



**WOMEN FACULTY MEMBERS'
WORK AND LIVES
IN STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITIES
IN INDONESIA**

by

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ABSTRACT

As students, women in universities across the world outnumber men, but they remain a minority as faculty members, especially in the highest academic and managerial ranks. This is often explained in terms of gender relations, as women's double burden as paid workers and the main holders of domestic and care responsibilities. Accordingly, their academic and career performance is affected in deficit ways. Women faculty in Islamic higher education in Indonesia are also surrounded by cultural, religious, and policy issues affecting the ways they manage their work and lives. These issues constitute the main focus of this research project.

In order to explore the experiences of the women faculty members in managing their work and lives, field work was undertaken in two State Islamic universities in East Java, UIN Sunan Ampel or UINSA and UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim or UIN Maliki. The study comprised in-depth interviews with 17 long-serving women faculty in various academic and management roles and was supported by analysis of policy documents and both universities' websites. Through the framework of social constructionism and using feminist standpoint methodology, I understood and analysed their work and lives in relation to Islamic religion, Javanese culture and relevant state and university policies.

Given their ages, the interviewees were a mix of the 'Old Order' (1945-1965) and 'New Order' (1966-1998) generations. Most attended pesantren or other Islamic education institutions for schooling and undergraduate study, but secular universities for their postgraduate qualifications. Growing up, they were advantaged by policies granting equal status to secular and religious education institutions.

Despite gender mainstreaming policies in higher education, UINSA and UIN Maliki had no segregated data on staff, portrayed women faculty in stereotypical ways, and did not include the gender study centres in their websites. At work, women faculty adopted normative femininity and tolerated gender harassment to avoid accusations of militant feminism and establish successful careers. Most interviewees progressed slowly in research for reasons including overloaded teaching and their domestic and caring responsibilities which are rooted in Javanese and Islamic norms. Some interviewees reported that informal networks limited promotion opportunities. The developing discourses on gender, including gender in Islam, were not able to penetrate the patriarchal culture in either university.

In domestic life, women faculty were often reminded of their *kodrat*, being cultural and religious norms legitimated by the Marriage Act prescribing women as the main holders of household responsibilities. They shared domestic work with maids, husbands or family, and adopted a range of career strategies to protect their husband's status and family harmony. In so doing, the women faculty maintain that they successfully negotiate both their work and domestic lives.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed

Date, 10 August 2017

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

As a woman and a faculty in an Islamic university in East Java Indonesia, I have wondered how religion and Javanese-ness impact on my employment opportunities within the academy. Women's roles are changing rapidly in Indonesia. Western views of gender have entered Indonesia firstly via the Dutch colonial system from the seventeenth century onwards exemplified, among others, by promoting girls schooling and protecting women (Blackburn, 2004, pp. 9, 17). Nevertheless, only those from elite class family could go to school in the colonial period, and for most parents, women's education was meant to prepare their role as wife and mother, based on Dutch bourgeois patterns (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1987, p. 43). The legacy of the norms from the colonial Dutch bourgeois adopted by the Javanese traditional *priyayi* or the ruling elite of Java is in line with and has been justified by 'Islamic values', one of which positions women's main roles as mothers and wives and men's as breadwinners and head of household.

However, after Indonesia's independence in 1945, when many husbands lost their jobs or could not adjust with the new form of government, the women were involved in earning for family income (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1987, p. 43). However, their involvement in earnings was perceived as no more than just secondary earners, not breadwinners. Likewise, in the New Order era (1966-1998), in addition to their roles as mother in their family, group, class, or company, women were expected to support the building of a new national state, to be the mother of the nation (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1987; Rustam, 1993; Suryakusuma, 2011) without privilege of power and prestige, which Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis (1987, p. 44) called '*Ibuism*'. Both roles as secondary earners and the mother of the nation led women to position without privilege of power.

Despite the lack of power, the roles of women have been central through the histories of Indonesia. Although initially women's education was meant to prepare their role as wife and mother, their increasing access to higher education enables women's participation in the white-collar workforce, which is central to the vision of a prosperous Indonesia. The women's movement was part of the nationalist movement as "mothers of their people" especially starting from the first women's congress in 1928 through the period of revolution (1945-1949) and after the Republic

gained its full sovereignty in 1949, women's movement was vigorously involved in developing the new state (Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, p. 123). Furthermore, in 1990s Indonesia, the paradigmatic female subjects in political, cultural and economic discourses is working woman instead of 'housewife' Krishna Sen (Sen, 2003, p. 35). However, later reports mention that in dual-earner household, the norms that women are secondary earners were dominant (A. J. Utomo, 2012) and dominant culture in Indonesia is still questioning the idea of women working (Ford & Parker, 2008, p. 13).

Female labour force participation has increased over time at all income levels but women still do not have equal opportunities with men (The World Bank, 2011, p. 12) and continue to have unequal access to work and economic assets as well as education and participation in government (United Nations, 2012, p. 5). Research on professional and academic women in Indonesian context found that women experience ongoing barriers to working effectively (Karniawati, 2013; Kull, 2009, p. 37; Lindawati & Smark, 2015; Murniati, 2012, p. 152; Setiadarma, 1993, pp. 108,114; Wayong, 2007; L. Wright & Tellei, 1993, pp. 19,37). In the context of academic world, numerous reports mention that women faculty members are under-represented in the higher ranks of academic and/or leadership positions (Bagilhole & White, 2008, 2013; Britton, 2010; Glazer-Raymo, 2007; Husu, 2007; Inayatillah, 2010b; Morley, 2007; Murniati, 2012; Tomàs, Lavie, Duran, & Guillamon, 2010; Wayong, 2007; West & Curtis, 2006) and of the professoriate (Carvalho & Santiago, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2013; Hesli, Lee, & Mitchell, 2012). Women who want to combine a tenure track position and motherhood are encouraged to pursue it at a less prestigious institution (R. Wilson, 2004, pp. 3-6). There is an implicit assumption that the roles of scholar and mother are incompatible (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004, p. 517). The public-private division of labour between men and women seems to be ubiquitous, in which religious confirmation plays important roles.

Not only Islam, other established religions such as Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism, prescribe women's main role as mothers (Blackburn, 2004, p. 140). Many revivalist religious movements including evangelical Christianity and ultra-Orthodox Judaism emphasized women's domestic roles (Yuval-Davis, 1997). In Indonesia, such norms of gender roles are evidently legitimated by the Act no.1/1974 on marriage prescribing sexual division of labour, male as breadwinners and women as household manager, that is still valid at the time of this thesis writing.

Many constructions of femininity are defined by the domestic sphere. A study by Woodcroft-Lee (1983) on the roles of women in Indonesia came to the conclusion that a successful woman is a wife, mother, having academic or professional career, and active in community welfare, but prioritizing her family over her career and her own ego.

Younger generations have internalized the norms that have been exposed to them for ages. Despite the preference of the youth for a more egalitarian relation towards dual-earner marriage, their work expectations in the context of marriage continue to comply with the norms underlining men as the breadwinner and women as secondary earners (A. J. Utomo, 2012). Indeed, assertive and autonomous women are assumed contradictory to the Indonesian feminine nature (Hatley, 2002, p. 133) and are to blame for disharmonious family and nation's moral problems. Thus, even though women have career, they have to prioritize their family; they have to always remember that their main roles are mothers and wives.

A religious revival among middle class people in city and adult students (D. Porter, 2005, p. 1) often celebrates the conservative exegeses of Islamic teachings idealizing women as mothers and wives and emphasizing men as the breadwinners, despite the fact that Islam in Indonesia has been widely regarded as more moderate compared to Islam in other parts of the world especially Middle East (Alfian, 2014; C. Geertz, 1971; Laffan, 2006, 2011; Masdar, 2012; Munjid, 2012; Najib, 2003; D. Porter, 2005; Wichelen, 2010; Wieringa, 2009). Cultural values inclined to domesticate women have been legitimized by religious interpretations. The border between cultural and religious norms becomes blurred to many people, as most Muslim preachers use religion to legitimate the cultural norms keeping women confined in domestic spheres and subordinated. Many women continue to conform to gender norms despite their awareness of gender inequality and acknowledgment of the discriminatory nature of the norms. Social norms seem to have been strongly entrenched in people's lives, thereby contributing much to the persistence of gender inequality (Subhan, 2007, p. 54; 2011, p. 21). In some regions of Indonesia, women are controlled for the reasons of concerns about social change and security, which is constituted by a smart combination between gender relations and misguided interpretations of Islam (Adamson, 2007).

Gender relations in which women are positioned to be dependant and subordinate are continuously perpetuated in various ways culturally, religiously, and legally. The Indonesian state,

especially the previous regime, the New Order, had systematically arranged to support and strengthen the concept of ideal women as mothers and wives, which was perfectly in line with Javanese concept of femininity. It does not mean that the post-reform (after 1998) government has completely committed to achieving gender equality and equity. The reform era, on behalf of democracy, has enabled any previously-pressed groups to emerge, which was another big challenge for gender just society.

Women and the Indonesian State

Indonesia has, at least, four marked historical periods; pre independence (before 1945), Old Order (Sukarno's presidential era, 1945-1965), New Order (Soeharto's presidential era, 1966-1998), and the *Reformasi* Era (1998 until today). The pre-independence era includes long histories of the archipelago covering, at least, Hindu empires, Islamic kingdoms, and colonials (Portuguese, mainly Dutch, and a short Japan occupation approaching the independence proclamation of Indonesia). The Old Order constitutes Indonesia's first government after its independence, whose transition to the New Order was marked by the coup de état of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) on the 31st of September, 1965. The New Order was also widely known as an authoritarian government, after the collapse of which in 1998, the Reformation era began, and democracy started to flourish. It was then called the *Reformasi* era, an era that provides spaces for the previously pressed groups to appear publicly. Each era has its own story about women.

Women in pre-independence era

The pre-independent archipelago has exceptional political histories in which several women played important roles such as governing Kingdom or leading warriors. Tri Buana Tungga Dewi (1328-1350) and Suhita (1429-1445) ruled one of the most well-regarded kingdoms, the Majapahit empire (Setiadarma, 1993, p. 105), Sima (674) and Kalinyamat (18th century) in Central Java (Pujiati, 2007; Reid, 1988a, p. 640). Moreover, in the 17th century, Aceh had four women queens in a consecutive time, i.e. *Sultanah* (queen) Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Syah (1641-1675), *Sultanah* Nur Alam Naqiatuddin Syah (1675-1678), *Sultanah* Inayat Zakiatuddin Syah (1678-1688), and *Sultanah* Kamalat Zainatuddin Syah (1688-1699) (Khan, 2010, pp. 3-4).

In Aceh warships, these three women, *Laksamana* (Admiral) Keumalahayati (1600), Cut Nyak

Dien (1850-1908) and Cut Meutia (1870-1910), were well-known as women commanders opposing the Dutch without compromise, pointed Celik (2008, p. 10). She further mentioned that, while those heroines were widely recognized, there are several other heroines who were rarely narrated by the historians and, thus, not well-known, which might be because, from an anti-colonial perspective, they were considered as collaborators or even traitors due to their cooperative relations with the Dutch after being defeated then given special attention by the Dutch, or simply because their physical appearance were not charming (p. 10). In the 20th century Aceh, they include Pocut Baren, Pocut Meurah Intan, Pocut Meuligo, Teungku Fakinah, and Teungku Cupto Fatimah (p. 10), and in the second half nineteenth until early twentieth century South Sulawesi, there was Siti Aisyah We Tenriolle (Balai Kajian dan Pengembangan Budaya Melayu, 2009).

Those heroines demonstrate women's engagement in public sphere in pre-independence (including pre-colonial) Indonesia, too many to mention all. Nevertheless, when the Dutch attained dominance in the archipelago especially Java after its victory over Diponegoro war (1825-1830), and started to take over the country, the Dutch's bourgeois pattern domesticating women began to penetrate firstly the women of the courts, then spread to the commoners along with pursuing of social status. In "The Making of A Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of The Javanese *Priyayi*", an account of the colonial career of *priyayi* families mainly in the second half of nineteenth century and the first half of twentieth century (Sutherland, 1979, pp. 31-32,47), only sons or boys were mentioned in discussing about the children from Javanese wealthy progressive *priyayi* families enrolling in the Dutch school. This could be an indication that even in the enlightened *priyayi* families, girls were normally not sent to school, while boys were benefited from their privileged expectation to reach position usually as official in *Pangreh Pradja*³, and thus they were provided with Dutch schooling. Actually there existed religious education, but, Reid (1988b) pointed, mostly for men as well.

A survey on literacy rate in 1930, nearly two decades after the Dutch colonial's 'ethical policy'⁴

³ *Pangreh Pradja* is "Java's colonial native civil service in the areas under Direct Dutch rule" (Sutherland, 1979, p. xix)

⁴ When the political climate of the Netherlands changed to liberalism in 1860 one of the consequences of which is providing education for the native Indies to be a clan of bureaucrats to support it (Wieringa, 1985, p. 5). Then, 'Ethical Policy' was introduced in 1901 by Queen Wilhelmina as a realization of the Netherlands' 'ethical obligation and moral responsibility' to the Indies (Indonesia), but was much opposed by most Dutch administrators in Indonesia (Sutherland, 1979, pp. 45,86,113-116).

was introduced, found that only 2.17% of women was able to read and write in Latin script (Soewondo, 1981, p. 11). Previously, according to Koentjaraningrat (1985, pp. 14-15), the indigenous literatures were written in Javanese script adapted from the South Indian form of *Sancrit Dewanagari* script, and, for Muslim, Arabic *pegon* or Javanese adaptation of the Arabic script was commonly used, but I could not find any report about literacy rate especially women's in those scripts.

The fact that classic Javanese literature such as *Serat Cabolek*, *Serat Centhini*, *Serat Candrarini*, *Serat Tutur*, *Serat Wedhatama*, *Serat Wulangreh*, and *Serat Wicara Keras*, were written by men, suggests that women at that time might be, if not commonly illiterate, culturally not allowed to define the world, even themselves. Women in those classic works were mainly represented to be totally submissive to men (husband), passive, the object of sex, and ideally good at domestic roles (Sukri & Sofwan, 2001).

A most distinctive exception of a *priyayi* girl, a daughter of the regent of Jepara- a regency in the north coast of Java, Kartini, was very lucky to have a father, who was one of the most progressive regents at that time, allowing her to enroll in a Dutch school, ELS (*Europeesche Lagere School*) or primary school (Ricklefs, 2001, p. 200; Sutherland, 1979, p. 48). Nevertheless, Kartini told to her friend, Mejuvrouw Zeehandelaar, in her letter (Kartini, 1921, p. 5), that when she was twelve, she had to start facing *pingitan*, an old Javanese culture confining a girl at home when she entered puberty until a man comes to ask her for a marriage, which made her spend four years living within the 'box' of the *Kaboepaten* or Javanese Regent's residence " without once seeing the outside world". Yet, when she was sixteen, she finally got her lost freedom and found that she was not trapped in unwelcome marriage that she loathed (p. 6).

Kartini confessed in her letters that during the confinement, she still could find happiness because her father kept providing her with Dutch books to read (p. 5) allowing her to have the growing spirit of advancement, and allowed her to exchange letters with her Dutch friends (p. 5) often expressing her aspiration to further her education to Holland and to provide education for her people who were commonly illiterate, especially women. She wrote "We wish to equal the Europeans in education and enlightenment, and the rights which we demand for ourselves, we must also give to others" (p. 38). In 1964, sixty years after she passed away, Kartini was inaugurated as one of national heroines (Soebadio & Sadli, 1990, p. xiii) and her birth date, 21 April, becomes the day of

women emancipation. Actually Kartini was not alone. There were many other women in the colonial era who were devoted for people's education such as Dewi Sartika (1884-1947) in Western Java (Srimulyani, 2012, p. 37), Nyai Ahmad Dahlan (1872-1946) from Yogyakarta (Srimulyani, 2012, p. 88), and Nyai Nurkhadijah from Jombang, East Java (Srimulyani, 2012, p. 38).

Dewi Sartika (1884-1947), who was born in Bandung (West Java), had a dream of establishing education institution for women. On 16 January 1904, her dream came true; an education institution for women was established in Bandung and soon spread to several other cities especially in West Java (Aning S., 2005, pp. 65-66). Her serving took longer time than Kartini's, yet she was not more well-known than Kartini. Her less-known figure might be caused by the fact that, unlike Kartini, she was not well-connected to the colonial authorities especially the Dutch.

Several women from out of Java also had enormous contribution to the improvement of women's education and status. For example, in North Sulawesi, Maria Walanda Maramis⁵ (1872-1924) established a women's organization, PIKAT (*Percintaan Ibu Kepada Anak Turunannya* or Mother's Love to Their Descendants), to provide education for women especially in improving their roles as mother and housewife, but she also fought for women's right in politics. Rahmah el_Yunusiyah (1900-1969) from Padang Panjang, West Sumatra (Alim, 2013; Srimulyani, 2012, p. 38; Zuraya, 2012) is known for her initiation of *Diniyah Putri* or Islamic school for women, which was a modern one at that time involving secular and religious subjects. In 1905, Minangkabau had Rohana Kudus who had set up a school for women and launched the first women's paper in Indonesia, *Sunting Melayu* (literally Malayan ornament⁶) dealing with women's issues, and in 1911, she established the Union of Sumatran Women whose representatives joined the first Indonesian Women's Congress in

⁵ Source <https://www.pahlawanindonesia.com/mengenal-maria-josephine-catherine-maramis/> and <http://profil.merdeka.com/indonesia/m/mara-walanda-maramis/>, accessed 8 November 2015

⁶ In Ramusack (1999, p. 100), *Sunting Melayu* is translated to be Malayan Headdress, which I do not agree with. As a native speaker of Indonesian (part of Malayan language family) I know that it is not an appropriate translation. According to the dictionary of Indonesian-English by Echols and Shadily (1989), The word *sunting* as a verb means editing something or proofreading, marry someone, or place something in someone's hair or behind the ear as an ornament. As a noun, *sunting* means ornament or flower worn behind the ear. Moreover, Rohana Kudus, a founder of the *Sunting Melayu*, wrote a poem published in the *Sunting Melayu* December 19, 1920, part of it says "*ketahuilah oleh tuan-tuan bahwa perempuan itu sunting permainan dunia, tapi racun bagi siapa yang tak beriman...*" (Hanani, 2011) which translates "You'd better understand sirs that women are ornament of the world's games, but poison for the unbelievers...". Her sentence shows that the word *sunting* she used refers to ornament, thus I would believe that the word *sunting* in *Sunting Melayu* means ornament or flower.

1928 (Hanani, 2011; Ramusack, 1999, p. 100). In Western Sumatera, there was Rasuna Said⁷ (1910-1965) who actively participated in the struggles against the colonial and continued to contribute in the parliament after Indonesia's independence.

Nevertheless, it might be because Kartini had letters published by a Dutch authority who was hypothetically influential, she becomes much more well-known compared to other important heroines of the colonial era, and her date of birth was finally established as *Hari Kartini*, a commemoration of women's emancipation. Her letters were firstly published in Holland in 1911, seven years after she passed away, under the title of "*Door Duisternis tot Licht*" (from Darkness into Light) by Dr. J.H. Abendanon (Soebadio & Sadli, 1990, p. vii), a Minister of Education and Industry for the Netherland Indies (currently Indonesia), to whose wife many of Kartini's letters were sent.

In early twentieth century, after the Ethical Policy was instated, the colonial government started providing schools for girls, specifically to promote "better health and child rearing practices" rather than human right reasons (Blackburn, 1999, p. 193). And in the second decade of twentieth century, the Dutch established a private foundation 'the Kartini Fonds' in Netherlands, one of whose programs was funding the 'Kartini schools' in Java (Ricklefs, 2001, p. 200). This might contribute to the increasing awareness of the native women about their rights. But when Indonesia already had several qualified women including an alumna of the Law Faculty of the University of Leiden, Maria Ulfah Santoso, none of them was elected to the People's Council in 1938. Instead of it, a Dutch woman was recruited, which disappointed the indigenous women (Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, pp. 96-97) and seemed to be a proof that education for women was meant just to improve their gender capacity as a woman, or might be a confirmation of the Dutch colonial's view that indigenous people were unequal to European especially Dutch.

Back to the second decade of twentieth century, exactly on 19 May 1917, women of Muhammadiyah⁸, the first established Islamic social organization but the second largest after NU (Nahdlatul Ulama or literally Revival of the Religious Scholar)⁹, set up a women wing, Aisyiyah. Then

⁷ Source <http://www.tokohindonesia.com/biografi/article/295-pahlawan/1934-orator-srikandi-kemerdekaan> accessed on 8 November 2015

⁸ Muhammadiyah is the second largest Islamic social organization in Indonesia after NU, but was established in 1912, earlier than NU was.

⁹ Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or literally Revival of the Religious Scholar is the largest Islamic social organization in Indonesia established in 1926 in East Java by Kyai Hasyim Asyari, a nationally well-recognized and famous kyai (religious leader).

in 1926, it started to publish a magazine called *Suara Aisyiyah* (the voice of Aisyiyah) which used Javanese language in its early publications (Aripurnami, 2013, p. 116). Another Muslim women organization, *Muslimat*, was established in 1940 as a women wing of NU, the largest Islamic social organization established in 1926, after two years being allowed to be the passive member of it (Aripurnami, 2013, p. 215; *Muslimat NU*, 2014).

On 22-25 December 1928, long before the declaration of the Indonesia's independence in 1945, women from diverse organizations in Indonesia met nationally for the first time in a congress. The congress is a really prominent starting point to endorse the improvement of women's access to public sphere and education, the elimination of young and coercive marriage, as well as the provision of better information at the time of marriage on women's divorce rights (Andriana, 2012, p. 22; Aripurnami, 2013, pp. 212-213; Blackburn, 2008b; Darwin, 2004, p. 285; Joko, 2012; Parawansa, 2002b; Vreede-de Stuers, 1960). It is a very remarkable day for women in terms of their political resurrection that should be remembered as special day for Indonesian women.

In Dutch colonial time, marriage law was divided into three kinds, each of which had its own community to operate (Soewondo, 1977, p. 283; Vreede-de Stuers, 1960). The three divisions of marriage law, according to Nani Soewondo (1977, p. 283), an activist in colonial era Indonesia, consisted of; first, the Civil Code of 1847 (amended in 1917) for Indonesian citizens of European or Chinese origin. Second, the Marriage Ordinance of 1933 (amended in 1939) for Christian Indonesians with the minimum age of marriage for women 15 years, and for men 18 years, consent of marriage, divorce, alimony, etc. Last, the most popular one, an uncodified customary law and Muslim religious law that was followed by the Muslim majority (85%) of the Indonesian population. She further explained that with such uncodified law, women and children were affected in deficit ways such as "child marriage, forced marriage, polygamy without meeting the requirements of Moslem law, easy arbitrary divorce by the husband (repudiation), no proper alimony for the divorced wife (only for the duration of about 3 months), etc" (pp. 283-284).

In the second congress in 1935, the issues of women's rights in marriage were addressed again. They established a committee on marriage law criticizing the Islamic Marriage Law of the time, which was led by Maria Ulfah Santoso, resulting in a draft of Marriage Ordinance Project (Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, p. 108). Despite many Muslims' approval to the ordinance, most Muslim community

were resistant to the interference of the Dutch colonial in the marriage law because it should be a private sphere and part of religious identity, therefore “traditionalists and reformists, political and *abangan* (commoners, not pious) Islam, men and women united defending Islamic marriage” (Locher-Scholten, 2000, pp. 200-202), which means opposing the ordinance. As a whole, it was the sense of nationalism that served as the base for the refusal to the colonial government’s ordinance on the marriage law.

In her speech for the PSII (*Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic League Party) congress in 1940, Mrs Yati, an executive member of the PSII women’s wing, encouraged people to take part in politics in order to improve their living status and free from oppression (Blackburn, 2008a, p. 89). But when Japan occupied the archipelago from 1942 to 1945, all the existing political parties and organizations including women’s were diminished, and in their place, especially for women, Japan established a new organizations for women, *Fujinkai* in which women were assigned to be responsible in preparing the logistics for the war, were trained *baris berbaris* (military drill), and many of them were expected to serve as *jugun ianfu*, providing sexual service for Japanese soldiers (Blackburn, 2004, pp. 20-21; Martyn, 2005, pp. 43-44; Rahayu, 1996, pp. 4-5). This military training was exceptionally beneficial to the Indonesian revolution.

Women in the Old Order era (1945-1965)

Having been trained military drill in *Fujinkai*, women were ready to support the revolution, the struggle against the Dutch after Sukarno proclaimed the independence in 1945 and the Dutch had not admitted it until end of 1949. Vreede-de Stuers (1960), in her old book “The Indonesian Woman: Struggles and Achievements”, mentioned that women took part during the proclamation of Indonesia’s sovereignty on August 17, 1945 especially in the newly established Red-Cross (p. 114). She also remarked that on December 15-17, 1945, the fifth women’s congress, but the first in the post-colonial period, was held in Klaten, a small town close to Yogyakarta, initiated by Perwani (Persatuan Wanita Negara Indonesia or the Union of Indonesian Women), the best known women’s association in the revolution period. Maria Ulfah Santoso, the president of the association *Isteri Indonesia* before the independence, and Mrs. Kartowijono (after she got married, her own name, Soejatin, was hardly mentioned), who had been active in women’s movement since 1926, managed

the congress. The congress decided “to form the rear-guard in defense of the country’s liberty” (p. 114).

Vreede-de Stuers (1960) illustrated that the next congress in June 1946 led by Mrs Kartowijono agreed that they are ready to support the Republican army in order to oppose the Dutch, and another next congress led by Mrs Soenarjo Mangoenpoespito in July 1947, when the Republic experienced political instability due to the Dutch’s insisting on controlling over the Republic, they sent a letter to a progressive women’s association in Holland condemning the Dutch’s military reinforcements in Indonesia (p. 115).

The historical documents presented most of the women activists, such as Mrs Kartowijono, Mrs Soenarjo Mangoenpoespito, Mrs Kartowijono, Mrs Abdoerachman, and Mrs Andreas Sastrohusodo, with their husbands’ name after they got married, which very likely made their own names unrecognized by younger generations. This confirmed that women should always attach to men, not independent, as implied in the widely-known Javanese norms of *swarga nunut neraka katut* (always following husband wherever he goes, literally join husband to heaven along with him to the hell) and *kanca wingking*, widely misspelled as *konco wingking*, (friend at the rear who has to be always available to support husband’s career/job success). It might also be the women themselves who wanted to be addressed with just their husbands’ names, which was meant to inform that they were not dangerous because they were compliant with the ideal marital status or not being single, which, Brenner (1995, p. 37) defined, means they are not threatening to the social order because they were under men’s control.

Back to the women’s activism, until December 1949, a time when the Dutch finally gave up its domination, women’s congresses (1945, 1946, 1947, 1948) during revolution were concentrating on nationalism issues to support the revolution, no energy was left for religious and political disagreements (Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, p. 115) such as women’s rights in marriage and polygamy matters that were hot topics in women’s issues in the first half of twentieth century colonial period. When the revolution ended, the position of women in government policies remained low, especially in terms of their rights in marriage, which had not been resolved in the colonial era. According to Brown, as cited in Blackburn (1999, p. 94), Sukarno, like other influential males at that time, insisted the emphasis on national self-determination; any other ideas including women’s rights should wait

until the national goal, independence, was reached.

Nevertheless, after the Republic gained its full sovereignty in 1949, women's pursuit of their rights in marriage that had been repressed during the revolution was neglected. Sukarno was not consistent; he even disappointed women activists by introducing Act 19 of 1952 regulating the double pensions for the widows of polygamous civil servants (Wieringa, 2002) and taking another wife in 1954 while he was serving as the President (Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, p. 128) and already had Fatmawati as the first lady, which self-proclaimed that his speeches on women's emancipation in the colonial period and in the revolution era was just a strategy to attain sympathy and support from women. On this issue, Wieringa (1985, p. 12) asserted that Sukarno "did not pay more than lip service to the women's cause". The unfinished long fierce debates about polygamy (and marriage law) that had detached women's organizations since the first women's congress in 1928 raised up again. Lamentably, *Gerwani* (*Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* or Indonesian Women Movement), known as a revolutionary women mass organization, did not even demonstrate its defences against polygamy because of, it has been believed to be, its close political relationship with Sukarno especially in communism affiliation (Darwin, 2004, p. 288).

Nonetheless, women's organizations flourished in his presidential era, the biggest of which include Perwari, Gerwani, Muslimat or the women's wing of the largest Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama (Revival of the Religious Scholars), and Aisyiyah (women's wing of Muhammadiyah). Women got their right to vote, and in Indonesia's first election in 1955, the achievement was 6.5% or seventeen women successfully gained positions in the parliament (Parawansa, 2002a; Wasti, 2014). Another attainment of women's struggle in the new state of Indonesia was that in 1958, a regulation on labour force, UU 80/1958, instructed the principles of equal wages for equal jobs regardless of the sexes (Darwin, 2004, p. 287).

Women in the Old Order era had better opportunities in education than before but they still faced many other problems. From 1950s to 1960s, Gerwani, tried to deal with problems such as women and work, political participation of women, violence against women, and economic empowerment (Aripurnami, 2013, p. 233). The Old Order government also paid attention to the history of women's first and very remarkable conference on 22-25 December 1928 and established 22 December as a special day to remember. However, it has been accounted as *hari ibu* (mother's day) instead of *hari*

perempuan (women's day), which indicates that motherhood, instead of womanhood, is held in high esteem. This is potentially misinterpreted by those who are historically illiterate, as mother's day might be understood as celebrating motherhood-ness, not women's political struggle in defending their rights.

On the 31st of September, 1965, the coup de état of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) concluded Soekarno's presidential position and endorsed the transition from the Old Order to the New Order government which was also widely known as an authoritarian government.

Women in the New Order era (1966-1998)

The New Order government diminished all independent women's organizations especially Gerwani and Fujinkai. In its place, it reinstated *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or PKK and set up Dharma Wanita, which indicates the official notion that the ideal roles of women are in domestic sphere to provide the welfare of the family in order to support husbands' career.

The New Order government controlled the women mainly through its two biggest organizations *Dharma Wanita* and PKK, especially to help succeeding the development tasks of the (male) civil servants and government officials. As the organization of the wives of civil servants, Dharma Wanita was structurally parallel with the positions of the husbands and was supervised by the civil servants via Korpri as the Supervisory Board (*Dewan Pembina*), while as the official organization of civil servants, korpri's political affiliation was constrained to Golkar or Golongan Karya (Functional Group), Soeharto's political machine (K. H. Dewi, 2015, p. 44). Despite the fact that civil servants include both sexes, the state's establishment of Dharma Wanita (Women's Service) is a self-evident that the state's norm of civil servants is male, unless the state also set up similar organization for the husband of civil servants, which I think, should be Dharma Pria (*Male's Service*).

Such an arrangement is just like Fujinkai's membership characteristics and conception of femininity (Blackburn, 2004, p. 20; Wieringa, 1985, p. 11). This is actually akin to the condition in 1920s, as pointed by Blackburn (2008a, p. 86), when many Islamic political parties created women's wings which were led by the wives of the men leaders, hypothetically, to keep them under male control.

On the other way, PKK has a different history showing that it was originally purely empowerment,

especially before it was taken over by the New Order state. According to an article entitled “Sejarah Singkat PKK” (Short History of PKK) in the official website of PKK Pemalang Regency¹², PKK was firstly rooted from a seminar on Home Economics in Bogor in 1957 generating a concept of *10 Segi Kehidupan Keluarga* (10 Aspects of Family Life), which was, in 1961, adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture as a subject of *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Education to teach in schools. Then at the end of 1960s, prompted by the poor condition of the people in Dieng (a village in the regency of Wonosobo), Isriati Moenadi, the wife of the Governor of Central Java, established PKK as an organization in all levels of government institutions with the agenda of implementing the *10 segi pokok* (main aspects of) PKK intensively to overcome the problem, which was successful.

Later in 1972, when the New Order government started to place its solid footing, the president instructed the Ministry of Internal Affairs to endorse PKK in all regions of Indonesia and changed the word *Pendidikan* (education) to be *Pembinaan* (guidance or nurturance). The shift from *pendidikan* to *pembinaan* entailed the state’s control and, therefore, political intensions in it. Indeed, while PKK at first was empowering people in need, it became an instrument of the state to support its patriarchal ideology and to domesticate women. PKK’s membership are voluntary, but, like Dharma Wanita, their positions in the organization was parallel with the structural positions of their husbands, regardless of the women’s own status or career. The top leader of PKK was the wife of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and this parallel structure is also the case in all level of government institutions.

Suryakusuma (1996, pp. 98-101; 2011) noted that PKK constitutes the bridge between the State and village women, and that Dharma Wanita was supporters and dependants to husbands as civil servants, through which the state ideology of gender, *state ibuism*, was highlighted. The subordinate position of women was clearly explained in the *Panca Dharma Wanita* (Five Responsibilities of Woman), on which both organizations, PKK and Dharma Wanita, based themselves. It assigned women to (1) support her husband’s career and duties, (2) provide offspring, (FK3) rear her children, (4) be housewives, and (5) be member of the community or an Indonesian citizen (Kalyanamitra, 2012, p. 3; Wieringa, 1985, p. 27). The responsibilities seem to be ordered in accordance with the

¹² http://www.pemalangkab.go.id/pkk/?page_id=17 accessed on 2 October 2015 at 4:07:04 pm

priority scale expected by the state, in which the first one is to support husband's career and duties regardless of the wife's own career although higher.

In his biography, Soeharto, the president of the New Order Indonesia, stated that Indonesian women's organizations were meant to position women in their correct role, housewife, and motor of development at the same time (Tiwon, 1996, p. 59). Saraswati Sunindyo (1996, p. 121) argued that such ideology confirmed the bourgeois ideology of motherhood, which was used to distinguish "good" women from the "bad" ones and to disrespect those who do not fit into the typology of a good mother. Accordingly, a woman who has her own advanced career and is not able to support her husband's career or duties is not a good woman and autonomous woman who is not married is seen as anomaly.

Such social construction of womanhood by the New Order government, according to Julia Suryakusuma (1996, pp. 101-102; 2011, p. 105) in her '*State-Ibuism*', domesticated and depoliticized Indonesian women. She claims that *state-ibuism* combines the concept of *ibuism* and housewifization. The former expects women to serve their husband, children, their family, their community, and the state. The latter demands women to provide their labour freely, without any expectations of prestige or power. The New Order government has also shown its *state-ibuism* ideology very clearly at least in establishing the date of 22 December to be a mother day instead of the day of the political escalation of Indonesian women (Andriana, 2012, p. 26), which represents how the New Order government idealizes women by domesticating their role as mother. Thus, Indonesian women, regardless of their own level of autonomy in financial provision, are constructed mainly as mothers and wives.

The domesticating and depoliticization of women is corresponding to a Javanese concept of '*kanca wingking*' (Boy ZTF, 2009, p. 57; Darwin, 2004, p. 284; Doorn-Harder, 2006; Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1998; Kholifah, 2010, p. 86; Leight, 2007, p. 11; Munir, 2002, p. 196; Muttaqin, 2008, p. 146; Rahayu, 1996, pp. 5-6) referring to the ideal woman who has to always support and be available for husband's career. Indeed, Javanese-ness seems to be central in the state's construction of womanhood, which might be because the Javanese ethnic group is the majority in the population. All the presidents of Indonesia, from the first until the seventh, were from Javanese ethnicity, and Java is the central of almost everything from government administration, education, business, and entertainment.

Additionally, a distinctively powerful policy, the Marriage Act No. 1/1974 which is still valid currently, especially article 31 paragraph three, preserves and strengthens the view that wives should be primarily responsible for household matters, while husbands as breadwinners. It is considered acceptable for women “to be active in public world, as long as it was justified in the name of the family” (Blackburn, 2004, p. 143).

On the other hand, the Marriage Act has been a great achievement for women’s long struggle on their rights in marriage, that had been fought for since the second women’s congress in 1935 with its draft on Marriage Ordinance Project (Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, p. 108) as described in a previous section. Even though polygamy was still allowed in the Act 1/1974, the principle of monogamy was clearly stated and women’s rights in marriage were confirmed, ensuring the secure position of women in marriage and in divorce, even though, as described previously, the domestic roles of women were emphasized.

Indeed, the domestication of women was institutionalised, even, in the bigger policies. The first GBHN¹⁴ or Guidelines of the State Policy enacted in 1973 did not mention even a word about the roles and rights of women in the national development; the word women was mentioned only in one short sentence emphasizing their rights in managing the household and the offspring. In the next GBHNs (1978, 1983, 1988, 1993, 1998), despite the acknowledgement that women as citizens and development agents should have the same rights, responsibilities, and opportunities in all spheres of the nation's life and development activities, the GBHNs promoted the state’s gender ideology emphasizing the role of women in the welfare of the family and raising up the offspring. However, as part of the commitments to the international convention on women, the government was obliged to include women in the national development, which forms the background of the concept of *peran ganda* or double roles for women.

To support such roles, the word *kodrat*¹⁶ was explicitly emphasized in GBHN 1988, 1993, and 1998, along with the support for women’s participation in public sphere, which was to remind them of their main responsibility in their household. Regardless of the literal meaning of the word ‘*kodrat*’,

¹⁴ GBHN is the national guidelines as the embodiment of the citizen’s will that was validated by the MPR (The house of representatives of the people) as a guide for the president in running the government.

¹⁶ *Kodrat* literally means ‘divine and inherent nature’, but in relation with women, it has always been understood as women’s inherent roles as mother and wife.

namely 'divine and inherent nature', which should apply to both sexes, it is usually associated only with women, which has been widely understood as the natural domestic and care responsibility of women as a consequence of women's biological roles such as pregnant, giving birth, and breast feeding (Blackburn, 2004, pp. 25-26; Hadiz & Eddyono, 2005, p. 55; Robinson, 2009, pp. 5,10; Rustam, 1993; Suryakusuma, 2011). The emphasis of *kodrat* for women in the GBHNs is a form of discrimination which is contradictory with the CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) that has been ratified by the government in its UU 7/1984.

Another legal product of the New Order considered, especially by feminists, as limiting the opportunities of women is the Labour Act No. 25/1997. On behalf of protecting women, it (article 98 paragraph one) prohibits entrepreneurs from employing women in certain times such as night. This is interpreted as the state's confirmation in support of the domestication of women in terms of women's major responsibility in the household (Hadiz & Eddyono, 2005, p. 99) and neglecting the facts that many women were the main, even sole, provider.

The New Order's gender ideology has been 'an encompassing and pervasive foundation for Indonesian women's identity' (Budianta, 2002, p. 35), which was incompatible with the reports that Javanese women played a dominant role in trading and economic activities (Brenner, 1995; H. Geertz, 1961; Hatley, 1990, pp. 24,33; Keeler, 1990; Vreede-de Stuers, 1960) and that Indonesian women had fewer barriers in public domain (Errington, 1990) allowing them to have a higher status among other Asian countries (Megawangi, 1997, p. 5).

The nationally pervasive students' demonstrations demanding for the resigning of Soeharto came to its massive riots in May 1998, which, Sulistyono (2001, pp. 299-300) remarked, turned to a climate of ethno-religious hatred. He mentioned that due to the anti-Chinese atmosphere, many Indonesian women of Chinese descent became the victims of gang rapes (p. 300). The TGPF Mei 1998 or *Tim Gabungan Pencari Fakta Kerusuhan Mei 1998* found that there were at least 85 cases of sexual violence against women mainly of Chinese descent; 52 gang rapes, 14 rapes with battering, 10 battering, and 9 sexual harassment (Komnas Perempuan, 2012, p. 2). This tragedy set a ground for the establishment of *Komisi Nasional anti kekerasan terhadap Perempuan* (the National Commission on anti-Violence against Women), or known as Komnas Perempuan or the National Committee on Women (Komnas Perempuan, 2001, pp. 1-3) one of whose concerns was the

advocacy for the victims.

The new era, known as *Reformasi* (Reform) Era starting from the fall of the New Order government, has its own story about women.

Women in the Reform Era (from 1998 onwards)

Women have been exceptionally benefited by the Reform era, especially concerning the release of the GBHN 1999–2004, in which the word *kodrat* was not mentioned anymore and women empowerment was central, enabling the women's organization and related institutions to flourish. Following up the Beijing Platform for Action, Indonesia has endorsed gender mainstreaming policies via *Inpres* (Instruksi Presiden or President's Instruction) No.9/2000. This was then supported by UU No. 25/2000 on *Propenas* (National Development Program) 2000-2004 highlighting gender mainstreaming as a strategy of achieving gender equity and equality.

As a realization, Women's Empowerment Bureaus have been formed in all regions and Women Studies Centre (later most of them became Gender Studies Centre) have been established in higher education institutions. However, as is common in international institutions (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 15), major challenges persist at the level of implementation, mostly they are not supported adequately. Apart from that, numerous women's organizations emerged, dealing with various issues such as domestic and sexualities especially in relation with violence against women, economic empowerment for women, and advocacy for the issues of women's representation in politics (Aripurnami, 2013, p. 234).

However, the term 'empowerment', which has been translated to '*pemberdayaan*' in Indonesian language, has been understood by the government in a different way from its original concept, which could be because of the absence of the precise translation of the term into Indonesian language. Instead of understanding it as empowering women by changing the (unequal) power relation to be more just to women, the term has been defined as increasing the women's capability in various areas such as education, politics, social, and culture as well as rising their participation in public sphere (Sabaniah & Setyawati, 2009, p. 2; Sabaniah, Setyawati, & Wiyanti, 2010, p. 5). Historically, power relations in a newly-reformed Indonesia had long been under the New Order gender ideology positioning women and men as subordinate and superordinate parties respectively, not allowing

women to be equal to men.

At the end of 1998, soon after the New Order collapsed, Women's Congress was held in Yogyakarta attended by 500 women from all over provinces of Indonesia, in which women were proudly asserting their identities and rights after being repressed during the New Order era (Budianta, 2002, p. 38). This seems to be in line with a statement that "In a country where women are often encouraged to fulfil traditional expectations as daughters, wives, and mothers, these same women were proving to be 'impassioned agents for reform'" (Rinaldo, 2013, p. 1). However, it could also be the case with other oppressed groups, not only women.

Indeed, as a consequence of democracy, diverse groups with different, even contradictory, ideologies emerged between two poles of continuum. On one end, numerous progressive Muslim women organizations such as Rahima, Fahmina, LKiS (Institute for Islamic and Social Studies), and Puan Amal Hayati emerged promoting women's rights in Islam, and, later, defenders of LGBT such as Ardhanary Institute, Suara Kita (literally means our voice) and Arus Pelangi (Rainbow Stream) arose. On the other end, there was, at least, extremely conservative religious groups such as FPI (Front Pembela Islam or the Front for the Defense of Islam) which was the most controversial and reactive group among Muslim organizations.

On one pole, such progressive Muslim organizations (just to mention some; Rahima, Fahmina, LKiS and Puan Amal Hayati) were progressive feminists fighting for women's rights but not sharing the same attitude towards some highly controversial issues (such as LGBT). LGBT groups were still often excluded even from the Komnas Perempuan or National Committee for Women (Noerdin, 2013, pp. 25-26). Many feminists in Indonesia did not want to deal with issues of sexual orientation, and count on certain organizations such as Ardhanary to focus on the LGBT issues (Aripurnami, 2013), which might be because of fear of resistance from the mainstream due to their extremely problematic acknowledgement as homosexuality is condemned in mainstream Islam.

Actually FPI was not alone on the opposite end, because there were some other conservative, revivalist, fundamentalist groups or hard-line Muslims (Azra, 2005, p. 203), such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) or Party of Liberation¹⁹ which rejects democracy and denies participating in

¹⁹ HTI, the Party of Liberation, was and is actually not a political party. It is just the name of an organization which was finally disbanded by the government in 2017.

Indonesian elections, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) or the Indonesian Jihad Fighters Council, and Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) or Islamic community, which shared radical ideologies²⁰ (Bruinessen, 2013a, 2013b). But, it was FPI that most often reacted aggressively (Woodward, 2011, p. 73) to any practices they considered *maksiat* or vice, and *bid'ah*, *kufarat*, and *shirk*²¹. Related to the aggressive actions of such conservative groups, Wieringa (2009, pp. 6,11-13) mentioned that there were 265 violent cases against religion and threats against gay and lesbian groups, as well as pluralism and religious tolerance, which, Komnas Perempuan (2010, p. 37) reported, weakened women's rights on behalf of Islamic norms.

Adamson's (2007, p. 6) article entitled 'Gendered Anxieties: Islam, women's rights, and moral hierarchy in Java' mentions that the anxieties of the women's right advocate was "while democratic reform might occur in the government, social values concerning women's roles in conjunction with the increasing expressions of Islamic faith threaten to become increasingly restrictive". Indeed, in a way women's organization flourished but on the other way conservative groups also grows well.

Budianta (2002, p. 38) mentioned that it was difficult to reach a common platform because of the tensions between different groups, even worse, women's freedom to reshape their own identities run the risk of threats from the rising religious fanaticism. In many regions, as a consequence of decentralisation, women have been affected by *perda* (*Peraturan Daerah* or regional regulation) *syari'ah* (Islamic law) limiting women in various ways including what type of dress they are allowed to wear in public. Some regions, claiming for autonomy, introduced discriminative *perda* or local rules. In 2009, Komnas Perempuan (Women National Committee) reported 154 discriminative *perdas* controlling women's body through morality and prostitution regulation such as prohibiting women from going out in the night without their guard (Komnas Perempuan, 2010). Gender mainstreaming, thus, faced several problems hindering the achievement of gender equity and equality.

Regarding the formation and implementation of the *perdas* in the reform era Indonesia, Noerdin (2002, p. 185) pointed out that women were excluded from decision-making positions, especially

²⁰ Recently, these conservative groups (such as FPI, HTI, MMI, and JI), according to Alfian (2014) in his article published in a daily newspaper, *Pelita*, has dispersed. But, I am of the conviction, it did not mean that there was no more radical groups in Indonesia.

²¹ *Bid'ah*, *kufarat*, and *shirk* are all Islamic terms referring to religious-cultural practices that were not compatible with Qur'an and Hadith.

related to sharia-based or discriminative regulations, which resulted in the decisions that weaken women's rights and interest. She mentioned a bulk of examples of how women were punished on the street because of being accused to breach the regulations, such as their hair was shaved off because of not wearing headscarf. Mernissi (1991, p. ix) wrote "if women's rights are a problem for modern Muslim men, it is neither because the Koran nor the Prophet, nor the Islamic tradition, but simply because those rights conflict with the interest of a male elite"

Other than the issue of discriminative local regulations, the practice of polygamy that had been pressured during the New Order with its marriage Act, UU 1/1974 and the government regulation for civil servants PP10/1983²³, emerged again like being granted a fresh air, which was probably because the vice-president for the period of 2001-2004, Hamzah Haz, was a polygamist. It was said that, as a consequence of democratisation, Megawati, the 5th president of Indonesia (in office from 23 July 2001 to 20 October 2004) and 8th vice president of Indonesia (from 26 October 1999 to 23 July 2001), tried to compromise with Islamic groups for the reasons of political stability (Blackburn, 2004, p. 136). That Megawati was the first woman vice president then president of Indonesia, there should had been a new hope for women. Nevertheless, Megawati was not well concerned with gender issues and might be uncomfortable to stand on the side against polygamy as her father, Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia, was widely known as a polygamous figure. This, according to Nurmila (2009, p. 64), caused a relaxed attitude toward polygamy; several civil servants started to take another wife without anxiety, even though the PP 10/ 1983 was (and is) still valid.

In 2004, a team of gender mainstreaming within the Ministry of Religious Affairs launched a Counter Legal Draft (CLD) of *Kompilasi Hukum Islam* (KHI) or Compilations of Islamic Law, in which polygamy and violence against women were not tolerated, and women should inherit equally to men (Hooker, 2008, p. 25), but it was considered too controversial and never approved by the Council of Indonesian Muslim Scholar (MUI) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, so the draft was (and is) suspended and remained a draft which was fiercely contested.

With regard to PKK and Dharma Wanita, two women organization as important 'political instruments' of the New Order as described in the previous section, there has been some revisions

²³ The Government Regulation PP 10/1983 controls civil servants' marriage life to prevent them from polygamous practices.

as a consequence of the reform era. Based on the *Rakernas Luar Biasa* (extra-ordinary national meeting) PKK in 2000, the name changed from Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga or Family Welfare Guidance to Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga or Family Empowerment and Welfare (Tim Penggerak PKK Kabupaten Pematang, 2015), which sounds like detaching from the government's co-optation but did not offer substantial revision about its independence status. The *Munaslub* (extra-ordinary national meeting) Dharma Wanita in 1999 also revised its platform stating that it did not affiliate to any political parties²⁴, and the third national meeting on 10-11 December 2014 decided that the structural positions was not dependent on husband's position anymore, but elected from the members who had capability, acceptability, and integrity. But, it is not easy in practice due to, quoting Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 462), the still living cultural norms of lineal value orientation or reliance, trust and respect for seniors.

Women's participation in politics shifted its way to be more democratic and less oligarchical than before. In the first general election in the Reform Era, in 1999, women's representation in the parliament decreased from previously 10.8% to be just 9.0%, but many of the elected women were from those who actively took part in the electoral processes (Parawansa, p. 83) unlike the recruitment in the New Order era with its oligarchy practices allowing women mainly from the relatives of the politics elites to be recruited (Andriana, 2012, pp. 29, 33; Blackburn, 1999, p. 199). The decrease of women representation in parliament could be a manifestation of the principle of women's politics at that time that, according to Nunuk Muniarti as quoted by Budianta (2002, p. 40), politics is not only about power (in formal sector) but also educating the society and changing the basic social system, as a redefinition of the dominant construction of 'democratisation' and 'civil society'.

The first reform era general election was followed by 48 parties, which was like a euphoria in democracy after strict restrictions of only three parties during the New Order era, three of which were led by women, namely PNI-Supeni (The Indonesian National Party Supeni) led by Supeni²⁶, PDIP (the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) led by Megawati Sukarnoputri²⁷, and PMKGR (Partai

²⁴ Source: <http://dwpprovdk.org/anggaran-dasar/>, accessed on 2 October 2015.

²⁶ Supeni was a president of Kowani in 1948 and a member of Parliament for the PNI in 1960 (Vreede-de Stuers, 1960, p. 187).

²⁷ Megawati Sukarnoputri is the daughter of Sukarno, the charismatic figure of Indonesian independence proclamation and first president. She was said to owe her reputation to her father (Bessell, 2004, p. 5; Blackburn, 2004, p. 106; Cunningham, 2001, p. 1047). Pramoedya Ananta Toer, a famous novelist, public

Musyawaharah Kekeluargaan Gotong Royong or The Party of Familial Convention cooperation) chaired by Mien Sugandhi²⁸. However, only PDIP was successfully gaining access to the parliament seats, as the party attained the major votes of 33.7% reserving the right of 153 out of 462 seats in the parliament²⁹, while the other two, PNI Supeni and PMKGR, were not able to collect significant votes for even a seat in the parliament.

However, despite its majority in the parliament, PDIP was not able to get ahead in the presidential election, because its candidate was female, while the acceptability of female leadership was not confirmed religiously. Controversies about the acceptability of female president has been heightened since 1999, especially within Islamic political discourses (Arnez, 2010, pp. 80-82; Brown, 2003, p. 235; Davies, 2005, p. 240; Maimun, 2012; Siahaan, 2003), the conservative of which has been considered a threat to newly attained freedoms (Robinson, 2006). In Indonesia, the Islamic political discourses about women leadership especially to be president have been changing. During the debates around Megawati's presidential candidacy, despite national level NU's and Muhammadiyah's *fatwa* (legal opinion of the recognized religious authorities) allowing for female president (K. H. Dewi, 2015, pp. 58-59), there were disagreement on it, such as a *fatwa* issued by a branch of NU of East Java and MUI branch Yogya, stating that it is *haram* (religiously forbidden) for a woman to become president³⁰, with the consequence that it is also *haram* to vote for women president, because doing it means supporting religiously illegal act.

Nonetheless, the initial direct election for president, governor, and regents has given space for

intellectual, and activist in left-wing cultural politics, said "Megawati came to power on the crest of a wave of youth rebellion. Those kids didn't really think about it; they didn't have any other figurehead, so they adopted her because she was Sukarno's daughter. That's all she is" (Vickers, 2005, p. 212).

²⁸ Mien Sugandhi was a Minister of Women's Affairs in in the New Order era.

²⁹ Out of 48 parties in the first general election after the *reformasi*, only three of which were from the New Order era including PDIP. Source: <http://www.kpu.go.id/index.php/pages/detail/2008/11/Pemilu-1999>, accessed on November 2015

³⁰ Just a few of those disagreed female president; MUI (the Council of Indonesian Muslim Scholar) Yogya claimed *haram* (forbidden) for female president <http://news.liputan6.com/read/81155/mui-yogyakarta-mengeluarkan-fatwa-haram-soal-capres>, accessed 2 October 2015; NU East Java did the same <http://news.liputan6.com/read/79480/kiai-nu-jatim-menolak-presiden-wanita?id=79480>, accessed on 2 October 2015; hard-liners such as HTI (*Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia or Indonesian Party of Liberation), part of an international Islamic political organization aiming at the re-establishment of "the Islamic *Khilafah* or Islamic state, of course, refused female president <http://www.hidayatullah.com/artikel/opini/read/2014/02/27/17265/peran-politik-perempuan-diparlemen-seberapa-penting.html>, accessed on 10 Nov 2015

women to take part more actively in politics. In Java, 9.91% of the elected pairs of regents (regents and vice regents) in Java were women and all of whom were Muslim, while out of Java reached 4.22% (K. H. Dewi, 2015, p. 2).

An important point of the state's relation with women in the Reform Era Indonesia, even just symbolic, is when the name Ministry of Women's Role changed to be the Ministry of Women's Empowerment by the new minister at that time, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, in 1999, a year after the fall of the New Order. But, since 2009 it has changed again to be the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. The inclusion of child protection might be understood as locating women in responsibility for children which is in support to the concept of *kodrat* for women and *state-ibuisism* as the state gender ideology. But, it might also be interpreted that women and children are vulnerable groups as a result of being subordinate in their relation with men and adult respectively, so they need special attention of the state. The RPJP³³ (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang* or Long Term Development Plan) mentioned that women and children still had low quality of life indicated by the low Gender Development Index (GDI), high rates of violence, exploitations, and discrimination against women and children, and the inadequate protection and welfare of the children, which, I believe, explained the ground for the renaming of the Ministry of Women Empowerment to include child protection.

In 1999, women were accommodated in politics through UU 39 /1999, article 45 and 46 on human rights assuring the representation of women in legislative, executive, and judicative (Andriana, 2012, p. 31; Wasti, 2014, p. 1). This was strengthened by the affirmative action requiring the quota of 30% representation of women in parliament that must be confirmed by every political party based on UU 22/2007 on Organizer of General Election, UU 8/2008 on Political Party, and UU 10/2008 on General Election. However, the affirmative action did not guarantee the increasing representation of women in the parliament if political parties accommodate women just because of complying with the regulation as one of the requirements to pass the verification without any commitment to gender equality.

Yet, the affirmative action, along with numerous efforts of women activists in advocating it,

³³ RPJP as a state guide of national development plan was constructed in 2004 and enacted in 2005 as the replacement of the GBHN.

seemed to be somewhat fruitful. The achievement went up steadily from 11.3% in 2004 to 18.3% in 2009 but unfortunately went down again in 2014 to 17.3% (Hamami, 2015), even though it did not even contribute to the improvement of more gender just state policies. One of the causal factors is the inadequate educational background and poor knowledge of the elected women most of whom were from popular figure (such as artists), (the relatives of) politics elites, and political parties' cadres who did not have experiences in fighting for the marginal groups (Amalia, 2012, p. 251; Andriana, 2012, pp. 37,40). Therefore, women in parliament have set up *Kaukus Perempuan* or Women's Caucus to cope with women's issues. Martiany (2014, pp. 11-12) wrote that given not all women members of parliament cared about women's issues, substantive representation should be essential with the expectation that women's issues might be raised and defended by those who care regardless of the sexes.

Sri Yanuarti (2012, p. 152) in her article on the marginalisation and domination of patriarchal culture in an east part of Indonesia cited the confession of a male parliament member in response to the fact that a woman, Hj Wartiah, was the elected head of regional council of leaders of an Islamic party (DPW PPP) Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) who said "Moreover, the reason behind my decision to leave DPW PPP NTB is because I am not happy that the head of DPW PPP NTB is a woman, it is in contradiction with the faith that I adhere", which might be shared by many other males, even females. Women have often been expected to be the guardian of culture and nation. Miller's (2009, p. 54) interview with the Rector of UIN Ar-Raniry Aceh, Safwan Idris, revealed that women were subject to the local regulation of Aceh because women were perceived as the 'moral custodians of religion and culture'.

In their relation with the state from the colonial era until the reform era, women in Indonesia had been portrayed to be mainly mother and wife regardless of their involvement in the work force. Therefore, to address *ibu* (literally mother or madam) to women even though they are single or childless was customarily preferred as a form of respect especially for adult women. The depiction of women primarily as mother and wife could be a burden for career women if not accommodated in the state policies, and mostly it was not. Despite that, a discussion on the participation of women in higher education would be crucial to provide a setting for the analysis..

Women in Higher Education

Women have been less represented in higher levels of education than in the lower ones in most of the countries. Gender disparities are much greater at higher education compared to lower levels of education; only 5% of countries reach gender parity in the tertiary level of education compared to 64% in the primary level and 41% in secondary level (United Nations, 2013, p. 19). In almost two thirds of countries (62%), especially those in some regions such as Latin America and the Caribbean, the Caucasus and Central Asia, Eastern Asia, Northern Africa and South-Eastern Asia, enrolment of women outnumber that of men at the tertiary level of education. On the contrary, in 33% of countries, those in regions such as Western Asia and Southern Asia, especially sub-Saharan Africa, men's enrolment to tertiary education usually outnumber women's.

While the limits of gender parity index or GPI³⁵ for developing countries are within the range of 0.97 and 1.03 (United Nations, 2013, pp. 18-19), Indonesia with its GPI of 97.82 for tertiary level of education, 101,40 for senior high school, 103.45 for junior high school, and 98.80 for primary school is considered as having gender parity in the primary, the secondary, and the tertiary level of education. Nevertheless, such gender parity in enrolment is not parallel with the proportion of faculty members; like the cases in most countries, women are underrepresented in all academic ranks, especially in the higher ones.

Besides the fact that higher education is a key to social mobility and a way out from poverty, the reasons of the over-representation of women enrolment in higher education, as highlighted by empirical research, include the fact that women often need to have more education than men to get the same jobs, claimed Fiske (2012, p. 84). Indeed, the benefits women have in access to higher education are not parallel with the work opportunities accessible to them. Women, Fiske pointed, face barriers to the same work opportunities available to men; discrimination in jobs, inequalities in power, voice and political representation and the laws that are prejudicial on the basis of their gender are challenges that women, rather than men, have to manage (p. 84) . This seems to be the case in higher education institutions where women faculty members very rarely hold top leadership positions or reach the highest academic ranks.

³⁵ GPI or Gender Parity Index is defined as girls' school enrolment ratio in relation to boys' enrolment ratio (United Nations, 2013, p. 18)

Of any Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) country, Portugal has one of the highest percentages of women in academia, with women making up 41.3 per cent of the professoriate, (OECD, 2006). In the UK, despite the increasingly feminized higher education, both students and academics, the professorship is still dominated by men (Rosser, 2004) and women face discrimination and struggle to break into the top level (Aiston, 2011, p. 279). In Canada, women make only 20% of the country's full professors (Robbins, 2010). This is also the case in the United States as reported by the US Department of Education mentioning that in 2010-11 there were about 62,500 male professors and 23,100 female professors at 4-year public institutions, approximately 37,100 male professors and 14,700 female professors at 4-year private nonprofit institutions, and roughly 1,100 male professors and 500 female professors at 4-year private for-profit institutions' (Knapp, Kelly-Reid, & Ginder, 2011). In Australia, after two decades of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO), women academics are still concentrated in the lower ranks (Kjeldal, Rindfleish, & Sheridan, 2005, p. 431). Despite the issue of feminisation of higher education, as Rea (2011) claimed, women are still concentrated in certain areas and lower academic and managerial ranks.

In Indonesia, women made up 43.44% of the total faculty members of all ranks in non-religious higher education (Kemenristekdikti, 2017a) and 27% in the Islamic ones (Directorate General of Islamic Education, 2015), but no segregated data was available based on both sex and ranks at the same time in both ministries, the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (*Kemenristekdikti*) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs . The MORA's website³⁶, provides a list of names of professors with 16 female names out of the total of 325 names throughout all Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia in 2015, which means that women professors made up only 5%, however, while no information was provided in the website of the *Kemenristekdikti*.

Indeed, in most higher education institutions, the number of women faculty members concentrates on the lowest academic ranks; the higher the rank, the lower the number of women faculty is. This gap has been well-documented by numerous research reports from various country, different disciplines, and a range of time frame (J. Acker, 2009; Agogino, 2007; Buckley, Sanders, Shih, Kallar, & Hampton, 2000; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2013; Knapp et al., 2011; Menges & Exum,

³⁶ <http://diktis.kemenag.go.id/gb/list.php>, viewed on 10 October 2016

1983; Pololi & Jones, 2010; Priola, 2007; Robbins, 2010; Shalala, 2007; Tomàs et al., 2010; West & Curtis, 2006). One of the key reasons of which is that women are under-represented in research (Aiston & Jung, 2015; Kahn, 2012; Morley, 2014; O'Meara, 2015; Parker, 2008; Subbaye & Vithal, 2016; Vithal, Subbaye, & North, 2013; J. Z. Wilson, Marks, Noone, & Hamilton-Mackenzie, 2010) given that research has always been the most required aspects in academic promotion (Aiston & Jung, 2015; M. Baker, 2012; Skelton, 2005; H. P. Winchester & Browning, 2015). Not only in the highest academic ranks, women are also under-represented in leadership positions (Bagilhole & White, 2013; Blackmore, Sánchez-Moreno, & Sawers, 2015; Inayatillah, 2010a; Kholis, 2013; Kull, 2009; Morley, 2014; Murniati, 2012; Susilaningih & Najib, 2004; Wayong, 2007). Thus, women are poorly represented both in the highest academic and leadership positions.

That the percentage of women academics is still small might be partly due to a view that women are 'bad investment' (Robbins, 2010; Shalala, 2007), have less time for career development (Buckley et al., 2000), and that women with children are less productive than men (Hunter & Leahey, 2010). To be productive academically needs uninterrupted blocks of time for research, whereas according to Patton (2013, p. 5) care and household responsibility is gendered, putting women as the primary holder. Failures in fulfilling the cultural expectations may lead to a number of consequences, such as being excluded by both women and men on the grounds of breaking the norms.

Like most other women in Indonesia, women in Indonesian higher education were not immune from cultural and religious norms (Murniati, 2012; Setiadarma, 1993) prescribing the ideal femininity. It even seems that their status as academics is subordinated to their status as mother and wives, which is often conceptualized as their *kodrat* to be *kanca wingking* in *state-ibuisim* (Suryakusuma, 2011) and framed by hegemonic discourse of patriarchal religious interpretations. All of this confirm the public-private spheres separation applied to men and women and potentially contribute to the tone of women's career path. Nevertheless, policies related to faculty member -*Undang Undang* (Act) No. 12 year 2012 on higher education, No. 19/2005 on national standard of education, and No.14/2005 on teacher and lecturer- do not address any gender issues to promote the equal opportunity between women and men faculties.

Besides, Islamic higher education institutions inherited patriarchal gender relations. Historically, Islamic higher education in Indonesia is very firstly rooted from and settled as Islamic boarding

schools or pesantrens which have a traditionalist orientation and follow the teachings of the founding kyai³⁸, or preacher, most of whom hold patriarchal exegeses of religious teaching affected by local traditions (Azra, Afrianty, & Hefner, 2007). Accordingly, the feature of organizational culture in Islamic higher education institutions is potentially resistant to gender equality discourses, which builds a pattern of gender relations in the institution, often called gender regime³⁹. The gender regime in Islamic education is one of many living gender regimes in Indonesia (Blackburn, 2008a; Kull, 2009, pp. 26,37; Robinson, 2006, 2009). What I mean by Islamic education in this study is not like the one described by Baki (2004) with its gender segregated classroom. Islamic education in Indonesia varied in many ways including in how women were represented; some institutions let men and women students mixed in the same classroom and activities but different dormitories (if provided), some others managed separate spaces for women and men students and did not allow them to meet. This happened to the teachers or faculties as well.

With such organizational setting, women faculty members in Islamic higher education are potentially confronted with a number of hindrances. However, some of them are successful in making their way to the higher academic ranks or positions. Studies on women faculty members in Indonesian context generally focus on those who are in leadership positions (Inayatillah, 2010a; Murniati, 2012; Wayong, 2007). One study on women in Islamic higher education involving a number of Islamic universities and institutes throughout Indonesia (Kull, 2009) did not include the ones in East Java. My study with its focus on women in Islamic higher education institutions in East Java will be a valuable contribution to the knowledge on women in higher education in Indonesia.

Purpose and Research Questions

This study aims at attaining an in-depth understanding of the ways the women faculty members managed their work and lives in two biggest state-owned Islamic higher education institutions in East Java, Indonesia, namely, the State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim (Maliki) or UIN Maliki located in Malang and the State University of Sunan Ampel or UINSA situated in Surabaya.

³⁸ Kyai “noble” refers to an honorific title for the leader of the pesantren or the religious scholar or leader in general.

³⁹ Gender regime refers to “the state of play in gender relations in a given institution” (R.W. Connell, 1987, p. 120) or “the continuing configuration of gender relations that structures the gender practices of its participants” (R. Connell, 2006, pp. 436-437).

Therefore, this qualitative study was guided by the main research question: How do women faculty members manage their work and lives in Islamic higher education? To be more specific, this study is intended to answer the following research questions:

- How do the women faculty members negotiate religion in their work and lives?
- How do the women faculty members negotiate Javanese-ness in their work and lives?
- How do the women faculty members negotiate national and higher education policies in relation with their work and lives?

Brief Overview of Methods

The study puts at the center the experiences of women faculty members at Islamic higher education institutions in East Java, Indonesia, a country with the biggest Muslim majority society. The percentage of women in the highest academic rank in Islamic higher education institutions was not only much lower than that of men, but was also lower than the percentage of women of the highest academic rank in the secular higher education institutions, which might indicate the contribution of the aspect of religion even though ideally it should not. This study is proposed to understand the experiences of women faculty members, especially those who have served for at least fifteen years, as some of them might succeed in making their way to higher ranks but some others might remain in lower ranks. Feminist standpoint methodology was selected to understand and analyze their experiences in managing their work and lives.

The participants of this project and I share similarities as long serving women Muslim faculties in Islamic higher education in East Java, Indonesia and as mothers and wives which enables me to get a sense of being engaged (Hartsock, 2004, p. 36) in the same ground and thus strengthen my choice of feminist standpoint methodology. This similarity does not mean that we have similar experiences.. My insider-ness and my gender assumptions helps me much in understanding the stories of the participants and are significant in framing the picture that I draw in this thesis.

I involved seventeen women faculty members who have served for fifteen years or more from various disciplines, personal circumstances, academic ranks, and work-related positions. I recruited them from as wide range of circumstances as possible based on the data available in the office of

each institution.

This study was conducted in two biggest and most established Islamic higher education institutions in East Java, Indonesia; the State Islamic University or Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Maulana Malik Ibrahim located in Malang and the State Islamic University of Sunan Ampel Surabaya. These two institutions had wider range of discipline and bigger number of faculty members than any other Islamic higher education institutions in East Java enabling me to cover faculty members with diverse background of disciplines..

Significance of the Study

There are many research reports on women faculty in the global context, especially the representation of women in higher academic and/or managerial ranks. The existing research reports on women in higher education in Indonesia (Inayatillah, 2010a; Murniati, 2012; Setiadarma, 1993; Wayong, 2007) also mainly focused on those who were in leadership or administrative positions. However, only a few were done in Islamic higher education institutions. There is a previous research (Kull, 2009) on female teachers at the State Islamic university of Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Makassar, Banjarmasin, and Bandung with the finding that the institutions were patriarchal, however, the study did not include any Islamic university in East Java, which is an important point to confirm the necessity of my study.

Given the scarcity of research on women's experiences and their career path in higher education in non-western countries (Blackmore et al., 2015; Luke, 2010, pp. xix,100) more especially in Islamic higher education, this project contributes to and enriches the existing knowledge of women in HE in non-western context. Therefore, my study, with its unique feature of Islamic higher education in Indonesia and with its coverage of both women in leadership or administrative positions and those who were faculty members and never assigned in such positions, will better understand the bigger picture of women faculties' experiences and contribute to the global discourse on women in higher education.

This thesis is also significant in that it explores Javanese-ness. This project focuses exclusively in East Java and involves mostly Javanese women and some non-Javanese who have married with Javanese men and have lived in Javanese cultural environment for a long time. Moreover, Javanese

culture is hegemonic and Javanese ethnic is the largest and politically dominant among Indonesian society (Woodward, 2011, p. 14), as it comprises of 45% of the whole population of Indonesia (Sugiharto, 2008, p. 370). Yet, there is a dearth of research which focuses on women faculty in relation with Javanese-ness along with religion (Islam) as the aspects affecting their work and lives experiences.

There are several studies on Javanese-ness with some discussion on women but they are not about women faculty members and were conducted a long time ago such as 'the Javanese Family' by Hildred Geertz in 1961 and 'the Religion of Java' by Clifford Geertz in 1976. More recent studies conducted in Java such as the one by Ambar Widiastuti's (2009) on Javanese-ness in its relation with globalization was not about women faculty. Another study about Javanese women and Islam especially in terms of identity formation by Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi (2012), again, did not focus on women faculty, whereas Mark Woodward's (2011) work on Java, Indonesia, and Islam, did not put special attention on women.

Some other studies focused on the experiences of women and Islam, but not women faculty members. Eka Srimulyani (2012) conducted her research about women in pesantren in Java, yet Javanese-ness and women faculty were not her focus. Siti Syamsiatun (2010) researched women's experiences in negotiating feminism and Islamism. Nina Nurmila (2009) studied women's experiences in relation with polygamy in Indonesia, and Suzanne Brenner on Javanese Muslim women and the veil (1996) and on democracy, polygamy and women in the post reform era Indonesia (2006). My research differs from theirs in terms of its coverage of issues involving women faculty members in relation with Islam and Javanese-ness in Islamic universities in East Java, Indonesia.

Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

This research project has some delimitation. First, out of fifty five public Islamic higher education institutions throughout Indonesia (eleven UIN⁴¹s, twenty six IAIN⁴²s, and eighteen STAIN⁴³s) this project took place in two institutions in East Java, Indonesia; UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and UIN

⁴¹ UIN is the acronym of Universitas Islam Negeri or the State Islamic University

⁴² IAIN represents Institut Agama Islam Negeri or the State Institute of Islamic Studies

⁴³ STAIN stands for Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri or the State College of Islamic Studies

Maliki Malang. These are the oldest and most established Islamic higher education institutions in East Java. Given the myriad diverse cultural settings of Indonesian archipelago, the results of the study will not represent the experiences of any other women academics from other higher education institutions in Indonesia, especially out of East Java. Indeed, they did not represent any women other than the participants themselves even though from the same institutions with the research subjects.

The second delimitation is that this project involved only long serving women academics from a range of disciplines, ranks, and life circumstances. I conceptualize 'long serving' as those who started their career at least fifteen years ago. They might have reached the top academic rank or still remain in the lower levels. They might also have a managerial position or be a faculty member. The research conducted by Bingham and Nix (2010) suggests that there might be a difference in responses for women who have worked in higher education for 16 or more years compared to women who have worked in higher education fewer than 16 years. This difference can be about their responsibility for children and the degree of involvement the parents have for children, which is potentially transferable to my setting of fifteen years of serving.

Besides some delimitation, there were some limitations of this study. First, it was really out of my control not to cover the whole range of circumstances of the women, as the participation is voluntary. As the document provided to me about the women faculty from the two universities did not always include the valid and most recent data, I experienced difficulties in knowing some circumstances such as the valid newest rank, address, and contact number. Thus, the results might not portray the experiences of women academics from the entire range of circumstances; some women with different conditions, situations, statuses, and positions that might have valuable experiences to share might not participate in this research project. And this made the research result limited in issues.

Second, despite the important position of reciprocity in feminist research to confirm the trustworthiness (DeVault, 1990), it was not possible to do so; I transcribed all the interviews after I left Indonesia, but I could not send the documents to most of the women I interviewed because most of them, especially the senior ones were not used to communicating via email, so they did not give me any email address. Furthermore, they told me that they did not want to read the transcripts, they said that they trust me. Only four women provided their email address to me and I sent the transcripts to them, but only one of them gave feedback which was just about some mistakes in typing or

spelling. Yet, I found some co-confirmation between the information from the websites and the interviews, as well as between the interviews.

Preview of Subsequent Chapters

Other than the chapter of introduction, this report comprises of seven subsequent chapters; chapter two for literature review, chapter three for methodology, chapter four for growing up in the New Order era, chapter five for gender mainstreaming and higher education in the reform era Indonesia, chapter six for Tridharma and women's career, chapter seven for maintaining family harmony, and chapter eight for the conclusion. Below is the short descriptions of each subsequent chapters.

Chapter two provides a review on relevant previous literature about women in relation with Javanese-ness and Islam and about women in higher education from both Indonesian and global contexts. It consists of seven sections, i.e. Javanese culture, women and Islam, women faculty in Indonesia, women's career path, daily work, work and family demands, and higher education policy. At the end of the chapter I reiterate the gap that I need to fill by this research project.

Chapter three presents the methodology of this project. It explains the theoretical framework of this study, the rationale for my choice of feminist standpoint methodology, the explanation of the research site and participant selection, how the pilot study works, the procedures of data collection and data analysis. At the end of chapter three, ethical considerations are discussed, as well as role and impact of the researcher.

Chapter four entitled growing up in the New Order era provides an outline of the political, ideological, and religious contexts in which the women were born and raised, which revealed gender relations in Indonesia before and during the periods of the participants' lives (they were born in 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s), to facilitate the understanding of the women faculty's experiences presented in the following chapters. It also presents the stories of the women especially in relation with their education background some of which was affected by the political tensions, the Javanese culture and Islamic values, and finally how they made their way to be faculty members.

Chapter five presents the higher education in Indonesia in the reform era and the gender mainstreaming in it. It addresses the Indonesian higher education landscape, gender mainstreaming

policies. gender mainstreaming in higher education, and features a website analysis profiling the two universities, UIN Maliki and UINSA and discussing the representation of gender. This chapter provides background knowledge of the settings in which the subjects of my research lived their work lives.

Chapter six entitled tridharma and women's career discusses the work lives of the women, both lecturers and administrators. It contains four main sections, namely, tridharma (the three pillars), work culture, lack of support for women faculties, and career paths. Under the section of tridharma is the elaboration of the three main responsibilities of higher education in Indonesia, followed by some discussion on how the women experienced their work lives in each aspect of the tridharma. The section of work culture includes the issues of preserving hierarchy and gender harassment. The section of lack of support for women includes some problems in the Gender Study Center (*Pusat Studi Gender* or PSG) and issues of resistance to feminisms. The section of career paths covers leadership career paths and academic career paths.

Chapter seven deals with the women's efforts in maintaining their family harmony. It provides a discussion on how the women manage their family lives in terms of maintaining the harmony of their family in addition to their activities as faculty members and other career-related jobs, which include some sections; the section of sharing domestic and caring responsibilities with husband, relatives and domestic helpers, the section of children and career covering issues of motherhood conscience and prioritizing family over career, and the section of relationships with husband comprising issues of protecting husband's superiority, alertness of the *kebablasan* (excessive) boundaries, and husband's *ridha* (favor, contentment, or satisfaction and approval).

Chapter eight presents the concluding remark of this report and some recommendations for a better facilitation of the work and lives of women faculty members, especially those in the two universities where I did my research, but might be applicable to those in other institutions with similar settings.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature review chapter was built mainly in two phases; first, when the project was in the phase of planning to view the previous studies on relevant issues based on the research questions with the intention of finding the gap that I need to fill in; second, together with the data analysis activities to include the existing prior research which was related to the emerging themes from the fieldwork or to alternate some sections in the draft from phase one with the more relevant ones based on the fieldwork. The comprehensive accounts of relevant previous research on women, especially women faculty members, on local, national, and global level was useful in enabling me to pinpoint the contribution of this research project to the existing knowledge about women in higher education.

As this research focused on women faculty in Islamic universities in East Java, this literature review includes not only previous research on women faculty members both in Indonesia and in wider contexts, but also the literature on Javanese culture and its intersection with Islam in relation to women, as well as gender equality in Islam in wider contexts. Even though limited, previous research reports about women faculty in Indonesia help me understand the position of my research project, which justify the prominence of my study. Finally, review on women faculty in the global context provided me with a map of the field of gender in higher education especially how women faculty defined themselves and were portrayed by others, which enabled me to identify the position of my research project in the map.

Before reviewing the related literature, it is important to present a short discussion on gender relations, because all the sections in this chapter constitute a portrayal of gender relations. According to Connell (2005, pp. 73-74), gender relations consist of, at least, three structures; power relations, production relations and cathexis. Power relations are the division of power between men and women, by which men usually have more power than women. A power relation in which women are subordinated and men dominate, called patriarchy, seems to be the most persistent and omnipresent one in the world. Despite many exceptions such as matrilineal society of Minangkabau in Indonesia,

Danes in Europe and Garo in India, and women-headed households⁴⁵, patriarchy seems to be the main axis of power, not only in European and American gender order as mentioned by Connell, but in other parts of the world as well. That women have less power than men in gender relations potentially affects in deficit ways women's capability in developing their potential. The following sections and the next chapters of this study show how women faculties were shaped by their lack of power in relation to men, which affected career paths.

Another aspect of gender relations, production relations, include the issues of gender division of labour that has financial consequences in which women usually get paid lower than men did (R. W. Connell, 2005, pp. 73-74). During the course of their life, women and men make different life decisions about what discipline to study, what job or work they wish, and how much they want to work (part time or full time), all of which drives differences in earnings. The American Association of University Women (AAUW) claims that women in every state experience the pay gap, but some states are worse than others⁴⁶. In the European Union and the Euro area, according to the statistics of European Commission 2011, women's gross hourly earnings were on average 16 % below those of men. In US, the data of Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that in 2012 full-time employed women earned just 80.9% of the salaries their male counterparts did. In November 2012, it is reported that women in Australia also experienced gender pay gap by having 17.6% lower salary than their male counterparts⁴⁷.

Other than power relations and production relations, Connell's last aspect of gender relations is cathexis. It questions the nature of sexual desire that has been assumed as natural. Instead, the practices that shape and realize desire are an aspect of the gender order, as, in line with Freudian, desire is emotional energy attached to an object, pointed Connell (2005, p. 74). Thus, she proposed political questions whether the relationships are consensual or coercive, whether pleasure is equally given and received. However, the concept of cathexis is not relevant to the research questions of

⁴⁵ Data from the World Bank show that in many parts of the world, there are women-headed households, which can be checked here; <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.HOU.FEMA.ZS>. In Indonesian context, according to Susenas (National Economics Census) Data of Indonesia 2007, there are 13.60% households headed by women, which can be checked in this web: <http://www.pekka.or.id/8/index.php>.

⁴⁶ A comprehensive information by The American Association of University Women (AAUW) on pay gap between women and men can be found in this website: <http://www.aauw.org/research/the-simple-truth-about-the-gender-pay-gap/>

⁴⁷ <http://www.wgea.gov.au/sites/default/files/2013-02-Gender%20pay%20gap%20statistics.pdf>, retrieved on 17 November 2014

this study.

Below is the literature review starting with the Javanese literature on women in connection with Islam, then women in Islam in general. Afterward, it reviews the previous research reports on women faculty in Indonesia, then those of the wider context mainly the Western due to its dominant scholarly works which I organized based on its themes, namely, women's career paths, daily work, work and family demands, and higher education policy.

Women in Javanese Culture

Literature on Javanese culture is important in this report because this project was conducted in East Java which is part of areas where Javanese culture mainly functions (Gautama, 2003; H. Geertz, 1961; Kodiran, 1971; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Sutarto, 2004; Sutarto & Sudikin, 2008a). In Java, it is important to represent Javanese identity, even to 'transform' non-Javanese to be 'Javanese'. Sutarto (2006, p. 39), an East Java culturist and scholar, wrote "the active bearers of Javanese culture generally have two main aims in life, to try to make themselves real or true Javanese, and to try to make others Javanese". To be a true Javanese, he further stated, requires commitment to live correctly (*benar*), appropriately (Departemen Penerangan Indonesia), and safely (*slamet*), which is depicted in a Javanese saying "*berbudi bawa lekšana lan ngudi sejatining becik*" or being wise and constantly motivated to be virtuous (p. 39). This has been dominant especially in Java since the colonial period.

According to Locher-Scholten, (2000, p. 16) in her work on women and the colonial state in pre-independent Indonesia, Java has been the most populated island and politically dominant in the archipelago since the colonial period. More than two decades after independence, the census of 1971 found that Java remained the most populated island; Java's (including Madura, its closest small neighbour) area is 6.65% of the whole area of the archipelago but occupied by 64.24% of the whole population of Indonesia (Soewondo, 1981, p. 9) regardless of the ethnicity. Moreover, irrespective of the geographical categories, recent census of 2010 shows that the Javanese comprises of 40.2% of the whole Indonesian population (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2011), which illustrates the Javanese ethnic majority. Besides the fact that the Javanese ethnic is the majority, the hegemonic Javanese culture is noticeable in Indonesia (Benda, 1958b; Woodward, 2011). However, since the end of the

New Order regime, the dominant spirit of Javanisation has declined and, therefore, Javanese-ness has not been much privileged anymore (Sutarto, 2006, p. 40) especially among non-Javanese Indonesians.

Even though several older research reported that Indonesian women enjoyed higher status than women in other Muslim majority countries (Blackburn, 2001, p. 270; Cunningham, 2001, p. 1047; Lev, 1996, p. 191; Reid, 1988a, p. 634; Wichelen, 2010, p. 15) and were enabled to socialize, interact, and engage in the public domain and played dominant role in trading and economic activities (Alexander, 1998; Brenner, 1995; H. Geertz, 1961, p. 122; Hatley, 1990; Keeler, 1990; Vreede-de Stuers, 1960), women in Java have been ominously defined by some cultural heritage that is often wrapped with religious cover.

In addition, along with the coming of Islam to the archipelago in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Azra, 2006, p. 19) followed by the statistical majority of its adherence⁴⁸ and the always progressing Islamic influence in Indonesia (Dhofier, 1999), Islam has often been used to legitimate cultural norms. It might be both cultural and Islamic norms that laid the background for the Marriage Act 1974 that is still valid at the time of writing this research report, prescribing that husbands are the breadwinners and head of family and wives as the main holder of household responsibility. Moreover, regardless of religion, Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 140) reported that family structure in Java positions husband as head of family allowing full control over wife.

Kusujarti's (1995) research on gender relations in a Javanese Village in Indonesia claimed that interpersonal relations in Javanese culture are always hierarchical which is represented by the levels of speech in the Javanese language. She also reported that husband-wife relationship is generally hierarchical with wives in lower position because of the general assumption that "wives are younger and less educated than husbands" (pp. 69,177). The hierarchy granting husbands (men) higher positions than wives (women) highly potentially has numerous implications in the lives of both women and men, both in deficit or beneficial ways.

Historically, the image of ideal women was often described in numerous Javanese literatures, especially those of 18th and 19th century, a period when the power of the kings had shrunk because

⁴⁸ In 2010 the census reported that Muslim numbered 87.18% of the whole population in Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2011, p. 10).

of the strengthening colonial influences, therefore, the literature was one of the ways the kings maintain their power (K. H. Dewi, 2012, p. 115; Florida, 1996, p. 212; Wardani, 2015) by trying to preserve at least the spirit of Javanese cultural values and norms (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 323). Moreover, at the same period of time, Islamization in Java started to operate in royal court, so the literatures written by the elites were somewhat seeking 'religious' confirmation. Just an example, *Serat Cabolek* written by Yasadipura in the 18th century kingdom of Surakarta encouraged the Javanese outer religious life emphasizing Islamic guide, however prescribed them to stick to the essential values of the Javanese culture in searching of perfection in spiritual life (Soebardi, 1975, p. 53).

As a Javanese Muslim, regardless of her progressive ideas for her time, Kartini was caught by tradition of polygamous marriage that was widely practiced by most Javanese elites and permissible, basically with hardly possible requirements, in Islam. Despite her strong rejection of polygamy as mentioned in her letters (Kartini, 1921, pp. 17,270), she finally accepted the marriage proposal of an already married man, the regent of Rembang, Raden Adipati Djojo Adiningrat, who already had three wives and seven children. From her letters, it even seems that she was enthusiastic regarding the marriage to him because he had the same passion about empowering people and supported her strong desire of educating them (pp. 275-276,278) in addition to her admiration of him as described in one of her letters telling about the man whom she would marry, "he is such a lovable, good man, he has a noble heart and a clever head as well. And he has been to Holland, where his bride would so gladly go..." (p. 275). Kartini saw that marrying him means a big path to bring into reality her aspiration to empower people, especially women, which exceeds her criticism of traditional practices of polygamy.

The condition of women in Kartini's era (she was born in 1879) was so weak culturally, socially, and legally which was partly depicted in one of the most influential works in the first decade of the 19th century, *Centhini Tambangraras Amongraga*⁴⁹, a classical Javanese literature written in Javanese script by Ngabei Ranggasutrasna by order of Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom

⁴⁹ The book has been reproduced and translated into Indonesian language by the ministry of education and culture in 1994. It has also been translated in English, entitled *The Centhini Story: The Javanese Journey of Life* by Soewito Santoso, Fendi Siregar, and Kestity Pringgoharjono in 2006, and in France, entitled *Les Chants de l'île a dormir debout le Livre de Centhini* by Elizabeth D. Inandiak in 2002.

Amangkunegara III or Sunan Pakubuwana V, the king of Surakarta kingdom in Central Java. The book has been reproduced and translated into Indonesian language by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1994. It has also been translated in English, entitled 'The Centhini Story: The Javanese Journey of Life' by Soewito Santoso, Fendi Siregar, and Kestity Pringgoharjono in 2006, and in France, entitled *Les Chants de l'île a dormir debout le Livre de Centhini* by Elizabeth D. Inandiak in 2002. Parts of the most conspicuous content of the book contain details about the physical characteristics of women to inform men about the women's mental quality in order to provide knowledge for men in choosing a wife (Ranggasutrasna, 1994, p. 58).

In another part, women were presented as tempting and seducing figures (*The Centhini Story: the Javanese story of life*, 2006, p. 296), which is potentially taken as a ground for suspect over women and the need of men's control over women to avoid immoral behaviour. Characterizing women as tempting and seducing can lead to blaming women for moral problems of the family and even the nation's problem. It also potentially affects women in making decisions especially in things related to 'grey' or vulnerably suspected areas such as when a woman staff must stay at work out of normal working hours, over night or is assigned to attend a meeting/event in a far-away city.

In addition to being the suspect, women were portrayed as submissive being in traditional Javanese culture (Arimbi, 2009, p. 61; Creese, 2004; Sukri & Sofwan, 2001, pp. 47-49). Women in Javanese culture were totally positioned as objects and did not have rights to define themselves. This kind of femininity susceptibly makes women to be victims and prevents them from being assertive.

Three other Javanese classic literatures written in Javanese script, *Piwulang Estri*, *Serat Murtasiyah*, and *Serat Wicara Keras*, pronounce male's idea of the ideal wife with the emphasis on submission to husband. According to Florida (1996), *Piwulang Estri* was written to indoctrinate elite Javanese women with the concept of a good wife highlighting submissive and pleasing character (p. 210), which was reinforced by another work, *Serat Murtasiyah*, a poem illustrating total submission of a wife to her husband even to his violence (pp. 218-219). This submissive ideal of women was also in line with the work of Raden Ngabehi Yasadipure II in his *Serat Wicara Keras* prescribing that a wife has to be *wedi lan ngabekti ing laki* or afraid and obedient to husband, and *aja miyak ing wewadine wong kakung* which translates not to open husband's secret and shame (Sukri & Sofwan,

2001, pp. 46-47).

Since the Javanese literatures were available in printed form with inexpensive price since 1870, they were commonly read not only by religious specialists, spiritual leaders, philosophers, and intellectual of the *priyayi* class, but also by many peasant villagers (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 324,326). Although mostly illiterate in Latin script, 20% of the peasants in the village who were over 40 were literate in Javanese script and the rate increased to be 35% in 1971 (1985, pp. 326,428). Moreover, the kings were considered having divine characteristic (Moedjanto, 1990, p. 107; Sutherland, 1979, pp. 4-5) and accordingly the messages of the kings were divinely accepted. In a research on the power of the kings of Mataram, Moedjanto (1990, p. 102) stated that the kings “were often described as the owners of everything in the world, not only the owners of a country or of a property, but also the owners of one’s very life”⁵⁰. Therefore, the messages contained in the literatures were easily spread and influential among the commoners.

I would be back to the issue of how women were portrayed in Javanese literature. That women were represented as obedient, submissive, and controlled by men is also the messages given by ‘Women of the Kakawin World’ (Creese, 2001, 2004). Borrowing from an anthropological work by Creese (2001), the women’s willingness to sacrifice their own ego for the significant others they care for might have a link with an ancient piece of history on social institutions of Indonesian archipelago existing at least in Bali until the twelve century as described in the twelve century Javanese poets *Bharatayuddha* (p. 133). It was described that a wife used to fearlessly follow husband’s death to show her loyalty, not only on earth, in the hereafter world. The spirit of sacrifice in this social practice in pre-Islamic Java and Bali has been a somewhat living legacy until today. Brenner (1996, p. 678; 1998, p. 21) in her ethnographic works on Javanese women and Suryakusuma (1996, 2011) in her reports on women under the New Order era noted that the selflessness of women was highlighted by the New Order regime. In short, women have been described with obedience, sacrifice, and selflessness in old Javanese literature mostly written by (or on order of) the kings which actually defined the ideal women of elite class.

⁵⁰ This does not mean that all the kings matched with such characteristics. Many of them were also usually described as wise and just, represented in Javanese words “*berbudi bawa leksana, ambeg adil para marta* (pure-hearted and full of justice for all creatures)” (Moedjanto, 1990, p. 103).

However, a study on Javanese women in modern Indonesian novels by Wardani (2015) reported that women in novels published in 2000s are depicted as those who are brave to challenge the established Javanese values and try to assert their rights against patriarchal culture.

Dewi (2012), in her article on Javanese women and Islam, believes that in early stage of Islamization, Javanese noble women found Islamic discourse and practice more hindering than emancipating (p. 117). Nevertheless, she further stated that Islam in Java has been emancipatory since the early twentieth century; Javanese women have been gradually liberated from various practices of Javanese culture, *pingitan*, and child marriage, with the exception of polygamy (p. 132). Indeed, in 1910's, women were firstly allowed to enrol as *santri* (student of pesantren) in some pesantrens (Dhofier, 1999, p. 38) and firstly given space in Muhammadiyah (Aripurnami, 2013, p. 116), and in 1940, they were firstly formally recognized as active part of NU (Aripurnami, 2013, p. 215; Muslimat NU, 2014). Such involvement and recognition of women in the influential institutions such as pesantren, Muhammadiyah, and NU constitutes a big progress for women's liberation even though there are still too many things that need to fight for in order to reach the just and equal gender relations.

In her recent study on Javanese women political leaders, Dewi (2015, p. 174) found that while the women's active involvement in politics was supported by their husbands, they remained positioning their husbands as heads of family. The gender relation positioning husbands as head of family seems to be unchallenged, which might be because of cultural and religious prescriptions reinforced by the Marriage Act No1/1974 which is still valid at the time of writing this project. The arrangement of husband as the breadwinner and the head of household and wife as the housewife, is mentioned clearly in the Act.

The Act of the Republic of Indonesia No.1/1974 on Marriage:

Pasal (article) 31 Suami adalah kepala keluarga dan isteri ibu rumah tangga
(Husband is the head of family and wife is the housewife)

Pasal (article) 34 Suami wajib melindungi isterinya dan memberikan segala sesuatu keperluan hidup berumah tangga sesuai dengan kemampuannya (Husband has to protect his wife and to provide her with everything needed for the household life in accordance with his level of capability). *Isteri wajib mengatur urusan rumah tangga sebaik-baiknya* (Wife has to manage household as well as possible)

The Act constitutes legitimated arrangement of gender relations acknowledged and encouraged

formally by the government. Such culturally, religiously, and legally legitimated arrangement of gender relations has numerous consequences for both sexes, but my focus is on the consequences for women. In a way, women are advantaged from the arrangement especially in terms of their rights to be provided with living cost and protection, which is good for women with no resource to be secure financially and socially regardless of its potential consequences of unequal power relations.

On the other hand, women who have their own career are potentially deprived if such legitimated division of labour is taken rigidly, as their main status is housewives and household managers, while financial and other material needs are husbands' responsibility. This might be understood that women's career is not as important as men's, women should not take their career very seriously, which in turn affects in deficit ways women's opportunities in promotion and career advancement. I explore how Javanese culture, Islam, and the Marriage Act as a legitimate combination are represented in the work and lives of the women faculty members in Islamic universities in Javanese setting.

Women in Islam

Researchers claimed that Islam has often been blamed for restricting women's rights (Anwar, 2009, p. 8; Mernissi, 1991, p. vi; Rinaldo, 2013, pp. 3-4; Sonbol, 2001, p. 108). The common assumption viewing women as victims in Islam is a result of mainly demographic and sociological, but ahistorical, studies about the status of women in the Islamic world today as well as seeing Islamic law as rigid (Sonbol, 2001, pp. 108-109). Unfortunately, in the Muslim world, Islam has often been used to justify practices that victimized women (Anwar, 2009, p. 4; Subhan, 2007, p. 51) especially by those who take the sources of Islamic tradition literally and a-historically.

But, lately, enlightened women are aware that religion especially Islam has been used to justify misogynistic laws which is, instead of liberating, oppressive (Hassan, 1991, p. 42; 1999, p. 251; 2002, p. 189). Furthermore, Muslim modernist and reformist (Ahmed, 1992; Anwar, 2009; Barlas, 2002; Engineer, 1994, 2001, 2008; Hassan, 1982, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1999, 2002, 2011; Mernissi, 1991; Mir-Hosseini, 1999, 2009; Syed, 2004; Wadud, 2006, 2009) documented that Islam endorses

gender equity by rereading the main sources of Islamic traditions, the Qur`an⁵¹ and *Hadith*⁵², using gender perspective. Some of the Indonesian Muslim modernist who actively encourage and promote gender equality and equity include, but not limited to, Zaitunah Subhan (1999, 2007), Musdah Mulia (1999, 2004a, 2004b, 2007; Mulia & Cammack, 2007), Lies L. Marcoes-Natsir (1992, 2000), Nursyahbani Katjasungkana (2001; 2003, 2008), Nazaruddin Umar (2002, 2003, 2007), Hussein Muhammad (2004), and Mansour Fakih (2008).

Muslim women activists fighting for human rights, especially women's rights, were often stigmatized as the "brainwashed victim of Western propaganda", which is actually a proof of a failure in understanding Islamic heritage (Mernissi, 1991, p. viii). In Indonesia, there is a common negative comment on the women activists, namely *kebablasan* (Adriana, 2009; Rusli, Thahir, & Zainuddin, 2013) or excessive, going too far until breaking the boundary of the acceptable mainstream norms.

In her work "Mobilizing Piety: Islam and Feminism in Indonesia", Rinaldo (2013, p. 8) asserts that despite the negative prevalent perceptions of feminism as a Western idea, Fatayat, an organization of the younger women of NU in which some of the women in my study were involved, has one of its objectives "to create a society with gender justice". Some articles by Fatayat published in the website of NU show that Fatayat actively promotes gender equity and equality (Fatayat NU, 2015a, 2015b). The fact that Fatayat, as the 'daughter' of the biggest Muslim organization in Indonesia, encouraged and called for gender equity and equality might indicate that the idea of feminism is not resisted in the society of Indonesian Muslim women, although there might be differences in interpreting the concept of feminism among themselves or between them and other groups of feminists.

An example of such differences can be seen in Mahmood's (2005) report on Muslim women mosque movement choosing to embrace religion, family or other social structure that are seen as a site of patriarchal oppression by Western notion of feminism. Mahmood discussed the veil and suggested that it should be understood as a product of women's "free choice" and evidence of their resistance to the hegemony of Western values, rather than as a symbol of Islam's violence and (mis)treatment of women (p. 195). In line with Mahmood, Ahmed (1992, p. 152) claimed that the veil

⁵¹ The Qur`an is the holy book of Islam, written in Arabic, containing the words of God delivered to Muhammad through the angel Gabriel.

⁵² *Hadith* is traditions containing sayings or accounts of the daily practice of the prophet Muhammad which serve as an key source of guidance for Muslims besides the Qur`an.

is the most visible Islamic practice that is seen as a form of oppression to women. Indeed, veiling is not an indication of lack of agency (Abu-Lughod, 2002, p. 786). This reveals that feminisms should never be one; there are different feminisms including the ones embraced by Muslim.

Rinaldo (2013, pp. 10, 19) states that *pious agency* and *feminist agency*⁵³ are different but not exclusively distinctly exercised; they are interconnected. She claimed that pious critical agency in Indonesia make evident the sound intersection between piety and feminism. She claimed “not only that Islam can be a resource for women’s agency but that religion and feminism can intersect in surprising and unexpected ways” (2014, p. 825). This is confirmed by the existence of several NGOs such as Rahima⁵⁴, P3M⁵⁵ (*Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat* or the Union of the Development of Pesantren and Community), *Puan Amal Hayati*⁵⁶, *Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial* (LKIS) or Institute for Islamic and Social Studies, and *Fahmina*, all of which are active in promoting gender equality and equity within pesantrens and other Islamic communities.

Despite the fact that religion is often accused as a constraint on women, it has been a source of support to women’s empowerment and critical discourses on gender in Indonesia (Rinaldo, 2014, p. 843). It was also reported that Indonesian Islam did not confine women from public domain and was not a duplicate of Arab model (Lev, 1996, p. 193). However, it does not mean that there are no practices of women subordination, marginalization, and/or discrimination in Indonesian Islam. Research by Indonesian activists (Lies Marcoes-Natsir, 2014; L. Rahman, Nurdin, Aripurnami, & Yuningsih, 2005; Sabaniah et al., 2010; Surya, 2008) reported some disadvantages experienced by women as a result of regulations or traditions that hide behind ‘religious’ justification. It means religion has been used to confirm unequal gender relations.

To discuss gender relations in Islam, discourses on gender relations in the two main sources of Islamic traditions, the Qur’an and Hadiths (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad), are

⁵³ Rachel Rinaldo (2013, p. 10) uses the terms of *pious agency* and *feminist agency* to refer to the agency emerged in Muslim activists and secular ones, respectively. She also divides *pious agency* into two different streams, *pious critical agency* presented by progressive groups such as Fatayat and Rahima, involving critical contextual interpretations of Islamic teachings promoting women’s rights and gender equality and *pious activating agency* represented by PKS (Prosperous Justice Party) women encouraging women’s greater political participation and backing up policies that are opposed by many feminists.

⁵⁴ Information about Rahima can be accessed through this link: <http://www.langitperempuan.com/rahima-pusat-pendidikan-dan-informasi-islam-hak-hak-perempuan/>

⁵⁵ A few information on P3M can be found in this link: <http://www.pubinfo.id/instansi-480-p3m--perhimpunan-pengembangan-pesantren-dan-masyarakat-.html>

⁵⁶ Information on Puan Amal Hayati can be derived from its website <http://www.puanamalahayati.or.id>

necessary to include as the main point of departure in making a link with Connell's concept of gender relations discussed shortly in the introduction of this chapter. Engineer (2008, pp. 48-49), a distinguished reformist Muslim scholar, wrote that the Qur'an includes both normative and contextual sense in regard to the status of women; normatively women are equal to men, but contextually men have slightly higher status than women do. In support of gender equality, moderate Islamic Indonesians disseminate discourses on equal gender relations in Islam by, among others, reinterpreting Islamic teaching to counter global concerns that "Islam has been too restrictive towards women" (Blackburn, 2008a, p. 83).

Indeed, women in Islam were often normatively defined as inferior to men especially by *ulama*⁵⁷ and jurists (Engineer, 2001, pp. 111-112; 2008, pp. 48-49; Subhan, 1999, 2002), which was taken by most Muslims women and men (Hassan, 2011, p. 2). Similarly, in Javanese culture, women are historically positioned as inferior and subordinate to men, as represented in the concept of *kanca wingking* (Boy ZTF, 2009, p. 57; Darwin, 2004, p. 284; Doorn-Harder, 2006; Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1998; Kholifah, 2010, p. 86; Leight, 2007, p. 11; Munir, 2002, p. 196; Muttaqin, 2008, p. 146; Rahayu, 1996, pp. 5-6) prescribing woman to always support and be available for husband's career. Both entail essential unequal power relations between men and women and, in turn, high potential unequal production relations between the sexes. The social, political, and economic context is influential in engineering people's point of view, which, therefore, affects their interpretation of the Holy Scriptures including the Qur'an (Anwar, 2009, p. 13; Engineer, 2008, p. 49; Stowasser, 1998, p. 30). Human's interaction with the social environments, the most important of which are language and 'religion' (although it is just an interpretation of the religion), occurred constantly as generations come and go enabling the internalization of the social construction that women are inferior to men.

The unequal gender relations in Islam was the case especially in *shari'ah* (the code of life regulating all aspects of Muslim life) that was formulated in the head of man (Barlas, 2002; Engineer, 1994, 2001; Hassan, 1987; Wadud, 1999) during the second and third centuries of Islam within sociological conditions in which, Engineer (2008, p. 3) mentioned, women were seen as "nothing more than instruments of perpetuating one's property, bringing up children and providing pleasure

⁵⁷ *Ulama* refers to Islamic scholars who are recognized as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology, but can be translated simply as learned Islamic scholars.

for their husbands”. A legacy of the pre-Islamic period when women were treated as a commodity that could be inherited as a possession (Engineer, 2008, p. 23) is the sociological context of the revelation of Islam that should not be ignored by anyone trying to interpret the Qur`an, to understand the Prophet Muhammad’s hadiths, and formulate and understand the Islamic laws including the Islamic laws on women.

Notwithstanding, Islamic jurists and *ulama* ignored the context and suggested women’s inferior status to men normatively (Engineer, 2008, p. 48), which is in contradiction with the spirit of justice, benevolence and compassion indicated by the Qur`an as designated by its terms such as ‘*adl*’ for just, *ihsan* for benevolent, and *rahmah* for compassionate (Engineer, 2001, pp. 111-112; Hassan, 1982, pp. 56-58). Islam shows its preference for the poor and the disempowered as indicated in the verse “And We wanted to confer favour upon those who were oppressed in the land and make them leaders and make them inheritors” (The Qur`an, 28:5).

In addition, a famous Muslim scholar Nasr Abu Zayd (2001) articulated that, overall, women are portrayed in a fairly progressive position in the Qur`an, which is subject to reinterpretation in accordance with the basic principle of equality as one of the most important teachings of Islam rooted from the Qur`anic concept of justice.

“Justice is the scale that keeps everything in balance with the exception of man, who has the freedom to disobey, thus, bringing the imbalance in this world. [...] And it is to all of us, all human nations, to keep the balance or to cause an imbalance. In all cases, it is we who determine our destination here on Earth or in the life-after. This is the Qur’anic concept of justice”. (Zayd, 2001, p. 43)

Therefore, gender relations in Islam should be compliant with the Qur`anic concept of justice, which is ignored by many conservative Muslim scholars who insist on doing imbalance by believing that women are normally subordinated and inferior to men.

The centrality of the concept of justice in the Qur`an can be identified at least by three different words, ‘*adl*’ (Arabic for to be just with or to treat fairly⁵⁸), *al-qisth* (Arabic for equity, fairness, justice⁵⁹), and *al-Mizan* (Arabic for balance⁶⁰), representing the concept of justice, fairness, balance, or

⁵⁸ The more complete meaning of the word ‘*adl*’ can be found in this link: <http://www.almaany.com/en/dict/ar-en/%D8%B9%D8%AF%D9%84/>

⁵⁹ The more complete meaning of the word *qisth* can be checked in this link: <http://www.almaany.com/en/dict/ar-en/%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%B2%D8%A7%D9%86/+>

⁶⁰ More complete meanings of the word *mizan* can be checked in this link: <http://www.almaany.com/en/dict/ar-en/%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%B2%D8%A7%D9%86/+>

equality. A well-known Egyptian Muslim scholar, Muhammad Fuad Abdul Baqy (1986), in his work *Al-Mujam al-Mufahras li Alfāzh al-Qurān al-Karīm*, an index to the Qur`an, mentioned that the word 'adl is mentioned 28 times (pp. 569-570), the word *al-qisth* 25 times (pp. 691-692), and the word *al-Mizan* 23 times (p. 918) in the Qur`an. In principal, Muslims believe that Islam is a fair and just way of life.

The ways Muslims translate divine texts into the fair and just gender relations, as well as the ways they define oppression, are not uniform. Just an example, one of the Qur`anic verses whose interpretations are highly contested by literalists and modernists with regard to the position of women in Islam is *surah An-Nisa* (literally means a chapter on women) verse 34, which says

“Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth. So righteous women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard”.

The verse seems to be male-biased granting men with superiority. But for modernists, such as Fazlur Rahman (1994, p. 33), men's superiority in the aforementioned verse is a sociological context of the revelation and should be understood as functional, not inherent, which is inoperative “if a woman becomes economically sufficient [...] and contributes to the household expenditure”, which allows equal gender relations.

Conversely, literalists take the verse more literally by endorsing sexual division of responsibilities, the man is the guardian and provider of the family and the woman is to bear and raise children. In literalists' view, assigning woman with man's responsibilities or vice versa is an 'oppression' and a threat to human life because each of them was not 'naturally' prepared for the other's main tasks, therefore they suggested a concept of equity believing that “both man and woman are God's creatures and neither is to be oppressed” (Stowasser, 1998, pp. 37-38). Both modernists and literalists claim to do justice and to avoid oppression. I would bring up this 'war' between functional and natural views in addressing the interviewees' experience in the finding chapters, especially chapter six and seven.

The unequal gender relations must have been an important consequence of the universally widespread theological assumptions. Riffat Hassan (1990, pp. 100-116; 1991, p. 44; 2002, pp. 191-202; 2011) mentioned three theological assumptions spawning the belief that women are inferior to

men, which are influential in Abrahamic religions; Islam, Christian, and Jewish. First, a belief that woman (Eve) was created from man's (Adam's) rib, which is the most important reason that women are essentially derivative and secondary to men. It gives no space for equal power relations between women and men. Progressive Muslim scholars (just to mention a few: Hassan, 1990, 1991, 2002; Mernissi, 1991; Subhan, 1999; Syed, 2004; N. Umar, 2003; Wadud, 1999) insist that woman and man were created from the same living entity', not men's rib. They insist that the words *min nafsini waahidatin* (the Qur'an 4:1, 39:6) should be interpreted to be 'from a living entity' or 'a soul', not from a man nor from Adam, and *min anfusikum* (the Qur'an 16:72, 30:21, 42:11) should be understood as 'from the same kind as yours', not from yourselves (The Association for Women's Rights in Development). Overall, the progressive Muslims insist that woman and man were created from the same source, not one from the other.

Second, a woman (Eve) brought about 'man's Fall' resulting in man's eviction from paradise, which is a crucial source of misogynistic and suspicious attitude towards women. In turn, women are subject to prejudice and restricted in their activities including doing paid jobs, which does not allow equal production relations between women and men. In Islam, the Qur'an (7: 23 and 27) mentions that it was both Adam and Eve who had been tempted by Satan then guilty, which made them descended from the Heaven. So, that women are to blame for the 'Fall' is a social construction, not a divine one in Islam.

Lastly, the woman was created for and instrumental to man, which, borrowing Connell's concept of gender relations, hinders women and men from having equal power relations, production relations, as well as equality in cathexis. This third myth has high potential to position women as a sexual slave. The sexual relationship becomes one of the serious issues in Muslim discourse, as the Islamic teachings regulate all aspects of life including sexual activities. There is a hadith (the Prophet's tradition and saying) that says "If a husband calls his wife to his bed (i.e. to have sexual relation) and she refuses and causes him to sleep in anger, the angels will curse her till morning"⁶¹. The progressive Muslims consider this hadith as not credible, so it should not be taken as a reference. However, the Muslim majority take it as a valid one, and accordingly, wives are positioned powerless

⁶¹ Source; *Sahih Bukhari*, Volume 4, Book 54, Number 460. *Sahih Bukhari* is a book on hadiths that is highly cited as a reference for everyday life of Muslims majority.

as husbands use such invalid religious guide to legitimate their desire. Consequently, sexual activities are gendered social construction that can be without mutual pleasure.

Regarding the myth that women are instrumental to men, the Qur`an evidently mentions the reciprocal significance of each part to the other, not hierarchical, nor superior-inferior. A verse “*hunna libaasun lakum wa antum libaasun lahunna*” (the Qur`an, 2:187) literally means they (females) are your (males) garments, and you (males) are their (females) garments, which indicates that women and men are instrumental to each other rather than women are instrumental to men. Wadud (1999, p. 8) wrote that the Qur`an does not prescribe an exclusive singular role or set of roles for females or males across cultures. Even Sayyid Qutb⁶², stated that part of the goal of the Qur`an with regard to society is compatible mutually supportive functional relationships between men and women (Wadud, 1999, p. 8).

Irrespective of the followers' varied practices, Islam puts women and men in equal positions before God. The Qur`an clearly suggests that God will reward all good deeds by either men or women, and it is even said that the most noble person before God is the most *takwa* (the essence of personality in reverence towards God), regardless of the sexes. Below are some of the verses signposting the equal position of women and men.

Women have rights similar to those exercised against them in an equitable manner (the Qur`an, 2:228).

Surely the Muslim men and the Muslim women, the believing men and the believing women, the devout men and the devout women, the truthful men and the truthful women, the patient men and the patient women, the humble men and humble women, the charitable men and the charitable women, the fasting men and the fasting women, the men who guard their chastity and the women who guard their chastity, and the men who remember Allah much and the women who remember Allah much - for all those, Allah has prepared forgiveness and a great reward (The Qur`an, 33:35).

Whoever does righteousness, whether male or female, while he is a believer - We will surely cause him to live a good life, and We will surely give them their reward [in the Hereafter] according to the best of what they used to do (16:97)

And whoever does righteous deeds, whether male or female, while being a believer - those will enter Paradise and will not be wronged, [even as much as] the speck on

⁶² Sayyid Qutb is an influential religious leader and Muslim writer whose works inspired the Islamic resurgence movement of the 20th century such as the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*) in Egypt and Iranian revolution, groups that are considered radical in the eyes of the mainstream Muslim and non-Muslim. If the view of a radical Muslim is supportive of the functional relationship between women and men, it is unlikely that the views of the majority Muslim are not. For a relatively complete information about Sayyid Qutb, this online encyclopedia is recommended, http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Sayyid_Qutb.aspx

a date seed (4:124)

Therefore, any claim positioning men over women should not be compatible with the spirit of gender equality in Islam, irrespective of the use of male pronouns (he or him) to denote human being of both sexes. Indeed, language is a limited product of historically masculine world, while the language of the Qur'anic verses is meant to be understood by human being.

The position of women had experienced revolutionary changes from pre-Islam period to early centuries of Islam; from the ones without any rights and treated as a commodity to the ones with equal rights as men. Of course the changes were not without challenges especially from those who benefited from the powerlessness of women and felt threatened of losing the 'comfort zone', which contributed to the slow, not to say stuck, progress of the realization of the just spirit of Islam. The gender construction is discursively rooted mostly from religious tradition which has been framed in patriarchal culture (Fakih, 2008; Hassan, 1987; H. Muhammad, 2004; Subhan, 1999; N. Umar, 2003, 2007), which is often related to the advantages males can have, culturally, politically, economically, and/or ideologically (Fakih, 2008) and inflicts a loss upon women (Subhan, 1999). It is, thus, to serve and maintain males' privilege in the patriarchal culture by reproducing and legitimizing the gendered division of sphere, job, and responsibility that lead to gender inequalities. As time goes, such construction hardens then seems to be real with the 'help' from religion and language.

Eventually, gender relations in Islam is linked to the concept of justice in Islam emphasizing balance, which can be translated as either equality or equity in gender relations. The modernist Muslim tended to take equality with regard to gender relations, while the literalists likely choose equity which does not always necessitate equality in gender relations. Both groups are confident that they do justice in accordance with Islamic principles. Modernists would consider gender differences a social construction, whereas literalists tend to consider them natural and divine creation rather than a social construction, which means the inequality is taken for granted rather than questioned, because questioning and changing it means contrary to nature and, thus, an oppression. My study sought explanations on how gender relations were portrayed in documents of the universities and the state in addition to how the women in this study perceived gender relations, which affected their works and life.

Masculinity and femininity as the crucial elements of gender relations are socially constructed,

produced by everyday social interactions (N. Cook, 2007, p. 1), so they are context specific, are not static, interact with other social relations, and constitute power relations. They are reflected and maintained by numerous institutions both in private spheres such as the family and in public ones such as religion, university, and workplace. In the workplace, women tend to be paid lower than men, which seems to be something to do with gender roles that men are providers while women are caretakers. Efforts to change unequal gender relations to be equal are often accused of threatening the established cultural heritage, norms or tradition. However, the existing gender relations often affect women or men in deficit ways.

The Islamic practices often contradict to or deviate from the ideal prescribed by the Qur`an due to cultural accommodation that privileged men most of the time such as practices of gendered division of labour and women leadership. Besides stereotypes that women are intellectually weaker than men, it is gendered division of labour positioning women as the main holder of domestic and care responsibilities that often hinders women from flourishing, developing their full potential, and gaining opportunities for career advancement. In the context of academia, women are underrepresented especially in the higher ranks, in certain disciplines, and in highly prestigious institutions.

Women Faculty in Indonesia

Although gender mainstreaming has been part of Indonesian higher education policy since very early 21st century, there is very little literature which focuses on women faculty. However, there is some research from Western countries which can be used to inform my thesis. Following the research on Indonesian women faculty, I focused on women's daily work in universities, their career paths, the interactions of work and family life, and the university as a greedy institution.

Gender mainstreaming in Indonesia had started officially in 2000 through the President Instruction Number 9 Year 2000, in which education is one of nine sectors to include. However, until 2014, research reports on women faculty in the Indonesian context were limited in number. There are a few research projects (Inayatillah, 2010a; Kholis, 2013; Kull, 2009) on women faculty in Islamic higher education, but most of them (Indihadi & Karlimah, 2007; Karniawati, 2013; Murniati, 2012; Wayong, 2007; Widiyastuti & Harsiwi, 2000; Yuliati, 2012; Yuliyawati, 2010) are not in the context of

Islamic universities. Some (Inayatillah, 2010a; Murniati, 2012; Wayong, 2007) focused on women in leadership positions. My study focuses on women faculty, regardless of their leadership, managerial or administrative positions, in Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia.

Through field works at the Center for Women Studies in the State Islamic university of Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Makassar, Banjarmasin, and Bandung, Kull (2009) found that the institutions were patriarchal; the leadership positions were dominated by men, the board members were all men, and all other academic positions were occupied unequally by both sexes. She also claimed that there have been efforts to facilitate the way to a post-patriarchal Islamic education, but they have been hindered by institutional and discursive obstacles. Especially for UIN Yogyakarta, she found that the rector was really supportive in gender study center activities to promote gender equality, but did not produce any explicit policy to enable women to take part in the general board and other positions. She recommended a system of quotas to enable a more gender equal situation. A number of research findings (Inayatillah, 2010a; Kull, 2009; Murniati, 2012; Susilaningsih & Najib, 2004; Wayong, 2007) are in line that besides being excluded from the membership of the general board and underrepresented in higher leadership and academic ranks, women faculty were hindered by socio cultural barriers in their career paths, which was not addressed by institutional policies.

Kholis (2013) investigated career productivity and success of 220 faculty members of both sexes at eight Islamic higher education institutions from seven provinces in Indonesia with respondents of 57.7% men and 42.3% women. His statistical analysis of the questionnaires found that women in Islamic Higher Education Institutions were lower compared to their male counterparts in all three aspects; publications, academic and leadership ranks, and earnings (pp. 2216-2218). He recommended that Islamic Higher education institutions should introduce special treatment for women such as facilitating their further education, professional development, and career opportunities (pp. 2218-2219). While Kholis' quantitative research included both sexes and presented statistical findings, my qualitative research project delves into the work and lives of women faculty members.

Wayong (2007) interviewed women faculty in managerial positions in three state universities in Makassar covering both the Islamic and the secular ones. He found that the three universities were deeply gendered; imbalanced access to decision-making positions favouring men is the crucial story

of gender relations in all the three universities. He also found that patriarchal culture hindered women in undertaking further studies or research, but no policy was created to address this problem. It was also reported that women in senior positions confronted stereotypes as part the effect of organizational culture. Wayong's study suggested that female faculty were obstructed in climbing academic and managerial ladders, as they were expected to prioritize family over career. Some faculty believed that women's main place is in the domestic sphere, not in positions of power, which potentially keep women away from authority and lead them in the consistent conflict between work and domestic life. My study includes women faculty with and without managerial positions and involves only state Islamic universities in East Java. The concept of Javanese-ness in my study provides a distinct feature.

In her research on career advancement of women senior academic administrators in two public research universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Murniati (2012) found that besides culture, religious beliefs played an important role in women's view positioning family as key in their public/private roles and its balance. She also argues that even though there is a strong support system in the Javanese culture and affordable domestic worker enable women to balance their domestic and public roles, it does not mean that women are free from the problems of work-life balance. She exemplified a condition when the children are sick or the hired domestic worker is not able to do the service, it is mostly wives, not husbands, who have to take the responsibility.

In line with literature from Western contexts (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2010, 2013; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Philipsen, 2008; Wentling, 1996; J. C. Williams, Alon, & Bornstein, 2006), Murniati found that institutional policies were more encouraging men and that to get their voice heard or to manage the same position or title, women had to work harder than men. Murniati's study and mine involved women faculty in Java, but her focus was women senior administrators in secular universities in Central Java and Yogyakarta, while I conducted my research about women faculty without specific administrative positions in Islamic universities in East Java. In chapter three especially the section of research site, I elucidate that East Java is distinctively different from Central Java and Yogyakarta, even though geographically they are on the same island of Java. Linguistically, East Java has a special variation of Javanese language called *Jawa Timuran* (Sutarto, 2004; Sutarto & Sudikin, 2008a) or Eastern Javanese variant. A well-known culturist, Koentjaraningrat (1985), culturally

differentiated East Java from other parts of Java as *Tanah Sabrang Wetan* or “the area beyond the Eastern border” (p. 24). Therefore, Murniati’s research and mine have different cultural context, even though both were based in universities in Java.

Yulianti’s (2012) study employed theoretical framework of phenomenology and social construction to elaborate and analyse the subjective experiences of women faculty in giving meaning to and building their marriage. She involved in-depth interviews with six women faculty in the Islamic University of Bandung, West Java, Indonesia. She found that their marriage was based on some purposes that were grouped into normative, psychological, social, and economy. She also concluded that that the women faculty went through some phases of adjustments in their marriage journey; honeymoon, conflict, negotiation, and accommodation, and built their communication in marriage by the atmosphere of ideal communication and the management of communication. In terms of the ideal communication, it was only enabled by trust, openness, and the right time setting, she pointed. Yulianti’s findings might contribute to my study in explaining the subjects’ experiences in their personal lives and work-life balance that might have impact on their career.

Karniawati (2013) investigated the performance of women faculty in a male identical organization, Unikom or the University of Computer in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, that, despite being perceived as masculine type of organization, was dominated by women faculty. Her study took a closer look at the gender relations at Unikom using the Harvard analytical framework including the profile of activity and the profile of access and control. She also looked at the performance of the women faculty in terms of the three pillars of University; teaching, research, and community service. She utilized the Harvard analytical framework including the activity profile and access and control profile. She found that the activity profile at Unikom was not fully gender insight, especially when women doing masculine jobs were viewed as the third sex. However, in terms of access and control, Unikom had been gender equal.

A research on women faculty in an Islamic university in Aceh (Inayatillah, 2010a, 2010b) reported three issues of personal and cultural problems, not of formal policies, that made women unable to reach higher leadership positions. First, society’s fears about women’s high education and position; people worry about the possibilities for women with high education such as Master or Doctor to find husband, because the expectation is that wives should not be higher than husbands in terms of

everything (such as level of education, job position, and earnings), and when women already have husband, they are expected not to have higher earnings and job status than husband, otherwise, they will have disharmonious family. Second, there was an expectation of the imagined psychologically 'passive' nature of women, which means that active women are not natural or not normal. Third, the informal group that usually consisted of just men who often gathered in casual meetings in café, beach, or other places most often at evening, night or weekends, in which women were normally not involved partly because women are culturally perceived negatively if they gather with men (other than their husband) not for formal work-related business out of working hours. Inayatillah's reports are compatible with the mainstream patriarchal discourse in Indonesia with its state-ibuisism and *kodrat* for women, ideas that are still alive dominantly today.

In addition, Widiyastuti and Harsiwi (2000) tend to blame women faculty for having low productivity and being unable to attain their full potential both in managerial and academic competence. They stated that women's wrong perspectives, not discriminative institutional policy, are to blame for their inability to optimize their potential. In terms of classroom interactions, Yuliyawati (2010) strengthened the stereotypes arguing that women faculty are patient, kind, careful, tolerant, friendly, care and neat, easily angry, revengers, talkative, and sensitive. She suggested a match between the characters of women faculty and the group they teach. Regarding the three main duties of faculty, Indihadi and Karlimah (2007) found that in teaching, women faculty are more productive, however in research and community service, male faculty excel. This could be because teaching is associated with caring, while the conventional gender order expects women to be caring. In fact, research and publications are crucial in the visibility of faculty then in the advancement of their career.

In Indonesia, besides the fact of the under-representation of women faculty in higher leadership and academic ranks, Javanese culture and religious belief contribute to the view of public/private roles. There was no policy accommodating the problems that hindered women from equal opportunities, despite the Presidential Instruction No 9/2000 on gender mainstreaming in all sectors of national development. No previous research on women faculty members in relation with Javanese culture and Islam was done in East Java, a gap that my research project tried to fill in. Although research on women faculty in Indonesia is quite limited, there are numerous research on women

faculty in other contexts especially in Western countries that provides directions useful for my thesis.

Women's Career Paths

The review of existing research suggests that women faculty are under-represented in universities, especially in the higher ranks (J. Acker, 2009; Bagilhole & White, 2013; Bonawitz & Andel, 2009; Buckley et al., 2000; Carvalho & Santiago, 2010; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2010; Kahn, 2012; Knapp et al., 2011; Pololi & Jones, 2010; Priola, 2007; Robbin & Schipper, 2010; Shalala, 2007; Tomàs et al., 2010; West & Curtis, 2006) and in decision-making positions both in the Global North and the Global South (Morley, 2013, p. 121). There are several useful explanations offered by previous research reports for the scarcity of women in higher academic and/or managerial positions.

Women faculty have been inhibited by culture and gender blind policy, which makes promotion difficult or impossible (Bonawitz & Andel, 2009; Probert, 2005). Where women are promoted, it takes a longer time than for men (Probert, 2005). Social and family expectations as well as the cultural and institutional expectations for many female faculty are always there. Yet, Bain and Cummings (2000) articulate that at least three conditions shape the barriers women experience; the relatively short careers of academic women, that women are new comers in academy, and the lower level of academic productivity of women. Indeed, women faculty are limited mostly by experience and academic productivity (Cummins, 2005; T. Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010). Gender expectations that women are the main holder of domestic and care responsibility hypothetically make women have little or no time for research and writing scholarly articles for publication.

Researchers (Bain & Cummings, 2000; Bonawitz & Andel, 2009; Buckley et al., 2000; Cummins, 2005; Lindsey, 2011; Pololi & Jones, 2010) claimed that women with family commitments and social expectations of gender roles are likely to be less productive in terms of writing articles and doing research, which is in line with what happened in Indonesian context, as reported by Indihadi and Karlimah (2007), that women faculty are more productive in teaching than in research and community service. Indeed, researchers reported that teaching-related works are performed mainly by women (Aiston, 2011, p. 284; Aiston & Jung, 2015, p. 215; Subbaye & Vithal, 2016, p. 5; H. P. Winchester & Browning, 2015, pp. 275-276). In fact, for career advancement, research is more valued than teaching (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009; Goedegebuure, Coates, van der Lee, &

Meek, 2009; McBeath, 2010; Ragoonaden, 2015; Subbaye & Vithal, 2016; Thornton, 2013; H. Winchester, Lorenzo, & Browning, 2006). This means women are hindered to access promotional opportunities.

In addition, women faculty face invisible barriers in stepping up their career ladder, which is usually called the 'glass ceiling', regardless of the diverse terms referring to the similar situations. Glass ceilings, a metaphor explaining the struggle for women in stepping to higher positions, has resulted in the low representation of women in the highest academic rank or managerial positions (J. Acker, 2009; Bain & Cummings, 2000; Bonawitz & Andel, 2009; Cummins, 2005; Guth & Wright, 2009; Luke, 1998; Maume, 1999; Morley, 2014; Simonetti, Ariss, & Martinez, 1999; P. Smith, Caputi, & Crittenden, 2012). Carmen Luke (1998) mentioned various terms used by other researchers to refer to similar phenomenon, such as 'greasy pole', 'protective shield', 'brick wall', 'sticky floor', or 'stone floor'. All of these terms point to the cultural barriers women experience when they seek to move up their career ladder.

Brook's (2012, p. 128) research on the experiences of organizational life in Hongkong and Singapore found that there was a large degree of disaffection, particularly among women faculty with the promotion system of universities, which she claimed to be the same as the experiences of women faculty in the UK and Australia. She further stated that academic world seemed to give less opportunity for women faculty to step up the top ladder of structural positions. This seems to be in contradiction with the fact that university is a prominent site where scholars initiate egalitarian ideas and offer critics towards inequality in society.

Ledwith & Manfredi (2000, p. 26), in their study on women's positions in higher education in Europe, found that significant differences between younger and older women in their career advancement in terms of how they view the external aspect contributing to their career progress. They mentioned that the older women tended to believe in the significance of the subtle homosocial culture, attitudes and norms in the university, whereas the younger women had a tendency to trust more on a meritocratic approach and gave the impression that they did not have much consciousness of the gendered power relations.

Given the very small representation of women in the higher academic and leadership positions in Indonesia, my study listened to the stories of senior women faculty members in Islamic HE in

Indonesia and considered their career paths.

Daily Work

Women faculty's daily work is affected by organizational culture -"shared symbols, language, practices, and deeply embedded beliefs and values" (Newman, 1995, p. 10) of their universities. While the culture is abstract, it is manifested through social and organizational situations in which powerful forces of culture operate (Schein, 2006, p. 3). In this review of literature, I do not intend to focus on organizational culture but on the situations that stem from it, which have been subjects in previous research on the work of faculty members. Some situations in which organizational culture affects the daily work and career path of the employees in deficit ways include, at least, informal network, gender harassment and cultural norms. What I mean by informal networks is the networks of people or groups of people connected by the same 'political' affiliation or interest usually related to the competing strives for leadership positions or other promotional opportunities.

Informal networks are crucial in the careers of academic community, as recruitment and promotion are dependent on the norms that are sustained in the networks (Carvalho & Santiago, 2010, pp. 245-247; Heward, 1996; Husu & Saarikoski, 2007), while, according to research reports (Bonawitz & Andel, 2009, p. 4; Dines, 1993, p. 22; Husu, 2007, pp. 103-104; Wenniger & Conroy, 2002, pp. 6,51; G. Williams & Harvey, 1993, p. 198), women are excluded from the informal networks which is mainly male's space. Bonawitz and Andel (2009, p. 4), Williams and Harvey (1993, p. 194), and Wenniger and Conroy (2002) use the term 'old boys' network or club to refer to the male domination in academia and asserts that the club tried to maintain the status quo. Consequently, those who do not behave in compliance with the norms were not nominated for any promotion, and if women are excluded from or at least minority in the network, the under-representation of women in high ranks and positions would remain the fact.

The term 'informal networks' is also mentioned in other ways and associated with terms such as patronage and/or mentoring (Luke, 1998; J. Z. Wilson et al., 2010, p. 541), or peer networks. Peer networks, connecting women with equal ranks from different campus, is central in enabling women's capability to manage their career and in challenging detrimental organizational culture (O'Meara & Stromquist, 2015, p. 354). Informal networks in universities facilitated discriminatory practices that

prevent female faculty members from advancing their career and promotional opportunities. Exploring the working life of women faculty members in Islamic higher education, my study addresses their experience of unequal opportunities as a result of the existence of informal networks.

In the US, Maranto & Griffin (2011, p. 152) asserted that although a department claimed to have gender equality, women faculty avowed greater exclusion from informal networks than their male counterparts, which is similar to Inayatillah's (2010a) finding that women faculties in IAIN Ar-Raniri Aceh, Indonesia, were perceived to be excluded from a kind of informal forum of colleagues that usually occurred in night time or weekends in which women were mostly expected to deal with their domestic and care responsibilities. Such perceptions of exclusion from informal networks represent the presence of chilly climate (Hall & Sandler, 1982) in their workplace, which can happen when the subtle discrimination is left unchecked (Terrien, 2008) or when women working in men's world in which there are no or few women in similar positions to share their problems with (Neale & Özkanlı, 2010).

Research found that women faculties, having leadership positions or not, confront a 'chilly climate' which, in turn, hinder them from their advancement (Lord & Preston, 2009; Monk-Turner & Fogerty, 2010; Neale & Özkanlı, 2010; Still, 1995; Terrien, 2008), which might contribute to the underrepresentation of women in the highest ranks or positions. Under the chilly climate, women have a sense of "not belonging" in the organization, perceiving themselves as cultural outsiders and feeling isolated and invisible (Pololi & Jones, 2010), which is the case with those outside the networks.

Another aspect of women faculty's daily work is harassment. In relation with research on women, the most frequently used is the concept of sexual harassment, but some writers prefer gender harassment instead of it. While sexual harassment involves sexuality, gender harassment includes numerous kinds of actions that potentially affect (mostly) women in deficit ways, but I include both literatures on sexual harassment and gender harassment because they were often used interchangeably or one of them is part of the other. Let me first quote Schultz's (1998, p. 1687) statement that might help the understanding of the terms.

Indeed, many of the most prevalent forms of harassment are actions that are designed to maintain work-particularly the more highly rewarded lines of work-as bastions of masculine competence and authority. [] Of course making a woman

the object of sexual attention can also work to undermine her image and self-confidence as a capable worker. Yet, much of the time, harassment assumes a form that has little or nothing to do with sexuality but everything to do with gender. (1998, p. 1687)

That it is about gender, rather than sexuality, sexual harassment mostly happens to women rather than men (Hutagalung & Zainal, 2012; Kaner, 2002; Osman, 2004; Street, Gradus, Stafford, & Kelly, 2007) and is part of sexual discrimination against women in the workplace (Bell, McLaughlin, & Sequeira, 2002, p. 67; Bronstein & Farnsworth, 1998, p. 575; Carr et al., 2000).

Regardless of the different ways in understanding and/or addressing the harassment, there are a bulk of research on sexual harassment that needs to include in this literature review. Sexual harassment has been defined as unwanted, uninvited, and unwelcome sexual behaviour directed to a person (Kaner, 2002), which, according to The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Paludi and Barickman (1998), includes verbal or physical conduct as well. That women faculty members are subject to sexual harassment has been much researched (Bell et al., 2002; Bronstein & Farnsworth, 1998; Carr et al., 2000; D. Dougherty & Smythe, 2004; Hill & Silva, 2005; Lester, 2011; Matchen & DeSouza, 2000; Paludi & DeFour, 1989; Sandler & Shoop, 1997; F. Wilson & Thompson, 2001).

An important point is that sexual harassment includes the presence of a power difference between the harassed and the harasser. Citing American Association of University Women (AAUW), Kaner (2002, p. 3) asserts that the harassed usually is less powerful than the harasser. But it also happens among colleagues in 'equal power' (Bronstein & Farnsworth, 1998; D. Dougherty & Smythe, 2004; D. S. Dougherty, 2006; Hill & Silva, 2005; Matchen & DeSouza, 2000; McKinney, 1990; Sandler & Shoop, 1997; Stamler & Stone, 1998), or to the 'more powerful' person by the 'less powerful' one, such as female faculty members by male students (Bronstein & Farnsworth, 1998, pp. 566-567; Grauerholz, 1989; Matchen & DeSouza, 2000; McKinney, 1990), or female doctors by male patient (Schneider & Phillips, 1997). Indeed, since men have social power regardless of their status (Fain & Anderton, 1987), the harassers are mostly men (Kaner, 2002, p. 6; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998), whatever their status is. Thus, according to Wilson and Thompson (2001, p. 61). it is mainly about "men exercising power over women"

It has the potential to make the harassed feel devalued or withdraw from her job (Kaner, 2002;

Welsh, 1999). It is very possible that the harassed is reluctant to report the incident because of fear of getting embarrassed, devalued, and the harasser's further retaliation. If the institutional responses are not helpful when a formal complaint is made, it can have a very detrimental effect on a woman's ability to function in her job (Bronstein & Farnsworth, 1998, p. 575). Indeed, sexual harassment is viewed as a power vehicle that seeks to demoralize and marginalize the victims (Paludi & DeFour, 1989; Thompson & Dey, 1998). It seems to be part of efforts to retain men's place in public spheres, and put women back to their place, domestic spheres.

Creating an organizational culture that is intolerant of sexual harassment requires commitment to gender equity. Women executives are especially motivated and qualified to reduce sexual harassment and increase gender equity, and the specific steps that they may take to do so (Bell et al., 2002, p. 73). Dougherty & Smythe (2004) suggest that sense-making will be a significant factor in the cultural decision to reinforce or reject sexual harassment within an organizational context and recommend shaping an organizational culture that is intolerant of sexual harassment. Definitely, culture plays a significant role in the continuance of sexual harassment, but culture should also be constructed to resist it.

Making the workplace secure from sexual harassment might be impossible without an agreement among all members of the workplace about what is considered as sexual harassment and an agreement on the sanctions of the harasser. Thus awareness of sexual harassment among the campus community combined with strong policy statement should be a solution (Dey, Korn, & Sax, 1996, p. 171). However, in a condition where awareness in harassment is little, there might be rare issues of harassment and accordingly no policy is introduced to address them.

In the Indonesian contexts, the sexual harassment incidents are rarely formally reported, as the misogynistic culture tends to blame the victim, and more dangerously it even marginalizes and devalues the harassed⁶³. There was very limited research report on (sexual and gender) harassment

⁶³ These sources are only a small representation of so many others:
<http://news.metrotvnews.com/read/2015/10/08/439081/budaya-masyarakat-belum-melindungi-korban-kekerasan-seksual>, accessed on 18th December 2015;
<http://nasional.harianterbit.com/nasional/2015/09/04/40494/25/25/RUU-KUHAP-Belum-Lindungi-Korban-Kekerasan-Seksual>, accessed on 18th December 2015;
http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2015/11/151126_indonesia_kekerasan_seksual, accessed on 18th December 2015

in Indonesia, none of the best accessible ones involved faculty members as the researched; Abrar's (1997) report on sexual harassment and violence constitutes a content analysis of Indonesian newsletters, Khairuddin's (1998) research was on sexual harassment against wives, and CSDS (the Center for Social Development Studies) Atma Jaya University (2001) conducted a research on women workers at Nike contract factories in Indonesia. The CSDS (2001, p. 13) mentioned that it is difficult to disclose cases of sexual harassment and abuse at work due to the low level of awareness about issues of sexual harassment and rights of female workers in Indonesia. This explains why there was very limited research on (sexual and gender) harassment in Indonesia.

A research (Hutagalung & Zainal, 2012) in Malaysian universities investigating sexual harassment in its relation with job satisfaction found that 1118 out of 1423 women employees had experienced sexual harassment at work in moderate and high levels and concluded that the more frequent they experienced sexual harassment, the lower the job satisfaction they had, and the higher they were oppressed. As Malaysia and Indonesia are both South East Asian countries geographically located side by side with similar cultural characteristics, such as the languages, food, and the fact of Muslim as the majority, the findings of the research might be well-seated in Indonesian context, but my research was about faculty members, not employees in general, which might be different.

Gender harassment might be well-preserved through compliance with cultural norms. Carmen Luke's (1998, 2010) work gave an example of how cultural norms in Asian context affected women's career in deficit ways. According to Luke, Asian femininity in self representation and negotiating power relationships between the sexes are important determinants of women's success in the workplace. She exemplified the 'politics of face' (1998, pp. 252-254; 2010, pp. 160-164) as a critical norm of the Asian femininity affecting women in deficit ways, in which women's ideas should be expressed in private to the senior males who, in the public forum, will raise the ideas as if their own. This means that assertiveness for women is not valued and regarded as a threat to their senior males. Luke suggests that if women are able to perform the cultural norms such as 'rule of face' by being invisible for their ideas and loyal to the male senior, which means complying with feminine characteristics, they may expect to be supported to rise.

This norm of 'rule of face' might work well in the case of sexual or gender harassment in terms

of advantaging the harasser (mostly senior males) and silencing the harassed (mostly females). If the harassed reported or revealed the harassment, her career is potentially affected in deficit ways, which might make her keep silent even though she does not like being harassed. Assertiveness for women is discouraged by cultural norms.

Luke's finding has a relevance with Javanese cultural norms of 'lineal values orientation' referring to exceptional reliance on, trust in, and respect for seniors (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 462). An old but enormously cited work by Geertz (1961) highlighted two distinct characteristics of Javanese culture; *rukun* or harmonious and *urmat* or respect (pp. 47,110,146-153), which is supported by a well-known Indonesian scholar and theologian, Frans Magnis-Suseno (1984, pp. 38-69; 1997, pp. 42-83) in his works on Javanese ethics emphasizing that open conflict must be avoided in social interaction and that the rank order of everyone in a given group must be recognized through corresponding respectful behaviour.

Again, like the norm of 'rule of face', Javanese norm of 'lineal values orientation' potentially silences women as victims of harassment. If they reveal the case of harassment they experience, they would be accused of breaking the harmonious relation with the seniors, disrespecting them, and causing open conflict with them. This consequently makes the women lose support from the seniors and therefore is really disadvantageous for women's career.

Work and Family Demands

Many people occupy more than one stage in their lives; such as family, workplace, and various social institutions. Each stage expects them to play certain roles and, often, total commitment. Often they involve never-ending jobs, despite people's limited time and energy. My research included those who belonged to at least two institutions, family and university, both of which have been known as 'greedy institutions', Coser's (1974) old concept, that is still relevant to address the phenomena of competing demands by institutions such as family and workplace. He asserted that when the stages compete with each other in demanding total commitments of their constituents, there will be a complicated no-win situation. It usually invites a negative impression or an unwelcome response when someone brings her/his family issue to workplace, or otherwise, brings some works to do at home. Children might be afraid of interrupting their parents when they are busy with their

works even at 'family time'.

Coser (1974, p. 6) remarked that the greedy institutions "exercise pressures on the component individuals to weaken their ties with other institutions or persons that might make claims that conflict with their own demands". Despite their commitment to their family, faculty members or other employees might avoid discussing about their family at work to impress that they are highly committed to their job. Some faculty members even did not take advantage of work-family policies because of the perceived threats to their career advancement (Sullivan, 2014, p. 12). Thus, the policies seems to be no more than token ones formally impressing that the institutions are family friendly.

Tensions of role demands between the different stages are highly potential to contribute to the problem of balancing work and family, especially for women. Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2012) and Conelly and Ghodsee (2011) claimed that balancing between work and life is hardly possible. If both universities and families demand total commitment, faculties, especially women, are positioned in a really strong tension between the two institutions, given the ongoing conventional gender order in most part of the world positioning women as the main holder of domestic and care responsibilities, and it means greedy institutions likely apply to women more than men.

The issue of work-life balance can be traced back to the Fair Labour Standard Acts⁶⁴ in the US in 1938 under which some grounds were set up such as the first minimum wage (25 cents per hour, but after more than twenty revisions it became \$5.25 in 1998), the minimum age (14 years old, but for hazardous jobs such as mining it was 18 years old), the maximum standard work week that was 44 hours per week and reduced to be 40 hours per week in 1940. This Act, consequently, had a positive impact on the work-life balance of employees. In 1993, with the significant increase in the number of parents involved in labour market, another legal milestone of work-life balance was introduced in the US, a Medical Leave Act⁶⁵ promoting the equal employment opportunity for women and men, the balance of work and family, the stability and economic security of families, and national interests in preserving family integrity. One of the findings underlying the Act was its

⁶⁴ <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3406400301.html>, retrieved on 25 July 2014

⁶⁵ <http://www.dol.gov/whd/regs/statutes/fmla.htm>, retrieved on 25 July 2014

acknowledgement of the responsibility of both parents to participate in early parenting and the care of family members who have serious health conditions. However, to compromise men's role as the breadwinner with parenting is seen as a deviant (Figueira-McDonough & Sarri, 1987, p. 130).

In Indonesia, according to the the Act No.13/2013 on employment, the minimum wages varied according to each region's standard of living that is decent from the viewpoint of humanity. To quote the highest and the lowest, the special province of Jakarta is Rp. 3,648,035,00 and the province of Yogyakarta is Rp. 1,454,154.00 in 2018. The Act does not mention any difference between women and men in terms of wages. To facilitate work-life balance, the maximum standard working time is 40 hours per week. It is also stated that women under 18 and vulnerable pregnant women should not be at work between 23.00 and 07.00. In case women are at work in such times, the employer should provide nutritious food and beverages, transport, ensure safety and decency. Women having period are allowed not to go to work if they have pain in the first and second day. Like other countries, there is also maternity leave for three months before and after giving birth without losing the wages. For civil servants, a new policy was introduced, men may take leave when their wife give birth, but it is just one month, which has been a big achievement, even though not equal enough.

In higher education, one of the critical issues for faculty members is also work-life balance which is gendered. There is even an implicit assumption that the roles of scholar and mother are incompatible (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2010; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004, p. 517). Not only in banks and hospitals, women senior staffs and managers did not have work-family balance regardless of their flexible working arrangements (Burchielli, Bartram, & Thanacoody, 2008), in academic world, women and men faculties experience their career progress and the work/family balance differently (Guth & Wright, 2009; Hunter & Leahey, 2010; J. E. Miller & Hollenshead, 2005, p. 2; Sutor, Mecom, & Feld, 2001). The inequality can be traced by looking at how domestic and care responsibilities are shared by women and men, in which women are morally expected to be most responsible (M. Baker, 2010; Beddoes & Pawley, 2014; Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie, & Robinson, 2012; Grummell, Devine, & Lynch, 2009; Guth & Wright, 2009; Hunter & Leahey, 2010; Mason, Goulden, & Wolfinger, 2006; Misra, Lundquist, & Templer, 2012; Patton, 2013; Pocock, 2003, 2005; Sutor et al., 2001; Tomàs et al., 2010) while universities are known as greedy institutions demanding long working hours with never finished jobs (Currie, Harris, & Thiele, 2000, 2002; Sutor et al., 2001; L. E. Wolf-Wendel & K.

Ward, 2006; M. C. Wright et al., 2004). The tension between the norms of an ideal worker and domestic and caring responsibilities posits women in a difficult situation. Work-life balance is, consequently, more difficult for women.

The fact is that the family roles remain gendered, and as a result, women are under-represented in academia (Beddoes & Pawley, 2014, p. 1581) especially in the higher ranks. The moral imperative of care to women potentially affects women in making a range of decisions in their lives including whether to advance their career or not, and the problem of work-life balance is an inevitable consequence. Women faculties are often framed by a double standard demanding both conformation with the conventional gender order such as nurturing, caring, and nice, as well as being competent 'like men' (Lindsey, 2011, p. 308; Pololi & Jones, 2010), while, the ideal academic demands full commitment to work without consideration of work/life balance (Thornton, 2013), which is hardly possible for women.

However, if faculty work is more flexible than other careers (Bailyn, 2003; Gatta & Roos, 2004; Gunter & Stambach, 2003; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004, 2010) and faculty members have noticeable autonomy with regard to how they "can arrange their own schedules, come and go as they like, and seem to have little direct supervision" (Austin, 2006, p. x), balancing work and life should be possible. Indeed, owing to such claim, American academic women too often have to shoulder the caring of their extended family (Bonawitz & Andel, 2009). It is admitted that faculty employment allows flexibility especially for those in late-career faculty, but early and middle-career one were hindered by inflexible patriarchal institutional views of work norms (Misra et al., 2012; Philipsen, 2008, 2011). Colbeck's (2006) study on faculty with families managing their work and personal roles shows how the boundaries between work and life in faculty career is flexible and permeable, even though it was found that men had more flexibility in terms of allowing work activities to interrupt home activities two and half times more often than the women faculty did. But, as pointed by Jacobs and Winslow (2004) and Peterson (2012), even if academic jobs are highly flexible, it is really difficult to balance between parenting and work.

One of the reasons of the persistent issue of work-life balance in the US is "the timing of promotion and tenure" (Sullivan, 2014, p. 8), for which women faculty often have to make choices that men do not have to make, which is similar with Indonesian context as described formerly in the

section of 'Women Faculty in Indonesia'. Despite their flexibility, higher education institutions has their rigid tenure timelines and expectations for faculty, which often impede work-life balance (D. M. Anderson, Morgan, & Wilson, 2002, p. 74). While opportunity for promotion or professional development comes, many women faculty might not take it because of the gender frame requiring women to prioritize their responsibility for caring. Many women faculty chose to prioritize their family over administrative or managerial promotions (Britton, 2010, p. 23). Given the moral imperative of care and the overwhelming conventional gender order that requires women to struggle with problems of work-life balance, policy makers in higher education need to take these issues seriously into account if they are really committed to gender equality and equity.

Nevertheless, according to Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2012, pp. 1-2), it is possible to merge academic and family lives successfully. In addition, the roles of parent and academic can serve as a buffer to one another, as a temporary respite from the stress inherent in each sphere to provide respite, perspective, and self-esteem (Barnett & Hyde, 2001, p. 786; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004, p. 253), which might be transferable to the Indonesian cultural context devastatingly upholding 'compulsory' gender roles with women responsible for the domestic and care works but increasingly involved in professional jobs. Since both academic and domestic responsibilities are inevitable for women faculty in Indonesia, it is hardly possible to contradict both of them, otherwise they might serve as a buffer to each other.

Researching the work and family life among Portuguese academics, Santos (2015, p. 12) found that 'balanced life' is not always identical with having time or commitments equally for both family and work at one given period of time; work-family balance varies corresponding to individuals' life cycle. Actually her findings revealed two different narratives: the narrative of complementarity between work and family; and the narrative of subordination of one to the other. However, the narrative of complementarity assuming that both work and family are different in nature, play distinct roles in the academics' lives, are complementary to each other, and do not prioritize one over another, is more popular than the narrative of subordination supposing that there must be priority between work and family. This is one of the issues that I would address in my analysis in chapter six and seven.

Given the ubiquitous circumstance that women are culturally made attached to family, without

any intension to confirm and preserve the gendered cultural practices, policies on equal opportunity should accommodate such facts to facilitate potential women to flourish. The following section discusses about the policies in higher education to see if women have been facilitated to have career advancement.

Higher Education Policy

Women's participation in the work force has increased (Ford & Parker, 2008, p. 11; Lester, 2011, p. 142; The World Bank, 2011, p. 12) but the traditional norms positioning women to be the main holder of domestic and care responsibilities are still firmly held by many, which potentially affects women in deficit ways. Despite the scholars' efforts to challenge the gender-biased cultural constructions, universities as a perceivably egalitarian workplace should have pioneered the changing of policies accommodating the facts that women are still the main holder of domestic and caring responsibility.

Barbara J. Bank (2007, p. 711) states that policy is an indefinable concept but "basically refers to official statements of intentions to act on certain problems." This is in line with Wilson's (2008) account that the task of removing barriers for women's career advancement must involve formal strategies. At least, three things need to be considered; official statements, intentions to act, and problems. As described in the previous sections, numerous researchers have revealed a number of problems of women faculty that hinder them from career advancement. Moreover, if the problems are related to cultural norms, official statements of intensions to act on the problems are expected to change the culture, although slowly.

Women faculties have been affected by double standards of cultural values and gender-blind policies. Even if there are family friendly policies, as Gappa, Austin, & Trice (2005, p. 36) wrote, workers vacillate to use them "if they feel that doing so will jeopardize their job security, assignments, or opportunities for promotions". Thus, it is like a token policy; it sounds advantaging and facilitating but will take much more than it gives. Likewise, according to the Act No,39/2009 about lecturers, faculty members in Indonesia may take a six months research leave every five years. They also, according to the Act No.24/1976 on leave for civil servants, have a twelve days yearly leave, or 18 days every two years, or 24 days every three years. Those who have at least six years non-stop

service may take a three month leave. However, no research about the implementation of those leaves was found, which was something interesting to dig from the interviews for this project.

Studies by women studies centers, for example UIN Syarif Hidayatullah (2004), IAIN Sunan Kalijaga (2004) and IAIN Ar-Raniry (2008) suggest that the absence of policy that is advantageous for women and addresses women's double burden and patriarchal culture has resulted in a gap between women and men faculty especially at the top ranks. This can be traced from the fact that most policy makers are men, as Blackmore (2005) asserts, whose values are promoted in the policies they produce.

Much research suggests a need for policy change in academic institutions (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Drago et al., 2005; Guth & Wright, 2009; Johnson, 2009; Mayer & Tikka, 2008; West & Curtis, 2006; Williams, 2004; M. Wilson, Gadbois, & Nichol, 2008), even though there was distrust to the relevance of gender-related policies with the lives of women faculty members. Guth and Wrights (2009, p. 142) found that despite explicit policies aimed at removing barriers, it is recognized that the barriers for women are still there hindering their progress in universities, which made the policies seemed to be not meaningful to women faculty's everyday lives. Universities need to take a better account of the gender frame that confine the choices available to their staff (Britton, 2010, p. 25; Currie et al., 2002, p. 190) especially women on whom expectations of domestic and care responsibilities are shouldered. Changing culture to be more fair and equal seems to be critical in enabling policy to be effective.

With the gender-blind policies and the dominant patriarchal discourse which is partly represented in the Indonesian gender ideology of state-ibuisim, the vastly accepted gendered concept of *kodrat* for women and the immense discourse of conventional religious interpretations, which potentially impacts on women's career path, my study listened to the stories of women faculty in IHEs in Indonesia to ascertain how they managed their work and lives. No previous studies in IHEs in Indonesia addressed such issues.

Summary

The literature on Javanese culture and women in relation with Islam might have informed subsequent discussions in this chapter. For example, Javanese norm of respect and 'lineal values

orientation' or hierarchy can be an important explanation for issues of gender harassment, and Javanese concept of *kanca wingking* might be the best explanation for the issues in career paths of the subjects.

Other issues especially gender harassment, glass ceilings, and greedy institutions are Western literatures rooted from Western context, which are not synonymous with any Indonesian phrases, but it does not mean that there are no such issues in Indonesia, and they were helpful in analysing the research data. In Indonesian literatures, terms such as glass ceilings was addressed via the issues of career barriers, and the term greedy institution might be covered in discussing the issues of work load or gendered division of labour. In addition, issues of gender in Indonesia is likely a central and controversial one in culture and religion.

The common trend of the previous research reports on women faculty members is that women are shouldered with domestic and caring more than men, which potentially makes it difficult to develop their potential and reach the available opportunities of career advancement, regardless of the facts that some women choose to prioritize or put orientation more on family over career. In Indonesian context, especially in religious institutions such as Islamic universities, women are framed not only by culture, but also by religious norms which are often formulated by males who tend to be patriarchal. My study reveals how women in such religious institutions conceptualize their work and lives.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study elaborated the experiences of women faculty members in managing their work and lives in the two biggest state-owned Islamic higher education institutions in East Java, Indonesia, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim (UIN Maliki) in Malang and Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel or UINSA in Surabaya. The focus of this study was the experiences of women faculty members that related to how the women negotiated with policies, religion, and Javanese-ness in their work and lives.

Women's account of their experiences have been invisible in patriarchal society and unheard in the construction of knowledge, because knowledge construction is situated by male perspectives (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 2012, 2004; Harding & Hintikka, 2004; Hartsock, 2004; Hekman, 1997, 2007). In other words, knowledge is never objective as a result of unequal power relations between women and men in which women are in the position of the oppressed. Moreover, women and men have different social positions, and accordingly they have different standpoints (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). It is, therefore, important to take account of women faculty members' experiences, which will add the existing knowledge on women in higher education.

Below are the discussion on social constructionism as the theoretical framework of this study, the rationale for employing feminist standpoint methodology, the site and research subject selection, the pilot study, the data collection, and the data analysis of this study.

Social Constructionism

This study was informed by social constructionism as its framework. Social constructionism is not a neatly defined term, but entails some tenets. In relation with research methodology, Gergen & Gergen's (2007, pp. 461-465) argues that social constructionism includes four principles. First, the communal view of knowledge; knowledge, reason, emotion, and morality "is brought into being through historically and culturally situated social processes", challenging the tradition of the individual knower and objectivity (p. 462). This is in line with Burr's (2003, p. 152) claim that every human being stands on her/his humanity entailing positions from which s/he encounter the world. The facts that

the society is patriarchal facilitates knowledge construction in the perspective of men, which I tried to encounter by presenting women's viewpoints and thus feminist standpoint as another theoretical framework as well as the methodology of this study, which was discussed later in this chapter.

Second, to make the world understandable, convention of construction has to be taken, which requires a concern with language (Gergen & Gergen, 2007, p. 463), and among the most popular conventions of the construction are sex categories of female and male as well as gender categories of women and men, even though, according to Burr (2003, p. 3), the sex classification of female and male is ambiguous and debatable, and whether the gender categories of women and men are simply the consequence of the sex categories. Despite an assertion that research in social constructionism should not take for granted the established gender categories such as "women" or "men" (Gordon, 2007, p. 93), I used a gender category of 'women/men' for this study as an analytical tool with an intention to make it easier to understand rather than to embrace the essentialism or to reproduce and confirm the construction of the category, because I am of the conviction that in Indonesia today, and probably in most parts of the world, the gender category of women and men is still the mainstream convention. Moreover, the social realities that such construction was institutionalized and legitimated by both religion and policies led the work and lives of the faculty members to be compliant with such sex category convention. At least, that was the current mainstream established ways of understanding the realities of gender category.

In addition, without negating other disadvantaged groups such as those with different abilities (not to say disable) and non-traditional gender categories, the facts that women were in the positions of the disadvantaged within most gender relations both in and out of workplace, at least the under-representation of women faculty in higher ranks (J. Acker, 2009; Bonawitz & Andel, 2009; Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2010; Kahn, 2012; Knapp et al., 2011; Pololi & Jones, 2010; Priola, 2007; Tomàs et al., 2010; West & Curtis, 2006) and the unequal share of domestic and care responsibilities in which women are morally expected to be most responsible (M. Baker, 2010; Beddoes & Pawley, 2014; Bianchi et al., 2012; Grummell et al., 2009; Guth & Wright, 2009; Hunter & Leahey, 2010; Misra et al., 2012; Patton, 2013; Tomàs et al., 2010), requires certain attention from the ethical research activities to consistently contribute to reveal the unequal gender relations and raise awareness on the possibilities to reconstruct the existing unequal relations.

Third, pragmatic conceptions of knowledge is important, in which “the implications of truth claim for cultural life matters seriously” (Gergen & Gergen, 2007, p. 463). This is related to the situatedness of values possessed by the community who construct the knowledge, which possibly does not match with other community’s values, or, even, positions certain groups of people in deficit ways especially in regard with the implication of the situated constructed knowledge in organizational practices. Based on this principle of social constructionism, I admit that the findings of my study would not be generalizable to all other Muslim women faculty’s communities. It just provides an alternative especially for those with, at least, similar values and conditions.

Fourth, “all that we take to be rational and real emerge from a process of coordination”, which means relationships are responsible for the very conception of the individual (Gergen & Gergen, 2007, pp. 464-465). Subjective experience is not mainly from within the selves, but is a product of interaction between the selves and the social worlds (Richardson & Schaeffer, 2013, p. 24). How the women in this study perceived their experiences as Muslim women and women faculty members was a result of interactions between the women and their surroundings that includes, but not limited to, religion, culture, and policy. My study tries to explore the process of coordination in the social construction (and reconstruction) that happened behind the experiences of the women faculty members.

Issues of rights, relationships, and social transformations are increasingly attracting in a changing world, all of which are the consequences of varied ways in meaning constructions and reconstructions (Lock & Strong, 2010, p. 2). Meaning constructions and reconstructions in terms of gender relations are part of those often taken for granted knowledge that often entails disadvantages to one of the gender categories, woman or man, and therefore needs changes, while my study is located on the side of women (this would be explored in the next section, feminist standpoint)

Hacking (1999, p. 7) contends that the most prominent social construction principles are related to gender. One of the most highly cited expressions ‘One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman’ (Beauvoir, 2011, p. 293), undoubtedly indicates that gender is socially constructed, not given. Social institutions, including education institutions, contribute much in producing, reproducing and reinforcing gender. Even the gendering process and the consequences are validated by “religion, law, science, and the society’s entire set of values” (Lorber, 2009, p. 13). By looking at the impacts

of religion, policies, and Javanese-ness, on the work and lives of women faculty members, my study focused on the process of social construction (and reconstruction), especially in terms of gender relations.

Social constructionist views the definitions of masculinity and femininity as multiple, and different from culture to culture. They are, even, different within a culture over historical time (R. Connell, 2005, p. 35; Raewyn Connell, 2009, p. 11; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Thus, gender order does differ across time and space. Moreover, the definitions of masculinity and femininity might be varied within any one culture at a point of time especially when they include race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, age, region, and religion. There are always interactions between those categories because someone cannot be just woman or man without the category of race, age, class, ethnicity, and religion/atheism. Eventually, it can be changing "over the course of a person's life" (Kimmel, 2011, pp. 100-101). A number of aspects also potentially contribute to the work and lives individuals, which includes, but not limited to, their educational (formal, informal, and non-formal) background, their understanding of and attitude to religious teachings, their spouse's social position and occupation, and their family background (economically, socially, and religiously).

This study explores how the women faculty members in Islamic higher education in Indonesia took account of their experiences in their work and lives through the process of engagement, interaction, or coordination between the women and their social environment, which would offer a self-defined standpoint on their lives as women in Islamic higher education especially in Indonesia.

Rationale for Feminist Standpoint Methodology

Feminist standpoint is both an epistemology and a methodology, explanatory and prescriptive. In line with social constructionism, two central ideas in feminist standpoint theory include the claim that knowledge is socially situated and perspectival and that there are various standpoints from which knowledge is generated (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 2004, pp. 7-8; Hekman, 1997, p. 342), which is about communities, not individuals, occupying particular position (Haraway, 1988, p. 590). Furthermore, "the concept of a standpoint rests on the fact that there are some perspectives on society from which, however well-intentioned one may be, the real relations of humans with each other and with the natural world are not visible" (Hartsock, 2004, p. 117). Informed by these ideas,

I am interested in portraying the work and lives of women faculty members in the context of Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia. This, in my expectation, will offer a distinctive construct of the knowledge on women in Islamic higher education especially in Indonesia, which will contribute to the existing knowledge on women in higher education.

Standpoint theory takes into account particular differences in material position and experience (Harding, 2004, p. 7; Hartsock, 2004, p. 284; McLaughlin, 2003, p. 47). In standpoint theory, women occupy a position in patriarchal social context; therefore they occupy different social positions, which leads to different standpoint (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 23). Women's experiences, like any other minority's, are best understood through their own consciousness, not men's, nor the rulers. The experiences of the minority are commonsensically different from the majority, like the discrepancy of the experiences between the oppressed and the oppressors, the ruled and the rulers, and women and men. Feminist standpoints hold that "the social relations between women and men in significant respects resembled those between workers and their bosses: gender and class relations had parallel structures" (Harding, 2012, p. 48). Even so, rooted from Marx and Engels' (2011) ideas, consciousness is not universal. Accordingly, women's consciousness is neither unitary. Women with a range of material and cultural context might articulate diverse stories that mean different consciousness, and thus knowledge.

Each community bears multiple categories at the same time, for instance being woman, Muslim, faculty, Javanese, and wives, between which constant interactions happened enabling the possibilities of changes as time goes. The women faculty members in this study, who were Muslim mothers in Javanese culture, would hypothetically tell different stories (not only among themselves) from men faculty members, who were also Muslim fathers in Javanese culture, which necessitates the situated-ness of knowledge construction.

Feminist standpoint epistemology tries "to see and understand the world through the eyes of oppressed women and apply the vision and knowledge of oppressed women to social activism and social change" (Abigail Brooks, 2007, p. 55). Feminist standpoint is both an approach to knowledge construction and a research methodology, as pointed by Harding (2004, p. 1). It is explanatory as well as prescriptive. The experiences of black women as a group of outsiders in sociology has been documented by Patricia Hill Collins (1986, 1989, 1990), which constitutes the social construction of

black feminist thought. Exploring the experiences of women faculty members in Islamic universities in Indonesia, my study is not going to construct a theory, but just to add to the already prevailing constructions of (Muslim) women in (Islamic) higher education context.

This study embraces feminist standpoint methodology for several reasons. First, this study is committed to women's liberation, which means political. Women have long been excluded in knowledge production (Abigail Brooks, 2007; Harding, 2012; Hekman, 2007; Nielsen, 1990) as it has served hierarchical power relations in society (Beauvoir, 2011; Harding, 2012; D. E. Smith, 1978) in which women are subordinate. This project concerns with how women faculty members take accounts of their experiences as women in Islamic higher education in the context of Indonesia, the world's biggest Muslim society (Alfian, 2014; C. Geertz, 1971; Laffan, 2006, 2011; Masdar, 2012; Munjid, 2012; Najib, 2003; D. Porter, 2005). Women's experience systematically differs from the male experience upon which knowledge claims have been grounded (Harding & Hintikka, 2004, p. x; Hartsock, 2004, p. 289; Hekman, 2007, p. 538). This has been confirmed by the underrepresentation of women in the upper ranks in almost all kinds of professional positions. By analyzing their experiences, it could serve as the starting point of feminist knowledge as well as social change in order to reach women's liberation.

Moreover, it is important to address personal problems that are detrimental to career path but never addressed by the policies. Many of women's issues such as their roles in households and their problems related to childbearing, breastfeeding, and other perceived women's responsibilities have not been taken into account by policy makers. None of the previous research on women faculty members in Indonesian contexts (Inayatillah, 2010a; Indihadi & Karlimah, 2007; Karniawati, 2013; Kull, 2009; Murniati, 2012; Susilaningsih & Najib, 2004; Wayong, 2007; Widiyastuti & Harsiwi, 2000; Yuliati, 2012; Yuliyawati, 2010) reported that there are affirmative policies facilitating women's double burden. As part of women faculty members who had experienced and witnessed the detrimental effects of gender relations on their career path, I crave their experiences to be heard and known by public especially decision makers, as suggested by Hanisch (1970) in her 'the personal is political', and by Hesse-Biber's (2011, p. 2) articulation of 'spaces where the personal transforms into the political'. According to Hanisch, "political" may refer to any power relationships, not just those of government or elected officials.

Second, feminist standpoint methodology enables researchers to provide profound critique of patriarchal institutions and policies from the perspective of women, the subordinated group that has long been the victim of patriarchy. I favour Hekman's (2007, p. 535) note 'looking at the experiences of women as they are conceptualized by women yields a very different picture of the social world, a picture missing in masculinist social science'. Indeed, women's account of their experiences would be accurate as the grounds of feminist knowledge (D. E. Smith, 1978).

Third, the subjects of this project and I share similarities as long serving women Muslim faculties in Islamic higher education in East Java, Indonesia, which enabled me to get a sense of being engaged (Hartsock, 2004, p. 36) in the same ground and thus strengthened my choice of feminist standpoint methodology. But, this similarity, did not mean that we had wholly similar experiences. My insider-ness and my gender assumptions helped me much in understanding the stories of the subjects and were significant in framing the picture that I tried to draw. I am in line with the social constructionist view that there are gender differences among women in any one culture, even in any one time (Kimmel, 2011, p. 3)

Research Site and Subjects Selection

This project took place in two public Islamic higher education institutions in East Java, Indonesia; the State University of Sunan Ampel Surabaya or Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel or UINSA⁶⁶ Surabaya and The State Islamic University or Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim (UIN Maliki) Malang. These are the oldest and most established Islamic higher education institutions in East Java and were not involved in Kull's (2009) study on Islamic Education Female Teachers in Indonesia covering UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, UIN Alauddin Makassar, IAIN Antasari Banjarmasin, and UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung. Nationally, Indonesia has six UINs, fourteen IAINs, and thirty two STAINs⁶⁷ that spread in the diverse cultural settings

⁶⁶ UINSA was formerly IAIN (*Istitut Agama Islam Negeri* or the State Institute of Islamic Studies) Sunan Ampel Surabaya. When I was proposing my research approval, it was still IAIN, but on December 2013, just one month before I started my field work, it converted to be UIN.

⁶⁷ STAIN is SekolahTinggi Agama Islam Negeri (the State Advanced Higher Learning), institutionally smaller size Islamic higher education institution providing only some Islamic studies. UIN stands for Universitas Islam Negeri (The State Islamic University), institutionally the biggest Islamic higher education institution providing secular departments or schools such as medicine, anthropology, etc. IAIN represents Institut Agama Islam Negeri (the State Institut for Islamic Studies), middle size Islamic higher education institution, covering a wide

throughout the archipelago.

In addition, the two sites of this project, UINSA and UIN Maliki, were located in East Java, one of two provinces culturally mapped as Javanese. According to Kodiran (1971, p. 329) and Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 21), Javanese culture encompasses through Central and Eastern Java. While Javanese culture is not uniform, the two institutions, UINSA and UIN Maliki, were located at the same distinctive subvariety of Javanese culture which was at least indicated by, according to the most recent research on Javanese culture (Sutarto, 2004; Sutarto & Sudikin, 2008b), the same dialect they had and, accordingly, the same designation called *Jawa timuran* or Eastern Javanese variant, which is, in Koentjaraningrat's (1985, p. 24) work, called *Tanah Sabrang Wetan* or "the area beyond the Eastern border". More specific cultural map of East Java had been well documented by an East Javanese culturist Ayu Sutarto (2004) in his publication entitled *Studi Pemeetaan kebudayaan Jawa Timur* or A Study on Mapping the Culture of East Java.

According to Sutarto (2004), East Java has at least ten groups of culture, one of which is called *Arek* whose territory includes, but not limited to, both Malang and Surabaya where the two universities I researched were sited. The culture of *Arek* is characterized, among others, by 'egalitarian' language which is meant to express intimacy, solidarity, and friendship, which might possibly affect the culture of the organizations. Despite this, it did not guarantee that UIN Maliki Malang and UINSA Surabaya had similar organizational culture whose constructions had been affected by various aspects including diverse religious interpretations.

In addition, Malang and Surabaya have some differences in physical characteristics such as their geographical feature; Surabaya is located in a coastal area with warmer (between 21.1°C and 34.8°C⁶⁸) temperature, while Malang is on a higher land with lower temperature between 17.80°C and 24.50°C⁶⁹. Surabaya is also a bigger city compared to Malang; while Surabaya is more populous with the population of 2.923.263⁷⁰, has an international airport, and is the capital city of a province,

range of Islamic studies. However, IAIN and STAIN also introduce students with secular subjects such as psychology, statistics, English, philosophy, etc. (<http://pendis.kemenag.go.id/kerangka/diktis.htm>)

⁶⁸ <http://surabayakota.bps.go.id/webbeta/frontend/index.php/linkTabelStatis/194>, retrieved on 9 February 2014.

⁶⁹ <http://malangkota.bps.go.id/linkTabelStatis/view/id/427>, retrieved on 9 February 2014.

⁷⁰ <http://dispendukcapil.surabaya.go.id/index.php>, retrieved on 9 February 2014.

namely East Java, Malang has a smaller population of 873.716⁷¹, just a domestic airport, and, thus, is a smaller city in the same province. These characteristics potentially contribute to the differences in social and cultural manifestations and in the work and lives of the people living in those cities. However, my research project is not a comparative study, instead, it is meant to understand how the women faculty members manage their work and lives in the two state Islamic universities, UIN Maliki in Malang and UINSA in Surabaya, as explained in chapter one.

Other than such above mentioned differences, the faculty members in the two institutions were not limited to those who have been born, grown up, or lived their lives in the cultural regions of *Arek*; they came mostly from different subvariety of Javanese cultural backgrounds, and non-Javanese were minority. Thus, there are diverse stories of their work and lives that might also be the case in other similar settings.

Just one month before I started my field work, one of the universities changed status from an institute to be a university. The previous name was IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, but at the end of 2013, it converted to be UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. The structure of the organization changed as well which implied in the changing positions of some administrators and leaders. One of them was the person whom I had contacted in applying for the research approval, head of the research and community service center. Fortunately, he was really cooperative and helpful, even though he was not in that position anymore when I started my fieldwork. Moreover, he was still part of those who organized the research activities and offered me much help by providing me with the data on the faculties from all departments.

In terms of research subjects, this project involved women faculty members, especially the long serving ones from a range of disciplines, ranks, and life circumstances. I conceptualized 'long serving' as those who have served at least fifteen years. I assumed that in such period of time there was potential reach to the highest academic or professional rank.

To get the contact details of potential research subjects, I contacted the universities, in this case the head of research and community service center and the head of the administrative officers. They provided me with some documents of all the faculties informing me about their date of getting

⁷¹ <http://dispendukcapil.malangkota.go.id/?cat=7>, retrieved on 17 December 2015

tenured, date of birth, academic qualification, academic rank, and position. Some data included their phone numbers and/or email address, but some others did not.

I contacted the potential research subjects via phone. I initially introduced myself and proposed my plan to invite them to participate in my research. I provided the potential subjects with my contact details (email address and phone number) for them to express their willingness to participate in my research project. Most of the faculties that I contacted were happy to take part in my study, only two of them recommended me to invite others. No one that was already participating withdrew their participation.

While many personal circumstances were not provided in the documents provided to me, I was aware that conditions such as being single parent, being childless, having elder family member to take care at home, family background, or husband's profession might affect career path. I made use of the available information to select as diverse as possible research subjects, in terms of their age and origin, length of service, academic ranks, administrative or managerial positions if any, the faculties or schools they belong to, and their highest educational levels. Fortunately, after the interviews, I found that their personal circumstances that might affect their career were diverse; some having husbands who were also faculty members, some having peasant family or educational background, some having been active in women's studies, some of them far from their extended family, and one of them having a child with special needs. However, I did not find any long serving women faculty who were unmarried or single parent, nor childless, which was different from the Western literature mentioning the tendency for women career not to get married or to be childless (Bailyn, 2003; M. Baker, 2010; Bonawitz & Andel, 2009; Hewlett, 2002; Jacobs & Winslow, 2010; Mason & Goulden, 2004a; O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005; Solomon, 1985; Sullivan, 2014; Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2008).

Pilot Study

As an inexperienced researcher, I needed to conduct a pilot study before the main field work for my research project. The term 'pilot studies' refers to mini versions of a larger proposed studies, as well as the trial of a particular research instrument (Prescott & Soeken, 1989; Michael Wilson & Sapsford, 2006). Pilot studies can play a role as 'feasibility' studies (Beebe, 2007; Van Teijlingen &

Hundley, 2002; Michael Wilson & Sapsford, 2006), may identify potential practical problems in the research procedure and improve the main research in general (Sampson, 2004), uncover local politics or problems that may affect the research process (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2002), and provide researchers with an opportunity to make adjustments and revisions in the main study (Kim, 2011)

Conducting a pilot study does not guarantee that the main study becomes more successful, but at least I trained myself and tried out my preparation, so I could improve the way I approached the research subjects, amend the interview questions, and identify the possible barriers. Referring to Beebe, Lancaster, and Kilanowski, pilot works can be used to self-evaluate one's readiness, capability, and commitment as a qualitative researcher (Beebe, 2007; Lancaster et al., 2004), to train qualitative researchers (Kilanowski, 2006), and to enhance the credibility of a qualitative study (Padgett, 2008). For the pilot study, I interviewed two woman faculty members, both from UINSA in Surabaya.

I modified some questions to make the interviews more like natural conversations and made sure that there were no technical problems such as the recordings and field notes making.

In addition to the widely acknowledged benefits of pilot studies in quantitative research, Helen Sampson underlines that pilot studies have greater use in ethnographic study especially "in foreshadowing research problems and questions, in highlighting gaps and wastage in data collection, and in considering broader and highly significant issues such as research validity, ethics, representation and researcher health and safety". Moreover, Yujin Kim (2011) shared four advantages of pilot studies; identifying issues in recruiting potential research subjects, showing the researcher a culturally proper way of doing phenomenological research, reflecting the highly significant process and its difficulty in phenomenological research, and amending interview questions. All of this shared information had strengthened my plan to do a pilot study before I started the main one. The two institutions, UIN Maliki and UINSA, were located in the same cultural map⁷², which was slightly different from the institution I work for, even though we were all in East Java. So,

⁷² East Java consists of, at least, ten cultural groups as reported by an East Javanese culturist Ayu Sutarto (Sutarto, 2008 #719; Sutarto, 2004 #3305). Malang (where UIN Maliki was located) and Surabaya (where UINSA was located) were included in *budaya Arek*, but Jember (where the institution I worked for was located) is categorized in *budaya Pandalungan*. So even though we were all in East Java, we had possibly different cultural background, which might influence each organizational culture.

with a pilot study, some cultural issues such as the way approached the women were addressed well, and the interviews ran more smoothly.

Data collection

Despite utilizing various documents, printed as well as online from the World Wide Web (www) of UINSA and UIN Maliki, the data collection in this study basically relied on in-depth interviews with seventeen long-serving women faculty members of the two universities to know how they managed their work and lives. The printed documents were used as a complement mainly to get the demographic data about the faculty members in the two universities, while the online data from the websites were used to explore the general features of the universities such as their vision and mission, their rectors' introduction, their senate boards, their officials, and the important activities broadcasted in the news section. Unfortunately, the documents did not include segregated data based on gender, for example, the list of all faculty members of each department which was arranged based on their ranks but no separate list based on gender, the list of senate boards members without even mentioning the gender (so I had to refer to other documents to make sure about their gender), the percentage of faculty members in every rank without separated data on women and men, and the charts for the ranks or educational level which regrettably did not include gender, so I had to make a classification in reading the documents to create a gender segregated data.

I also made use of other various data (especially pictures and texts on taglines on the main scenes, news, and galleries) from the World Wide Web of UINSA and UIN Maliki to help explaining the features of the two universities in order to provide the contexts of the research sites, in addition to gain additional information on certain issues emerged from the interviews.

Believing that women, as suggested by feminist researchers (Abigail Brooks, 2007; Harding, 2012; Hekman, 2007; Nielsen, 1990), had long been excluded from knowledge production and that feminist standpoint methodology tries to take account of women's vision and knowledge (Abigail Brooks, 2007), I chose to use in-depth interviews as the main technique of data collection, because they have illuminated much about social processes that women experience (Cannon, Higginbotham, & La Leung, 1988, pp. 449-450; Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 118). Before conducting the data collection, this research project received full approval from the Flinders University Social and Behavioural

Research Ethics Committee (SBREC) with the project number of 5860

Through the interviews, I gained information about the experiences of the women faculty members, especially those related to the research questions, including their historical accounts of their lives, and learned their perspectives. Interviews offer much more “detailed information about a person’s thoughts and behaviors” than other methods and makes possible for the interview to be like informal conversation (Boyce & Neale, 2006, p. 3). The interviews also allowed me to engage in their life stories emotionally; one of the women was crying when she told her stories about her husband’s support to her, while some others accentuated complains about different issues in the workplace such as informal network and gender harassment, both of which seemed to be unresolvable. During writing the analysis chapters, I carried out follow-up interviews to nine women from the two universities to elicit further information on certain issues emerged from the previous interviews and the websites.

Before the interviews, I asked the interviewees if they were willing to be interviewed and let them know that they were free to withdraw at any phase of the interviews, as it was possible that in the middle or at the end of interview, the research subjects felt uncomfortable or worried about what they have revealed in the interview, which made them want to withdraw from participating in this project. But this did not happen; all the subjects were happy to keep their participation. To make sure that they are free and have enough time to make their own decision, I gave them my contact details so they could contact me anytime if they changed their mind. As I knew some of their colleagues, they might be worried if their confidentiality was not secure. For this, I made sure that their confidentiality is assured; the information would never be passed on to anyone, and was used just for the research project without revealing the identity, so it was anonymous. I also informed the research subjects that the transcript of the interview would be stored in a password-sealed place that only me the one who has access to open it. After all, the research subjects signed the informed consent to make sure that they had been well-informed about the project and agreed to participate in it.

That the interviewees were free to withdraw and kept anonymous are part of my efforts to eliminate the potential power relations between the research subjects and me. Moreover, having ethics approval from SBRC and signed consent forms are not enough for an ethical research. Informed consent is not a ‘one-time’ agreement, but should be flexible and subject to change before,

during and after the interview, even after analysis (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). It is my responsibility to make sure that the research subjects were treated ethically in accordance with the SBREC. With my insider-ness -like all the women I interviewed, I am a Muslim woman faculty member in an Islamic higher education institution in East Java, I am also a long serving one, and I am also married with children-, I was sure that I was able to address the issue of cultural values of the research subjects.

As in-depth interviews are issue-oriented (Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 118; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 95; Liamputtong, 2009, p. 43), they do not cover the subjects' entire life story, but able to cover various questions (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 316). This study focused on the issues of how women faculty members managed their work and lives in Islamic higher education, which was divided into some topics; how higher education policies affect women faculty members' work and lives, what role religion plays in women faculty members' work and lives, and how gender relations impact on women faculty members' work and lives. A list of questions (attached) was prepared to loosely guide the interviews as a reminder of what issues to include (see appendix 3). To make sure that the women would benefit from my research project, I committed to 'listen' to their voices and, in turn, add their voices to the existing knowledge n women in higher education.

Even though the in-depth interview is often depicted as unstructured (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003), interviews always fall between two choices; fairly unstructured and relatively the same with guided conversations (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006, p. 315). I used the indicative list of questions flexibly. When referring to the questions in the list, I often needed rewording based on some conditions such as the previous interviews and the interviewees' understanding and response. Referring to Wilson and Sapsford (2006, p. 95), I asked the questions in varied ways and/or order, so the interviews were likely less artificial, more natural, than structured interviews, which looked like a conversation between equal subjects. So, as pointed by Wilson and Sapsford, even though the interviewees knew that the interaction was a research one, the form of the questions followed a natural line through the respondent's replies but meaningful in understanding the subjects.

In-depth interviews demand for well-skilled interviewees to be able to make the interview atmosphere relaxed and comfortable so the interviewees can easily express their ideas, feelings, and stories, and finally detailed information is easily attained (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Fortunately, my insider-ness facilitated rapport and all women offered me to do another interview via phone if

more information was needed. Some of the interviewees even kept communicating with me for friendship reason months after we finished the interviews. That in-depth interviews normally occur in one session per interviewee, but more than one is possible (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 95), fits so much with my condition of limited time. As I had limited time and specific condition related to my serious illness.

The interviews were recorded in full for later analysis. Even though it was already mentioned in the consent form that the interview would be tape recorded, I asked the subjects' permission directly, before starting the interview, to tape record it and made sure that they could ask me to stop the recording in a certain part of the conversation if they wanted. I also informed them that I would transcribe the interviews. The place to conduct the interviews was entirely dependent on the subject's choice, mostly in their office, one in a restaurant, and two in their home. After the interviews, I offered the interviewees an opportunity to read the transcripts, but most seemed to see it as unimportant.

Data Analysis

In keeping with my feminist standpoint approach, I referred to Hesse-Biber and Leavy's (2011, pp. 302-328) data analysis steps which consist of four phases; data preparation phase, data exploration, data reduction, and interpretation. However, there was no clear border between each other phase, as they were iterative. Every step did not need to wait until the previous step finished at all; they went forward and backward at the same time.

In the data preparation phase, I transcribed the recorded interviews. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy, transcription is not a simple conversion from the oral to the written language which just needs good listening and typing skills. I did the transcription, because I did the interviews and, accordingly, knew exactly, what DeVault (1990, pp. 101-105) mentioned, the pauses, the way something was said, and the non-verbal cues, all of which were crucial in understanding the meaning beyond the text.

Referring to feminist ideas, DeVault (1990, pp. 96-97) notes that categories are often irrelevant to women's lives because language represents male experiences, which results in the problems of expression for women. In line with DeVault's hint, Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011, p. 303) pointed out

that the research subjects might be hesitant or use expressions like “you know what I mean” which suggests that they assume that the researcher is able to “unearth hidden meanings of interviewees whose lives and language are often overshadowed by the dominant discourse”. Such expressions of feeling tentative exist in the Indonesian language as well (as the interview was in Indonesian), which might indicate that the Indonesian language also represents male experiences.

The next steps after transcribing were data exploration and data reduction, which worked iteratively hand in hand. For data exploration and reduction, I started by reading and thinking about the interview transcript and notes and highlighting the important things in it, while at the same time writing down memos of any ideas that arose in my mind. Then, I summarized the data and paid attention to the most telling quotes in the data. To make easier in referring to the transcript, I made a sign of the line numbers of the important information. In making the memos, I made a link between the data and the research purpose which is to understand women faculty members in managing their work and lives, especially related to higher education policies, religion, and Javanese-ness. After I was confident enough that I was familiar with the data that I had read several times, I started coding without having to finish exploring all the interview transcripts.

During the data reduction, I found and marked some sentences that I planned to quote directly in the analysis chapters. As the transcription was in the Indonesian language, I translated it into English, especially the parts that I quoted directly. The process of translation, referring to Ghorayshi and Belanger (1996), constitutes a process in which a researcher has a considerable amount of power in terms of selecting the voices that s/he wants to hear and the way s/he wants to hear them. Like listening, translation is not a nonjudgmental process. Here, I had to admit that there was a possibility of intervention to my intentions especially when the research subjects expressed something that did not fit with my perceptions about the subjects. In this case, I had to take them into account as I really wanted to represent the subjects because I was aware that the readers understand the subjects through the researcher’s written report. I had a colleague, a research student like me, who speak both sound Indonesian and English to check and confirm my translation to keep the trustworthiness of my research.

The last step was interpretation, which was, according to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011, pp. 315-316), not unavoidably separated from other steps of analysis in qualitative research. So, essentially,

some parts of the interpretation has already been discussed in the previous steps of analysis and, even, in data collection, because, they were iterative processes. I was really aware that in the research process, especially in the phase of interpretation, the issue of power and control needs to be scrutinized as it might affect the research findings, especially when there were different attributes leading to power difference between the researcher and the research subjects. But the women I interviewed and I had relatively similar social attributes, namely, women Muslim faculty members in Islamic higher education in East Java. The possible power gap, in my opinion, was in the ways I listened, understood, and translated their perspectives, as they did not give me any feedback on the transcripts that I sent to them.

Conclusion

Knowledge is situated and never objective as a result of unequal power relations between women and men in which women are in the position of the oppressed. The different social positions of women and men lead to their different standpoints (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011), whereas the standpoints of women have been neglected in the knowledge production. It is, therefore, important to take account of the life experiences women faculty members, which will add the existing knowledge on women in higher education. Inspired by the social constructionism, the most prominent principles of which are related to gender, that the definitions of masculinity and femininity are multiple, different from culture to culture, even, according to Connell (2005, p. 35; 2009, p. 11; 1999) different within a culture over historical time, I am of the conviction that Muslim women in Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia had distinctive experiences to share. Therefore, I employed feminist standpoint methodology in this project.

My research involved some types of data collection, document analysis, website analysis, and in-depth interviews. But the main one was the interviews. Utilizing in-depth interviews, this project is intended to listen to the experiences of women faculty members in Islamic higher education institutions in East Java, Indonesia, especially in terms of how they manage their work and lives. Through the framework of social constructionism, I understood and analyzed their work and lives in relation to higher education policies, religion, and Javanese-ness, thereby contributing to the knowledge about women in higher education.

CHAPTER FOUR

GROWING UP IN JAVA IN THE NEW ORDER ERA (1966-1998)

Introduction

The main concern of this study is the experiences of seventeen women faculty members, especially how they managed their work and lives as women faculty in Islamic universities in Indonesia. Before discussing the contemporary experiences shared by the women in the next chapters, it is necessary to discuss the historical and political contexts in which the women spent their childhood and youth until they started their career as faculty member.

The age range of the women at the time of the interviews was from early 40s to early 60s. Four of the women were born in 1950s, eight in 1960s, and five in 1970s, so some were raised by the generation of pre-independent Indonesia. Therefore, I would like to shortly turn back my search to the time of pre-independent Indonesia to explore some prominent influential discourses that very likely had shaped the construction of femininities at that time, especially those circulated among Muslim societies, as all the research subjects are Muslims and are from pious Muslim families. At least, these three streams, nationalist, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Muhammadiyah, had significant amount of followers, albeit each of which was not absolutely homogenous in their constructions of femininities, as there has never been any single uniform of femininities even in a certain group of society, and that there is always a/some dominant discourse/s of femininities.

The term 'nationalist' in the three streams mentioned above is used to represent discourses coming out from nationalist organizations such as Budi Utomo, first native political organization founded in 1908, which upholds nationalism, but does not mean not religious. Whereas, the other two streams, NU and Muhammadiyah, are mainly characterized by religiosity, but do not exclude sense of or commitment to nationalism, for both NU and Muhammadiyah were involved in struggling for the Indonesian independence and post-independent development.

Putri Mardika, a magazine initiated in 1912 sponsored by the nationalist organization *Budi Utomo* (Departemen Penerangan Indonesia, 1968, p. 10) recommended that the ideal Muslim woman were those who preserve both the good aspects of traditions and Islamic norms, and fortified women to take part in the public sphere. Similarly, as pointed by Dewi (2012, pp. 117-119), Ki Hajar Dewantoro, the founder of Taman Siswa, a nationalist educational institution

established in Yogyakarta in 1922, prompted women to achieve progress in the public sphere but not to forget their *kodrat*, which was reinforced by *Isteri Islam yang Berarti*, a publication in 1937 by Aisyiyah, the women wing of Muhammadiyah, reminding women to focus on their duties to be pious or good wives and mothers as their *kodrat* or often called *fitrah*⁷³. The norm of upholding *kodrat* or *fitrah* was and is always present in almost any discussion on career women by both women and men in Indonesia, which is even institutionalized in the GBHN or the National State Guidelines in New Order era, a time when all the women in this study started their career.

In early decades of NU, even though women were allowed to pursue education in pesantren, they were not allowed to be active in organization and their place was at home. Yet, in its 13th congress in 1938, women for the first time were given opportunity to give speech on the stage, and they expressed their idea of establishing women wing of NU which was finally established in 1946 (Muslimat NU, 2014). Albeit it aimed at educating women to know their rights and obligations in order to be good mothers, the tradition of NU showed that women are acceptable to be leaders and actively contribute to the society. This, at least, was indicated by Nyai Khoiriyah's, an intelligent intellectual daughter of Kyai Hasyim Asyari (the founder of NU), leading of pesantren Seblak in East Java and her active participation in *Bahtsul Masail*, a forum in NU, predominantly male domain dealing with thematic and actual problems leading to the decision making in the top leadership of NU (Beggy R, 2015). The history of women in NU shows that women were defined to be mothers but possible to be active in public sphere if they were truly intelligent.

In sum, all the three streams define the ideal Muslim women in similar ways; women's main roles are as mothers and wives, but encouraged, or at least allowed, to be active in public sphere as long as they preserve their main roles.

The New Order era (1966 -1998) is important in this thesis because nine of the women were born, grew up, and started their career in that era, while the other eight were born in between 1950s and the first half of 1960s or Soekarno era but started their adult life and career in the New Order era. This means they all were raised by parents or guardians who had lived in pre-independent

⁷³ *Fitrah*, an Arabic word, is a concept in Islam referring to a natural predisposition inclining towards right action and submission to the God

Indonesia and in the era of Soekarno, and accordingly dominant discourses on women in such periods of time is important to include as already discussed in chapter one.

Across the eras, Javanese culture and Islam have been important in the lives of Javanese Muslims as well as Muslim settlers in Java. Javanese culture and Islam impacted in different ways the women's childhood and youth as well as how they started their career. Most of the research subjects of my study are Javanese in origin, only two were not but started living in Java since their undergraduate study and married to Javanese. All of the women in this study are Muslim, but it did not lead me to understand them in the same way, as Muslim may take different interpretations of Islamic teachings. However, compared to Muslims in most Islamic countries, Muslims in Indonesia are considered to be more moderate (Alfian, 2014; C. Geertz, 1971; Laffan, 2006, 2011; Masdar, 2012; Munjid, 2012; Najib, 2003; D. Porter, 2005; Rabasa, 2005) where open-mindedness is the norm and women are encouraged to get education and take part in public spheres, which enabled them to be, for instance, faculty members, politicians, teachers, doctors, lawyers, or pilots. In addition, since the 1990s, the new "paradigmatic female subject in political, cultural and economic discourses in Indonesia" has been the working women instead of 'housewife' (Sen, 2003, p. 35), which entails a meaning that woman having paid job has not been perceived as proletarian any more.

Nevertheless, the mainstream gender relations in Indonesia, often involving religious and legal (Marriage Act) legitimation, generally prescribe that the main responsibility of men is the provider and head of family and of women is the maintainer of the family, which consequently position men in leadership roles, decision makers, and other important public roles, and women in domestic and caring roles. Accordingly, even with the already mentioned open-mindedness and encouragement for education, women's capacity to choose their education and career is liable to such gender order. Religious teachings have been (mis)interpreted in male perspectives (Engineer, 2001; Esack, 2001, p. 198; Mir-Hosseini, 1999, p. 23; Subhan, 2007, p. 51) and in compliance with local cultures (Fatimah, 2012; Jones-Pauly & Tuqan, 2011, p. 453) commonly benefitting men.

This chapter provides settings in which the women grew up until started tenured position as faculty members in state Islamic university. Firstly, it focuses on Indonesian politics, especially state gender ideology in the New Order Era (1966-1998), followed by historical clash in Indonesian

education and the women's primary and secondary education as well as tertiary education, and finally it discusses how the women won a tenured position as faculty members.

State Gender Ideology in the New Order Era (1966-1998)

Since the coup d'état overthrowing the Soekarno government in 1965 by military command led by Soeharto who, then, soon established the New Order government, all independent women's organization that flourished in the Soekarno era had been diminished by the 'New Order' government. Gerwani, the most radical women's movement at that time, became a prohibited movement as it was hypothetically related to the Indonesian communist party (O'Neil, Hopkins, & Bilimoria) which was also a prohibited party since then. A book on the destruction of women's movements in the New Order regime as well as the writer, Saskia E. Wieringa, were denied entry into Indonesia⁷⁴. A new state gender ideology was steadily but surely established, in which woman was "a submissive wife and devoted mother" (Wieringa, 2003, p. 72).

Numerous efforts were made by the New Order government to argue that *Gerwani* was immoral and misguided. Besides using various media, a documentary movie⁷⁵ on the betrayal of G 30 S-PKI portraying the extreme immorality of PKI and Gerwani was created and made compulsory for (especially primary) school students to watch annually and was broadcasted in the only national television channel (TVRI) every 30th of September, the state-owned national television station, so the idea that Gerwani and PKI have to be destroyed is well accepted and agreed by all people especially the young generations who never witnessed the real story.

Instead of it, the New Order regime set up *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or PKK (an organization for all Indonesian wives managed by the wives of the government offices from central to the smallest unit) and Dharma Wanita (an organization for the wives of the civil servants), which posited women as supporters of male breadwinners and relative to men. The domestication of

⁷⁴ The detail can be checked in the website of *Jurnal Perempuan* or Women's Journal:

<http://www.jurnalperempuan.org/blog-feminis-muda/gerwani-dan-kepeloporan-perjuangan-politik-perempuan>.

⁷⁵ The movie of *Pengkhianatan* (the betrayal of) G 30 S-PKI depicts the 30 September movement coup which was, in the New Order regime's perspective, orchestrated by the PKI and helped by the Gerwani. It portrays PKI and Gerwani as extremely evil by showing how the generals are kidnapped, tortured while the Gerwani dance around and cut the genitals of the generals, and finally killed and thrown away into a deep well called *lubang buaya*. The movie can be reached in this link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddYExsNtX6w>.

women was systematically strengthened and institutionalized through some legal documents. It was clearly indicated in the the *Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* (GBHN) or the Guidelines of the State Policy of Indonesia 1973, 1978, 1983, 1988, 1993, and 1998, all of which include the word '*kodrat*' for women, which has been widely understood as the natural domestic and care responsibility of women (Blackburn, 2004; Hadiz & Eddyono, 2005; Robinson, 2009; Suryakusuma, 2011). Similarly, the Marriage Act No. 1/1974 and the Labour Act No. 25/1997 preserved and strengthened the view that wives should be primarily responsible for their family in terms of its domestic and care jobs, while husbands as breadwinners.

Despite reproducing norms of women's subordination through Dharma Wanita and PKK, the New Order had some positive things related to women. Despite feminists' critics of preserving and institutionalising gendered division of labour, man as breadwinner and woman as homemaker, the Marriage Act in 1974 can be considered defending women's right after its long struggle (as described in chapter one). Another significant Act defending women's rights is UU No.10/ 1983 regulating marriage and divorce for civil servants, which is also an evidence of the government's commitments to gender equality. Even though it regulates just civil servants, it set up restrictions for male civil servants who want to marry more than one woman, by a requirement for the approval of the first wife. Lastly, a very important thing is that the New Order established a new ministry dealing with women's roles.

The gendered notion of *kodrat* prescribing the main role of women in domestic and caring areas can be seen clearly in the *Panca Tugas Wanita* (Five Responsibilities of Woman), on which the two state owned women organizations, PKK and Dharma Wanita, based, assigning women to (1) support their husband's career and duties, (2) be a good housekeeper/maker, (3) provide offspring, (4) care for and rear the children, and (5) be an Indonesian citizen (Kalyanamitra, 2012, p. 3). Women's responsibility as a citizen is posited in the last order, which could be understood as the least important thing. The highest priority to support their husband had been represented in the positions of women in those organizations which depend on the positions of their husband, for example, the wife of the head of an institution is often automatically becoming the leader of the Dharma Wanita in it. Also, the wife of a head of a village will be the head of PKK in it.

Such idea of domestic roles of women was even confirmed in the national guidelines, especially

Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara (GBHN) 1973, in which the word women is only mentioned once in a short sentence regarding the nurturing of young generation. In chapter IV Section D, especially under the Area of Religion, Social, and Culture, there is a title of Education, Science, Technology, and the Coaching of young generation, which was the only passage, number eight, mentioning women, even just once.

8. *Pembinaan keluarga yang sejahtera adalah sarana bagi pembinaan Generasi Muda. Untuk pembinaan keluarga yang sedemikian itu maka hak-hak Wanita dijamin serta kedudukannya dalam keluarga dan masyarakat dilindungi* (the maintenance of prosperous family is a means of nurturing young generation. For such family maintenance, women's rights are guaranteed and their position in family and society is protected) (GBHN 1973).

The social construction of womanhood by the New Order government, what Julia Suryakusuma (2011, p. 105) called *state-ibuism*, domesticated and depoliticized Indonesian women. She claims that *state-ibuism* combines the concept of *ibuism* and housewifization. The former expects women to serve their husband, children, their family, their community, and the state. The latter demands women to provide their labour freely, without any expectations of prestige or power. Thus, Indonesian women, regardless of their own level of independence in financial provision, are constructed mainly as mothers and wives.

In 1968, as a member of the UN, Indonesia has followed up recommendations of the United Nations. The government started to accommodate the Declaration on the Elimination of all Racial Discrimination launched by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) by setting up *Komite Nasional Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia* or the National Committee on the Position of Indonesian Women with the decree of the State Ministry of People's Welfare No.34/KTPS/Kesra/1968. Then in 1978, Indonesia followed up the recommendations of the World Conference of International Women's Year in Mexico city in 1975, to integrate women in development (WID), which led to the appointment of a Junior Minister for Role of Women in 1979 (M. Umar, 2012, p. 205) and, in 1983, the status was enhanced to be the State Minister for the Role of Women. The New Order government also encouraged women to take part in the national development, which had changed much the lives of women especially their access to health, education, and jobs in formal sectors (I. D. Utomo, 2006, p. 100).

In the GBHN 1978, especially point eleven under the section of Religion, Social and Culture, the

government for the first time formally mentioned that women have equal rights, obligation, and opportunities with men to fully take part in any development programs. But the statement was directly followed by another statement to remind women that their roles in the national development should not reduce their roles in upholding the family's welfare especially cultivating the youth in the framework of cultivating the nation. Below is a quote from GBHN 1978 about women.

11. *Peranan Wanita dalam Pembangunan dan Pembinaan Bangsa* (The roles of women in developing and nurturing the nation)

- a. *Pembangunan yang menyeluruh mensyaratkan ikut sertanya pria maupun wanita secara maksimal di segala bidang. Oleh karena itu wanita mempunyai hak, kewajiban dan kesempatan yang sama dengan pria untuk ikut serta sepenuhnya dalam segala kegiatan pembangunan* [The comprehensive development requires the maximum involvement of both men and women in all areas. Therefore, women and men have the same rights, obligations, and opportunities to participate fully in all development activities]
- b. *Peranan wanita dalam pembangunan tidak mengurangi peranannya dalam pembinaan keluarga sejahtera umumnya dan pembinaan generasi muda khususnya, dalam rangka pembinaan manusia Indonesia seutuhnya* [The roles of women in development should not reduce their roles in maintaining the prosperous family and, especially, nurturing young generation in order to maintain Indonesian human development completely].
- c. *Untuk lebih memberikan peranan dan tanggung jawab kepada kaum wanita dalam pembangunan, maka pengetahuan dan keterampilan wanita perlu ditingkatkan di berbagai bidang yang sesuai dengan kebutuhannya* [To give more roles and responsibilities to women in development, it is important to increase the knowledge and skills of the women in various areas in accordance with their needs] (GBHN 1978).

Encouraging women to take part in the national development but at the same time reminding them to preserve the cultural norms of the domestic roles of women resulted in the emergence of the concept of *peran ganda* or double burden of women, which was especially in effect strengthening the ideology of *kancawingking*.

WID was then translated into *Peningkatan Peran Wanita* (P2W) or increasing the role of women in national development program especially socially and culturally (Rahayu, 1996, p. 14). But, this might be considered a big achievement of the government in involving women in development at that time, because formerly, as I described previously, the GBHN 1973 mentioned the word women, or even in any synonymous terms, just once in a short sentence about nurturing the young generation. It might be relevant to Jayaweera's (1997, pp. 422-423) claim that education, economic, social and political empowerment of women is not automatically beneficial if the constraints of gender

ideologies and social and economic structural are still persistent.

Actually in 1980s, some progressive educated Muslim women started to be politically aware and actively challenged conservative Islamic views on women (Blackburn, 2008a, p. 95), but the mainstream gender order was too strong to challenge in addition to the facts that it had been confirmed systematically via Marriage Act 1974 and series of GBHNs by the authoritarian New Order government who reigned for more than three decades.

As the state gender ideology of the New Order government was socialized systematically and thoroughly in a considerably long time, around three decades, while all the women in this study lived most of their life and started their career in that era, they were exposed to the gender ideology.

Historical Clash in Education in Indonesia

Most of the women in this study had Islamic educational background; nine of them went to *Madrasah* and stayed in pesantren and three enrolled in Madrasah without staying in pesantren, then all the twelve went to Islamic higher education institution. Five went to secular schools but three of the five finally went to Islamic higher education institution and only two continued to public/secular university. So, in total, fifteen of the seventeen women in this study went to Islamic higher education institution (the detailed discussion on their educational background is presented in the following passages of this section). It means Islamic education was the main choice among the majority regardless of the individual reasons. In addition to the educational background of the women in this study, this section provides the historical settings of educational dichotomy, Islamic and secular education, in Indonesia.

The history of education in Indonesia has been characterized by the dichotomy of education in which religious education is managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, while secular education is under the Ministry of Education and Culture (Suitor et al.). This section also discusses some inconvenient relations between many Muslims and the government-related institutions in Indonesia, which have impacted the education of some women in this study. In terms of time, the discussion includes the era before and during the New Order, as four of the research subject in this study spent their school age in both eras and all of their parents were experiencing the era before the New Order, even several of them were the generation of pre-independent Indonesia. Therefore, it is important to

include the historical clash between Muslims and the (colonial and old order) state that has contributed to construct many Muslim's attitude toward the state.

It was well documented that Islam has been scrutinized, pressed, and marginalized by Dutch colonial since its establishment in the archipelago in the first half of seventeenth century (Benda, 1958a, p. 338; Raffles, 1830, p. 3; Woodward, 2011, p. 53), because the Dutch had encountered Muslim hostility since their first arrival in Indonesia at the turn of seventeenth century (Benda, 1958a, p. 338). More than the commoner's loyalty to the courts, Islam was a bond to oppose the European colonial (Reid, 1967, p. 267). The Dutch colonial leaders worried about the danger of provocation by the influential Muslim priests, who were assumed of having 'supernatural powers', to rebel against the Dutch, then restricted the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca and the admission of Arab missionaries through trade regulation in order to save their power and the tranquility of the archipelago (Raffles, 1830, p. 3) and introduced schools for native Indonesians in 1910s to keep the influence of colonial government, as the schools would produce native intellectuals who would, the Dutch expected, replace the influential position of Kyais (Dhofier, 1999, pp. 39-42).

This, then, created a gap between *priyayi* and *santri*⁷⁶ and finally Islam was either isolated or domesticated in the archipelago, which is the intention of the Dutch by its "ethical policy" (Woodward, 2011, p. 53), as one of its important mission was Christianization of the indigenous Indies (now Indonesia).

As a Christian power the Netherland is obliged, in the East Indian archipelago, to better regulate the legal position of native Christians, to lend support, on a firm basis, to Christian missions, and to imbue the whole conduct of government with the consciousness that the Netherlands has a moral duty to fulfill, with respect to those people of those regions (Schmutzer, 1977, p. 14)

It might also be indicated by the instructions of the Minister of the Colonies, A.W.F Idenburg⁷⁷ to Governor General Van Heutsz⁷⁸, in 1902:

Our government in the Netherlands Indies recognizes that it is desirable for the spiritual, as well as for the material uplift of the peoples of the Indonesian Archipelago that Christianity be generally introduced among them. In the support of the missionary and private actions in the field of education, a real national, and therefore East Indian, interest is served (Schmutzer, 1977, p. 36).

⁷⁶ *Santri* refers to student of pesantren or pious Muslim.

⁷⁷ A.W.F Idenburg was Minister of the Colonies from 1902-1905, 1908-1909, and 1918-1919 and Governor General from 1909-1916.

⁷⁸ Van Heutsz was a Governor General from 1904-1909.

It is, therefore, understood that the indigenous Muslims fiercely opposed the colonisers or at least were anti-colonial, which led to the restriction of the access to modern (formal) education for Muslims in the colonial era, in addition to the colonial's very discriminative attitude and policies.

In response to it, the Kyais established formal education called *madrasah* in 1910s, then started to provide spaces for women in pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in 1918 and to include secular subjects such as Indonesian and Dutch languages, mathematics, geography, and history in 1920s (Dhofier, 1999, p. 38) in addition to the non-cooperative politics of the Kyais suggesting that following the Dutch's culture including its modern education is one of the deviances of religious norms (Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2008; Woodward, 2011, p. 53).

The inharmonious relation between the Dutch and Muslims continued until after Indonesia got its independence, and the clash shifted to be between Muslim citizens and the government. After important contributions of Kyais and their followers in the struggles against the colonial⁷⁹, they had been disappointed by the government, Islamic education was neglected, which was evident in the government policies. The Act No.4/1950 and the Act No.12/1954 on education did not accommodate *madrasah* and pesantren at all. They had been made outsider in national education system. The efforts to modernize *madrasahs* and pesantrens had a problem of legitimacy (Azra et al., 2007, p. 18). It is, therefore, reasonable that kyais and their followers were antipathy to, or at least unsympathetic with, the government, which was, in later sections, evidently indicated by Salma's story about her father's attitude towards state-related institutions.

"Modern" education, the one using national curriculum with terribly limited religious subject, was still not fully accepted by traditional *santri* until approximately the end of twentieth century because of its connotation with colonialism and "unbelief" (Woodward, 2011, p. 54). Today, even though such assumption is not obviously manifested, many Muslims choose educational institutions that provide religious teachings adequately. Therefore, dichotomy in education in Indonesia existed and continue

⁷⁹ In the colonial times, many figures from pesantren such as KH. Hasyim Asyari, KH. Ahmad Dahlan, and KH. Zaenal Mustopa and their huge followers, were actively contributing to struggle to achieve the independence of Indonesia. The figure of kyai was respected highly in the society, they believe that what was spoken by kyai was divine. Kyai had been able to move people to fight against the colonial (Dhofier, 1999)

to exist.

To facilitate a better understanding, it is important to further discuss Pesantren and Islamic education in general in this section, since five out of the seventeen women participating in this study had a background of pesantren family⁸⁰, ten of them were alumni of Pesantren, and five of them joined Islamic education even though not in pesantren. Only two women, Amanda and Afrida, who were fully enrolled in public secular education from elementary until tertiary levels and never joined any pesantren.

The term pesantren is sometimes interchangeable with the term *pondok*, even combined to be *pondok pesantren*, all of which indicate the same thing, Islamic educational institution providing boarding house with central figure of Kyai as the leader. Pesantrens have typical things in common; mosque, class-rooms, dormitories, and Kyai's house (Azra et al., 2007, p. 2). Pesantren, according to Zamakhsari Dhofier (1999, p. 46), can be categorized into two types; *salafi* and *khalafi*. The former emphasizes the teaching of classical texts⁸¹ without including any secular subjects. The latter delivers both secular and religious subjects, some of which uses only international languages (Arabic and English) as the language of instruction and daily conversation.

The pesantrens related to the women in this study were all pesantren *khalafi* providing choices of different types of education from the one with curriculum (in a narrow meaning of list of subjects) of fully religious subjects (for *Mu'allimat*), the one with mixed curriculum of religious and secular subjects (for *Madrasah*), and secular schools offering very limited religious teaching (called *Sekolah*). All *santris* (students in pesantren), regardless of which school type they are enrolled in, are required to join special classes out of school hours for religious teachings, which could be in the early morning, late afternoon, and/or evening.

The inclusion of formal education system in pesantren started when the Dutch established some schools in 1910s, pointed Dhofier (1999, p. 38). He also stated that, in the same decade, some pesantrens in Jombang, East Java, started to provide space for female students. Most pesantrens

⁸⁰ What I mean by pesantren family is the family of the kyais as the central figures of pesantren.

⁸¹ Classical texts are known as *kitab kuning* (yellow book) in Indonesian context, as they were written in the old times when the quality of paper was not as good as today, which was yellowish. The texts were authored by very well-known Muslim scholars and were various in themes such as literature, linguistics, politics, law, economics, social issues, philosophy, and astronomy.

are affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or other Islamic organizations with similar viewpoint⁸² (Bruinessen, 2008, p. 238) of being tolerant, moderate, flexible, and open-minded, as contrast to the radical ones such as the pesantren Al-Mukmin in Ngruki, Solo, in Central Java, which has been accused of having connection with transnational Muslim movement, the radical Jama'ah Islamiyah (Bruinessen, 2008, p. 248). Pesantrens to which the women in this study were related, were all affiliated with the moderate NU.

Dhofier (1999, p. 45) pointed that pesantren had been overwhelmingly dominant as indigenous education institution until 1950, but in the independent Indonesia, modern occupations were still allocated for those who were trained at secular education institution, which caused the decline of people joining in pesantren education. Then, since 1960s, many pesantrens have started to establish secular type of school within the pesantren, *Sekolah Dasar* (SD) for primary school, *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (SMP) for junior high school, and *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (SMA) for senior high school, as a response to it (pp. 45-46). It is common for student of pesantren to attend more than one schools of the same level; in the morning they attend secular school and in the afternoon the fully religious one, as well as additional advanced religious study in the evening and/or in the early morning led by Kyai or Nyai⁸³, which was also the case with some women in this study such as Fadilah, Elsha, Maryam, Rahma, and Latifah.

After the fall of the Old Order government in 1965, religious education was like blown by fresh air of steady recognition. Some policies of the New Order government were considered favorable for religious education, especially Ketetapan Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat⁸⁴ Serikat (TAP MPRS) No.XXVII/MPRS/1966 or a decree of The People's Consultative Assembly of the United Republic of Indonesia requiring all students from elementary to higher education to attend religious classes (based on individual religion) even though just a very small proportion of the curriculum, before which students were allowed to be absent from religious classes if their parents did not allow them to join.

⁸² The viewpoint of NU is inclusive, tolerant, progressive and open-minded (M. Muhammad, 2010, p. 63)

⁸³ Nyai refers to the women leader of pesantren, frequently the wife or close relatives of Kyai, which is different from the negative connotation of Nyai in colonial studies and literature works.

⁸⁴ *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* (MPR) or the People's Consultative Assembly is a legislative branch in Indonesia's political system consisting of the members of both *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (DPR) or the People's Representative Council and *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* (DPD) or the Regional Representative Council. It was the hierarchically highest legislative institution before the reform era, but after 1998, it is just equal with the other government institutions.

Consecutively, pesantrens were given adequate attention through government grant and assistance, a new board on Islamic scholars (Majelis Ulama Indonesia or MUI) was established in 1975, and women students were allowed to wear head scarf and long dress for their uniform even in secular schools for the first time in 1980s.

The New Order government was also successful in advancing educational development and accommodating the previously discriminated religious schools. A number of policies were introduced; a Presidential Assistance Program, known as *Instruksi Presiden* (INPRES) -a program of primary school investment- was launched in 1974 resulting in doubling the number of primary schools between 1973 and 1978, a six-year compulsory education policy was introduced in 1984 which was raised to nine years in 1994 (Jalal & Sardjunani, 2006, pp. 5-6; Stalker, 2000, p. 18), and Islamic education was integrated into the state school system in 1975 allowing equality between secular and religious schools (Tobias, Wales, Syamsulhakim, & Suharti, 2014, p. 8). As a result of the INPRES and the implementation of Education for All in the program of the Six-Year Compulsory Education, literacy rates rose significantly within two decades, which was shown by the decrease in illiteracy from 50% in 1971 to 22% in 1990 for females, from 39% in 1971 to 11% in 1990 for males, and from 39% in 1971 to 16% in 1990 for both females and males (Jalal & Sardjunani, 2006, p. 5), and the gender disparity in literacy has decreased from 12.5% to 5.4% between 1980 and 1990 (Pennels, 1998, pp. 2-3).

The accelerated primary school buildings in 1974 fuelled by a surge in state oil revenues, followed by the elimination of primary school fee in 1977, has succeeded in raising primary school enrolments, which was one of the most successful school system expansion on record (The World Bank, 1989, pp. i,15,16) In line with it, the enrolment rates increased from 68% in 1973 to 83% by in 1985 among children aged seven to twelve with almost no sex differences in primary school, however, there was sex differences in secondary schooling enrolments, with the number of boys 13% and 26% higher than the number of girls in the lower secondary age group and the upper secondary age group, respectively (The World Bank, 1989, p. 26). The increase in women's participation in education, even though still lower than boys', should have allowed them to take part in the national development.

A very important policy, especially for the status of *Madrasah*, of the New Order government was

introduced allowing *Madrasahs* to enjoy equal status and treatment with secular schools and promoting the development of *madrasah*. It was a joint decree of three ministries, called SKB 3 *Menteri nomor 6 Tahun 1975*, signed by the minister of internal affairs, the minister of religious affairs, and the minister of education and culture. It mentioned that, (1) the certificate from *madrasah* was considered equal with the one from secular school in the same level, (2) *Madrasah* graduates are eligible to continue their education to secular school, and (FK3) *Madrasah* students were allowed to transfer to secular school of the same level. Consequently, the curriculum of *madrasah* needed to adjust with it, and it became 70% secular subjects and 30% religious subjects, which was vice versa before. Indeed, these government initiatives were really meaningful for Muslims in Indonesia, including the women in my study, especially in allowing equal opportunities for alumni of both secular and Islamic education institutions to further higher level of education or to find jobs.

The historical clash of education in Indonesia, especially the dichotomy of secular and Islamic education, as I explored above provide explanations for the story about the education of the women in my study, as only two out of seventeen had secular educational background from primary until tertiary levels, which is explored in the following section. However, I would also show that gender played important roles in their story of education. Below is the experiences of the women in this study especially regarding the choices in education, which is presented in two separate sections, primary and secondary education and tertiary education.

Primary and Secondary Education

One of the responsibilities of parents is providing education for their children, but the way they do it varies in terms of both the choice to take and who (mother, father, or both, or even the children as well) to make the decision for that, which is affected by various aspects such as economic, geographic, educational, political, and ideological background as well as gender belief of the parents and the children.

Pesantren played an important role in the educational background, especially secondary school, of most of the women in my study; five of them (Salma, Madania, Rafiqah, Erina, and Fadilah) were from pesantren family, and another three (Maryam, Rahma, and Latifah), although not from pesantren family, spent their secondary school years at pesantren. Those who were from pesantren

family did not automatically join the schools provided by their family's pesantren even though there were a range of educational institutions from the non-formal to the formal ones in it; Salma and Erina were sent to pesantren other than their family's.

According to many women in this study, such as Salma, Maryam, Rahma, Latifah, Madania, and Erina, who had lived a life at pesantren during their secondary school times, staying and studying in pesantren allowed them to have rich experiences. It was their parents' choice, but they admitted that they enjoyed their school days and lives at pesantren and learnt much from staying away from family. Among those who were sent to pesantren, Salma was the only one who enrolled in muallimat, a formal Islamic education institution for the level of junior and senior high school providing fully religious subjects without any secular ones, despite the fact that pesantren had a number of types of schools.

Of those women who spent their secondary school at pesantren, Salma was the most enthusiastic one in telling me about the pesantren life. For her, the pesantren life gave her so much influence especially in being caring to others and active in organizations. During her stay in pesantren, she was very active in several organizations from the smallest one, head of room, head of complex (a group of rooms), and classroom leader, to the bigger ones such as Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah (OSIS) or Internal School Student Organization, and Kesatuan Pelajar dan Mahasiswa (KPM) or the Union of School and University Students, the biggest one in the pesantren involving the whole units of smaller organizations in the pesantren. She also learned many things related to how to live a life virtuously when she joined the study of *Tasawuf* (Sufism) and be aware of equality regardless of differences in family' wealth.

While most of the women mentioned their parents or father in the decision making for their education, Madania, Rafiqah, and Linda repeatedly mentioned their mother in telling me about their school days, which was probably caused by the fact that their father had passed away during their school age. Madania's education was funded by her elder siblings who set a pre-requisite that she had to excel, otherwise they would not provide funding for her education, because the finance had to be shared with her nieces and nephews, which encouraged her to achieve her best. Rafiqah's mother was a merchant, while Linda's was a pensioner

Madania was told by her mother "although you are a woman, you should not be left behind boys".

The mentioning of the word 'although' in her mother's sentence indicated the norm that women's status was lower than men's at that time. Moreover, Madania is the eleventh child out of twelve siblings in a middle-class family and was born in 1960, which suggests that her mother lived in the pre-independent and the Old Order eras. As a member of middle class society, her mother was probably aware of how women's status was very low before the law as I already discussed in chapter one on how women activists struggled to fight for women's rights in marriage in the pre-independent and the Old Order eras, which finally reach an agreement of the Marriage Act 1974 in the New Order era.

Although Madania started schooling in an era when she was inspired by her sister's active involvement in organizations, her father's model as a public figure (he was a parliament member and a religious leader), and her female fighter ancestor, which made her to be passionate in organization.

"... there was a female figure in one of my ancestors, I am not sure how many generations above me, who was a warrior riding a horse every where.. and brought arrows. She joined the war to fight the Dutch, and until today it was not known of where her grave is" (Madania)

She told me how her mother encouraged her to prepare to be a parliament member when she was of school age, because, in her mother's view, she was vocal and expected to be able to continue her father's endeavor for people's beneficiaries. Madania's and Salma's active participation in organizations during their school age was influential in shaping their career, which I discuss further in chapter six.

Besides pesantren, Islamic schools played an important role in the educational background of some women in my study. Linda, Elsha, Hanima, and Indana joined Islamic schools from primary until secondary but did not enrol in any pesantren. They did not highlight any reason for joining Islamic schools, but signposted that Islamic education was normally the best choice for Muslim family at that time.

Five of the seventeen women in this study, Fadilah, Sabrina, Amanda, Wafiroh, and Afrida, had secular primary and secondary school but provided with religious education by their family. However, the case of Fadilah as a family member of pesantren core family was exceptional. While she kept staying with her family in a pesantren complex providing formal Islamic education from primary to tertiary level, she was sent to secular public school as her parents, she admitted, considered her not

smart and were worried if she would be incompetent in both religious and secular subjects. To equip herself with religious knowledge, she joined the non-formal classes in her family's pesantren. Slightly similar with Fadilah's case, Rafiqah was another woman from pesantren family who finally moved out to secular senior high school after attending education in her family's pesantren until *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (MTs) or Islamic junior high school, as she confessed that she wanted to break her extended family's tradition of sending their children to Islamic schools only.

The only woman in my study, Amanda, admitted that she was considered a swot when she was a school student, because she loved reading book so much and was not good at making and hanging out with friends, which sometimes bullied her. She confessed that reading was her comfort zone especially during her school age. In her family, she was in the middle position among her siblings, so when she was a child she was sometimes considered too young or too old for anything that she was not allowed to join, which contributed to make her a silent child who loved reading.

Two of the women, Rahma and Maryam, were sent to two formal elementary schools; the secular one in the morning, and the Islamic one in the afternoon, which, they said, was a popular practice in the era around SKB 3 *Menteri* (a joint decree of three ministries) 1975 allowing equal status of *Madrasah* (Islamic school) and *Sekolah* (secular school).

Previously, graduates of Islamic schools were not widely acknowledged, the consequence of which was constricted job opportunities for them in addition to the unavailable access for *Madrasah* students to move or continue to public/secular education. As Rahma was born in 1963, her case happened before the decree was issued in 1973. While Maryam was born in 1970, so she started her primary school after the decree was introduced. The fact that Maryam was sent to two primary schools, public/secular and Islamic ones, showed that the practice of sending children to two formal education institutions at the same time continued after the decree, which might be because of the skepticism toward the government's commitment to acknowledge the equal status of Islamic and public/secular education. Nevertheless, Rahma and Maryam said that they benefited much from being enrolled in two different schools at the same time, which were having many friends and knowledge of both religious and secular subjects allowing them readiness for further study either Islamic or public/secular school.

Rahma was allowed to continue to secular junior secondary school; however, for senior

secondary school, her parents did not allow any of their children go to the secular one. She said that one of her sisters only finished junior high school, did not further her study, because she did not want to go to Islamic high school as commanded by her father. Being eager to pursue higher level of education, Rahma obeyed her father and agreed to go to senior Islamic high school. But, because her junior high school was a secular one which was not compatible with the Islamic one in terms of the curriculum, she was considered ineligible, which showed that SKB 3 *Menteri* was not effectively operated yet in such a transitional time. Thus, she was required to go to year seven again in the Islamic school, whereas she already finished year nine in secular school. She objected to it, and asked her father to negotiate with the school administrators. Fortunately she finished Islamic primary school, which enabled her to enrol in Islamic high school even though she had to repeat year eight and nine.

For most of the women in my study, gender did not play much role in the decision making for their schooling, only Tamara told me that her father made gender-based decision making for his children's education, despite his strong commitment to provide his children with adequate education to support their future. To make it happen, with regard to the limited financial resources, he managed a strategy related to which education institution to attend by his children. He sent his five daughters to the available schools around their homestay, but his seven sons to *Pondok Modern Gontor*, a favourite and well-known modern Pesantren in *Ponorogo*, another town in East Java. But, Tamara said she was happy with it.

Her father's decision and Tamara's attitude explained how the social construction of gender happened through their life course, which was not always disadvantageous for all the related-parties, especially Tamara as the one who shared the story directly to me. She confessed that she feels very lucky having been facilitated with adequate education, considering the generally poor condition of women at the time when she was young just the second decade of the Indonesia's national independence.

The stories of the women's primary and secondary education demonstrate that all of the women were raised in families that valued education and were able to take advantages of the government's policy, a joint decree of three ministries (SKB 3 *Menteri*) nomor 6 Tahun 1975, recognising Islamic education institutions as equal with the secular ones in the state school system as previously

decribed. Considering that the women were likely sent to Islamic education institutions rather than the secular ones, such policy was certainly noteworthy for them, because the equal status between secular and religious schools enabled them to continue their study to the higher level with acknowledged qualification.

Tertiary Education

Similar with the story in the previous sub-section that the majority of the women in my study were from Islamic primary and secondary education, most of them were also graduated from Islamic higher education, only Fadilah, Amanda, and Afrida went to secular universities for their undergraduate study. Some of them had free choice in deciding which university to join, but some others had to set aside their ambition to enroll in their favorite field and university due to their parents' (especially fathers') gender-based consideration. It was a different story for their Master and Doctorate degree, when the women were not dependent progenies anymore, ten out of seventeen women in my study went to secular universities instead of the Islamic ones.

If Wafiroh's and Sabrina's fathers did not allow only their daughters, not sons, to enroll in secular universities, but let them go to secular schools, Salma's father was different. He did not allow any of his children, both female and male, to go to any secular and public education institutions. Salma wanted to enroll in the state institute of Islamic Studies or IAIN (now became UIN), but again, her father did not allow her to enroll in any state-owned institution. Finally, when he knew that there was a private Islamic university whose rector was a Kyai, she was allowed to enroll in it, and when finally IAIN was led by a Kyai, her younger sisters were allowed to enroll in it.

“ ... because my parents, I do not know what happened, had a negative assumption about public school or anything related to the government, may be he had negative experiences with the government's apparatus... and I never asked him about it, he neither told me, but the point is that he did not allow any of his children to study in public or state owned education institution” (Salma)

Salma's father who was a Kyai was probably witnessing part of the long history of clash between the Dutch colonial government and Islam as discussed in the previous section on history of education. He seemed to be one of those who still kept severe disappointment with the government, so he never let his children go to any secular or public education institutions. However, most of the women in this study did not mention their parents' antipathy to the state-owned or secular education

institutions, but just preference in Islamic universities for their daughters, which was partly because of gender-related reasons.

When she was an undergraduate student in an Islamic university in early 1990s, Salma realized that many of her friends were very weak in Arabic and Islamic classical texts literacy, which encouraged her to offer a help for them. Salma confessed that she had a strong drive to help others, which often led her to important positions in a number of organizations. This, then, made her known as a competent student, and, thus, she was involved in a number of academic-related student's activities. She said that women students had always been positioned in peripheral roles in any student's activity, such as coordinator of the food and beverages, receptionists, and Master of ceremony (MC) which mostly needed beautiful physical appearance, but never a moderator, discussant, or any resource person that needed brilliance. It could be because she was aware of gender discourses which started to develop in Indonesia in 1980s after the ratification of CEDAW by Indonesian government via UU RI No. 7/1984, or because she was aware of the equality between women and men as mentioned in the Qur`anic verses (explored in chapter two under the section of *gender relations in Islam and in Javanese culture*), or both.

She was challenged by such facts of stereotype and subordination which aligned with the state gender ideology, then, she tried to break the 'tradition'. This was not difficult for her, as she was well known with her outstanding performance in academic and organizational competencies. She often played the previously only male roles in organizational activities, such as moderating seminars and organizing conferences. While she was actively involved in several student organizations such as *Senat* (student representative board), *Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia (PMII)* or Indonesian Muslim Student Movement, *pencak silat* (a kind of martial art), *Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa (UKM)* or units of student activities, and *Masjid* (Mosque), she was also granted an award for her academic performance. She represented an ideal Muslim women student activist and 'feminist'. I put apostrophes for the word feminist for her, because in some cases her views on gender relations do not match with the mainstream feminists', which is especially shown in the next chapters on women's career path and family life, chapter six and seven.

Although Sabrina and Wafiroh had free choice in terms of what type of primary and secondary school they wanted to enroll in, they had a different story for their tertiary education. Having had

succeeded outstanding academic achievement in the best secular schools in each of their era and region, they planned to continue their study in the most prestigious public university in East Java. Nevertheless, their father did not allow them; and without any previous experience of Islamic schooling or pesantren, they had to continue their study in a public Islamic higher education institution.

After finishing her senior high school in the middle of 1970s, Sabrina wanted to continue her study to the best public university in East Java, *Institut Teknologi Surabaya* (ITS), according to her. But, her parents did not allow her for that. She insisted to register for the entrance test to ITS, although her parents already registered her for the entrance test to IAIN. Unfortunately, the entrance tests were conducted at the same time, and her father took her to IAIN, not ITS, to do the test.

Sabrina repeated her father's words, " You are the eldest daughter in this family, you must be able to take care of your younger siblings religiously ...". Two gender issues here, first, that a father played a defining role in his children's education represents a gender ideology that men is the head of family, who, then, played the most important role in decision making for the family. Second, the gender expectation that women, not both men and women, should be the main bearer of morality was uphold. To say that it was an effect of the state gender ideology of the New Order government is too thoughtless, although it happened in that regime's era, because Sabrina's father was a generation of pre-independent Indonesia given that Sabrina was born in 1950s. He seemed to confirm Javanese norms positioning men as head of family (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 140) and a norm that women is the moral guard of the family and the nation (M. A. Miller, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 1997) which consequently positions women to be responsible for the nation's moral problems (Hatley, 2002, p. 133).

In the first three months of her study at IAIN, Sabrina felt like end of the world, as, she said, the classes just consisted of talking, no computation, no physics, and no chemistry. This was because she focused more on science than social science in her high school. She said she never took note, but just 'enjoyed' *pengajian*⁸⁵ every day, which was a sarcastic expression, representing her resistance of studying in Islamic university. However, in the fourth month, she was able to accept

⁸⁵ *Pengajian* is Islamic sermon that is mostly delivered orally and does not require the audience to take note, write, or other than listening activities.

the fact that she was studying in an IAIN, not ITS. Moreover, as she was accustomed to be a high achiever, she finally decided to have a commitment that wherever she was she had to be able to achieve her best performance. In attending classes, she had a strategy to draw schemes, not to take a note, for the materials delivered by the lecturers, and it worked for her.

Another disappointment was experienced by Wafiroh who dreamed of becoming a doctor as her focus was Physics when she was in high school. But her father did not allow her for that, instead, she was recommended to study at IAIN that, according to her father, fit best to women and will make people have good character. She just obeyed him. It was not about gender actually, she conveyed.

“my father said that studying in IAIN will make people have good moral, it was not because of gender, he just thought that IAIN makes us having good character, so he ordered me to enroll in IAIN to have a good character ... for him, sons and daughters are just the same, both have to get proper education, he also distributed his heritage evenly between his sons and daughters, he divided it into ten [evenly] for his ten children regardless of their sex, and used lottery to determine which part for whom ... and he made party for both, his sons' and daughters' marriage”
(Wafiroh).

While she was already enrolled in IAIN that started its courses two months earlier than public secular universities, she secretly took an entry test to a prestigious public university to take the faculty of medicine and she passed it. When she told her father about it, he said that it was fine if she studied at the medicine faculty, but he needed to sell his rice field to pay the tuition fee. Hearing the big sacrifice that his father had to make, Wafiroh decided to just continue her study at IAIN. And finally, after two months enjoying the courses, she felt that it was fine to go on at IAIN and not taking the faculty of medicine at public secular university. She just hoped she would be blessed if she obeyed her parents, which is both linked to Islamic and Javanese norms.

Wafiroh admitted that she could not let her father faced financial difficulties as he accommodated their relatives' children who need help. One of their relative passed away and left eight children who then became orphan, and her father took them all to his house for custody. Once, there were thirty six children in her family. Her father financed their education and life until they all were able to stand alone. She realized that what had been done by her parents was really extraordinary, from which she learned much about caring with others. Thus, she was very sure that her father's advice was not about gender, despite her confession about her father's words that IAIN is best suited to women. She viewed it as a camouflage for his financial condition, remembering that

medical faculty is really costly. Thus, it was not clear which motives, gender belief, economic reason, or both, that Wafiroh's father had.

After finishing her study in IAIN, Wafiroh passed recruitment for candidate faculty scouting in 1993 that facilitated her to study in an Australian university. The problem came when there was a visit from a group of Indonesian Muslim Scholars Association to the Indonesian students in Australia. Since she was from an Islamic higher education institution, which was believed to have Arabic language competence, she was asked to read a *kitab kuning*, a classical Islamic text book written completely in Arabic language and script without vowels, thus only people who have advanced Arabic language competence are able to read it. It humiliated her so much because she was not able to perform well. She was really ashamed of it and felt sorry that people expected that all IAIN alumni must be able to read *kitab kuning* and did not understand that not all IAIN students' background was from Pesantren or Islamic school. Though, she had a beautiful and unforgettable memory in Australia because she met her husband there when both of them were students at one same Australian University.

Unable to walk the path of their dream, Sabrina and Wafiroh confessed that they were very much unhappy in the first months of their tertiary study. But, they also admitted that they were not sunk in persistent disappointment and anger, and finally adjusted to and enjoyed their fathers' choice.

If I comply with my parents, I believe that my life will be good, because God's *ridha*⁸⁶ is on parents' *ridha*. That is why I am fine to study at IAIN, even though I have no background knowledge of Arabic language because my educational background is not from Islamic schools. (Wafiroh)

There is a norm of *birul-walidayn*, an Islamic teaching to obey both parents in good things, which was so palpable in the stories of the research subjects, as shown in one of the interviews above. Muslims believe that God's blessings will not come to them if they were not obedient to God and to parents.

However, it is interesting to highlight that even though it should be the parents' *ridha* (contentment) that they should seek in *birul-walidayn*, it was especially father, instead of both parents, who played an important role in determining the education of some of the women, especially Wafiroh (tertiary education), Salma (all level of education), Sabrina (tertiary education), and Rahma

⁸⁶ The term *ridha* is an Islamic term referring to contentment or approval.

(especially senior secondary school). This might show that the leader and decision maker in the family is father, which is compatible with the (still valid at the time of this research) Marriage Act 1974 and the state gender ideology of the New Order regime as I discussed previously.

Successfully complying with and accomplishing her father's choice of Islamic senior secondary school, Rahma was sent to an Islamic University within a Pesantren in a small town in East Java. She graduated her *Sarjana Muda* (literally means young scholar) with the title of BA (Bachelor of Art), a non-degree three-year program. She then continued her study to attain *Sarjana Lengkap* (full scholar) with the title of *Dra* (doctoranda) in IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya (now UINSA). But at that time the system started to change to be *Strata satu* (S1) with the same title as before, *Dra*. So, she went to take the program of S1 and finished in 1989. The title of BA (Bachelor of Art) in Indonesian context is different from the one in Western countries. It is an old version of non-degree three-year program. By 1990s to be formally eligible for faculty position is *Sarjana Lengkap* that can be achieved by spending two more years of courses and a thesis after BA. But, since 1985 the program for full scholar has changed to be one four-year program plus thesis called *Strata Satu* (S1), without BA as a precondition.

Given free choice for their tertiary education, Rafiqah and Hanima decided to register in both secular and Islamic universities, but they did not pass the entrance test to the secular one and passed the one in public Islamic university. Hanima was happy with it, but Rafiqah acknowledged that even though she enrolled in the Islamic university, she admitted that it was difficult for her to accept the fact and she liked to make many friends with students from secular universities, which led her to join a student organization that was not mainstream in the campus, Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) or Muslim Student Union, so she did not have many friends from her own campus. She said that because the organization she joined was a minority, the friendship of the members across universities was strong. However, to a certain degree, being a part of minority affected her career, which is discussed later in chapter six.

Another woman who was given free choice for education was Fadilah, one of the five women from pesantren family. At first, she studied secretary, a one-year Diploma program, in a public secular university in 1980 and was soon hired as a public servant in a government office after finishing her study. While working, she enrolled in a faculty of education at a private secular

university; so in the morning she worked as a secretary and in the afternoon she had an undergraduate study on education. She started to be interested in teaching after having teaching practice, which led her to start a career in education. Her transition to a tenured position is discussed in the next section.

Elsha, Maryam, and Erina voluntarily enrolled in Islamic university despite having free choice, which was their own decision after much chats with close friends and looking at their relatives' profession that was interesting to them. Many of Elsha's relatives were teachers in addition to her experience of teaching practice in the final year of her secondary school, so she decided to take *Tarbiyah* or the school of education, while Maryam and Erina had some relatives who were judges, which made them choose the school of (Islamic) Law.

Two other women who went to public secular university were Afrida and Amanda. Afrida did not tell me much story about her experience of her undergraduate education but shared her struggling in trying to finish her doctorate study, which was much related to her career and family, and, thus, would be discussed in chapter six and seven. Amanda shared her experience of starting to be 'social' person when she was in undergraduate study specialized in philosophy which required her to talk much in debates and discussion in most of the classes offered in it. Her reading habit provided her with much knowledge that gave her confidence in taking active part in the debates and discussion. In addition, she also started to have social interaction with many friends from different ethnics, which surprised her mother because of her changing character from silent to be talkative and 'social'.

Some of the women in my study, especially Linda, Indana, Salma, and Madania, were involved actively in students' organizations during their undergraduate study. When she was an undergraduate student, Linda was actively involved in *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (HMI) or the Muslim Students Union, so that her mother often reminded her of her primary responsibility of student, especially finishing her final project for her bachelorette degree. Being inspired by some famous politicians, she was actually wanted to be a politician, but she did not find her way there. Similar with Linda, Indana was very active in PMII, a mainstream Muslim student organization in Indonesia. She also had already dreamed of becoming a career woman since her childhood and once asked her teacher in her high school of why women and men should be differentiated, but she did not find satisfying answer, which stimulated her to always try finding the answer by, among

others, being active in organization. Her mother supported her so much, but her father sometimes reminded her of her main role as a woman, that is, domestic and caring responsibility, which represents his agreement with the state gender ideology of the New Order government.

If in the case of Wafiroh it was not clear if gender was the reason, for Sabrina, Latifah, and Tamara, it was obvious that their fathers' restriction was addressed to only their daughters, but not their sons. I would quote Latifah's story about her father's command as follows.

“...to sum up, women must go to religious university, no matter what faculty, he did not interfere” (Latifah).

Not like Sabrina and Wafiroh who were really upset in the first months of being unable to make the way to their dream, Latifah did not express any disappointment about her father's choice. Instead of protest, Latifah just accepted it and focused on thinking about what field she would take in the IAIN. And because she liked doing journalism, she decided to choose a department that accommodates it. Her father gave her free choice for the field, but not the institution; she had to enroll in the Islamic one.

Again, it might be related to gender expectations that women have to be the guard of the family's and nation's morality and first and main educator of their family, which was the reason of sending them to Islamic education institutions. That Muslims take Islam as the source of morals then choose Islamic education institutions is justifiable, however assuming that women are the main bearer of morality is not. The expectation is in line with the condition of women in Aceh as the bearer of 'moral custodian of religion and culture' (M. A. Miller, 2009, p. 54) and with Srimulyani's (2012) findings that women were equipped with pesantren education because they are expected to be good knowledgeable mothers who will be able to produce quality generations. In line with them, Blackburn (2004, p. 34) stated that, in developing countries including Indonesia, the intentions of providing education for boys and girls are different; economic and political effects for boys, and social and cultural endings for girls. Socially and culturally, women are expected to be housewives and mothers, which is well suited to 'state *ibuism*', the gender ideology of the New Order government, which was supported by many of both women and men.

When Tamara finished her high school, and wanted to pursue higher education, her mother opposed by saying that a woman does not need to pursue high education because she finally will

follow her husband and be responsible for domestic chores and caring. As she was born in 1950s, her mother must have been part of pre-independent generation, which indicates that the attachment of domestic sphere to women had been there since pre-independent Indonesia, not purely the product of the New Order government's gender ideology.

It was her father's support that made Tamara very happy, as to him, women or men were just the same in their right for as high education as possible. Nevertheless, Tamara's father seemed to be ambiguous in viewing women's right in education; while believing that women and men should have the same right in education, for economic reasons he sent only sons to the best modern pesantren located in a different town other than their hometown, and women to the nearest best education institutions.

The differentiation in facilitating education for daughters and boys seems to be in line with the New Order state gender ideology with the expectation that boys would be the breadwinners, heads of family, and girls would be mainly housewives and mothers although allowed to have job outside home. However, Tamara's case happened in the Old Order era, which informs that the sexual division of labour had already existed before the New Order era.

The differentiation in facilitating education for boys and girls actually happened ubiquitously across culture and countries as indicated by some previous reports (ADB, 2002, p. 232; Alderman & King, 1998; Jayaweera, 1997; Mukhopadhyay, 1994; UNICEF, 2015) mentioning that educational decisions tend to prioritize sons over daughter, especially when priority scale need to be taken, for example, due to the limited resources in economic conditions.

Tamara was experiencing the old system of higher education in 1970s, an at least three year program of *Sarjana Muda* and an at least two year of *Sarjana Lengkap*. In IAIN, Tamara was the first and only woman graduated from X faculty, a field that had been dominated by men, which made her visible. Then, in two consecutive years, 1974 and 1975, she passed the recruitment of stewardess for Garuda Airways especially in serving of Indonesian people's pilgrimage, which was specially targeted Islamic university students. She had been surely active since she was a high school student, when she already had started teaching in a primary school, and when she was a university student, she was teaching in Islamic high school at weekends. But her teaching position was just to help the scarcity of teachers at that time, not the one that she intentionally build. And in

her final year of university student, she was offered teaching job to teach Arabic and English to new students of IAIN SA (now UINSA), the campus she enrolled in. Her parents' order for her to study in her hometown did not lessen her enthusiasm to be active.

All in all, although an old saying "*Apa guna nya sekolah tinggi-tinggi toh nanti nya juga harus ke dapur*" (I. D. Utomo, 2006, p. 90) or literally, 'what for having high education if finally just having to be in the kitchen' was not operative in the cases of the women in this study, most of their path ways of education were gendered and, to some extent, determined by their parents, especially father as the main decision maker in the family, which was potentially a result of religious and cultural norms which was confirmed and institutionalized by the state especially via its gender ideology of state-*ibuis*m. Even though some of the women, especially Sabrina and Wafiroh, were firstly not happy with their parents' choice, they were all finally happy with it, and believed that by complying with their parents in terms of anything allowed by God will incur blessings from God, which is known as *birrul walidayn*, obedience to parents in terms of good things and not contrary to God's guide, which was mentioned at least thirteen times in the Qur'an⁸⁷.

The five women from pesantren family (Salma, Fadilah, Rafiqah, Erina, and Madania) did not have the same stories about their education. Their formal education varies from the fully religious one (Salma) to the fully secular ones (Fadilah) and the degree of freedom they had in education was also varied, from Salma who was fully directed by her father until Rafiqah who was free to choose her school and university. Most of the women in my study, excluding Sabrina and Wafiroh, did not have any conflict about their choice of education institutions to take, even though, especially for Salma and Tamara, it was exclusively their father's choice

Winning A Tenured Position

Ten of the women faculty I interviewed started their faculty path through the recruitment test for faculty position with the status of civil servant. All of them were fresh graduate when they took the test and had to serve as administrative staff, teach undergraduate students, and write some scholarly works for about two years before being granted a permanent status of faculty. Three others, Rafiqah,

⁸⁷ The term *birrul walidayn* is mentioned in these verses; 2:83, 180, & 215; 4: 36; 6: 151; 17: 23 & 24; 46: 15; 29: 8; 31: 14; 14: 41; 27: 10; and 71: 28.

Indana, and Wafiroh, entered the faculty life through the scout program that sent them to pursue Master degree before starting to serve as a faculty.

Another two, Linda, and Sabrina, started working in university as staff in library and administrative office respectively when they still hold Bachelor of Art (BA) that means they were not eligible yet for faculty position. But they continued their study while working, and when they finished their study and got the title of Dra, they started to get the position of faculty.

Fadilah and Afrida had different cases, starting work as public servant teachers in senior high school and moving to university later. In 1988, Fadilah finished her study at the faculty of education in a province other than her hometown, decided to be back to her hometown and started to teach in a private university in her family's pesantren, which means she left her previous job⁸⁸. As merely teaching in private education institution is not promising economically and socially, in 1992, she applied for and was accepted as a civil servant teacher in a state Islamic high school in her hometown. Then in 1995, Fadilah pursued Master degree, which then stimulated her to move work place from a state Islamic senior high school to a state Islamic university at early 2000 when most of the lecturers in the university had not hold Master degree yet, which was an advantage for her. For further discussion on this advantage, chapter six is the right place.

Like Fadilah, before becoming a faculty, Afrida was a high school teacher and a part time faculty at a private university in a small town in East Java. When she was a high school teacher in 1994, she studied for a Master degree and finished it in 1997, which was very rare for high school teacher at that time. Many of her friends mocked her for pursuing Master degree, as the required qualification for high school teacher was just undergraduate degree. Therefore, when she expressed her intention to pursue doctorate study, the head master was not happy as she just came back from study leave. She then decided to convert to faculty and moved to Malang, a city where she had her new work place and her study. She counted that her husband would resign in 2004, while she still had to finance her children to study at universities. By moving to Malang, where her children attended universities, she expected that she could take care of them and save the expenses at the same time,

⁸⁸ In the previous section, it was reported that before studying at the faculty of education, Fadilah enrolled in a one year diploma program of secretary and worked as a civil servant in a government office in a city other than her hometown.

while she herself could pursue her doctorate study.

For Rahma, soon after she finished her undergraduate study in Java, she went back to her homeland, a region out of Java. She was recruited to teach at the schools where she had her primary and secondary education. She also taught part time at an Islamic university in her hometown but stayed just two years because her area of discipline was not available. Rahma's position of school teacher and lecturer in her hometown was just casual; no more than time-filler activities during waiting for the recruitment for civil servant position as lecturer. She, then, took and passed a recruitment test for a faculty position in IAIN Ambon in 1990, and two years later, in 1992, she won tenure. As she was married to a man from Java, she moved to Java in 1995. It was common to Indonesian people that a wife follow her husband, which is like Javanese concepts of *kanca wingking* or friend at the rear (Amalia, 2012; Boy ZTF, 2009, p. 57; Doorn-Harder, 2006; Kholifah, 2010, p. 86; Leight, 2007, p. 11; Munir, 2002, p. 196; Muttaqin, 2008, p. 146; Rahayu, 1996, pp. 5-6; Wahono, Widyastuti, & Puspitawati, 2006, p. 29) or similarly expressed in a Javanese proverb of *suwargo nunut neroko katut* (Attamimi, 2012; Bessell, 2004; Biyanto, 2014; F. I. M. Dewi & Idrus, 2000; Fakhri, 2008; Munir, 2002; Qomariyah, 2011; Surya, 2008), literally means a woman follows her husband both to the heaven or to the hell, indicating full submission to husband regardless of the virtues.

Salma said that when she started to enter faculty life in 1997, women were minority, only 20% of all the faculties, in the institution she worked for. She was the first one in her family that was allowed to work in the state/government institutions, as her father was antipathy to the government, as I mentioned in the previous section. Before joining a recruitment test for faculty position, she asked her father's permission to propose faculty position, as her main purpose is a faculty job, not the civil servant status, in an Islamic higher education institution which was coincidentally led by a kyai at that time, which enabled her to get her father's approval. Her mentioning of kyai as the rector of the institution was really crucial in attaining her father's approval. The story might be different if she intentionally wanted the status of civil servant that means working for the government, which her father opposed strongly.

Seeking for parents' approval (both mother and father) is part of behaviours prescribed by the Islamic concept of *birrul walidayn* as I mentioned in the previous section, nevertheless, it was only her father's approval that she had to fight for. She never mentioned her struggles to get her mother's

approval, which might be because her mother had lower education than her father did making her less noteworthy in decision making about their children's education. Regardless of their level of education, this might also be interpreted that the role of a father in decision making for the life of children in family was unquestionable, which confirmed the subordinate position of women.

Salma's ability to break successfully from her father's antipathy to government's institutions in 1990s is unlikely related to a developing discourse on women's rights in Indonesia at the 1990s. Her moral responsibilities to help others, as she admitted several times in the interview, formed her as an activist during her studies especially in pesantren and in university. She started and learned to be an activist, but not women's right activist, in pesantren. She said that many students in pesantren and in Islamic universities have poor reading skills in *kitab kuning* (literally yellow book) -a term for literatures written barely in Arabic language without any diacritical or vowel mark-, because of their poor or no knowledge of Arabic linguistics, which called her moral responsibility to help them.

If Salma had to face her father's 'phobia' attitude toward the government, Sabrina was relatively free in deciding what she wanted to do. Since she was a high school student, Sabrina had already dreamed of becoming a faculty, but not in Islamic institution. She perceived that the job of faculty is easy. She started working soon after she finished a non-degree three year program and got the title of Bachelor of Art (BA) or *Sarjana Muda* (young scholar) as a civil servant in her almamater in 1985, while she kept going her study to reach *Sarjana Lengkap* (full scholar) with the title of Dra (*doctoranda*) that made her qualified for faculty position, she then began her path as a faculty. Sabrina was the first woman alumni in the X department who took career path as a faculty in her almamater.

Rafiqah, Indana, and Wafiroh entered the world of faculty through a program of scout recruitment, a policy of the Ministry of Religious Affair in recruiting the best students to be faculty member in Islamic universities in Indonesia, by which the successful applicants were sent to pursue a Master degree. If they had adequate English competency, they were sent to Australia for their Master study, and Indana and Wafiroh were eligible for this, while Rafiqah was sent to pursue her Master degree in an Islamic university in Indonesia, as her English score was not adequate for studying abroad. Wafiroh said she was very lucky for unintentionally recognizing the information for the program of scout recruitment when she visited the University for another reason. She told me that she was the

best graduate but no one offered her a position of assistant lecturer which, she knew, was even offered to other average graduates.

“even though I was the best graduate [for undergraduate degree] I felt that in this campus there was something like whose child s/he is, whose relative s/he is, it is there, such nepotism. So, the informations did not always come to me, moreover I was not always at campus [after graduation]. No offer [came to her] to be an assistant, no, there was no one, even though I was the best [graduate], I know those who were just average were offered.” (Wafiroh)

Having a Master degree from an English speaking country in early 1990s was something exceptional. Both, Indana and Wafiroh, then, were assigned a leadership position in each of their department. Indana had been dreaming of becoming a teacher or career woman since she was a small child of primary student. In 1990, after she finished her undergraduate study, she took a test for faculty scouting whose nominees were sent to study in Australian universities, but she failed. She was not dispirited of that, in the next year, 1991, she tried another test and succeeded. In 1994 she got her Master degree and started serving for a state Islamic higher education institution.

Inspired by her deceased father who was a politician and by some other famous politicians, young Linda wanted to become a politician when she was a university student, yet, she did not find her way there. In the last year of her undergraduate study in early 1980s, Linda was offered a position of a staff in the library of the campus she enrolled in, and she accepted it after consulting it with her mother and other family members, in this case her father had passed away. Soon after finishing her *Sarjana lengkap* (literally full scholar) study, a higher level after BA (Bachelor of Arts), she was given opportunity to teach, then got tenured as a faculty in 1986.

When doing undergraduate study, Elsha was lucky to be a student in the year of transition allowing her to get the title of *Dra* in a shorter time. By 1985, Indonesian higher education system had *Sarjana Muda* (literally young scholar), a three-year program with the tile of BA for the graduates and *Sarjana Lengkap* (literally full scholar), an at least two-year program after the *Sarjana Muda* which was often called *doctoral* program with the title of *doctoranda* (*Dra*) for women or *doctorandus* (*drs*) for men. Since 1985, the system changed to be *Strata Satu* or *S1* (four-year program) which is equal with *Sarjana Lengkap*. The transition enabled Elsha to spend only 4.5 years to finish the *Sarjana Lengkap*-equivalent study, which needed at least six years previously. She, then, joined the recruitment of candidate faculty, and she passed it. She really felt very lucky by the situation. She

started her faculty job in 1990.

As described in the previous section, Tamara had been distinctively active helping teaching since her school age, and when she was in the final year of her university study, she was already given casual teaching position in the university she was enrolled in. This made her directly hired after finishing her study and finally in 1977, she passed the test for civil servant and got tenured as a faculty.

Amanda's father was a faculty at the same university as her workplace. But, among her siblings, she was the only one who traced her father's profession as a faculty. She had two dreams for profession when she was young; researcher and faculty. But her father told her that to be a researcher in Indonesia is not a good choice at that time, as the government did not pay satisfactory attention to researchers, neither allocated adequate financial support for research activity, then recommended her to be a faculty. She said she was very quiet during her childhood and teenage years. She was happy to be alone and reading. Unlike children of her age, when she was a primary school student, she was accustomed to reading international news and 'serious' books. She was more interested in the world of reading or written media. She often got bullied especially in oral forms because of her silent character. She highlighted that written world was small Amanda's comfort zone. She started writing essays that were published in some leading newspaper in Java, which consistently continued until she began her path as a faculty member in 1994.

Hanima's experience of being a faculty began some months after she graduated her undergraduate study in 1992. She started teaching part time at her alma mater, IAIN Sunan Ampel Malang, and in 1994 she passed a recruitment test for faculty position in IAIN SA (now UINSA) that means she got tenured two years later. She did not face any conflict in choosing her education and career and expressed her enjoyment with her smooth journey to win the position.

Dreaming of becoming a journalist, Latifah chose to take the school of Dakwah that had a program of Islamic publication and communication in it. She was active in the student journal publication and often hunting news far away to Jakarta, the busiest city in Indonesia. She, then, was aware that to be a journalist needs a strong physical condition, while she said she did not have it. After that, she reconsidered what career she would choose to be, and finally she decided to take faculty as her career path after her close friend recommended it to her, whereas the society where

she lived did not idealize the status of public servant, as it was financially not promising. After finishing her undergraduate study, she tried to join a test of faculty position at IAIN, but she failed. She tried again and again until she passed the third test in 1998.

Madania was twenty-five when she started to teach at a private Islamic university in Malang in 1985, soon after finishing her, *Sarjana Lengkap*. Then in 1986 she started to teach at IAIN Sunan Ampel Malang (now UIN Maliki) as an associate faculty and got tenured in 1989. Madania said that being an educator has been her passion since she was a child. She liked to play teacher roles in her childhood, started teaching high school students when she did her undergraduate study, and was actively participated in a mainstream student organization. She achieved her ideals to be an educator without any conflict.

Maryam said that her choice of job as a faculty was especially influenced by her father's career as a teacher and most of her mother's family members who were also teachers. At first, she did not want to be a faculty member, because she was studying Islamic law. She wanted to be a judge (hakim), but was reminded by her uncle that, unlike faculty job, being a judge is subject to mutation or moving locations along the career. Similar with Maryam's story, Erina wanted to be a judge when she finished studying Islamic Law for her undergraduate degree. But after considering the rule that being a judge is usually mutated every certain period of time, she rethought her dream of being a judge. She worried if her husband did not like to follow her when she had to move often, and she would have a problem of disharmony in her family. She then decided to take faculty as her career path and got tenured in 1998.

Overall, the women in this study won the tenured position as faculty members in their 20s as fresh graduates of *Sarjana Lengkap* or *Strata Satu (S1)*, equivalent with undergraduate in Western universities, after passing a test of recruitment as civil servant faculty, except Fadilah and Afrida, who started their career as civil servant high school teacher and held Master's degree before converting to join faculty cohort. The choice of becoming faculty was voluntarily taken by all the women in this study, which was unlike some of their experiences in education.

Conclusion

In the New Order era, the government introduced some conservative policies to do with women,

especially through its establishment of women organization Dharma Wanita and PKK positioning women as *kanca wingking* (friend at the rear) to support the career of husbands and the government programs. The New Order government also institutionalized the sexual division of labour through its policies such as the Marriage Act 1974 and a series of GBHNs (National Guidelines), in which men are the head of family, which potentially led to a perception that husband (father) should be the sole figure responsible for decision making in family. This was confirmed by the interviews that most of the women in my study consistently mentioned father instead of mother or parents in making account of their educational experiences.

Nevertheless, the government was very supportive of education, such as the dramatic increase of school enrolments in 1970s and some positive policies regarding Islamic education, especially starting from a joint decree of the three ministries in 1975 (SKB 3 Menteri nomor 6 Tahun 1975) acknowledging and including Islamic education as part of formal national education equal to secular education, which means wider job opportunities as well. The women in this study were able to take advantage of these initiatives and attended schools that prepared them well for their future academic careers.

The decree, at least, compensated the historical clash between pesantren/kyai and the Dutch colonial, the Old Order government's lack of reverence and recognition to the significant contributions of pesantren/kyai in the struggle against the (mainly Dutch) colonial, and the previous discrimination to Islamic education, all of which made some Muslims maintain antipathy to the state and secular education. One of the women in my study was not allowed by her father, who was a kyai, to join in any state-owned education institution, except when the institution was led by a kyai.

Regardless of this ill feeling, various other aspects such as gender belief, financial condition, and geographical situation had contributed to the ways they made decisions about which education and institutions were best for their daughters and which ones for their son. In addition, the women in this study were all Muslims who believe that *birul-walidayn*, an Islamic teaching to obey parents in good things, is unquestionable, therefore, is central in their life including in their choice of education and profession. At least six women in my study had to set aside their own desire to follow their fathers' choices in education; only two of them were strongly resistant in the first two months but then accepted it happily, while the others did not show any resentment at all.

The combination between the gender construction that women should be the moral guardian for the nation and family confirmed by the New Order government's policies and the fact that Islamic education institutions were trusted (especially by Muslims) in providing adequate moral education to the students constituted important reasons for making Islamic education institutions the best choice of, at least, three of the women in my study whose fathers evidently expressed it. Irrespective of the reason, the majority of the women in this study joined Islamic education at least in tertiary level, and only two out of seventeen had secular education from primary until tertiary level.

While the choice of education for some women in this study was mainly driven by their father, the decision to take a career path as faculty member for all the women in this study was a voluntary one, regardless of the gender specific ground. The ways they entered the academic status were mainly through recruitment test. The skills and experiences as organization activist during their study at pesantren and/or undergraduate level acquired by some women in this study would, then, contribute to their career success, which is explored in chapter six.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

Introduction

This chapter offers an account of higher education in Indonesia in the Reform era (1998 - onwards), especially in its relation with the gender mainstreaming program, utilizing the best available data from some government and institutional documents, websites, and interviews with the research subjects. It addresses gender mainstreaming policies, Indonesian higher education landscape, gender mainstreaming in higher education, and the profiles of the two universities as the research sites for this study; the State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim (UIN Maliki) Malang and the State Islamic University of Sunan Ampel Surabaya, both of which are in East Java, Indonesia. Before discussing those sections, I will summarise the history of higher education in Indonesia in order to enable tracing down the issues in their context.

In Indonesian history of higher education, advanced Islamic learning precedes the colonial education system (Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011, p. 1). Hefner (2009, pp. 16-17), claims that intermediate-to-advanced Islamic learning developed near the end of eighteenth century and started to be pervasive around the end of nineteenth century. He also acknowledged that an earlier generation of Western specialists on Southeast Asian Islam, based on classical indigenous manuscripts of Java's *Serat Centhini* and Sunda's *Sejarah Banten*, believed that institutions of Islamic learning were already prevalent in the seventeenth century (p. 16), they were different from modern Islamic higher education in that traditional content of education was predominantly religious (Azra et al., 2007, p. 1).

Formal higher education in Indonesia started a couple of decades before Indonesia's independence, which was historically a legacy of Dutch colonization. Since early twentieth century, formal education was introduced by the Dutch colonisers to fulfil the need for engineers and professional men (Blackburn, 2004, p. 35; Van Der Kroef, 1955, p. 366) such as a technical college (1920), law college (1924), medical college (1927), and government academy for civil servants and advanced training in agriculture (1940). However, higher education was exclusive to the elite in the colonial period; only a handful of indigenous Indonesian enrolled in it, especially those who came

from high social strata (Nizam, 2006, p. 35; Van Der Kroef, 1955, p. 367). Around 1940, the population of indigenous Indonesian, European, and Chinese was 65 million, 300,000, and 1.8 million respectively, however, the total enrolment in the three colleges-the technical, law and medical- was far from proportional; 637 Indonesians, 245 Europeans, and 361 Chinese, (Van Der Kroef, 1955, p. 367).

After independence in 1945, prompted by a strong spirit to develop the country, the Indonesian government highlighted the importance of educational rights of the citizens, which was manifested in its constitution, UUD 1945, especially section 31 stating “every citizen is entitled to get education”.

Nevertheless, since the social, economic, and political conditions were still not well-established, the exclusivity of higher education continued. A survey in 1955 revealed that 80% of university students were from high socioeconomic status families (Buchori & Malik, 2004, p. 251). This condition was linked to the political climate of the young nation with the limited indigenous scholars and continuing hassle by the ex-colonials. As pointed by Phillips (2005, p. 289), after the successful struggle for independence, the new nation of Indonesia experienced problematic leadership. This consequently hindered its economic growth. He also stated that even though the country is rich in numerous essential resources, Indonesia had been a lavish treasure supply for colonial powers for centuries (p. 74). It was understood, then, that twenty years after independence, in 1965, Indonesia was still economically one of the poorest countries in the developing world (Meier, 1970)

UU No. 22/1961 is the very first Education Act on higher education after which the higher education had experienced a rapid growth, especially during the period from the 1970s to the 1990s, which was reinforced by a successful performance in oil-price and solid non-oil and gas export (Nizam, 2006, p. 36; Wicaksono & Friawan, 2011, p. 1). Data from the bureau of statistics showed an increase in the gross enrolment rate (GER) for tertiary education which was 10.14% in 1994, 10.54% in 2002, and 23.06% in 2013. If the data focused on the age group of 19-24, whatever the level of education, those who attended education was 12.80% in 1994, 11.62% in 2002, and 20.04% in 2013⁸⁹. In the global level, the British Council in its analysis on the future higher education opportunities for global engagement noted that in terms of size and growth of domestic tertiary

⁸⁹ http://www.bps.go.id/tab_sub/view.php?kat=1&tabel=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=28¬ab=1, retrieved on 21 July 2015.

education systems among more than 50 shortlisted countries, Indonesia is posited in the fourth largest tertiary enrolment levels with 7.7 m, and fourth fastest growing tertiary enrolment growth with 2.3 m (British Council, 2012, p. 7). The global trend of the growth of enrolment at the tertiary level seems to happen, which was from 32 million students in 1970 to 165 million in 2009 –a significant rise of more than 500% (Fiske, 2012, p. 74).

It is mentioned in the *World Atlas of Gender Equality in Education* that globally women have been benefited more than men in the escalation of enrolment rate in higher education. From 1970 to 2009, the Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) of both women and men in tertiary level experienced a growth of 350% and 230% correspondingly (Fiske, 2012, p. 77). In Indonesia, even though the increase in the GER of women was higher than that of men, 192% for women and 176% for men, it did not happen in the age group of 19-24, where females had lower rate than males, which was 10.38% and 11.36% correspondingly in 2002, and 19.89% and 20.05% respectively in 2013⁹⁰.

Nevertheless, the worldwide increase in the enrolment rate for women in higher education (Fiske, 2012; The World Bank, 2011) does not lead to more career opportunities for women, especially in the higher level or in certain perceived male areas. Even though the women's participation in the work force increased (The World Bank, 2011, p. 257), their position concentrated in the lower level or in low paid fields (J. Acker, 2006; Menges & Exum, 1983; Tilbrook, 1998; A. J. Utomo, 2012). Indeed, in higher education institutions, Heward (1996, p. 12) noted, there was resistant vertical and horizontal gender segregation. In addition, women's opportunities in career advancement or promotion had been hindered by cultural norms in their varied manifestations such as glass ceilings, chilly climate, and sticky floor, (Bain & Cummings, 2000; Holmes, 2006; Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Luke, 1998; Murniati, 2012; Pocock, 2005). Concerns on the barriers experienced by the women in this study would be part of the issues presented in the next chapter especially chapter six.

Indonesian Higher Education Landscape

By the middle of 1980s, higher education system in Indonesia resembled the Dutch's (Watson, 1986, pp. 40-41) consisting of two degrees; *Sarjana Muda* (three-year curriculum) and *Sarjana*

⁹⁰ http://www.bps.go.id/tab_sub/view.php?kat=1&tabel=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=28¬ab=10, retrieved on 3 November 2014.

Lengkap (another two year-curriculum after completing *Sarjana Muda* plus *skripsi* or thesis). The academic title after graduating *Sarjana Muda* degree was Bachelor of Art (BA), while the title for those completing *Sarjana Lengkap* degree was *doctorandus* (*Drs*, for men), or *doctoranda* (*Dra*, for women). The *Sarjana Lengkap* was, according to Smith and Carpenter (1974, p. 808), roughly equivalent to an M.A or M.Sc. However, the total period of five years was hardly possible because of the implementation of *sistim gugur*, a system where the students were not allowed to fail in any of the subjects otherwise they had to repeat a full year of courses. It was hardly possible for anyone to be able to attain a degree of *Dra* or *Drs* in less than seven years (Watson, 1986, p. 41). The system made the length of study in university much longer than expected.

Smith and Carpenter (1974, p. 810) in their research on Indonesian university students in 1974 mentioned that while the students took generally four years to complete the *Sarjana Muda* or three year curriculum, 77.4% of the students in the Central Java needed five years or more to finish it, which was even slower to finish the higher degree, *Sarjana Lengkap*. To make it more efficient, the new system was introduced in the mid 1980s with *Strata Satu* (S1) for undergraduate level for those who want academic (non-vocational) careers, *Strata Dua* (S2) for Master and *Strata Tiga* (S3) for Doctorate level.

Djanali (2005) revealed that Indonesian government has introduced Higher Education Long Term Strategy (HELTS) that run every ten years since 1975 with different focus for each period. He further explained that the first period (1975-1985) focused on the strong linkages between higher education and the regional and national development, the second (1986-1995) was emphasizing on the consolidation of the previous achievement and improvement of quality, the third (1996-2005) put emphasis on management, quality and relevance, and social mobility and equity. Because of the severe financial crisis in 1998 that occurred in many Asian countries including Indonesia, the social mobility and equity were not successful for financial reasons.

The fourth period (2006-2010) set a reform of structural adjustments for a healthier higher education system through quality, access and equity, and autonomy. Of the three, autonomy was the most remarkable element, because it led the best universities changed their status to be BHMN (state-owned legal entity) which had been really controversial. Some interpreted it as a form of liberalization of higher education, which means the government's role was just as a facilitator, and

the society's involvement was enhanced. The new status, BHMN that soon changed to be BHP (Education Legal Institution), was fiercely resisted and accused by the vast majority of the society including authoritative experts on education (Sulistiyono, 2007) and finally cancelled by the MK (Constitution Court) in 2010. The resistance was related to the sharp increase in the cost of studying in the university with the status of BHMN/BHP because the word 'autonomy' tended to entail financial consequences, instead of its accountabilities.

With the cancellation of the Act on BHP, the ministry of education respected the court's decision, and launched another five-year strategic planning for the period of 2010-2014. It highlights five issues; (1) developing the system of Directorate General for higher education, (2) the quality and relevance of higher education, (FK3) affordability, equality, and accessibility of higher education, (4) autonomous and accountable higher education, and (5) the interaction between higher education and the society (The Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010). Even though the word of 'autonomy' was still there, it was not a problem anymore as it was preceded by three words-affordability, equality, and accessibility-that signaled giving hope to the society.

Like many other parts of the world, higher education in Indonesia consists of two pathways; academic and vocational. The academic pathway focuses on the mastery of knowledge and science, while the vocational one puts emphasis on preparing the students to apply their skill. In terms of management, the mainstream higher education institutions in Indonesia are under two ministries; the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education often named *Kemristekdikti* (previously *Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*, often called *Kemendikbud*, or the Ministry of Education and Culture before 17 October 2014) and the the Ministry of Religious Affairs or MORA. The non-denominational higher education institutions are under *Kemenristekdikti*, while the denominational ones including Islamic HE institutions are under MORA.

Aside from the mainstream ones under *Kemristekdikti* and MORA, there are higher education institutions which are especially prepared for positions in government institutions. They include, at least, *Institut Ilmu Pemerintahan* (IIP) or Institute of Government Studies and under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, *Akademi Militer* (AKMIL) or Military Academy which is affiliated to the Ministry of Defence, and *Akademi Polisi* (AKPOL) or Police Academy which is under the Indonesian Police Corp (*Kepolisian Republic Indonesia*), and *Sekolah Tinggi Akuntansi Negara* (STAN) or The State College

of Accountancy managed by the Ministry of Finance.

Regardless of the management affiliation, higher education in Indonesia varies in its type, based on the coverage of the field offered and the purpose, which includes *universitas* or university, *institut* (institute), *sekolah tinggi* (college, but just tertiary level), *akademi* (academy), and *politeknik* or polytechnic. University constitutes the widest in the variety of fields offered and its purpose ("Penjelasan Atas Undang Undang Republik Indonesia No. 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional," 2003). Below is the data of higher education institutions under the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (*Kemristekdikti*).

Table 1: The Higher Education Institutions under the Ministry of National Education (MONE) Academic Year 2014/2015

	University	Institute	<i>Sekolah Tinggi</i> (Higher Learning)	Academy	Polytechnic	Total
Public	63	13		3	43	122
Private	469	60	1275	1026	143	3124
Total	532	73	1426	1029	186	3246

Adapted from Statistik Pendidikan Tinggi (Statistics on Higher Education) 2014/2015 (Kemristekdikti, 2016c, pp. 5-7).

Each type has its own characteristics based on the explanation section following the Act no.20/2003 about national education system. University delivers academic and/or vocational education in a number of disciplines, technology, and/or art, and if it has fulfilled the requirements, it is allowed to conduct professional education. Institute delivers academic and/or vocational education in a group of disciplines, technology, and/or art, and if it has fulfilled the requirements, it is allowed to conduct professional education. *Sekolah Tinggi* provides academic and/or vocational education in a certain field, and if it has fulfilled the requirements, it is allowed to conduct professional education. Academy provides vocational education in one or some branch of knowledge, technology, and/or certain art. Polytechnic delivers vocational education in a number of special field. The difference among those types is the width of coverage of disciplines, with university the widest and polytechnic the narrowest.

In terms of the denominational higher education institutions, which are affiliated to the Ministry of Religious Affairs , Islamic higher education consists of UIN (Universitas Islam Negeri or The State Islamic University, institutionally the biggest Islamic higher education providing both Islamic and secular schools such as medicine, anthropology, etc.), IAIN (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri* or the State Institut for Islamic Studies, middle size higher education, covering a wide range of Islamic

studies), and STAIN (*Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri* or the State College for Islamic Studies, institutionally smaller size higher education institution providing only some areas of Islamic studies). However, IAIN and STAIN also introduce students with secular subjects such as psychology, statistics, English, philosophy, etc. as part of the content of their curriculum. Below is the most recent available data about the number of both public and private Islamic higher education institutions.

Table 2: The Islamic Higher Education Institutions under the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) in Academic Year 2014/2015

	University	Institute	<i>Sekolah Tinggi</i> (Higher Learning)	Total
Public	11	26	18	55
Private	101	46	491	638
Total	111	72	509	693

Adepted from *Statistik Pendidikan Islam* (Statistics on Islamic Education) Acedemic Year 2014/2015 (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2016, p. 278)

Higher education institutions in Indonesia generally have five working days, similar with the mainstream working days in the Western countries, from Monday to Friday. But, many institutions, apply flexible schedules for class teaching activities involving weekend days to accommodate the need of those who have to work in the working days.

In its 2015-2019 strategic planning document, the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education or *Kementerian Riset, Teknologi dan Pendidikan Tinggi*, often called *Kemristekdikti*, mentioned that the gross participation rate developed from 24,67% in 2010 to 29,15% in 2014, and the gender equality ratio in higher education increased from 107.6% in 2010 to 112,20% in 2014. The academic qualification of the faculty members also increased; those who held Doctorate degree improved from 9,50% in 2010 to 12,66% in 2014. Faculty members having international publication raised up from 0,75% in 2010 to 2,35% in 2014. No information was provided about the proportion of women and men separately in each statistical data.

In Indonesia, generally the public universities were favoured and trusted more than the private ones. The public universities were by and large the first choice for the majority of candidate students due to their lower fees and better quality, but, the best quality universities were still concentrated in Java (Welch, 2007, p. 669). Indeed, of all higher education institutions, including those under the *Kemenristekdikti* and other Ministries, 48% located in Java, while 52% spread in other seven islands, and accommodated more female students (52%) than males (48%) in 2017 (*Kemenristekdikti*,

2017b). Additionally, girls were accommodated more in state universities (53.05%) than in private ones (49.05%) (*Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan or The Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012*), which means boys were slightly left behind in competing for the best universities. This could be a result of the gender mainstreaming program that was formally introduced in Indonesia in 2000 (further discussion on gender mainstreaming is provided under the following sections).

The over-representation of women, nevertheless, did not happen in the representation of women faculty in general, except in certain age groups, namely; 31-35 years old (20,701 women and 16,878 men), 26-30 years old (20,186 women and 13,051 men), and 21-25 years old (1,743 women and 887 men) in 2017. It is 17 years from 2000, the starting year of the gender mainstreaming program in Indonesia, which might be claimed as one of the consequences of the program.

In terms of the overall proportion of women faculty, both the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (*Kemristekdikti*) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) documented that the number of women faculty never exceeded that of men faculty, both in the state-owned and in the private ones. Overall, women faculty in public higher education institutions made up 43% in 2017 (*Kemenristekdikti, 2017a, 2017b*) and in the private ones, full-time women faculty pretended 42% and part-time 41% in 2015 (*Kemenristekdikti, 2017a*). Unfortunately, all the data were not provided with the academic rank. On the other way around, other separate data regarding faculty's academic rank did not include the sex categories.

Women faculty were more poorly represented in the Islamic higher education institutions, which was 32.9% in state ones and 22, 74% in private ones in 2014 (*Directorate General of Islamic Education, 2015, pp. 302-306*) and marginally increased in 2015 to be 33.4% in the state-owned ones but decreased in the private ones to be 20.5% in 2015 (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2016, p. 295*).

However, if the comparison does not include men as shown in table three below, women were better represented in state-owned universities (34.7%) than in the private ones (23.5%), and in both state-owned and private university (31.1%) rather than institute (27.1%) or *sekolah tinggi* (21,5%). So, women faculty members were better represented in the more prestigious Islamic higher education institutions (state-owned universities) than in the less prestigious ones (institute and *sekolah tinggi*) considering that in Indonesian context, as previously described, the public universities

were generally more favoured and trusted than the private ones. This might be because when women decide to take an academic career, they work really hard, as suggested by some research findings (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2010, 2013; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Murniati, 2012; Philipsen, 2008; Wentling, 1996; J. C. Williams et al., 2006) that women have to work harder than men do to be

Table 3: The Representation of Women Faculty Members Based on the types of Islamic Higher Education Institutions in Academic Year 2014/2015

	Women Faculty Members in Islamic University	Women Faculty Members in Islamic Institute	Women Faculty Members in Islamic Sekolah Tinggi	Total Representation of Women Faculty Members in Islamic HEs
Public	34.7 %	32.1 %	31.6 %	33.4 %
Private	23.5 %	18.9 %	20.2 %	20.5 %
Total	31.1 %	27.1 %	21.5 %	25.5 %

Adepted from *Statistik Pendidikan Islam* (Statistics on Islamic Education) Acedemic Year 2014/2015 (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2016, pp. 295-298)

successful in the same position. Hence, more women successfully passed the test as civil servant faculty members in state-owned universities. Yet, when comparison is made with men, the representation of women faculty members in all lines (public and private in all types of institutions) is lower than men's, with the total representation of 25.5% for women and 74.5% for men's.

Again, the statistics did not comprise both gender and ranks (functional and/or managerial) at the same time, so it is impossible to know the gender representation in every rank. However, the MORA's website⁹¹ dated 2015 presented a list of names of all professors in Islamic HE institutions in Indonesia, but not a segregated one. Being curious about the representation of women in the professorship in Islamic higher education institutions throughout Indonesia, I tried to identify their gender by looking at their names, and when there were ambiguous ones, I sought information from the websites of the institutions they worked for to make sure about their gender. After all, I figured out 16 female names out of the total of 325 professors throughout all Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia, hence the representation of women professor was 5%.

The best available data providing both gender and ranks about faculty members in Indonesian Islamic higher education institutions are too old (academic year 2002/2003) documents, both of which show that nationally the number of women faculty members in state Islamic HEs in Indonesia is much lower compared to men faculty in all ranks, but lowest is in the highest rank. One document

⁹¹ <http://diktis.kemenag.go.id/gb/list.php>, viewed on 10 October 2016

presenting the data from fourteen institutions (13 IAIN and one UIN) shows that, in the top academic rank, professorship, women made up 5.9%, and the other document containing 33 STAINs all over Indonesia shows that women represents 4.7% in the professorship, thus in total women professor made up 5.5% in the academic year 2002/2003. In the lowest level, women are minority as well, which is 27.6%, indicating that the recruitment does not have gender balance. The decrease of women's representation along with the higher level, from 27.6% in the lowest to 5.9% in the highest, is a proof of the slow move of women faculties in stepping up their career ladder, considering that more than before women have been recruited as faculty members in Islamic higher education institutions since 1990s. This is in contrast to the data about men faculty, which moved up from 72.4% in the lowest level to 94.1% in the highest one. Indeed, women faculty move up more slowly compared to men (Valian, 2005). Various factors possibly hinder their advancement, but Terrien (2008) claims that overt and subtle gender discrimination is still an issue to be overcome for working women in the 21st century.

As an oldest and most established Islamic university, UIN Sunan Kalijaga had no women in the highest rank, professor, neither in many other IAINs. In most higher education institutions, as described in chapter two, the number of women faculty members concentrated on the lowest academic ranks; the higher the rank, the lower the representation of women faculty was. Researchers have estimated that women will not achieve full parity in academia for another one hundred or more years (West & Curtis, 2006). In the next chapters, I discuss, partly, issues behind the slow move of women's career path.

Recently, the government introduced a new instrument for measuring as well as rewarding faculty members through the program of certification ("*Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 37 tahun 2009 tentang Dosen* (Government Regulation of Republic Indonesia Number 37 Year 2009 on Faculty Member)," 2009; "*Undang-undang Republik Indonesia No,14 tahun 2005 tentang Guru dan Dosen* (The Act of Republic Indonesia No. 14 Year 2005 on Teacher and Faculty)," 2005). The program was welcomed as an important professional measure of faculty status in Indonesia and a form of professional recognition as faculty member from the government with significant financial consequences. Unfortunately, by the time of writing this work, there was no segregated data on the certification.

Gender Mainstreaming Policies

The term gender mainstreaming started to emerge in 1980s (Unterhalter & North, 2010, p. 389), but women's issues, as part of human being, have been part of the United Nations' agendas since the first half of twentieth century. In 1940s, the United Nation's General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights⁹² drafted by the Commission on Human Rights, which used neutral language to cover women's issues, for instance by using the words 'human being', 'everyone', or 'men and women', which showed no special alertness on the different conditions between men and women.

While women's liberation had been the concern of many social scientists and feminists, women had been invisible in the first development decade (1960s) until in the early 1970's when Boserup, an economist and planner, included women in the international development map (Maguire, 1984, pp. 7-9). Since then, the term Women in Development (WID) for the first time emerged in the women's committee of the Washington, D.C. chapter of the Society for International Development (Maguire, 1984, p. 8; Moser, 2003, p. 2; Rathgeber, 1990; Shahrashoub Razavi & Miller, 1995, pp. 2-5). Moreover, the international feminist movement had started to flourish during the 1970s, so that women's issues have been explicitly put on the agenda. The WID approach held that women had been disadvantaged by the mainstream global economic structures and should be involved in the development to improve their lives by including them into the workforce and increasing their productivity (Duffy, 2006, p. 162). Rather than social relations issues, WID put more concern on the economic ones.

The WID approach was criticized that making women full economic partners in development did not challenge the basic social and cultural roots of inequality between women and men (Duffy, p. 162; Rathgeber, 1990, p. 8). A group of Marxist feminist proposed the concept of WAD (Women and Development) believing that, instead of simply women, both women and men were disadvantaged by the global economic structures, class issues, and wealth distribution (Duffy, 2006, p. 163) and shifting the focus from purely on strategies for the integration of women into development to the relationship between women and development processes (Rathgeber, 1990, p. 9). The shift from

⁹² <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>, retrieved on 17 October 2015.

WID to WAD was not like the succession of leadership, no exact time is known for when it happened, but some authors (Duffy, 2006, pp. 162-163; Rathgeber, 1990, p. 8) stated that WAD was developed in the second half of the 1970s, and some other references (Bradshaw, Castellino, & Diop, 2013; Shahrashoub Razavi & Miller, 1995) did not even mention WAD in informing on the evolution from WID to GAD (Gender and Development), which might indicates that, for them, no difference was perceived between WID and WAD.

In 1975, the first World Conference of the International Women's Year⁹³ was held in Mexico calling for the establishment of international and national machineries to promote the status of women (United Nations, 1975, p. 38). Responding to the appeal, the government of Indonesia established its very first institution as one of the machineries to support the advancement of women; a department led by a junior minister to deal with women's roles affairs in 1978 and soon increased the status in 1983 to be state minister. In the global level, the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) by the General Assembly in 1979⁹⁴ was one of the United Nations' mechanisms in establishing international machinery.

The Conference's global action demanded "the United Nations to proclaim the decade 1975-1985 as the United Nations Decade for Women and Development in order to ensure that national and international action shall be sustained throughout the period" (United Nations, 1975, p. 35). To review and evaluate the progress of the implementation of the recommendations, another world conference⁹⁵ was conducted in Copenhagen in 1980. The conference called for special action to take in areas of employment opportunities, adequate health services, and education.

To review and appraise the achievements of the UN Decade for Women, the third conference⁹⁶ was held in Nairobi at the end of the first decade, in 1985, after which there appeared a new concept of gender mainstreaming for the first time in relation to the debate within the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) on the role of women in development (The Council of Europe, 2004, p. 11). This seems to be engrained from a critique to the WID that it emphasized on women in isolation as a subordinated gender, without exploring the relational nature of the subordination (Moser, 2003, p.

⁹³ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/mexico.html>, retrieved on 29 November 2015.

⁹⁴ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/history.htm>, retrieved on 11 December 2015.

⁹⁵ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/copenhagen.html>, retrieved on 11 December 2015.

⁹⁶ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/nairobi.html>, retrieved on 11 december 2015.

3; Shahrashoub Razavi & Miller, 1995, p. 12) that led to a consensus among feminists to change the focus from women to gender (F. Porter & Verghese, 1999) to accommodate the importance of power and gender relations in understanding women's subordination, which was then known as gender and development (Marnie Wilson, Gadbois, & Nichol) approach. McIlwaine and Datta (2003, p. 369) called it a shift 'from a feminization of development to an engendering of development', a transition of focus from women's only issues to gender equality (Rai, 2003, p. 2).

Before furthering the discussion on the gender mainstreaming policies, it is important to note what gender mainstreaming is. Gender mainstreaming has been defined and practiced in various ways (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005; The Council of Europe, 2004; Walby, 2005), one of the explanations of which is that the term 'gender' has been understood in different ways which entails different strategies of the mainstreaming (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005, p. 497). I quote, for the first reference, the formal definition as documented by the ECOSOC for 1997, because it was most widely cited and adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, which was:

“...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” (UN General Assembly, 1997, pp. 27-28)

Another definition was listed by the Association for Women's Rights in Development, an international membership organization based in Canada, which outlined gender mainstreaming as “a strategy which aims to bring about gender equality and advance women's rights by infusing gender analysis, gender-sensitive research, women's perspectives and gender equality goals into mainstream policies, projects and institutions” (The Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2004, p. 1). Both of which underlined a strategy to achieve gender equality as a goal.

Believing that there was little agreement about definition of gender mainstreaming, the Council of Europe highlighted the importance of including all different aspects mentioned in various definitions, with the main principle of systematic interventions for change (The Council of Europe, 2004) to address women's empowerment and gender equality (United Nations, 2002, p. vi). The Council also underlined that gender equality as the main goal of gender mainstreaming should not be only *de jure* but, further, *de facto*. It means, gender equality should be implemented in every

aspect of life, facilitated, reinforced and escorted by government regulation.

Because the meaning of gender is contested, a number of scholars suggested that gender should be regarded as a verb rather than a noun, which means that gender mainstreaming should underline the processes of gendering, not the fixed sort of gender with the end goal of gender equality (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010; Bacchi, Eveline, Binns, Mackenzie, & Harwood, 2010; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005).

In the fourth conference in Beijing, gender mainstreaming then went on to the global agenda for women's empowerment as formulated in Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action (United Nations., 1996) embodying the commitment of the international community to mainstream gender perspective in all policies and programs at all levels.

As one of the 189 participating countries of the Beijing conference, Indonesian government has committed to create gender equality and justice. The inclusion of (only) two short passages on the status and role of women under the section of Social and Culture as one of the policy's directions in the National Guidelines or *Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* (GBHN)⁹⁷ 1999-2004, in which the term 'gender equality and equity' was mentioned no more than once, is an important starting point of gender mainstreaming. Afterward, to facilitate the realization of the gender equality and equity, UU No. 25/2000 on *Program Pembangunan Nasional* (usually called *Propenas*) or the Program of National Development was issued mentioning gender mainstreaming as one of the cross-sectors issues under the section of the National Development Priority. It was soon followed by a Presidential Instruction called INPRES No.9/2000 on gender mainstreaming program.

In 2004, the government's plan for the national development was not documented by GBHN anymore. It was replaced by a new mechanism of development planning, *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang* (RPJP) or Long-Term Development Plan for 20 years period, which was specified in detail in *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah* (RPJM) or the National Middle-Term Development Plan for every five year period. RPJM 2004-2009, especially chapter 12, avowed the government's awareness of the gender inequality and the institutionally weak network of gender mainstreaming and child's welfare and protection (The Ministry of Law and Human Rights, 2005),

⁹⁷ GBHN, a legacy of the New Order government, was the national guidelines of every five year development period, which was no longer valid after 2004, and replaced by *Remcama Pembangunan Jangka Panjang* (RPJP) or Long Term Development Plan (20 year period) and *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah* (RPJM) or Medium Term Development Plan (every five year period).

which was followed by the government's commitment to increase the quality of women's life and roles as well as child's welfare and protection. Throughout the document, the mentions of gender mainstreaming were always accompanied by child protection, which represents the government's special attention to both gender issues and child protection. It was, then, also followed by the changes of the name of the Ministry of Women Empowerment to be the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection in 2009.

RPJMN 2010-2014 mentioned three mainstream principles as the operational platform of all development implementation; sustainable development, good governance, and gender mainstreaming. The document, especially book two chapter one, focused on the gender mainstreaming and cross-sectors policies, which constituted the main reference of all ministries including the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education or *Kemristekdikti* (previously the Ministry of Education and Culture) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) to succeed the gender mainstreaming.

The Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection in collaboration with the Bureau of Statistics Center (2012, pp. 29-30) documented the government's commitment to gender equality and equity showing the increasingly better achievement of the Gender Development Index (GDI), 63.94 and 67.80 in 2004 and 2011 respectively, which nevertheless was still lower than the Human Development Index (Mehdid), 68.69 and 72.77 in 2004 and 2011 respectively. The ratio between the GDI and the HDI, which was around 93%, tells of the existence of gender disparity, and accordingly serious efforts is needed to increase the capability of both women and men in order to remove, or at least reduce, the gap in their capability. Gender mainstreaming played important roles in the efforts to reduce the gap.

In the global level, however, regardless of the dispute in the definition of gender mainstreaming and the meaning of gender, it was still not known if the gender mainstreaming in international level is successful at the end of the first decade of international women's year, which means the impact of implementation in gender equality were still generally unknown (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 19).

Gender Mainstreaming in Higher Education

In the world of education, it is widely known that the roles of education can be both reproducing

and transforming social norms including gender order (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2005; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Lowe, 1997; Stromquist, 2006). Regardless of it, the concept of gender mainstreaming has been more broadly acceptable among chancellors and rectors in German institution of higher education compared to the language of 'promoting women' or 'gender equality programme' or 'anti-discrimination' (Muller, 2007, p. 35). However, in some cases in Ghana and Tanzania, gender mainstreaming in education has been reduced to just about representation and did not touch issues of power relations between the women and men (Morley, 2010). Even, some documents on gender mainstreaming such as a report on the evaluation of the gender mainstreaming program in Indonesia (Bappenas and The Ministry of Women Empowerment, 2006) emphasized the commitment of increasing the roles of women in development, which sounds like WID, not the more substantial one, changing gender relations to achieve gender equality, which is the essence in gender mainstreaming.

However, if gender equality is the main goal of gender mainstreaming, the principles of managing education in Indonesia has been in line with it, at least *de jure*. The Act No 20/2003 on National Education System, especially chapter III, section four, verse one, states that education should be conducted in democratic ways, and non-discriminatory, as well as upholding human rights, religious values, cultural norms, and the nation's diversity. The language used was neutral, but such principles might be understood as a form of derivatives of the Act No 7/1984 on the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Act No 39/1999 on human rights. All of these legal instruments represented the government's commitment to embody gender equality as the main goal of the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action.

Since 1990, based on the agreement between three ministries, the Ministry of Women's Roles Affairs (now the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection), the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the Ministry of Education and Culture, many state-owned higher education institutions in Indonesia started to formally establish women studies unit or often called *Pusat Studi Wanita* (PSW) under the Research and Community Service Center of each university, which means that women studies in Indonesian HE before 1990 were not formally included in the structural positions of the institutions.

But previously, in 1979, *Kelompok Studi Wanita* (KSW) or Women Studies Group of the University of Indonesia (UI), one of the biggest public universities in Indonesia, already launched a Unit of Gender and Development Studies. Later in 2000, UI established *Pusat Kajian Wanita dan Gender* (PKWG) or The Center for Women and Gender Studies to unite all the groups of women studies in UI⁹⁸. At the time of writing this research report, I found that the head and secretary of the Center were males, while both the vice-heads were females⁹⁹, which has been rare in any other PSW/PSG/PSGA in Indonesia.

In some Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia such as UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta an Institut Ilmu Al-Qur`an (IIQ) or Institute of Qur`anic Science Jakarta, the PSWs started from *Kelompok Program Studi Wanita* (KPSW) or Group of Women Studies Program in 1990 (Fauzia et al., 2004, p. 87). But most of the other Islamic higher education institutions started to have PSW after 1990. Within 1990s, nationally, the number of women recruited as civil servant faculty members impressively increased. In terms of the representation of women faculty members in the two universities where I did the field work for this project, I found there was a considerable increase in the recruitment of women in 1995 onwards. From the documents provided to me by the two universities, 77.5% of the women were recruited in and after 1995, a time when gender mainstreaming program had been socialized in Indonesia.

As soon as the gender mainstreaming program was introduced in 2000, many PSWs changed their name to be *Pusat Studi Gender* (PSG) or Gender Study Center. And when the government's development plan, RPJMN 2004-2009, highlighted gender and child mainstreaming, then the Ministry of Women Empowerment changed to be the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, many *Pusat Studi Gender* (PSG)s or Gender Study Center changed their name to be *Pusat Studi Gender dan Perlindungan Anak* (PSGA) or Gender Study Center and Child Protection in 2010.

PSWs/PSGs/PSGAs in Islamic higher education institutions are responsible in increasing gender equality through academic development, especially from Islamic perspective, as their contribution in supporting the gender mainstreaming in national development (Pusat Studi Gender UINSA, 2010).

⁹⁸ <https://pkwg.ui.ac.id/tentang-pkgw/tentang-kami/> retrieved on 20 July 2015.

⁹⁹ <http://pkwg.ui.ac.id/tentang-pkgw/organisasi/> retrieved on 17 September 2015.

However, the existence of those gender study centers should not replace the institution's commitment to include gender mainstreaming procedures in every policy and program.

From the government's perspective, some steps to support the commitment of creating gender equality in education has been implemented. In terms of access to education, some policies were introduced, such as; increasing access and space in education, lowering the drop-outs rate for girls, and increasing the school retention especially for those in remote area (Bappenas and The Ministry of Women Empowerment, 2006, p. 31). In terms of the quality and relevance, the government took some steps of improving curriculum and teaching materials to be more gender sensitive, and improving the quality of the teachers and the administration persons in terms of knowledge about gender equality. The management sector was also subject to the government's policy in gender mainstreaming, which was manifested through analysing policies and rules that are gender biased, formulating and enacting policies and rules that are gender sensitive, capacity building, and establishing centres for women or gender studies as well as strengthening other study centres in terms of gender knowledge so they would be able to be the partners of the government in developing education with gendered vision.

Nevertheless, looking back to a previous section of Indonesian Higher Education Landscape, it seems that the gender mainstreaming, especially in higher education in Indonesia, seemed to be merely a discourse without adequate implementation. The fact that no segregated data was provided on the faculty members both in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and in the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti) indicates a lack of transparency to do with this issue. In many cases gender mainstreaming was often reduced to mere representation; the segregated data on faculty members along with their academic and/or managerial ranks was not provided. Segregated data is not the only indicator of gender mainstreaming tools, but it helps in various ways in analysing the gender mainstreaming program.

Profiling the Two Universities

This section discusses the two sites where I did my research, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya or UINSA and UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang (UIN Maliki), which mainly based on the websites of the two universities and was supported by data from related documents and interviews with the

women faculty members of the two universities. In December 2013, when I started my fieldwork, UINSA and UIN Maliki had 118 and 111 women faculty members respectively. Seventeen long (at least 15 years) serving women faculty members participated in my study, thirteen from UINSA and four from UIN Maliki. From UIN Maliki, I could not recruit as many women as those from UINSA, because most of the women faculty members at UIN Maliki were newly recruited, especially due to some new departments after its conversion to UIN from IAIN in 2004, who, consequently, did not have long serving history.

As part of society in the information era, it is common for universities to operate official websites to attract potential students and scholars. The websites usually contain information and images that gives positive impression of the institutions, such as the institution's achievement, facilities, programs, academic activities, and student and job recruitment. When I googled university websites during analysis in 2014 and 2015, the majority of the information was related to potential students. This might be the reason for many websites emphasizing the environmental aspects of campus in their main scene especially by visual representations, which, according to Pooock and Lefond (2001), were the most important ones to potential students. Representations about the environmental elements helped potential students determine if they "fit in" at the particular institution (p. 19). Ramasubramanian et al.'s (2003) research found that exposure on the types of visuals was important in the viewers' assumption about academic prestige, athletic reputation, cultural vitality and invitingness of a university. I did not find any previous research on the representation of gender and religion in university websites.

The websites of the two universities that I researched, UIN Maliki and UINSA, included mainly those updated during a period of time from September 2014 to September 2015. I explored both the stated texts (including pictures) and the unstated ones, especially those indicative of some veiled meanings. I would like to have a look at how religion and gender relations were represented in the websites to support the bigger picture of the two universities for which the women faculties I interviewed work. As an early glimpse, from the websites of both universities (UINSA and UIN Maliki) and the available documents that were provided to me, both universities were established in early 1960s and started to recruit a very few women faculty in 1970s, but have employed many more women since 1990s.

UIN MALIKI

UIN Maliki had six departments; Science and Technology, Economics, Humanities, Psychology, *Tarbiyah* (Education), and *Syari'ah* (Law). Most of those departments, except *Tarbiyah* and *Syari'ah*, started to operate in 2004 after the institution converted its status from an institute (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri* or IAIN) to be a university (Universitas Islam Negeri or UIN). From the university's website, I found that two of the six departments, department of Humanities and department of Science and Technology, were led by women, while the rector and the vice rectors were all men. It was challenging to find out the representation of women faculty, as the data was not gender segregated, so I identified and recapitulated manually to find out the representations of women. Based on a document provided to me by the university, in 2013, out of the total of 317 tenured faculty members, 35% of whom (111) were women. It had 13 professors, none of whom was woman. The distribution of women in each department was 47% in Science and Technology, 42% in Economics, 31% in Humanities, 27% in Psychology, 26% in *Tarbiyah* (Education), and 22% in *Syari'ah* (Law).

Unfortunately, the website did not provide information about the data of the board of senates which plays a very important role in decision making process. Also, no information was available about the statistics of the students and the whole faculty members in the website. But another electronic source from the website of the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education mentions that in 2015 UIN Maliki has 13.871 students in the first semester, and 12.767 students in the second semester (Kemenristekdikti, 2016b).

During my analysis of UIN Maliki's website between September 2014 and September 2015, the website did not have its rector's introduction in it, and if the link of the rector was clicked, it would go to the official personal website of the rector containing his articles and information regarding the classes that he handled. Not finding the rector's introduction, I went to the profile of the university informing that the typical characteristics on UIN Maliki was that it offered a synthesis between University traditions and *ma'had* or Islamic boarding house; requiring students to be capable in two biggest international languages, English and Arabic, by making them stay in the provided boarding house within the campus area in the whole first year of study to intensify the language learning and acquisition. More than that, the profile contained mostly the history of the institution

that I already described previously.

The vision and mission of the university emphasized the commitment of the institution to create excellent professional and religious human resources and to make the university as a center of excellence and center of Islamic civilization implementing Islam as the blessings for the universe (*rahmatan lil'alamin*).

The web site of UIN Maliki had six texts (and/or pictures) sliding in the main scene; Multiculture University (consisting of foreign male pictures), *Konferensi Bahasa Arab Internatsional* (International Arabic Language Conference), *Selamat atas Pencapaian akreditasi "A"* (Congratulation for Accreditation "A" Achievement), World Class University (presenting pictures of groups of men), The Integration of Islam and Science (showing pictures of a group of men doing science and another group doing Arabic classic text), Have Your Bright Future here (presenting pictures of the campus buildings and its environment). There was not even small picture of women.

Women were absent in the main scenes of the website, even though the data showed that women faculty made up 35% of all the faculty members. It seemed like women were concealed from the main scene, which was confirmed by Indana, a high-level administrator at UIN Maliki. She recalled that when the campus welcomed and had a meeting with a group of (male) guests from the Middle East, all the women staff were asked not to appear on the way and in the meeting room.

When there was an event involving guests from Saudi Arabia, the path that would be passed by them was sterilized from women, no woman. They meant to respect women, but for us, it marginalized women. No woman was allowed visible in public. All women stayed in their room. No woman was present [in public areas of the campus]. Also, when there was a meeting in the evening, if it invited kyais, women were often just serving the beverage, then the meeting was closed off, no females, even though [female] leaders or administrators (Indana).

As the university was an Islamic one, the concealing of women might be related to a concept of *hijab* (cover) for women in Islam. It is about the separation of space between women and men (Ali & Leaman, 2008, p. 50), which should actually be understood within its context of the revelation of the Qur'an. Unfortunately, ahistorical and textual interpretation has been widespread and influential, which has been developed by some Muslims (FK3, 2001, p. 139) as confirmed by Nazaruddin Umar (2002, p. xxiii) that the most dominant method of interpretation in the Islamic scholarship is *tahlili*, which puts the focus on text. In fact, every revelation of any verses was not in an empty social, cultural, and political context. Abdul Djamil (2002, p. x) pointed that Islam was revealed in a society

where the condition of women were marginalized, socially, culturally, and politically, which should be an important point to ponder in the exegesis of the Qur`anic verses and in understanding *hadiths* (the traditions of the Prophet).

Returning to the issue of the absence of women in the main scene of the university's website and the concealing of women staff during a visit from Middle East, it seemed that the university managers wanted to emphasize that the university is really compliant to 'Islamic values'-the values that were embraced by the Muslim majority, both men and women, which might be part of their strategy in marketing to attract new students, scholars, and institutions for partnerships.

In the News section of the website, there were two issues; one describing a female guest talking about children and parenting, the other one is about the Minister of Religious Affairs's comment on Islamic Universities. Once a woman was presented, it was related to the issue of children and parenting, which has been widely perceived as women's responsibility, and was in line with the gendered concept of *kodrat* (Blackburn, 2004; Hadiz & Eddyono, 2005; Robinson, 2009; Suryakusuma, 2011) that was taken ubiquitously in Indonesia prescribing women's roles as carer and mother. This was also about positioning the main responsibility of caring on women, which is also the case in many parts of the world (Cameron, 2001, 2006; Chopra & Sweetman, 2014; Colbeck, 2006; Drago et al., 2006; Mason & Goulden, 2004b; Pocock, 2005; Sullivan, 2014).

By presenting women talking about parenting, it might want to deliver a message that the university is not harmful for the ideology approving a 'noble' main task of caring for women, which, for many feminists, means securing the privileged group that was notably men, and the patriarchal culture is protected. Indeed, it might represent the institution's construction of women especially as the main performer of traditional role of caring, which confirmed Leathwood's (2013) claim that women in higher education were portrayed with their traditional constructions of femininity.

Below the main scene was postings on recent news containing pictures of mostly men, except one on women students doing science. While the women's 'noble' role of parenting as a confirmation on the harmless gender construction of the university was delivered, the picture of women doing science was important in impressing the image that the university also support modern idea that women can do science which has been perceived as male discipline (Eisenhart & Finkel, 1998; Schiebinger, 2000).

A picture on a well-known program of *Posdaya*, a program under the community service center, confirmed the invisibility of women. While the center was led by a woman, and therefore the *Posdaya* was also managed by the woman, the picture on the program showed male only figures, whereas the woman was one of nineteen national organizers of *Posdaya* and managing the program throughout the province of East Java.

Curious about the representation of women in the website, I opened the links below the main scene; the newest articles, the main news, and two galleries; a gallery of activities and a gallery of pictures. The section of newest articles contained all men's work, especially the rector's, vice rector's, and the previous rector's. The main news was about the alumni gathering, and the gallery of activities and pictures presented mainly men, especially in bigger sizes, while women were mainly presented as a big group of audience, so women were not visible.

One of the pictures showed five men sitting in the front desk of an international seminar with the background of a narrow-opened door through which I could see a woman in a room, which signified a peripheral role of women in important scholarly events. This was exactly in line with Indana's story that women were hidden in certain circumstances and comparable with the story told by one of the women from UINSA, Salma, who shared her undergraduate study experiences of how she witnessed the peripheral roles of women in every university activity. That women are located in peripheral position is in line with the well-established gender construction of domestic and caring responsibilities of women legitimated by currently effective the Marriage Act 1974 as well as the Javanese concept of *kanca wingking* (Boy ZTF, 2009, p. 57; Darwin, 2004, p. 284; Doorn-Harder, 2006; Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1998; Kholifah, 2010, p. 86; Leight, 2007, p. 11; Munir, 2002, p. 196; Muttaqin, 2008, p. 146; Rahayu, 1996, pp. 5-6; Wahono et al., 2006, p. 29; Wessing, 1997, p. 113). Below are two pictures showing how women were constructed in the website of the university.



Figure 1: The granting of *Tabiyah* Awards in the Management of Islamic Higher Education Change, a picture on the screen of UIN Maliki's website. Source: <http://www.uin-malang.sc.id>, retrieved December 13, 2014



Figure 2: International seminar on Challenges in Education towards the Realization of Asian Community 2015, a picture on the screen of UIN Maliki's website. Source: <http://www.uin-malang.sc.id>, retrieved December 13, 2014

The Law department's link presented a special column for the (male) Dean's articles with a clear picture of the Dean, in addition to some other pictures presenting mainly male students and, again, one picture positioning females in the back. I was expecting to also find the articles of the Deans when I visited links of the department of *Tarbiyah* (education), a discipline that is associated with feminine area, but it contained pictures of activities that mainly involved men. Similarly, the department of humanities and the department of science and technology, whose deans were both women, presented the pictures of the departments' leaders, but no special space for the deans' work. This demonstrated that women were not adequately represented in academic and scholarly works.

A similar impression of male domination was given by the official site of the faculty of Psychology, Economics, and the post-graduate program, whose academic related activities, pictures and news did not put women at the centre. The only visible picture of a woman accompanied by a young man was the speaker of a seminar on parenting and education in the faculty of psychology, the one that I already described previously. From the university's website, I expected to see women represented in the sections of the departments, centers, or units that were led by women, but this did not happen. Women were invisible. In general, women were much less represented in the websites of the university and its sub links, which supports Acker's (2006) claim that universities are gendered

organization outlining gendered organisational practices. This is also an evidence that women were outsiders in higher education, which is consistent with the findings of previous research (Carvalho, Ozkanli, Prozesky, & Peterson, 2013; Pololi & Jones, 2010; White, 2013; White & Bagilhole, 2013).

As a website of an Indonesian higher education institution, it has to present the tridharma or the three pillars of higher education. Based on *Peraturan Pemerintah* or the Government Regulation (PP No 37/2009 on faculty member), Tridharma is key in higher education in Indonesia, which includes three main responsibilities of higher education; education, research, and community service. Women were not visible in all the website's presentation of the aspects of education and community service such as the ones signposted in the vision and mission (previously discussed), in the link of Quality Assurance, and in the gallery of activities. In the link of tridharma, the aspect of education only mentioned a list of departments (postgraduate, department of science and technology, economics, psychology, humanities, *syari'ah* (Law), and *tarbiyah* (education)) and the description of each department without any concern on gender or women. I made separate analysis for the representation of women in the aspect of research (and its publication), because it seemed to be best presented in the website especially through a bulk of journal articles.

More than 30 electronic journals published by UIN Maliki was available and accessible in the website, but none of the journals were accredited during the period of September 2014 to September 2015. To check how gender was exemplified in the journals, I took five journals, *El Harakah* (a journal of Islamic Culture), *Ulul Albab* (a journal on Islamic studies), the Journal of Islamic Architecture, *Lingua*, a journal of linguistics and literature, and *Egalita* (a journal of gender equality), which were published in 2013 and 2014. In case some journals were not available from that period of time, I took two latest publications prior to 2013.

Compared with other journals in UIN Maliki, *El Harakah* (a journal of Islamic Culture) was the most constant in publication, while consistency in publication is one of the crucial requirements of journal credibility for accreditation. From the four issues of *El Harakah* published in 2013 (Vol.15 No 1 and No. 2) and 2014 (Vol. 16 No. 1 and No. 2), no single article was relevant with my study, but female authors were well represented in all the four issues. Out of the total of 28 articles, eleven were by female authors, two by mix of female and male authors, and fourteen by males, which means the percentage of women as author in this journal was higher than the percentage of the total number

of female faculty members in the university (UIN Maliki).

For another journal, '*Ulul Albab*' (a journal on Islamic studies), I picked four issues from 2014 and 2013 publication; Vol.15 No.2 (2014), Vol 15 No 1 (2014), Vol 14 No 1 (2013), and Vol 14 No.2 (2013). In total, they had 26 articles six of which were written by females, nineteen by males, and one by a mixture of a female and a male, which means women made 23% in this journal that was regularly published twice a year. None of the articles was about gender or women issues.

I also took three volumes from *the Journal of Islamic Architecture*, Vol 3 No. 2 (2014) consisting of four male authors and one mixed authors, Vol 2 No.3 (2013) with three females out of seven authors, and Vol 1 No. 2 (2010) containing one female author out of five. None of the titles were about gender or woman issues.

Lingua (a journal of linguistics and literature) had more women authors compared to the other journals, except *Egalita* (a journal of gender equality). Vol 9 No. 1; 06-2014 contained two female authors, five males, and one mixed of females and males authorship. Vol 9 No. 2; 08-2014 had six articles written by females, two by males, and one by mixed. There were no *Lingua* issues uploaded for publication of 2013, nor 2012, so I picked one from 2011. Out of 12 articles in Vol 6 No 2-2011, seven were written by females, four by males, and one by mixed. Out of the total of 29 articles in the three issues, 15 of them were by female authors, so women made up 52%. Other than *Egalita*, it was the only one among the journals I analysed that contained an article on gender issues, but none of them was relevant with my study. It was not known if the absence of issues for 2012 and 2013 publication was because they were published in those years or they were but not uploaded in the website. If the absence was because of the inconsistency in publication, then the better representation of women in it might be understood that women were concentrated in less prestigious journal.

Egalita (a journal of gender equality) was another journal that had more women (59%) than men (41%) as the contributors. There was no issue uploaded for the publication of 2013 and 2014, so I picked those from 2012, 2011, and 2010, one volume each year uploaded, while inconsistency leads to a lack of credibility. From *Egalita*, I did not find any article that was relevant to my research. When I typed the key words of '*perempuan*' (women) to search for relevant articles from *Egalita*, some emerging titles were about Islam and the political participation of women, feminism and women's

movement, women trafficking, and violence against women.

As an important element of university, the PSG (gender study centre) plays a crucial role in enabling the institution in supporting the gender mainstreaming program. Nevertheless, I did not find any section of PSG in the website of the university¹⁰⁰, but found it's own website¹⁰¹, separated from the university's. It might be intentional or not. If it was intentional, it might be related to the image that the university wanted to create, which is an Islamic university that is pure without any ideological influence that is 'harmful' for the Islamic *aqidah* or faith. This is related to the negative assumption that existed in society about the term 'gender' as told by Erina, an administrator at UIN Maliki. She said that the staff of the gender study centre was very careful in communicating with society about transforming gender relations to be more equal. Otherwise, they will fail to deliver the message, as the term was so resistant especially in the world of pesantren which they huddled up to be their partner in creating and socializing more equal gender relations.

Pesantren had a crucial place in Islamic institution like UIN. The PSG's dependence on pesantren was high, because in Java, especially East Java, the culture of *opo jare kyai* (obeying what the preacher says) is so strong, whereas East Java is well known with so many favourite, famous and modern pesantrens. There is a popular principle in pesantren that is derived from a part of a Qur'anic verse, 2; 285, *sami'na wa atha'na*, (I listen and I obey), whose context is actually about the obedience to God's command.

Since the centre was part of an Islamic institution, it knew how to adjust with the Islamic norms and traditions in socializing the gender perspectives, which was shown in an article on a program of 'the transformation of equality values in pesantren' published in the website of the gender study centre. It mentioned that the centre avoids the use of the term 'gender' because it is resistant in pesantren world due to the assumption that the term came from Western ideas that will disrupt the well-established gender roles. It also stated that they avoid the use of 'hermeneutic method' which is disliked by most pesantrens and used thematic method instead. It was mentioned that the most important thing is that the mission was accomplished. This is in line with a research finding about women's movement in Indonesia's pesantren by Khariroh (2010, p. 145) whose participants used

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.uin-malang.ac.id/>, retrieved on 7 September 2014.

¹⁰¹ <http://psg.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php?pilih=hal&id=4>, retrieved on 7 September 2014.

Islamic terms such as '*adalah* (justice) and *musawwah* (egalitarianism), instead of 'gender' or 'feminism', to develop gender sensitivity in the Muslim community.

From the written account presented in the website, the PSG was confident enough testifying that they were well accepted by pesantrens because they used religious language to communicate with them, so several pesantrens were willing to visit the PSG to learn more about the equality. This was reasonable because the head of the PSG was a pesantren alumnus, either several personals helping her manage the PSG were.

Overall, the website of UIN Maliki was gendered, male in surface and in essence, despite the efforts of the gender study center to socialize gender equality. The general picture was in line with Leathwood's (2013) finding featuring men as predominantly intellectual and females as chiefly compliant with traditional femininity. This was not surprising because the dominant interpretation of religious teaching was accommodating cultural norms which was often subordinating and marginalizing women. Despite the well-known inclusiveness and moderateness of Indonesian Islam (Alfian, 2014; Hilmy, 2013; Laffan, 2006; Masdar, 2012; Najib, 2003; D. Porter, 2005), the gender ideology of the state, *ibuisim* (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1987; Suryakusuma, 2011), was still pervasive.

UIN SUNAN AMPEL (Pusat Studi Gender UINSA)

In December 2013, when I started my field work, UIN Sunan Ampel, often named UINSA, was in its transition from *Institut Agama Islam Negeri* (IAIN) or the State Institute of Islamic Studies to Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) or the State Islamic University. IAIN Sunan Ampel had five departments, which were *Tarbiyah* (Education), *Dakwah* (Islamic public relations), *Syari'ah* (Law), *Adab* (Literature), and *Ushuluddin* (Islamic Studies), but after converting to UIN, it added four new departments; Science and Technology, Economics and Islamic Business, Psychology and Health, as well as Social Science and Politics.

Again, because the data was not gender segregated, I had to find out in manual ways the representation of women faculty members at UINSA. At the end of 2013, the total number of tenured faculty members was 505, 118 (23%) of whom were women, higher than the condition in 2009, which was 21%. It means in four years, the number of women faculty has increased by 2%. The figure

increased again considerably by 6.5% in another four years. Women made up 29.5% out of the total of 600 faculty members in 2017. Among all the faculty members, 37 were professors, but only 3 of them were women, or just 8 %, which was much smaller than the percentage of the whole women faculty, which was 29.5%. Among the nine departments, the department of Psychology and Health had the highest percentage of women faculty, which was 71%, followed by the department of Science and Technology (51%), Islamic Business (33%), *Tarbiyah* or Education (28%), *Dakwah* or Islamic Publication (27%), Social Science and Politics (22%), *Syari'ah* or Islamic Law (21%), *Adab* or Islamic Literature (17%), and *Ushuluddin* or Theology (17|%).

Regarding the women professors, two of them won tenure in the second half of 1970s, and each of them was granted their professorship in 2005 and 2006, which took around three decades of service, while most of the male professors were tenured later than the women did, but many of whom reached professorship earlier than the women. This is an evidence that women's career moves up more slowly than men's does.

Among the highest management or leadership positions, there was a woman, as a vice rector in administrative, planning, and financial affairs. In the level of faculty, one dean was a woman, and four were vice deans, two of whom were in charge of academic affairs, and two other were in administrative affairs. The website that I accessed on 3rd of September 2014 mentioned the membership of the senate, which was 43, five of whom were women. It was 12% of the whole member, which was not parallel with the percentage of women faculties that was 23%. In short, women were under-represented in the structure of the management, the academic ranks, senate, and the general picture of the faculty members, which was also a common case in other parts of regions and the worlds (Sandra Acker, 2005; Benschop & Brouns, 2003; Buckley et al., 2000; Carrington & Pratt, 2003; A. Cook & Glass, 2014; Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Murniati, 2012; Neale & Özkanlı, 2010; Wayong, 2007; H. Winchester et al., 2006).

Unfortunately, the website did not include the statistical data of the students and the staffs other than faculty members and the top leaders such as rector, vice rectors, deans, and vice deans. This might be because the website of UINSA was still in development due to the newly converted status from IAIN to UIN at the very end of 2013. The number of students in 2015 was 13.233 in the first semester, and 11.462 in the second semester.

The rector's introductory passages in the website that I accessed on 8 March 2015 mentioned that the university was committed to be the center of development and dissemination of Indonesian Islamic civilization that was *rahmatan lil'alamin*-a term commonly used by moderate Muslims to emphasize the importance of inclusiveness and peace in religious life. He also mentioned the promise of the university in integrating two broad fields of science, Islamic and modern ones. His last words were about the ideal human resources that the university wanted to create, which were excellent, competitive, innovative, and having high moral standard. His introductory passages were the same in April 2017. Despite, as told by some women I interviewed, the rector's good awareness of gender equality, he did not mention about gender equality, which was probably due to the mainstream's, namely conservative Muslim's, resistance to things associated with the terms of gender, equality, and feminism (Barlas, 2002, pp. xii,2; Muttaqin, 2008, p. 71; Othman, 2006, p. 339).

From the vision and mission of the university that was presented in the website by 2015, there was no statement about espousing equality, whatever the base. However, some women that I interviewed acknowledged that the rector was good at dealing with gender issues, at least if compared to the previous rectors. They mentioned some evidence that he was the first rector who promoted women to be vice rector and dean. They also added that the previous rectors gave place to women at most as vice deans and it was also just a small number. The vision and mission in its 2017 website has changed to be international-oriented, but still did not include any issue of equality.

Regarding the tridharma, the website seemed to give more space to research (and publication) than community service and education, which was also the case in UIN Maliki's website. It has been well documented that research was privileged compared to teaching (Gray, Froh, & Diamond, 1992, p. 20; Hass, 1996, pp. 387-388; Lucas, 2006, p. 30) and has been strengthened due to the neo-liberal pressures (M. Baker, 2012, p. 25) in higher education. Five big themes were presented just above the main screen of the website, which were '*Tentang UINSA*' (about UINSA), '*Studi*' (Study), '*Penelitian & Pengabdian, Publikasi*' (Research, Community Service, and Publication), and '*Daftar ke UINSA*' (Register to UINSA), no special theme was there for the first pillar, education (and teaching).

Referring to the government regulation PP No 37/2009 on faculty member the aspect of education should include mastering, implementing, and disseminating the transcendent values,

sciences, technology, art, and sports, however, I found a small relevant sub-section under the theme of 'Tentang [about] UINSA', which was 'Filosofi Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan' or the philosophy of the education providence, stating;

- (1) *Filosofi penyelenggaraan pendidikan universitas adalah menemukan, mengembangkan, melakukan inovasi dan menyebarkan ilmu pengetahuan di bidang ilmu-ilmu keislaman, sosial-humaniora serta sains dan teknologi sehingga menghasilkan sumber daya manusia yang mandiri, unggul, kompetitif dan inovatif* [The philosophy of the education providence of the university is to find, develop, do innovation, and disseminate science in Islamic sciences, social-humanities, as well as science and technology, in order to produce independent, excellent, competitive, and innovative human resources]
- (2) *Filosofi penyelenggaraan pendidikan tersebut diwujudkan melalui tiga pilar program akademik, terdiri dari:* [Such philosophy of the education providence would be manifested in three academic programs which consist of]:
 - a. *penguatan ilmu-ilmu keislaman murni tapi langka* [strengthening the pure but rare Islamic sciences]
 - b. *integrasi keilmuan keislaman pengembangan dengan keilmuan sosial-humaniora* [integrating Islamic sciences development with social-humanities fields]
 - c. *pembobotan keilmuan sains dan teknologi dengan keilmuan keislaman* [internalizing Islamic sciences into science and technology]

The theme of 'Studi (Study), as the most possible theme to relate to the pillar of education (and teaching), contained the sub-themes of the advantages of studying in UINSA, Study Programs (contained levels of program), Faculties (departments or fields of study), learning center, and scholarships. 'The advantages of studying in UINSA' included an issue of *sistem pembelajaran integrative* (integrative learning system) explaining that the university employed integrative learning system intending to facilitate the implementation of the tridharma based on the values of moderate and transformative Islam as an actualization of *Islam rahmatan lil'alam* (Islam brings blessings and prosperity for the whole universe).

The theme of *Pusat Pembelajaran*¹⁰² or learning centre contained some sub-themes, namely, *pesantren kampus* (campus Islamic boarding house), the center for language development, computer training, English Language Teaching for Islamic Studies (ELTIS), Library, and Laboratory. However, only the sub-theme of library that was active, the others were under construction as it was informed.

Another pillar of higher education, research (and publication), got numerous attention in the

¹⁰² In the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (The Big Dictionary of Indonesian Language), *Pembelajaran* means "proses, cara, perbuatan menjadikan orang atau makhluk hidup belajar" or process, methods, and acts that enable people (or living creature) to learn.

website. UINSA had a number of research institution including research center, religion and social studies institution, national center for civic education, entrepreneurial and Islamic business development institution, center for peace building, and center for gender studies. Even though information on the research institutions was mostly minimum, or even not available, it provide information on the research grants both for faculty members and students. For the research grants, one of the topics of research to recommend was 'Islam and gender', which is a good move for gender mainstreaming. The publication for articles from research activities took serious attention especially for the accredited one.

Clicking the section of publication, I found three types of journals; international, accredited, and unaccredited, the total of which was 39 title of journals. There were seven accredited journals, one of which was an international journal, *the Journal of Indonesian Islam*. The unaccredited type was the biggest in quantity (24 journals), but several of them did not have anything uploaded, some others uploaded only one issue, another some uploaded the issues published by 2013, and only three of them uploaded the recent publications (2014).

Among unaccredited journals, I chose only three that were published between 2012 and 2014 depending on the availability of the uploaded articles; they are '*Jurnal Studi Gender Indonesia*' (Journal of Gender Studies Indonesia), '*Indonesian Journal of English Teaching*', and '*Jurnal Al Hukama*' (The Journal on Islamic Family Law).

'*Jurnal Studi Gender Indonesia*' had only two issues uploaded; Vol 4 No 1 (2013) with seven female and two male writers, and Vol3 No 1 (2012) having only one article by a male author. For '*Indonesian Journal of English Teaching*', there was only one issue uploaded, Vol 2 No 2 (2014) consisting only two articles by female authors. Lastly, '*Jurnal Al Hukama*' Vol 4 No 2 (2014) covered ten articles which were written by females and males equally, while Vol 4 No 1 (2014) had eleven articles; six male and five female authors.

Out of 33 articles from the unaccredited journals, none of them was relevant with my study even from the Journal of Gender Studies, and while the percentage of women faculty members in the university was only 23% in 2013, female writers represented 58%. If the unaccredited journals had more women than men writers, the next passage would show if this was the case with accredited journals.

Out of seven accredited journals, I picked three of them that were published in 2013 and 2014; *Al Mutawatir*, *Teosofi*, and *the Journal of Indonesian Islam*. For *Al-Mutawatir*, a journal on *Tafsir Hadith* (the Qur'anic exegeses and the Prophet's traditions), I took four issues. Vol 4 No 2 (2014) had nine articles with only one female writer, Vol 4 No 1 (2014) included eight articles written by six males and two females, Vol 3 No 2 (2013) had seven males and one female author, Vol 3 No 1 (2013) contained six male and two female authors. In such four issues of *Al-Mutawatir*, women's presence was 22%, which might signify the scarcity of female's expertise in *Tafsir Hadith*, and therefore, means the interpretation and re-interpretation of Islamic texts potentially did not take women's account. Indeed, it was well documented that the dominant interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith had been patriarchal (Ali & Leaman, 2008, p. 38; Barlas, 2002; Mustaqim, 2003, p. xiii; Subhan, 2002, p. 60; Wadud, 1999, pp. 95-96). Of all the articles from the four issues, there was one article entitled *Tafsir Gender dalam Tafsir Al-Manar tentang Asal Kejadian Perempuan* (The Gender Exegeses in the Book of *A-Manar* about the First Creation of Women) that I could cite to support my discussion on the theological myths on gender.

Another accredited journal that I picked was *Teosofi*, the journal of *Tasawuf*¹⁰³ and Islamic Thoughts, especially Vol 4 No 2 (2014), vol 4 No 1 (2014), Vol 3 No 2 (2013), and Vol 3 No 1 (2013). In total they had 40 articles, two of which were about gender issues, but none of them was relevant with my study. Out of 40 articles, seven were written by females, which means women were represented 17.5%. The next journal seemed to be the most prestigious journal in UINSA, because it was an international journal.

The Journal of Indonesian Islam, an accredited and the only international one that was published twice each year, was best presented in the website with fifteen issues uploaded. I opened four issues from 2014 and 2013 and found that two of them, Vol 8 No 2 (2014) and Vol 7 No 1 (2013), did not have any female author, another one, Vol 8 No 1 (2014), had two female writer, and the other one, Vol 7 No 2 (2013), contained ten articles, one of which was by a woman author. Out of the total of 34 articles from the four issues of the international journal of Indonesian Islam, two were written by females, and none was about gender or women.

¹⁰³ According to an official website of *tasawuf*, <http://tasawwuf.org/tasawwuf/what-is-tasawwuf/>, "Tasawuf is a branch of Islamic knowledge which focuses on the spiritual development of the Muslim"

The representation of women in the best valued accredited journal of UINSA, an international *Journal of Indonesian Islam* (JII), was just 8.8% and in all the three accredited journals that I picked (JII, *Teosofi*, and *Mutawatir*) 17.4%, while in the unaccredited ones women were 58%. The size of the representation of women seemed to be dependent on the status of the journals and the area of discussion; the unaccredited ones had more women, but in the accredited one, women were under-represented especially the international one in which women were severely under-represented. This potentially contributed to the slow vertical move of the women faculty's career path, as the uncredited ones were valued much less than the accredited one in terms of their credits for the career advancement.

The information of the third pillar of higher education, community service, was very limited. The link for the community service contained three sections; the policies for community service, the center for community service, and the Supporting Islamic Leadership (SILE), but only the section of policies that had information in it, the other two were said to be under construction. It was informed in the section on policies that UINSA Surabaya as a higher education had functions of community service which was often called *University Community Engagement* (Macfarlane). The UCE was conducted in collaborative-integrative ways. By 'collaborative' means it was done in collaboration with several institutions and centers in the UINSA coordinated by the head of the Center for Research and Community Service, while 'integrative' entails the integration of the three pillars of higher education based on the partnership with the society and supported by the knowledge management.

In turn, I would like to look at the visual performance of UINSA's website. The first time I opened the official website of UINSA on 14th of December 2014, it had three pictures sliding on the top of the screen. One picture was on congratulating UINSA's choral group in winning the Singapore International Choral Festival 2014, which had two photographs of the group consisting of young women students in the front rows and men in the last row. Another one presented the tagline of UINSA saying "Building Character Qualities for the Smart Pious and Honourable Nation" with the background of an image of design of the university main buildings and three smaller pictures in the right side capturing the university's mosque, a graduation event picturing mostly males, and a group of female and male students doing a discussion in an open space in the campus. Below the slides there was an image of a male academic with his article that had been published in an influential

national newspaper. I am aware that it was just a glance at the superficial display of the website, but it represents the way women were portrayed; women were visible only when they represented non-academic things such as choir.

The photo gallery in the website consisted of many pictures most of which were capturing males, and in case females were presented, they were mostly representing roles that accentuated beauty, such as choral group, music performance, MC, or passive roles such as sitting nicely as audience. One of the photos in the gallery was a picture entitled 'Rector's Inauguration' that contained two women dressed up and made up beautifully, whereas the (male) rector's picture was not there. That women were pictured mostly in non-academic ways was relevant with the experience of Salma. She claimed that when she was in undergraduate, she was aware that women had always been represented in a way that accentuated beauty. Because she realized that she was not beautiful, she tried to change it by entering the areas emphasizing aptitude that had been male dominated such as performing as a moderator in seminar, conference, or discussion.

However, when I visited the website again on early February 2015, it has already been updated much better in terms of how it visualized women. The main scene with five slides in it presented one picture of a group of women students with a text saying "have a nice semester break". Only one big picture of the (male) rector, and the others were architecture, and some texts on felicitation for specific events. The website's photo gallery was empty, but there were some pictures coming with the news and column for articles which were dominated by men which was similar with what happened in the website of UIN Maliki. It seemed that the website was still in its development process, so that many links have not had any content in them.

My visit to UINSA's website in 14th of December 2014 found that the website contained all the institutional elements of the university, including the PSGA (Center for Gender and Child Study), but when I tried to click it, it did not open, which kept the same during 2015 when many times I periodically checked. On other occasion, in 29 December 2014, when I googled the PSG IAIN Sunan Ampel, I could find it in the old web page of the university with the old name IAIN before it converted to be UIN. But, all the old websites, including the one that belonged to the gender study center, had not existed anymore in the 1st of February 2015. With the new website, many links for the university's departments, study centers, units, and other sections were not developed yet in 2015, some of which

remained undeveloped in 2017. But in April 2017, the website presented women students more than men, especially in international events such as 'mobile books collections (MBC) in the University of Sydney', 'info-cultural exposure camp in Filipina', 'Indonesia Korea culture camp', 'and international scientific competition'. Therefore, not many things could be analysed from the website.

Fortunately, I saved the page of the old website of PSG (Pusat Studi Gender UINSA, 2010) in PDF format, so I could open it again when I needed it, even though it just contained a short history of the establishment of the PSG, its vision and mission, its programs, its activities, its collaboration (with the government, with other Islamic higher education institutions in East Java, with AUSAID, and with PSW UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta), and the caretakers.

The passage on the short history of PSG mentioned that the center was initially a group of women study, then formally established in 1995 with the name *Pusat Studi Wanita* (PSW) or Women Study Center with the responsibility of succeeding the national policy on gender mainstreaming through three pillars of higher education, especially from the Islamic perspectives. It also showed that the PSG was active in its activities of disseminating gender equality and equity.

From the documents provided to me by an administrator of UINSA and from the website of the university, it was known that women were under-represented in all of the departments, in the board of senates, managerial positions, and in the accredited journals. Women were visible especially in non-academic issues such as group of choirs or events that accentuating beauty. However, women were accommodated in top managerial positions such as vice rector, deans, and vice deans, which was an adjuvant to the gender mainstreaming program.

Conclusion

In spite of the rhetoric about gender mainstreaming, higher education is still gendered. Even though the percentage of women students was more than half, the case was different with faculty members. Women are under-represented in both universities, both in faculty membership and in management positions. In terms of academic ranks, women were minority in all ranks, and more severely poorly represented in the higher ranks; 28.8% in the lowest and 5.9% in the highest in 2003, with the decreased to be 5% for the highest academic rank (professor) in 2015. From the websites of the two universities, it was evident that women were invisible in academic-related activities. Often

women were presented in relation with roles that needs physical beauty such as receptionists or roles that is linked to caring issues. Once a woman was portrayed as a presenter at seminar, it was a seminar on parenting.

This did not represent the ideal of gender equality and equity as the goal of the gender mainstreaming program that the government has introduced for more than a decade. Various efforts have been done by the personnel of the gender study centers, but they did them carefully due to the potential resistance from the mainstream to the concept of gender equality even to the terms associated with gender and feminism. This was because, according to several previous research reports in Indonesian context, the terms as well as the ideas were claimed to be associated with socialism and communism (Wichelen, 2010, p. 31; Wieringa, 2003, p. 70) and the West or unbelievers (Adamson, 2007, p. 6; Rinaldo, 2013, pp. 6,8; Sadli, 2002, p. 80; Wichelen, 2010, p. 31) Feminism is also suspected as a new form of Western imperialism (Abu-Lughod, 2002).

To be acceptable, the gender study centers used religious approach in their efforts to disseminate the ideas of gender equality and equity. The websites of the two universities also seemed to be reluctant to include issues of gender equality and equity in any of their programs, which was also the case in the extremely important documents of strategic planning of both universities. As an important part of tools in helping to succeed gender mainstreaming program, segregated data was not provided in the websites of the two universities I researched (UIN Maliki and UIN Sunan Ampel) and in the websites of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti). The center for gender studies (PSG) was even not adequately presented in the websites of both universities, both in the internal link of the centers and in the gallery of news and pictures of activities.

My analysis figured out a portrayal of 'harmless' Islamic institution that sometimes limited the women's space, especially UIN Maliki in hiding its women, even women with high managerial positions, to please their guests. This potentially restricted their full direct access to some of the university' maneuvers and policy makings. Women were invisible, or if present, they were positioned in peripheral roles. In this case, the national gender mainstreaming program which is driven by the universities did not reach the solid organizational culture.

CHAPTER SIX

TRIDHARMA AND WOMEN'S CAREERS

Introduction

This chapter explores the ways the women faculty members negotiated policies, religion, and Javanese culture in relation with their work, which were organized into four themes; Tridharma (the three pillars), work culture, challenging inequalities, and career paths. The section of Tridharma discusses the three pillars of higher education (education and teaching, research, and community service) that all faculty members must accomplish as well as their experiences in implementing them, on which the faculty members' performance was assessed to define their professional career. Limited support in time and funding for a high-quality research was the most agonizing one for their academic career, given that the critical research leave policy seemed to be just token.

While the implementation of tridharma noticeably affected academic career paths, the work culture was invisible and subtle, although decisive, in shaping the women's career paths especially through the ways hierarchy and gender harassment operated. In addition, some inequalities contributed to the women's careers in deficit ways. Gender Study Center or PSG had to focus on making gender issues acceptable due to solemn resistance towards feminisms, so it could not do much on affecting policies. Finally, the theme of career paths includes the women's leadership and academic career passages. Some issues such as informal networks, being a 'harmless' woman, avoiding ominous label of militant feminist, and never subordinate males emerged in the interviews especially in relation with leadership tracks, while their academic career paths were shaped by limited support for research, never ending routines and too much teaching loads. However, the women tended to blame themselves for their slow academic rank advancement instead of mentioning cultural and structural issues.

Nine of the seventeen research subjects in this study were in management positions at various levels. For the sake of confidentiality, I will classify the levels of management into lower level and high level; 'lower position' for those such as coordinator of a program in a school, head and secretary of department and head of centers, and 'high level' for those positions of vice dean, dean, vice rector, and rector. This simple classification protects the women from the possibilities of the revelation of their identities, as the number of women having high managerial positions was small. Among the

nine women in management positions, six were in higher-level positions, and three were in the lower ones. All of the six women were in predominantly male territories which is often termed as 'hard' domains such as "finances, bureaucratic administration, formal decision-making and resources seeking" (Blackmore et al., 2015, p. vi), while researchers reported that women leaders are often in 'soft' leadership domains such as the ones involving conflict intervention and caring for students (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007; Blackmore & Sawers, 2015; P. O'Connor, 2015).

Furthermore, I might use the terms of administration (administrative) and management (managerial) interchangeably throughout my report to refer to leadership position. Unlike Western context, it was not common to have chancellors or presidents in the management of higher education in Indonesia, so the highest management position in universities is rector.

Only those with administrative positions stayed in their office on daily basis, most of other faculties, except when there were certain events such as seminar and conference or agendas such as visiting colleague who was hospitalized and giving birth, tended to leave the campus after teaching even though they were provided with a shared room for lecturers. Rafiqah, a faculty with no administrative position, mentioned that she sometimes hanged out, such as going to a café, with her colleagues especially when they had spare time at working hours, which, Elsha said, was much more commonly done by male colleagues with unlimited time such as weekeends or late nights.

One thing to ponder in understanding the stories of the women in this study is that they were all devoted pious Muslims and the universities they served were state-owned Islamic institutions, so they had religiously inclusive environments, which accordingly should have not given significant problems like the ones experienced by Muslim women faculty as minorities (Daniels & Dasoo, 2012). However, the situation was not that simple. In the Muslim community in Indonesian higher education, there were different Muslim student 'political' organizations, to which most of the women in this study were affiliated when they were students and mostly were still involved when they have been faculties or academics. The most influential of which were; PMII (*Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia*) or Indonesian Muslim Student Movement and HMI (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*) or Muslim Student Association. Even though they were student organizations, they occupied crucial positions in the shaping process of the work's lives of the faculty members, which is discussed in some sections in this chapter.

Although I employed feminist standpoint as the framework of this study, I am aware that feminisms are never unitary, including those in the perspectives of Muslims. Therefore, whatever perspective the women in my study had, it would be an alternative to enrich the existing discourses

Tridharma (The Three Pillars)

The academic career structure in Indonesia is different from the one in Western countries. I will highlight some important features of the academic career structure in Indonesia that might facilitate understanding the experiences of the women faculty in this study. In short, all faculty members in Indonesia are required to achieve the three pillars of higher education. There is no teaching only or research only career path for faculty members in Indonesian higher education.

Higher education in Indonesia has three main responsibilities; conducting education, research, and community service (2013; "*Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 37 tahun 2009 tentang Dosen* (Government Regulation of Republic Indonesia Number 37 Year 2009 on Faculty Member)," 2009; "Undang-undang Republik Indonesia No,14 tahun 2005 tentang Guru dan Dosen (The Act of Republic Indonesia No. 14 Year 2005 on Teacher and Faculty)," 2005). The three duties were then called Tridharma Perguruan Tinggi (three pillars of higher education) or just Tridharma ("Undang Undang Republik Indonesia No. 12 Th 2012 tentang Pendidikan Tinggi (The Act No 12/2012 on Higher Education)," 2012). This section presents how the women faculty deliberated their experiences in performing the three pillars of higher education or Tridharma. To facilitate an understanding of their experiences, a short explanation on the regulations on faculty's workload in relation to the Tridharma is presented

The realization of the Tridharma was organized through *Beban Kerja Dosen* (BKD) or faculty's workload which was structured in a number of regulations (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2011, pp. 10-11; article 1 2013; article 8 "*Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 37 tahun 2009 tentang Dosen* (Government Regulation of Republic Indonesia Number 37 Year 2009 on Faculty Member)," 2009, p. 6; article 72 "Undang-undang Republik Indonesia No,14 tahun 2005 tentang Guru dan Dosen (The Act of Republic

Indonesia No. 14 Year 2005 on Teacher and Faculty)," 2005, p. 30) defining at least 12 SKS¹⁰⁴ (credits) per semester and at most 16 SKS per semester. The failure in fulfilling the workload has consequences in terminating the professional (financial) incentives (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2011, p. 31).

The combined aspects of education and research should make up at least 9 SKS per semester and the aspect of community service as well as supporting aspects should be no more than 3 SKS per semester (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2011, pp. 18-20). The aspect of research alone should be at least 3 SKS out of the combined 9 SKS of education and research. Combining the aspects of education and research in measuring the workload is advantageous for women because, as explored under the issue of 'education and teaching' below, women tend to be overloaded in teaching but less involved in research.

There is an exception though, that faculty members who were assigned with managerial or administrative positions such as head of school, vice dean, dean, vice rector, and rector endured lower workload in relation with the Tridharma, which was at least three SKS of education domain per semester; no mandate for research and community services for them ("*Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 37 tahun 2009 tentang Dosen* (Government Regulation of Republic Indonesia Number 37 Year 2009 on Faculty Member)," 2009, p. 7). Indana, a higher-level manager at UIN Maliki, confirmed;

To bear out the Tridharma became easy I think, indeed, having [managerial or administrative] position is advantageous... uhm...because Tridharma became simple. So what is needed is just education and supporting aspects... that's it. Nevertheless, there is a consequence like when we did not do any research, we cannot move up our academic rank. That's the bad thing (Indana).

Behind the amenities, as stated by Indana, the consequence was that if they did not do any research, they would not be able to move up their academic rank.

Different from the above-mentioned faculty workload, specific mechanism was imposed for academic promotion, in which each of the three pillars of Tridharma has its own proportion with the

¹⁰⁴ SKS (or credits) stands for *Sistem Kredit Semester*, which is a unit for quantifying the faculty members' performance in implementing the tridharma. For teaching, 2 SKS (credits) means 90 minutes meeting per week and 3 SKS (credits) means 120 minutes meeting per week. The meetings should be at least 14 times per semester and scheduled between 7.30 up to 16.45, but the time can be changed in compliance with the agreement between the students and the lecturer. Some classes for post-graduate students are often at weekends or evening.

research load increasing along with the upsurge of the ranks.

Table 4: The Proportion of Each Aspect of Tridharma in Academic Promotions

Aspects of Tridharma	<i>Asisten Ahli</i> (Expert assistant)	<i>Lektor</i> (Lector)	<i>Lektor Kepala</i> (Head Lector)	Professor
	%	%	%	%
Education and teaching	≥ 55%	≥ 45%	≥ 40%	≥ 35%
Research	≥ 25%	≥ 35%	≥ 40%	≥ 45%
Community Service	≤ 10%	≤ 10%	≤ 10%	≤ 10%
Supporting elements	≤ 10%	≤ 10%	≤ 10%	≤ 10%

Adopted from the regulation on faculty's workload or BKD (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2011, pp. 18-22) and the operational guide of assessing credits for faculty's academic promotion (The Directorate General of Higher Education, 2014, p. 5)

All of the attributes in the table (expert assistant, lector, head lector, and professor) are lecturers with the lowest rank on the left and the highest on the other end. The table shows that less teaching, but more research, is expected as they rise through ranks. To be sure, research performance is the most important pathway to academic promotion" (M. Baker, 2012; Morley, 2014, p. 116).

For academic rank advancement, there is certain different amount of SKS or credits (more information on SKS is provided in footnote 106) required in every level. Below are the tables related to the academic promotions.

Table 5: Academic Ranks and Credits in Academic Promotions

Levels	Class/room	The minimum required amount of credits	
		total	between levels
<i>Asisten Ahli</i> (Expert assistant)	III/b	150	-
<i>Lektor</i> (Lector)	III/c	200	50
	III/d	300	100
<i>Lektor Kepala</i> (Head Lector)	IV/a	400	100
	IV/b	550	150
	IV/c	700	150
Professor	IV/d	850	150
	IV/e	1,050	200

Source: A power point presentation by *Biro Sumber Daya Manusia Kemenristekdikti* or Bureau of Human Resource of the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (The Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education, 2016).

While the demand for the tridharma was simple for those in higher managerial positions, which was both advantageous and disadvantageous, some women in lower administrative positions, such as Erin and Rahma, recognized that having an administrative or managerial position was beneficial in terms of privilege of allotted grant for research or community service.

When we are in administration, actually there are many opportunities [in terms of grant] for research, also community service, if we wish to take the many available

opportunities... yes, I think when we have administrative position, we have more opportunities (Rahma).

Some women stated that they did not face any problem in fulfilling the responsibilities of the Tridharma. Erin said that she had overloaded credits for all elements of the three pillars. As a lower level administrator, she was given an allotment of research grant once every year and was always involved in a project with the local government for community service. While the demand for the tridharma was achieved, whether the women were able to manage their academic rank advancement was another story, which was elaborated in some other sections in this chapter.

Different stories came from some other women who identified some problems in fulfilling the demands of tridharma, which were especially specified to research and community service, but not for the first domain, education, which is elaborated in the following sub-sections of education, research, and community service. Indeed, sometimes the problem was more on balancing “work-work,” rather than “work-life” balance (Misra et al., 2012, p. 313).

Below is the details of the subjects’ story about their experience in undertaking each aspect of the Tridharma.

Education and Teaching

The aspect of education includes a variety of activities such as teaching, practical activities in laboratory or other places, guiding students’ seminar, supervising students’ practices in the real world including KKN (*Kuliah Kerja Nyata*), PKN (*Praktik Kerja Nyata*), PKL (*Praktik Kerja Lapangan*), PLP (*Program Lapangan Profesi*), or KP (*Kerja Praktik*). advising and/or examining students’ final paper, developing a course outline and teaching materials, counselling students’ academic activities, mentoring junior faculties, undertaking education and teaching activities through *detasering*¹⁰⁵, and undertaking lectures/ tutorial (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2011, 2013). However, for the aspect of education, the most dominant activity mentioned by the women in this study was teaching, and none spoke about mentoring or supervising students’ practices in the real world, except in discussing about community service.

Most of the women who participated in this study were already in high academic ranks, head

¹⁰⁵ In an Indonesian big dictionary’s website, <http://www.kamusbesar.com/8863/detasering>, it is mentioned that *detasering* means appointing workers in a certain place in a certain period of time.

lectors, for whom the loads of teaching and research were equal; only one woman was professor whose education load was smaller than research, and another one was still lecturer with education load higher than research. Among the three aspects of tridharma, education was the only area that none of the women I interviewed lacked credits of, even though the required percentage was high.

All of the women I interviewed, except Afrida and Hanim, did not share stories about the aspect of education and just said that they had no problem with it. While Afrida was assigned overloaded teaching responsibilities, Hanim expressed her enjoyment in teaching especially when the students looked happy. That is in line with previous research stating that women faculties enjoy teaching and tend to have a heavy teaching workload (Angervall, 2016). Hanim was confident that the students enjoyed her teaching because, she admitted, she was always enthusiastic in addition to implementing new teaching strategies. She said that she enjoyed teaching because by teaching she could deliver and share moral messages, life experiences, and motivation. Her love in teaching seemed to be inspiring her daughter who, Hanim said, wanted to be a lecturer like her.

Hanim's enjoyment in teaching and the fact that all the women I interviewed had no problem with the aspect of education (and teaching) might be a vital evidence that teaching is an aspect (of tridharma) that the women were good at and, thus, an important reason that if teaching is not peripheral in the promotion process, women would be more accommodated in the promotion. Subbaye and Vithal (2016, p. 22) suggest that in order to attain equitable and just academic promotion for women, the work of teaching, an area women excel at, should be valued, which will potentially facilitate the increasing number of women professors and, in turn, decision makers, enabling the disruption of the patriarchal and oppressive norms in the workplace.

Research

Faculty's responsibilities in the aspect of research include producing scholarly works, translating scholarly books, editing scholarly works, designing a program or plan, producing works of technology or art, and delivering scholarly oration or being resource person in seminars (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2011, 2013). In short, the aspect of research is more referred to academic or scholarly productivity. In the interviews, the most commonly mentioned activity for the aspect of research was doing a research project which led to producing

scholarly works such as scholarly articles or research reports; only two of the subjects, Indana and Wafiroh, talked about their activity of presenting a paper in international conference. The level of the works (such as articles, research reports, books, or presentation in seminar or conference) whether regional, national, or international is the determining factor in quantifying the value (SKS or credits) of the work. For preserving the status as faculty member (not to lose the financial rights), the aspect of research alone should be at least 3 SKS out of the combined 9 SKS of education and research per semester.

However, for academic promotion purposes, research has been more privileged than the other two components (education/teaching and community services), indicating a hierarchy granting research higher values in academic society. In university academic traditions, research and productivity are prioritized (Ragoonaden, 2015, p. 12), especially in varied university's policies such as hiring practices, rewards system, and procedures for promotion and tenure (M. Baker, 2012; Gray et al., 1992, p. 20; Morley, 2014, p. 116). Research has always been the answer to the requirements of academic promotion (Aiston & Jung, 2015; M. Baker, 2012; Skelton, 2005; H. P. Winchester & Browning, 2015), while women are under-represented in research, resulting in the less opportunities for promotion (Aiston & Jung, 2015; Kahn, 2012; Morley, 2014; O'Meara, 2015; Parker, 2008; Subbaye & Vithal, 2016; Vithal et al., 2013; J. Z. Wilson et al., 2010).

In the universities where I did my research, the privilege on research was also the case especially as indicated in the policies and the websites of the two universities that I discussed in chapter five. From the websites, it was also evident that women were under-represented in scholarly works. While research is an aspect of the *Tridharma* that demands higher load in conjunction with higher academic ranks, some women in my study shared some problems often hindering them from accomplishing the research activities. They included, but not limited to, caring responsibilities, encumbered teaching loads, limited time allocation, limited research grants, and 'political' boundaries.

In some cases, research tends to be delayed when women faculty members have to accomplish other responsibilities in accordance with their *kodrat* (explored under the section of 'Women and the Indonesian State' in chapter one) as the main holder of domestic and care responsibilities. Maryam, who had been actively engaged in gender studies during her career, gave emphasis on a problem that because of domestic responsibilities, women could not exercise their best in doing research, nor

did it regularly every year. She repeated her concerns on her discontent in women faculty's research performance due to domestic responsibilities.

[In terms of research] we [women] were sometimes left behind men because of domestic responsibilities. We could not have maximum result because we did the research in an already tired condition. Could not do research consistently once a year, but at least [wrote] an article, as a strategy to keep having scholarly work. (Maryam).

While the values or credit for an article depends on the level of the journal, accredited or not, as well as local, national, or international, having just one article in one year should not be enough for academic promotion, especially when it is published in an unaccredited journal, or accredited but just local. However, for securing the professional (financial) incentives, it should be fine, because the aspects of research and education are combined in the BKD or workload (as explained previously), so she could rely on the teaching credits.

Irregularity in doing research annually was also experienced by Madania, a senior administrator at UIN Maliki, especially when her children were very young. She told me "in the past especially when my children were still of school age or younger, I was not productive [in scholarly paper and research]". In short, some of the women I interviewed for this study mentioned difficulties in terms of research and scholarly paper due to their lack of time for doing so, some of the explanations of which were that care and domestic responsibilities were mostly attached to them. Consistent with previous research findings (M. Baker, 2012; Luke, 2010; Morley, 2014; Sutor et al., 2001), this study found that, in some cases, women's scholarly productivity was hindered by the traditional division of domestic labour, especially when young children were present.

Indeed, some previous research mentioned that academic women's career development is hindered by family responsibilities especially parenting and housework and affected by the tension between successful academic and good mother, which was not equally experienced by men (Beddoes & Pawley, 2014; Bhalalusesa, 1998; Raddon, 2002). Moreover, such sacrifice for family responsibility potentially impact on research productivity in deficit ways (Beddoes & Pawley, 2014; Jöns, 2011), while research productivity is the most important aspect in the visibility and advancement of academic career.

Nevertheless, some research, especially those using statistical analysis, reported that family issues do not interfere with women's scholarly productivity (Sax, Hagedorn, Arredondo, & Dicrisi III,

2002, p. 438), and, even, the position of being married with children offers credits, instead of penalties, for women academics (Aiston & Jung, 2015). An old research found that while women's productivity in general is lower than men's, outstanding women academic's productivity is not affected by child-rearing (Hamovitch & Morgenstern, 1977, p. 643). Moreover, another study on the productivity of women and men represented in the top six journals in the world, factoring in women's participation in the academic work force, found that there is no significant differences in the productivity between men and women across all the journals and across the disciplines of social science, business, and science (Tower, Plummer, & Ridgewell, 2011, p. 30). In short, these researches involved objective process of reasoning in their analysis, while mine employed subjective and political process, which might explain the different findings.

Yet, some women in my study, Erin, Elsha, Afrida, and Hanim stated that they did research routinely without any barriers and were able to get their research done on time. The age range of their children was widely diverse; Erin's and Hanim's children were of primary school age, Elsha's were of high school age and Afrida's were already grown up adult (university students and already worker). Erin, who was in an administrative position, even mentioned that she had more than enough credits required for academic rank advancement in all the three elements of the tridharma.

To me, Teaching, Research, and Community Service are all overloaded. I was involved in a collaboration with *Pemda* [local government] and as the head of [mentioning a center or unit] I got a quota for research funding every year (Erin).

Similarly, Hanim, who was in high level administrative position, admitted that she never had any problem with research, except when there was a policy on distributing research opportunities evenly to all the faculty members.

This year I am off from research. I had always done research every year previously. One disadvantage of academics couple is that when there is a policy on even distribution for research [funding], the couple will get just one [research funding], even though both of their proposals are good. But for the funding from Jakarta [the Ministry of Religious Affairs], each of the couple can have it if their proposals passed the selection process (Hanim)

Since her husband was also a faculty member in the same university, the research funding from the university was given to just one of them, could not be both, for the sake of even distribution. Each of them (Hanim and her husband) took the chance every other year. Fortunately, both Hanim and her husband could compete for research grants from the MORA without any of them having to miss the

opportunity.

Their stories of success in getting research done regularly every year despite having dependent children might be that having children made the women use of their time more efficiently considering that they did not hire any maid for home chores. Their success to keep being productive while having children is in line with some previous research of women's success in combining child-caring and academic career (Aiston & Jung, 2015; Drago et al., 2006; Sax et al., 2002).

Back to many women with inhibited research productivity. Not only domestic and caring that interrupted some women in accomplishing their research activity, husband's business did either.

At the moment, I have not proposed any research plan for a long time because I am busy. Last time when there was a news of research [grant] offer, I would like to send a proposal, but [it was] late... busy managing my study and my husband's business (Linda).

Linda, a senior faculty member at UINSA, who had several times held managerial positions before pursuing her doctorate study, confessed that since her husband had a business, she had been busy managing the business as she would not trust anyone else to do that, which contributed to her slow move in finishing her research for her dissertation and in competing for research grant from the campus.

Other than that, another woman shared her experience of being marginalized because of 'political' reasons, so that her chance of getting research grant was reduced. In her confession, there was a tendency to prioritize those who were associated with the mainstream group.

In the past, there was not many research [grant] offer, so the grant was given in turn to the faculty members. But now, [the grant] was in great quantities, even the inadequate [proposal] was approved. As for me, I am not well-known, identified as [mentioning a socio-religious Muslim organization) because I am a member of [mentioning a Muslim student organization which is affiliated to the organization mentioned previously], it is like that, especially in the past when the research grant was still limited. They gave more opportunities to their cohort [mentioning an organization] who were the majority (Rafiqah).

In Indonesian context, especially in Islamic higher education, there was a kind of 'political' tensions between two biggest Muslim student organizations, PMII and HMI¹⁰⁶, one of which has always been

¹⁰⁶ The tensions has been reported at least in some articles in the following links: <http://politik.kompasiana.com/2010/08/26/hmi-imm-dan-pmii-sebuah-potret-politik-islam-239501.html>; http://old.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=766:18-03-2009&catid=25:artikel-imam-suprayogo; <http://www.averroes.or.id/research/melacak-akar-ideologi-gerakan-mahasiswa-islam-indonesia.html>

the majority in terms of membership, whose former members were mostly privileged with patronage links.

Another woman, Rahma, was not successful several times in competing for the research grant from the university. She said, “several times my research proposal was not accepted by the research center [of the university]”. But she did not mention any ‘political’ reasons behind the failure, instead, she admitted that her proposal was not good enough. Rafiqah’s and Rahma’s experience of failure in getting research grant confirmed previous research that women overall are not as successful in obtaining research funding as their male counterparts (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2013, p. 168).

One issue related to financial and time support seems to be determinant for the quality of research the faculty members did. Besides the hindrance experienced by women as discussed previously, Wafiroh stated that the policies did not facilitate the faculty members to do detailed time-consuming research, and consequently, they did research just for shedding the obligations; quality was not the priority.

“We did not receive financial support, time and finance... which is the weakness, so that we did researches which are small and not deep. It was just to fulfil the credit required for career [advancement]... Ethnography research is impossible for us, that’s our weakness. Now, even, we have to come to office everyday “ (Wafiroh).

Lack of time to do research was, for some women, also a consequence of overloaded teaching responsibilities. That research was most likely to be suspended by women faculty (Angervall, 2016, pp. 11-12; Misra et al., 2012, p. 318; Probert, 2005, p. 68; Winslow, 2010, pp. 787-788) particularly because of other responsibilities especially teaching might be because doing research and writing scholarly paper were not like teaching. Teaching was often prioritized because it “occurs at appointed times, with clear deadlines for grading and preparing for courses” (Misra et al., 2012, p. 313) and it involves other individuals’ (students) presence which is potential of complaint, protest and objection if delayed, while delayed research activities do not affect any one else other than the researchers themselves. In addition, the explanation for women’s trend on spending time for research less than teaching, Winslow (2010, pp. 787-788) suggested, could not be fully justified by educational, institutional, and family status.

Some policies, such as policy on six months research leave for faculty members was hardly possible to implement due to, according to Salma, a high-level administrator at UINSA, some clash

among the policies or other frequently changing related policies. She further said that the works of civil servant faculty members in Indonesia were structured and measured by a number of regulations. As civil servants they were subject to the regulations issued by the ministry of the state's apparatus' efficiency and the ministry of finance, and as faculty members they were bound by the ministry of higher education (previously the ministry of national education) and the ministry of religious affairs (for those in Islamic higher education). This often caused difficulties in synchronizing each other. Therefore, the policies sometimes seemed to be just token. Accordingly, there was a possibility that they actually deserved more than what they had achieved.

On the one hand, faculty members need to produce high quality research, but on the other hand, the policies did not facilitate it. Every research grant, both from the institution (The Center for Societal Development Studies Atma Jaya Catholic University) and from the MORA, was framed in one financial year from proposal until the final report. The limited time was even worsened by the condition that faculty members had to do other responsibilities, teaching and service, at the same time, as well as having to be present at work physically every working day. Wafiroh, an idealist faculty member, was frustrated for having no choice to be able to do high quality research, while academic career relies much on (high quality) research productivity. This problem should also happen to men faculty members, but they were not part of the subjects of my research project.

Such problem of lacking policies facilitating high quality research has been acknowledged by the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education or *Kemenristekdikti*. The document of *Renstra* or the strategic planning of *Kemenristekdikti* for the period of 2015-2019 discloses the problem of limited opportunities for scholars in higher education to do big scale scholarly research that generate new findings, despite acknowledging the mainstream path of Indonesian higher education in pursuing the status of research university (Kemenristekdikti, 2015, p. 19).

Eventually, even though research grant was offered every year and many faculties, women and men, were given opportunities to do research, it would be difficult to produce high quality research if there was no policy facilitating faculty members to do their best in research. When the time frame was not reasonable for a high-quality research and the research was done only to meet the requirements for academic rank advancement, it would be not wise to expect their best. The limited time for research was a serious issue especially for many women faculty (men was out of reach of

this research project) due to domestic and caring responsibilities and overload teaching tasks, which constitutes a hindrance of academic visibility and promotion. If universities, especially UIN Maliki and UINSA, expect their faculty members to produce high quality research, there should be facilitating policies, especially regarding time in addition to finance.

Community service

Based on a regulation by the director of Islamic Higher Education (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam* (Directorate General of Islamic Education), 2011, p. 21), community service constitutes an aspect of Tridharma that demands the smallest credits and has a maximum limit of 10%. It could be derived from some activities such as; implementing the products developed by the other two aspects (education and research), giving training or counseling to society, serving the society directly or other activities that support the exercise of the government's and its development's general tasks, creating or writing a work of community service.

While it was mentioned clearly in the regulations that supervising students' *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (KKN) or Community Development Program was part of the first pillar or education, not community service, the women such as Amanda, Rafiqah, Afrida, and Maryam counted their involvement in the supervisory of students' KKN as part of community service. A higher-level administrator, Indana, recognized the misperception. She believed that the unfamiliarity of such regulations might be because of the poor socialization and thereby not only women were not aware of such regulations. In addition, the fact that the KKN was managed by unit of community service in universities potentially leads to the misperception.

Although the regulation did not set the minimum amount of credit for the community service, which means that it can be as small amount as possible, several women admitted that they found difficulties in fulfilling the demand for community service, especially those whose educational background was from public universities. This was related to the label of Islam that comes with institutions they work for, which consequently affected how the society expect the faculty members to contribute in the community, which was to be a kind of Muslim preacher. Amanda shared her story as one of those with educational background of public universities.

Men is easier to do community service, for instance, they get used to be preachers [especially in regular Friday common prayer]. Community service was done by men

more than women who, coming from work, dealt with family caring. Women faculty's involvement were relatively limited in community service, they, at the most, were just involved in KKN [supervising students' real work learning]. Women faculty rarely had side jobs, especially those whose educational background was the secular [non-religious] ones, who could not be preachers. I myself prefer staying at home after working. (Amanda)

Some of those women who did not involve their extended family nor hired any maid to take care of their children, involvement in supervising students' KKN was a problem because it was mostly conducted in remote areas and often needed staying over nights in the activity's location.

Consequently, Rafiqah said, she had to postpone proposing the advancement of her academic rank as she did not have any credit for community service, even though it was just required without minimum limit.

For community service, it was an involvement in the supervision of students' KKN, especially for those who have been trained for that. ..., However, I was not willing to participate in it, because it required us to stay overnight and so on, it was hard, I just denied it this year. But, for my career advancement, I will take part again in the future (Rafiqah).

Different story came from those whose educational background was religious and those whose family managed educational foundations such as pesantren with formal education institutions in it. Tamara, Linda, and Fadillah, told me that they were involved actively in their family's educational foundations, which was counted for the credit of community service.

As explained earlier in this section, many different activities can be regarded as community service, which include, but not limited to, providing workshop, training, or counselling for communities, participating in the government's programs for communities, and writing a work on community service. But, since the universities I researched were Islamic ones, the most well-known activities regarded as community service was religious preaching, which was much easier for men because in Islam men are obliged to go *sholat Jum'at* (praying together with a preaching in it) every Friday. Moreover, many of the women in this study, especially those who were not activists and whose family did not manage any educational foundation, seemed to lack opportunities for preaching. To do other activities such as providing workshop or training for communities or school teachers is impossible without invitation, as self-promoting is unacceptable in Javanese norms. If the training or workshop are done within the university with its students as the participants, it is counted as part of the aspect of education, not community service.

None of the women I interviewed shared any story about their involvement in Dharma Wanita (an organization for the wives of civil servants, more information was explored in chapter one) for the aspect of community service. This might be because, according to its charter, Dharma Wanita is an organization for the wives of civil servants, and the participation of women civil servants were just voluntary. Another organization of wives, PKK (*Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Empowerment and Family Welfare, explored in chapter one) seems to be neither popular among the women. Only one woman, Hanim, told me her involvement in PKK, as her husband was a head of RT (*Rukun Tetangga* or the smallest unit in society assisting local governments). She mentioned that she benefited from her involvement in PKK as part of her community service. Moreover, she added, the activities of PKK always adjusted her responsibilities as faculty member and administrator.

While community service posits peripheral space in tridharma, research and education are more central in it; but research seemed to be most appreciated, which is shown by, at least, the composition that the higher academic ranks need more credit for research. Like the domain of education, research has a minimum, but not maximum, limit in the faculty's workload (see table 1) allowing them to collect as much credit as possible, which is not like community service which does not demand much from faculty members, as it does not have any minimum limit, instead, it could not go beyond ten percent of the whole credits. Unlike research, the appreciation for community service was limited.

In the implementation of the tridharma, the research subjects experienced the problems of work-work balance with the heaviest load on teaching, the lack of opportunities for research, and incommensurate community service. This is in line with the previous findings that the three pillars of higher education were gendered with women engaged more teaching loads but less research (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2010, 2013; Hass, 1996, p. 384; Park, 1996; Probert, 2005), which was also relevant with research reports of Indonesian context by Indihadi and Karlimah (2007) and Karniawati (2013). The work-work balance for women faculty was giving more portions on elements of the tridharma that involved care such as teaching, mentoring, or service especially related to motherhood roles (Misra et al., 2012, p. 318).

Work Culture

From the interviews, emerged some issues potentially affecting women's capacity at work such as a norm of preserving hierarchy and gender harassment. The ways they affected women's capacity were often invisible, difficult to measure. Besides, most of all, Javanese cultural norms acclaiming femininity played a crucial role in the work's lives of the women faculty members in this study. The normative femininity prescribed the ways the women presented themselves both physically and socially. Wearing long skirts instead of pants, behaving pleasantly, politely, and caring, and always being alert of wife status was typical feminine characteristics presented at work in the confessions of some women in this study.

Indana, a high-level administrator at UIN Maliki, said that all the women of her workplace were expected to wear skirt instead of pants, which was confirmed by Afrida, a faculty member at the same university, who was often criticized by her male colleagues because she used to wear pants. In fact, she did it mainly for a safety reason because she rode motorcycles.

I was often reprovved because I like wearing pants. The expectation of the leaders for women in this campus is to wear [long] skirts. Well, actually I wear pants because I ride motorcycle to transport to and from workplace, it is safer (Afrida).

When I interviewed her, she was wearing pants, not long skirt that any other women I saw was wearing in the institution she worked. She said that, technically, wearing pants for motorcyclists is safer because they need to be able to move their legs anytime, despite that the dangling long skirt is potentially a source of danger for motorcycle riders. She also inserted that such safety reason is a commonsense, but the leaders seemed to be unconcern about it.

However, it was interesting to know how Afrida negotiated the dominant discourse of femininity. When a (male) senior reprovved her for wearing pants, she challenged him by asking a sexist question "which one is sexier, [another] woman wearing tight top or me wearing pants", while wearing tight clothes is unacceptable in Islam. As the ground of controlling women's fashion is always covering the tempting sexy body, she insisted that as long as the clothing is not tight it should be fine to wear skirt or pants. The reason that pants are men's and skirts are women's is completely human creation and has no religious ground, she pointed out. In social constructionist perspective, what Afrida said and did indicates an agency (Burr, 2003, p. 120), her active roles in challenging the dominant

discourses of femininity.

The case of pants is different from that of veil for Muslim women; veil is more religious-based than pants are. All the women in this study were religious and voluntarily veiled. It is the way Muslim women wear it that varies. Some women like to wear the long and loose one so that it covers all their upper half body and head, except face. Some others like to wear the shorter and tighter one, so it just covers mainly their hair, neck and shoulder. All the women in this study tended to choose the latter although mostly not the tight one, but not long, which indicates their moderate position in living religiosity. The requirement to wear veil for women is mentioned in the Holy Qur'an regardless of the different interpretation in understanding the verse.

Other than that, to be accepted in male-dominated area, women faculty were also expected to have other feminine characteristics such as being polite, pleasing, and not offensive. Madania, a senior administrator, told me that to enable her acceptability for speaking in front of the religious leaders in a male-dominated area¹⁰⁷, she had to present herself in some feminine ways. While, as an Islamic university, UIN often involved religious leaders in some of their programs, Madania said that there were certain expectations of the religious leaders about femininity, despite the reports that Indonesia is widely known with its moderate Muslim (Alfian, 2014; C. Geertz, 1971; Laffan, 2006, 2011; Masdar, 2012; Munjid, 2012; Najib, 2003; D. Porter, 2005; Wichelen, 2010; Wieringa, 2009).

The challenge for me in [she was mentioning a program of the university that she organized] is so exciting, because I can enter areas dominated by males, therefore I have to be polite, pleasing, and not offensive (Madania).

Madania's story is just an example of how women faculty members tried to 'survive' at work, especially in male-dominated forum, which was by conforming to the interest of men, which is in line with Mahmood's (2005, p.6) finding. By being acquiescent to feminine characteristics such as performing polite appearance, pleasant demeanor, gratifying, and not offensive, women are 'allowed' to exist in male-dominated forum, which is, according to Connell & Messerschmidt (2005, p. 848), a form of emphasized femininity. Otherwise, the women might be isolated, marginalized, subject to rumors, and/or even failed.

I am interested in the last phrase Madania uttered, 'not offensive'. It confirmed 'the rule of face'

¹⁰⁷ For the sake of confidentiality, I did not mention the forum, because it would certainly reveal Madania's identity.

(Luke, 1998, pp. 253-254; 2010, pp. 160-164) which is also relevant in the discussion about gender harassment in the following section, especially in the case of a woman faculty's protest to the sexist joke made by her senior male colleague, in which assertiveness means offensiveness. In short, to be socially acceptable, women had to avoid things potentially offensive, especially to male respected figures or seniors.

Amanda, a high-level administrator, emphasized that women and men are different and gave an example of how it works.

Sometimes eee... women and men have different views, like me, for example, when I was involved in a program, I got used to bringing food from home in meetings, and it was never done by males. I was accustomed to bringing tupperware boxes into the room then we ate together, which became something normally happened, eee... then in certain conditions when we had meetings I usually did it. My colleagues in other departments ordered the packed meal for their meetings, but for me having meal from home to share is more convenient than the [ordered] packed one. Well, if we bring our own meal to share, it makes us better involved, [in terms of how] they [connect] to us. (Amanda)

She said that she often brought some food to share in meetings with her colleagues at work, which was never done by males and made convenient involvement among the attendees especially in their connecting with her.

Such forms of femininity require women to perform extra efforts to be well accepted in the work place.

Preserving Hierarchy

The convention that the juniors have to 'respect' the seniors by avoiding confrontation regardless of unpleasant or offending comments by the seniors confirms Burr's (2003, p. 5) statement that construction of the world is parallel with power relations.

Geertz (1961) highlighted two distinct characteristic of Javanese culture; *rukun* (harmonious) and *urmat* (respect) (pp. 47,110,146-153), which is supported by a well-known Indonesian scholar and theolog, Frans Magnis-Suseno (1984, pp. 38-69; 1997, pp. 42-83) in his works on Javanese ethics emphasizing that open conflict must be avoided in social interaction and that the rank order of everyone in a given group must be recognized through corresponding respectful behaviour. The failure to perform it will be considered 'not Javanese yet' (Cunningham, 2001, p. 1049). The phrase 'not Javanese yet' entails a view that, Sutarto (2006, pp. 39-42) reported, to be Javanese is to be

well behaved, to respect those in higher positions, statuses, or the older people.

Another more recent research by Gautama (2003, p. 20) on map of Javanese culture is an evidence that such leading principles in Javanese culture are still living in 21st century. Interrupting and critiquing a senior in public plainly break these two norms (*rukun* and *urmat*). The protest to seniors might be understood as disrespecting them and potentially causes disharmonious relation with the seniors, which is why it was followed by rumour disagreeing it. Latifah explained that

After the incident [of the protest on the sexist joke in a forum], one of my male colleagues had a discussion with me. He said “interrupting in a forum is something embarrassing. It is embarrassing. And it was someone with high managerial position [who made the joke]. In front of many people, a leader was treated that way, it was embarrassing ... It [not to interrupt or criticize the seniors] is our culture...”.
(Latifah).

Such case can also be explained with another similar old Javanese norm, the ‘lineal values orientation’; exceptional reliance on, trust in, and respect for the seniors. Despite recognizing that the Javanese are rapidly entering the mainstream of modern civilization compared to other groups in Indonesia, Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 462), a noted native Javanese scholar, mentioned that civil servants still tend to preserve the ‘lineal value orientation’ which has been much neglected by common people in Java.

Higher education institutions as a center of intellectual activities should have more egalitarian culture than other workplaces, because, according to Hartanto (2009, p. 283), workplaces that have good intellectual climate generally have egalitarian culture. This study found that many faculty members, who notably had higher education than other civil servants, were susceptible to such feudalistic values. In Indonesia especially Java, the seniors have cultural privilege, an invisible crucial license potentially silencing the juniors, and universities were not immune to it.

Women seemed to be totally positioned as objects and did not have rights to define themselves. Indeed, they were portrayed as submissive being in traditional Javanese culture (Arimbi, 2009, p. 61; Creese, 2004; Sukri & Sofwan, 2001, pp. 47-49). While it has been well-documented that Indonesian women enjoyed higher status than women in other Muslim majority countries (Blackburn, 2001, p. 270; Cunningham, 2001, p. 1047; Lev, 1996, p. 191; Reid, 1988a, p. 634; Wichelen, 2010, p. 15) and played important role in public and economic activities (Alexander, 1998; Brenner, 1995; H. Geertz, 1961, p. 122; Hatley, 1990; Keeler, 1990; Vreede-de Stuers,

1960), assertive and autonomous women are assumed contradictory to the Indonesian feminine nature (Hatley, 2002, p. 133) and considered dangerous (Brenner, 1998, pp. 161-166; Stivens, 2003, p. 17). This is in line with Rudman and Glick's (2012, p. 168) account, "violating prescriptive stereotypes can negatively impact women's ability to obtain employment, fair compensation, career promotions, and positive performance evaluations".

Gender Harassment

One of the issues I asked to the research subjects is sexual harassment, not gender harassment. But, according to the women I interviewed, the form of sexual harassment in their campuses was often sexist jokes which did not lead to sexual activity, but was usually based on gender, which was, in Till's (1980, p. 8) report, called gender harassment. The subjects confessed that they neither experienced, nor witnessed, other common types of sexual harassment such as seductive behavior, sexual coercion, and sexual imposition or assault like the ones documented by, at least, Till (1980) and Fitzgerald and Ormerod (1991).

Many feminists might be hard to believe the confession that the women did not experience, nor witnessed, any sexual harassment at work. Therefore, it is important to offer possible explanations. It could be because revealing experiences of sexual harassment for women has some consequences such as lowering down their self esteem considering that women are always subject to prejudice, as discussed in chapter two under the section of 'gender relations in Islam and in Javanese culture'. The section includes a theological explanation offered by Rifat Hassan (1987; 1990, p. 100; 1991, p. 44; 1999, p. 254; 2011) on assumptions that a woman (Eve) brought about 'man's Fall' resulting in man's eviction from paradise, which is a crucial source of misogynistic and suspicious attitude towards women, and, therefore, seems to be a pertinent answer. It might also be because, as Dey et al. (1996, pp. 150-151) revealed, they did not recognize certain situations as sexual harassment due to ambiguous understanding of what sexual harassment is. In a condition where awareness in harassment is little, there might be rare or no issues of harassment. Indeed, researchers documented that women have various reasons for being reluctant to report harassment including 'a fear of retaliation or disbelief to a fear of losing ones' job, or making the situation worse' (L.F. Fitzgerald et al., 1988, p. 162; Schneider & Phillips, 1997).

Regardless of the presence or absence of sexual harassment, given the uncertain understanding, in both universities where I did my research, there were some common practice of misogynistic or sexist jokes and sexist comments by male colleagues, which was often claimed and perceived as a form of friendliness, sociability, or closeness. The women were not involved in making such jokes, but tolerated them for some reasons, which is discussed through the rest of this section. Being asked if there is sexual harassment at work, Indana said that there was no physical sexual harassment,

However, there are still jokes that are, I think, confronting women. For them, women are in some ways presumed as entertainment, especially beautiful women who like to be stylish or primped; the men like to tantalize them. Indeed, people here have not been aware that it is something wrong to do with the women, that it is a sexual harassment. Even, they think that it is a chit chat for chumminess. (Indana)

The ways the harassment was performed in the two universities, UIN Maliki and UINSA, were frequently that the males made a joke about women by deliberately misinterpreting Qur`anic verses, Hadiths (the Prophet's tradition), or well-known Arabic proverb. Not only in casual conversation, often were the jokes presented in the middle of official speech, seminar presentation, or other formal and informal meetings.

"The sexual harassment here is usually in the forms of jokes about women by both senior and junior groups. For example, [a Qur`anic verse] "*walal ākhiratu khairul laka minal ūlā*" [intentionally misinterpreted as] the last wife is better than the first one. Also a proverb in Islamic law "*al-Muhafadhatu 'ala qadimi al-Shalih wa al-Akhdzu bi al-Jadid al-Ashlah*" that preserving the old one is good, but taking the new one is better is usually intentionally misinterpreted to be keeping the existing wife is good, but adding one more is better. These jokes were usually conveyed during a forum of scholarly discussion or training or welcoming speech etc. (Maryam)

Despite the fact that the performers of the jokes are much acquainted with, even experts in, the discourses in Qur`anic exegeses, they sometimes deliberately misinterpreted the verses, *hadiths*, or well-known Arabic proverbs for jokes. Given their expertise in the exegeses science, they knew exactly that such verses, *hadiths*, or well-known proverbs had nothing special to do with women, but mostly dealt with the traditions or social practices, such as "*al-Muhafadhatu 'ala qadimi al-Shalih wa al-Akhdzu bi al-Jadid al-Ashlah*" (preserving the old one is good, but taking the new one is better) or "*Kaifa nataqaddam duuna annata khalla 'an al-Turats*" (How we can be modern without disassembling traditions).

The women who did not like such jokes could not easily condemn because of cultural constraints.

If they wanted to criticize the ones (mostly males) who made the jokes, it should be done behind the scene in order to protect their (both the jokers and the women) esteem. There was a dilemma in dealing with the sexist jokes.

Once in a [formal academic forum], a woman faculty criticised a senior male colleague who made a porn joke, and she was even blamed by many other colleagues because of embarrassing [emphasized] the senior. In fact, “the senior has embarrassed women first” defended the woman. The more the women oppose, the more they (the men) offend... it is better not to be like that [critiquing in public] to counter [the porn jokes] (Latifah).

This was especially the case when the ones who launched the jokes were (male) seniors, whose face should be preserved for ‘respect’ which is a highlighted Javanese culture involving hierarchies. That criticising seniors in public was incompatible with Javanese culture was emphasized by two of the subjects, Maryam and Latifah, who were active in gender studies.

When there is an interruption in a forum such as a woman objected to a sexist joke by a senior colleague, it is considered as something embarrassing in Javanese culture [emphasized] (Latifah).

When there was someone directly reprimands it [the sexist joke], it is said to be *ora njowo* [not Javanised] or at least not compatible with Javanese culture (Maryam).

Expressing disagreement in public especially to someone hierarchically more senior was something abnormal in Javanese culture, and like women in higher education in general, most women faculties in the two universities where I did this research are relatively new comers, and accordingly juniors. Therefore, they chose to be silent in public to avoid making the situation worse; a situation potentially affecting their career in deficit ways. They did not make sexist jokes back against men, which was very probably attributable to the discourse that women are always subject to prejudice and suspicion because of the assumptions on ‘man’s Fall’ described previously.

An accusation that assertive women are dangerous or militant feminists seemed to be operating in the Gender Study Center or PSG of the very university where the incident happened. Maryam who had once been active in the PSG revealed that there was a fear in the PSG on the critics in open forum, which was a negative perception on the PSG’s activities leading to be counterproductive.

The direct warning is considered an offence, then there was a criticism for the gender study center [PSG] not to rebuke in open forum, so the activities of PSG are not scrutinized, nor deemed as too [extreme]. But we also think that not reminding them [about the jokes] will make it [the inappropriate joke] happen and happen

again (Maryam).

The response from PSG in such case [the protest in open forum] is that it is better not to rebuke in open forum. Just do it behind the forum. But the woman [who expressed an objection in open forum] was not a Javanese indeed, who likes to directly react to improper things ahead. This (the critics in open forum) invited a disagreement (among the audience), because it is counterproductive, we hope the activities of the PSG will not be perceived as too ... what... [militant].... But then we also think that if we do not express our protest, it will happen again and again, so it should be fine (Maryam).

The story shows that there was a discourse that assertive women are harmful, not only for themselves but also for the PSG. They even did not dare to say that the men were in fact very un-Islamic, since the mainstream considered the jokes as tolerable instead of a harassment.

As a Javanese who had strong consciousness of egalitarian gender relations due to her long involvement with gender studies, Latifah expressed apprehensive comment on the sexist jokes launched by her male colleagues, implying an ambiguity in viewing the porn jokes which caused uneasy relations among colleagues at work.

Emm...what should I say....emm... [looked anxious] those porn jokes are assumed as the instruments to strengthen friendships [between men] (Latifah).

She did not agree with such jokes but could not express it in public. She then individually discussed it with a senior male colleague and revealed that, like the mainstream, he did not agree with the action of direct admonishment publicly to a (male) senior. It seems that the women in this study were overpowered by the alive norms of patriarchy and 'respect' involving hierarchy.

Whether women were extremely minority, especially in the first decade after the universities were established, or women were just minority (23% at UINSA and 35% at UIN Maliki) when I did my research at the end of 2013, women were 'required' to tolerate the gender harassment if they did not want to be accused as 'dangerous' militant feminists. The developing discourses on gender, including gender in Islam, was not able to penetrate the thick patriarchal culture in the university.

Some women including those who were active in gender study believed that the jokes were just a form of friendliness, no intention for looking down or excluding women from academic circles. Erin, a junior administrator who was active in gender studies, even tolerated the jokes.

To me, the jokes were hurled because they [the males who made the jokes] are close to me, which is a form of chumminess that they want to show. (Erin)

A very senior female faculty member, even, preferred tolerating and joining in the jokes rather than

objecting if they did not physically touch and argued that avoiding the jokes even made women be the target.

About the jokes, I prefer joining it; otherwise I will be the target of the jokes. They were just joking, I also was [just joking]. To me, it was not a harassment, because it did not only about women, but just humour, porn humour though. For me, such kind of jokes is not harassment, except if they touch, we will be angry, aren't we? It's been like that since a long time ago (Tamara).

Indeed, there has been disagreement whether a behaviour or statement is part of sexual harassment or not (Louise F. Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991).

Eventually, the sexist jokes were not considered as sexual harassment by some women in this study, so they tolerated the jokes. Some other women believed that the jokes are harassment, but due to Javanese norm of hierarchy requiring the juniors (females) to preserve the face of the seniors (males) for respect, they did not have any choice other than silence, which was literally tolerant. However, if tolerance of sexual harassment was attributed to ambivalence and hostility toward women (Cowan, 2000, p. 244; Russell & Trigg, 2004, p. 571; Ryan & Kanjorski, 1998, p. 753), all of the women in this study did not show any code of ambivalence and hostility toward women during the interviews. The only woman who was brave to criticise the seniors in terms of the sexist jokes was subject to rumors and accusation as militant feminist which entails negative connotation ideologically.

Challenging Inequalities

To be acceptable and successful, women faculty had to be more than just professional and academically capable. They needed to be compliant with the expectations of being 'good women' by, among others, performing normative femininity. Regardless of a persistent issue that family-friendly policies mean a support to such gender expectations (Morgan & Zippel, 2003, pp. 76-77; Zippel, Ferree, & Zimmermann, 2016, p. 869), the fact that women had to deal with the established construction of femininity deserves special attention from the policy makers.

However, among the women in my study, there was a shared view that the gender equality in their workplace did not matter, and, therefore, no special policy for women was required. Despite the problems faced by some women in research and community service, as well as in their daily gendered-life at work as I already discussed in the previous section, most of the women stated that

they did not need special policies or affirmative action to facilitate them. Fadillah said “the absence of special policies for women is not a problem, it is not necessary to have it”, which was confirmed by Sabrina, a high level administrator at UINSA, who said “It is not necessary to have special policies for women, because all staffs are the same, like the white paper”. Fadillah and Sabrina (and highly probably many more faculties not included in any research) did not count the different starting points and conditions between men and women and perceived that women and men should compete fairly in indifferent terms and conditions, which might be because both of them were born in 1950s Indonesia.

This means Fadillah and Sabrina grew up in a time and place when and where feminist scholarships and discourses on gender equality have not widely-developed. At that time, a militant women organization, Gerwani, was banned due to its suspected association with communism as well as feminism and constructed as immoral, misguided, and evil by the New Order government (more explanation on this issue is available in chapter one under the section of ‘Women and the Indonesian State’). Such historical setting, accordingly, might have alienated Fadillah and Sabrina (and probably most other women and men of the very generation) from feminisms, even though they might have been feminists in some ways. At least, they believed and lived the way that women have rights in education and public spheres. In addition, the New Order government started to establish *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Tim Penggerak PKK Kabupaten Pematang) or the Family Welfare Guidance and Dharma Wanita indicating the official notion of the domestic and subordinate roles of women. Therefore, while Fadillah and Sabrina were able to have career, they seemed to have internalized well the norms that are sterile from the ideas associated with feminisms.

Moreover, the presence of PSG (Gender Study Center) should be a support for the women faculties to enable equal opportunity in their career. However, the profile of PSG UINSA, in its old website¹⁰⁸, mentioned that it aimed at succeeding the national policy on gender mainstreaming through studies on women and gender issues especially from the Islamic perspectives (Pusat Studi

¹⁰⁸ The website of IAIN Sunan Ampel (now UIN Sunan Ampel or UINSA) that contained its profile of PSG is not available anymore at the time of writing this research report. Here is the link; [http://iain.uinsby.ac.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=184%3Apusat-studi-gender&catid=61%3Apusat-studi&Itemid=302&lang=\[26/03/2015 6:04:41 PM\]](http://iain.uinsby.ac.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=184%3Apusat-studi-gender&catid=61%3Apusat-studi&Itemid=302&lang=[26/03/2015 6:04:41 PM]). The new website, after it completely became UIN, did not have any article, even profile, under PSG. PSG was just mentioned as one of the units under the LP2M (*Lembaga Penelitian & Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat*) or the Center for Research and Community Service.

Gender UINSA, 2010). Likewise, from the list of programs of the PSG, I did not find anything leading to policies facilitating women to have equal opportunity in their academic career, instead, it seemed to focus on developing and disseminating discourses on gender equality in Islamic perspectives, which is explainable as there were issues of resistance to feminisms.

Gender Study Center (PSG)

In spite of the structural support for PSG by institutionalizing it to be part of the university statute in 2013, there were problems that hindered its efforts of increasing gender equality through academic development in supporting the gender mainstreaming in national development. One of the most crucial problems was the dominant mindset of the staffs (both faculty members and administrators). In their mindset, gender issues are often trivial.

There has been an instrument, a policy including PSG into the [organizational] structure of the institution, but we still have the toughest barrier from the internal campus [emphasized] namely changing the mindset of the faculty members and administrators. Actually, the current rector has a good mindset on gender equality, but not all the co-rectors have. They often considered gender issues are not important. (Latifah)

The mindset perceiving gender issues unimportant contributed to negating the need for policies facilitating women with *kodrat* of caring responsibilities instead of providing policies to support them.

Even though feminisms was lately more acceptable among many young generations, some issues in feminisms were contentious especially in Muslim societies, which led to the reluctance and suspicion of many people towards feminisms, especially when they were connected with the West, the unbelievers, or communism.

Gender is frequently alleged as Western idea that is brought into Indonesia, which is dangerous in terms of importing radical ideas such as free sex, resisting motherhood roles, and resisting marriage. Therefore, all workshops and trainings never forgot to include the topic of 'gender and Islam'. We did not discuss LGBT in UIN; otherwise, many people will scold UIN. Therefore, it is better if we just choose more important [safer] issues, for example, in East Java there are many *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*, it is better to focus on them. We cannot discuss some resistant issues, because there are some discourses that are not compatible with Islam (Latifah).

Therefore, to make the center for gender studies (PSG) 'secure', acceptable, and, in turn, receive supports, both PSGs of UINSA and of UIN Maliki chose to avoid highly controversial issues such as discussing LGBT. Moreover, as the universities were Islamic ones, the PSGs always involved Islamic

perspectives, which made their programs accepted.

Similar issue of resistance was also shared by Erin, a faculty at UIN Maliki. She said that the ideas of feminisms are welcome in the society when they were socialized in religious perspectives.

When the radical activists are not married, in favour of homosexuality and so on, it causes negative stereotypes to gender activists. That is why, gender issues should be presented in religious perspectives, it is more interesting and acceptable (Erin).

The fear of the 'dangerous and contaminating' practices of homosexuality, free sex, and anti-marriage potentially damaging marriage institution was a serious issue contributing to the resistance to feminisms in Indonesia.

Unlike PSG of UIN Maliki with its adequate funding support from the university, PSG UINSA suffered lack of financial support, especially in programs that were not sponsored by the international institutions such as AusAID.

"PSG has programs which are mostly outside the [UINSA] campus funded by LAPIS and AUSAID. It is easier to have the programs outside because there is available fund. On the other hand, it is difficult to make and do the internal programs, because there is no fund for that. The funding from outside are mostly for society, Islamic schools, and pesantrens. (Latifah)

The lack of fund for the PSG's programs seemed to be a consequence of the mindset that gender issues are not important, in addition to the peripheral institutional status of PSG which was a newly recognized unit under the center for research and community service.

Maryam expressed her disappointment knowing that a newly promoted woman administrator whom she expected to give support to PSG did not show any commitment to gender equality. She said "even female administrator did not provide more adequate support to gender studies center or women faculties in general [than male did]". That women administrators or leaders did not show their commitment to gender issues might be because the promotion to leadership positions was, instead of purely professional, involving informal networks and 'prerequisites' of feminine characteristics such as being 'harmless' and not to subordinate men (more exploration on this issue is presented under the section of 'Career Path').

Unlike PSG of UINSA, even though PSG of UIN Maliki was financially supported, it faced some problems including negative stereotype to gender activists, mockery, apathy, and lack of cadre.

There is a stereotype for gender activists, even though the programs were funded and backed up adequately. Some people are pessimistic and apathetic to the

gender movements, mocking, and unconcerned. We also lack of cadres (Erin).

Both of the PSGs of UINSA and UIN Maliki seemed to posit peripheral positions in each institution, which could be explained from their representations in the institutions' websites. The websites of both of the universities, UINSA and UIN Maliki, did not present PSG adequately. PSG was just mentioned as part of units under the research center and no more explanation and publication was delivered in the websites. This might indicate a soft form of resistance to feminisms.

Resistance to Feminisms

The interviews revealed that despite the subjects' consent to the idea of gender equality, they showed some alarms about women's emancipation. To a certain extent, they agreed with the idea of feminisms and mentioned that women and men have the same rights and positions before God. However, they also stated that man and woman were created in different forms for different main responsibilities in order to be complementary to each other. They also emphasized that even though the main responsibilities of women and men are different, the values of their devotion are equal. They worried if women go too far exceeding the border of women's *kodrat* as mother and wife with the main responsibility of caring for their family.

Indana, a senior administrator at UIN Maliki, described that some of her male colleagues at work set a limit of their acceptance of the idea of gender equality. They did not mind with the idea of gender equality as long as it is not for their wives.

They [the males] said "you may be progressive, but not my wife". There is a double standard. When they gave religious speech, they said that women should prioritize their family and be better to stay at home. They view us as colleagues, as an exception. [They said] "as long as it is not my wife, it is fine, but do not influence my wife". In day do day life, it is not too visible, but one day when women were included in the schedule of *kultum*¹⁰⁹ [seven minute sermon], many colleagues expressed their objection. Now, only men gave the sermon (Indana).

Not only in terms of authority in leading religious activity where women were rejected. Tamara, a senior faculty at UINSA, told me that when it was time for the university to prepare succession for the leadership positions, especially the top ones like rector or dean, and some women names were

¹⁰⁹ *Kultum* stands for *kuliah tujuh menit* or seven minute sermon, which is usually delivered after praying together. In this case, UIN Maliki required all its staffs to attend the communal prayer in the university's mosque every mid-day (around lunch time) during the working days. And after finishing the prayer, one of them delivered a short sermon called *kultum*.

brought up into the surface, some people showed their gender-based disagreement.

As I know, their [males'] comment was "uh...women" that's it. Some women, even, said "don't choose women leaders" (Tamara).

The gender construction that women should not be in the leadership position seems to be well entrenched by some men and women, which could be both religious and cultural apprehensions.

Even though academic freedom in universities should enable the development of egalitarian ideas and culture, researchers (Muttaqin, 2008, p. 71; Othman, 2006, p. 339) report that there is resistance to terms or ideas related to feminism by conservative Muslims. The confrontation is mainly due to its association with the West (Sadli, 2002, p. 80; Wichelen, 2010, p. 31), which is confirmed by Adamson's (2007, p. 7) statement that many gender activists avoided admitting publicly as being feminist, even using such term, due to its association with the West. This is in line with Rinaldo's (2013, p. 6) report that the word 'feminist' was rarely used because of its association with both the West and communism. She even stated that in many third world countries, feminism is considered as a new form of Western imperialism (p. 8). Indeed, in cultural relativism, feminism is a renewed Western imperialism (Abu-Lughod, 2002). Terms associated with Western feminism such as "anti-patriarchal, sexual inequality, liberation, and even hermeneutics" are not acceptable in the ways the mainstream construe Qur'anic teachings, whereas Qur'anic epistemology is inherently anti-patriarchal enabling Muslims to theorize the radical sexual equality (Barlas, 2002, pp. xii, 2).

Regardless of all forms of resistance to terms and ideas related to feminisms, the label of Islam attached to the institution was beneficial to the activities of the Gender Study Center in the society; transferring the norms of gender equality in the frames of Islam was easier due to the Muslim majority. Without explicitly using the terms of gender and feminisms that were often unacceptable because of their association with western ideas, the mission was relatively easier to accomplish.

Without negating the possibilities of unmentioned issues, the work culture was a central aspect contributing to shape the career paths of the women faculty members, which many previous researchers (J. Acker, 2009; Bain & Cummings, 2000; Bonawitz & Andel, 2009; Cummins, 2005; Guth & Wright, 2009; Luke, 1998; Maume, 1999; Morley, 2014; Simonetti et al., 1999; P. Smith et al., 2012) count it as glass ceiling hindering women from the top academic and/or managerial ranks.

Career Paths

This section deals with both leadership and academic career paths. Before discussing about the career paths of the women in this study, a short description about the promotion system in state-owned religious higher education institutions in Indonesia is firstly provided in each section. To be brief, while the main requirement for the academic promotions is a certain amount of credits for the implementation of tridharma (as explained in the previous section of Tridharma in this chapter), the promotions in leadership positions relies much on the power elites of the institutions including the board of senate, the highest normative and representative board in higher education institution in Indonesia. Both academic and leadership promotions need to pass the senate's approval, but the criteria for the leadership promotion were more subjective than for the academic one.

Excluding leadership and academic career paths, while senate membership is a considerably influential position in Indonesian higher education especially in relation with the promotion system (explored in each of the following sections), none of the women shared their story about their experiences in senate membership or recruitment. Nevertheless, women senators were under-represented in both universities I researched. Faculties could be senate members if they were professors, rector, vice-rectors, deans or directors¹¹⁰, or representatives of non-professor faculties who are recruited by each school. However, the chance for women was small because they were under-represented in professorship, high-level leadership positions, and less likely be elected by the schools as representative of non-professor faculties. The university senate of UINSA contained 45 members and only five of them were women; three were professors and the other two were vice rector and dean. It means the women became senate members because of their status as professors and as high-level leaders, not because they were elected as faculty representatives. No information about senate was provided by the website of UIN Maliki, but the situation in most Indonesian universities was similar in terms of the poor representation of women in senate membership.

Leadership Career Paths

The highest position in Indonesian universities, rector, is recruited mainly based on electability. The very first step is a recruitment by a committee who recruits prospective candidates, then followed

¹¹⁰ Directors in Islamic higher education institutions refer to the leaders of postgraduate programs.

by a consideration and approval from institutional senate board and the approval from the Ministry of Religious Affairs (The Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2015). The approved candidates, for whom all faculty members would vote, would compete in an election in institutional level. For vice-rector positions, a team formed by the elected rector recruits several names based on a list of gender-blind requirements and the senate board's approval is needed, then the rector decides the final selection. The rector also decides dean position with a consideration of and approval from senate board as well. Then the appointed dean proposes the names for vice-deans, after formerly passing the approval from the school senate board, to the rector to approve. In fact, those leadership positions were actually 'political' and likely put women in peripheral positions.

The women's leadership career paths were shaped at least by some issues such as informal networks, feminine characteristics of being 'harmless' women and not to subordinate men.

Despite that any leadership (academic as well) promotion was subject to certain formal procedures, the ways the candidate leaders were recruited behind the scene often involved lobbies within informal networks consisting of and being controlled mainly by men, which was depending on the tier of relations between the potential candidates and the most influential elites. Those who were outside the circles, regardless of the sexes and length of service, were never promoted, especially, to strategic positions such as senate members, deans and vice deans, or rector and vice rectors.

Whoever part of the networks of elites, males or females, can be promoted. The networks are more important than anything else. Gender is not a concern anymore.
(Esha)

This could be an evidence that mentoring was framed in collusive relations because it was informal networks that played defining roles in promoting the faculty members regardless of the sexes to managerial positions. This study might share Luke's (1998, p. 261) finding that career impediments came from collusion involving both sexes and that mentoring was bound to culture. She mentioned that mentoring by women for women is not the case in Singapore as women in many cases did not support, even discouraged, their women colleagues and that the rivalry in promotional opportunities is not based on gender (p. 247). In my study, the absence of support from women administrators for women and gender studies center was also the case.

Most of the women I interviewed stated that gender equality was not a problem anymore, and according to some women, it was an issue of exclusion from the networks, rather than gender issues,

which explained the unequal opportunities for faculty members to access authoritative positions such as deans and senate membership. Nevertheless, given that the networks were mainly male-based, it was potentially more disadvantageous for women than men, without negating the potentials that it also affected men who were not part of the networks in deficit ways. Therefore, it seemed that women suffered double deterrents; as women and as outsiders (of the networks).

Being asked about her experiences and knowledge in relation with opportunities of promotion to managerial positions, Elsha was assuredly enthusiastic in expressing her anger and hopelessness with the situation regarding the key roles of informal networks in nominating the candidates.

It was groups, not professionalism [that play an important role in defining] careers such as head or secretary of school, senate members, or vice deans. Those who hold such positions were, I think, not purely [recruited in] quality-based [way]. Whoever in the gang of the power elite, regardless of the sexes, it was the group that was more interesting, not the sexes. It seems that gender [equality] is already completely accepted. Then, the individuals for such positions do not need to be men, women, nor smart, neither able to work, no. The most important thing is the cliques to enable them to *kongkalikong*¹¹¹ [laughed hopelessly], those who commit to the gangs, regardless of their competencies, can be nominated for leadership positions, [...] men or women who are close [to the elite of the gangs]. The close relationships can be advantageous (Elsha).

Elsha sounds quite critical not because of seniority or academic excellence (she was an average faculty) but might be because she frequently noticed that those who were promoted for managerial positions were always the ones who were affiliated to certain networks or organizations, regardless of their quality. Elsha's story emphasizing the unfair power of informal networks is in line with Linda's statement about the competing 'political' groups that she considered destructive of the healthy atmosphere at work. The most visible and influential ones were PMII or *Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia* (Indonesian Muslim Student Movement) and HMI or *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (Muslim Student Union); both were student organizations, based on which faculty as the former members or activists were still considerably 'politically' mapped.

There was no special challenge for women, but the cliques were annoying, no matter how smart someone is, the cliques, groups of [whether] HMI [or] PMII, prevent the best [measurement]. In UIN, instead of phobia to women like women are not allowed to hold certain positions, the compartmentalizing of PMII [or] HMI, not gender, is central (Linda)

¹¹¹ *Kongkalikong* is a negatively associated Javanese term in Indonesian casual conversation referring to the often hidden reciprocal benefits or advantaging each other that leads to transactional positions usually among furtive group members.

Regardless of the number of subjects expressing the presence of informal webs, the networks seemed to be overwhelmingly aggravating in the stories of Elsha and Linda, which might be true for many other women (and men) faculty out of reach of my research project. There was a kind of patronage links for the former members of the mainstream organization. One thing to notice from their story is that the informal networks were like a key filter in allowing (or not) the opportunities for promotional opportunities, especially leadership or managerial positions, regardless of the sexes.

Regarding the perceivably gender-less networks, however, a previous research in an Indonesian university recognized the presence of informal networks potentially excluding women because the gatherings they made were often in times that were difficult for women to join such as at weekends or evenings, times when women were expected to play their roles as mothers and wives (Inayatillah, 2010a). Some other previous research (Blackmore, 1999; Carvalho & Santiago, 2010, pp. 245-247; Guth & Wright, 2009, p. 141; Luke, 2010, p. 233; Petersen, 2012, p. 11; Thanacoody, Bartram, Barker, & Jacobs, 2006, p. 546) claim that the networks limited the inclusion of women and affected not only promotions in leadership and managerial opportunities, but also other professional career path such as professorship.

In Guth & Wright's (2009, p. 141) report, the unfair route of promotion was expressed by academics across the university especially in terms of the complexity of the promotions process and a lack of transparency in relation to the criteria. As a result, women faculty were often excluded from the networks of 'old boy's club' limiting their professional career success (Carvalho & Santiago, 2010, p. 246; Guth & Wright, 2009, p. 141; Luke, 2010; Petersen, 2012, p. 11). The situation might be similar with what is called 'chilly climate' (Hall & Sandler, 1982). Chilly climate was probably so subtle that it often looked normal as it does not seem to break the laws or regulations, even unidentified by the affected ones but really hindered women from academic or professional advancement. Terrien (2008, p. 2) illustrates them as a prevailing vigour that competent female faculty face every day but many of them do not recognize it. Indeed, most of the women in my study believed that gender was not a category excluding them from access to leadership promotion or academic rank advancement, and some of them did not even recognize the presence of informal networks.

Maranto & Griffin's (2011, p. 143) found that chilly climate experienced mainly by women in Midwestern US context that even with a department becoming more gender balanced, women

experienced exclusion from informal networks more than men did. According to Diana Leonard in Morley (2013, p. 117), women themselves had internal constraints, they were often reluctant to be 'involved in the competitive, self-promotional behaviour traditionally associated with dominant masculinities', because they lacked knowledge of the 'rules of the game'. Hence, she strongly encouraged women to engage with the hidden curriculum of academia, for example, the use of networks, contacts, persistence and political skills.

Despite the above mentioned gendered organizational practices as well as individual problems in advancing their career or professional development, none of the women in this study mentioned any women-focused networks or organization like the ones in the USA that function as a space to help them with catalysts for women's career agency and challenge gendered organizational practices (Hart, 2008; O'Meara & Stromquist, 2015, p. 354). The absence of organization providing supports for women's career in Indonesia might have contributed to the very low representation of women in high leadership positions.

Nevertheless, according to Indana, "the [gender] relation has already been egalitarian, merit-based, and no more sexist". When I asked her about the stories behind her having been in high-level managerial position for more than a decade, Indana acknowledged that she was just lucky because she earlier got academic qualification higher than most of her colleagues.

I am just lucky because I got my Master degree earlier, so when I got started (career), my colleagues were still starting their Master study, and while they were pursuing their Master study, I already hold several positions. Therefore, when they got their Master degree and would start [managerial positions], there were already some people [including her] with experiences, and of course, the experienced were nominated. So, in my opinion, it was more a situation that made me granted with the gift [of managerial positions] (Indana)

In one way, Indana's confession that she was just lucky was explainable by the fact that UIN Maliki was historically a *Sekolah Tinggi*, a type of academic or vocational higher education institution offering just one group of disciplines ("Undang Undang Republik Indonesia No. 12 Th 2012 tentang Pendidikan Tinggi (The Act No 12/2012 on Higher Education)," 2012, p. 43) before converting to be a university in 2002. The transition from a small scale (*Sekolah Tinggi*) to be a bigger higher education institution, university, offered many new managerial positions, while the human resources at that time was not compatible with the available positions, given that many faculty members had not had Master or Doctorate degree at that time. Consequently, the new managerial positions were

offered to those who had held at least Master degree, and Indana was one of them.

On the other hand, there was a Javanese norm of being humble or not showing off (Sukarno, 2010), which might have inspired Indana not to pronounce her academic quality of Master degree and ample leadership experience in organizations that made her deserved for the position. Regardless of her excellent qualification, being asked about the possible informal networks, Indana did not mention anything, which could be because she was part of the networks given her noticeable organizational experiences.

Similarly, Erin, who has been active in promoting gender equality for almost two decades, rejected both the issues of gender and cliques in promotions in the university she worked for. She was sure that the process of promotions was truly professional and involved no gender bias, nor unprofessional measurement such as informal networks, which signposts her belief in the existence of a meritocracy and, as if, not gendered embedded expectations.

I think there has been no gender bias, no, so, in this campus, in recruiting whatever the position, I believe, professionalism is a measure to determine a position. [...]
About the networks related to PMII and HMI [both are Muslim student organizations], I could not measure it, because there is no evidence about it (Erin).

In contrast, being asked about the processes of promotion, Tamara, the most senior (she was 60s at the time of interview) among my research subjects, emphasized more on gender-based issues rather than informal networks.

As I know, their [males'] comment was "uh...women" that's it. Even some women said "don't choose women leaders". There might be [informal] 'political' grids, yeah...because they might be afraid of losing opportunities or I don't know... ummm... afraid of being defeated by women. There seems to be feelings of aversion of defeat (Tamara).

The different perceptions (gender bias and informal networks) among the women about the nature of processes of promotion for leadership positions might also be dependent on the nature of relations between the women and the elites or the informal networks at work and on their other experiences related to the promotions. It might also be due to the smaller percentage of women in the total number of women faculty in both universities (in 2013, women faculty made up 35% in UIN Maliki and 23% in UINSA¹¹²) and women's later entrance to the academia, in which hardly any women

¹¹² Based on the documents provided to me by the administration officers of both universities.

faculty were recruited in 1970s while the universities were established in early 1960s¹¹³.

According to the women in this study, rather than gender, informal networks played important roles to enable faculty members or blocking them from accessing influential positions such as (only to mention some) deans, vice deans, rector, vice rectors, and senate membership. The fact that women faculty members were under-represented in those positions was, accordingly, not a matter of gender related reasons, at least in the perspectives of most women in this study. However, the fact that the informal networks were mainly male-based highly potentially put women aside. Therefore, women suffered double pressures, as women (gendered culture) and as outsiders (from the networks), which explained that women were less likely recruited in any managerial or leadership positions than men were.

Moreover, throughout the fieldwork, there was a predisposition that the women I interviewed tried to give an impression that they were not 'dangerous', not ambitious, and domesticated, even though they had high-level managerial position. Being 'harmless' women means that they are not *kebablasan* (an often-cited Javanese term for excessive or going too far leaving and challenging traditional norms). When a high-quality woman was able to comply with the norms, it serves as a guarantee that the woman is the right and harmless one for the leadership position in case women must be involved. The senate's consideration before giving approval to candidate leaders took seriously qualitative aspects containing morality, leadership, managerial, academic competence, and networks (The Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2015, p. 7). Despite that good morality is a very important, incontrovertible, and imperative part of leader's features, the fact is that the aspect of morality is multi interpretation and highly bound to culture, which highly potentially set some 'hindrance' to women. Just an example, if a culture views divorced woman as a 'harmful' one, the woman would be affected in deficit ways. Another softer example, if a woman is successful in career but one or some of her family members is/are 'failed' morally, she might be viewed as egoist or morally flawed.

In my study, a 'harmless' woman should never ignore her family; high position at work was not an excuse. Salma, a woman with high-level managerial position, seemed to be an example of a

¹¹³ Based on the documents provided to me by the administration officers of both universities and the best available data on websites of the universities and the MORA.

'harmless' woman, which might have taken her to some important positions at work. She articulated her story on the clash of positions; at work she was one of the top leaders (even though not the highest), but at home she was subordinate to her husband, which often positioned her in a dilemmatic situation. She highlighted that she was aware about her different positions between those at home and at work.

In the office, I am a leader, but at home I am led [...] In Indonesia, the head of family is husband, which is also the case in Islam. I have no adequate reason to go beyond that rule, [which is fine] as long as we are able to communicate well [by] involving husband in decision makings, except the workplace decisions [...] I got a lot of trouble because the structure at home [she is] not the leader. But I involved my husband in [work-related] decision making on things that will involve me, so he is willing, even perforce, to accept them. There are [women's] difficulties that are different from male colleagues'. The males just need to inform [their wife], because the structure [position of husband in family] is different [from the wife's]. (Salma)

Even though the story on the clash of positions came from only one person, it probably represents other women faculties who did not express it. Moreover, the issue was about the substantial religious as well as cultural norms that seriously affect women's capacity in making decisions about anything especially decisions that would affect their roles as wives and mothers. As a devout Muslim, Salma learned how to perform appropriate behavior in Islam and complied with the Islamic norms, although the norms are not unitary and that there are always competing discourses.

From social constructionist perspective, Salma internalized social expectations of gender norms, but at the same time she was actively selecting, adapting, and rejecting the norms, and finally she behaved accordingly. When she was able to reach a top leadership position in a relatively big Islamic state university (at least in Indonesian context), it affirmed her progressive position in Islamic norms, while her thoroughly subservient attitude to her husband represents her compliance with the conventional and dominant Islamic and cultural norms. Her involving husband in work-related decisions that affected her roles as mother and wife (such as being assigned out of working hours) showed how she upheld the shared meaning of a good woman. This means that even though she was a top leader, she was still a 'woman', compliant with the dominant femininity and, thus, not dangerous. This confirmed a research report on women and work in Indonesia (Ford & Parker, 2008, p. 3) claiming that "work' decisions always occur within cultural domains inseparable from other ideological and symbolic systems".

Nevertheless, with her subservient attitude, Salma was not left behind her colleagues of both

sexes. She, even, went beyond them; in her 40s, her one and half decade of service, she was successfully promoted in one of the top managerial positions that many of her senior (mostly male) colleagues were formally eligible and was extremely rare for women in Indonesia. In short, that she has eloquently created a profile of a 'harmless' woman might be a key to her success in several promotions both in career and in professional organization. One important thing is that Salma represents an ideal modern Indonesian Muslim woman who was distinctively successful and reputable in both her career and family, which seemed to be corresponding with her unceasing alertness of her 'right' position.

Another sign of being 'harmless' women was avoiding ambition. Most of the women in this study expressed their reluctance of ambition for (leadership) position. Just to mention some; Erin said, "I am not ambitious in (leadership) position, just go with the flow", which is similar with Rafiqah's words "I don't want to be ambitious, the most important thing is keeping my quality and capacity" and Tamara's comment "no ambition for the future, except happy family". The women's reluctance in showing ambition confirmed Luke's (2010, pp. 212-213) findings that women in Asia tend to 'work quietly' and avoid self-marketing. It is also in line with some previous research stating that women are reluctant to compete and seek promotion (Chesterman & Ross-Smith, 2006; Doherty & Manfredi, 2006; H. Winchester et al., 2006).

The fact that several women in my study were in high-level management positions did not contradict with such images of reluctance in showing ambition. Salma confirmed her being not ambitious by highlighting that her early step to the high-level management position was because of a plead by the most senior male colleagues, not her own will or ambition. She mentioned that she just wanted to obey her most respected senior figures at work.

A report from an Indonesian scholar mentions that women's own reluctance to become more professional is one of the factors causing their low productivity (Setiadarma, 1993, p. 118). Somehow, if women's reluctance was true, it might be due to the discourse that women's ambition might be understood as unfeminine and harmful, and women avoid being judged as unfeminine or harmful. Aiston (2011, p. 283) states that women who are "attempting to make themselves more visible and compete on equal terms, who are self-confident and promote themselves, may therefore be criticised as unfeminine". Eventually, the women must be alert to what culturally prescribed

behaviour of a good woman to be continuously successful in career. Another key to the women's smooth career paths was to avoid ominous label of militant feminist.

The women who expressed their critics in public such as in the previously described case of sexist joke, Maryam mentioned, "would be figured as militant feminists", which were perceived negatively by the mainstream and accordingly might affect their career in deficit ways. The ideas behind this assumption (of perceiving the vocal women as militant feminists) could be the traditional Asian femininity (Luke, 1998, p. 252), or the old history of negative propaganda by the New Order government on *Gerwani*, a militant progressive revolutionary Indonesian women organization (Rahayu, 1996, p. 13), or both.

The term feminism was associated with socialism and communism, with which Indonesians were made allergic, especially since the history of the coup d'état in 1965 wiping out all organizations affiliated to socialism and communism, one of which was *Gerwani* (Wichelen, 2010, p. 31; Wieringa, 2003, p. 70) as discussed in chapter one. Moreover, the term feminist or gender is also viewed as something Western, which has often been used to discredit feminist initiatives (Maila Stevens, 2003, p.21) in non-Western contexts. The claim of Western imposition might be true, or basically meant to impede the transformation of gender relations, or even both (Jolly, 2002, p. 34), as Indonesians are really diverse in many ways¹¹⁴.

The label of militant feminist can function as a silencing tool, while silencing norm seems to be typical in Asian culture especially for women as part of feminine characteristics. Luke's (1998, 2010) work gave an example of how cultural norms in Asian context affected women's career in unique ways and found that traditional Asian femininity is decisive in women's career success. She mentioned 'the rule of face' in Asian culture suggesting women to protect their senior males' 'face' to save both the positions of the senior males and the women themselves in different ways; removing threats for the males and keeping support for the women (Luke, 1998, pp. 253-254; 2010, pp. 160-164) because of complying with 'the rule of face' and not being classified as militant feminist.

In short, the dreadful label of feminist would potentially lead to blocking the opportunities for

¹¹⁴ The diversity of Indonesians is realized in many ways; more than 300 local languages, various local traditions, different religions and faiths, varied overseas trader's influences, and geographically spread thousands of islands.

women in a wide range of promotions or strategic positions such as senate members, dean and vice-dean, and rector and vice rectors. Another important thing to remember for women to be successful is not to subordinate males, both at work and at home

Historically, women have been excluded from the universities for six hundred years, hence hegemonic masculinities within and among institutions has been institutionalized (Heward, 1996, p. 10). Women are expected to be passive, submissive and subordinate because they had double status as women and as new comers or juniors in academia, which explains why the sexist jokes by males (discussed in the section of gender harassment) were tolerated, accepted, and perceived as 'just for sociability'.

Moreover, one of the leading cultural norms that was shared by women faculty members was feeling of reluctance to precede the (mostly male) seniors. It was not the case for every woman, but there was Sabrina, a high-level administrator, who shared her experience of giving way to (male) seniors while she had an opportunity to be promoted for leadership position.

I was three times promoted to be a dean, once I won with high score, but I was aware that there was still a [ex] teacher [lecturer] of mine that had never been a dean, then I offered the position to him, I gave him the opportunity [to be a dean], and I was a vice-dean. After [finishing] my position as a vice dean, I run myself for office as a dean, and apparently women dean was not acceptable yet, there was a call from an elite ordering to stop (nominating women). I considered it not a burden, it was fine not to become a dean (Sabrina).

As a descendant of Javanese aristocrat, Sabrina seemed to hold strongly Javanese values of hierarchy or 'lineal values orientation' (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 462), a concept already explored previously under the sub-section of gender harassment. In addition, referring to Heward (1996, p. 10), as a woman, Sabrina was junior in university realm. In short, Sabrina was subordinated in two ways, as a woman and as a junior, in the sense that listening to and respecting the seniors is a must.

Likewise, Salma, who was qualified enough based on her academic background and ample experiences in numerous organizations as indicated by her stories in the interview, admitted that she agreed to be promoted because of upholding the norm of respecting the seniors. Realizing that there were many colleagues who were more senior and academically and formally eligible for top leadership positions, she was not courageous enough to be promoted before the most respected

seniors seriously begged her willingness. Because of her *tawadlu*¹¹⁵ (humbleness), humility, or modesty and respect to the (male) seniors, she finally approved an offer to be promoted in a top leadership position, because the ones who approached her were the (male) seniors whom she respected highly.

If the seniors already said “*bu*¹¹⁶ Salma, please help *pak*¹¹⁷ Rector”. I do not have any choice but to be compliant if the seniors said “please help”. I communicated it with my husband, then he took the decision [to permit her to be promoted in a high leadership position], and finally I accepted the offer. (Salma)

Salma’s humbleness to her (male) seniors and to her husband (discussed in chapter seven) was a form of feminine characteristics signifying her compliance with the dominant discourse on gender placing women as the ones who should be led, not leading. Her confession confirmed a claim that women in Islam were normatively defined as inferior to men (Engineer, 2001, pp. 111-112; 2008, pp. 48-49; Hassan, 2011, p. 2; Subhan, 1999, 2002). She further mentioned her position regarding gender relations, “there are things that I cannot totally agree with the [feminists] theories. I just tried to implement the Javanese and Islamic norms that men are superior and we (women) are subordinate”. The interactions between her multiple categories as Javanese Muslim woman faculty allowed Salma to be in a high-level managerial position without shifting the ‘right’ position of her husband.

Finally, the women’s leadership career paths were shaped by gendered cultural norms in addition to male-dominated informal networks, which allowed a small number of women to succeed.

Academic Career Paths

Academic promotion is self-nominated in Indonesia. Based on a regulation on the academic promotion (The Directorate General of Higher Education, 2014), faculty members need to collect a certain amount of credits (explained under the section of Tridharma in this chapter) for each aspects of tridharma and a supporting aspect, the proportion of which was previously explained under the section of tridharma. The value of SKS or credits for publications, teaching, and community service is subject to the Decree of the Director General of Islamic Education Number:

¹¹⁵ The concept of *tawadlu*’ in Islamic teaching refers to the humbleness, humility, or modesty requiring respect to the teachers, seniors, parents, and other pious elders.

¹¹⁶ *Bu* is how Indonesians address adult women with respect.

¹¹⁷ *Pak* is how Indonesians address adult men with respect.

DJ.I/DT.I.IV/1591.A/2011 on Faculty's Work Load and the Implementation of the Three Pillars of Higher Education for Faculty Members within Islamic Higher Education. The wider scope, such as articles in accredited international journals, has higher value than in the accredited national ones, whose detail is too big to include in this report.

For those promoted to *Asisten Ahli* (Expert Assistant) and *Lektor* (Lector), the documents were assessed by *Tim Angka Kredit Fakultas* (the team assessing the credits in school level), then forwarded to *Tim Angka Kredit Rektorat* (a team assessing the credits in institutional/university level). However, the academic promotion for *Lektor Kepala* (Head Lector) and Professor needs another verification from *Tim Angka Kredit DIKTI* (the team of assessor of the Directorate General of Higher Education). All of such steps in the level of both school and institutions (universities) must pass the board of senate approval in each level.

Despite the fact that some women (such as Fadillah, Rafiqah, Linda, and Afrida) experienced slow move in their academic career, some other women had smooth career journeys (in academic and/or leadership/administrative positions). Elsha, who had long been a faculty without additional administrative responsibilities, but at the time of the interview, had just been appointed as a lower level administrator, Hanim, who had just moved up from a lower to a higher-level managerial position, and Erin who was in a lower level administrative position, assuredly shared their smooth academic rank advancement. They admitted that despite their routine jobs as administrators, they were able to collect adequate amount of credits for all the three pillars of the tridharma and able to manage the advancement of their academic ranks regularly every two years. Tamara, the most senior among the women in my study, also had smooth academic rank advancement, but not leadership promotions. Yet, some women shared some problems in their academic career paths, such as never ending routines and too much teaching loads.

Most the women who had administrative or leadership positions complained about the never-ending routine jobs they had, which consequently contributed to the delay of the advancement of their academic rank. They used to have smooth rank advancement, but not after they were in administrative or leadership positions. Due to the heavy load of administrative responsibilities, they were not demanded the same amount of responsibilities in tridharma. However, the policies reducing the responsibilities in tridharma for the high-level administrators did not help them in their academic

rank advancement, because the size of responsibilities in tridharma as the requirements for the academic advancement remained the same with those without any managerial positions.

Indana mentioned a 'danger' of having managerial position; "If we were enthralled [with the managerial positions], it is dangerous [in terms of academic career]". She was aware that the small amount of responsibilities in tridharma for the holders of high managerial position was two sided; it enabled them to focus on their managerial tasks, but at the same time inclined to make them delay their academic rank advancement due to the lack of credits in tridharma. Similarly, Salma, a higher-level administrator, and Latifah, a lower level administrator, confessed that they delayed their academic rank advancement because of the busy routineness of managerial responsibilities.

Regarding the academic rank advancement, I do not have enough time to write, to do research and community service. I tried to write but I can't finish it in one year, it was always deferred by the never ending managerial responsibilities. (Salma)

The thing that is time consuming and made me unable to concentrate [on finishing her doctorate study] is the never-ending routine jobs (Latifah)

Moreover, even if the credits for tridharma was met, they might not have enough time to manage the process of the advancement. Before holding an administrative position, Erin, a lower level administrator, had been used to move up her academic rank routinely every two years, which means smooth advancement. However, because of her routine jobs as an administrator, she could not anymore manage her academic rank advancement on time, even though she had more than enough credits for all the elements of the Tridharma.

Linda just left a high-level managerial position and was on her way to finish her dissertation when I interviewed her. She said that she was too slow in going up the academic rank because of the routine jobs as an administrator in several positions successively.

"My academic rank advancement was delayed due to the routine jobs as [mentioning a number of administrative positions she had ever had] that were time consuming so that I could not produce any scholarly work, neither pursued doctorate study. Whereas, for me, studying is more enjoyable even though I know I am already old. (Linda)

However, after she was not in administrative positions anymore, she was busy managing her husband's business. She then admitted that she had everything needed for the academic rank advancement but did not have spare energy to manage it; she was too busy. She said, "I think I do not have any hindrance, everything is already there, I was just too busy and tired, and then I slept".

Linda's experience in routine activities managing her husband's business causing no left-over time and energy to spend on her own career advancement confirmed Javanese norm of *kanca wingking* prescribing women to always support husband's career/business because husband should be the breadwinner.

Eventually, it is difficult for those who had administrative positions to do research and manage their rank advancement if there is no policy facilitating it. The heavy load of administrative jobs hindering the opportunities for scholarship activities was documented previously (Sandra Acker, 2014, p. 82; Murniati, 2012, p. 114; Stout, Staiger, & Jennings, 2007, p. 130). For those without managerial position, one of the shared problems was being assigned too much teaching loads, so that they did not have enough time for research.

Some women, especially those without administrative/leadership positions, were assigned with overloaded teaching responsibilities. They had to spend their time mostly for teaching-related activities that include, but not limited to, preparation, actual teaching activities, and assessment. Unlike research, all those activities could not be delayed because the period was always framed within one semester, and included other parties, at least students and administration, who made the delay almost impossible.

Rahma and Afrida, whose academic rank was head lector meaning that their teaching and research loads should be equal, stated that they had less research than teaching, and, even, overloaded teaching credits. Afrida described herself like an artist star who was scheduled by every department every semester, so she had not finished her dissertation because her time was spent too much for teaching. Furthermore, she was expelled from her doctorate study because of the study time limit, even though she was finally enrolled again in another university for a doctorate study that was on progress at the time of the interview.

Like a well-known artist, I taught in all departments, so I do not have time to write, while my study just remains writing [already finished all the class meetings] ... no choice, because I study on my own funding,... it is just this semester I had five classes [but the same subject). Usually I taught at least 25 classes [laughter], seriously, so certainly no time [to write, laughter] it happened every semester, all departments employed me, I had always been in the schedules, ...from Monday until Saturday, even Sunday. That's why my study has not finished yet, no time to write. The schedule is so full, really crowded. [She worried that] Denying the task would be said to repel the responsibility, but they did not make any confirmation before putting my name on the schedule...So, for the pillar of education, I have much more than enough [credit]. (Afrida),

Referring to the document of the strategic planning of the *Kemenristekdikti* or the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education for the period of 2015-2019 (Kemenristekdikti, 2015, p. 19), the problem of overloaded teaching responsibilities as well as lacking time and funding for research seemed to be non gender specific. But, considering that the document of the strategic planning does not provide any gender segregated data nor gender specific planning, neither mentions even a word of *perempuan* or *wanita* (Indonesian words for women), it could be that the issue of overloaded teaching responsibilities was based on gender specific facts, especially women's, but the gendered-ness was not revealed.

Afrida's and Rahma's experience of overloaded teaching responsibilities confirm previous research that women tend to be intensely involved in teaching (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2010, 2013; Indihadi & Karlimah, 2007; Probert, 2005; Subbaye & Vithal, 2016) more than research (Aiston, 2011, p. 288; Aiston & Jung, 2015, p. 206), because of the stereotypes that women are nurturing and caring. While caring is central in the activities of teaching (K. E. O'Connor, 2006; Warin & Gannerud, 2014, p. 198), the stereotypes that caring is women's natural trait and, therefore, teaching profession is considered best suited to women (Cameron, 2001; Fischman, 2007) has been widely influential. Confirming the stereotypes, an Indonesian woman scholar, Setiadarma (1993, p. 110), mentioning that women are educators by nature, both for their family and beyond.

The stereotypes that caring and teaching is women's exclusive feminine area also led to a postulation that women are not interested in further study and careers in the academy (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2013, p. 165), and that women are more interested in teaching than research (Callaghan, 2016, p. 8).

Ascribing teaching mainly to women might not be a problem as long as, Tidball (1976, p. 388) notes, 'the diversity of institutional missions and contributions would be preserved'. However, whether male faculty did not experience overloaded responsibilities in teaching (Colbeck, 2006; Kahn, 2012; Reddick, Rochlen, Grasso, Reilly, & Spikes, 2012) was beyond the scope of my research. A report by The National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF) in the United States, as cited by Benedict and Benedict (2014, p. 18), mentioned that between 1987 and 2003, regardless of the sexes, full-time faculty members spent more time to teaching than research and community service.

While research is a privileged aspect of Tridharma, it is time demanding, which explains that overload in teaching means less, not to say no, time for research. Indeed, “time spent on teaching is a dominant predictor of research publications” (Callaghan, 2016, p. 3). Therefore, overloaded teaching responsibilities hindering individuals’ opportunities to do research and to finish their doctorate study, which some of the women in my study experienced.

In terms of failure or slow move in academic career, the women tended to blame themselves instead of mentioning structural or cultural hindrance. Being asked about the difficulties in their career, several women in this study mentioned their inability to accomplish research, while research is the most important aspect in academic career. Consequently, they were slow in their academic career advancement. For their being left behind or failure, there was a trend that the women blamed themselves instead of mentioning structural issues, which might be related to a popular Javanese saying “*iso rumongso*”, literally means being able to know her/himself, which means an individual should be able to position her/himself appropriately, not to be too confident nor overestimate her/himself (Mulder, 1992, p. 10). The failure to perform such norm, especially in Javanese culture, highly potentially leads to a negative opinion about her/his personality.

One of the women, Salma, showed ambiguity in her explanation for the difficulties; she admitted that the administrative responsibilities were never-ending, but several times in the interview she blamed herself for being unable to manage her time.

The difficulties are from myself, I cannot manage my time [emphasized], because the [administrative] responsibilities do not enable me to think about research.
(Salma)

Blaming self instead of pointing finger at others seemed to be part of an important values of Javanese culture as indicated in the previously mentioned Javanese saying, ‘*iso rumongso*’.

Similar confession came from Latifah, a low-level administrator immensely involved in gender studies, who mentioned that despite her high routine jobs at work, being left behind in research was a matter of individual, not policy or structural issues, which impressed as if the individuals have already been facilitated with adequate policy.

“Regarding research, it depends on each individual, not about the workload at home or at work, but fortunately I can share the house works with my husband. Nevertheless, I have high routine jobs at work and several areas for community service [emphasized]...so that I was a little bit left in research, my works are more

on community service [rather than research]". (Latifah)

Like many other women in this study, Latifah's intense involvement with gender studies did not lead her to question the absence of policies accommodating gender differences especially in caring and domestic chores. In short, instead of pointing finger at things out of themselves, blaming self might be part of shared Javanese norms, which was important in Javanese society.

Blaming self and a view that policies (for women to accommodate their gendered roles) are not required seems to be in line with Beddoes and Pawley's (2014, p. 1582) report that faculty interpreted gendered family roles as individual choices, not structural issue, which suggests that no policy is needed for those women faculty with gendered family roles. However, whether the ideology of choice is celebrated or not for different issues is gendered; for example, a choice to be single or childless is not celebrated, while a choice to focus on family over career is celebrated (J. Baker, 2008, pp. 61-62). If gendered family roles are individual choice, then women themselves have to take responsibility for their slow move in career advancement. Indeed, Hakim argues that women's lack of progression in career is not because of discrimination, but should be the women's own responsibility due to their individual choice (Hakim, 2006).

Moreover, during the interviews, several subjects confirmed the perceived ideal women as the self-less individuals, which indicates their construction of femininity. Combining three demanding status of a mother of special-needs child, a doctorate student, and a faculty, Rofiqoh blamed herself for her slow move in career and expressed her being of self-less individual.

Actually, career is not a problem, it is me who is too slow, sometimes three or five years, which was because of the incomplete requirements. So, it is my personal problem. There is no problem with the institutional policies and regulations.
(Rofiqoh)

Rofiqoh's story of coping with her 'special' child and her faculty career was similar to the experience of Katherine Lane Antolini, (2005, pp. 45-48), an academic and mother of an autistic child, who admitted that her decision to balance motherhood and academia reflects a degree of selfishness and she blamed herself. The different sacrifices made by the women in my study seemed confirm Luke's (1998) point that 'self-sacrificing' is one of the stereotypical characteristics of Asian femininity

The cultural (including religious) constructions of femininity seemed to have been strongly

internalized by the women in my study, so that when they had slow move on their career advancement or they were not able to accomplish their responsibilities on time, they blamed themselves instead of perceiving the cultural and structural interference as a barrier.

Conclusion

Faculty members in Indonesia had to accomplish tridharma or three pillars of higher education consisting of education (and teaching), research and community service with certain proportion for each, but the proportion for research rises along with the higher academic ranks. While some women in my study were able to complete those responsibilities, some others experienced some problems with work-work balance especially overloaded teaching responsibilities but lack of research credits. Accordingly, they were struggling in fulfilling the required proportion of the three aspects of tridharma, especially research, to move up the academic ranks.

In regard with research, some women complained that no support was provided to facilitate high quality research. The time frame for each research project funded by the universities and by the MORA was just one financial year; a too short period for a research activity from its proposal until its report, which was not adequate for a high quality research. There was a policy of research leave for six months but it was almost impossible to execute because of the clashes among different related regulations. There was an expectation that they actually deserved more than what they had achieved if policies facilitated them. The fact was that the policies sometimes seemed to be just token. Moreover, the women's stories exemplify how they were impeded by multiple constructions such as their status as Muslim Javanese women to whom care and domestic responsibilities were exclusively attached, their affiliation to minority organization, all of which contributed, to a certain extent, to their lack of opportunities for research.

Other than tridharma-related problems, the Javanese-inspired normative femininity also prescribed the ways the women presented themselves both physically and socially, such as performing polite appearance, pleasant demeanor, gratifying, and not offensive, which constituted part of 'requirements' for women to exist in male-dominated forum. Moreover, the women were exposed with 'unchallengeable' gender harassment by male senior, due to the Javanese 'silencing' norms not allowing junior to criticize senior in public, while women are new comers (juniors) in

academia. The cultural norm of lineal orientation restricted the women from being assertive when they wanted to protest for sexist jokes.

Despite that, women suffered lack of support. At least, the centers for gender studies (PSG) in both universities, UINSA and UIN Maliki, were structurally peripheral as part of study centers under the center for research and community service. They were not represented adequately in their websites and faced similar problems of resistance or suspicion due to the perception that feminisms are Western and/or communist ideas. Therefore, both PSGs employed strategies of including Islamic perspectives in disseminating the ideas of feminisms to enable better acceptability.

All the previous issues contributed to shaping the career paths of the women in this study. Some women admitted their smooth academic career paths, more other women confessed that they were hindered by the presence of invisible informal networks blocking them from access to leadership promotions. Besides that, the women had to be 'harmless' by avoiding the image of '*kebablasan*' or going too far leaving the cultural norms. Moreover, women with career, especially in Indonesian context, need to be engaged in the discourse of work and family discussion, which is decisive in shaping their career paths.

CHAPTER SEVEN MAINTAINING FAMILY HARMONY

Introduction

While the lives of the research subjects at work have been discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter discusses their lives outside their work circle, especially family, which starts with sharing domestic and caring responsibilities, children and career, then followed by relationships with husband. All that they did about their family is actually referring to the efforts to maintain family harmony, which affected their professional lives as a faculty member and/or administrator. Discussing the two spheres, work's lives and family lives, completely separately is hardly possible, which made some inevitable overlapping issues. Regardless of the different concept about the relation between work and family such as work-life balance, work-family conflict, work-family segmentation, work and family reconciliation, or work-family compensation, work and family has been an important concern of policy making at national level in European Union (Gregory & Milner, 2009), which should also be the case in any other parts of the world, including Indonesia.

Other than that, it was crucial that women's success at work should be parallel with their success in family, which was most clearly expressed by Tamara, the most senior woman (among the interviewees).

As one of the most senior women, I encourage all women to increase their academic career, job, and public roles as high as possible without forgetting the harmony and success of their domestic roles, so they surely achieve happiness in family and social life in the world and in the hereafter (Tamara).

Despite her advice that women should pursuit their best in public roles, Tamara's message vocalized the dominant norm about Muslim women in Indonesian context. Women who are successful in career but not in family are susceptible to be accused of trespassing the *kodrat* of being a woman. Even though, formally, the recent government's documents did

not mention the word *kodrat* anymore¹¹⁸, the discourse on *kodrat* seemed to have already been hegemonic. Women's *kodrat* in Indonesian context referring to the divine and natural domestic and care responsibilities of women as a consequence of women's biological roles (Blackburn, 2004, pp. 25-26; Hadiz & Eddyono, 2005, p. 55; Robinson, 2009, pp. 5,10; Rustam, 1993; Suryakusuma, 2011) was an important measure for being a good, even pious, woman.

According to Brenner's (1995, pp. 37-38; 1998, pp. 161, 242) study on Javanese women, financially autonomous women are fairly suspect, because although women are believed to be good at self-control which makes Indonesian women better traders than men, it does not apply to women's other aspects of life. People are worried that women who are financially independent or more powerful than their husbands, and accordingly refuse their husbands' control, will easily fall to adultery behavior which cause disharmonious family. Therefore, to be financially autonomous does not equal to being autonomous in other facets of life, and more importantly, career women are always reminded of their *kodrat* or *fitrah*, namely as mothers and wives, with or without reference to any religion, which is related to a previously discussed notion of *kebablasan* or excessive.

In addition, it is not only family harmony that women have to be responsible with, but the nation's moral status as well. While admitting the necessity of women empowerment and women's inclusion in development, Chalijah Hasan (1998, pp. 189-190), a professor in a state Islamic university in Indonesia, highlighted that women's roles in Islam locate in two main domains; in the family, as a family member, as a wife, as a mother, as an educator of the children, and as the maintainer of the family's health; and in the society, as a moral guardian of the society, as the maintainer of the society's welfare, as the nurturer of the young generation, and as the guard of the national endurance.

I found that the research subjects of this study had ample experiences to share about

¹¹⁸ An elaboration on the government's documents prescribing *kodrat* for women was available under the section of 'Women and the Indonesian State' in chapter one.

their life despite their hectic days as faculty members, since they were all married with children. The age of children is decisive in discussion about family life because different age groups entails different challenges for their parents. In this case, two women in my study had primary school age children, eight of them had high school age children, and the other seven had already adult and autonomous children. Moreover, those who had grown-up children shared stories about their experiences at the time when their children were young. In addition, the women also had different life circumstances such as the family background (pesantren and non-pesantren) in which they were born and raised up as well as the profession of their husbands, such as faculty member, politician, entrepreneur, religious leader, government officer, and retired.

This chapter discusses how the women negotiated their roles in family which often overlapped with their work, especially those related to gender, in order to maintain family harmony as well as maintaining their career. Drawing from Hacking (1999, p. 7), gender is an area that the most noticeable social construction principles are related to. The women in my study made some efforts to meet their gendered *fitrah* or divine predisposition as mothers and wives by adjusting their career or public work. As mothers, they adjusted their career with their children, and as wives, they adjusted their career with their husbands.

Sharing domestic & caring responsibilities

The religious as well as cultural norm about the structure of family placing husband as breadwinners and head of family and wife as the manager of household potentially, as institutionalized in the Marriage Act 1974, places wives in difficult positions if there is no mutual understanding between husband and wife. Nevertheless, despite the defining influence of cultural and religious norms, the women in this study confessed that they did not find significant barriers to carry on their career, which was because they shared domestic and caring responsibilities with husband and/or domestic helpers.

With husband

Most of the women in my study, especially those who did not have domestic helpers, stated that they shared domestic responsibilities with their husbands. Despite the gendered religious and cultural norm about the structure of family placing husband as breadwinners and head of family and wife as the manager of household, a well-cited archetypal research report on Javanese family claimed that “the position of women in Javanese society generally is very strong” (H. Geertz, 1961, p. 46) and another report by an Indonesian feminist indicates that the Javanese idealize a team work for husband and wife (Megawangi, 1997, p. 3) meaning that each plays her/his roles without any one of them being repressed.

Several women in this study, such as Hanim, Elsha, Maryam, Tamara, Amanda, Salma, Madania, and Erin, confessed that they were able to run their career smoothly because they had equal share. They stated that they did not have any problem with sharing domestic and caring responsibilities with their husbands. Below are only some quotes from my interviews with them.

Even though we do not have any maid, we are alright. My husband is willing to sweep the floor and the yard and other domestic jobs. We do not teach gendered housework to our children, boys and girls are just the same, which was exemplified by our big family. My husband also got gender education; when he took his doctorate study he got a gender class by Mansour Faqih [an Indonesian expert in gender and Islam]. (Maryam)

For household works, we agree to have a job division. When I am assigned out of town, my husband takes over all the family and household responsibilities. But when I am home I take over again the responsibilities of caring for children, shopping, cooking, and so on. My husband helps in doing the dishes, sweeping, ironing et cetera that he usually does when there is no servant. (Tamara)

My husband and I have the same contribution in taking care of children. (Amanda)

Because my husband is compassionate about children, (he did things) like fixing their hair accessories that is normally done by a mother. He is so flexible in his roles, which makes my career never hindered. (Madania)

The stories of the women above confirmed Megawangi's (1997, p. 6) findings that patrilineal structure in Java is not rigid in terms of gender role. This is pertinent with several

Islamic teachings on husband-wife relationship, one of which is a *hadith* stating “among the believers who show most perfect faith are those who have the best personality and are kindest to their wives”¹¹⁹, which is important to mention because all of the women participated in this study and their husbands were Muslims.

However, some women seemed to conceal their involvement of men in domestic and caring chores, which was evident in the stories of Indana and Rahma who shared domestic and caring responsibilities only in private and had to please the society concerning the gender expectations. The concept of *kodrat*¹²⁰ prescribing what are appropriate for men and what for women was evidently represented in Indana’s, a top leader in UIN Maliki, story.

One night, I had a [scholarly] discussion session in the campus, my husband went out carrying our baby with a cloth sling. A neighbour interrupted him saying “wow, this is a victim of women emancipation”. He was made angry and embarrassed. Since then, he was faltered to carry the baby out, whereas it was something normal in our family. Society’s confirmation messed up our relationship rhythm that has been established. (Indana)

Indana said that after that incident, her husband became reluctant to share the domestic and caring responsibilities overtly, whereas he has been accustomed to be in charge of caring for his younger brothers and sisters in his family when he was not married yet. The social confirmation signaled him to reconstruct his learned gender roles. Instead of inserting his previous gender construction he learned from his family’s habit, he adjusted to the social expectation that husband should be the breadwinner and wife should be the main holder of the household and caring responsibilities, especially in public, because the failure in complying with such norms would lead to reduce, even deprive, his superiority as a man.

This was confirmed by his changing attitude after finally he was also assigned as one of the top leaders in his workplace. Indana asserted, “however, when he was finally also

¹¹⁹ This hadith is told by Tirmidzi, one of the reliable hadith narrators.

¹²⁰ The term *kodrat* has been explored under the section of ‘Women and the Indonesian State’ in chapter one

part of the top management team in his workplace, he becomes more understanding and willing to share the domestic and caring responsibilities without worrying people's comments". It seems that inferiority is a serious nightmare for men, such as becoming a husband who is professionally lower than his wife, taking care of the child(ren) and being left by a wife for work.

Another important thing not to breach is that the involvement of husband in domestic chores should be on his own will, not by wife's order, otherwise it could offend his masculinity, as it is contrary to mainstream gender expectations in Javanese culture that men are superior to women.

Regarding gender [ideology] underestimating husbands, I don't like it. I don't like the idea of commanding husband [she emphasized it], if he wants to help it is good, but never ever asked him [to do the household chores]. If no one is available for help, he would help doing the dishes, cooking rice, but on his own will, not on my order. (Rahma).

Rahma's confession confirmed Megawangi's (1997, p. 6) findings that such self-initiated involvement of husband in household chores and caring for children has been typical in Javanese families. This might relate to the hierarchy norms that is upheld in Javanese culture in which husband wife relationship positions husband higher than wife (Brenner, 1995, 1996), which does not allow wives to tell or instruct husbands. Indeed, the concept of moral hierarchy are embedded in Javanese notions of family and nation in which gender roles are conceptualized as a source of security and social continuity (Adamson, 2007, p. 9), so that sharing domestic and caring responsibilities must be compliant with the hierarchical relation between husband and wife.

Fadillah who is a Nyai and stayed within the complex of pesantren, denied the mainstream gendered division of labour highlighted by the concept of *kodrat*. She said that there was no gender segregation of domestic jobs in her family.

In my family, there is no such [gender-based] job division, even though we are in pesantren environment. The way we educate our children neither differ [between the sexes]. At home, my husband does not demand my service for providing beverage and so on. He is not troublesome in meal, never asked me to serve him a drink, though he neither served me when I am back from work or other cities. He does not mind I often go inter-cities

for career. (Fadillah)

However, considering that Fadillah lived in a pesantren family, it was undoubtedly common that there were domestic workers in her family. In other words, she and her husband were served by the domestic helpers, which enabled her to be free from some gendered division of domestic labour at home and might have blocked her from recognizing the gendered household chores. Moreover, it is common that women with career in Indonesia hire domestic helper to help handling household chores and/or child caring as part of their 'main responsibilities' as household managers.

With Domestic Helpers and Relatives

While some subjects of my study shared domestic responsibilities with their husbands, especially if they did not have any maid, some other subjects admitted that they had domestic helpers who regularly did the household chores, and when the helpers were absent, they usually received assistance from their kinsfolks. Therefore, they said that they did not have substantial problem in terms of household chores and domestic responsibilities.

Erin, Elsha, Wafiroh, Salma, Indana, Hanim, and Amanda, stated that they had domestic helpers who were regularly undertaking domestic jobs and/or child caring. They also relied on extended family members, especially females, occasionally needed in certain situation especially in the absence of the helpers or when the women with elementary school age or younger children were too busy or assigned certain tasks requiring them to leave home for relatively long time like overnight or longer.

As an administrator, Erin was sometimes assigned to other cities for some days. She just left the children with their father (her husband), a leader in a government office, if he was not very busy with his job. But sometimes she had to invite a relative to help taking care of her children because her husband was too busy with his job, and her domestic helper was coming in the morning and going in the late afternoon.

When I was assigned to leave for other city for some days, I usually just

left my children with their father at home, no need to ask for help from any relatives. But sometimes my husband was also very busy, because he has a leadership position in his office. In that case, I would call my mother or one of my relatives who had spare time. (Erin)

Like Erin, Hanim also did the same thing when she had to leave for some days. Hanim said that her husband was actually flexible in managing his time as he was also a faculty member, but sometimes both she and her husband had to leave for some days or work after hours at the same time, so that she needed a help from one of her relatives, since their domestic helper did not reside in their house.

A well-known Javanese culturist, Koentjaraningrat (1985, pp. 237-238), mentions that in the past, the Javanese middle and upper class family's dependence on domestic servants who serve for the lifetime and reside in the house is common, which is also the case for middle-class families in Indonesia (Jones, 2004, pp. 510,513,515; Murniati, 2012, p. 38) and in Singapura (Luke, 1998, p. 249). This, Koentjaraningrat (1985, pp. 237-238) claimed, has declined during the time of Indonesian revolution until the end of 1960s, but re-emerged recently with a different name of *bebiseter* (babysitter), especially among high class *priyayi* in Central and East Java as a prestige. However, it was not the case with my research subjects. The women in my study did not hire babysitter, but some of them employed domestic helper who comes in the morning and leaves in the late afternoon to cope with some or most of the domestic chores and/or child caring.

In case they are very busy or cannot find a servant or domestic helper, they would rely on their relatives. In communal societies, relatives and neighbors are mostly willing to help with the childcare, which makes women's role in the household does not seem to be a problem for career because of abundant support from relatives or neighbors, in addition to the relatively cheaper human labor compared to the ones in the developed countries. Women in Luke's (1998, 2010) studies reported that they acknowledged the existence of socio-cultural constraints, and that women were subordinate to men; yet, they did not perceive it as a major problem for their career mobility because of the additional support they received from their spouses, family members, relatives, and servants (Luke, 1998).

In line with it, a previous research on women university leaders by Murniati (2012, p. 134) stated that the relatives and extended family members were central in taking care of the women's family members enabling them to focus on their career.

Some of the women employed domestic helpers only for certain kind of domestic chores and on certain days. Rahma, who had the helper only for some household chores at weekends, said "my servant comes at weekends, washing and ironing clothes. I do the cooking, and if I do not have time, I have my sister in law to help me do the cooking". Similarly, Sabrina had a helper but she preferred to do the cooking and assigned the helper with caring for her children when they were young.

As I have got used to domestic responsibilities since I was very young, I do not feel any difficulties with them, there is only willing or unwilling. I am accustomed to do all domestic stuff, so when I go to work the meal is ready for lunch. I have a servant, but she just takes care of my children and flatirons the clothes. I usually started doing the household chores at 3.30 am. I woke up at 3 am and leave for work at 6 am. There was no such [gender equality] problems for me. (Sabrina)

As part of senior generation (born in 1950s) who was raised up in an aristocrat family, Sabrina seemed to have internalized the gender construction that women's responsibilities as a mother should include providing convenient home, not only in terms of food, but also other aspects of home convenience such as clean and well-arranged house, and it was unnegotiable. She used to finish all her domestic chores early in the morning before leaving for work and chose to do the cooking and home making by herself although she paid a maid.

For Sabrina, there was only 'willing or unwilling' in dealing with domestic responsibilities, which means failure in fulfilling such responsibilities could be understood as women's unwillingness or fault. She exemplified that the position of women as household manager fits with the concept of *kodrat* and/or *fitrah* defining women's main roles as mothers and wives, because the roles of mothers and wives contain responsibilities of making sure that children and husbands are well-served and well-cared, and serving and caring them are mostly about household chores. Nevertheless, Sabrina's

construction on gender did not hinder her from accessing a high-level managerial position at work; she was one of the women with high-level managerial position at UINSA.

Rafiqah was an exception. While most of the women in my study had their husband and domestic helper at home, Rafiqah, who lived just with the kids at home, because her husband was far away in another city for his job, in addition that she stayed away from her extended family, had to manage everything herself without involving her husband, domestic helper, and her extended family member. The maid she had ever employed was pregnant and asked to resign, so she had to handle everything herself.

In short, despite the fact that the women in my study held the norm that women are the main holders of domestic and caring responsibilities, they mostly could share the responsibilities with their husbands, domestic helpers, and/or relatives, which enabled them, based on their confession, to pursue their career without substantial problems. Yet, having young children while having academic career seemed to be a challenge.

Children and Career

This section discusses the ways the women in this study adjusted their career in relation with their *fitrah* as mothers, which is an exceptionally important contribution to family harmony. Based on the confessions of the women in this study, each of the roles as mothers or as faculty members had their own pace; there were times when they had to focus on their children and times when they were able to focus on their career. However, the women had different circumstances from each other, which resonates in the ways they adjusted their career especially when they had young children. Madania, whose children have already grown up and been independent, shared her past experiences of having young children in relation with her career path.

In the past, when I had young children, I could not be productive, although my husband played a great role in caring for the children. But now, all my children have grown up, so I can live my career in a normal way.
(Madania)

For Madania, even though her husband took part in caring for the children, having

young children means having slow career, which, she said, was fair because children have their rights for their parents' care. So, she spent more time on child-caring and rearing in her first decade of career path, then had more time for her career thereafter which she described as a normal way of career. That the word 'normal' in describing career path entails male-ness (Bailyn, 2003, p. 143) is confirmed by Madania's choice of the word 'normal' to define the time in her career path when she was able to focus on career and no or minimum care responsibilities like men do. She might not be alone as there were many other women faculty members who probably had similar experiences but were not documented by any research. Some women in Armentti's (2000) research also delayed focusing on career for the sake of their young children. It fits Santos's (2015, p. 12) account that balancing work and family does not mean allocating equal time and commitment to both work and family at a given time, but manages the balance according to the individual's life cycle.

Some other women tried to adjust their career in different ways. For the sake of her young children, Latifah set aside her dream of going to the best one for further education in a state-owned university¹²¹ which was in a city far away in another province, and, instead of it, chose a private one available in the city she lived in, so she could share with her husband in taking care of their children.

At that time, all young faculty members [including her] were asked to prepare themselves as the human resources for a new program [mentioning a program]. But when I wanted to pursue a further education, [mentioning a university] the only state-owned university offering the field [that she needed] was in [mentioning a city in another far away province]. I was thinking that it is too far for me; what about my children. Then, finally, I decided to take a further education in a private university here [in her hometown]. (Latifah)

While Latifah lowered down her standard for further education, Linda decided to take the best one for her Master education but had to stay in a city far away from her hometown, as shown in the quote below,

¹²¹ In Indonesia, state-owned universities were generally more popular and credible than the private ones.

It was impossible for me not to take my child to stay with me [in a city far away from her hometown when she was pursuing a further education], even though I had to study hard from 8 pm until 3.30 am everyday. So, at 8 pm I lulled the child, then started studying. Therefore, every holiday I was sick because of the accumulated fatigue. My master study took a long time due to taking care of the child. (Linda)

with a consequence of taking her only child with her, which meant no husband and/or extended family members was available for helping the care. Flashing back to the time when her only child was still very young, Linda recalled her difficult time.

From their stories, it is evident that the social construction of gender played a crucial role in shaping the lives of the women. Both Latifah and Linda encountered dilemmatic condition because of the tensions between two demanding positions, as mothers of young children and as faculty members. They made decisions that accommodated both areas of responsibilities but with consequences. The choices were whether they kept having familial support in taking care of their children but lowering the standard for further education, or, they got the best one for their further education, but, while studying, had to work extra hard taking care of the children themselves without support from husband and/or extended family members. Both choices were accommodating and constraining at the same time in terms of the ways they shaped the women's professional lives and their motherhood roles. In other words, there was flexibility that the women could balance work and life to a certain extent, albeit with consequences.

Motherhood conscience

The norm that women are mothers is maintained and actively reproduced. The way adult women in Indonesia are formally addressed by using the word '*ibu*' (literally means mother) and the fact that 22 December is *hari ibu* (mother's day, refer to chapter one for more explanation), the special day for remembering Indonesian women's struggle in defending their rights, instead of *hari perempuan* (women's day), indicate gender construction that women are normally mothers.

Every one of the women in this study emphasized their special attention to their family, especially children, in unique ways, as motherhood is part of the highlighted *kodrat* as

women. With various demands of faculty job and study (some of them were having their doctorate in progress despite full time faculty job), the women I interviewed willfully devoted their life for family regardless of their level of involvement with and attitude towards the ideas of gender equality and equity. Family is number one because even though they were successful in their career, if their family was not harmonious or problematic, it mostly would culturally position women as the one to blame, which is in line with Hasan's (1998, pp. 189-190) advice about Muslim women's roles.

Even though no single word of *kodrat* and/or *fitrah* was uttered by the interviewees, the substance of their stories showed their conviction that women's *kodrat* as mothers and wives are divine and, thus, the unquestionable thing to do. Linda emphasized that even though women have career, they should prioritize their main responsibilities of caring for their children and expressed her worries about the influence of feminism. She resisted a feminists' idea on parenting.

I do not agree if [feminists say] "children are not only mother's but also father's", I do not agree with it. I enjoy more when children are closer to mother [than to father]. If they are closer to their father, I will be envious. [...] He [her husband] said to our son, "you may ignore me, but [do] not [ignore] your mother. You may love your wife, but your mother is number one, the most important one is mother". (Linda)

For Linda, being a mother is a privilege which was strengthened by her husband's view that as a mother she deserved for a more special loyalty from their child, so that she was envious if their offspring was closer to her husband. Being aware and in support of gender expectations that husbands want their wife to prioritize domestic responsibilities, Linda might represent many other women out of reach of this study. Her stories indicated that she truly enjoyed her motherhood roles and that highlighting motherhood roles over career is the essential thing to do.

Linda's remarkable' passion on motherhood combined with her involvement in her husband's private enterprise¹²² and her previous busy times of two periods of leadership

¹²² When I visited her for an interview, she was busy with a bulk of paper works and surrounded by some workers in one of her husband's restaurants, the place she asked me to come to for the interview.

position at work had contributed to her slow move of her academic rank and doctorate study, as with almost three decades of service she was still not on the top academic rank, a position that can be reached in less than one and half decade of service by some of her male colleagues and slightly more than two decades by some of her female colleagues (based on the documents provided to me by UINSA central office).

Motherhood conscience also predominated some other younger women's career ambitions. In Maryam's case, for instance, it was indicated at least by her rejection to an offer for managerial position

I was once offered a position as secretary of the school after finishing my Master degree, but I denied it, because my children were too young [to leave alone without mother's presence]. I think accompanying children is just once [in her lifetime], especially when they were young, because when they grow up adult, they will not want their parents to accompany them anymore. (Maryam)

Despite her active engagement with gender issues, Maryam decided to reject a leadership career opportunity for not missing an important phase of parenting while her children needed her care, which showed that she tried to balance her integrity as a mother and her faculty job.

For Rafiqah, her focus on her children was the only choice she had, as, besides her husband was in another city far away from their residence, one of her children had a developmental diff-ability¹²³ (different ability) which needed serious attention. Moreover, in order to facilitate her children's education, Rafiqah had to drive around one hour, due to traffic jam, to the city and did her scholarly work on the street (in the car) while waiting for her children undertaking extra courses¹²⁴ and not having left-over energy to prepare meal at home due to the absence of maid, which is also an effort to balance her motherhood roles and faculty status.

I paid full attention to my children, take them to and pick them up from school by myself. I did my proposal and prepared the qualification in cafes

¹²³ Instead of disability, the term diff-ability is inclusive, accommodating and not discriminating (Edmonds, 2012)

¹²⁴ Rafiqah sent her children in a prestigious school and extra courses in city area far enough from her residence, thirty minutes' drive without traffic jam, but mostly the roads were busy.

close to the place where my children took additional course, on the street. So, my car is full of my work equipment. Being at home means I am already tired, so I just have a rest, no meal, so I save gas expenses [laughter]. I rarely have dinner at home. [One of] my children has [mentioning a type of developmental diff-ability]. I believe they are successful not by my hands, but my attention. Moreover, schools today are not like the ones in the past; high school resembles university [in its competitiveness]. (Rafiqah)

In Indonesia, it is common, not to say compulsory, for school age children to take additional courses out of school to boost their academic performance then to pass the national exams every end of educational level¹²⁵. It was also common that every time children are in the last year of every level, parents, especially mothers, were more nervous that their children were, because of their fear of failure of the children and their expectation of them being accepted in prestigious higher level educational institutions.

Eventually, in terms of the women's voluntary resistance to opportunities such as promotion in managerial positions, or delay in pursuing doctorate study and joining workshops, the women in my study did not perceive them as part of motherhood penalty, but as their fully informed-decision for the sake of their children. Wolf-Wendel's (2006, p. 497) claim that success in motherhood roles buffers stress from work (or vice versa, success in work buffers stress from motherhood), which overshadowed the issues of motherhood penalty (D. J. Anderson, Binder, & Krause, 2002; Budig & England, 2001; Buligescu, De Crombrughe, Menteşoğlu, & Montizaan, 2009; Gangl & Ziefle, 2009; Gash, 2009; Glauber, 2007; Molina & Montuenga, 2009). Moreover, due to the permanent status of the women in my study as civil servants, none of them was unable to be back to their work after motherhood-related interruption, which is different from Baum's (2002) report on mothers not being able to return to the pre-interruption jobs.

Given the cultural expectations that women are the moral guardian of the family and the nation, career women in Indonesia are to blame for disharmonious family and nation's moral problems. Women, Yuval-Davis (1997, p. 37) pointed, are constructed as both

¹²⁵ The levels of schooling in Indonesia consist of primary school (6 years), junior high school (three years), and senior high school (three years). But since 2015, the national exam in the end of primary school has been omitted.

biological and cultural reproducers, who should be responsible for the moral of the nation in Indonesia. Thus, in this study, women are mainly cultural, instead of biological, reproducers, since all the women in this study had at least school age children who accordingly did not need lactation or other motherhood's physiological function. Thus, motherhood responsibilities include making sure that their children are well cared and morally educated, which leads to put family, especially children, in the priority, or at least to balance family and work.

Prioritizing Family over Career

Prioritizing family over work was undeniable in the stories of the research subjects. Sometimes it was even more than just prioritizing family over career, but thinking of quitting from the career to be able to focus on family. When Wafiroh experienced a big loss with her family member, especially after her child passed away because of illness, she was once made doubtful about her decision to be a career woman and almost gave up. Pausing and looking down a moment when talking about it, she expressed guilty for the loss, albeit it was, she pointed later, genuinely a health issue. This indicated that her sense of motherhood predominated her career aspiration, which was like any other women in this study.

It [balancing work and family] is hard...we prioritize family over career, I frankly said [laughter]. The majority [of women with career] is like that. I even several times almost decided to terminate from my [paid] job, because I experienced [silence] my baby passed away, there was a pain in my heart, it might be because I was too busy with my [paid] job. For me, honestly I would say, even though I categorize my-self independent enough, I have my own career, vis-à-vis children, I feel that they need me, because they are still young, and were born from my womb, it is normal if my attention focuses on them. (Wafiroh)

Even though Wafiroh had Western education background and was actively involved in gender studies, she firmly held the principle that family should be prioritized over career, which is typical for women in Islamic and Javanese norms, as a consequence of the *kodrat* of and *fitrah* as women.

Due to the absence of husband at home and the outlying extended family members,

Rafiqah alone had to handle her caring and domestic responsibilities and did not have anyone to share the responsibilities with, and, thus, did not have choices to have a balance work and life. Rafiqah was aware of the limited choices she had which is herself or the kids, not all at the same time, and she decided to prioritize her children.

Once again, it is a choice, myself or my children. Actually I want both, all, husband and children. But, there must be a sacrifice. Already having been prioritizing children, even, I was considered not caring the children enough by my extended family, whereas in campus I was considered too much focus on family. (Rafiqah)

However, she highlighted that she wholeheartedly accepted it as her choice because she was sure that she was just a secondary earner in the family (this is explored more in the next section on 'relationships with husband').

The construction that women are secondary earners was also confirmed by Maryam's explanation to her children regarding their protest on her absence

My children sometimes complained when I was assigned to a faraway town, as they saw their friends were accompanied by their mother and had their mother at home when they arrived from school. I told them that although dad already has a job, mom can add [income] for [paying the expenses of] additional courses and the like. (Maryam)

Albeit Maryam was part of those who were active in gender studies, her explanation to her children suggested that she has internalized, confirmed, then socialized the norm that women, even though with good paid job, are secondary earners, which is not compatible with the mainstream feminists' principles of equality. Indeed, in Indonesia, such norm is culturally, religiously and legally institutionalized and legitimated which is explored under the next section of 'Relationships with Husband'. Consequently, as previously explored, some women in this study accentuated their 'best choice' that for the sake of family they delayed some opportunities for promotion or further study.

In addition to delaying the opportunities for promotion, as told by Maryam in the previous sub-section, some women shared their decision to delay professional development for the sake of their not yet independent children, which was an indication of being selfless mothers, otherwise they might be feeling guilty. The aspiration to pursue

doctorate education, for Linda and Rafiqah, adjusted to their motherhood roles. They said that they had to wait until their children grew up and thought they were ready to be more independent.

I had to concentrate on my child who had to face a national exam, so I delayed my plan to pursue doctorate degree. My son wanted to enroll in ITB [Institute of Technology Bandung, the most prestigious university in Indonesia]. After he did and was in semester three, I felt that my responsibility to take care of him had finished, and I registered to a university for my doctoral study. (Linda)

Fifteen years after finishing my Master degree, I started to apply a doctorate study, because I had to focus on my children one of whom was having [mentioning a type of developmental disability]. Now, they already grew up and were more independent, it is time for me to step forward. Give me a chance, now my turn [laughter], I said it to my husband. (Rafiqah)

Having a child with developmental diff-ability, Rafiqah said that her decision to prioritize her children was inexorable, which is in line with Antolini's (2005) story. As a mother of an autistic child, Antolini (2005, p. 46) admitted that her experiences of balancing mothering and academic life is a selfish decision causing guilty feeling.

Like Rafiqah, Linda did not arrange her academic ranks up because of focusing with her only son and supporting her husband's positions both as a politician and a businessman. They sacrificed their further study for their young children despite the professional demand of having doctorate degree. Because having both personal and professional life success together is a myth, they decided to wait until their children grew up and were relatively independent to start pursuing doctorate study. This is contrary to an ideology that Armenti (2000, p. 225; 2004, pp. 75-80) reported, "one must sacrifice a personal life in order to have a professional life", which claimed that raising children before tenure and using family-friendly policies bring about unfavorable consequences to their career progression.

An Indonesian scholar suggests that, as a mother, a woman must place her husband and children before her other works (Setiadarma, 1993, p. 118). This might be compatible with Utomo's (2012, p. 205) claim that even though in egalitarian and dual-earner

household, the norms that women are secondary earners were strongly upheld. In turn, it might cause their own reluctance to become more professional and resulted in their low productivity (Setiadarma, 1993, p. 114). A study in the USA by Ward and Wendel (2004, pp. 248-249) reported that their respondents also prioritize their children over work and, even, “having children made them more efficient and organized”.

Sabrina, a senior administrator at UINSA, interestingly described in a sarcastic way about how she managed her roles as a mother.

My office in campus is the place for me to take a rest, yes, when I have a rest, it is in my office. If I am at home, I work. Isn't it different? I work at home; do household chores as a mother. In the office I am a mother who is taking a rest. Isn't it convenient? (Sabrina)

Regardless of the true message she wanted to deliver, Sabrina's description entails a construction that as a woman, she is mainly a mother, while her academic career is secondary, which might be a genuine accretion of her lifecycle experiences, as there is a Javanese term of *guyon parikeno* which literally means a joke which is meant to send a sincere message.

The confessions about the women's main roles as household managers, mothers, and wives are in line with some previous research on Indonesian women in university leadership positions (Murniati, 2012, p. 141; Setiadarma, 1993, p. 118) mentioning that the women held firmly their perception that the roles as mothers and wives were divinely destined by God besides their awareness about their capabilities and talents to contribute to their society. Moreover, their prioritizing family, especially children, over career supports some previous research on women in Indonesia (Blackburn, 2004, p. 141; Murniati, 2012, pp. 97,106,125; Rinaldo, 2008; Woodcroft-Lee, 1983) suggesting that it is acceptable for women to take part in public space as long as family is prioritized. Prioritizing family over career seemed to be a serious issue, otherwise the harmony of family would be the price.

Even though Blackburn's (2004) research involved women activists, not academics like mine and Murniatis's (2012) did, the similarities in terms of prioritising family over public roles might shape a, not the, distinctive Indonesian gender construction, or at least

a distinguished construction that is different from the mainstream feminisms such as liberal.

If Britton (2010, p. 25) pointed that in the U.S., the absence of university policies enabling work-life balance made women faculty prioritized family over career, the women in my study did it because they ideologically believed they should do.

Moreover, along with the competing discourses on successful academic and good mother in UK, the tensions between family and career took place inserting some boundaries which are socially agreed (Raddon, 2002, pp. 390-395). In Asian context, balancing work demand and social expectation of 'a good woman' limits rather than boosts women's success in their career (Lam, 2006; Luke, 1997). Similarly, in UK, being a 'good woman' means to be responsible for household chores and management, which would contribute to the problems of work-life balance (Guth & Wright, 2009, p. 140). Likewise, in the United States, due to the gendered caring responsibility of women with young children, the tension between work and family affects women more than men (Mason et al., 2006, p. 17). While women, in some cases, endured feeling more ambivalent and conflicting about the experience of motherhood and career (Santos, 2015, p. 13), those having children had to manage balancing work and family without adequate supports from the institutional policies (L. Wolf-Wendel & K. Ward, 2006, p. 54).

In addition to women's roles as a mother in family, their roles as a wife are also defining in both their family and career, including that husband-wife relationships are key to maintaining family harmony.

Relationships with Husband

From the interviews, it is evident that as wives in Javanese Muslim society, the women participated in this project were subject to the norm that a husband is the breadwinner and head of the family, while a wife is a housewife who is the main holder of domestic and caring responsibilities, which complies with a well-cited work on Javanese culture (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). This means that women, albeit with paid-job or career, are

secondary earners who, accordingly, have to prioritize husband's career to confirm the norm. Moreover, there is a hierarchical norm in Javanese culture (Adamson, 2007, p. 9; Brenner, 1995, 1996) positioning women as inferior and men as superior.

Such gender construction positioning women as housewives and secondary earners has been justified by religion and culture and backed by law. The 1974 National Marriage Act, which is currently effective in Indonesia, prescribes that the husband is the head of the household and the wife is the housewife or homemaker (article 31(3)) and that the husband is the provider of the family (article 34(1)). Based on the interviews with the subjects in this research project, the norm has been internalized well by the subjects regardless of their involvement in gender studies. The ways the norm was materialized and maintained included, but not restricted to, protecting husband's superiority and alertness of the boundaries of *kebablasan* or excessive or going too far leaving the norms.

Protecting husband's superiority

It is interesting to listen to the stories shared especially by Salma, a respected figure of high-level administrator, and Rahma, a lower level administrator, about how they treated their husbands, which indicated how they conceptualized husband-wife relationships in their families. Their stories about how they protected their husbands' superiority were distinctive among most other women's in this study. For Salma, regardless of her 'conservative' conceptions on husband-wife relations she was able to reach one of the top managerial positions which have been highly masculine so far, while for Rahma, her husband's lower earning did not prevent her from protecting his superior position in family.

With a pronounced history of organizational experience and outstanding academic achievement, Salma did not look over her husband even in making decision about her career. When the seniors at work planned to promote her for one of the top leadership positions and asked her consent for that, Salma did not decide until attaining her husband's response. She said "When they asked me if I agree for a leadership position, I discussed it with my husband, then he took the decision". She was aware that if she has a leadership

position, one of the consequences is that she might have to frequently leave her family for the job responsibilities, which would affect her roles as a mother and a wife and demand her husband's involvement in handling domestic and caring responsibilities.

Similar behavior was shown by Rahma who emphasized a warning for women to never forget seeking their husbands' *ridha* (favor, contentment, or satisfaction) regardless of their lower earnings or job status.

So the first thing is husband's approval. If we imposed things that our husbands do not approve, it is the start of disaster. That is the beginning of disaster in family. So the first thing is husband's *ridha* [approval or contentment]. That is number one, after that, everything will be easy. And if a husband has already given his *ridha*, never ever take him lightly, especially when a husband has lower status than a wife, mainly in earnings. Sometimes a woman with high status looks down her husband. It is very difficult for women to accept it [that a woman must always respect her husband even though she has higher status]. Most women with higher career and earnings look down their husbands, which results in disharmony in their family. That is the main thing. Thus, husband's *ridha* [is the main thing]. (Rahma)

Rahma said that she tried to always keep her husband's status as a 'husband'. With teary eyes, she emphasized (by repeating several times during the interview) that she did not look down her husband.

I always posited my husband in his position, a position of a husband that we have to respect, so mmm what is it [stop a moment with teary eyes], our career will be supported by husband. So, thank God, my children and my husband all support me. (Rahma)

Rahma's emphasis and emotional expression could indicate that positioning husband in his 'right' position seemed to be a serious issue for her, which is probably because her family deviated the norm of male breadwinner and despite his lower job status and earnings she had to be compliant with the norms that husband is the head of family she had to keep respecting. A previous study on Javanese women political leaders, but not academics, by Dewi (2015, p. 174), also found that while the women's active involvement in politics was supported by their husbands, they remained positioning their husbands as heads of family.

Husband's position, which was prescribed culturally, legally, and religiously, is head of

family and therefore has to be respected, even though the role of breadwinner was taken over by wife, because, Munir (2002, p. 11) pointed, it was a divine structure, which is unquestionable. Salma's and Rahma's stories about their relation with their husbands confirm a previous research report on Indonesian women leaders at university by Murniati (2012, p. 94) finding that husband's approval is crucial because family is a priority.

As one of the top leaders, Salma was often assigned to travel to other cities, for which she asked for her husband's approval before taking the job. She shared her feeling of guilty to be too busy with her managerial position and frequently leaving home so that she paid inadequate attention to her husband, which, she mentioned, could be an excuse in case her husband was taken care of by someone else.

At that time I prayed for not to be longtime in office [for a managerial position]. I have been too much leaving home, I feel guilty not to give enough attention to my husband, if he is heeded by someone else, it is not his fault. (Salma)

Salma's confession informs that loyalty and trustworthiness of her husband seemed to be not part of her rights as a wife.

Furthermore, she always took her husband with her in her travel especially in weekends or holidays, which means she had to use her own money to pay the expenses for her husband, as the institution only covered her expenses. Moreover, the way she asked her husband to go with her was evidently a representation of how she confirmed male power. Rather than using the word '*ngajak*' (asked to go with her, which sounds like an instruction), Salma chose the word '*mintā anter*' (begged him to accompany her going), which symbolizes her efforts to protect her husband's superiority.

Wherever I was assigned to go, I asked my husband's approval, and if it is at weekends or holidays, I asked him to accompany me, even though I have to spend my own money for that. Indeed, money means nothing compared to maintaining the relationship. If he could not accompany me, I had a woman to go with me. It was not because my husband is jealous, but to avoid being alone with the driver.... If I was assigned to go far away, like to other province, I usually *ngajak* [asked to go with her] my husband, [she revised her word choice] not *ngajak*, but *mintā anter* [begged him to accompany her going]. *Ngajak* is different, in top bottom relationship it is different, I must use the word *mintā tolong* [asking help], *mintā antar* [asking to be accompanied], so he feels that I need him, he

feels that he is still my leader that protects me. Although this is a simple thing, it can be a big problem [if challenged]. (Salma)

She emphasized her word choice of *minta tolong* and *minta anter* by repeating them several times during the interview. More than a matter of cultural categories reinforced through specific language use (Adamson, 2007, p. 9) and of avoiding the potential problems of disharmony in her family, she highlighted that she did it full heartedly hoping for God's bless. Salma's cognizance of her subordinate position at home required her to set down her ego, among others, by using 'the proper words' to communicate with her husband. Making sure that her husband's position is culturally secure, she showed to her husband that even though she was a leader at work, she was still a religiously and culturally prescribed woman who still respected him and treated him as her leader at home. She even accentuated her religious reflection behind her altruistic attitude.

Actually we are nothing, just a speck of dust, nothing we need to defend for ourselves, even being blasphemed by someone, or being scolded by husband. Whom will he be angry to, if not us [wife]? Controlling ego is the most important thing. (Salma)

Salma's religious conscience played an important role in her attitude towards her husband. With her background as a pesantren student activist, a university student organizations activist when she was an undergraduate student, and her still active involvement in a number of organizations (name of organizations concealed for anonymity) subsequently, she must have been aware of gender equality ideas. However, she decided to protect her husband's superiority in such a way that represented what mainstream feminists would categorize as conservatism. Both her fully-Islamic educational background (explained in chapter four) as well as her pesantren family background seemed to have contributed to the ways she did gender.

Besides her excellent academic record (explored in chapter four) and her outstanding organizational experiences, it was probably her 'positive' image of her consistent and robust attitude towards 'conservative' gender relations that granted her a trust as a good, 'harmless' and qualified woman, so that she was able to reach the highest managerial

position among the research subjects of this study. As an active and visible figure of Nahdatul Ulama (NU), she might have been inspired by some women models in NU's history, in which, women were defined to be mothers but possible to be active in public sphere if they were truly intelligent. Salma's success resembles the history of a great woman, Nyai Khoiriyah, an intelligent, smart woman intellectual who led pesantren Seblak in East Java and actively took part in *Bahtsul Masail*, a predominantly male decision-making forum in the top leadership of NU¹²⁶.

From a social constructionist account, Salma's story was an evidence of how she successfully internalized and negotiated the religious and cultural norms of gender relations, which led to how she was privileged due to an image of such a 'harmless' woman in addition to her excellent academic and organizational background. It is so evident in her story about how men are set to be dominant, protective and responsible for their families (Utomo, 2012, p. 67), which is in line with Islamic and Javanese norms, but at the same time she had the choice to have career and became one of the top leaders at work. Accordingly, with her exhaustive background of Islamic education (which was explored in chapter four of this report), Salma found that Islam is not oppressive, but liberating. Salma's subservient attitude to her husband along with her capability to be a career woman with high leadership position was, for her standpoint as a Muslim woman, not a form of oppression, but an epitome that Islam is her way of life allowing women to be active in public space and regulating the gender relations in family.

It is true that religion especially Islam has been used to justify misogynistic laws which is, instead of liberating, oppressive (Hassan, 1991, p. 42; 1999, p. 251; 2002, p. 189), nevertheless, Islam endorses gender equity if the main sources of Islamic traditions, the Qur'an and Hadiths, are reread using gender perspective (Ahmed, 1992; Anwar, 2009; Barlas, 2002; Engineer, 1994, 2001, 2008; Hassan, 1982, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1999, 2002,

¹²⁶ <http://buletinislam.com/nyai-khoiriyah-hasyim-ulama-perempuan-yang-terlupakan-2/>, retrieved on 7 September 2016.

2011; Mernissi, 1991; Mir-Hosseini, 1999, 2009; Syed, 2004; Wadud, 2006, 2009).

Similar story of protecting husband's superiority was also reported in a previous research on women senior academic administrators in Indonesian universities by Murniati (2012, p. 120) revealing a senior woman administrator delaying an opportunity for professorship for two years despite having already been eligible for that, because of giving the opportunity to husband first. However, as individuals are surrounded by multiple social contexts and involved in multi social interactions, it is not likely the case that the submissive attitude of the women was purely a result of the government's control over husband-wife relation especially through Dharma Wanita and PKK (Suryakusuma, 2011) and the Marriage Act 1974 prescribing husbands as the breadwinners and wives as household maintainers to enable husbands to succeed in their career and to facilitate harmonious family. For religious individuals, religious norms seem to be a major contributing power in their attitude.

The sacrifice made by the women in this study for their family, however, was not as severe as the ones mentioned in an ancient pre-Islamic Javanese poet *Bharatayudha*, as pointed by Creese (2001), that women at that time were willing to sacrifice even their soul for the significant others they care for such as fearlessly following husband's death to show their loyalty. In the more recent history, Brenner (1996, p. 678; 1998, p. 21) and Suryakusuma (1996, 2011) noted that the selflessness of women was highlighted by the New Order regime. With its instruments of Dharma Wanita and PKK, the regime reinstated the *kodrat* dan *fitrah* of women who, in the era of the *Old Order*, had started to be involved in militant feminism.

A research on Javanese women (Munir, 2002, p. 11) affirms that relationships between husband and wife in marriage is a hierarchically based one, which are perceived to be unquestionable and divinely destined. I found it extended to not only specific to Javanese. Rahma is not Javanese, but she shared with many of her Javanese colleagues the view on hierarchical husband-wife relation, which might be because she had spent her lives in Java since she started her undergraduate education or because such hierarchical relations

is actually not specific to Javanese given the deep impact of the state gender ideology that has already been intensely and systematically penetrated all over the archipelago.

Rahma's and Salma's story about their attitude toward their husbands confirmed a norm of 'respect' well-associated with Javanese culture, which is crucial in achieving harmonious family. The term 'respect' in Javanese culture involves hierarchy where husband is hierarchically higher than wife (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 248), which, accordingly, deserves for the respect from wife, otherwise it is probably difficult to live harmonious family life. Indeed, in Javanese culture, every interpersonal relation is hierarchical, which is shown evidently in the varied levels of speech in the Javanese language (Kusujarti, 1995, pp. 67,69), in which wives are positioned in the lower hierarchy than husbands.

Being asked about the household arrangement when she was assigned to other city overnight or longer, Rahma seemed emotionally deeply touched which was indicated by her trembled voice, a pause, and then tears.

Oooo very much supported [pause and crying] sorry I am a little bit emotional... so I am very grateful because... mm... I am surrounded by good people who can understand me, help me, so I always thank to God (Rahma).

The fact that Rahma was emotionally deeply affected by my question on the family condition in times of her absence might be triggered by her feeling of guilty or conflict because of leaving her 'divine' domestic and caring responsibility as a wife and a mother.

The inferior position of women was also confirmed by the norm that women are secondary earners. In the confession of Rafiqah, her husband's career was more important than hers because he earned much higher than she did and that is why, she said, she had to support his rather than her own career. She protected her husband's superiority. Referring to the dominant norms, both Islamic and Javanese, that men are breadwinners, it is understandable that he earned more than she did, as they might have complied with and supported the norms by making it happen. Her willingness to sacrifice for family, especially for her husband's career, symbolizes her gender construction that

women are secondary earners, which is in line with Utomo's (2012) research finding about gendered preferences on marriage and employment in modern Indonesia featuring women as secondary earner.

As secondary earners in their family, the women in my study, albeit being autonomous financially, kept positing themselves in a subordinate position vis a vis their husbands, which is key to their family harmony. In a case study on women in Muslim Javanese society, Adriani S. Soemantri (1999, p. viii) described that women's position is in tensions between their desire to be autonomous and the gender expectations to be submissive and subordinate, which was for the sake of harmony in family.

Regarding her statement about her support to her husband's career, Rafiqah stated that it was possible for her to be supported by her husband if her earnings was higher than his, because, she admitted, she (and her husband) was just wanted to be realistic.

[women breadwinner] becomes a gossip, that is the norm. For me, whoever [between husband and wife] having bigger earnings should be supported. My husband ever said "well, my dear, if you are successful with your business [she did a small business], I will give up my current job. Isn't it realistic? Why should we keep working for someone else? [if we can be our own boss]". Whoever having bigger earnings should be supported. The one that is more promising, Javanese people said. If I earn more [than her husband does], I will be supported. (Rafiqah)

However, in case wife has higher income than husband, which is in contradiction with the established gender construction, there would be gossip, Rafiqah pointed, and I would wonder if the men would be socially and psychologically under-pressure, which potentially causes problems such as domestic violence or disharmonious family. But this is out of my research's coverage, and I would suggest that it would be an interesting idea for further research.

Despite that the women were not conservative, their decisions to keep holding 'traditional' gender roles that a woman should be the main holder of child-caring and rearing responsibilities (such as previously illustrated by Madania, Linda, and Latifah, as well as the ones explored further in the next sections) can be understood that they were not predominantly liberated, which is an important indication that they were religiously and

culturally on track, not *kebablasan*, a negatively-connoted Javanese term -but nationally influential- meaning excessive or going too far beyond the boundary of the acceptability or mainstream especially the perceived *kodrat* of women as mothers and wives. Alertness on the boundary of being 'on track', therefore, seemed to be crucial for the women.

Alertness of the *Kebablasan* boundaries

As pious Muslims in Java, the women firmly held norms emphasizing women's main roles as mother and wife that are religiously as well as culturally prescribed, which is historically explainable partly by the institutionalization of gender roles by the long running (32 years) New Order regime especially through, pointed Julia Suryakusuma (1996, 2011), Dharma Wanita and PKK. The fact that all the women in this study experienced most of their life time in the New Order era elucidates that they might have internalized the norms deeply. Being able to have career while preserving the 'main roles' as mother and wife is an important stand indicating that the women in my study were not *kebablasan* or going too far beyond the border. The term has been vastly discussed in numerous works on gender equality especially by the Indonesian local scholars (just to mention some; Abidin, 2011, p. 13; Adriana, 2009, p. 141; Mursidah, 2014, p. 283; Rusli et al., 2013, p. 277; Wahid, 2012, p. 230).

It was a shared norm that, as wives, the women in my study kept their submissive and subordinate attitude to their husbands despite their economically autonomous condition. The failure of performing such norm can be considered *kebablasan* (going too far) in demanding gender equality and suspected as the source of disharmonious family. Moreover, in support of her favor on traditional gender roles, Linda interpreted women's double burden as their superiority and was feeling lucky for her husband's somewhat cushy nature, but she had to be aware of the boundaries.

Women faculty members are more fabulous than males, they are able to manage their time.... Career women have to be so... I enjoy my life, no problem with work-family balance. Indonesian Muslim women should prioritize family. Fortunately, my husband is not so strict [in demanding my domestic and caring responsibilities], but I have to understand the

boundary, I have to be aware of it. (Linda)

It is evident that the ideas of gender equality was denied by Linda, which might represent many other women who were not noted by any research. Her pride of career women's extra ability to manage their roles in family and at work and her awareness of the 'boundary' indicated that she was compliant with the concept of *kodrat*, breaking of which means anomalous. She confirmed it with her expression of feeling of luck for her husband's clemency, which suggested that the normal husband was strict and demanding. Similar with Linda, feeling grateful of having a husband who was supporting her career, Erin was alert with the boundary that she had to set up.

I have to be able to set a boundary, moreover he also had a [high] position [in his workplace] that needs my presence to support his career. I never left home in a relatively long time, the longest one of which was one week, I never left home longer. (Erin)

Even though they did not mention the details, Linda's and Erin's mentioning of 'the boundary' when talking about her husband's approval to her status as a career woman was confirmed and a bit detailed by Rahma's worries about career women in relation with family harmony.

Talking about women's career today, I actually really support it, but in quotation marks. There were boundaries around their capacity as women. Sometimes it was deviated, *kebablasan* [has gone too far], exaggerated, so that their existence as women has ...has exceeded [the boundaries], which I do not agree. Women can have career, support each other [with husband], but if for career there must be many divorce cases, just because women's career, this is [the part that] I do not agree. (Rahma)

Women's worries about the boundaries of the notions of gender equality was often referred to familial reasons. Rahma's and Linda's confession might represent many other women in terms of their suspicious view on feminism. Both of them highlighted a reminder that women should prioritize their family over career and never exceed the 'boundaries', which means not to be *kebablasan*.

It might need a restoration for the women that they may have career but their main role was as mother and wife, which has to be prioritized over their career. Sometimes, career was highlighted. If this [priority of main role as mother and wife] is neglected, what happened is family dis-

harmonization, which will end up with divorce, which we don't want. Therefore, I agree with women having career but if it exceeds the boundaries, I do not like. Among the boundaries is time management that husband must approve. (Rahma)

The reminder of not to be *kebablasan* in demanding gender equality was not only echoed in academic discussions. Similar warning has been indicated by some comments on the bill of gender equality and equity by the chief leader of Muslimat NU (the women wing of the biggest Islamic social organization in Indonesia) who was also the Minister of social affair at the time of the research for this study and a former minister of women empowerment, Khofifah Indar Parawansa¹²⁷ and by Hasyim Muzadi (Wahid, 2012, p. 230), the secretary general of International Conference for Islamic Scholars (ICIS) and chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) period 1999 – 2010¹²⁸.

Protecting husband's superiority and alertness of the boundaries are actually referring to the efforts to maintain family harmony, which affected their professional lives as a faculty member and/or administrator. Women's success at work should be parallel with their success in family. Women who are successful in career but not in family are susceptible to be accused of trespassing the *kodrat* of being a woman

Conclusion

Despite the views that Indonesian women had higher status compared to other Muslim majority countries' (Blackburn, 2001, p. 270; Cunningham, 2001, p. 1047; Lev, 1996, p. 191; Reid, 1988a, p. 634) and played dominant role in trading and economic activities (Alexander, 1998; Brenner, 1995; H. Geertz, 1961, p. 122; Hatley, 1990; Keeler, 1990;

¹²⁷ Khofifah Indar Parawansa considered RUU KKG (Rancangan Undang-undang Keadilan dan Kesetaraan Gender) or the Bill of Gender Justice and Equality as *kebablasan*, because, despite its main message of gender equality, it contained a section which potentially allow same sex marriage. Article 12 of the bill mentions that everyone is free to choose his/her partner, without any explanation, which can be interpreted that everyone is allowed to have, even, same sex partner. <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/12/07/01/m6hail-khofifah-ruu-gender-nabrak-syariah>; retrieved on 10 December 2016.

¹²⁸ Kyai Haji Hasyim Muzadi commented that the bill (RUU KKG) is dangerous in terms of the possibility to allow same sex marriage, which was in line with Khofifah's comment on the bill. For more detail information, this link provides the report. <http://m.hidayatullah.com/berita/nasional/read/2012/07/18/60757/hasyim-muzadi-ajak-umat-islam-tolak-ruu-kkg.html>, retrieved on 10 December 2016.

Vreede-de Stuers, 1960), some policies and the persistent cultural and religious norms serve as defining structures potentially limiting the women's capacity to make choice. One of the most influential legal products has been the Marriage Act 1974 that was still valid at the time when this research report was being written, prescribing women as the main holder of household responsibilities and men as breadwinners.

The cultural and religious concept of women's *kodrat* or *fitrah* as mothers and wives was celebrated in the stories of the women in my study. Despite global influence of modernity and its link with gender equity and egalitarianism, religious and cultural norms on gender relations remain prominent. The religious values positioning women's main roles as mothers and wives and men's as breadwinners and head of household (Blackburn, 2004, p. 140) and the cultural norms of women's roles plainly represented in a concept of *kodrat* or *fitrah* persist regardless of the numerous efforts promoting gender equity and equality such as gender mainstreaming programs.

Like the phenomena in most other parts of the world, women faculty members in my study were bounded by domestic and caring responsibilities in their family life. In compliance with the concept of *kodrat*, they believed that their main responsibility is domestic and caring chores, hence they had to prioritize their family over their career. Moreover, they believed that they were just secondary earners.

Sometimes I don't have any time for my own, because I always care about others, but then I think again, what kind of time that I want for myself, what kind of leisure time I need, what kind of discotheque I want to go to. Well, there is religion that fortifies me, so that, once again, I feel happy and have no problems [with having no me-time]. (Wafiroh)

Such acknowledgement might confirm some feminists' pessimistic view that Javanese cultural construction ascribing women with domestic responsibilities is hardly changing because women voluntarily position themselves as inferior creature in line with cultural construction in their society (Sukri & Sofwan, 2001, p. 12). But it might not be restricted to Javanese, considering that Wafiroh and Rahma, both of whom are passionate devotees of *kodrat/fitrah*, are non-Javanese, regardless of the fact that they are married to Javanese

men and live in a Javanese region with Javanese culture, which could have made them transform into being Javanese. Moreover, religious meanings, rather than Javanese-ness, seem to be the overarching drive.

My study along with previous research conducted at the end of the twentieth century and early 21st century showed that the emphasis of women's role as mothers and wives continued. My findings confirmed a number of well-cited research reports on the construction of women as mother and wife in Indonesia (Hadiz & Eddyono, 2005; Hatley, 2002; Suryakusuma, 1996, 2011; Tiwon, 1996). More specifically, a research on women politician in East Java revealed that while they have to pursue as high career as possible, one thing they should not forget is their role as mother and wife (Asfar, 2004, p. 419). It seems to be widely recognized, not to say universal, that care responsibilities is attached to women. Women are viewed as the main holder of care work in most societies but, unfortunately, care is perceived as individual families issue rather than social good (Chopra & Sweetman, 2014; Shahra Razavi & Hassim, 2006).

My study also confirmed the self-sacrificing stereotype of Asian femininity which is claimed to have a serious consequence for career women (Lewis, Simpson, & Broadbridge, 2010; Välimäki, Lämsä, & Hiillos, 2009), so that they have to keep juggling between career and family. However, being Muslim was both liberating and constraining for the women in my study, which is in line with Murniati's (2012) finding that "culture and religious beliefs distinctive to Indonesian contexts can facilitate or hinder women senior academic administrators' career advancement

All in all, the different circumstances of the women in this study might affect gender relations, but all of them positioned family as the first priority, which means their roles as mothers and wives were above their career. Although they conceptualized success as the one in both family and career, success in career seemed to be predominated by the ideal of having harmonious family. Indeed, from the interviews, I can see the accentuated drives encompassing through the stories of the women faculty members, that is to say, inexhaustible efforts to maintain the harmony of their family as one of the most noticeable

representations of their success in fulfilling the gender expectations in Islam in Indonesian context.

Despite that the religious and cultural norms in Indonesia posit women as the main holder of domestic and caring responsibilities as well as the secondary earners, in addition to the fact that the women prioritized their family over career, they were facilitated by the flexibility of their husbands in terms of gender relations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Enthused by my interest in understanding the impacts of the religious and cultural norms, especially Islam and Javanese-ness, as well as policies on women's career opportunities within the academy, my research has explored the experiences of women faculty members at Islamic universities in Indonesia, especially in East Java. The research was conducted in two state Islamic universities in East Java, UIN Sunan Ampel or UINSA and UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim or UIN Maliki, from December 2013 to March 2014, and involved seventeen long serving women faculty members from both universities with the expectation that they had ample stories to share about their work and life experiences. Embracing feminist standpoint methodology, the research employed interviews as the main tool of data collection supported by data from related documents and the websites of the two universities. The theoretical frameworks of social constructionism guided this research

This chapter encapsulates the key findings of my research project, underlines the main contributions of my thesis to the literature of women in higher education, especially in Indonesian Islamic university context, and finally offers some recommendations for future research.

Key Findings

The key findings, referring to the research questions, highlight the ways the women in my study managed their work and lives especially in relation with Islamic religion, Javanese culture, and relevant national and educational policies. In short, the work of the women faculty members was mainly about their academic and managerial or leadership career paths, which were effectually shaped by the work culture, religious norms, policies, as well as the powerful influences of their family lives, all of which interact with each other. Yet, the women's experiences prior to starting their academic career also influenced their work and lives. In addition, a short exploration of the higher education in Indonesia helps to understand the women's work in this context.

Islamic education was central in the the childhood and youth of the women in my study. Most were sent to Islamic education institutions from primary to secondary level, whether in pesantren-

owned institutions or state-owned ones. Among the parents, there was one with the most notable case of an extreme antipathy towards any state-owned institutions, which was very likely rooted from the long historical clash between Islam and the state and resulted in never allowing their children to enroll in any state-owned school or university. But for Master and Doctorate degree, most of the women went to secular universities instead of the Islamic equivalents.

The choice of education institution was predominantly decided by their fathers, instead of both parents or parents and children together, which seems to indicate unequal relations. It supports the Islamic and Javanese norms that men are head of families (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 140) as confirmed by the Marriage Act 1974. However, even though some women initially objected, all interviewees voluntarily accepted the decision due to *birrul walidayn* (obeying parents in good things) as part of Islamic teachings. In Indonesian context of that time, it was a privilege that they were able to take the opportunity for advancing their education. At the same time, by committing *birrul walidayn*, they tried to maintain piety. This confirms Rinaldo's (2013, 2014) concept of nonliberal or 'docile' *pious agency* -the capacity to be a religious subject- in portraying the Indonesian Muslim women activists.

Besides economic, geographic, educational, political, and ideological reasons behind the choice of education institution for the women in this study, they were sent to Islamic education institutions on account of gender belief that women should be the main moral guardian for the nation and family. The belief that women are the main moral guardians supports some previous research (M. A. Miller, 2009; Srimulyani, 2012) on women in Indonesia. Actually, previous research on women and the state in Indonesia (Blackburn, 2004) reported that the aims of providing education for boys and girls are different; being economic and political effects for boys, and social and cultural endings for girls, representing the New Order government gender ideology of 'state *ibuism*' in which women are expected to be housewives and mothers. That Muslims take Islam as the source of morals then choose Islamic education institutions as the best place for educating their children to be morally proficient and prepared for their roles in their lifetime is justifiable, however assuming that women are the main bearer of morality is not.

Nonetheless, although the Islamic education institutions were historically positioned as the second class education provider in Indonesian education system, the women in my study benefited

from a joint decree of three ministries (the ministry of internal affairs, the ministry of religious affairs, and the ministry of education and culture), called SKB 3 *Menteri Nomor 6 Tahun 1975*, introducing equal status between secular and religious education institutions, which, consequently, enables students from both Islamic education institutions and the secular ones to continue or transfer their study to each other and to be equally eligible for relevant job positions.

Women and higher education in Indonesia

Women as students have been better represented than men in both non-denominational and denominational higher education institutions more especially in state-owned universities which are generally more favourable compared to the private ones and other smaller institutions such as institutes or polytechnics. Nevertheless, this did not happen to women as faculty members in all types of higher education institutions. Women faculty members were under-represented in academic and managerial positions, especially in their top ranks, and severely poorly represented in senate membership which has very strong roles in institutional decision-making process. As faculty members, women in UIN Maliki and UINSA made up 35% and 23% respectively in 2013. Most (77.5%) of the women were recruited after 1995, more than three decades after the two universities were established in early 1960s. A handful of the women were accommodated in top managerial positions such as vice rector, deans, and vice deans, which could be a response to the gender mainstreaming program institutionalised as part of national development in 2000.

In the 1990s, a decade before gender mainstreaming was institutionalized, many higher education institutions in Indonesia established *Pusat Studi Gender (PSG)* or Gender Study Center as part of their commitment to gender equality. However, the centers were not very successful especially in affecting the policies. Due to strong resistance to feminisms, the centers in Islamic higher education institutions focuses on disseminating academic discourses of gender equality from Islamic perspective.

Women are severely under-represented in the highest academic and managerial positions in the two universities where I completed the fieldwork but there was no segregated data on faculty members and their ranks in the two universities, in the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) and in the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Kemenristekdikti). Such segregated

data is an indispensable, albeit not the only, tool in a successful gender mainstreaming program. The absence of such data indicates that the gender mainstreaming in higher education in Indonesia is simply a policy without satisfactory implementation.

Higher education institutions in Indonesia are still gendered and the national gender mainstreaming program which should be driven by the universities did not penetrate the existing organizational culture. Besides the severe under-representation of women in all decision-making positions and in higher academic ranks, they were also under-represented on the universities' websites and in the accredited journals of both universities. The universities' websites presented women in stereotypical ways especially by being compliant with traditional femininity, while males were as predominantly intellectual. Women faculty were portrayed in non-academic roles such as group of choirs or events that accentuating their beauty. Moreover, women's presence was sometimes restricted to give an impression of 'harmless' Islamic institution to please international guests.

Work-related issues

Without reducing the important role of the administrative arrangement in academic promotion process, the academic career path in Indonesia relies mainly on how successful the faculty members carry out the faculty workload, which is principally about the implementation of the Tridharma or three pillars of higher education, i.e. education (and teaching), research and community service. Besides being framed by some related policies, the implementation of the tridharma was, to a certain extent, affected by cultural issues in deficit ways, especially for women faculty, such as overloaded teaching responsibilities in addition to gendered domestic and caring responsibilities, which resulted in lacking time and energy for research. While some women had no difficulties, other women experienced a problem of work-work balance with the lack credits of research. Furthermore, the existing policy on research leave which is a six months leave was unworkable because it clashes with other policies. Research was an aspect of tridharma that is mostly problematic for the women for reasons including overloaded-teaching responsibilities, limited time-frame for a funded research project to complete, gendered domestic and caring responsibilities, and lack of feasible policies for high quality research.

Among the three aspects of tridharma, research has been more privileged than the other two

components, education (and teaching) and community service, indicating a hierarchy granting research higher values in academic society, which is evident in various ways. Besides the fact that the aspect of research was represented much more massively in the websites of the two universities, the policies on the faculty workload and promotion give research the highest proportion among the three aspects of tridharma along with the higher academic ranks. While teaching was an aspect of tridharma at which the women were good and in which some of them were assigned overloaded responsibility, there was no choice of teaching pathway in academic promotion. So, the academic promotion is often not easy for women, and there are few opportunities for them to reach the highest academic rank (professor).

This study of the work culture in both universities, UINSA and UIN Maliki, showed that normative femininity potentially affected the capacity of the women faculty at work. They needed to be compliant with some typical normative femininity prescribing the ways they presented themselves both physically, such as wearing long skirts instead of pants, and socially, such as behaving pleasantly, politely, and caring, and always being alert to wife status, which contributed to the acceptability of the women in the workplace and was crucial in shaping their success in their career path. Such work culture affects women in invisible and difficult to measure ways.

In addition, gender harassment was present including jokes uttered by (mostly senior) male colleagues especially about some well-known proverb in Islamic traditions, or passages in *Hadith*. In dealing with such gender harassment, the women were mostly subject to the Javanese cultural norms of maintaining *rukun* or harmonious relationships and *urmat* or respect (H. Geertz, 1961, pp. 47,110,146-153), emphasizing that open conflict must be avoided in social interaction and that the rank order of everyone in a given group must be recognized through corresponding respectful behaviour (Magnis-Suseno, 1984, pp. 38-69; 1997, pp. 42-83) especially to those in higher ranks not reciprocal. Such norms referring to exceptional reliance on, trust in, and respect for seniors in 'lineal values orientation' (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 462) preserves hierarchy as Luke (1998, pp. 253-254; 2010, pp. 160-164) mentioned, 'the rule of face' in Asian culture suggesting women to protect the 'face' of their senior males. An important part of key strategies for the women to succeed in career was by tolerating the gender harassment as long as they are verbal, not physical, and, therefore, conforming to the masculine work culture.

In terms of opportunities in managerial or leadership promotion, the women faced some restrictions such as male-based informal networks and an expected image or impression of being 'harmless' entailing a Javanese norm warning woman not to be *kebablasan* or going too far leaving and challenging traditional norms such as never subordinating males, as well as avoiding the label of militant feminist. The woman who was most 'harmless' among all the women in this study was the most successful in career, both in terms of having the highest managerial position among the women, senate membership, and important positions in some professional organizations, which might indicate that being harmless or subservient to the boundaries of *kebablasan* is part of key strategies to career success for women. To be successful especially in leadership career path, the women have to be more than just professionally and academically capable.

Life-related issues

All the women in this study prioritized family over career, which serves as an important measure for being a good or pious woman as prescribed by the powerful gendered concept of *kodrat* or *fitrah* referring to the divine and natural domestic and care responsibilities of women as a consequence of women's biological roles (Blackburn, 2004; Hadiz & Eddyono, 2005; Robinson, 2009; Rustam, 1993; Suryakusuma, 2011). Sometimes it was even more than just prioritizing family over career but thinking of quitting from the career to be able to focus on family. Nonetheless, they maintained they were able to manage their work and lives without significant barriers. They made some adjustments in both works and family-related responsibilities in order to enable them to have both successful work and family lives, for example, by voluntarily delaying promotional and/or other career-related opportunities for the sake of child-caring responsibilities, which was not perceived as part of motherhood penalty, but as their fully informed-decision.

The women in this study did not report significant barriers to their career, partly because they shared domestic and caring responsibilities with husband and/or domestic helpers. In addition, they managed the balance between work and family according to their life cycle, which is in line with Santo's (2015) finding that balancing work and family does not mean allocating equal time and commitment to both work and family at the given time. For them, each of their roles as mothers or as faculty members had their own pace; there were times when they had to focus on their children

and times when they were able to focus on their career.

They also made decisions accommodating both areas of responsibilities but with consequences such as doing further education in the best institution far away but without supports from husband and extended family members in taking care of their children, or they kept having familial support in taking care of their children but had to lower the standard for their further education because the institution available in their hometown was not a prestigious one. Both choices were accommodating and constraining at the same time in terms of the ways they shaped the women's professional lives and their motherhood roles. In other words, there was flexibility that the women could balance work and life to a certain extent, albeit with consequences.

Regardless of the women's involvement in gender studies, they internalized the norm that the husband is the head and the provider of the family and the wife is the housewife or homemaker and secondary earners. The ways the norm was materialized and maintained included, but was not restricted to, protecting husband's superiority and alertness of the boundaries of *kebablasan* or excessive or going too far leaving the norms.

Main Contributions of the Thesis

Encompassing the experiences of women faculty members in Islamic universities in Indonesia, my study contributed to the existing knowledge on women in higher education in the wider context, especially those of Islamic universities. The scarcity of research on women's career path in higher education in non-western countries (Blackmore et al., 2015; Luke, 2010, pp. xix,100) more especially in Islamic higher education avows the contribution of this project to the existing knowledge of women in higher education in non-western context. Moreover, the fact that most of the existing research on women faculty in Indonesia (Indihadi & Karlimah, 2007; Karniawati, 2013; Murniati, 2012; Wayong, 2007; Widiyastuti & Harsiwi, 2000; Yuliati, 2012; Yuliyawati, 2010) were done in secular higher education and only a few (Inayatillah, 2010a; Kholis, 2013; Kull, 2009) were in Islamic higher education, but did not include any Islamic university in East Java, is an important point to confirm the contribution that my study offers to enrich the existing discourse on women in Islamic higher education in Indonesia.

As my project involved all Muslim women working in Islamic institutions, religion (Islam) is a very

important source of reference for their work and lives. Nonetheless, the understandings and interpretations on Islamic teaching are not unitary and constitute a continuum between progressive groups on the one end, and extremely conservative religious groups on the other end. The women in my study were progressive in some ways but conservative in other ways. That they can have high education and career, even top leadership position, indicates that they are progressive, but their keeping alert of *kebablasan* (going too far leaving the *kodrat*) might be understood as an indication of conservativeness. This confirms Rinaldo's (2013, 2014) concept of *pious critical agency* -a capacity to engage in public by involving contextual religious interpretations-, because the women's awareness of women's rights (to be progressive) may intersect with their religiosity.

That my study includes aspects of Javanese-ness in addition to religion (Islam) explicitly in the research questions to understand the experiences of women faculty members in East Java also constitutes an important contribution to the existing knowledge on women in higher education in Indonesian context. Since, Javanese culture is hegemonic, while there is a dearth of research focusing on women faculty in relation with Javanese-ness along with religion (Islam) as the aspects affecting their work and lives experiences. Aside from Murniati's study (2012), the existing research involving Javanese-ness such as Geertz (1961), Widiastuti (2009), Dewi (2012), Brenner (1996), and Woodward (2011) was not about women faculty members.

In terms of policy, the women were advantaged in some ways such as by a joint decree of three ministries, called SKB 3 Menteri nomor 6 Tahun 1975. The decree introduced equal status of *Madrasahs* with secular schools enabling the alumni of *Madrasah* to pursue the higher level of education both in Islamic or secular education institutions and, in turn, opens wider job opportunities, especially academic careers. The women were also benefited by their permanent status as civil servants, so they did not need to worry about being unable to return to work after maternity leaves. Nevertheless, in completing their responsibilities as faculty members, namely education (and teaching), research and community service, many women were struggling with the aspect of research. The policy on research leave was not feasible, due to some clash among the policies or other frequently changing related policies resulting in difficulties in synchronizing each other. The policies sometimes were just token.

Recommendations for future research and policy

As some women had over-loaded teaching credits but lacked research points for both cultural and structural reasons, in addition to the fact that teaching is an area most women excel at, I would agree with Misra's (2012) recommendation that policies should give equal reward to teaching, mentoring, and service as well as research, and Subbaye and Vithal's (2016, p. 22) recommendation that teaching pathway academic promotion should be introduced due to the fact that many women excel at teaching, which will enable women to access academic promotional opportunities so that the under-representation of women in the highest ranks is overcome. In turn, it will facilitate the increasing representation of women in higher academic and managerial ranks as well as senate membership enabling the disruption of the patriarchal and oppressive norms in the workplace, considering that the requirements for the leadership promotion and senate membership included, among others, higher ranks.

Given the fact that women faculties had different conditions from their male colleagues due to the gendered-cultural expectations especially those assumed as *kodrat*, especially in Javanese context, that often hindered their career, there should be special policies for women faculties to facilitate them to have equal opportunity with their male counterparts. With family-friendly policies, women faculty should no longer need to make a choice between focusing on child-care responsibilities and a tenure-track faculty position (West & Curtis, 2006, p. 14).

Further research on women faculty's efforts to survive in Indonesian context, especially Java, would be useful for policy makers and women faculties in general considering Luke's (2010) claim that even though Western capitalism and the free market have penetrated the Asian system of higher education in general, traditional values of Asian culture still confine the roles of women in society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethics approval, Letter of introduction, Information sheet, Invitation to participate, and Consent form

FINAL APPROVAL NOTICE

Project No.:	5860		
Project Title:	Women Faculty Members in Public Islamic Higher Education Institutions in Indonesia		
Principal Researcher:	Ms Sofkhatin Khumaidah		
Email:	Khum0005@flinders.edu.au		
Address:	School of Education		
Approval Date:	28 October 2013	Ethics Approval Expiry Date:	28 July 2015

The above proposed project has been **approved** on the basis of the information contained in the application, its attachments and the information subsequently provided.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF RESEARCHERS AND SUPERVISORS

1. Participant Documentation

Please note that it is the responsibility of researchers and supervisors, in the case of student projects, to ensure that:

- all participant documents are checked for spelling, grammatical, numbering and formatting errors. The Committee does not accept any responsibility for the above mentioned errors.
- the Flinders University logo is included on all participant documentation (e.g., letters of Introduction, information Sheets, consent forms, debriefing information and questionnaires – with the exception of purchased research tools) and the current Flinders University letterhead is included in the header of all letters of introduction. The Flinders University international logo/letterhead should be used and documentation should contain international dialling codes for all telephone and fax numbers listed for all research to be conducted overseas.
- the SBREC contact details, listed below, are included in the footer of all letters of introduction and information sheets.

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project Number 'INSERT PROJECT No. here following approval'). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au.

2. Annual Progress / Final Reports

In order to comply with the monitoring requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (March 2007)* an annual progress report must be submitted each year on the **28 October** (approval anniversary date) for the duration of the ethics approval using the annual / final report pro forma available from [Annual / Final Reports](#) SBREC web page. *Please retain this notice for reference when completing annual progress or final reports.*

If the project is completed *before* ethics approval has expired please ensure a final report is submitted immediately. If ethics approval for your project expires please submit either (1) a final report; or (2) an extension of time request and an annual report.

Student Projects

The SBREC recommends that current ethics approval is maintained until a student's thesis has been submitted, reviewed and approved. This is to protect the student in the event that reviewers recommend some changes that may include the collection of additional participant data.

Your first report is due on **28 October 2014** or on completion of the project, whichever is the earliest.

3. Modifications to Project

Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval has been obtained from the Ethics Committee. Such matters include:

- proposed changes to the research protocol;
- proposed changes to participant recruitment methods;
- amendments to participant documentation and/or research tools;
- change of project title;
- extension of ethics approval expiry date; and
- changes to the research team (addition, removals, supervisor changes).

To notify the Committee of any proposed modifications to the project please submit a [Modification Request Form](#) to the [Executive Officer](#). Download the form from the website every time a new modification request is submitted to ensure that the most recent form is used. Please note that extension of time requests should be submitted prior to the Ethics Approval Expiry Date listed on this notice.

Change of Contact Details

Please ensure that you notify the Committee if either your mailing or email address changes to ensure that correspondence relating to this project can be sent to you. A modification request is not required to change your contact details.

4. Adverse Events and/or Complaints

Researchers should advise the Executive Officer of the Ethics Committee on 08 8201-3116 or human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au immediately if:

- any complaints regarding the research are received;
- a serious or unexpected adverse event occurs that affects participants;
- an unforeseen event occurs that may affect the ethical acceptability of the project.

Andrea Fiegert
Ethics Officer and Joint Executive Officer
Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee

c.c A/Prof Kay Whitehead
Dr Ben Wadham
Mr Shaun Filiault

Mrs Andrea Fiegert and Ms Mikaila Crotty

Ethics Officers and Joint Executive Officers, Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee

Telephone: +61 8 8201-3116 | Andrea Fiegert (Monday – Wednesday)

Telephone: +61 8 8201-7938 | Mikaila Crotty (Wednesday – Friday)

Web: [Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee](#)

Manager, Research Ethics and Integrity – Dr Peter Wigley

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CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear Madam,

This letter is to introduce Ms Sofkhatin Khumaidah who is a research higher degree student in the School of Education at Flinders University. She will produce her student card, which carries a photograph, as proof of identity.

She is undertaking research leading to the production of a thesis or other publications on the subject of "Women Faculty Members' Lives and Work In Public Islamic Higher Education Institutions In Indonesia" which will use in-depth interview as the data collection method.

She would be most grateful if you would volunteer to assist in this project. No more than one and half hour on one occasion would be required. She will ask you questions about your lives and work experiences as an academic, in relation to policies, religion, and gender relations. The interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder. Once recorded, the interview will be transcribed (typed-up) and stored as a computer file and then destroyed once the results have been finalised.

Be assured that any information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence and none of the participants will be individually identifiable in the resulting thesis, report or other publications. This is voluntary. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time or to decline to answer particular questions.

Since she intends to make a tape recording of the interview, she will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview, to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis, report or other publications, on condition that your name or identity is not revealed, and to make the recording available to other researchers on the same conditions. The transcription and translation of the interview will be done by the researcher, no one else will be included, and so your confidentiality is assured.

Any enquiries you may have concerning this project should be directed to me at the address given above or by telephone on +618201 3339, by fax on +618201 3184 or by email (kay.whitehead@flinders.edu.au).

Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely

Prof Kay Whitehead
Associate Dean (Rsearch)
School of Education

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project Number 5860). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on +618201 3116, by fax on +618201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au.

INFORMATION SHEET

**Title: 'Women Faculty Members' Lives And Work
In Public Islamic Higher Education Institutions In Indonesia'**

Investigators:

Sofkhatin Khumaidah
School of Education
Flinders University
Ph: +61 8 8201 2441

Description of the study:

This study is part of the project entitled 'Women Faculty Members' Lives and Work in Public Islamic Higher Education Institutions in Indonesia'. This project will investigate the life experiences of women academics involving in-depth interviews. This project is supported by the School of Education of Flinders University.

Purpose of the study:

This project aims to

understand the experiences of women faculty members in managing their lives and work in Islamic higher education. This study will explore how higher education policies affect women academics' lives and work, the role religion plays in women academics' lives and work, and how gender relations impact on women academics' lives and works.

What will I be asked to do?

You are invited to participate in a one-on-one life history interview with the researcher who will ask you questions about your lives and work experiences as an academic, in relation to higher education policies, religion, and gender relations. The interview will take about 90 minutes. The interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder.

What benefit will I gain from being involved in this study?

The sharing of your experiences will be very useful in understanding the lives and work of women academics and in contributing to the knowledge about of women in Indonesian higher education.

Will I be identifiable by being involved in this study?

We do not need your name and you will be anonymous. Once recorded, the interview will be transcribed (typed-up) by the researcher, not anyone else. Any identifying information will be removed and the typed-up file will be stored on a password protected computer that only the researcher, Sofkhatin Khumaidah, will have access to. Your comments will not be linked directly to you.

Are there any risks or discomforts if I am involved?

The risks or discomforts of the projects to participants will mainly be in the form of time they spend for interview. As some of you may hold managerial position at your institution, I am aware that allocating time for a ninety minutes interview would probably be an issue. I guarantee that all information given during the interview will be treated with confidentiality; your identity will be concealed.

How do I agree to participate?

Participation is voluntary. You may answer 'no comment' or refuse to answer any questions at any time without effect or consequences. A consent form accompanies this information sheet. If you agree to participate please read and sign the form.

How will I receive feedback?

Transcriptions of the interview will be shown to you by the researcher if you would like to see them. You can comment on and amend the transcripts if you wish.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and we hope that you will accept our invitation to be involved.

Email invitation text

Dear Madam,

I am Sofkhatin Khumaidah, a research higher degree student in the School of Education at Flinders University.

I am undertaking a research for my thesis or other publications on the subject of "Women Faculty Members' Lives and Work in Public Islamic Higher Education Institutions in Indonesia" which will use in-depth interview as one of the data collection methods.

I would be most grateful if you would volunteer to assist in my project, by granting an interview. You will be asked about your lives and work experiences as an academic, in relation to policies, religion, and gender relations. No more than one and half hour on one occasion would be required.

Be assured that any information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence and none of the participants will be individually identifiable in the resulting thesis, report or other publications. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time or to decline to answer particular questions.

I attached an Information Sheet and A Letter of Introduction from my supervisor which outlines my research project. I also attach a Consent Form for you to sign if you agree to participate, and an interview guide.

I will seek your consent to record the interview, to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis, report or other publications, on condition that your name or identity is not revealed. I, myself, will do the transcription and translation of the interview. No one else will be included, so your confidentiality is assured.

If you would like to offer your participation, please kindly contact me either via phone on xxxxx or email to sofhatin008@yahoo.com.

Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely



**CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH
(by interview)**

**WOMEN FACULTY MEMBERS' LIVES AND WORK
IN PUBLIC ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN INDONESIA**

I being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the Letter of Introduction and Information Sheet for the research project on WOMEN FACULTY MEMBERS' LIVES AND WORK IN PUBLIC ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN INDONESIA.

1. I have read the information provided.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to audio recording of my information and participation.
4. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.
5. I understand that:
 - I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
 - I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and am free to decline to answer particular questions.
 - While the information gained in this study will be published as explained, I will not be identified, and individual information will remain confidential.
 - Whether I participate or not, or withdraw after participating, will have no effect on my career and lives.
 - I may ask that the recording be stopped at any time, and that I may withdraw at any time from the session or the research without disadvantage.
6. I agree/do not agree* to the tape/transcript* being made available to other researchers who are not members of this research team, but who are judged by the research team to be doing related research, on condition that my identity is not revealed. * delete as appropriate

Participant's signature.....Date.....

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name.....

Researcher's signature.....**Date**.....

NB: Two signed copies should be obtained. The copy retained by the researcher may then be used for authorisation of Items 8 and 9, as appropriate.

7. I, the participant whose signature appears below, have read a transcript of my participation and agree to its use by the researcher as explained.

Participant's signature.....**Date**.....

8. I, the participant whose signature appears below, have read the researcher's report and agree to the publication of my information as reported.

Participant's signature.....**Date**.....

Appendix 2: Approved letters from the Islamic universities (research sites)



**KEMENTERIAN AGAMA
INSTITUT AGAMA ISLAM NEGERI SUNAN AMPEL
LEMBAGA PENELITIAN**

Jl. Jend. A. Yani 117 Telp. 031-8410298 Fax. 031-8413300 Surabaya 60237
Email : ipm@Sunan-ampel.ac.id

Nomor : In.002/KP.009/LP/234/2013

Hal : Pemberian Ijin Penelitian

Kepada Yth.

Sdr. Sofkhatin Khumaidah

di-Flinders University, Adelaide Australia

Assalamualaikum War. Wab.

Sehubungan dengan pengajuan saudara untuk melakukan penelitian di IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, pihak pimpinan IAIN Sunan Ampel ei. Lembaga Penelitian tidak keberatan dengan rencana kegiatan tersebut. Namun demikian, hal-hal yang perlu diperhatikan adalah :

1. Selama melakukan penelitian, sdr tidak melanggar aturan dan etika yang ditetapkan oleh IAIN Sunan Ampel
2. Selesai melakukan penelitian, sdr harus melaporkan hasil baik secara lisan maupun tulisan.

Demikian surat ijin ini untuk dipergunakan sebagaimana mestinya

Wassalam

Surabaya, 26 Mei 2013

Kepala




Dr. Abdul Chalik, M.Ag

NIP. 19730627000031200



KEMENTERIAN AGAMA
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI
MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG

Jalan Gajayana 50 Malang 65144, Telepon (0341) 551354 Faks. (0341) 572533
Website: www.uin-malang.ac.id Email: info@uin-malang.ac.id

LETTER OF PERMISSION

Dear Prof. Kay Whitehead
Deputy Dean of School of Education
Flinders University
In Adelaide, South Australia

Referring to your letter concerning Ms. Sofkhatin Khumaidah's research project at UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, we would like to deliver that we basically allow Ms. Khumaidah to interview some long-serving women faculty members at UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang as long as she follows the rules and requirements applied by our university. In addition, Ms. Khumaidah should submit her research report to our university after finishing her project.

Thank you for your attention and cooperation.

Malang, September 4th, 2013

Yours sincerely,



Prof. Dr. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si
Rector

Appendix 3: Indicative list of questions

Indicative interview Questions:

1. Tell me about your life before you became a faculty member (childhood, education, family, religion, personal & social life, & work).
2. Tell me about your first appointment as a faculty (when, where, how, why).
3. Describe your career path of over the past xx years. What has made this a difficult/easy journey?
4. Tell me about your current role and responsibilities – Three pillars of teaching, research, service (positive influences, challenges/ negatives/ difficulties).
5. What are some of the policies designed to support women faculty? How effective are they?
6. What are the main challenges for women academics working in Islamic higher education institutions?
7. What is the influence of religion in your workplace?
8. How important is religion in your family?
9. How does your family respond to your status and activities as a faculty member?
10. How do you manage your work and domestic life?
11. What does it mean to be a Muslim woman academic?
12. What are your goals and ambitions for the future?
13. What kind of support or policies might have an impact on the gender gap in higher education?