

Gender Roles In Islamic Primary Schools In South Sulawesi

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Abstract. This paper investigated gender roles in three Islamic Primary schools in South Sulawesi including one state Islamic primary school in Bone Regency, one private Islamic primary school in Wajo Regency and one private Islamic primary school in Makassar city. These three schools represents three different socio-culture economic backgrounds in South Sulawesi. The data were gathered using qualitative interviews and observations. The schools principals, teachers and the head of school committee were interviewed in-depthly and their activities concerning gender roles were observed including in school meeting and teaching-learning process. Then, the data were analysed qualitatively. This study uncovered three main points: 1) The three school communities shared stereotyped gender role ideology and practices; 2) They have low level of knowledge and opinion about gender mainstreaming; and 3) they have different gender practices. These gender roles of the school community influence the teaching of character education to their students.

Keywords: *gender, gender roles, gender stereotypes, gender non stereotypes, gender neutral, gender ideology, gender practices, gender mainstreaming.*

Introduction

This research was conducted in South Sulawesi. Until 2004 South Sulawesi had four major ethnic groups: the Buginese, Makassarese, Mandarese and Torajanese. The Buginese and the Makassarese were the major ethnic groups in South Sulawesi. The Mandarese became the major ethnic group

in a new province of West Sulawesi, which was split off from South Sulawesi in 2004.

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

The formulation of gender role domain leads to the division of gender roles in a household where the man is the breadwinner who works in public while a woman does domestic tasks and is “the main income spender” (Pelras, 1996, p. 162). However, Pelras argues that this is not the whole picture as many women play a part in providing income for the family and men can perform domestic tasks on certain occasions, such as when his wife is ill. In terms of productive jobs, there are restrictions for masculine and feminine activities. Tilling and sowing are example of masculine activities, while the example of feminine activity is textile production (Pelras, 1996).

The space division according to gender and the interpretation of the verses of Qur’an suggest that a woman must stay home. The Qur’an, chapter 33, verse 33 says “And stay in your houses, and do not display yourselves like that of the time of ignorance” (Al-Hilali & Khan, 1996). This verse is in line with the Buginese-Makassarese cultural value called *siri* or family honor/self esteem (Abidin, 1999). *Siri* or *sirikis* central

to the gender norms of Bugis and Makassarese society and is defined by Abidin(1999)as dignity and self esteem where women become the symbol of family honor. To protect the family honor, women had to stay in the back part of the house where a male outsider is not permitted to enter.

This paper is a part of a broader study of gender mainstreaming policy in Islamic primary education. In this paper, gender roles of school principals, school committee and teachers is examined. The question is to what extent the *siri*social ideals and Islamic values still influence social attitudes when social practice even in rural areas has changed markedly from the ideal. Are these concepts a factor in hindering the policy of gender mainstreaming in education? To search for the answer to these questions, I examined the three schools below: the State Islamic Primary Schools (MIN), the As'adiyah Islamic Primary School (MIA), and Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School (SDM).

Methods of study

The data were gathered by qualitative interviews and observation. I conducted interviews to the decision makers and implementers in the three schools included the school principals,the Head of the School Committee and the school teachers. Four categories of teachers were selected for qualitative interviews: the teachers of grade one, three and six as well as the teachers of Islamic subjects. There were 10 female teachers and two male teachers from three schools altogether.

The qualitative interviews that I conducted were semi-structured and lasted between 50 and 90 minutes. All the interviews were conducted in the Indonesian language. The interviews were carried out face to face and were recorded using an audio-tape recorder with permission of the interviewees. The interviewees were asked to provide a brief

personal biography. Then I asked them open-ended questions concerning gender roles in the community. I also assessed their knowledge about gender and gender mainstreaming and their attitudes toward the policy of gender mainstreaming, about the application of gender mainstreaming policy in the curriculum decision-making, curriculum development and curriculum implementation processes within the schools and from government bodies. The interviewer (the researcher) also obtained data from the informants about gender ideology of the informants as well as their expectation for teaching gender roles to students. All the interviews followed the interview structure, but with probing and follow up questions based on the participants' responses. Most of the interviews were conducted at the participants' work place, where a private space was made available. All teachers and principals interviews were conducted in schools and all school committee members interviews were conducted at their own homes.

The interviews transcripts and field notes were analyzed qualitatively by following the model of Taylor and Bogdan cited by Minichiello (1995) who identified three different steps. "The first stage involves coding the data, discovering themes, and developing propositions. The second stage is refining one's themes and propositions. The third stage is concerned with reporting the findings" (p. 247). Coding is a process of putting codes against pieces of data (Punch, 1998). Codes are tags, names or labels. There were three stages of coding applied in this study following Punch (1998) who identified three kinds of codes: "substantive codes, which are the initial conceptual categories in the data; theoretical codes, which connect these categories, and core codes, which is the higher-order conceptualization of the theoretical coding, around which the theory is built" (p.210).

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

I translated into English the sections of the interviews quoted in this thesis. Then, the categories were analyzed in terms of visibility and invisibility, stereotyped and non-stereotyped, balanced or imbalance, and progressive or non-progressive. The third stage is selective coding. In this stage, I selected one aspect as a core category. Then I integrated and pulled together the developing analysis.

The State Islamic Primary Schools

The Distribution of Power in the School

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

The most prestigious and powerful position was the school principal which was occupied by a man. The hierarchy of other important positions within the school organization followed the grade levels of the classroom teachers. The

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

Gender Role Ideology and Practice of the State Islamic School Community

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

The School Principal was aware of progressive gender role practices in the community when he acknowledged the visibility and non-stereotyped roles of males and females in public in several ranges of occupations. He pointed out that many women were involved in the public domain, such as members of police. He also acknowledged that there were two females Village Heads in Awangpone Sub District of Bone. He also gave an example of women's involvement in business by pointing to his wife's involvement in business before she fell ill. Listening to him, one could infer that he did not mind his wife working in public. This inference was strengthened by his

statement: “if his wife works he can do the domestic jobs” (Interview, Andi Tawakkal, the school principal, September 28, 2005). It would be the case that his wife earned more money than he himself.

The female teachers of grade one and grade three¹ believed that the involvement of women in business was a matter of experience. When women obtained experience, they would have the courage to travel for business as described by the female teacher of grade one. Accessing education was believed to be a matter of economic circumstances rather than simply making a choice between sending male or female to school.

The second gender ideology is that it is the female’s responsibility to do all the domestic jobs while men can only be involved in certain conditions. The involvement of males in domestic roles was practiced by the school principal. Like the school principal, teachers of the state Islamic primary school accepted the involvement of men in certain domestic roles: caring for children, cooking and washing. They also acknowledged women’s roles in public: in the economy, education and as female preachers as well as High School Principals².

The third ideology is that men should have priority when it comes to leadership. The school principal believed that a woman could be involved in the public domain as a leader as long as she had the capability. Yet he gave priority to men: “...in general, a man is the leader, a woman possibly can participate, but probably can not be the leader as long as there is a man available.” The school principal further pointed to the small

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

²Interviews, school principal, september 28, 2005, teacher of grade 6, September 29, 2005

number of women (two females out of eighteen male Head of the Villages) as Village Heads in Awangpone, Bone District (Interview, Andi Tawakkal, the school principal of State Islamic school, September 28, 2005). This ideology was reflected in the school leadership of this state primary school.

The Teaching of Gender Roles

Generally speaking, the state Islamic primary school taught gender roles in non-stereotyped ways. My observation in three grades of this school revealed that non-stereotyped gender was taught by teachers when they encouraged all of their students to aspire to high education and employment. These teachers did not differentiate between the male and female students in giving advice regarding further education. This was supported by the school principal who wanted the students to be taught equal roles, especially in education³.

Gender Roles in Classroom

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

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

Diponegoro (male), Ki Hajar Dewantara (male), R.A Kartini (female), Tuanku Imam Bonjol (male), Sultan Hasanuddin (male) and Cut Nyadjen (female).

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

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

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

As'adiyah Islamic Primary School Distribution of Power in the School

The distribution of power in school could be seen in the general structure of the As'adiyah Islamic Primary School. This

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

In terms of quantity, levels of education and seniority, females predominated in the school staff, but the power was still dominated by a male staff member, who acted as a school principal. During my fieldwork, there was no principal available as the former school principal was retired. The only one male teacher aged in his early fifties and who only had a diploma was appointed by other staff as acting school principal. Even though the schoolteachers had seen that the retired school principal before was a female, they still considered a man as the priority to be a leader in school. In fact, the retired school principal was not the only female principal; the first school principal had also been a female. She led the school for 10 years from 1968 to 1978. Since then, four males had led the schools until 2000 when H SittiMarhah, a female school principal led the school until 2005 (Wahidah, 2005).

The appointing of the male teacher as an acting school principal was consistent with the gender ideology of the teachers. One of the senior female teachers acknowledged the cultural tradition where men are leaders and women are led. In addition, one of the university graduated young female teachers believed that a man is better as a leader "...most appropriately, it is better for a man than a woman to be the leader"(interview, the teacher of grade six, November 24, 2005). A woman was

not to be a preference as a leader as her nature was to be a housewife. A woman can take over a man's position (such as a leader) if no man is available. As she argued "...if we return to a woman's nature (*keodrat*), it is better for her to be a housewife, but if no one else is available, there is no choice" (interview, the teacher of grade six, November 24, 2005).

Gender role Ideology and Practice of Madrasah IbtidaiyyahAs'adiyah Community

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

The non-stereotyped gender roles could be seen through the gender roles which were practiced by teachers and the community where they live. The teachers of this school (all females) had practiced gender non-stereotyped roles of women in public, since all of them had professional careers as teachers. They also mentioned other non-gender stereotyped roles played by women in public such as in the bureaucracy and the business

sector. However, teachers also identified stereotyped and unequal roles. Although a woman had a job in public such as a teacher, she was still assigned with the responsibility at home: caring children, cooking, washing and so on. The teacher of grade one told of her own experience in taking care of her four small children alone when her husband worked as a teacher in a different place far away from her home. Her husband came home once in three days. In her husband's absence she did all domestic work alone including taking care of her baby and getting the infants to school, while continuing her work as a teacher. There was no childcare facility available (interview, teacher of grade one, November 24, 2005).

The Teaching of Gender Roles

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

Like the Acting School Principal, the teachers of grade one and grade three⁴ also taught gender role in stereotyped ways. In teaching Islamic subject, the teacher of grade one still taught the role of men in public and women at home. Even

⁴Interviews, the Acting school principal, , November 24, 2005, teacher of grade one, November 24, 2005, teacher of grade three, December 1, 2005.

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

Gender Roles in Classroom

The grade one of Madrasah IbtidaiyyahAs'adiyah had 35 students consisting of 18 males and 17 females (Field notes 7/12/2005). The classroom was arranged like the chair arrangement in MIN Mallari Bone. The chairs were in rows and columns. Two columns were for the boys and another two for the girls. The difference from those in MIN Mallari was that in relation to the seat position of each sex. In As'adiyah, boys' seats were on the left hand side while girls' were on the right hand side. This seat positions were the reverse in MIN Mallari. This seat arrangement was permanent. It means the arrangement of seat positions were fixed for all subjects. For example, the students' seat positions when they learned Entrepreneurship subject were the same when they learn the Local Language.

The grade three of MI As'adiyah had 28 students comprising 12 males and 18 females (Field notes 14 December 2005). Unlike in grade one, the grade three students sat in groups. There were six groups of students altogether. Some of the groups consist of six students, five, four and two students.

Boys were grouped together and girls also clustered together. Groups one to three were girls group located in the right close to the blackboard and group four to six were for boys located in the left side at the back.

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

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

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

teacher's attention than girls. Girls only received opportunities to read in front of the class after several boys had done so. The majority of girls did get the chance to read in the class only in group situations.

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

Field notes were taken also when the students were learning the mathematics lesson taught by the classroom teacher of grade six. The teacher gave assignments to the students to write on the board. The first four students who did the task were boys but they failed so they remained standing in

front of the class. Then the teacher assigned one of the girls and she was successful in helping the four boys. Then all of them sat in their own group. After that the teacher explained the task and continued giving the task to the students (field notes 24 November 2005). This pattern of behavior was the same as that in grade three. My fieldnotes confirmed the assessment of Hamri, the teacher of grade 3, that the girls appeared to be smarter than the boys and, therefore, the boys deserved more attention than the girls (interview, Hamri, December 1, 2005).

Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School Distribution of Power in the School

Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School has 15 staff. The majority of them were females: thirteen females compared to two males. In terms of ages, there were eight staff aged in their early fifties, late fifties and early sixties. There were also eight staff below fifty years of age which included staff in their early forties, late thirties, middle thirties and late twenties. In terms of levels of education, the number of senior staff who held a university degree was equal with those among junior staff.

In terms of power, the number and ratio of male and female staff was the same as those in As'adiyah. Yet with respect to power arising from distribution of positions and responsibilities, they were different. Women in the Muhammadiyah School were more predominant. The school principal and also the classroom teachers were all females. Almost all of them were senior teachers. Grade one was the exception as the class room teacher was the junior teacher. Grade two was also a different case where the junior teacher aged in her late twenties partnering with the senior teacher aged in her early sixties. The only two male teachers were the subject

teachers for the subject of Islamic Studies and Kemuhmadiyah.

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

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

Gender Role Ideology and Practice of Muhammadiyah Primary School and its Makassar Community

There were four gender ideologies which emerged from the interviews with people from the school community. Were those ideologies believed and practiced by informants? The following section will address this question. The ideology of a man as a breadwinner was still believed by the informants. For example, according to one female teacher that the home is not a man's domain; it is wrong for a man as a person who is responsible for the family, to stay at home. It is also not logical if a man stays home all the time and it is not acceptable if a man [husband] becomes a house husband while a wife earns a living: "men have to earn a living whatever difficult: No way men do

not have a chance to earn a living, jobs are available as long as people look for a job”(Interview, the teacher of grade six, 22 October 2005).

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

Secondly, the gender ideology of the inappropriateness of a husband to do domestic work was not practiced in the daily life of all informants. They all (males and females) admitted that they shared their own domestic work: washing, cleaning the house, washing the dishes, child rearing to various degrees. Cleaning the house and washing the laundry is the most common domestic work done by a male. While cooking and washing the dishes was the least popular for a man, even it was funny and odd when I asked the informants about the involvement of men in these domestic activities. The most important thing was that the involvement of men in domestic work was confined to only helping the women who were responsible for this job.

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

“....she is a housewife, she has to manage the household.....That is the task of a wife, a housewife, even though she has another job such as a teacher, but at home,

cooking is a wife's job." (interviews, Subaedah, the female teacher of grade one, October 14, 2005).

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

The Teaching of Gender Roles

The Principal of Muhammadiyah School understood that a leader in the household is a man. A man only stays home while his wife is earning a living; he has to become a leader. These gender roles were taught to the upper grade students of: grade four, five, and six. She encouraged the teacher of Islamic studies to find references from Islamic sources concerning that matter.

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

This school principal was a good example of a professional women teaching one set of gender values and being a model of another. The female teacher of grade three also taught stereotyped gender roles to her students. She agreed

with the stereotyped gender role depiction in the textbook where a father was depicted as breadwinner and a mother as a housewife who was responsible for managing the household and she believed that this has been the common practice for a long time. However, she realized that these were stereotyped depictions of gender roles in society. Indeed there were many mothers who worked as she herself had done as a teacher for a long time. In addition, these depictions did not reflect common practice in the Makassar middle class, in which both husband and wife both worked to earn a living. She realized that many mothers earn a living in a way that was not reflected in the textbooks. She acknowledged that it was the role of a teacher to explain this to students. She also realized that a mother who was a breadwinner existed in the community. Many women not only earned more than her husbands, but also in some cases women were the only income earner in the household; the husband stayed home. According to her, this was the result of the limited employment opportunities (interview, the senior female teacher of grade three, December 20, 2005). This teacher was talking of a situation where the society depicted in the textbooks has been left behind by social changes in the society. Teachers were left with the job of making sense of the discrepancies for the students.

Like the teacher of grade one, the teacher of grade six emphasized the role of women in a non stereotype way. This teacher taught about gender roles to her students emphasizing that the role of women was not only at home but also in public life. She often told her students that men and women often have to work together. She said, for example, "I often told my students that females of a farmer family did not only prepare meals and that only males worked in the rice fields and that it was possible that women could help with the planting" (interview, the senior female teacher of grade six, October 22,

2005). However, she still emphasized the stereotyped role of women in the kitchen as she said the kitchen would not disappear from women's lives. It is number one for women. The women's involvement in productive jobs is only to support the family.

Gender Roles in Classroom

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

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

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

Grade six had 15 students consisting of eight males and seven females. The students in grade six were grouped into five

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

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

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

The sixth grade class was divided into five groups (Field notes 24/12/2005). Their subject was the local language. Group one consisted of three male students sitting next to the door. Group two consisted of three females sitting in the middle of the class. Group three consisted of two boys and a female sitting in the front left. Group four had three males student sitting on the back left. Finally group five had three females sitting in the back right. The teacher stood in the middle of the class close to the student group in the middle. Occasionally, she moved back next to the board, and walked around the other groups of students. She gave the assignment to the students by reading the task. One of the assignments was translating a Makassarese sentence into Indonesian. One item was "Rati (a female) made a cake". The stereotyped task of a woman making a cake illustrates the way in which gender roles was socialized to students.

Conclusion

Gender roles and practices of the three school communities discussed in this paper had similarities and differences. The similarities could be seen in several ways. Firstly, this study showed that the majority of the school communities in the three Islamic primary schools shared a common stereotyped gender ideology. They believed that a man was the breadwinner in the family and that a man could do domestic jobs if a woman was not available or that a man could do domestic jobs only to help women. They also believed that a woman's role was at home as a housewife and she was responsible for domestic chores. If a woman played public roles to earn a living, she could only be considered as a secondary earner and she was still responsible for home duties. Another shared ideology was that the man was the leader. A woman could be a leader if she had capability but the priority went to a

man. These beliefs indicated that gender mainstreaming policy had not brought about effective changes among the school decision makers and teachers because these people still had a gender ideology of inequality where men were the first and women were second class. Although, many of these teachers and decision makers lived lives of much greater gender equality than is suggested by the ideals and values they espoused.

Secondly, this study showed that the school decision makers and teachers had similar knowledge and opinions about gender mainstreaming and the term gender itself. In the first place, I found that some teachers and school principals of the three schools did not know about the policy of gender mainstreaming and were confused about the term “gender”. Yet, some of them, including some young teachers and all the three school committees in the three schools, were aware of gender equality and gender issues in education and claimed that they had knowledge about the terms. In their opinion, gender and gender mainstreaming meant the equality of men and women or the equal rights of men and women to participate in public life such as in leadership roles, education, and the workforce. Hence, these teachers understood parts of the gender mainstreaming discourse such as women’s participation in public. Such views were in line with the liberal progressive perspective who sought equal treatment for men and women. These understandings and opinions of the school decision makers and teachers indicated that the gender mainstreaming policy of gender equality had reached some decision makers and teachers since their awareness of these issues was acquired from seminars about women’s empowerment.

Although the school communities had similarities, they were different in many things. Firstly, the three Islamic primary schools were located in different geographical locations and had different organizational management. The Islamic state owned

school based in the village had almost similar numbers of male and female staff. Nevertheless, the males and females had different power and prestige in the school. The powerful and prestigious positions in the school such as principal and teachers of the higher grades were dominated by men.

The As'adiyah Islamic Primary School, an Islamic primary school based in a provincial town, was dominated by women in terms of numbers of male and female staff. However, the school chose a male as the leader. This school prioritized men in positions of power over women. The Muhammadiyah Islamic Primary School, an Islamic primary school located in the capital province of South Sulawesi was female predominant both in numbers of staff and in terms of positions of power. In this school, the school principal, the classroom teachers and the administrative staff were all women. The school had two male teachers only, who were subject teachers and they were rarely involved in school meetings.

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

Another difference was the awareness of gender issues. In the teaching process of the three schools I discovered that the State Islamic Primary School in the village had adopted gender equality to a certain degree in teaching in terms of not discriminating against one gender. Most of the teachers did not teach students about gender stereotyped roles and did not treat boys and girls differently. On the other hand, in As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah Islamic primary schools where the majority of teachers were female, it was a paradox that the female teachers taught gender stereotyped roles and, in general, gave more attention to boys than to girls.

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

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