditions in the city were different from the rural one. For example, the school principal stated that: "For those of us living in the City of Makassar the situation is different from the villages; men and women have to work together on domestic chores because we cannot expect anybody else to help us." (Interview, Sitti Rabiah, the School Principal, October 13, 2005).

Thirdly, the gender ideology of a wife is a housewife doing all sorts of domestic works emerged too. This ideology is a long standing practice as noted by a young female teacher of grade one, who noted that managing the household is the task of women from a long time ago "It has long been the case as far as I know that the duty of a woman is to serve her husband, and cook in the kitchen" (Interview, Subaedah, 14 October 2005).

Finally, the ideology that a woman as a wife can also participate in public appeared during the interviews as well. The head of the school committee identified that almost all professional women had been involved in farming, education, and social organizations. Furthermore, the senior female teacher of grade six acknowledged that women did the planting in the farm. She also noticed the availability of male and female nurses and doctors in hospitals: "Nowadays, men and women have similar professions: male and female nurses; male and female doctors" (Interview, the teacher of grade six, 22 October 2005). The feminization of both the medical and teaching professions has also been paralleled in the increasing number of women in the bureaucracy.

Siti Musda Mulia and Anik Farida (2005) remarked that the cultural value placed on a woman as a mother and a wife to take care their children and their husband has become one of the major impediments preventing women's involvement in politics nowadays. This cultural value was also legitimized by Islamic teaching. The women who Mulia said struggle to participate in politics comprise a majority of urban educated women, yet they still faced cultural and religious challenges to participate in the public domain, particularly in politics. Mulia's idea is in line with the statement of the teacher of grade one in this school, who said that managing the household is the task of women from a long time ago (Interview, Subaedah, 14 October 2005).

As discussed above, there were four gender ideologies which emerged from the interview. Were the ideologies above believed and practiced by informants? The following section will address this question. The ideology of a man as a breadwinner was still believed by the informants. For example, according to one female teacher that the home is not a man's domain; it is wrong for a man as a person who is responsible for the family, to stay at home. It is also not logical if a man stays home all the time and it is not acceptable if a man [husband] becomes a house husband while a wife earns a living: "men have to earn a living however difficult: No way men do not have a chance to earn a living, jobs are available as long as people look for a job" (Interview, the teacher of grade six, 22 October 2005).

This gender ideology is consistent with gender ideology adopted by Buginese people that a man has to be capable of supporting his family. Nurul I Idrus (2003) noted the Buginese saying "*mattuliling(i) dapureng wekka petu"* that a man must demonstrate that he can support a family in order to get married. In Islam, it is also taught that a husband is the income provider for the family, which also implies the position of a husband as the head of the family. However, this is not necessarily the case for staff in this school.

Secondly, the gender ideology of the inappropriateness of a husband to do domestic work was not practiced in the daily life of all informants. They all (males and females) admitted that they shared their own domestic work: washing, cleaning the

house, washing the dishes, child rearing to various degrees. Cleaning the house and washing the laundry is the most common domestic work done by a male. While cooking and washing the dishes was the least popular for a man, even it was funny and odd when I asked the informants about the involvement of men in these domestic activities. The most important thing was that the involvement of men in domestic work was confined to only helping the women who were responsible for this job.

Another ideology is a woman responsible for domestic work. Almost all teachers believed that the domestic job is a duty for a wife although she works in public. For example a young female teacher of grade one stated:

> "….she is a housewife, she has to manage the household……That is the task of a wife, a housewife, even though she has another job such as a teacher, but at home, cooking is a wife's job." (Interviews, Subaedah, the female teacher of grade one, October 14, 2005).

Managing a household, cooking and washing and other domestic jobs are the women's duty or even their first duty. It means they have to accomplish the domestic duties before doing other duties such as working in public as a teacher. The domestic duties are associated with the kitchen when a female teacher of grade six stated that "the kitchen is number one for a female" (Interview, the female teacher of grade 6, October 22, 2005). She added that "…the kitchen will not run away from women" (Interviews, the female teacher of grade 6, October 22, 2005) which indicates the expectation and the practice of the society that whatever education and the profession a woman has, she remained responsible for domestic work.

Although women's duty is at home, women can also play a role outside home. This idea was accepted and practiced by all informants and informants' wives that women can work to support family. For example, a male teacher acknowledged that "…if a woman works, she can help her husband to meet the needs of their family when his income might not be enough if he is the sole income earner" (Interview, Sulaeman Hidayat, a male teacher of Islamic Studies, October 25, 2005). Yet, he emphasized that a woman working in public has to remember her nature as a mother or a wife (the male teacher). This idea was similar to that of Suryakusuma (2004) who pointed out the state gender role ideology in the New Order Era where women were encouraged to participate in the development process, but not to forget their *kodrat* as mother and wife.

Gender ideologies of all of Makasarese society, or more particularly the well-educated professionals, were consistent with what the informants at the Muhammadiyah primary school believed. There are four points of gender ideology of Makassar community and the informants themselves believed in these. These are a husband as a main income earner, the inappropriateness of a husband in domestic work, a wife is a housewife, and a woman/a wife can also participate in public but not to forget her nature as a mother/wife. It seemed what the large society in Makassar believed and practiced reflected in what the school community believed and practiced. The cultural values of the inappropriateness of a husband undertaking domestic work were in fact not practiced generally in the society. Many males in the school community assisted with domestic chores. So, the gender ideology might be

consistent, but practice in the school was likely to be at odds with the espoused values. Many of the female school teachers, particularly the school principal, probably earned more than their spouses.

4. The Knowledge and Opinions of the School Community about the Policy of Gender Mainstreaming.

Based on the interview of the school communities I can interpret that the enactment of gender mainstreaming policy has reached the primary school level in South Sulawesi to a certain degree. This is based on the response of the Head of School Committee of Muhammadiyah School who was formerly the Primary School Supervisor in the Office of Education in Makassar District. He attended gender briefings with the schoolteachers under his supervision conducted by one women's studies centre in the city in 2001. According to him, the gender briefing was aimed at raising the school teachers' awareness on gender issues. He considered the gender briefing was worthwhile for the teachers as educational practitioners:

> "I think socialization of gender issues in education was good as it opened the horizon of the teachers on gender equality and it is useful for the teachers to know, what is more they can transfer this understanding to their students." (Interview, the Head of School Committee of Muhammadiyah School on 26/10/2005).

Although the staff informants in this school were not familiar with the policy, some of them had attended a seminar on gender issues such as: a seminar on women in leadership and a seminar on women in education before the issuance of the policy in

2000. In addition, all the staff were familiar with the discourse of equality between men and women.

The discourse of equality between men and women is the discourse of the role of women in public including leadership, the workforce in various professions and those accessing education. All the staff agreed with this discourse to certain degrees. The school principal and the young female raised the issue of women in leadership and they agreed with the role of women in leadership. For example the principal stated "a woman is allowed to be a leader such as a leader of a social organization although in the Qur'an it is stated that a man is a leader of a woman" (Interview, Sitti Rabiah, the School Principal, October 13, 2005).

The senior female teacher of grade three raised the issues of women's involvement in the workforce. She said, "Women do not have to stay at home all the time. Therefore, we have to struggle, what is more in our society violence against women often existed. This violence may be caused by economic problems. If a woman works, the problem will not exist" (Interview, senior female teacher of grade three, December 20, 2005).

The senior female teacher of grade six also raised the issues of women's access to education. "……what I remembered is about the equality is that males and females have the same right to demand education… now in this era of progress there is no difference for men and women to develop" (Interview, the teacher of grade six,

October 22, 2005). She agreed with that opinion as it is a good idea and in line with the ethos of economic development. Besides, it is also compatible with the teaching of Islam where seeking an education is compulsory both for males and females.

Women's participation in public was not agreed to one hundred percent, but with some exceptions. The roles of women in leadership were limited only to organizations, not in the household or for religious activity. Likewise, the role of women in the employment sector was supposed to be in the delicate jobs, not the tough ones. For example, the young female teacher of grade one disagreed with women's involvement in certain blue collar labor, such as cleaning the water drainage. Subaedah said: *"…I see women cleaning the drains. I do not agree. It is a pity for women to work like that. That is because they have duties at home taking care of their children, cooking and other sort of things…."* (Interview, Subaedah, the female teacher of grade one, October 14, 2005).

Another condition of women's involvement in public activity is that women who work outside home are still responsible for their main roles at home. For example the male subject teacher for upper grades stated that he agreed with discourse of women participation in public as long as women do not forget their nature as women. According to him, the women's nature is as a mother or a wife. He argued that many career women forget their nature as a woman "…we can adopt equality [gender] equality but the important thing is a woman does not forget that she is a woman.

since we often observe a woman who considers herself as a career woman, she forgets her natural destiny (*kodrat*)" (Interview, Sulaeman Hidayat, the male teacher for Islamic studies, October 25, 2005). This statement is consistent with what Idrus (2003) noted that it is idea of "the wife is the boss at home" (page 147) implies the responsibility of a woman in the household even when the woman is successful in public life, she is still considered unsuccessful as a wife is she fails in performing her domestic duties. Idrus then verified that she discovered in one sub district in South Sulawesi that women office workers had to finish their domestic works before going to and after return from work and other activities such as attending a party. She also stated the common expression of women who are not at home: "I want to go home soon because I want to cook" (Idrus, 2003, p. 153).

To sum up briefly, gender mainstreaming policy had already reached the primary school level in Makassar city and the Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School. As can be seen the practice of gender mainstreaming in teacher employment and gender distribution of power had already taken place and gender roles in the classroom and school including the gender roles pictures displayed on the wall. The former school supervisor of the Office of Education in District level revealed it when I interviewed him in the position of the Head of School Committee of Muhammadiyah School. He attended a gender briefing on gender issues in education. The briefing was conducted by one women's studies centre in Makassar in 2001, one year after the issuance of the policy. Looking at the organizer of the program and the year of implementation, one can assume that program was only the initiative of one Women's Studies Centre

in Makassar since the Ministry of National Education started to implement the policy in 2002. My assumption is also based on my own experience as a member of gender training facilitator teams in South Sulawesi in 1999 to 2001. At that time we actively gave briefings on the concept of gender equality to various groups, including the teachers of elementary schools. Muhammadiyah School had not been involved in any of these briefings. None of the informants were familiar either with the term gender or with the government's gender mainstreaming policy at the Muhammadiyah school. Yet, they were familiar with the term '*kesetaraan*' meaning equality between men and women.

5. Awareness of Gender issues in Textbooks

The school principal did not consider the role of men and women as biased, the depiction of a male doctor and a female nurse is no problem, it depends on their own knowledge. Yet, she recognized the male dominance in the text; she wanted females to be depicted in equal positions (Interview, Sitti Rabiah, the School the principal, October 13, 2005). The teacher of the grade one of SD Muhammadiyah was aware of the female predominance but stereotyped gender role depiction in textbooks of grade one. She gave an example from the textbook for Bahasa Indonesia, in which women were often depicted in the stereotyped gender role of the mother who cooked and who does the shopping. "Cooking? Of course that is a woman's job. Men were never depicted as cook. Meanwhile cleaning the house was often depicted in a gender-neutral way with males and female involved" (Interview, Subaedah, the female teacher of grade one, October 14, 2005). She realized that non-stereotyped

gender roles exist in society such as not only females do the shopping but also a man often did it as well. Yet, she still agreed with the stereotyped depictions in the text books such as a mother goes to shopping in the grocery stores and Ani (a girl) helps her mother in the kitchen. Those depictions according to her will give lessons to students on gender roles in the household and in public life (Interview, Subaedah, the female teacher of grade one, October 14, 2005). The female predominant depiction in textbooks of grade one is consistent with those examples in the textbook analyses in the previous chapter. The teacher of grade three explained that the textbook depicted gender roles such as "A father earns a living and a mother cares for the children" (Interview, the teacher of grade three, December 20, 2005).

Yet in textbook decisions, she did not consider gender role depiction. She considered only the appropriateness with the curriculum and pragmatic commercial reasons. She explained why the textbooks published by Airlangga were not chosen, namely because of the high price. Having examined the textbook appropriate for her own students, the classroom teacher presented her recommendation to a meeting attended by all teachers and the principal in order to decide the appropriate textbooks for the school. At that meeting, the school principal and teachers decided to use the textbooks published by PT Tiga Serangkai for the majority of subjects. The choices were often made for pragmatic commercial reasons.

The teacher of grade six did not recognize the gender role depictions in the textbooks. Gender depiction in the textbooks is not important for her. Her teaching of gender roles is not influenced by the textbooks. According to her, the lesson is the same and there is no separation for males and females. So, she was aware of gender issues but the text book depictions were not important for her. She did not consider gender role depiction in choosing textbooks. Her consideration was only to widening the horizon and to enrich the teaching material (Interview, the teacher of grade six, October 22, 2005).

The male teacher of Islamic Studies also did not recognize different gender role depictions in the textbooks, as he did not pay attention to how males and females were portrayed in texts. He saw no difference in gender role representation of men and women in textbooks. He argued that textbook selection was made on the basis of the book's capacity to enrich the knowledge of the students, a similar attitude to that of the classroom teacher of grade six, who also did not consider gender role depiction (Interview, Sualeman Hidayat, the male teacher for Islamic studies, October 25, 2005). The comparison between this male teacher and the previous woman teacher is interesting. She is aware and concerned and teaches about gender roles. He is indifferent.

6. The Teaching of Gender Roles

The Principal of Muhammadiyah School understood that a leader in the household is a man. A man only stays home while his wife is earning a living; he has to become a

leader. These gender roles were taught to the upper grade students of: grade four, five, and six. She encouraged the teacher of Islamic studies to find references from Islamic sources concerning that matter.

> ... yes, a man remains the boss at home, even when he is unemployed. He is still the leader of the household. We teach these values to the students. I encourage the teachers of Islamic studies for the fourth, the fifth and the sixth grades, to find out the religious texts which are related to these teachings (Interview, Sitti Rabiah, the school principal, October 13, 2005).

This school principal was a good example of a professional women teaching one set of gender values and being a model of another. The female teacher of grade three also taught stereotyped gender roles to her students. She agreed with the stereotyped gender role depiction in the textbook where a father was depicted as breadwinner and a mother as a housewife who was responsible for managing the household and she believed that this has been the common practice for a long time. However, she realized that these were stereotyped depictions of gender roles in society. Indeed there were many mothers who worked as she herself had done as a teacher for a long time. In addition, these depictions did not reflect common practice in the Makassar midde class, in which both husband and wife both worked to earn a living. She realized that many mothers earn a living in a way that was not reflected in the textbooks. She acknowledged that it was the role of a teacher to explain this to students. Basically, she agreed that textbooks depicted mothers working, but that students should also understand that not all mothers work outside home. She also realized that a mother who was a breadwinner existed in the community. Many

women not only earned more than her husbands, but alsoin some cases women were the only income earner in the household; the husband stayed home. According to her, this was the result of the limited employment opportunities (Interview, the senior female teacher of grade three, December 20, 2005). This teacher was talking of a situation where the society depicted in the textbooks has been left behind by social changes in the society. Teachers were left with the job of making sense of the discrepancies for the students.

The fact that a male stays home while a wife works in public was not depicted in textbooks. Besides, the males who did domestic work were not supposed to be publicized in textbooks according to the young teacher of grade one, since this was only for internal household affairs and it was not appropriate to their job as a man. However, this teacher agreed with the depiction of a woman as a doctor, a minister, a president as this depiction would give a positive attitude to students to study hard and have high aspirations. This was consistent with the teaching about Kartini's struggle in the colonial era to motivate her students to study and work hard to be successful "…in grade 1, we sometimes taught the students about Kartini's struggle. If the students want to be successful, they have to study hard and work hard" (Interview, Subaedah, the teacher of grade one, October 14, 2005).

Like the teacher of grade one, the teacher of grade six emphasized the role of women in a non stereotype way. This teacher taught about gender roles to her students

emphasizing that the role of women was not only at home but also in public life. She often told her students that men and women often have to work together. She said, for example, "I often told my students that females of a farmer family did not only prepare meals and that only males worked in the rice fields and that it was possible that women could help with the planting" (Interview, the senior female teacher of grade six, October 22, 2005). However, she still emphasized the stereotyped role of women in the kitchen as she said the kitchen would not disappear from women's lives. It is number one for women. The women's involvement in productive jobs is only to support the family.

7. Gender Roles in Classroom

Gender bias in the classroom can be seen in several situations. The segregated seat arrangements according to gender were evident in all grades. The majority of classroom seat arrangement put female students on the teacher's left side and the male students on the teacher's right side.

The first-grade class has forty students comprising 21 males and 19 females. Gender division of groups was evident (Field notes 13/10/2005). The students were sitting in-group of three and four. Girls were sitting with girls separately from the boys' groups. The girl groups were on the left hand side and one group of girls was sitting in the front in the middle of the classroom. The groups of boys were sitting on the right hand side and in the middle at the back of the classroom.

The third grade class had 25 students (Field notes 20/12/2005). The number of males and females were almost equal: thirteen male students and twelve females. Unlike the first grade students, the third grade students were sitting in rows and columns. There are three columns of five rows. The males and females were not separated by column but the front two row desks were for females and the back desks were for males. These desk arrangements were similar to the depiction in the new publication textbooks where girls are depicted sitting in front rows and boys are in the back rows (See the previous chapter of textbook analysis).

Grade six had 15 students consisting of eight males and seven females. The students in grade six were grouped into five groups. The groups were called the name of local heroes. The heroes chosen were all males: Ranggong Dg Romo, Datu Museng, Arung Palakka, Datu Ribandang, and Sultan Hasanuddin. These group names and the members were dynamic. For example, group Ranggong Dg Romo was located sometimes in front and some time in the back. Unlike the grouping in grade six of As'adiyah school, the students grouping in grade six of Muhammadiyah were not dichotomized into feminine and masculine groups. They were neutral, and the group members were very dynamic. Every time I visited the class, the group members and places were always different, such as when the class was being taught by the classroom teacher and the local language teacher.

In the teaching and learning process of the first-grade class, the thirty five year old teacher gave more attention to the boys than to the girls. In solving the mathematics task, the teacher gave a chance to the three boys before giving the chance to a girl. Paying more attention to boys than girls seem to be the common pattern in schools as was observed in grade three and grade six classrooms of As'adiyah school mentioned earlier in the previous section of this chapter. Other research which showed the same pattern is the study of Myra and David Sadker in America in 1994. Sadker and Sadker discovered that as the boys are active and the girls are inactive, the teacher gave more attention to the boys (Sadker & Sadker, 1994).

The students of the third grade class at that time studied the subject Pancasila, civic education and social science. Like the teacher of grade one, the senior female teacher also devoted more attention to the boys since boys demanded attention by their behavior. When the teacher wrote the task on the blackboard, one male student asked about the task to the teacher. The teacher then came close to that student to give her response.

The sixth grade class was divided into five groups (Field notes 24/12/2005). Their subject was the local language. Group one consisted of three male students sitting next to the door. Group two consisted of three females sitting in the middle of the class. Group three consisted of two boys and a female sitting in the front left. Group four had three males student sitting on the back left. Finally group five had three

females sitting in the back right. The teacher stood in the middle of the class close to the student group in the middle. Occasionally, she moved back next to the board, and walked around the other groups of students. She gave the assignment to the students by reading the task. One of the assignments was translating a Makassarese sentence into Indonesian. One item was "Rati (a female) made a cake". The stereotyped task of a woman making a cake illustrates the way in which gender roles was socialized to students.

After reading the tasks, a female student asked a question, but the teacher did not respond. That might be because the female student's voice was very soft and difficult to hear by the teacher. After that a male student asked a question and the teacher responded to him by explaining the task. Then another female asked a question. At this time, the teacher responded to directly. One boy asked a question twice and was responded directly to by the teacher. When the students did the assignment the teacher came to visit Group Two (females), then Group Five (females) and Group One (males), after that, she returned to her desk. She never visited Group Three (two males and a female) or Group Four (males). The groups were called by the names of the local heroes such as Sultan Hasanuddin, Ranggong Dg Romo, Arung Palakka. These group names were used in this and other subjects on a daily basis. The naming of these groups served to emphasize the roles of male historical figures in local history.

E. Conclusion

Gender roles and practices of the three school communities discussed in this chapter had similarities and differences. The similarities could be seen in several ways. Firstly, this study showed that the majority of the school communities in the three Islamic primary schools shared a common stereotyped gender ideology. They believed that a man was the breadwinner in the family and that a man could do domestic jobs if a woman was not available or that a man could do domestic jobs only to help women. They also believed that a woman's role was at home as a housewife and she was responsible for domestic chores. If a woman played public roles to earn a living, she could only be considered as a secondary earner and she was still responsible for home duties. Another shared ideology was that the man was the leader. A woman could be a leader if she had capability but the priority went to a man. These beliefs indicated that gender mainstreaming policy had not brought about effective changes among the school decision makers and teachers because these people still had a gender ideology of inequality where men were the first and women were the second class. Although, many of these teachers and decision makers lived lives of much greater gender equality, than it is suggested by the ideals and values they espoused. Gender equality is measured in the UNDP's Gender Development Index (GDI). The GDI of Indonesia was 63.9 percent in 2005 and there was a slight increase to 65.1 percent in 2006. The GDI of South Sulawesi was 57.4 percent and 59.0 percent in 2005 and 2006 respectively. The GDI of Makassar city in these two years was the highest in South Sulawesi and they were even higher than the national

GDI. In 2005, it was 69.0 percent and 71.3 in 2006. The GDI of Bone was 53.4 percent in 2005 and it was 56.6 in 2006. Wajo had the lowest GDI among three Districts. It had 42.4 percent in 2005 and 52.3 percent in 2006 (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2011). The religious and the cultural values have changed in South Sulawesi. This study suggests that the speed of these changes has been slow and the cultural religious values were more contested than the increased participation of females in the labour force, public service, higher education and professional employment would suggest. Increased female participation in the workforce has been slow to influence cultural and religious values. This pattern of change is reflected in the situation where the teachers taught the values commonly accepted in society rather than the values they themselves practiced.

Secondly, this study showed that the school decision makers and teachers had similar knowledge and opinions about gender mainstreaming and the term gender itself. In the first place, I found that some teachers and school principals of the three schools did not know about the policy of gender mainstreaming and were confused about the term "gender". Yet, some of them, including some young teachers and all the three school committees in the three schools, were aware of gender equality and gender issues in education and claimed that they had knowledge about the terms. In their opinion, gender and gender mainstreaming meant the equality of men and women or the equal rights of men and women to participate in public life such as in leadership

roles, education, and the workforce. Hence, these teachers understood parts of the gender mainstreaming discourse such as women's participation in public. Such views were in line with the liberal progressive perspective who sought equal treatment for men and women. These understandings and opinions of the school decision makers and teachers indicated that the gender mainstreaming policy of gender equality had reached some decision makers and teachers since their awareness of these issues was acquired from seminars about women's empowerment.

Although the school communities had similarities, they were different in many things. Firstly, the three Islamic primary schools were located in different geographical locations and had different organizational management. The Islamic state owned school based in the village had almost similar numbers of male and female staff. Nevertheless, the males and females had different power and prestige in the school. The powerful and prestigious positions in the school such as principal and teachers of the higher grades were dominated by men.

The As'adiyah Islamic Primary School, an Islamic primary school based in a provincial town, was dominated by women in terms of numbers of male and female staff. However, the school chose a male as the leader. This school prioritized men in positions of power over women. The Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School, an Islamic primary school located in the capital province of South Sulawesi was female predominant both in numbers of staff and in terms of positions of power. In this

school, the school principal, the classroom teachers and the administrative staff were all women. The school had two male teachers only, who were subject teachers and they were rarely involved in school meetings. The equal number of male and female personnel in the state Islamic primary school in the village indicated men and women had equal access to attain education and to go to work in the public sphere. Even so, in the case of this village school, male teachers still had easier access to positions of prominence and authority.

The other differences between the three schools were the gender division of power and gender biases in the teaching process. Gender division of power and prestige in the government owned school in the village was still dominated by men although the number of male and female staff was almost the same. The private school located in the provincial town was dominated by female staff in number but the powerful positions were still held by male staff. The private school in Makassar city was dominated by women both in numbers, power and prestige. Surprisingly, gender issues in the teaching process in terms of teachers' attention to boys and girls were in the opposite direction. The government school in the village was the most progressive. The middle position went to the school in the town and the least progressive was the school in the city.

Another difference was the awareness of gender issues. In the teaching process of the three schools I discovered that the State Islamic Primary School in the village had

adopted gender equality to a certain degree in teaching in terms of not discriminating against one gender. Most of the teachers did not teach students about gender stereotyped roles and did not treat boys and girls differently. On the other hand, in As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools where the majority of teachers were female, it was a paradox that the female teachers taught gender stereotyped roles and, in general, gave more attention to boys than to girls.

The school teachers seem to live in parallel worlds. They espoused and they taught a gender ideology strongly influenced by cultural and religious values. However, the gender roles played in their profession and at home were much more progressive and indeed consistent with the objectives of the gender mainstreaming policy. They believe that men should be the breadwinner and women were responsible for domestic duties. However, the female teachers were well-educated professionals and they shared some domestic duties with their husbands.

The following chapter discusses the students' perceptions and depictions of gender roles. The chapter examines how the students have understood and accommodated the gender ideology taught and what they have observed of the teachers' own life styles.

Chapter 8

Students' perceptions on gender roles

A. Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the students' views on gender roles by analyzing the students' responses to gender role depictions shown to them, the students' own drawings, the students' selection on famous people, the students' selection of a favourite person, and the students' occupational aspirations.

Involving the students as a part of the study of gender mainstreaming policy in education was essential because of "a philosophical commitment to valuing children's perspectives" (Myhill & Jones, 2006, p. 105). Students were not only the target but also the subject of the policy. The theory of gender subjectivity proposes that "individuals through their gendered subjectivities, and especially through their experience in relations with others, constitute their gendered being" (Parker, 1997, p. 1). Parker further explained that "gender is always enmeshed in other dimensions of existence: boys and girls, they are also children and not adults; they come from higher or lower status of families; they are clever or stupid, rich or poor" (Parker, 1997, p. 2). This study involved the various dimensions of existence influencing gender roles reflected in the three types of Islamic primary schools.

As discussed in chapter 3, data were collected through a variety of research techniques, including group interviews (Dockrell, Lewis & Lindsay, 2000; Lewis, 1992), drawings, listing famous people (Sadker & Sadker, 1994) and selecting favourite persons. While I was alert to the risk of one individual dominating the discussion, my approach was informed by the view of Docrell, Lewis and Lindsay (2000) that "group interviews allow the possibilities that a discussion between individuals will spark off new ideas, criticism or development" (p. 52).

Three main points emerged from the study. Firstly, the majority of students had gender-neutral views on sports/games, professions and a range of other social activities. Secondly, the students perceived some persistent gender stereotyped roles. Thirdly, the students from the three schools had divergent views on gender roles.

B. Gender-Neutral and Non-Stereotyped Views of Gender Roles

1. Sport and games

Gender-neutral views of students were revealed mainly from the group interviews and some of the student's drawings. The group interviews of students on gender roles in sports and games, work and domestic activities revealed that students in the three schools - the state Islamic primary school, the As'adiyah Islamic primary school and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school - were egalitarian. They considered some sports and games including badminton, employment and domestic activities to be gender-neutral even though the majority of gender role depictions shown to them

were male predominant and gender stereotyped. The students' views were coincidentally consistent with the objectives of the gender mainstreaming policy.

The students considered running, cycling, gymnastics, badminton, table tennis, skipping and computer games as gender neutral activities. According to the students, these games were for both males and females. For example, all the students agreed that women can also play badminton, although the picture shown to the students was of a boy playing badminton (See the Figure 8).
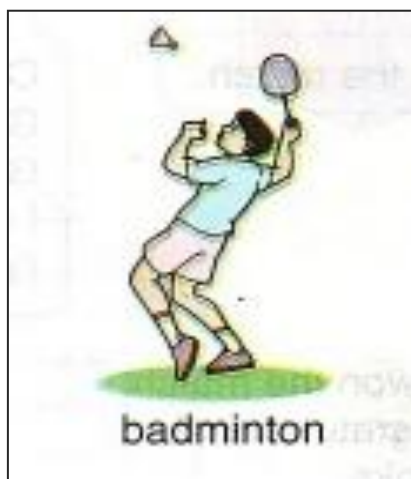
Figure 8: A boy playing badminton shown to the students that they considered a girl could also play.

Gender-neutral views of the students for all the sport and games mentioned above were reasonable as these sports and games are popular for both males and females in

Indonesia. Badminton, for example, is a popular sport in Indonesia. Indonesian badminton players are among the best in the world for both male and female players. So it is not surprising, that the students recognized badminton was a gender-neutral game.

Skipping was the only game depicted in the illustrations that were shown to the students where girls were involved (see Figure 9 shown to the students). This game was thought also to be gender-neutral game by both the students in the village and city where boys can also play the game. However, the students in the town qualify the willingness of boys to skip.

Figure 9: Girls are skipping with a rope, a game shown to the students that some of them thought boys may not want to play

The village and the city students' thought that both boys and girls can skip, based on their own experience. However, the response of the students in the town affirmed that skipping was a game for females, but, when asked, they conceded that a boy can

skip if he wants to. The students' view that 'if males want to' suggests that in their view skipping is really a female game. This assumption is consistent with the response of their female teacher who differentiated the games for boys and for girls and skipping was included among the female games. Although, the students considered that many sports and games were gender neutral, some sports and games were considered gender stereotyped by the students including chess, football, and kite flying, which will be discussed in detail in the Section C of this chapter on gender stereotyped views.

2. Professions

Students considered that many professions were gender-neutral such as school teacher, police, farmer, pilot, manager, judge, specialist doctor, general practitioner doctor, national heroes, craftsman, and youth group leaders. The illustrations both were shown to the students in the Figure 10 show that a teacher could be either a female or a male.
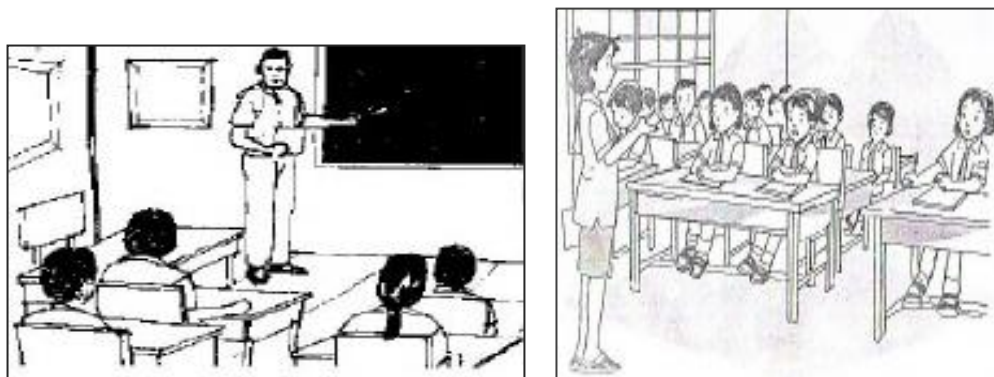
Figure 10: A male teacher and a female teacher shown to the students that they consider gender neutral

The occupation of farmer was also identified by the students as gender neutral occupation although the picture shown to the students is stereotyped since a male farmer can be seen in Figure 11.

Figure 11: A male farmer. Farming was considered by the students as gender neutral. Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi (2005, p.90)

In addition, the non-stereotyped depiction of a pilot shown to the students, illustrating a female as shown in Figure 12, indicated that a pilot was thought by the students to be a gender neutral profession as a pilot can be a male or a female.

Figure 12: The non-stereotyped depiction of a female pilot considered by students as gender neutral. Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi (2005, p.90).

3. Domestic roles

I showed the students the pictures of domestic activities including both stereotyped and non- stereotyped depictions. The stereotyped gender role depictions in domestic roles included, for example, a female sweeping the yard and preparing a meal for the family members (See Figure 13 and 14).

Figure 13: A Stereotyped depiction of a girl sweeping the yard shown to the students

The students of the state school in the village, the private school in the town and another private school in the city still considered four out of five domestic activities to be gender neutral, whereas the depictions were both stereotyped and non-stereotyped. This suggests that the students had their own beliefs on gender roles, which were probably acquired from the gender role practices in their own home.

Figure 14: A stereotyped depiction of a mother wearing apron and preparing meal. It is also non-stereotyped, with a boy involved in meal preparation. Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi (2005, p.27).

Only one domestic activity, preparing meals, was debated among students. Almost all students in the village rejected a depiction of a father preparing a meal. In the discussion on domestic roles, the majority of students, both males and females, expressed progressive ideas. One girl commented on the picture of a boy helping his mother preparing a meal (Figure 12) "This boy is OK, since boys always help their mothers in the kitchen" and another opinion from a boy that "not only girls are able to help with cooking in the kitchen[14]". The depiction of a mother in preparing meal was also debated by the students since a father can also prepare meals. All students admitted that they saw their fathers preparing meals while their mothers did something different or their mothers were ill or tired. Besides, the other non-stereotyped domestic of gender roles, such as a boy makes up his bed (see Figure 15) was also approved by the students.
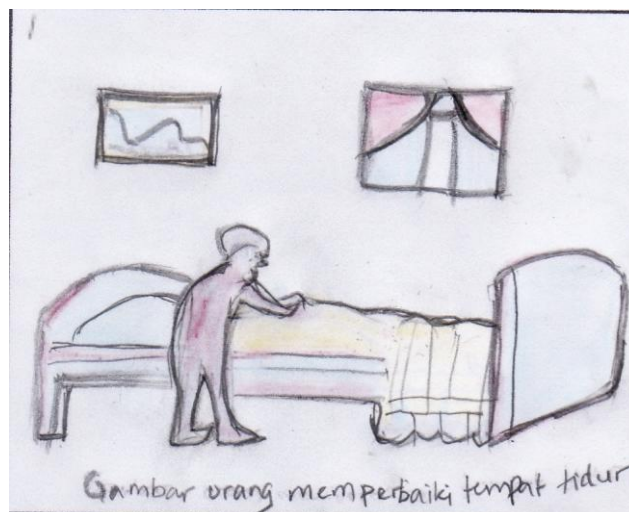
Figure 15: A non-stereotyped view of a boy making his bed drawn by a student.

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[14] All the quotations and summaries of student's views in this chapter have been taken from the group discussions with the students held at the three schools in November 2005.

The students' views on non-stereotyped gender roles were evident in the students' drawings. Some students of the village state school and the Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school depicted a boy making a bed.

Gender non-stereotyped views of the students could also be seen in a student drawing of a national heroine (Figure 16). The picture of this national heroine reflected not only the pro-female identification on gender roles, but also reflected the students' recognition of the followers of other religions, as the heroine, Kristina Martha Tiyahahu, who was a Christian from the province of Maluku.

Figure 16: A non-stereotyped gender role picture of a heroine (Picture drawn by a male student)

Furthermore, non-stereotyped gender roles can also be found in a few selections of famous people. The non-stereotyped students' lists of famous people were the former female president (Megawati Sukarnoputri), the heroines (RA Kartini, Tjut Nya Dien,

and Kristina Martha Tiyahahu) the current female ministers as well as a female sport champion. Yet, only Megawati was a current figure who was frequently listed by students. (See further discussion in section D of this chapter.)

C. Stereotyped Views on Gender Roles

Gender stereotypes was defined by Shaw (cited in Gooden & Gooden, 2001, p. 90) as "assumptions made about the characteristics of each gender, such as physical appearance, physical abilities, attitudes, interests, or occupation". The students' views of stereotyped gender roles were evident in group interviews, drawings, and selections of famous people and their favourite person. in the group interviews students identified some gender neutral sports and games, professions and domestic roles. They also identified other games and sports, professions, and domestic activities as gender stereotyped.

Sports and games

The sports and games considered stereotyped by many students were chess, football, and kites. Firstly, chess was considered as a male game by many students (Figure 17, Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi, 2005, p.111). For example, one of the male students argued that "Girls cannot play chess as they do not have the capacity to play chess" (group interview, As'adiyah students, 2005).

Figure 17: Two boys are playing chess. Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi, 2005, p.111

The first statement is stereotyping the inability of females to play chess. The second statement although it gives condition that a female can play chess if she is able, it is more likely the condition is thought to be unachievable for a female. Sunarti (2004) classified chess as a male game. For example she explained the dominant involvement of males in textbooks as the context and sentences of Indonesian Language depicted more male games such as *layang-layang* and *catur* (kites and chess).

Playing football was believed by the students in the village state school as the sport and game for males only. This is consistent with the picture of a boy playing football illustrated below (Figure 18, Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi, 2005, p.111). This was debated among the students both in the town and in the city. The female students in

the city said that they played football and the school allowed the female students to practice it. Some students in the town recognized the ability of females to play football in the same way as they conditionally accepted females could play chess. However, other students stated that it was the game for males and female students admitted that they had never practiced it.
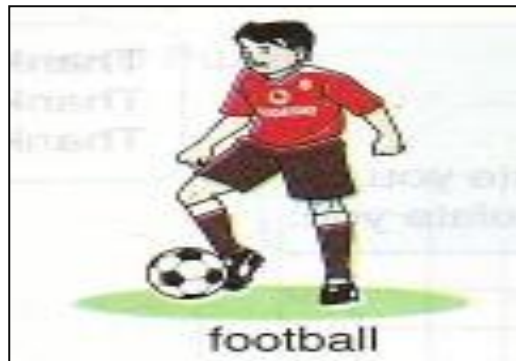
Figure 18: a boy playing football Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi, 2005, p.111).

Football is the stereotyped as a male game, not only in Indonesia but also elsewhere in the world. The football players in the FIFA World Cup are always males however women play football as an Olympic sport and many western and Asian countries have women's teams and competitions. For example, the Australian team is called the Matildas. It was understandable if many students regarded football as a stereotyped male game since it seems that many of the responses in this discussion are reflecting the students' experience and the common patterns of gender roles of their own society.

Flying kites was also believed to be a game for males by the students in the village and in the city when I showed the picture to them (Figure 19). Yet the students in the town stated a capability condition for the females to fly the kites "Girls can play with a kite if they are able to fly it."

Figure 19: boys flying kites considered by most of the students as male games

The students' perception of flying kites to be a male game was probably based on the practice in the community where only boys fly kites. Stereotypical views suggest that flying kites needs the physical strength of boys to run pulling the flying kites, especially if there were strong winds. For example, some male students considered that "Kite flying is not suitable for girls" and the girls concurred. The reason for the unsuitability of the girls in flying kites was their weakness of girls in running. Some female students qualified their belief arguing that some girls may have the ability to fly kites which was supported by some of the male students, yet other female

students had already stated that females cannot fly the kites, a view that is probably based on their own experience. So, it seems flying kites is a stereotyped male game. Flying kites was classified as a male game is confirmed by Sunarti (2004) in her study of school textbooks.

The professions

The students both in the town and in the city identified a postal worker as a male job. The job of a postal worker was illustrated as a postman riding a bicycle with a bag of letters and parcels (Figure 20, Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi (2005, p.90). According to the students in the town, a female cannot do the job especially if she has to deliver mail far away. The students' perceptions in the town were similar with those in the city where they did not agree that a woman could become a postal worker. The basis for their disagreement was they themselves had never seen a female postal worker in their community and it was a male postal workers's image that was shown to them. Like the students in the city, the students in the village had never seen a female postal worker, yet they showed progressive views of gender equality when they stated that a postal worker could be a male or a female. In general, children's gender expectation of different occupations is related to their experience of seeing one or both genders working at a particular job. In addition, students who have gendered expectations of different occupations that they had never seen is probably related to associations children make with similar occupations. For example, although students in the village had never seen female postal workers, the village children are used to

seeing females who worked as hard as postal workers did carrying heavy bags. They had seen their mothers carrying heavy buckets of fish or produce to markets.

Figure 20: A postman delivering mails Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi (2005, p.90)

Another job which was considered stereotypically males was that of a timber worker. The picture of a traditional logger holding an axe ready to cut the big log suggests that it is a tough job that can only be done by males (Figure 21). The students both based in the village and the town had never seen a female logger. Yet, the students in the town accepted conditionally that a woman can be a logger if she has capability to do the job. However, the students in the city did not agree that a woman to be a timber worker.

Figure 21: A male timber worker. Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi (2005, p.90).

There was also a debate as to whether it was acceptable for a woman to work as a driver. The students in the village accepted the depiction of a female driver as they acknowledged that females drive cars. This opinion was emphasized by the students in the town that a female can be a driver only for a private transportation but she cannot be a driver for public transportation. Yet there was one opinion from a female student who gave an exception for a female to be a driver of a public transport, that is, when her family is in a critical condition such as her husband who works as a driver being sick. Unlike the students in the town, the students in the city did not give any exceptions to their non-acceptance of a woman as a driver.

The students also recognised the profession of a soldier as a male profession since the students both in the village and in the town had never seen female soldiers in their community. The students in the town admitted that they only saw female soldiers in television, in films. Nevertheless, the students both in the village and in

the town could accept a female becoming a soldier. Unlike the students above, the students in the city argued about the soldier profession for females. Some students based in the city disagreed and the others accepted that a female could become a soldier. For example, a male student disagreed with the idea of a female soldier: "I disagree that a woman can become a soldier since being a soldier is very risky, since our very existence is threatened". Another male student added that being a soldier required a strong commitment, which usually only men have.

Domestic roles

Almost all the students in the village based disagreed that a father should prepare meals. Only one of them (a boy) agreed. The agreement by this student of a father preparing meal invited other students (males and females) to tease him as other students shouted that was 'because he has no mother'. So, he agreed a father could prepare meals since he noticed his father doing this activity. However, this was not common in a "normal" family when husband and wife were available - a wife prepares meals for her husband. The students in the town also debated this role. Unlike the students in the village in Bone, the majority of the students in the town of Wajo said a father/husband could prepare meal, not only the mother/wife. However, they put the condition that the mother/a wife must be sick or not available. The students in the city also debated the gender role of preparing meal. Although the majority said that both boys and girls may help in the kitchen, one student argued it was not appropriate for boys to be involved in the kitchen. This indicated that the

traditional gender ideology where the kitchen is a women's domain still existed in this school. These differences of opinion seem to occur where there are different patterns of socio-economic status between village, provincial town and city. Working mothers/wives are more common in urban rather than rural areas.

The students' drawings in the three schools were mostly stereotyped portrayals of gender roles. The stereotyped male images were a farmer (Figures 22, Source Students' drawing), a timber worker (Figures 21, Source: Ikasari and Zaerofi (2005, p.90), a policeman, and a national hero. On the other hand, the female stereotyped images were females preparing meals (Figures 23, Source Students' drawing). The images below were typical of the students' portrayal of gender roles.

Figure 22: A stereotyped gender role picture of a male farmer (Picture drawn by a male student)

Figure 23: A stereotyped gender role picture of a female preparing a meal (Picture drawn by a male student)

It seems that many of the images drawn by the students reflect those in the textbooks used in the schools. This is consistent with the concept of gender subjectivities that individuals construct their own gender based on their knowledge, intention, desires emotion and trauma (Parker, 1997). Moreover, the students' stereotyped views could be found in the selection of famous people. The students in each of the three schools selected more male famous people than female ones. In addition, the majority of the most frequently listed were males. The most often listed by students in three schools were the Vice President Muhammad Jusuf Kalla, who comes from South Sulawesi, President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, RA Kartini, a colonial era heroine, and former President BJ Habibie, who like Kalla is from the same province as the students (Figure 24). Three of four most often listed famous people were males and all of them appeared in the media frequently both the poster in school wall and the mass media.
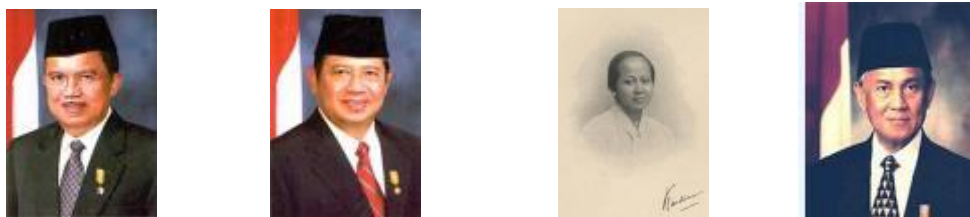
Figure 24: The most often listed persons

Muhammad Jusuf Kalla (The Vice President of the RI 2004-2009)	Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (The President of the RI 2004-2014)	RA Kartini (A national heroine 1879-1904)	BJ Habibie (The third President of the RI (1998-1999

In addition, the selection of the favourite from the list of famous showed male predominance. From seven of the most favoured people, only one of them was a female. She was RA Kartini. However, this female was not a contemporary figures who were different from the male ones: Bahruddin Jusuf Habibie, Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, Taufik Hidayat (Figure 25), who are all the present day figures.

Figure 25: Taufik Hidayat a badminton star whom the students listed frequently and frequently favoured.

This indicated that students' perception on famous and favourite people were male predominant and strongly influenced by media exposure. The female who was most frequently listed was Kartini. The students recognized her not only from textbooks and the media, but her birthday is celebrated every year as a national holiday. The popularity of Kartini suggests that the students did not recognize many earlier period or contemporary female figures. In fact, many other women had played important roles for educational provision for women such as Dewi Sartika in West Java, and Maria W Maramis in North Sulawesi in the early twentieth century. Furthermore,

women were involved as warriors in earlier anti-colonial struggles such as Nyai Ageng Serang (1752-1828), Tjoet Nyak Dien (1850-1908) Tjoet Mutia (1870-1910) (Parawansa, 2002; Suryochondro, 2000). There were also many local female warriors such as Opu Tenrisaju. Not only that, about one fifth of the rulers in the Kingdom of Bone, South Sulawesi since the fourteenth century were females and in Wajo, four out six great chiefs were women (Reid, 1988). However, none of them were recognized by the students. This finding was consistent with what Elizabeth Martyn (2005) has argued: "[The] Indonesian women's movement has received little attention in the scholarship on Indonesian politics and history" (p.3). In contemporary Indonesia, women actually have been involved in various sectors of society, including being the president of the country. The current edition (October 2007) of *Globe Asia Magazine* published the polling result of the list of Indonesia's 99 most powerful women. The lists included politicians, entrepreneurs, celebrities, and social activists. At the top of the list was Megawati Sukarnoputri. (Globe Asia, 2007; The Jakarta Post, 2007; Tribun Timur, 2007). Included in the list was the entrepreneur Fatima Kalla from South Sulawesi (Tribun Timur, 2007).

Stereotyped views of students were also revealed from students' aspiration. In general, boys and girls have different occupational aspirations. Boys aspired to several professions including a teacher, a doctor, a pilot, an athlete, a bank officer, a business person and a soldier. However, girls only dreamed of two: teachers and doctors.

D. The Comparison of Students' Views from the Three Schools

In this section, I compared the perceptions of the students from the three schools with different socio-cultural settings: rural, semi urban and urban Islamic schools. The first school was the State Islamic School called Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah Negeri (MIN) located in a Village of Bone Regency. In the state Islamic primary school, the students did not have a distinctive appearance from the students in other public schools called *Sekolah Dasar (SD)* all over Indonesia. They wore similar uniforms: white tops and dark red pants for boys and skirt for girls. The second school was the private Islamic school called Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah Asadiyah or As'adiyah Islamic primary school located in a provincial town of Wajo Regency. The students of As'adiyah Islamic primary school had distinctive uniforms that differed from those of public schools. The girls wore long sleeved tops, long skirts and a scarf and the boys wore long pants. Their uniforms followed the Islamic dress code. The last was also a private school called *Sekolah Dasar Muhammadiyah* or Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school. It was located in Makassar, the capital city of South Sulawesi. The students of Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school also wore uniforms which followed the Islamic dress code, like the students of As'adiyah Islamic primary school. The different uniforms of As'adiyah Islamic primary school and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary were the example of different Islamic practice between the state and the private Islamic primary schools.

Although they were different in appearance, the students in three schools generally shared similar views on gender roles as detailed in the previous discussion of gender neutral/non-stereotypes as well as gender stereotypes. Yet, there were also markedly different pattern of students' gender perceptions in the three schools. First, different views of students were most evident in the selection of famous people. The students of the state Islamic primary school were the least stereotyping in their choice of the famous people, selecting more females than the students of As'adiyah Islamic primary school and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school. The gap between the proportion of male and female nominations of the famous people was much greater among the As'adiyah Islamic primary school and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school students: 42 percent and 76 percent more male nominations respectively. Furthermore, the assessment of who were the most frequently listed by students in each school revealed that students of the state Islamic primary school more often listed famous females than the students of the other two schools. Students of the state Islamic primary school had three females: Megawati Sukarnoputri (former female President of RI), RA Kartini (a colonial heroine) and Inul Daratista (a *dandut* entertainer and controversial pop star) in their most frequently listed famous people. While the students of As'adiyah Islamic primary school had only one female (RA Kartini), but she was in the top position. Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school's students had all males in six of the most frequently listed famous people, a female (RA Kartini) was only in the seventh of those most often listed.

It was interesting to see that students of the state Islamic primary school listed frequently the highest number of females compared with the other schools. The students' selection of Kartini did not show a big difference from the other two schools. However, the number of students who selected Megawati and Inul (Figure 26) were far higher in the state Islamic primary school than in As'adiyah Islamic primary school and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school. The role of Megawati and Inul were not the same even though both of them had played prominent roles in public. Megawati played a non-stereotyped role as a former female president, while Inul played a traditional role of a woman as an entertainer. Yet both of them sparked public debates.

Figure 26: Megawati Sukarno Putri and Inul Daratista were both listed frequently by the students of the state Islamic primary school but not by the As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school students

There was a great debate on the role of a woman as a president before the election of Megawati. Many politicians used Megawati's gender for political purposes. However, when Megawati became the fifth president, they accepted her leadership (Bianpoen, 1999; Blackburn, 2004b; Oey-Gardiner, 2002; Platzdasch, 2000; Sen, 2002). Like Megawati, Inul's role as a *dangdut* star was also debated. Inul, as argued by Mulligan (2005), is "symbolic of women's entry into a public sphere, and challenges the conventional notion of what is appropriate behavior" (p. 1).

Megawati and Inul's role in public was strongly debated - often in Islamic terms. A female president was debated because many Muslims based their arguments on a rigid translation of a part of a verse of the Qur'an: article 4, verse 34 "The man is a leader of a woman". Inul was debated because she did not follow the Islamic code in terms of dancing and dress. Inul was accused of being pornographic. In addition *dangdut* songs performed by Inul were traditionally enjoyed by the rural people, like the families of the students at the state Islamic primary school.

The majority of students both in As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools seemed aware of these debates about Megawati and Inul and also disapproved of the roles of Megawati and Inul and their behavior. So, I would argue that this disapproval was the reason why the majority of students in these two schools did not list either Megawati or Inul among their famous and favourite people. However, the students of the state Islamic primary school were not really concerned with these debates. They accepted and even approved of the provocative role of Inul.

It was probably that their parents were not concerned about the issue. I observed that the students' names, particularly those given to girls mainly followed the name of the national entertainers that their parents were influenced by a popular rural culture informed by mass media. This was not the case with the students of As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools from urban middle class families of a more devout religious orientation. The parents selected the As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah schools for more overt religious reasons.

Furthermore, the three schools had different patterns in the selection of a favourite person. The selections of the state Islamic primary school's students were female predominant. While, the selections of Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school's students were the opposite where the students' favourites were predominantly males. The selections of As'adiyah Islamic primary school's students were more male predominant than the selection of Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school.

The occupational aspirations of the students had also different pattern. The students of the state Islamic primary school aspired to fewer professions than other students of As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools. Both male and female students of the state Islamic primary school aspired to be teachers and doctors only. The majority of them (males and females) dreamed of becoming teachers and the rest (one male and one female) wanted to be doctors. In As'adiyah Islamic primary school, occupational aspirations of boys and girls were different. Boys aspired to

various professions: a teacher, a doctor, a businessperson, and a bank officer, but girls only dreamed of two: teachers and doctors. Like students in As'adiyah Islamic primary school, the boys in Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools also aspired to several professions including a teacher a doctor, a pilot, an athlete, and a soldier while girls only aspired to be teachers and doctors like the girls in the other two schools. In summary, All girls in the three schools had a limited range of occupational aspirations, while the boys in As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools had much larger ranges, but not the boys in the village school, who only dreamed of a limited range of careers. This may be related to the limited ranges of white-collar occupations visible to rural students.

F. Conclusion

The students in three schools: the state Islamic primary schools, the As'adiyah Islamic primary school and the Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school considered the majority of games/sport, occupations and domestic activities as gender-neutral. The views of students were mainly influenced by the gender role practices in their community and some non stereotyped images in the textbooks and on the classroom walls. That is because the gender neutral views of the students were comparable with those practices and images. I identified the gender stereotyped views of students mainly in their drawings, listing of famous people and the selection of favourite persons. These students' views were similar to those stereotyped depictions of gender roles in several school textbooks and in the mass media. The students' views

on gender roles seemed to align more with gender mainstreaming policy objectives than the views of their teachers. The teachers' perspectives on gender roles were mainly influenced by the cultural and religious values they adopted. Although the students in the three schools generally had similar views on gender roles, there were also markedly different patterns of perceptions among them. Students of the state Islamic primary school were the least stereotyping of famous people and their favourites, whereas the students of Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools were the most stereotyping. Another different pattern was the students' occupational aspirations. Both girls and boys of the state Islamic primary school dreamed limited occupational aspirations, while the boys in As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools had various occupational aspirations and the girls aspired only to be doctors and teachers. These differences among the three schools were mainly influenced by the ideology adopted by the school communities.

The implications of this finding are that the schools should use more gender neutral/non-stereotyped textbooks which reflected the gender practice in the students' every day life. The schools also should put more gender-neutral/non-stereotyped images in the classroom walls. The limited students' aspiration of boys and girls in the state Islamic primary school implied that the school principals and teachers should encourage both male and female students not to limit their aspirations to only two professions. The constricted vocational aspiration of female students of Asadiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools suggested that the

school principals and teachers should widen the horizon of the girls in order that they aspire to various vocations to the same extent as the boys. The schools should give explanations that women professions are not only teachers and doctors but there are many occupations available. The schools' teachers should demonstrate that men and women had already participated in various occupations.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Gender mainstreaming in Islamic primary schools in South Sulawesi has brought about changes in awareness of gender issues among staff and students, teaching materials and students' career aspirations. The gender roles of the teaching staff represent a model of gender progressiveness for students. However, the embedded cultural and religious values were still evident in the stereotyped gender ideology of the school principals and the school teachers.

This chapter brings together the discussion and analysis of these issues in the previous chapters. The chapter includes a discussion of the supporting and inhibiting factors for the implementation of gender mainstreaming at all levels of administration. The chapter also presents the implications for the policy of gender mainstreaming and its implementation in education in Indonesia in particular.

The aim of the research was to explore the extent and the manner in which the Indonesian government has implemented the policy of gender mainstreaming in education particularly in Islamic primary education in South Sulawesi. This research has sought to identify supporting and inhibiting factors of the implementation of gender mainstreaming as well as to ascertain whether greater gender equality has

been achieved since the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy in education began in 2002. In particular, this thesis investigated gender ideologies in Indonesian society, especially in South Sulawesi, as they are reflected in Islamic primary school curriculum. It also Examined the extent to which the government policy commitments have been implemented in Islamic primary school curriculum and teaching. Besides, it examined how men and women were portrayed in curriculum materials of three different Islamic primary schools. Furthermore, the thesis explored the supporting and inhibiting factors of a cultural and religious nature in South Sulawesi society in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Islamic schools.

This thesis employed case studies of three Islamic primary education located in South Sulawesi Indonesia. It included.one government and two private schools. These three schools were in three different geographical locations: City, provincial town and village. This research also included investigation of the women's movement in Indonesia and its fight for gender equality from the colonial era until the issuance of the gender mainstreaming policy and its implementation. This research took account of the gender ideology and practices of the the policy makers and the educational decision makers of Islamic schools including those in the Ministry of Religion at the national, provincial and district level; the Muhammadiyah and As'adiyah educational institutions. I also included the women activists in the Ministry of Women's Empowerment, the coordinator of gender mainstreaming in the Ministry of Religion, the coordinator of gender mainstreaming in the Ministry of

National Education and Women's Studies Centres. By including all of these policy makers and managers, I explored the debates around the issuance of the policy and its implementation in Islamic education. Data were gathered by employing various methods: qualitative interviews of key stakeholders, group interviews of primary students, and content analysis of documents and textbooks as well as observation of teachers in classrooms.

This thesis defined that gender mainstreaming is a strategy or a process to achieve gender equality. The theoretical framework indicated that gender equality should be understood from at least three theoretical perspectives: liberal progressive, radical feminist and postmodern perspectives. The liberal progressive perspective seeks equal treatment for males and females; while the radical feminist perspective requires different treatment for each gender or positive discrimination to a certain gender to tackle the long history of inequality. The postmodern perspective considers not only the difference between men and women but also differences in other equity factors such as socio-economic background. The three gender equality perspectives above are conceptualized as the three-legged equality stool since each perspective supports the other to achieve gender equality. This three-legged stool for gender equality was used to examine the women's movement, the gender mainstreaming policy development process and the implementation of gender mainstreaming in education. The implementation of gender mainstreaming in education was examined through three aspects: gender role depiction in textbooks for the content analysis, gender

roles in schools and gender ideology and practices of teachersand students'
perspectives on gender roles. I did not include the school curriculum for analysis
because gender roles ideology and practices were more likely present in school
textbooks rather than in school curriculum and sillabus.

As discussed in this thesis, the early women's movement in Indonesia reflected the
liberal progressive perspective when women fought for equal treatment with men, as
evidenced by the inclusion of women in the Indonesian National Constitution 1945
and the Broad Outline of the National Policy (GBHN). The contemporary women's
movement, discussed in Chapter 5, reflected the radical feminist perspective that
fought for women's empowerment. However, this research found that the gender
mainstreaming policy was not automatically accepted after its issuance. This could
be seen in the process of implementation, the attitude of some decision makers and
managers who maintained an ambivalent attitude toward gender equality, as reported
by members of women's studies centres in Makassar. This ambivalence was often
revealed in the difference between policy-makers' publically stated views and their
private lives. The government's gender mainstreaming policy has been impeded by
the implementation of the regional autonomy policy (decentralization) since 2001.
Regional autonomy opened the opportunity for many local governments to
implement *shariah*-inspired regulations that were contrary to the spirit of gender
equality and the objectives of the gender mainstreaming policy.

The policy directives and strategies for gender mainstreaming implementation in education included the textbook strategy and the employment strategy. The textbook strategy for gender mainstreaming also reflected the three-legged stool framework because it sought to bring balance in the depiction of men and women in textbooks, challenge stereotypes by depicting women alone and in non-stereotyped roles and to reflect the diverse roles of men and women in contemporary society. While the gender mainstreaming in employment strategy also included the three perspectives, it was not implemented evenly as it was shown that the proportion of female and male teachers in schools is not equal since some schools have more women than men and the others have more men than women. Although women have participated equally in education, women are still in subordinate positions of power in two out of the three schools.

Gender mainstreaming has been implemented in Islamic primary education in South Sulawesi to varying degrees. Gender role depictions in some school textbooks showed gender equality and promoted women and girls. In addition, the term gender equality was well known to many educational decision makers, school principals, teachers and members of school committees. Furthermore, some of the students' attitudes in three schools reflected values of greater equality in gender roles. However, gender stereotyped views and ambivalent attitudes were still evident among the educational policy makers including those in the Ministry of Religion from national to provincial and district levels as well as in the Muhammadiyah and

the As'adiyah schools. Furthermore, gender stereotypes were still predominant in textbooks and the views of school principals, teachers and students. These findings are discussed in the following sections.

In promoting gender mainstreaming through curriculum, gender role depiction in textbooks of primary schools showed that the efforts of the Indonesian government to revise textbooks in order to represent gender equality had some positive results. The comparison of the textbooks published before and (or) after 2004 showed the difference. The textbooks of 2004 publication were more progressive than those published before 2004. Women were more visible and more frequently depicted as well as being represented, on occasion, in non-stereotyped gender roles compared to the textbooks published before the implementation of gender mainstreaming. This movement to include gender neutral roles reflects the values of liberal feminist perspectives where non-stereotyped depictions are included in the contents of the new curriculum and textbooks.

Gender role depictions in the textbooks published before 2004 and still being used in primary schools (many of them published in the 1990s) were much the same as reported in the studies of Spender (1982) and Sadker and Sadker (1994) where the depiction of women alone were invisible, so that where women were depicted they were with men. However, my study of textbooks published in 2004 found that women were visible and promoted although the textbooks were still male dominated

and gender roles were stereotyped. The findings of male predominance and stereotyped gender role depiction were similar with the findings reported in other studies of Indonesian textbooks including the study of Logsdon (1985) and Muthali'in (2001) in Java, and the study by Parker (1997) in Bali.

The textbooks of the disciplines compared in this study were those of subjects that are most likely to reflect gender ideology and practices based on religion and culture of Indonesian society. These were Islamic studies, local language, Indonesian language and social science. The more progressive new textbooks published in and after 2004 were mainly the textbooks for the more 'secular' subjects, that is, social science and Indonesian language but did include Islamic studies textbooks. The study revealed that the textbooks of social science had the highest frequency of female visibility and equal gender representation although they were still dominated by gender-stereotyped roles. On the contrary, the textbooks of local language published before the issuance of the policy of gender mainstreaming had the opposite of gender representation. Women were invisible in the majority of local language textbooks but there was a high frequency of gender-neutral language. In general gender mainstreaming has been effective for the textbooks of general subjects in terms of following gender-neutral curricula. The gender equality perspectives represented in these changes is to empower women compared to the previous research (see Logsdon, 1985; Muthali'in, 2001; Parker, 1997) which revealed that women were less visible and more often depicted as gender stereotypes. Gender equality was more

easily included in these changes to textbooks due to the campain of women activists to increase the awareness of the importance of gender equality, the awareness of gender issues, and the need to eliminate gender discrimination and there was the textbook policy and the political pressure placed on textbook authors.

The textbook comparison for the grade levels showed a difference between the lower and the upper grades. The lower grades had more equal gender roles and representation. They also had a higher frequency of isibility of females and of non-stereotyped gender roles. The invisibility of females in the upper grades indicated that the traditional cultures and Islamic practice of gender segregation and seclusion of girls when they reached puberty were still influencing the textbooks writers. Therefore, the government should pay attention to implementing gender equality in the upper grades.

Another comparison was the place of publication. The textbooks published and marketed nationally were more progressive than those published locally. Almost all the analysed textbooks published nationally were published in 2004 while those published locally were published before 2004. The locally published textbooks were for the subject of the local languages.

Gender mainstreaming policy was supported by the bureaucrats who were responsible for the curriculum in the Ministry of Religion in Jakarta and in particular

the office of South Sulawesi. These people were aware of gender equality and actively involved in gender mainstreaming programs of the government of South Sulawesi. However, awareness of gender mainstreaming did not reach the local language textbooks published and marketed locally even though the women activists had campaigned for gender equality with many groups of people including the local publishers. The writers and publishers of the local textbooks were still dominated by the patriarchal values that men's domain was in public while women's was in confined to the private sphere. The reason for this reflects the fact that the local society retains strong patriarchal values that are difficult to change, noting the resistance from "hardliners" who have tried to influence local governments to implement Islamic law to curtail women's rights (see chapter 2). Besides, the local people still believed the traditional gender division of space where women's place was at home and men's domains reached the border of the sky (horizon) (Pelras, 1996). These beliefs could be observed among the local policy makers who were ambivalent toward gender mainstreaming.

The comparison of textbooks used in the different schools in the study also showed differences in the use of more progressive textbooks between schools. The Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school, located in the city of Makassar, used the most progressive, newest Islamic compulsory textbooks among the three schools. These textbooks depicted more equal gender representation. The state Islamic primary school, based in the village of Bone District, used the most progressive local

language textbooks. Its textbooks depicted females alone and with males. Such depictions were not present in the other local language textbooks of As'adiyah Islamic primary school and Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School. In general, the As'adiyah Islamic Primary School, based in Wajo Regency, used the least progressive of the two textbooks of Islamic studies and local language because it used an old publication for Islamic Studies and local textbooks which depicted female stereotyped roles.

The school textbooks for Islamic studies were different in three schools because they were related with the school types: *madrasah* or *sekolah*. The school called *sekolah* is a type of general school that follows the curriculum of the Ministry of National Education while *madrasah* is a type of Islamic school that adopts the curriculum of Ministry of Religion. Although the Islamic subjects for all schools in Indonesia were organized by the Ministry of Religion, the textbooks of the Islamic subject used in schools called *sekolah* seemed controlled by the Ministry of National Education who was responsible for gender mainstreaming in education. This can be seen since the textbooks of Islamic studies used by *sekolah* were progressive and published in 2004 while the textbooks of *madrasah* were older publications and less progressive. These choices of textbooks in schools were strongly influenced by the curriculum developed by either the Ministry of National Education or the Ministry of Religion where the former was more progressive than the latter. The schools called *sekolah* including the Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School adopted more progressive

Islamic textbooks than the schools called *madrasah* including the state Islamic primary school and the As'adiyah Islamic Primary School.

The titles of the local language textbooks were actually the textbook titles used by all schools in each district except the As'adiyah Islamic primary school in Wajo District that added specific local language textbooks. Bone District used the title *Lantera* (candle). The textbooks of this title were more progressive than the others, especially the textbooks for the lower grades. Wajo District used the textbooks entitled *Mattappa* (shining) for grade one to three and grade four to six used textbooks that contained Islamic Studies themes and Makassar City used the title *Bahasa Makassar* (Makassar language). The different local language textbooks reflected the culture of the districts. The As'adiyah Islamic Primary School, besides using the local language textbooks that reflected the culture of the district; also used textbooks that reflected the Islamic culture, such as the biography of the founder of As'adiyah which was written in Buginese script. The differences in gender role depiction in local language textbooks for the schools in Bone, Wajo and Makassar coincided with the different patterns of gender role perceptions of the students of those schools when they listed the famous and their favourite people. These findings illustrate that local culture reflected in local language and Islamic textbooks is a powerful influence on the gender role perceptions of students. In summary, the degree of effectiveness of gender mainstreaming policy with respect to the textbooks reflected changes in society. It also reflected the strong position of the goverment and women activists to

persuade the writers and publishers of school textbooks to produce teaching materials that reflected the values of the gender mainstreaming policy.

In teachers' Beliefs and Implementation of gender mainstreaming this study showed that the school principals, school committees, and teachers in the three Islamic primary schools shared a common stereotyped gender ideology. All of them believed that a man was the breadwinner in the family and that a man could do domestic jobs if a woman was not available or that a man could do domestic job only to help women. They also believed that a woman's role was at home as a housewife and she was responsible for domestic chores. If a woman played public roles to earn a living, she could only be considered as a secondary earner and she was still responsible for home duties. Another shared belief was that the man was the leader. A woman could be a leader if she had capability but the priority went to a man. These beliefs indicated that gender mainstreaming policy had not brought about effective changes among the school decision makers and teachers because these people still had a gender ideology of inequality where men were the first class and women were second class. This ideology among school decision makers was similar to the finding of Women's Studies Centre of IAIN Alauddin and The Ministry of Women's Empowerment (Pusat Studi Wanita IAIN Alauddin Makassar & Kantor Menteri Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan, 2001) about Indonesian Muslim Society, Halim (2001) about Muslim society in South Sulawesi, Idrus (2003) on Bugis society and Azisah (2001) about gender ideology of working class families in Makassar.

Many of the school teachers seemed to live in two worlds. The gender values they articulated and taught to their students were often different from what they practiced in their own lives. They believed that a man should be the breadwinner and that a woman was responsible for domestic duties. Yet, they did not practiced what they believed as the majority of the teachers were women, including one of the principals. Many of the teachers probably earned more money than their spouses.

Another similarity with these studies was the knowledge and opinion about gender mainstreaming and the term "gender" itself among school decision makers and teachers. In the first place, I found that some teachers and school principals of the three schools did not know about the policy of gender mainstreaming, and were confused about the term "gender". Yet, some of them, including some young teachers and all the three school committees in the three schools, were aware of gender equality and gender issues in education and claimed that they had knowledge about the terms. In their opinion gender and gender mainstreaming meant the equality of men and women or the equal rights of men and women to participate in public life such as in leadership roles, education, and the workforce. Hence, these teachers understood parts of the gender mainstreaming discourse such as women's participation in public. Such views were in line with the liberal progressive perspective which sought equal treatment for men and women. These understandings and opinions of the school decision makers and teachers indicated that the gender

mainstreaming policy of gender equality had reached some decision makers and teachers since their awareness of these issues was acquired from their previous training and seminars about women's empowerment. This research found that the struggles of women activists were most evident in the city. Yet, the activists had little impact on the gender bias ideology of the school communities. There was some awareness of the public debates on women's role in public life as leaders and about pornography, but the patriarchal gender ideology was still believed to be the social norm and violating it risked social sanctions.

Teachers' gender ideology and general lack of awareness of gender issues and knowledge about gender mainstreaming impacted on the selection of textbooks, teaching practices and the roles of female and male teachers in the schools. Some teachers in the three schools were aware of the stereotyped and male predominant gender roles in textbooks. However they did not question these depictions claiming that such depictions of gender roles in textbooks was a reflection of the daily life and practice of their society. Other teachers were not aware of gender bias in textbooks. They did not bother about biased or stereotyped gender role depictions in textbooks. When choosing textbooks they considered compatibility with the curriculum rather than promotion of gender equality. These teachers did not view gender mainstreaming as a curriculum policy or gender equality as a goal for education.

Awareness of gender issues also appeared to be based on the location of the school and the culture of its community. In the teaching process of the three schools, I discovered that the State Islamic Primary School in the village had adopted gender equality to a certain degree in teaching, in terms of not discriminating against one gender. Most of the teachers at this school did not teach gender stereotyped roles to students and did not treat boys and girls differently. On the other hand, in As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools where the majority of teachers were female, it was a paradox that the female teachers taught gender stereotyped roles and gave more attention to boys than to girls. Their primary reason was that the boys required attention as they were misbehaved. This reason was in line with Spender (1982) who argued "if males do not get what they want, they are likely to make trouble" (p. 54). To implement gender mainstreaming more effectively with respect to teachers' beliefs, awareness, understanding and practices, teachers should pay attention to both boys and girls.

Although the school communities had similarities, there were gender differences in the division of power. The comparison of the three Islamic primary schools located in different geographical location and different school systems showed that the Islamic state owned school based in the village had almost equal numbers of male and female staff. Nevertheless, the males and females had different power and prestige in the school. The powerful and prestigious positions in the school such as principal and teachers of the higher grades were dominated by men.

The As'adiyah Islamic Primary School, an Islamic primary school based in a provincial town, was dominated by women in terms of numbers of male and female staff. However, the school chose a male as the leader. This school prioritized men in positions of power over women. The Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School, an Islamic primary school located in the capital province of South Sulawesi was female predominant both in numbers of staff and in terms of positions of power. In this school, the school principal, the classroom teachers and the administrative staff were all women. The school had two male teachers only, both of whom were subject teachers and they were rarely involved in school meetings. The equal number of male and female personnel in the state Islamic primary school in the village indicated men and women had equal access to attain education and to go to work in the public sphere. In the village there were limited opportunities for employment. The job as a school teacher for both a man and a woman was still a prestigious job in this community. Even so, in the case of this village school, male teachers still had easier access to positions of prominence and authority.

The greater number of women among the As'adiyah's teachers suggested that in the town where the school was located, more women had access to education and employment. This case was similar with what happened in Makassar city, where the Muhammadiyah was located, and where women had more access to education and employment. It is worth noting that this is a move away from the more traditional gender ideology of Bugis-Makassar society, which positions women in domestic

roles. The dominance of females as primary school teachers in the urban areas has become accommodated in the stereotyped gender ideology, which accepts that teaching was the most appropriate occupation for women in public. So, it was not surprising if almost all the teachers in the urban schools were females. This research suggested that this change was also occurring in rural areas. The difference between the two schools was in how power was distributed. In the As'adiyah, even though there was only one male teacher, he was appointed by the teachers as the acting school principal. The belief that men had to be the leader of women was still present. Nonetheless, in the Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school, women were not only predominant in numbers but also in the powerful and prestigious positions. The school communities in this school were more progressive in translating the verse of the Qur'an *"Arrijalu qawwamuna alannisa", i.e.* a man is a leader over women. They believed that these verses only applied in the domestic domain. Paradoxically, the teachers in the three schools were models of progressive gender roles that were at odds with the gender ideology they espoused and taught.

The differences of the three schools were the gender division of power and gender biases in the teaching process. Gender division of power and prestige in the government owned school in the village was still dominated by men although the number of male and female staff was almost the same. The private school located in the provincial town was dominated by female staff in number but the powerful positions were still held by male staff. The private school in Makassar city was

dominated by women both in numbers, power and prestige. Surprisingly, gender issues in the teaching process in terms of teachers' attention to boys and girls were in the opposite direction. The government school in the village was the most progressive. The middle position went to the school in the town and the least progressive was the school in the city.

The progressiveness in gender division of power and prestige in the Muhammadiyah School was supported by current gender roles in the urban community where women play various roles in public. The changes in the rural community have begun but it is much slower. Gender stereotyped ideology evident in the teaching of the Muhammadiyah School reflects contemporary and more puritan religious values In the village, the gender ideology has been less restricted, but the structure of the economy and level of education restricted the participation of women in public.

This study revealed that students' perception of gender roles were almost similar in the three schools. Although there were some markedly different pattern of views of gender roles among them, most of the students in three schools perceived some roles to be gender neutral and some to be gender stereotyped. The other similarity in perceptions of gender roles among students was that their lists of famous and favourite people were predominantly males.

Although the students in three schools had broadly similar views on gender roles, there were differences among them. The State school's students were the least stereotyping in their selections of famous people, whereas the Muhammadiyah's students had the most stereotyped views. This pattern was similar with the teaching approach in those three schools, where Muhammadiyah was the most stereotypical in teaching and the state school was the reverse and As'adiyah was in-between. These differences were likely to be influenced by the ideology and religious values espoused by the school communities.

The Muhammadiyah school communities were members of Muhammadiyah organization which were more puritan. They were also members of urban religious communities that adopted stronger gender religious values than those in the rural communities. The revival of more puritan and gendered religious values that are stronger in urban educated circles are reflected in these circles support for the anti-pornography law and the perda shariah (the local government regulations based on the Shariah law) as well as support for the Justice and Welfare Party (PKS), the largest of the Muslim Parties. For example, Muhammadiyah even published a book that sought to establish the appropriate ethics for women in Islam (Arabic: *Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam*). The As'adiyah school communities in the provincial town of South Sulawesi were members of the As'adiyah educational institution which was founded with the philosophy of purifying Islamic teaching. The school community of the state school located in a rural village of Bone District is rather less devotional in

their Islamic beliefs and practices. These generalizations were reflected in my observations of the school communities including the students' gender ideology.

The other difference was the occupational aspirations of the students. The male students of Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School in the city and the As'adiyah Islamic Primary School in a provincial town of South Sulawesi had a greater range of occupational aspirations than the females. The boys dreamed of a variety of jobs while the girls aspired only to be a teacher or a doctor, whereas, the students of the State Islamic Primary School in the village, both boys and girls had the same limited occupational aspirations. The difference of occupational aspirations of the students reflected the socio-economic difference between urban and rural areas where in urban areas there are a wide range of occupations available. The opposite was the case in the rural areas.

To generalize, gender mainstreaming has been effective on one hand and on the other hand it has not been effective. The effectiveness of gender mainstreaming could be seen in textbooks' depictions of neutral and non-stereotyped gender roles. Additionally, some school communities were aware of gender equality and gender issues, and they treated and gave attention to boys and girls equally. The effectiveness of the program of gender mainstreaming could also be seen in female participation in public roles as teachers and as a principal. It was also evident in gender neutral perceptions of students in three schools.

The ineffectiveness of the policy could be seen in the dominance of gender stereotypes in primary school textbooks, even in the textbooks published in 2004; in the stereotyped gender ideology and practices of the school staff and in students' perceptions of gender roles. The following section discusses the factors influencing the success and the failure of the gender mainstreaming implementation in Islamic primary schools.

The final point discussed in this thesis was factors influencing the implementation of gender mainstreaming and policy implications. The findings of this research suggested several supporting and inhibiting factors regarding the implementation of gender mainstreaming in education, particularly Islamic education, including the textbook program, teachers' participation in gender programs and changing social practices in society.

The first supporting factor is the textbooks program of the Ministry of National Education. The textbook program was initiated when Women's Studies Centres were commissioned by the Ministry of National Education to do research studies on gender roles in school, including textbooks, starting in 2002. After that, the Ministry of National Education published guidelines for the publishers and writers as well as teachers about how textbooks could promote gender equality. Furthermore, the publishers and writers were given briefings about gender responsive textbooks and were supported to revise gender biased textbooks. These serious efforts have been

effective in terms of promoting more progressive depictions of girls and women. The textbooks of primary schools depict more female representation in the newest publications.

However, the textbook program was ineffective in some respects. First, it was not effective in removing stereotyped gender representation indicating the persistent gender stereotyped ideology of the textbook writers, illustrators and publishers. Second, primary schools continued to use and choose male predominant textbooks that reflected the patriarchal gender ideology of teachers and principals. Third, the textbooks program was only effective in promoting gender equality in the lower grades. Gender role depictions in the upper grades remain unbalanced and stereotyped reflecting the gender ideology of the writers and publishers who believed in segregating the roles of men and women, starting at puberty. Therefore, the government should further develop strategies to increase the promotion of more progressive depictions of women/girls in line with all three gender equality perspectives including the liberal progressive, radical feminist approaches and the post modern perspective.. The textbook program should continue and it should also focus on textbooks of local language and the textbooks of Islamic studies used in *Madrasah* (Arabic: Islamic schools). The program should pay attention to all textbooks both in Islamic studies and general subjects used in the upper primary grades.

The second supporting factor was the participation of teachers, principals and members of school committees in seminars and workshops for staff and pre-service training that included women's empowerment programs. These programs had some success in increasing the knowledge of the school principals and teachers about gender equality. The evidence of this could be seen in gender awareness of the three Heads of School Committee and some school teachers in the three schools. All of them claimed that their knowledge and their awareness of gender issues including gender roles depiction in textbooks were acquired from seminars, whether in-service or pre-service training, or the media. Therefore, I concluded that one of the effective means of raising the awareness of gender mainstreaming and related issues for the school decision makers and teachers was their participation in the pre-service training as well as seminars and workshops for staff. The proportion of staff which had participated in these training was not all that high in the schools that I examined as there had been no specific gender workshops for the Islamic school teachers. The workshop had been just conducted by the District government for the teachers of government schools. The Head of School Committee of Muhammadiyah school attended the workshop in his capacity as the District official in the District Office of the Ministry of National Education. The implication of this is that the Muhammadiyah school seemed to have weak commitment to participate in gender workshops as the Head of the School Committee of Muhammadiyah School knew about and participate in the workshop but did not facilitate the participation of Muhammadiyah school teachers. In general, participation increased gender

awareness. However, some of the participants had limited understanding and participation did not guarantee agreement with the policy and its values. There remained disagreement with the gender mainstreaming policy among the teachers, principals, school committee members and the school decision makers. This research suggests that the continuation of the training programs will further increase the awareness of gender issues. The limited access to the programs for teachers and principals in rural areas and insufficient numbers of programs also restricted the effectiveness. This reflected the lack of political will or an absence of financial commitment by the government to provide funding for such programs in order that seminars could be easily accessible for all school teachers, principals and other community members in urban and rural areas. Therefore government should give more financial support for the provision of gender awareness raising training programs for the school teachers, school principals and school decision makers.

Another factor was the changing of social practices in society. The effort of women's empowerment initiated in late colonial of Indonesia has been influential and effective. Many women have worked in public including as teachers, doctors, police and leaders both in government and private institutions. Many women have participated in education including those in the village. Women now dominate the profession of teachers. A woman can even became a school principal, the top managerial position in the school. The positions of women both as teachers and decision makers played important roles for the implementation of gender

mainstreaming. A female teacher is a role model for girls and they demonstrate that women do work in public in their community.

Changes in social practices from traditional gender roles to progressive gender roles are a supporting factor for the implementation of gender mainstreaming. That is because the changes in social practices have influenced students' perspectives to favor neutral gender roles. Students in the three schools considered the majority of sports and games, employment and domestic activities as gender-neutral in spite of the fact that the majority of gender role depictions shown to them when collecting the data for this study were male predominant and gender stereotyped. However, the changes in social practices toward gender equality did not automatically change the stereotyped gender ideology of all in the school community including teachers, principals and students. Stereotyped gender ideology has become deeply embedded, since many believed in the patriarchal interpretations of gender norms. The implication for this finding is that many of the school teachers, principals and students still believed in the traditional gender roles despite the fact that their own lives demonstrated much greater gender equality.

The media also enhanced the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The media comprised teaching/learning media and mass media that students see every day. These media influenced the students' views on gender roles. The teaching/learning media that support gender equality, such as the non-stereotyped images on the school

walls of the three schools influenced the gender equality perspectives of the students. These students' perspectives could be seen in their drawings of non-stereotyped gender roles. Some students drew gender roles by copying the pictures of the heroines which were available on the school wall. However, there were only a few non-stereotyped images on the school walls. The pictures of women were often the well-known national heroines like RA Kartini, Tjut Nya Dien and Marta Kristina Tiyahahu. Therefore schools should provide more non-stereotyped teaching/learning media with non-stereotyped images on the school walls.

The mass media influenced students' perspective on gender roles that could be seen in their list of famous people and their choice of favourite person. The famous people and the favourite famous person of the students were those people who often appeared in the media including television, books, magazines and newspapers. Yet, the media more often presented the traditional gender ideology (Brenner, 1999). Actually; the Ministry of National Education has campaigned in the media to promote gender equality. However, my study suggests that the only female public figure listed by the students were those who often appeared in the media such as Megawati Sukarno Putri, the former president of the Republic of Indonesia and leader of the Indonesian Party of Democratic Struggle (PDIP). This reflected the stereotyped gender ideology in the mass media. Therefore the government should pay more attention to the media in order to promote gender equality.

There are implications for further research of gender mainstreaming in education in Indonesia. Looking at the large number and the various types of the Islamic schools/education in Indonesia, the three Islamic primary schools that I studied only represent a small part of the whole education system. Therefore, the findings of this research suggest the following investigations. First, this study opens doors for further investigation of gender mainstreaming in Islamic education in other contexts and in general schools. There are a many types of Islamic schools and general schools in many different cultural contexts in Indonesia which should be investigated. Second, this research showed that gender mainstreaming has been more effective in the lower grades than the upper grades. Is it the pattern that gender mainstreaming policy is less effective in higher levels of education such as junior high school and senior high school? Third, this research also revealed that gender mainstreaming was less effective in the local language textbooks. The reason why it was the case requires further investigation. Is it the case, as Julia Suryakusuma has suggested, that local autonomy has rekindled patriarchal cultural values (Suryakusuma, 2008). Finally, contrary to what might be expected, this study found that the Muhammadiyah Islamic primary school in the large city of Makassar with a school community of high socio-economic standard and high levels of education as well as an all female teaching staff still taught patriarchal gender ideology. Gender mainstreaming is more readily accepted and implemented in schools in lower socio economic class and rural communities where gender equality is associated with economic development and improved living standards. The ways in which other equity factors, such as socio-

economic status of the school community, influences the implementation of gender mainstreaming warrants further study.

Finally, the supporting factors of gender mainstreaming were reflected in the curriculum program and strategies, gender awareness training, and changes in social practices. On the other hand, the hindering factors of gender mainstreaming mostly come from cultural perspectives and the ambivalence of decision makers and teachers as well as the lack of opportunities for teachers from Islamic schools to participate in gender workshops. In addition, the patriarchal values of decisions makers hinder the implementation of gender mainstreaming in South Sulawesi.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The List of Research Subjects and their Locations.

Research Subjects	Quantity	Location
The official of the Ministry of Religion	1	Jakarta
The Head of Muhammadiyah Council for the Basic and Secondary Education	1	Jakarta
The Deputy Minister of Women's Empowerment for Gender Equality	1	Jakarta
The official of the Ministry of National Education	1	Jakarta
Provincial Official of the Ministry of Religion	1	Makassar
The Head of Basic and Secondary Education Council of Muhammadiyah South Sulawesi	1	Makassar
The Head of Basic and Secondary Education Council of Muhammadiyah Makassar	1	Makassar
Bone District official of Ministry of Religion	1	Bone
The School principal of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Negeri	1	Bone
The Teachers of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Negeri	4	Bone
The School principal of Muhammadiyah primary school	1	Makassar
The Teachers of Muhammadiyah primary school	4	Makassar
The School principal of As'adiyah primary school	1	Wajo
The Teachers of As'adiyah primary school	4	Wajo
The General Leader of Assadiyah Institution	1	Wajo
The Head of Preschool and Primary Education Council of As'adiyah	1	Wajo
The Head of School Committees of three schools	3	Bone, Wajo, Makassar
The Head of Women's Studies Centre of IAIN Alauddin Makassar	1	Makassar
The Head of Women's Studies Centres of Hasanuddin	1	Makassar
The Secretary of Women's Studies Centre of the State University of Makassar	1	Makassar
Total	31	

Appendix 2: Textbooks Used in the Study

Islamic Studies
1. Rosyid, Abdul and Alfat, H Masan, 2002a, *Aqidah ahlaq untuk MI kelas 1* (Theology and Ethic for Islamic Primary school grade one). Semarang: Karya Toha Putra.
2. Rosyid, Abdul and Alfat, H Masan, 2002b, *Aqidah ahlaq untuk MI kelas 3* (Theology and Ethic for Islamic Primary school grade three). Semarang: Karya Toha Putra.
3. Rosyid, Abdul and Alfat, H Masan, 2002c, *Aqidah ahlaq untuk MI kelas 6* (Theology and Ethic for Islamic Primary school grade six). Semarang: Karya Toha Putra.
4. Maksum, M., 2004a, *Khasanah akhlaq mahmudah dalam pendidikan agama Islam kelas 1 SD* (Good ethic in Islamic education for grade one primary school), Solo: Tiga Serangkai.
5. Maksum, M., 2004b, *Khasanah akhlaq mahmudah dalam pendidikan agama Islam kelas 3 SD* (Good ethic in Islamic education for grade three primary school)*,* Solo: Tiga Serangkai.
6. Maksum, M., 2004c, *Khasanah Akhlaq Mahmudah dalam Pendidikan Agama Islam Kelas 6 SD* (Good ethic in Islamic education for grade six primary school), Solo: Tiga Serangkai
7. Hidayat, D. 2003, *Bahasa Arab untuk MI Kelas 6* (Arabic for Islamic Primary school grade six), part 3, Semarang: Karya Toha Putra.

Local Language
8. Chairan, Tamin, 1992a *Agguru basa Ugi lantera untuk kelas 1 SD* (The candle of learning Buginese language for primary school grade one). Bina Daya Cipta Ujungpandang: Makassar.
9. Chairan, Tamin, 1992b, *Agguru basa Ugi lantera untuk kelas 3 SD* (The candle of learning Buginese language for grade three primary school). Bina Daya Cipta Ujungpandang: Makassar.
10. Chairan, Tamin, 1992c, *Agguru basa Ugi lantera untuk kelas 6 SD* (The candle of learning Buginese language for grade six primary school). Bina Daya Cipta Ujungpandang: Makassar.
11. Pannamo, Umar, 1995a, *Bahasa daerah Bugis mattapa untuk kelas 1 SD* (The light of Buginese language for grade one primary school), Ujungpandang: CV Ubudi.

12. Pannamo, Umar, 1995b, *Bahasa daerah Bugis mattapa untuk kelas 3 SD* (The light of Buginese language for grade three primary school), Ujungpandang: CV Ubudi.

13. Ismail, Syeh H Daud, 1989, *Riwayat hidup almarhum KHM As'ad: Pendiri utama As'adiyah* (The biography of the late KHM As'ad: The founding father of As'adiyah) Sengkang -Wajo.

14. Tika, Abdul Pattah, 1995a, *Bahasa Makassar untuk kelas 3 sekolah dasar* (Makassarese language for grade three primary school). Ujungpandang: Bina Daya Cipta.

15. Tika, Abdul Pattah, 1995a, *Bahasa Makassar untuk kelas 6 sekolah dasar* Makassarese language for grade six primary school). Ujungpandang: Bina Daya Cipta.

Indonesian Language

16. Surana, 2004, *Aku cinta bahasa Indonesia kelas 1 SD/MI* (I love Indonesian language for grade one primary school), Solo: Tiga Serangkai

17. Surana, 2004, *Aku cinta bahasa Indonesia Kelas 3 SD/MI* (I love Indonesian language for grade three primary school), Solo: Tiga Serangkai

18. Surana, 2004, *Aku cinta bahasa Indonesia Kelas 6 SD/MI* (I love Indonesian language for grade six primary school), Solo: Tiga Serangkai

Social Science

19. Adisukarjo, Sudjatmoko at al., 2004, *Horizon pengetahuan sosial untuk kelas 1 SD* (The horizon of social science for grade one primary school), part 1A, Jakarta: Yudhistira. (MIA)

20. Said, M., 2004, *Pengetahuan sosial terpadu untuk SD kelas 3* (The integrated social science for grade three primary school) , Jakarta: Erlangga (MIA).

21. Sartono, Enco and Suharsanto R, 2002, *Pendidikan budi pekerti terintegrasi dalam PPKN sosial untuk kelas 6 SD* (Ethic integrated in Pancasila and civic education for grade 6 primary school), part 6A, Jakarta: Yudhistira (MIAand SDM).

Appendix 3: The Number of Textbooks Analysed by Criteria of Selection.

No.	SUBJECTS	LOC	NAT	RELG	SOC/ CULTR	>2004	<2004	MIN	MIA	SD M	GRADE
1	Theology & Ethics I		X	X		X		X	X	X	1
2	Theology & Ethics		X	X		X		X	X	X	3
3	III Theology & Ethics VI		X	X		X		X	X	X	6
4	Islamic Studies I		X	X			X	X		X	1
5	Islamic Studies III		X	X			X	X		X	3
6	Islamic Studies VI		X	X			X	X		X	6
7	Arabic		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	6
8	Bone Local Lang I	X			X	X		X			1
9	Bone Local Lang III	X			X	X		X			3
10	Bone Local Lang VI	X			X	X		X			6
11	Wajo Local Lang I	X			X	X			X		1
12	Wajo Local Lang III	X			X	X			X		3
13	Wajo Local Lang VI	X		X	X	X			X		6
14	Mksr Local Lang III	X			X	X				X	3
15	Mksr Local Lang VI	X			X	X				X	6
16	Indonesian I		X		X		X	X		X	1
17	Indonesian III		X		X		X	X		X	3
18	Indonesian VI		X		X		X	X		X	6
19	Social Science I		X		X		X		X		1
20	Social Science III		X		X		X		X		3
21	Social Science VI		X		X	X			X	X	6
	TOTAL	8	13	8	15	13	8	13	10	13	

Appendix 4: Example of Coding the Interview Transcript

RS 14

No	PAGE	Transcript pragment	Themes	CATEGORIES
01	2	Kalau pelajaran, saya kira tidak, karena kita kan di sini apa namanya pelajarannya merata saja, belum ada, tidak ada pemisahan.	WAS NOT AWARE OF GENDER ROLE DEPICTION IN TEXTBOOKS, the lesson is the same, no separation	GENDER AWARENESS IN EDUCATION
	2	Kalau buku wajib itu bu dari Balai Pustaka dari PK, kemudian yang lain-lainnya itu seperti Erlangga, eh Tiga Serangkai, Yudistira semuanya penunjang.	FORMELY THE BOOKS WERE DROPPED FROM DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION	TEXTBOOKS DECISION
	2	Saya kira itu, kalau sekarang ini tidak sama tergantung dari sekolah masing-masing.	NOW THE SCHOOL CHOSE THE TEXTBOOKS	TEXTBOOKS DECISION
	2	Kalau kita disini, kepala sekolah.	SCHOOL PRINCIPAL CHOSE THE TEXTBOOKS	TEXTBOOKS DECISION
	2	Ya, tapi, eh kita juga tidak menutup kemungkinan menggunakan buku lain.	TEACHER COULD USE OTHER BOOKS	TEXTBOOKS DECISION
	2	Kalau pertimbangannya tidak ada, hanya namanya kita memadukan artinya meninjau atau memperhatikan apa-apa perbedaan dari buku ini. Karena setiap buku itu bu ada yang memuat yang ini ada yang tidak. Jadi tidak semua buku itu.., namanya juga manusia yang buat. Jadi mungkin ada kekurangannya buku karangan ini, mungkin ada kekurangan-kekurangannya begini, kita padukan saja itu bagaimana kalau salah di sini kita cari yang benarnya, ada sisi yang lainnya itu tidak ada Cuma memperluas	CONSIDERATION IN CHOOSING TEXTBOOKS FOR COMPLETING THE MAIN TEXTBOOKS	COMMITMENT

		wawasan saja. [		
		Kalau saya, IPA itu biasa sampai enam buku,	USED SEVERAL BOOKS OFTEN UNTIL SIX BOOKS]	COMMITMENT
	2	Sama saja, kalau IPS kan ada Yudhistiranya juga, ada Airlangganya, kadang-kadang itu ada buku yang sangat kurang sekali penjelasannya. Ada juga buku yang lengkap.]	USED BOOKS FROM SEVERAL PUBLISHERS	COMMITMENT

Appendix 5: Example of Interview Codes and Categories for Analysis

R.5

No	Page	Interview Code	Visible/invisible	Stereotype	Non stereotype	Balance	Imbalance	Progressive	Non Progressive Imbalance
	3	Men can do domestic job if it is occasional, but if the wife is healthy, why she allows her husband to do that	Men in domestic				Men can occasionally do domestic job		Imbalance
	4	It is a restriction or sin if a husband does all domestic jobs. As long as no sin a husband can do domestic job	Men are visible in domestic job		Men can do domestic job		Men cannot do all domestic job	Men are visibile and non stereotyped at home	Imbalance
	5	It is traditional view that a woman should stay home, but she has to have activity	Women only at home	Women stay home					Male invisibility and Stereotype

Appendix 6: Example of Analysis of Famous People According to the Students of Muhammadiyah School

SN: students number
M: Male
F: Female

SN	Famous people	M	F	Description	
				M	F
1	14	11	3	4 politicians, 2 Muslim preachers, 1 hero, 2 entertainers, 1 sport champion, 1 scientist	1 heroine, 2 entertainers
2	16	14	2	2 Politician, 11scientist and 1 Muslim preacher	1 a housewife, 1 entertainer
3	11	10	1	3 politicians, 1 Muslim preacher, 3 heroes, 1 entertainer and 2 sport champion	1 politician
4	10	7	3	1 Muslim preacher, 2 politicians, 1 scientist, 1 hero, 1 presenter and 1 sport champion	3 entertainer
5	10	9	1	2 politicians, 1 hero, 6 scientist,	1 heroine
6	20	20	-	14 scientists, 5 heroes and 1 sport champion	
7	18	14	4	3 politicians, 2 heroes, 2 Muslim preachers, 5 entertainers, 2 sport champions	1 heroine, 3 entertainers

8	13	9	4	4 politicians, 4 heroes and 1 entertainer.	1 heroine, 3 entertainers
9	6	5	1	2 Politicians, 1 entertainer, 2 sport champions	1 entertainer
10	10	9	1	5 politicians, 4heroes	1 heroine
11	10	9	1	5 politicians, 4heroes	1 heroine
12	10	10	-	3 politicians, 3 heroes, 4 scientists,	
13	10	10	-	3 heroes, 6 scientists, 1 sport champion.	
14	10	9	1	5 politicians, 4heroes	1 heroine
15	11	11	-	3 politicians, 1 hero, 1 astronaut, 5 sport champion, 1 Muslim preacher 2 entertainers	
Total	179	157 (88%)	22 (12%)	P:43, Hero: 36, MP:8, E:11, Sp: 15, Sc: 43, Presenter:1	H: 7, E: 13 W:1, P: 1

Appendix 7: Example of Analysis of who As'adiyah Students like Best

SN: students number
M: Male
F: Female
S: Stereotype
NS: Non-Stereotype

SN	Student Sex		Role Model					
	M	F	M	F	S	NS	Not clear	Description
1		X	X			X		Entertainer
2		X						
3		X	X		X			Scientist and politician
4		X	X		X			Politician
5	X		X		X			Scientist and politician
6	X		X		X			Sport champion
7	X		X		X			Scientist
8	X							
9	X							
10	X		X		X			Sport champion
11	X		X		X			Sport champion
12	X		X		X			Sport champion
13	X							
14	X		X		X			Sport champion
15		X	X			X		Entertainer
16		X	X		X			Scientist
17		X	X		X			Cultural Scientist
18		X		X		X		Heroine

#							
19		X	X			X		Muslim preacher
20		X	X			X		Muslim preachers
21		X	X				X	Entertainer
22		X			X	X		Entertainer
23	X		X			X		Sport champion
Total	11	12	17		2	15	4	Sp: 6 MP: 2, P:1, Sc: 5, E: 4

No Choice: 4 students (three males and 1 female)

Appendix 8:   Example of Analysis of MIN Mallari Students' Drawing on Gender Roles

SN: students number
M: Male
F: Female

SN	Traditional stereotypes		Progressive non-stereotyped		Gender neutral		Can't decide	Notes
	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1			X					A boy is making up the bed
2			X					A boy is making up the bed
3	X				X			One boy is kicking the ball and one boy is running
4		X						Two females are preparing meal
5					X	X		One girl and one boy are having exercises
6					X			Two boys are having exercises
7	X							A farmer
8		X						A woman is preparing meal
9					X	X		A boy and a girl are walking
10					X	X		A man is greeting a woman
11	X	X					X	One boy is playing badminton, one boy is playing football, a

								woman is holding a flower, and a farmer
12					X	X		A boy and a girl are learning Alqur'an
Total	3	3	1	0	6	4	1	

Glossary

Bug.: Bugis   Ind. :Indonesian   Ar.:Arabic

Ahlusunnah Waljamaah Those who follow the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad
    and the consensus of the Muslim scholar.
As'adiyah A large Islamic Institution that manages Islamic schools and other
    education activities
Bissu   (Bug.) androgynous shaman
Calabai (Bug.) biologicaly male but socially a woman or male transvestites
Calalai (Bug.) a biologically female but socially a man
Dharma Wanita (Ind.) The Civil Servants' Wives organisation
Dia, ia, nya (Ind.) The third singular pronouns in Bahasa Indonesia which are non
    gender specific
Fiqh   (Ar.) Islamic jurisprudence or legal prescription
Hari Kartini (Ind.) Kartini's Day
Ibu   (Ind.) mother
Ibuism The term that introduced by Suryakusuma to describe the gender
    ideology of the New Order Governmnet, in which women were
    considered as "appendages and companions to their husbands, as
    procreators of the nation, as mothers and educators of children, as
    housekeepers, and as members of Indonesian society
Kyai muda (Ind.) a young Muslim scholar)
Kodrat (Ar.) natural fate or intrinsic nature
Laki-laki (Ind.) male person
Madrasah (Ar.) Islamic school
Makkunrai (Bug.) female person
Muhammadiyah (Ind.) one of Indonesia's largest Islamic Organizations
Muhrim (Ar.) male family member
Perempuan (Ind.) female person
Permusyawaratan (Ind.) deliberation, consulation
Pesantren (Ind.) Islamic boarding school
Qodrat (Ar.) the biological nature
Qur'an (Ar.) the holy scripture of Islam
Orawane (Bug.) male person
Rais Am (Ar.) General leader
Siri   (Bug.) dignity, self-esteem and shame
to masiri (Bug*)* Someone who takes care of the family dignity
Sharia (Ar.) Islamic law
 Sunnah/ Hadist (Ar.) deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad
Ulama (Ind.) Muslim scholar

Abreviations

BAPPEDA	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah* (District Planning Board)
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate Discrimination against Women
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
EFA	Education for All
GBHN	*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* (Broad Outline of State Policy)
IAIN	*Institut Agama Islam Negeri* (State Institute for Islamic Studies)
IKAPI	*Ikatan Penerbit Indonesia* (Association of Indonesian Publishers)
ILO	International Labour Organization
KORPRI	*Korps Pegawai Republik Indonesia* (The Civil Service Corps of the Republic of Indonesia)
MI	*Madrasah Ibtidaiah* (Islamic Primary School)
MIN	*Madrasah Ibtidaiah Negeri* (State Islamic Primary School)
MIA	*Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah As'adiyah* (As'adiyah Islmic Primary School)
MTs	*Madrasah Tsanawiah* (Islamic Junior High School)
MTsA	*Madrasah Tsanawiah As'adiyah* (As'adiyah Islamic Junior High School)
PKB	*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (National Awakening Party)
PKK	*Pendidikan Kesejahtraan Keluarga* (Women Welfare Movement)
PP	*Peraturan Pemerintah* (government regulation)
PROPENAS	*Program Pembangunan Nasionl* (Indonesian national development program)
PSW	*Pusat Studi Wanita* (Women's Studies Centre)
MA	*Madrasah Aliyah* (Islamic Senior High School)
NCFAW	National Committee for the Advancement of Women
NU	Nahdatul Ulama, one of Indonesia's largest Islamic organisations
NUWSS	National Union of Women Suffrage Society
PAN	*Partai Amanat Nasional* (The National Mandate Party)
PBB	*Partai Bulan Bintang* (The Crescent Star Party)
PDI-P	*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* (Indonesia Democratic Party of the Struggle)
PKS	*Partai Keadila Sejahtra* (The Justice and Prosperity Party)
PPP	*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (the United Development Party)
RPJM	*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah* (The Medium Term Planning of development)
SD	*Sekolah Dasar* (Primary School)
SMP	*Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Junior High School)
SMA	*Sekolah menengah atas* (SeniorHigh School)
SDM	*Sekolah Dasar Muhammadiyah* (Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School)

TP2W	*Tim Peningkatan Peranan Wanita* (Women in Development Management Team)
UU	*Undang-undang* (law)
UIN	*Universitas Islam Negeri* (State Islamic University)
UNHAS	*Universitas Negeri Makassar* (Hasanuddin University)
UNM	*Universitas Negeri Makassar* (State University of Makassar)
WSC	Women's Studies Centres
WSP II	Women's Support Project, Phase II
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union
WFL	The Women Freedom League