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Understanding Socio-Cultural and Organisational Constraints on Women's Leadership: A Case Study in Indonesian Higher Education

A thesis

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ABSTRACT

In Indonesia, especially in Java, in a range of time, the numbers of women occupying senior leadership positions in state higher institutions are low. My experiences working in such institutions supported this phenomenon. This caused my curiosity to find out why female lecturers did not occupy higher leadership positions. I also wanted to know about the nature of the institution operating towards this situation. I assumed that there were barriers from Javanese culture and from their workplaces. In order to find out whether my assumptions were the case, I conducted case study research in an engineering higher education institution in Indonesia to find out why this situation existed, given that one of the articles in the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia states that every citizen has the rights to work and earn money.

Data from this case study research were collected through interviewing sixteen senior teaching staff comprised 12 female lecturers, 6 of them were in the lower level of leadership positions, and four men in senior managerial positions. Data were also obtained through accessible documents of the institution, and also from direct observations.

The key findings revealed that the involvement and interactions of the research participants in their social fields, at macro, meso, and micro levels, influenced the way the participants made decisions and acted towards each level. Especially, it showed how habitus played out in their lives, affecting their thoughts, behaviour and actions, and leading to their perceptions and beliefs about who could be senior leaders in this institution. It revealed that there were tensions and contradictions the women participants experienced due to the expectations from each level of social field. In the meso level of social field, that is their workplace, the tensions and contradictions amplified.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to

My beloved husband, **Wisnoe Widodo**, and my lovely daughters, **Larasati Prawadika** and **Mita Arsita**, for their encouragement and understanding while I was doing my study.

My mother, **Theresia Lillian Amalo**, for her example that taught me of never to give up and for her dream that reinforced my dream of becoming a teacher and being in paid employment.

My late father, **Marcel Amalo**, for his wishes that I achieve the highest academic success. I know how proud he would be if he could see me gain my doctoral degree.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Prelude

Women and leadership, especially in the Indonesian context, have been my focus of interest since I conducted a Masters study at the University of Waikato in 2001. My initial intention was to explore gender matters, which were becoming hot topics in Indonesia. Besides taking core papers from the Faculty of Education to complete the master's degree, I took two papers from other departments. One was a gender and communication paper with the Waikato Management School, and the other was a directed study with the Department of Gender and Women Studies within the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. I was interested in exploring feminism and its relation to Islam. This directed study, in which I explored the literature and worked with my supervisor to complete the paper, accommodated my interest. It was entitled *Feminism and Islam*.

There were a number of reasons for me to conduct this directed study. I was interested in this topic because living abroad I experienced that some women took a pity on the way I dressed as a Muslim, wearing a head scarf and a long-sleeved dress. For example, one day, a woman was watching me and, when I looked at her, she smiled and said "It's so comfortable in winter". I replied with a smile, "Yes". I did not know what to say next, because I wondered why she had said such things. This incident made me think, and several such incidents led me to search the literature about Muslim women and their Muslim attire to find out what was wrong with the clothing which I felt very comfortable wearing when I was in Indonesia. Perhaps I was experiencing Bourdieu's *habitus*: that I was outside my familiar cultural milieu and I was seeing myself as different because the "rules" were different. *Habitus* is a term that I am using for analysing my research data and therefore it is foreshadowed in Chapter 2 and explored further in Chapter 3. I began to see what I considered 'normal' with new eyes. At this stage I was not sure what to think, but from my study of feminism and Islam I began to

understand why westerners considered Muslim women, especially those wearing Muslim dress, as “oppressed”. This was a new term I learned at that time.

I also wanted to learn more about feminism, a concept which I had previously not wanted to know about because of its negative connotations for many Indonesians. For example, from several Islamic preachers I had learned that as Muslim women we did not need to follow western feminism which wanted the same rights as men, because, according to these preachers, men and women had different roles in life. But being able to step away from Indonesia and study in a different environment made me wonder why feminism seemed not to be welcomed in Indonesia. Through the study I conducted in the University of Waikato I discovered that in Western feminist terms veiled women were seen as oppressed, a term that I had never even considered when I was in Indonesia. I was burning with curiosity to find out what led non-Muslims to see the veil as a symbol of oppression. As a follower of Islam in Indonesia I did not see myself as being oppressed because Muslim women that I knew, including myself, were not confined at home, and were free to be involved in public spheres.

Reading interpretations of the teachings of the Qur’an in research literature, I was comforted by the view that Muslim women, as daughters, wives and mothers, had privileges and therefore were not oppressed (Amalo, 2002). However, in real life I was aware that this ideal status of the Muslim woman was far from reality, especially for women as wives. As far as I know, Muslim preachers always pointed out the obligations of a wife rather than her rights. This was my experience as a Muslim wife. Therefore, I may say that I had not fully experienced this ideal status as a Muslim woman and I had not seen these privileges existing for other Muslim women whom I knew in Indonesia. I wondered why the ideal teaching of Islam about women was different from the reality.

At the University of Waikato I also learned about the concept of teachers as leaders, and I broadened my interest through papers in educational leadership. I decided that this was the field where I could develop my personal and professional

interest, and contribute some useful insights for Indonesian women, especially for those who are in my community. So, instead of gaining a degree in educational studies, I changed my study programme in order to gain a degree in educational leadership. As part of my Masters study in this field, I conducted research in Indonesia, exploring how women teaching in the engineering field in tertiary organisations perceived the concept of teachers as leaders. One of the findings from interviewing these women showed that they constantly juggled family and work, and this was intensified when they were in leadership positions. I used the phrase “boundary condition” to describe how these women tried to find ways to combine career and family commitments, within specific gendered boundaries prescribed through a combination of Javanese culture and Islam.

From the above study, I concluded that occupying leadership positions was not easy for these women. I then reflected on two things: the situation of my own workplace, in which no woman had a senior leadership or managerial role; and on my husband’s view that a woman could not become a leader. He was not satisfied with the leadership of the women as principals of the school in which he worked, and he often referred this to the Islamic beliefs that leaders are males. This made my curiosity even deeper because, as I said, not one of my female colleagues was in a senior leadership role. Was this because of the internalisation of the Islamic teaching and beliefs, or was it just how things were? In some ways I was made to believe that a woman could not be a leader, but in another way I did not want to believe it.

Therefore, my Masters study and research combined with my personal and professional experiences motivated this doctoral study. I am certain that this study cannot be separated from my own experiences both personal and professional. Growing up, I have experienced two different religions and sets of social expectations. I have also worked in a male-focused environment in Indonesia for about 20 years. It is this working environment that, combined with the opportunity to study in New Zealand, gave me the idea of exploring gender matters in tertiary education contexts in Indonesia, especially as they related to women and senior

leadership positions. I therefore wanted to understand more about women and leadership in higher education institutions, and the pressures exerted on individuals in such contexts.

The next section begins with my personal story from my childhood to my involvement with my in-laws and my workplace. The personal is political. I use my personal stories to suggest answers to my personal queries through my study.

1.2 My personal background

In this section I outline my experiences from living with my parents — including schooling through to tertiary level and encountering Islam — and living with my in-laws, and my involvement with my workplace. These were all important contributors to my undertaking this doctoral study and theorising its findings.

1.2.1 Living with my Catholic parents

I am the eldest of five siblings. My siblings and I grew up in a home where our mother was always available to her family. I was raised in a Catholic family and went to Catholic schools in Indonesia. My mother looked after her family with the help of servants. At that time, as a child, I thought that this was the natural world: mothers took care of their family with paid helpers and fathers went to paid work.

My taken-for-granted view was reinforced when I went to school. At primary school, I noticed that not one of my female school teachers was married. I thought that it was because of their career that they had delayed their marriage. To some degree, I also likened them to the nuns who managed the school and dedicated themselves to the wellbeing of others, and therefore they preferred to stay single. From this kind of environment, I had the idea to become a teacher before I married and then perhaps became a housewife who stayed at home like my mother. The examples given so far reflect the idea of *doxa*, that is, “spontaneous belief or opinion [which seems] unquestionable and natural” (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992, p. 112). These were practices that I accepted without questioning, because they

appeared to be simply how things were in my immediate environment of home and school.

Becoming a wife and mother seemed natural to me because I noticed that it was practised by people whom I was familiar with: my father's cousins who lived with us, one after another, when they came to Java to further their studies and then married when they finished their studies; and my parents' friends and acquaintances from the church. Many young couples got married in our church. Deep in my mind I knew that one day I also would have this kind of wedding ceremony where I would wear the same kind of white European-style wedding gown as those other women wore in marriage ceremonies at our church. So, this was what I believed (*doxa*) would happen to me in the future as a woman. I would eventually have a role as a mother and a wife.

To put this into another context, Alton-Lee and Densem (1997) argue that the New Zealand school curriculum has an important role in “the process by which many girls come to accept the subordination and invisibility of women” (p. 199). They further argue that “by five years of age our children have learned much about the differential roles and value of females and males, and have already begun their initiation into maintaining the social system” (Alton-Lee & Densem, 1997, p. 210). Even across cultures, some values and expectations about who women are — and what women can be — transcend borders. This was also the case in my early schooling experience. In the first year of primary school, when we learned to read, the first reading topic positioned women in domestic roles, and men as breadwinners. Again, I was made to believe that this was woman's and man's nature. None of our schoolbooks showed women in paid work, nor did we learn about the history of Indonesian heroines in any detail. This shows that in general the Indonesian women were the subordinates. During my primary and intermediate schooling, cooking and sewing were among the subjects I had to take. As I have described earlier, I went into all girl schools and therefore I did not have any ideas what subjects were provided in state schools. However, at high school, when Catholic schools began to receive boys, for the extra-curricular subjects

girls tended to take typing while no boys took it. The boys preferred to take photography or carpentry as an extra-curricular subject. Drawing from these schooling experiences, it is clear to me that the school curriculum indeed reflected the social system (Alton-Lee & Densem, 1997).

I used to be independent. Throughout my secondary school years, I went wherever I liked and did things by myself because my mother encouraged me to do so. Our home situation also supported me. My mother would drive her children to school, or she would drive herself to the market and shops. She started driving by herself when my father needed our driver to help him at the office. But at home I also learned that a wife had to obey and serve her husband well. For example, my mother put my father's socks on his feet whenever he was ready to go to office or somewhere else. She took off his socks when he came home and she put back his shoes on the shoe rack. My father did not even have to do this himself, and I often heard my father instruct my mother to do many things for him at home and she did them all. The lesson was that one day I would have to serve my husband too as shown by my mother. I saw it as a normal practice and as the only example in my childhood world.

My mother was born in East Java, but her parents came from Sulawesi Island. She finished high school in a town in East Java. My father was born on a tiny island close to Timor Island, known as Sabu Island. So, they came from very different environments and cultures. Both of them were born in the time of Dutch colonisation in Indonesia. For his secondary education my father had to go to East Java. He went to the town where my mother lived and went to the same high school as my mother did. They married several years after they finished high school at the age of 23, and moved to a town in West Java where my father pursued a tertiary education while taking part-time jobs to fulfil his family needs. Figure 1 shows the places that I have mentioned. This figure is to remind the reader the extensive of Indonesian archipelago and the many cultures and distinctive local languages used by each part of the islands. For instance, the local language in East Java (Javanese language) is entirely different from that in West

Java (Sundanese language); and so is the language and culture of my mother and my father. They moved from one place to another would imply how they had to adopt the new culture. It is like they move from one social field to another social field. Social field, in my study, is a term used by Bourdieu that I will explore in Chapter 3.



Figure 1. Map of Indonesia

Adapted from *Indonesia location map*, by U. Dederling, 2010. Retrieved from website: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Indonesia_location_map.svg
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Although the Dutch language was no longer used by younger Indonesians, many older people still practised it for everyday communication. My parents, for example, mostly used Dutch to speak to each other, but spoke Indonesian to us, their children. When I reflect on my experiences listening to Dutch, using *Bahasa Indonesia*, and later using Javanese language, I perceive the impact of language on its users. While Dutch or Indonesian language give a parallel status to the users, Javanese language is likely to create hierarchical positions between the users. The connection between Javanese language and the hierarchical positions is explored further in Chapter 2.

My mother did not have a paid job. She spent almost all her time at home doing chores and taking care of her family. My father ran his own business and sometimes he left us to do some jobs out of town. When I was at primary school, I saw my mother crying a lot when my father blamed her for reasons that I did not

understand. I was the only one who was at home to see my mother crying. My brothers were seldom in the house. She did not say anything to me other than “I’m all right”. I felt sad every time I saw her crying and decided that I was not going to have the same experience. She was so powerless in relation to my father. She began to share her sadness with me when I went to secondary school. She felt economically dependent on my father and thought that as a housewife without a paid job she seemed not to be respected by her husband.

Then something happened which shook her beliefs and her deference to my father. The sudden departure of my father to work on some projects on another island caused a loss in contact. Suddenly, my mother felt that she could not depend on him all the time to make wise decisions for the family. She then did her best to make decisions and do things for herself and her children. She began to learn to be in charge of her family. This made her stronger and less likely to acquiesce when my father, once he returned, got angry at her for not behaving the same as before he went away.

I now see that my mother’s married life and my childhood experiences at home were the most influential impetus to me completing a tertiary degree and having a paid job. My mother had once dreamed of dedicating herself to medicine as a practitioner. However, she was not able to achieve this when she married because she was compelled to focus on domestic duties while my father was still finishing his tertiary education and earning a living at the same time. Her story about her stifled dream and her repeated message that I should be able to have a paid job were always in my mind. They kept motivating me to further my study. I promised myself that I would finish my tertiary education and have a paid job. I would never let my husband prohibit me from working.

I finished my primary education in a town in West Java. I then followed my parents to move to East Java and I went to a secondary school. In this new environment I had to make adjustments and learn new things. One of these was the local language (Javanese) because it was so different from the version of the language I had heard spoken among my friends in West Java (Sundanese).

Compared with Indonesian language, I had difficulties with the Javanese language and never used it in daily life. I was afraid of making mistakes when using the language because of its complexity. We had to use different forms of words to express politeness to people of different age groups and strata of society. I refer to this as a language hierarchy, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, and that it will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

I only learned and memorised Javanese language to get good marks for my school report. So, while I had never spoken the language until then, I soon understood it quite well when Javanese people talked to each other. I “heard” Dutch for 12 years, and learned Javanese language at school for seven years. However, I did not need to use Javanese since nearly everybody around me could speak Indonesian. Later on when I married, I learned from my husband to use this language when necessary, for example to bargain in the traditional market.

When I finished my three years of secondary school, my parents moved again to another town, still in East Java, and I went to a high school there. At this high school, some of my classmates were Muslims. Catholic schools were considered the best place for education at that time, although there were also some excellent state schools. My Muslim friends wore the same school uniform as I did: a short-sleeved white blouse and a below-the-knee pleated dark green skirt. Sometimes at the end of the week we went to see a movie, or went somewhere else to have fun in a big group. In everyday life I did not notice that women had limitations put on going outside their home. Muslim dress was not popular at that time, and only students who went to Islamic schools wore it. Most women in urban areas wore Western-style clothes, a combination of blouse, skirt, t-shirt, and/or pants. Up to my secondary world at that time, I did not have any idea of women’s oppression. We, as girls, were free to go anywhere. My family and my surroundings greatly influenced the way I grew up. To me, oppression equated with physical boundaries. That is what I understood initially of that term. However, later on, as I worked on this doctoral study, I realised that my understanding of this word was

very narrow. Oppression could mean not only physical but also psychological boundaries.

Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992), who undertook a study on Javanese Muslim women about their status and economic change, argued that Indonesia did not apply Islamic rules in its governance and noted that veiling was not a norm for Javanese Muslim women, who were free to veil or not to veil. Even when women were veiled, the style of veiling would differ. Some Muslim women fully covered their hair with the headscarf. Some others “only hint at veiling themselves by wearing a see-through chiffon or lace scarf and the traditional Javanese generously cut blouses (*kebaya*)” (Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992, p. 44). These researchers also found that around the time of their study on Javanese Muslim women many wore a veil only when they went to the mosque.

In the state teachers’ college which I went to in 1980 none of my Muslim female friends wore Muslim dress. I seldom saw Muslim women adopting a Muslim dress code in my town. Perhaps a number of Muslim women had started to wear Muslim dress at that time, but the number must have been so small that I did not notice the gradual change in dress among the female Muslims. I did, however, notice that around 1988 many Muslim women had started wearing Muslim dress. However, starting to wear Muslim dress did not mean that Muslim women were restricted in their movement outside the home. So, in my view, in everyday life in Java women have been free to move about in public, both in social and world of work.

At teachers’ college I became more involved in the Islamic environment. After approximately four years surrounded by my Muslim friends in the college, I decided that Islam would be my faith. My mother left this decision entirely to me. My father was initially disappointed by my decision but eventually accepted it. It was quite difficult for me to say why I converted to Islam. I was so moved when sometimes I heard Muslims reciting the Qur’an. Becoming a Muslim led me to undertake the topic of my doctoral study.

It was during this time of tension with my father about my becoming a Muslim that I married a Javanese Muslim man. We married after we had completed our tertiary studies and both of us had a teaching job with a small salary. Because we were a newly married couple with a small salary, we were invited to stay at my parents-in-law's home. This is described in the following section.

1.2.2 Living with my Muslim in-laws

Moving into an unfamiliar situation was not easy for me, especially when dealing with my husband's family values and expectations of me as a wife. Many times I cried due to the differences I encountered in this new environment.

As a newcomer to both Islam and a Javanese Muslim family, I learned and observed the situation of my new social field. I learned fast about what was acceptable and what was not acceptable in the family and made many adjustments, because it was so different from the home environment where I grew up. This was not easy and there were certainly tensions within these adjustments. For instance, I learned that I needed my husband's approval to do things, such as asking for permission whenever I wanted to go out to do something other than going to the workplace. At that time, I was a teacher in a secondary school, a responsible job in which I made many decisions on my own.

At home, even my career was at the discretion of my husband. His view was that the main purpose of my working was not to earn money for living but rather to share my knowledge with others for the purpose of *ibadah* or seeking "the pleasure of Allah" (Kausar, 2000, p. 18). To some extent I agreed with him, but my main motivation for having a paid job related to the values and beliefs I internalised from my family.

In the new environment of my husband's family, I observed my mother-in-law: how she looked after her husband, and sought permission to do anything outside home. I noticed that there was a contrast between my parents-in-law's relationship with each other and my parents' relationships. In my view, my mother had much

more freedom to make decisions, and my mother and father communicated, it seemed to me, on relatively equal terms. To some extent, my mother-in-law and my mother had similar attitudes to obedience, in the sense of obeying what was said by their husbands and never arguing with them. However, my mother-in-law needed her husband's approval for any decision. For example, she would ask him what groceries to buy that day.

It was hard for me to fulfil the obligation of obedience as it was practised by my mother-in-law, probably because I was raised in a different situation, had a different family background, and was used to making my own decisions. My new family life was very different: now my husband decided what I could or could not do. In many instances, I felt that he took away my autonomy and I was very disappointed with him. But I was also aware that a wife's obedience was there in the Qur'an, and its commandments were to be followed and practised. This might relate back to Lapidus' argument that perfection of soul is through practice (in Mahmood, 2005). To some extent, I also think about the perfecting of my soul. However, in my married life I eventually became entirely dependent on my husband. This led to a sense of powerlessness: as a wife, I did not have my individual life to live; I had to obey whatever he wanted me to do, even if I had to ignore my own wishes.

Even though I was not involved in this Islamic environment from childhood my connection with it affected me. For example, in many instances my husband suggested that a woman cannot become a leader as it is stated implicitly in the Qur'an. Later I found out that apparently, he referred to *Sura (Verse) 4:34* which states that men are leaders; and also from a *hadith* – the traditions and stories associated with the Prophet Mohammad, compiled by his companions and other people who lived during the Prophet's life – stating that a nation will be ruined if it is led by a woman (Brown, 2009; Engineer, 1992; Subhan, 2002). This stifled my own desire to be involved in a leadership role. To some degree, I tried to forget my aspirations and accepted the reality that my career was not heading towards any further leadership role. Furthermore, there were tensions as the result

of these two different family backgrounds (my own family and my husband's family), especially with regards to the notion of obedience. I now realise that my husband and I have different views about this notion; we have different "ways in which [we] engaged in practices" (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002, p. xii).

During this period with my in-laws, I learned from my husband that in Islam there is the belief that a wife has to get permission from her husband whenever she wants to leave the house. My husband told me that a Muslim husband was responsible for the actions of his wife and children and therefore Islam required that a wife must seek permission to go out, and must obey her husband. I accepted his view and did as he wished. I was regularly reminded about this need to get my husband's permission as the head of our nuclear family, a practice that I learned when I married my husband.

When I started to learn the Qur'an by joining some women-only Qur'anic study groups, I learned that in order to understand the Qur'an, Muslims usually referred to *hadith*¹ and *fiqh*² as well. On many occasions the female preachers reminded those of us attending the Qur'anic study group to obey our husbands and to make them happy. The rewards of obedience would be granted after death. However, I became aware that certain verses in the Qur'an tended to privilege the status of men over women. Verse 4:34 from the Qur'an is the most significant one that many scholars refer to. The first lines state:

Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means.

This appeared to be the key to the belief regarding a wife's subordination to her husband. I found this verse relevant when I did the directed study on feminism

¹The traditions and stories associated with the Prophet Mohammad, compiled by his companions and other people who lived during the Prophet's life.

² Rules made by Muslim scholars based on the Qur'an and hadith used to solve problems arising in the community.

and Islam at the University of Waikato. Further discussion of this and related verses is available in Chapter 2 when I review the literature.

Another aspect of my new environment was the way the Javanese established their language hierarchy, as I have mentioned earlier. For example, Javanese language uses different words for the same meaning to address different persons depending on one's familiarity with the person. My husband and I used Indonesian language to communicate, but sometimes he spoke to me using the Javanese language. When he did so, I could not accept the authoritarian tone of the language. I have only recently realised the degree to which Javanese culture was entrenched in his life, so he was never aware that the instructional tone was something strange for me. In addition, Javanese language does not have a word for the English word "please". In everyday life, as I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, we used Bahasa Indonesia for communication. Indonesians use this language as a formal medium of communication, as the *lingua franca*. Unlike Javanese language, Bahasa Indonesia does not have a language hierarchy. Further exploration of Javanese language is presented in the next chapter.

We had our first daughter while we were living with my in-laws. I was still able to work in the secondary school because I could leave my baby with my mother-in-law or my husband's sisters who lived in the same house. I was not a permanent teacher of the school and therefore I could go home as soon as I finished teaching. At home, my baby was waiting for me to feed her and I would take care of her for the rest of the day. By the time my daughter was one and a half years old we had our own house and a live-in servant to look after the home and our daughter. I then changed jobs and worked in a language laboratory in a tertiary education institution and later I moved to my permanent workplace after I had my second daughter. This is described in the following section.

1.2.3 Involvement with my workplace

In the first few months as a permanent staff member, I was impressed by the work ethos of my colleagues, most of whom were males. They worked there from morning to evening. My female colleague who had been recruited at the same time, and who was still single, often worked after hours too. I copied this pace, enjoying my work and the environment. It was my dream from a very young age to become a teacher, as I have mentioned earlier. I had, by then, taught English in different institutions: secondary schools, high schools, and some small private tertiary education institutions.

However, my after-hours working did not last long, because my husband reminded me that I had a family to take care of. I tried then to arrange my teaching schedules and other duties between office hours: 8 am to 4 pm. There were also some evening classes. I knew that some female colleagues taught until late evening but I managed to have early evening classes, so that I could be at home around 6 pm. At first it was hard to accept that I could not work after hours, but I realised that I had to obey my husband who, I understood, had given me permission to have a paid job, as long as I came home as soon as I finished my teaching duties. So, this was a negotiated responsibility I accepted. This, in hindsight, shows me how far I had accepted my husband's view of gender relations.

To study abroad, I needed approval from my husband, as our custom dictated. I had dreamed for many years about studying in an English-speaking country because I wanted the experience of using English in everyday life. I had tried to forget my dream because I thought that my husband would not allow me to study abroad. However, he finally agreed that I could further my study in New Zealand. The first opportunity to go to New Zealand was in 1995, when I joined a ten-month English teaching programme at Victoria University of Wellington.

The second time I came to New Zealand, to do a degree in Masters of Educational Leadership, was also because I was permitted by my husband to leave home and

family. First of all, I asked him whether I could apply for a New Zealand scholarship. When he approved, I sent the application straight away to the New Zealand Embassy in Jakarta. I sat some tests in Jakarta and awaited the result. While waiting, I told myself that if I was accepted but my husband later changed his mind and would not let me go, I would not go even though I would thoroughly be disappointed. I wanted to be an obedient wife as was expected of me. I had also kept this in mind when I asked him if I could further my study to doctoral level. I appreciated it very much that he let me achieve my dream. My husband and my two daughters came to stay with me during the period of my study in New Zealand.

1.3 My previous studies

As mentioned above, two studies motivated this doctoral study. The first was the directed study, *Feminism and Islam*. The second was my Masters research, *The boundary condition*. These two studies are briefly described in the following section.

1.3.1 Feminism and Islam

Some papers that I took when studying at the University of Waikato led me to better understand the concepts of gender and feminism and made me aware that feminism is not meant for westerners only. I started to consider whether feminism and Islam could be reconciled. The directed study I took in the University of Waikato helped me to answer my curiosity. Key ideas from my study are summarised as follows:

To some degree, feminism and Islam can be reconciled because Muslim women are highly respected in the teachings of Islam. To some extent, this can be found in the verses of the Qur'an, and additional interpretation of the hadith, which imply that a Muslim woman's high status has four aspects: spiritual, social, economic, and political (Amalo, 2002). These aspects are outlined below.

- The spiritual aspect can be based on at least two verses (4:124; 40:40. See Appendix 7). These imply that men and women have equal status, and that they are responsible for their own behaviour. Any rewards or punishment Muslims receive are based on their attempts to live in line with the teachings of Islam.
- The social aspect can be seen in terms of a girl's right to life when she is born, because it is told that baby girls on the Arabic peninsula were unwanted during a certain era before Islam came. A woman has the right to choose her prospective husband. In terms of marriage, the Qur'an, verse 9:71 for example (See Appendix 7), shows that wife and husband have complementary roles and they must support each other. When a woman becomes a mother, she is highly respected by her children.
- The economic aspect includes the expectation that a woman will inherit money from her various positions, whether she is a daughter, sister, wife or mother (Verse 4:7-12, 176; see Appendix 7). The money is hers to spend and nobody else in her family has the right to use it.
- Politically, women have been involved in the public sphere since the commencement of Islam. There are stories especially in the hadith (the written accounts of the Prophet's traditions) about Muslim women's involvement in public during the life of the Prophet.

The above aspects are the ideal condition of a Muslim woman as outlined in the Qur'an. If this condition was fully obeyed and carried out by Muslims, perhaps Muslim women would enjoy a greater measure of equality. However, culture and local traditions of Islamic followers influence how they practise Islamic teachings (see, for example, Engineer, 1992). Culture and tradition affect how Muslims in general perceive women. Broadly, in spite of the four aspects outlined above, the reality is that in a wide range of Islamic countries women are treated as subordinate to men, which suggests that the teachings of the Qur'an about equality are not fully practised by many Muslims. Culture and traditions thus affect not only how women are treated but also how they regard themselves. To some extent, my study *Feminism and Islam* was the basis for a research study in

the field of educational leadership to find out how women teaching in the tertiary sector perceived the concept of women teachers as leaders. This is explained in the next section.

1.3.2 The boundary condition

In my Masters study I collected interview data from ten married Muslim women who worked in three engineering education institutions in East Java. These women were in a range of leadership positions, from Head of Laboratory up to Deputy-Head of Institution. Their stories intertwined family and work commitments. Barriers were identified from both sides: families and workplaces. However, these women had never given up. Rather, they found ways to maintain their professional lives and continue with their personal lives. For example, one woman managed to share the time between office and home by being at home after office hours but still making contact by phone to follow up after-hours meetings. In other words, she brought her work home. Nevertheless, many women felt that they were marginalised by their male colleagues for such reasons as the following:

- Many participants felt their male colleagues did not respect them as professional equals.
- Male colleagues found it difficult to be led by women.
- Female colleagues were expected to organise the social aspects of meetings and other workplace events.
- Male colleagues seldom listened to suggestions from their female colleagues.

Because the women's experiences commonly highlighted the expectation that they would serve their male colleagues, in ways similar to how they were expected to serve their husbands, it seems that traditional values and beliefs about women's and men's roles were transported from the home to their workplaces. People seemed unable to differentiate women's professional roles from their domestic roles. I concluded that this phenomenon was due to "the socio-cultural belief

coupled with the traditional religious belief that men should come first and women should come second” (Amalo, 2002, p. 51).

Despite the above accounts, the participants in my Masters study were not overly concerned about this situation, because they believed that they had been chosen by their colleagues and institutions to do the job. They believed that they could manage within their male environment, because they were backed up by the family-life situation. Many of them had several brothers or had been educated by parents to be as skilful as boys. Their familiarity with male worlds helped them be strong and tough in executing their administrative duties and placing themselves within these kinds of institutions.

The results of the above research led to my wondering how cultural and religious aspects influenced women with regard to taking up senior leadership positions in such institutions in East Java. This wondering is also linked to my professional career as a lecturer, and my personal life as wife, mother, and a member of Javanese society.

Living in the same environment for a long time makes us unaware of gender differences because we take them for granted. As members of a culture, we seldom realise this taken-for-granted status, and we do not question these existing practices and beliefs. Could these beliefs and practices about men’s and women’s roles be an over-riding influence on workplace practices? Could these disadvantage an individual’s career development?

1.4 Conducting doctoral research

This doctoral study examines whether there are constraints on women occupying senior management roles in a tertiary educational institution in Indonesia. My intuitive feeling was that it is the Javanese culture, a combination of traditions and religious beliefs, which may be the source of women not achieving senior leadership positions. I needed to conduct a case study in East Java to answer my curiosity about the absence of women in senior educational management. A case study approach might also enable me to develop some useful insights that might

influence changes in the higher education system in Indonesia to allow more women to participate fully in their workplaces.

My research questions are therefore grounded in my curiosity about the absence of women in leadership positions. I prepared semi-structured/open-ended interview questions for my research participants with a qualitative framework in mind. I went home in 2007 to conduct detailed interviews with twelve women (some of whom were in lower to middle level leadership positions) and four men in management positions, as they were the key people in the case institution. An elaborated explanation about such processes is presented in Chapter 4, the methodology of my research.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is important for the following reasons:

As a researcher, I want to develop a broader understanding of public issues especially those relevant to women and leadership. In Indonesia women's issues have been an important topic since 1978, 33 years after the country's independence, when the Indonesian government established a ministry dealing with women affairs (Sadli, 1978). My study will allow me to advocate for the advancement of women into leadership roles within the tertiary education sector. Thus, findings gained from my research will give me insight into the relevant issues, and allow me to contribute ideas to policy for enhancing careers for women.

By using a case study in a similar situation, I can bring its result to my own workplace, in a preparation for me to be in charge of developing the teaching and professional development centre. This, I believe, is a venue where I can also focus on supporting my female colleagues to make our workplace a better place for teaching and learning. My research could inform policies designed to enhance the well-being and career paths of all staff, but particularly women, thus tapping into their professional potential.

The women research participants might benefit from my research because findings in the form of stories could be used as feedback, a means to reflect on what they have done so far for their own career development. My research might be a medium through which their aspirations can be heard in their workplaces, leading to changes in policy concerning and attitudes towards women as members of the institution. In other words, my research might encourage the women to think deeply about possibilities for enhancing their careers. Collectively, the similarities and differences in their stories may strengthen their bonds as women working in a specific work environment, for Atkinson (2002) argues, “the more we share our stories, the closer we all become” (p. 137).

1.6 Research objectives

In the context of the experience and information described above, I conducted a case study to explore how the position and status of women in Javanese culture and religious issues might play out in the public life of women teaching in the case study institution. The objectives are:

1. to find out why women are absent from senior leadership positions in a tertiary educational institution which traditionally has more male than female staff; and
2. to investigate how the institution regards women taking up senior leadership positions.

1.7 Overarching research question

The overarching research question is: Are there constraints for women to take up senior leadership roles in an engineering higher education institution in Indonesia?

1.8 Thesis overview

The thesis comprises eight chapters. Chapter 1 provided the impetus for my study and the reasons I undertook the research into women and leadership in the Indonesian context. In this chapter, I explore my life experiences from childhood to marriage and my career in teaching. These experiences are important for me to include in this study because in many instances I return to my personal stories to better understand the theoretical framework I use in this study.

Chapter 2 discusses literature on gender matters from developed countries as well as from developing countries, including Muslim countries and Indonesia. In some places I include my personal stories that I consider appropriate to discuss, because my personal stories were the main impetus for this study. I begin the literature review by defining the difference between the notion of sex and gender, then go on to examine the relation of gender to other concepts such as patriarchy, organisation, social culture, teaching, and leadership. Although in this chapter I mentioned my interest in feminism, my thesis will not explore feminism in depth. I use feminist terms where I need to use them in my thesis.

Chapter 3 explores the concept of habitus as the lens through which my research findings are analysed. Again, I insert my personal stories. This is to add to my initial understanding of the concept of habitus. Habitus as the concept developed by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu works with his other concepts such as capital and field to provide a complete set for analysing and discussing the research findings.

Chapter 4 provides a description of the institution and lecturers under study. The description includes a brief history of the educational workplace under study, the information that I collected from the institution's documents which related to the topic of my study, and the direct observation I conducted when I was collecting data for my research.

Chapter 5 presents the research methodology. I begin by exploring the terms of the paradigm, epistemology and ontology of the research. This leads to an account of how I conducted the research, including which methods and tools were used, and the method of analysing interview data by using thematic analysis.

Chapter 6 provides the findings of the study. As described earlier, I used the concept of habitus to analyse my research interview data. Habitus, and other related concepts of capital and field regarded as a set of important concepts, is used to analyse the emerging themes.

Chapter 7 is the discussion of the findings which relate to other chapters, especially to gender matters and wider concepts of habitus. In principle, I discuss the findings in three parts, that is, the expectations the women participants encounter in their homes, their education, and their workplaces.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion of the thesis. This chapter includes the implications of this study and the recommendations for further study. It also describes my contribution to research on educational leadership. I make further use of my personal story, as context for what this study led me into.

CHAPTER TWO: GENDER MATTERS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature related to gender issues drawn from the international literature on some developed and developing countries, including several Muslim countries. The chapter also provides reviews of gender perspectives in Indonesia and especially in Java. While my focus of study is about women and leadership positions in educational context, this chapter also reviews this topic from the worldwide context. Habitus is often mentioned in this chapter as a preliminary stage to the next chapter, in which habitus is developed in more detail.

2.2 Gender

A brief illustration of what gender is and its relationship with patriarchy and other concepts are presented in the following sections. Some illustrations from Javanese culture and my individual experience are also provided.

2.2.1 Sex and gender

Gender is defined by Wood (1996) as a concept based on perceptions of sex roles learned when people interact with others within a culture. Culture is “partly shared with people who live or lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned” (Hofstede, 1991, p. 5), and “maintained, developed and defended by people or groups of people because it was born and developed in order to meet the need of those people or groups of people (Havilland, 1988 cited in Sarsito, 2006, p. 448).

Three terms from the above definitions are related to each other; they are, sex roles, gender, and culture. Sex relates to genetics and hormones (Wood, 1996) and is nature (Acker, 1992). Gender relates to how a culture defines women and men’s roles (Wood, 1996), and therefore is nurture because it is a social construction of female and male sex roles in a culture (Acker, 1992). So, culture is important in

relation to the social construction of gender. Aaltio and Mills (2002) thus define gender as the “cultured knowledge that differentiates” women and men (p. 4), which is similar to what Gherardi (1995) argues, that gender, as a socially constructed concept, may result in the perception that women and men have “different destinies” (p. 10).

The notion of gender is a product of the interaction of people within a culture – or the product of history (Bourdieu, 2002) – in a way which results in the assigning of different roles to women and men, with the world’s many different cultures making different assumptions about gender roles. James and Saville-Smith (1989) argue that there are differing perceptions of qualities of being feminine or masculine, and it cannot be said that feminine always relates to female sex, and masculine to male, because this perception is socially defined. They argue that gender is “a categorization based not on physiological but on social attributes” (James & Saville-Smith, 1989, p. 10). What they mean is that feminine can be related to male sex, and masculine can be related to female sex, which is accepted as a third gender category. Therefore, Acker (1992) points out that “[g]ender was social, thus variable and subject to change” (p. 565). For example, *fa’afafine*, who “are biological males who express feminine gender identities in a range of ways,” are broadly accepted in Samoan culture (Schmidt, 2001, para.1), or *fakaleiti*, the Tongan equivalent of *fa’afafine*, are accepted in Tongan culture (Besnier, 2011), demonstrating in real ways expression of the feminine through the male sex. In other words, these two examples show how culture plays an important part in socialising gender. Further example showing the importance of culture in socialising gender comes from Chambers (2005) who has argued, when referring to Bourdieu’s argument in *Masculine Domination*, that “the categories of gender are constructed and not necessary” (p. 327). She further argues that

Gender differences start with the socially constructed and thus contingent division of people into two kinds according to their bodies, and specifically their genitals. To say that this is a contingent division is not to say that people could in theory have the same genitals, or that there is no biological difference between men and women, but it is to say that

differences between genitals need not be socially significant.
(Chambers, 2005, p. 327)

Chambers (2005) provides further explanation of the above argument by providing an example from the *Gerai* tribe in Borneo, Indonesia. The experience of Christine Helliwell with this tribe revealed that different genitals do not necessarily differentiate gender, but the work they perform does: “A person who performs certain tasks in rice-cultivation is a man, even if that person has a vulva” (Chambers, 2005, p. 328). In this society then, it is work that socially differentiates gender, not biological sex.

A third gender is also accepted in some cultures in Indonesia. For example, there are *Calalai*, a masculine female, in Bugis culture in Sulawesi Island (Graham, 2001), and *Gemblak* and *Warok* as transvestites in Ponorogo culture in East Java (Petkovic, 1999). Those practices illustrate further how culture defines gender and how such definitions are accepted by society. However, my research study is not concerned with notions of a third gender; rather, it focuses on the commonly accepted female gender roles for women and male gender roles for men. In other words, it is focussing on traditional gender roles. In Indonesia, the government legally acknowledges male or female gender which is attributed to men or women’s sex roles, as stated in the Indonesian Marriage Law No. 1/1974, that a marriage is a legal bond between a man and a woman to be a husband and a wife; and that each of them has different responsibilities in the family (Yayasan Peduli Anak Negeri, n.d.).

2.2.2 Gender roles and patriarchy

While a number of researchers have examined differences in cultural perceptions of gender, others argue that there are similarities in terms of the position and roles of women that have been practised over time throughout the world (e.g., Aladejana & Aladejana, 2005; Bourdieu, 2001; Engineer, 1999; Subhan, 2002; Syed, 2004; Wood, 1996). Syed (2004), for example, argues that the majority of societies have assumed that the differences between male and female are not

confined to basic anatomy but in their respective abilities to think, and act, which lead to different values. More specifically, many societies consider that women are the primary carers of home and family.

In Nigeria, for instance, women are seen as “the weaker sex [with the roles] of child-bearing, raising a home and cooking” (Aladejana & Aladejana, 2005, p. 69). This argument is similar to how western cultures see the role of women. As Wood (1996) suggests, “[T]his gendered aspect of identity is particularly evident in patterns of care giving. ... Gender accounts for the expectation that women will assume primary responsibility for caring for children and others” (p. 5). This resonates with social practices and expectations in East Java which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Men in many parts of the world seem to be excluded as caregivers in their families. The notion of women as caregivers can be traced back to the ancient times in which men were regarded as “hunters” and women as “gatherers” (Lerner, 1986). Lerner’s argument (1986) regarding the root of western civilisation was drawn from the artefacts from Mesopotamia, from which she theorises that women and men at that time had different tasks to do because of the physical differences between them. These differences resulted in the subordinate position of women to men, which probably later were adopted by the traditionalists’ understanding of Christianity; that is, it was God’s rule as defined by male clerics that this subordination exists (Lerner, 1986). Lerner (1986) points out that the idea of women’s subordination to men could come from the views of traditionalists that “male dominance is universal and natural ... woman is subordinate to man because she was so created by God” (p. 16). This understanding, Lerner (1986) then argues, led to the formation of patriarchal society. In relation to Lerner’s argument on male domination, Bourdieu (2001) claims that male domination of women has been practised for a long time and that this practice continues. He exemplifies the Kabyle society, a “well-preserved androcentric society” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. vii) that he started to observe in the early 1960s. He noticed, among others, that there were different roles for men and women, and that these

differences were also represented in the structure of their houses. To conclude, sexual differentiation was practised by people in ancient times, resulting in women's submission to men, adopted by patriarchal tribes in many parts of the world and Christianity in the Western world (Lerner, 1986). The next section examines the relationship between gender roles and patriarchy.

A number of researchers relate gender roles to patriarchy (e.g., Barlas, 2002; Engineer, 1992; Johnson, 2005; Lerner, 1986; Walby, 1990). In the broadest sense, patriarchy can be understood as “paternalistic dominance” (Lerner, 1986, p. 217), referring to “the rule or power of men (that is, adult men) over others” (Hearn, 1992, p. 48). Barlas' study (2002) supports this, stating that patriarchy can also mean “a politics of male privilege based in theories of sexual differentiation” (p. 93). Walby (1990) adds that patriarchy is “a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women” in order to retain and suit male privilege (p. 20). A patriarchal society is thus, according to Johnson (2005), one that “promotes male privilege by being *male dominated*, *male identified*, and *male centred*” (p. 5, original emphasis); This kind of male privilege and assumption reinforces the wider social idea of women's inferiority to men (Johnson, 2005).

Different societies have differing cultural views and perceptions of gender roles, as I have explored previously in this chapter. Regardless of context, from birth, children are exposed to assumptions, beliefs and behaviours about sex differences and gender roles. They therefore grow up understanding the world in a certain way regarding the relative value of women and men. However, the assumption about women's roles has been very persistent across cultures. For example, in discussing the process of motherhood mandate, Russo (1976) argued that in the 20th century the majority of western society perceived that a woman's primary role was expected to be that of mother. A woman was kept at home “to bear and rear children” (Russo, 1976, p. 143) Russo (1976) also mentioned that “a woman can spend time working – perhaps even at a non-traditional job – as long as she keeps the house clean and her husband and children well-tended” (p. 144) Therefore, it may be argued that a prevalent world view of gender ordains that

women cannot be separated from their destiny as mothers and wives, and that their primary place is at home for the sake of their families. By implication, this underpins the opposite role for men.

In her book, *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan (1963), a journalist, describes the situation many American women faced around the 20th century. She calls it *the problem that has no name*. The problem, Friedan (1963) argues, “lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women” (p. 15). According to Friedan (1963), on the one hand, societal demands on wives and mothers affected how women tried to fulfil their feminine roles; on the other hand, many American women experienced dissatisfaction; one woman said: “I feel as if I don’t exist” (Friedan, 1963, p. 20). This idea of “the problem that has no name” links to what inspired me to do this doctoral study. I am trying to articulate something that probably has no name in my study context. I am trying to find out whether or not there is something that is unnamed, that is, something unidentified in the case institution regarding women’s aspirations to senior leadership roles.

Friedan’s description of the situation of American women in 1950s shows how “male privilege” (see Barlas, 2002; Johnson, 2005; Walby, 1990) worked within this community at that time. This is an example of men’s domination and exploitation of women, as argued by Walby (1990) and referred to earlier in this section. The situation described by Friedan (1963) implied that fulfilling only feminine domestic roles left many women personally dissatisfied. It was like “a hunger that food cannot fill” (Friedan, 1963, p. 26). Friedan (1963) suggested that it was time that these unspoken needs – women wanting something more than their husbands and their children and their homes – were attended to, because she believed that American women with families could have careers too.

Studies conducted in the first decade of the 21st century in western countries suggest that the notion of good mothers and wives still persists, although more women are now involved in paid employment (Ford & Harding, 2010; Hilbrecht,

Shaw, & Johnson, 2008). However, this does not always mean that the domestic roles are transformed, as described in the following paragraph.

Hilbrecht, Shaw and Johnson (2008) studied the experiences of Canadian women involved in teleworking jobs regarding time flexibility. The women in this study had school-aged children. This study concluded that even though teleworking jobs gave these women more time to manage, they used the time for family commitments rather than for their personal needs. This relates to the notion of “intensive mothering,” which means that maximum time is given for their children (Hilbrecht et al., 2008). Another study, conducted by Ford and Harding (2010) at a management conference in the United Kingdom, found that the attitude of male attendees showed an “aggressively macho culture” (Ford & Harding, 2010, p. 503); the comments made by some men implied that the women participants’ place was at home, and not in that public sphere. Together these studies demonstrate that socially constructed views of gender persist over time and affect women across cultures. This is also the case in Java which I explore later in this chapter.

Engineer (1992) refers to the mothering role as responsible for maintaining the home and looking after children as a natural law. It implies that women are required to submit themselves to men’s authority for the sake of their family lives. Both Engineer (1992) and Lerner (1986) argue that the submission of women to men’s authority has been practised for centuries worldwide in patriarchal societies. In many cases, biblical scriptural norms have been interpreted and used for the benefit of men to retain the power in male dominated societies. The Qur’an has been similarly used by Muslims (Engineer, 1992). How this concept of patriarchy might relate to the Javanese context is explored in the following section.

2.2.2.1 Patriarchy in the Javanese context

It can be argued that Javanese culture is rooted in patriarchal views. Javanese tradition is a combination of the existence of several colonising aspects of cultural practices in Java many centuries ago. The oldest culture was Hinduism, which came to Indonesia in the first century AD and influenced Indonesian “architecture, art, literature and philosophy” (Sadli, 1978, p. 2). Buddhism also arrived in Indonesia, but its influence was not as great as that of Hinduism (Sadli, 1978). Hinduism was amalgamated with the local beliefs of animism/dynamism (Purwadi, 2005), and was the main religion, alongside the local beliefs, for about 13 centuries. Hinduism was already strongly embedded in the life of Javanese when Islam arrived.

Islam was brought to Indonesia by Persian and Arabic traders via their travels in the Indian sub-continent and China. At first, Muslim communities were concentrated along several coasts in Indonesia. In Java, when the Hindu kingdoms converted to Islam, it then spread throughout this island (Susanto, 2006). As a result of Hindu infiltration into Javanese culture, added by the coming of Islam, there is the practice of “pluralism”, as Susanto describes (2006, p. 491), by which many Indonesian Muslims combine Islamic teaching with local beliefs and Hinduism. Several examples of pluralist practices are as follows.

Firstly, many Javanese Muslim women practise a “*mitoni* ritual, a thanksgiving ceremony for the seventh month of pregnancy” (Anwar, 2004, p. 41), which has no basis in the teaching of Islam but comes from Javanese traditional practices. Secondly, there is a ritual for a baby’s first steps in Java, which, according to Smith (2003), has also been practised by Hindu people. Thirdly, polygamy was also practised in Hinduism. Narayanan (2006) points out that before the Hindu Marriage Act in 1956 enforcing monogamous marriage (Narayanan, 2006), Hindu tradition allowed men to practise polygamy. Polygamy is thus a practice illustrating patriarchal cultural norms in which men wield most control. In relation to Islamic and cultural beliefs, I suggest that polygamy shows how the habitus of gender expectation has been embodied through generations, and polygamy is thus

part of a patriarchal system, because it shows how men dominate women; it shows who is in power; and it shows male privilege, as noted by Barlas (2002), Johnson (2005), and Walby (1990).

Fourthly, Hinduism categorises the castes of its followers. Castes are, according to Smith (2003), a hierarchy that marks “the social order” (p. 35) and which, to some extent, has influenced the way Javanese differentiate between nobles and common people, between seniors and juniors, between husbands and wives. The development of Javanese language during the kingdom of Mataram (Moedjanto, 1986) is one way to trace this influence, and this point will be elaborated in Chapter 3. In the meantime, the following example from the life of a Javanese woman in “a ruling-class Muslim family” (Connell, 2009) provides a clue to how the Javanese patriarchal system affected this woman’s life.

All the above four examples can be referred to the idea of doxa (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992) as unquestionable practices done by many Javanese people. These practices, which have been performed for several generations, may also be considered as dispositions that make up the habitus of many Javanese people. Further discussion of disposition and habitus is on Chapter 3.

*Raden Ajeng*³ Kartini was a noble from Central Java, who lived from 1879 – 1904, some times within the Dutch colonial period of 350 years. As one of the daughters of a progressive Regent of Jepara in Central Java, she was able to enjoy primary education just as her brothers did. However, she had to live a secluded life once she reached puberty, while her brothers continued their studies (Wieringa, 1988). During her seclusion, she wrote letters to her pen-friends in the Netherlands that implied her disapproval of the culture she was in and her awareness of how this culture disadvantaged Javanese women. Kartini was later married to a man whom she did not know and who had several wives. She died when giving birth to her first child (Wieringa, 1988).

³ A title for women coming from a noble family.

One of the letters Kartini sent to Stella Zeehandelaar during her seclusion showed her feeling of physical confinement. She told Stella:

My gaol was a large house with an extensive garden, but nevertheless it has a high wall around it and that kept me imprisoned. No matter how large our house and how extensive the garden, if you are forced to stay there it does become confining. (Kartini, 1995, p. 19)

The letters Kartini sent to Zeehandelaar suggest that although she was confined at home and was not able to further her study, she did not just accept her destiny as a woman. Rather she made her thoughts be known by corresponding to her friends living in the Netherlands. Her body was imprisoned, but her mind was free.

Another letter gives an example of language of the Javanese culture in which Kartini and her younger siblings were raised:

My younger brothers and sisters may not say ‘jij’ or ‘je’ [informal ‘you’] to me and may only address me in high Javanese; and after each complete sentence which falls from their lips they must make me a sembah, that is, put both hands together and bring them up to just under the nose. (Connell, 2009, p. 13)

The above account illustrates the rigidity of the social system and the role of language in underpinning it. Seniority was also important in dealing with the use of language and it affected her brothers. Kartini’s account also demonstrates the seniority of her father to her inferior status as a daughter. It can be assumed that decisions on her seclusion, and later on her marriage, came from her father as the man in power, in her family and also in the region. Smith (2003) makes the point that in Hindu patrilineal families a daughter is considered a visitor in her family because once she is bound in marriage she belongs to her husband’s family. She then has to “obey her husband and to honour him as her god [and be] devoted to her husband” (Smith, 2003, p. 112). This is similar to the situation in Javanese society, where a husband has a much higher status than his wife. It also illustrates the social practices of the Hindu caste system. Kartini’s experiences of virtual imprisonment and social etiquette in face-to-face communication exemplify the living Javanese patriarchal culture of her era and gender perceptions of Javanese

at that time. This hierarchical and patrilineal practice appears to be another example of how Hinduism has influenced Javanese thought and behaviour over time.

Other than the four practices of pluralism in Java, it can also be drawn from Hinduism adopted by ancient Hindu Indians that women cannot become kings because of their natural limitations – that is, whether they are single or married women are always protected by their families (and thus it shows women cannot be independent) – did not suit them for such duties (Spellman, 1964). This view might also be brought to Indonesia and influenced the belief that women are not suitable as leaders. It seems that this view also influence how the majority of Indonesian Muslims interpret some verses in the Qur'an, especially verse 4:34, which literally states that men are leaders.

Thus, it may be argued that cultural perceptions and Islamic religious beliefs support each other in positioning women in certain ways, in sustaining a patriarchal culture, and in affecting the way Javanese people perceive the position and roles of women. For example, there were debates on whether a woman could become a president, when Megawati, the daughter of the first president of Indonesia, was one of the candidates in the Indonesian presidency election in 1999 (Van Doorn-Harder, 2002). In other words, the nexus between culture and religious beliefs affects how women themselves see their roles and contributes to the habitus of the Javanese about their perception on gender roles. Perhaps the time was ripe for someone like Megawati to become the 5th President, thus offering a model of other possibilities for Indonesian women to be leaders beyond the family.

2.2.2.1 Women's organisations within the Indonesian patriarchal governance

According to Hasibuan-Sedyono (1998), “[W]omen’s maternal and domestic roles and responsibilities are officially recognised in Indonesia” (p. 86). It is useful to look briefly at the history of Indonesian women’s organisations before and after the independence of Indonesia to provide some insights into the roots of women’s roles and the involvement of the state policies which affect women’s domestic roles and public participation.

2.2.2.1.1 Brief history of women's organisations in Java

The first Indonesian women’s organisation, Puteri Mardhika, was founded in 1912 before the independence of Indonesia. Its aim was “to encourage women to pursue their education, to participate in the public domain, to express their own ideas in public and to reduce women’s inequality with men” (Anwar, 2004, p. 92). To some extent, the aim of this organisation reflected Kartini’s wish, outlined earlier in this chapter, for Javanese women who were educated and free from body imprisonment.

Women’s organisations flourished after that. One large organisation, GERWANI (Indonesian Women’s Movement), which had about three million members, dealt with political issues (Anwar, 2004; Wieringa, 2003). The involvement of women in politics was supported by the post-independence state, when Sukarno was president. However, the political situation caused the organisations become smaller in number. The organisation became much smaller in number when Suharto began his regime as the New Order era. GERWANI was disbanded in 1965 as it was regarded as leftist (Anwar, 2004; Wieringa, 1999, 2003).

It seems there was a vacuum period of women’s organisation’s activities for some years. The Indonesian government under Suharto then established several women’s organisations directed by the government, among others were *Dharma Wanita* (Women’s Duty) in 1974 (Anwar, 2004; Buchori & Sunarto, 1996) and *PKK* (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, the Family Welfare Guidance) in 1975 (Anwar, 2004). Women, whose husbands work in Indonesian civil service

institutions, are automatically the members of Dharma Wanita. The aim of this organisation is to provide women with skills suitable to fulfil the role of wife and mother. This links directly to the government's focus on women being the supporters of their husbands' civil service careers (Buchori & Sunarto, 1996). Not surprisingly, the state is easily able to prevail on men to support its policies.

PKK as the other larger government-directed organisation, of which all Indonesian mothers can become members, is under the supervision of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Bianpoen, 1996). This organisation operates from the centre of government to the villages, with activities focusing on the health of mothers and babies under five years old. Bianpoen (1996) points out that the activities are to support the government programmes for women's welfare, such as to minimise illiteracy and enhance knowledge of nutrition, health and sanitation. This government-directed women organisation had agenda around activities such as "cooking, managing the family, embroidery and sewing" (Anwar, 2004, p. 102). The key idea of the New Order of Suharto's regime was that women were encouraged to conform to their five roles (Bianpoen, 1996; Sullivan, 1983) "as loyal backstop and supporter of her husband; caretaker of the household; as producer of future generations; as the family's prime socializer; as Indonesian citizen" (Sullivan, 1983, p. 148). In other words, the expected main role of Indonesian woman was as a wife and mother. This situation of woman's role is, to some extent, similar to the Jewish Israel national mission (Berkovitch, 1997). Berkovitch (1997) argues that "Jewish-Israeli female subject is constructed first and foremost, not as an individual or a citizen, but as a mother and a wife" (p. 606). That this social construction on women is considered being practised in many communities has been argued by Enloe (1990), supported by Winter (2006), confirming that men see women as

the community's – or the nation's – most valuable *possessions*; ... the principal *vehicles* for transmitting the whole nation's values from one generation to the next; ... *bearers* of the community's future generations — crudely, nationalist wombs; [and] the members of the community. (Enloe, 1990, p. 54, original emphasis)

Therefore, it can be concluded from the arguments proposed by Enloe (1990), Berkovitch (1997), and Sullivan (1983) that in most patriarchal communities women are not seen as independent individuals, and that their obligations to their families take precedence over their individual rights as citizens. Their involvement in the community might be restricted to functions supporting their prime role in the domestic sphere, that is, as wife and mother.

As I had been involved in these two organisations, Dharma Wanita and PKK, I am aware that both organisations are top-down hierarchies, where women as the members received instructions from the government and carried out those instructions. So, we were docile citizens who obeyed to carry out whatever instructed by the government. To some extent, we did not have our voice for the sake of our lives because we were constrained to obey. Somebody else had decided what we had to do. This again demonstrates the control exerted on women's lives from the state downwards. Thus, the state's programme included a concerted and overt agenda prescribing the role of women, and farther inscribing the privilege of men, in Indonesian society. This, over time, led to the overarching cultural belief that women's only domain was the domestic. Propaganda celebrated and reinforced women's noble role as the principal educator of future generations (Sullivan, 1983).

Suharto wanted everything in order, argue Brenner (1998), Jones (2004), and Sarsito (2006). Javanese culture and philosophy were fundamental to Suharto's decisions and policies. For example, he positioned himself not only as the ruler of the state but also as "the father of a big family" (Sarsito, 2006, p. 460). This was likely a political act to appropriate a social practice to reinforce his position. In Javanese culture, as mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, a father is respected and obeyed. Suharto also used the Islamic philosophy; for example, "always [respect] God, teacher, King and the two parents" (Sarsito, 2006, p. 451). In other words, as the head of the state he acted as a teacher, a king and a parent who must be respected and obeyed. In addition, Sarsito (2006) argues that one of the Javanese principles that Suharto used to control the state was that of harmony.

This could be his reason for reducing the numbers of women's organisations in Indonesia in order to be able to control them (Sarsito, 2006).

2.2.2.1.2 Impacts of government's politics on women's domestic and public roles

Apart from using organisations as tools for emphasising women's domestication, the government also propagated it through many kinds of media (Brenner, 1998, 1999). This brought the implication that the home was a venue where women as wives and mothers were expected to support the government politics that aimed at producing citizens that were "loyal and docile" (Brenner, 1998, p. 238).

In 1983, Woodcroft-Lee, studying two popular Islamic magazines issued for professionals and business people available in the early years of the Republic of Indonesia, found that the woman's rubric had mostly highlighted the status of wife and mother in Indonesia (Woodcroft-Lee, 1983). She concluded that although many Indonesians believed that Indonesian Muslim women have equal status with men, in practice they were unequal. She described Javanese Muslim women as follows:

The ideal Muslim woman appears to be the wife and mother (of many children, preferably) who has successfully pursued an academic or professional career after marriage and who has been active in the fields of community welfare, religious education or even politics. *In spite of her achievements in the outside world, she nevertheless plays the role of the devoted wife and concerned parent at home.* (Woodcroft-Lee, 1983, my emphasis)

Her comment relates to the arguments posited by Enloe (1990), Berkovitch (1997), and Sullivan (1983) and discussed in the previous subsection regarding the expected roles of Javanese women. It emphasises that although Javanese women are expected to participate in their communities, nevertheless their families are their foremost responsibilities. Moreover, the majority of Javanese people accept that women may have higher education and paid employment. However, the notion of women's domestication affects societal perception that their work

outside the home is considered as only supplementing the income of their husbands (Brenner, 1998).

Other researchers studying on Javanese women seem to share similar views on societal expectations towards Javanese women; that is, about domestic roles of women as the most important aspect in their lives (such as, Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992; Jones, 2004; Kodir, 2007; Sitepu, 1996; Wafiroh, 2007), although they involved themselves in paid employment and careers.

In their case study research about noble and non-noble women in terms of their economic and social status in a village in central Java, Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992) argue that Javanese women from non-noble families have more freedom to be involved in public spheres. It shows that the Western cultural practice of man as breadwinner, broadly prevalent until the 1970s, is also visible in the practice of Javanese nobles. This fact cannot be denied considering the 350 years of Dutch colonisation in Indonesia, which certainly had a great impact on Javanese culture, and other cultures throughout Indonesia. The implication is that women who do not work outside the home are perceived as having high social status (Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992, p. 37). To some extent this practice reinforces gender roles, demonstrates the continued influence of Hindu patrilineal and caste hierarchies, exemplifies women's domestication, and strengthens patriarchal cultural practices. These practices have thus become normalised through habit and custom. Many Indonesians, therefore, are likely to model these habits and customs to their off-spring. This can be drawn from three studies on Javanese women's roles as follows.

Sitepu (1996) argues that for many Indonesian women, marriage is not a choice in their lives but a destiny, "something that has been conditioned since they are born" (Sitepu, 1996, p. 252, my translation). Sitepu (1996) provides accounts from three housewives in Indonesia, who came from well-to-do families and had completed a tertiary level degree, but chose to devote themselves for their families. Sitepu (1996) argues that mothers imprint images and behaviours on their offspring. In the case of her study's participants, this imprinting had led daughters

to believe that a woman should serve her husband and children and accept that family needs, rather than her own, are paramount. Sitepu (1996) also argues that social pressure may cause women to focus on marriage as their ultimate goal. In marriage, they are expected to be diligent and exemplary wives and mothers. The stories of these women reflect their perceptions of gender roles as based on the values and beliefs they had internalised from societal traditions and religious doctrines. In other words, their stories reflect these women's habitus. This is a term I discuss in detail in Chapter 3.

Similar argument comes from Wafiroh (2007) who points out that many Indonesians measure the success of a woman not by her career but by her home and family situation. Using a sociological perspective, her study examined why Indonesian women preferred marriage to study. Wafiroh (2007) insists that for Indonesians at large, becoming a mother and wife is very important in a woman's life because Indonesian society always put high regards to women who are successful in managing their domestic affairs. Women are expected to become good mothers for their children and obedient wives to their husbands and to make their husbands happy.

Jones (2004) notes that a Javanese man expects his wife to serve him "a beverage whenever he returns home rather than having a maid serve him" and adds that "the message from such a gesture was to remind one's husband that in spite of all one's other duties, he was the primary focus of one's life" (p. 517). Again, this demonstrates the hierarchy of a family and gender relations as social practices. Jones (2004) concludes that women are likely to sacrifice their own ambitions or career aspirations in fulfilling their obligation to be good mothers and housewives as the majority of Javanese husbands prefer their wives to stay at home.

Each of the above studies reinforces the domestic role of women, which to some extent reflects the study by Woodcroft-Lee (1983) available earlier in this section, and highlights the position of women in relation to men. Therefore, it may be concluded that even though Javanese (Muslims) women are able to pursue a career, they are morally bound by societal view that an ideal woman must have

three qualities: *masak* (cooking), *macak* (beautifying), and *manak* (having children) (Munir, 2002), or that an ideal woman cannot detach herself from “*sumur* (the well), *kasur* (the mattress), and *dapur* (the kitchen)” (Kodir, 2007). Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992) support the view that in Java “no matter how far progress takes her and how sharp her career rises, a woman is always a mother first” (p. 30); and that women’s primary roles as wives and mothers at home are addressed in glowing terms (Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992).

In addition, the socially acceptable notion of an ideal wife in Indonesia is exemplified in the following extract, “The beauty of a devout wife”, from a popular online Indonesian Islamic magazine (Hidayatullah Online, 2008):

Today is my happy day, thank God. I have perfected half of my dien [religion]: marriage. I am really happy so that I never forget to praise God every night.

I spend my days happily with my beloved wife. I didn’t realise how much God loves me until he provided me with a loyal companion who always reminds me of my duty to God. She veiled her face, which makes me so relieved. What makes me more thankful is that my mind is so tranquil when I leave my wife for work. When leaving for work and coming from work her beautiful smile welcomes me, even before I greet her with “Salaam” [Muslim greeting] I have never been able to say “Salaam” before she does.

Wida, my shalihah [devout] wife, is two years older than I am. However, she has never spoken harshly to me. She always obeys what I tell her to do with her beautiful smile.

Days passed and we have been married for five months. Thank God. Then one night I was awoken by my wife sobbing. I hugged her and asked what the matter was ... My wife finally said that she was three months pregnant and that night she was craving to eat a favourite food of hers, but she was afraid that I would be angry if she told me about it so late at night. She did not want to disturb me.

Several points regarding male privilege and the subordination of women can be drawn from the above extract. First, an ideal wife must always appear happy, so that her husband can be happy and comfortable at home. Second, the wife always obeys her husband. Third, even though she might be pregnant, she does not put

her own needs first; her husband's potential anger is a deterrent. In this case, anger is also a demonstration of power and the dominant status of her husband. Because this story was published in a public forum, we can assume that this depiction of the ideal wife is expected to be followed by Muslim women who read this magazine, and also as a reminder to the male readers to choose a wife-to-be who exemplifies this "good wife" role model, or to advise their wives to do so.

So, the above extract about a good Muslim wife was written by a man. Here, the man explains how things should be in terms of women, but it is only ever from the male perspectives. This continues to reinforce man as privileged, man as superior; but other than being male, what are his credentials for being an expert on this?

Gender roles perception persists that the success of the household depends entirely on the woman as a wife and mother. Children are the responsibility of women as mothers. The stereotype has been absorbed by women from an early age as if it is a part of their obligation in life (Wafiroh, 2007). Since there is a cultural belief in respecting the domestic role of women, it is hard to resist. Accordingly, the majority of Muslims in Indonesia encourage domesticity by emphasising the respect that motherhood brings women. Religion and culture are thus intertwined and inform societal beliefs and practices in Java. Furthermore, state policies over about 30 years, especially in the regime of Suharto, also buttressed these social attitudes and values. Thus, Indonesians do not usually question this practice, because it is "normal". It relates back to the notion of doxa, an unquestionable and natural belief operating as an ideology (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992).

2.2.2.2 Gender relations in the Javanese context

In this section, gender relations in terms of marriage, language use, and education are provided.

Research on the roles of women in Indonesian society, and especially in a Javanese setting (e.g., Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Muhammad, 2007; Mulder, 1993; Munir, 2002; Pyle, 1985; Srimulyani, 2007; Wafiroh, 2007; Williams, 1991), has also shown that although many Muslim women participate in the public domain, the prevailing persistent assumption is that women must focus on home and family matters.

Javanese values regarding women's roles can be inferred from a number of common practices. For example, from an early age, young girls are taught how to behave and to prepare for their future roles as wives and mothers. Girls have to help their mothers with home chores such as setting the table, preparing food, and looking after younger siblings. Boys are mostly free of such duties and both sexes soon learn what boys do and what girls do around the home (Mulder, 1993). It is clear that gender roles are firmly ingrained in people's minds from an early age. The habitus attached to what girls do and boys do becomes internalised from quite early in a person's life.

In my family, for example, I had to set the table for every meal, but my brothers never did so. I learned that setting the table is a female duty, and I never complained to my mother because I was the only daughter at that time. I took this for granted. Another example came from my mother, who complained about my brother's wife. She wondered why it was always her son who did the cooking for the family. I then realised that in my mother's mind the kitchen was the women's area. I knew that my mother had always done the chores at home, but I did not realise that she still held this idea of a woman's domestic role, even when she encouraged me to take on a career and become highly educated. Perhaps her comments reflect centuries-old social practices. People have taken it for granted that husbands have such privileges.

Bristin (1993) the transmission of traditional values begins in early childhood and proceeds to internalisation. Any internalisation of values contributes to a person's habitus. In the context of this study, the internalisation of Javanese values contributes to the habitus of the culture's definitions of men's and women's roles: that is, men as breadwinners and women as the home carers. Two social practices which accentuate gender roles are represented symbolically in the Javanese traditional wedding ceremony and the way Javanese use language. The following paragraphs describe these two practices, beginning with the wedding ceremony.

The subordinate status of women is strongly symbolised in the traditional Javanese wedding ceremony (Amalo, 2007). For instance, when the bride meets the groom in the ceremony "the bride will squat ... and wash [the groom's] foot to symbolize her lifetime subservience to him" (Munir, 2002, p. 195). Foot washing is a remnant of "an old Javanese form of greeting guests," which has long disappeared from common social practice (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 220). The time and the reasons why this symbolic ritual changed its meaning from welcoming a bridegroom to symbolising a woman's subservience are not known, but this shows that people could use a tradition to exercise power by derailing the original meaning of a ritual to emphasise woman's subservience.

Patriarchal practices encourage the perception that a wife is subordinate to her husband, and that a wife should "devote her life to her husband and serve him" (Williams, 1991, p. 91). Therefore, the above wedding ritual can be interpreted as demonstrating this traditional idea of subordination and can be regarded as emblematic of wider social relationships between women and men, especially in Java. Vestiges of these relationships exist in Javanese language. This is the next focus.

Javanese is spoken by people in Central and East Java. The literature I am drawing on is mainly based on studies in Central Java (Geertz, 1961; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Moedjanto, 1986; Palmier, 1960; Salim, 1999; Sullivan, 1983; Williams, 1991), although one reference (Kuntjara, 2001) provides an

example from East Java. Although most of these studies are at least 15 years old, they illustrate similar arguments about Javanese language; that is, about the use of Javanese vocabulary to address people of different status, sex or age. Javanese language has therefore not changed much over time, demonstrating how well language illustrates that Javanese culture is carefully preserved and practised, in the long term. These practices of and within language contribute to the habitus of Javanese people.

The reason for the existence of levels of address within Javanese language was found during the Mataram kingdom era, intended to establish the celestial grandeur of its kings, that is, to elevate the royal family beyond its humble origins that “originally came from the group of common people” (Moedjanto, 1986, p. 11). The Mataram kingdom was founded in 1584 AD and was considered an influential Javanese kingdom (Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Moedjanto, 1986). This hierarchy might have originated from Hinduism. Before the era of Mataram in the ninth century, Javanese people used one non-hierarchical language level, spoken by everyone (Moedjanto, 1986). It might be the case that the emergence of differentiated language levels affected communication between people from different levels of society (nobles and peasants), different ages, different levels of occupations, and different sexes, especially between husband and wife, and occurred gradually over generations.

Williams (1991) argues that:

Javanese is a complex language, which pays much attention to politeness. “High” and “low” forms of words should be used depending on the relative level of the speakers in the social hierarchy. By using the incorrect form, especially with the status-conscious older generation, it is easy to offend someone inadvertently. (p. xvii)

This shows how language reflects who dominates and who is dominated, and also reinforces the hierarchical infiltration of Hindu customs in Javanese culture. Using the correct form of Javanese language shows two things: that people are aware of their positions in Javanese society, and that one of language’s functions is to indicate respect (Kuntjara, 2001; Palmier, 1960). Javanese vocabularies can be

classified into three levels: *ngoko* (the lowest level), *kromo* (the middle level), and *kromo inggil* (the highest level). Which level is used depends on the hierarchy and the social status of people in conversation. This is important to note in relation to gender and to seniority.

Politeness is related to respect in Javanese culture. The Javanese notion of respect, according to Koentjaraningrat (1985), concerns “the feeling that the other person is superior, and exerts real authority in an appropriate way, and should therefore be genuinely admired and honoured” (p. 248). Men are given great respect (Geertz, 1961) in a Javanese family, and this links to Johnson’s argument (2005) about broader social practices which centre on male domination and identification. In general, the status of a father is higher than the status of a mother, and thus the father’s parents are more highly regarded than the mother’s parents (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). This, again, demonstrates both gendered values in a patriarchal society and hierarchical social practices.

My husband, for instance, addressed his father differently from his mother, even in ordinary conversation. When he talked to them on the phone, I could guess who he was speaking to by the language level he used. He did not even need to mention “Mum” or “Dad”; my husband addressed his father by using the middle or highest level of vocabulary, but he addressed his mother by using the lowest level of vocabulary. When I asked my husband why he did so, he said that this was normal practice. Again, this practice can be related to the concept of *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992), because Javanese people take for granted that they use different levels of words in addressing fathers and mothers.

Javanese children who grow up in the Javanese environment may not be aware of the subordination of women implicit in addressing mothers differently from fathers, because everybody follows the same practice. These people share the same *habitus*, because they live in the same social space and the same geographical space. As Bourdieu (1990) argues “people close to each other in the social space tend to be closer together —by choice or necessity— in the geographical space” (p. 127).

Koentjaraningrat (1985) further argues that Javanese mothers teach their children how to address their fathers from a young age. They do not teach their children to use the same language level to themselves. This implies that women as mothers know where their place is in the family. Mothers then, perpetuate the social construction of gender roles. There is a saying that it is impossible to have two captains in a ship. Therefore, in Javanese culture, a husband would become the captain of his ship. Nevertheless, to me, the language my husband used in addressing his father created an impression of a rigid, stiff father-son relationship rather than a warm one. This shows how language can be closely associated with how habitus normalises practices that, in this case, show how power plays out. In this case, the language reinforced the hierarchy of status. This hierarchical status in the Javanese family creates physical distance between father and children, and physical closeness to mother, as Mulder (1993) finds that Javanese mothers “become the centre figure[s] of the home” (p. 69).

Here is another example. It is common to add the word *Mas* (which literally means older brother) to a man’s name (Palmier, 1960), because men are regarded as senior to women, especially in the context of marriage. A wife usually addresses her husband by using *Mas* as a prefix (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). However, “a husband calls his wife by her given name” (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 141). Certainly before I married my husband, I called him by his first name. After marriage, I added *Mas* to his first name because it was the appropriate way to indicate that I respected him as the head of the family and it is a common practice. In that sense, I was unwittingly perpetuating men’s assumed status privilege in our family. Because I needed to fit into my husband’s family’s way of doing things, I became implicit in perpetuating gender imbalance in my new family environment.

In relation to the above notion of marriage and Javanese language use, Munir (2002) also considered some Javanese expressions as the cause of women’s invisibility and disempowerment. For example, it is said that a woman follows her husband into paradise or to hell, and that a wife is “a friend whose position is

behind the husband.” She further points out that a woman is supposed not to express her ideas or feelings. To become an ideal woman/wife, she has to be “a willing party of her husband’s polygamy, good at cooking, good at beautifying herself, and good at serving her husband” (Munir, 2002, p. 196). The requirements for an ideal wife came from the writings of Javanese kings and writers of the time. They have been passed down for generations. Munir (2002) argues that although few have actually read these books, the tradition has been maintained. Javanese kings wrote books which benefitted them as men. They made “rules” for how women should behave for the happiness of men/husbands. So, it has been embedded in Javanese thinking that women, as passive and weak creatures, need men’s protection. These men defined what “weak” and “strong” meant, and which counted most. Munir (2002) argues that in her research exploring “whether women of status in the public arena also exercise equal power in sexual relations with their husbands” (p. 198), she found that in many cases Javanese husbands were the dominant partners. She further argues that the sexual norm with the husband as dominant and the wife as subservient also became the norm in broader daily life contexts, thus further cementing gender roles.

It might be concluded that the men who wrote those books created an ideal woman based on their imagination. Such a woman could not have equal status with her husband, and she could not stand up for herself. Munir (2002) agrees that the imagery of the Javanese traditional wedding ceremony, which I discussed earlier, reinforces the notion that women are subservient to men. From ancient times, women’s status has been decided by men. This has always served to privilege a man’s status.

In terms of education, Indonesian parents tend to send their sons for education rather than their daughters because of the widely held belief that men are the breadwinners of the family. Even though the Indonesian government has attempted to eliminate the gap between boys’ and girls’ school attendance since the 1970s, even 25 years after its independence, many parents continue to believe that girls might end up becoming “just housewives”. They do not see any benefit

in sending their daughters for further schooling (Pyle, 1985). Year 2000 statistics on literacy also show that the percentage of illiterate females aged above ten was twice that of males (Supiandi, 2001), which means that boys still have more opportunities for schooling than girls. These figures may be exacerbated by poverty (Mulder, 1993), or by parents demanding girls spend time at home helping out rather than being educated.

However, the findings of the above studies by Pyle (1985), Supiandi (2001) and Mulder (1993) – especially the one conducted by Pyle (1985)– were different from the study conducted by Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992) that I explored earlier in this chapter. Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992) implied that Javanese Muslim women in their study were able to pursue education and career. Perhaps Berninghausen and Kerstan conducted the study in a more advanced area than that in which Pyle worked. The time period between the two studies is probably also significant. It showed that within a decade there was progress for women’s involvement in education.

To some extent, these findings from Indonesia are similar to what Fry (1985) cites from a 1909 New Zealand Department of Education report: “[A]pparently there are a certain number of parents who think that it is sufficient for a girl to have a little more than half the amount of schooling that a boy receives” (p. 9). Fry points out that in that era fewer girls than boys between 12 to 15 years old went to primary school, because “a number of girls were leaving school for good before the age of 13” (Fry, 1985, p. 9). However, by 1944 school leaving age was 15 (Swarbrick, 2012). Fry (1985) also notes that girls and boys had different curricula, with girls learning skills that were considered useful for their future as wives. This is also an example showing that gender roles existed in relation to how the curriculum and schools were managed in New Zealand at that time and also shows how even education can reinforce gender role expectations. Another example of the early New Zealanders’ perception of gender is as follows.

In the early 1900s, Day (1992) says, the government of New Zealand urged women to take domestic science courses, because the Minister believed that the

best place for women was at home rather than in the workplace as lawyers or doctors, for example. When technical education was expanded in 1960, women also took courses traditionally clustered in women's subjects. Male domain subjects, such as engineering, pharmacy and trades, did not attract women. Day (1992) argues that people were likely to take courses according to their parents' expectations and which were considered gender appropriate and held market assurance. This suggests that the traditional attitudes about the role of females may still prevail, although big changes have occurred in New Zealand university enrolments. For example, recently, women comprise over 50% of medical undergraduate classes (Poole, Moriarty, Wearn, Wilkinson, & Weller, 2010).

2.3 Gender and Islam

In this section, two topics are illustrated, how Islam and culture influenced each other to be used to control Muslim women, and how the religious-cultural beliefs influenced societal perception of women as leaders.

2.3.1 Cultural influences that disadvantage Muslim women

Cultural influences on Islam are revealed in a number of phenomena in Islamic cultures. They include veiling, marriage, physical torture and female genital mutilation, amongst other traditional practices. Some of these things are practised in Java as well. The following examples are to contextualise the way many Muslims men, supported by many Muslim women, exercise their power to control women by using religion as the means of coercion.

In general, Muslim women wear veils. The tradition relates to the Islamic teaching requiring its believers to practise modesty. Women are required to meet a certain dress code. This can range from the burkha⁴ to the headscarf. In Algeria, "the veil has ... been presented as a symbol of Algerian culture" (Mies, 1983, p.

⁴ Of which women need to cover their body from head to toe and only their eyes are exposed

91 in Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992, p. 31). However, Brenner (1996) argues that in Indonesia, especially in Java, “veiling is neither deeply rooted in local tradition nor encouraged by a majority of the population [but] veiling symbolizes a new historical consciousness that deliberately dissociates itself from the local past” (p. 673).

In some parts of the world, Muslim women are forced into marriages arranged by their parents. Ali (2006) shares her story of this kind of marriage which ended with her fleeing from Somali to Canada, leaving her parents and siblings behind. She mentions the suffering many women experience from their husbands’ physical violence (Ali, 2006). Polygamy and forced marriage of under-aged girls have been practised in Indonesia, but according to Vreede de Stuers (1960, in Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992), these practices “stem from the Javanese *adat*⁵ law, rather than having been introduced into Java through Islam” (p. 41).

Ali (2006) also shares her concerns about female genital mutilation (FGM) practised in her culture and considers Islam the source. Daly (1991) argues that FGM is an atrocity towards women, who are tortured and physically reconstructed for male purposes because many men are obsessed by women’s purity and demand women’s complete loyalty to their families. Forward (1997) argues that genital mutilation reflects “centuries of cultural practice which usually pre-dates the coming of Islam in [certain] areas” (p. 96). It is concluded that this practice is a cultural but not an Islamic one. The purpose of genital mutilation is “to show a woman her confined role in society and restrain her sexual desires” (Rahman & Toubia, 2000, p. 5). FGM reflects the religion-based patriarchal system, male centredness (Johnson, 2005), and the notion of male superiority and privilege, which advantages men and marginalises women. It also demonstrates how the habitus of FGM becomes an accepted practice by women themselves over time, because wider gender beliefs and practices have normalised it. Some Islamic

⁵ traditional

countries, however, such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, the Gulf States, Kuwait, Algeria and Pakistan, do not recognise its practice (Roald, 2001; Toubia, 1993).

Using FGM as an example, we can conclude that Islamic practices are different in different places due to the local cultural practices of the people. In addition, Allen and Macey (1995, cited in Macey, 1999) argue that religion is sometimes manipulated by people to achieve their goals. They suggest that religion is “an extremely powerful resource which has been intimately involved in the construction of our world” (Macey, 1999, p. 51). In this case, it imposes the roles and subordinated position of women, while venerating men.

A common interpretation of the Qur’an places Muslim women as primarily domestic beings and expounds the view that women are subservient to men. However, an examination of the Qur’an shows that women have, ideally, equal status with men in all aspects of life: spiritually, socially, economically and politically (Amalo, 2002), as I have pointed out in Chapter 1. Furthermore, the Qur’an states that men and women are guides for one another. They “are friends and allies to each other, they advocate what’s just and proper” (9:71). In spite of that, even though Indonesian women have some freedom to participate in many aspects of life, they still experience restrictions. These can be traced to specific cultural and religious beliefs and practices.

Ihromi (1975) points out that religions play a complex role within the Indonesian socio-cultural framework, and they influence norms and values regarding Indonesian women positions in different cultures. The example of this may be drawn from Javanese wedding ceremony which I discussed in an earlier section of this chapter: the change of meaning of symbolic ritual of foot washing from the idea of welcoming the bridegroom to the idea of wife’s subservient (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). In addition, Othman (1998) argues that “culture is implicated in behaviour, providing ideological principles for the application of rules, laws and values, foremost among them religious values” (p. 177). Ihromi’s (1975) and Othman’s (1998) arguments correspond to Winter’s (2006) belief that religion is part, or even the bedrock, of culture. Winter (2006) understands that

religion may be used for several purposes; among others, as “the agent of assertion of power, [and] direct resistance to it” (p. 382). She discusses religion in the context of Muslim women’s individual rights as opposed to Muslim group rights. Examples are drawn from Muslim women in France and Afghanistan (Winter, 2006).

In daily life, many Muslim women might encounter limitations to their participation in public due to the interpretation of the Qur’an (Kausar, 2000, p. 15). For example, the following verse of the Qur’an (33:33) may be the strongest basis for forbidding women public involvement: “And stay quietly in your homes/And make not a dazzling display/Like that of the former times of ignorance.” The teaching of Islam, and its practice in Java, may reinforce the idea of women’s domestication. In turn, these practices demonstrate habitus at work. The idea of domestication is also a barrier for those Muslim women who wish to participate in leadership positions. This is explored in the following section.

2.3.2 Islamic perspective on Muslim women as leaders

Syed (2004) describes that there are eleven verses in the Qur’an that talk about women’s equality with men. He argues that although the Qur’an is “silent about the specific question as to whether or not a woman can become the head of a Muslim state. However, the Qur’an does not deny women the privilege of leading a political life or heading a Muslim state” (p. 121). Thus the Qur’an itself does not make pronouncements about the place of women, but people interpret it as if women have inferior status. So, people use Islam to maintain male-centredness, a term used by Johnson (2005) and referred to earlier in the subsection of gender and patriarchy.

In relation to the above argument, Anwar (2004) discusses several fatwas,⁶ including whether “a woman may serve in a position of authority over men” (p. 27). Her discussions are grounded in the Muhammadiyah⁷ perspectives, which state that this fatwa declares that a woman is able to become a leader: “Religion does not bar a woman from serving as a judge, school headmistress, director of a firm, sub-district head, village chief, minister, mayor, and so forth” (Anwar, 2004, p. 42). The fatwa is based on the following verses in the Qur’an (16:97): “Of men and women, those who do what’s right,/And do believe, We’ll surely let delight,/In a pure life, and recompense with [rewards],/ Meet for the finest of their deeds.” The fatwa suggests that “undertaking a social responsibility is an opportunity to do righteousness from which, according to the verse, neither male nor a female should be dissuaded” (Anwar, 2004, p. 43). However, many Indonesian Muslims seem to have different view on this matter.

Many Indonesian Muslims might have held the view that men are leaders on the basis of a verse in the Qur’an (4:34): “Men are indeed protectors of the women,/Since God conferred upon them certain merits.” “Protectors” is an English translation from the Arabic word “qawamma,” which in the Indonesian version is translated as “leader.” This concept of man-as-leader has long been accepted by Indonesian Muslims and supported by many Islamic guru (*ulama*), and therefore many people are led to believe that women cannot be leaders.

In relation to the belief, Macey (1999) argues that religion can be manipulated for the achievement of political goals. Allen and Macey (1995, cited in Macey, 1999) point out that people can use religions in various ways, such as for oppression, liberation, comfort or killing. I am interested in using the above statement in relation to my exploration of a verse of the Qur’an which implies Muslim

⁶ Fatwa is “an effort to interpret religio-legal norms in response to issues faced by community members in their daily life” (Anwar, 2004, p. 27)

⁷ Muhammadiyah is one of the Muslim groups in Indonesia.

women's subordination to men: the Qur'an verse of An-Nisa 4:34. This verse has been used extensively by Muslims to emphasise women's subordination, obedience, and inferior status to men in a Muslim community. The most significant section of the verse is as follows: "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means" (Al-Hilali & Khan, n.d.).

Before I examine the Qur'an verse of An-Nisa 4:34, the following three examples outline the exploitation of women in the name of Islam. The first concerns Pakistani women in Britain (Macey, 1999), the second relates to women leaders in Pakistan (Shah, 2010), and the third to female genital mutilation, practised in some Muslim countries (Daly, 1991; Goodwin, 1995; Rahman & Toubia, 2000; Roald, 2001; Toubia, 1993).

Macey (1999) found that some Pakistani Muslims in Britain believed that because women were central to the care and development of the next generation, they should therefore be strictly guarded by men, and this included deciding what was women's appropriate dress and behaviour. This implies that men decide what is good for their women and women obey the men, because it is prescribed in the teaching of the Qur'an. The assumption is that religion is a powerful resource in maintaining women's submissiveness.

Shah's research (2010) on women educational leaders in Pakistan supports this interpretation. She argues that Pakistani Muslim women in leadership positions cannot free themselves of the image of themselves as wives and mothers before anything else, including an individual identity. She further argues:

Women's participation [in the public space] is constrained in most Muslim societies in the name of religion, confining women to domestic roles, to supportive roles, or redefining the professional role with gender connotations as in the case of women educational leaders. (Shah, 2010, p. 32)

To some extent, Shah's argument is similar to those of Ihromi (1975), Othman (1998), and Winter (2006) who insist that there is a strong connection between

religion and culture in forming the perception of women's roles. Shah's argument points clearly to the dilemma women face in the workplace in Muslim societies: that the gendered expectations follow them to work. This, I suspect, is an issue for women wanting careers in Indonesia. Shah (2010) believes that women's leadership is "informed by cultural and belief systems" (p. 34), and asserts that "emphasis on the domestic role of women is culturally produced and not a religious proclamation" (p. 35). She noted that: "According to strict Islamic injunctions, it is not obligatory for a woman to cook the food for her husband or children, or to wash their clothes or even to suckle the infants" (Siddiqi, 1996, quoted in Shah, 2010, pp. 34-35). However, the obligation to assume primary responsibility for their families had been internalised by the women participating in Shah's research (2010), and, accordingly, they tended not to take any professional responsibilities which might interfere with their primary duties as caregivers and domestics. Parallels with the findings from my research are found in Chapter 5.

Shah (2010) argues that while within the segregated Pakistani social system women can occupy leadership positions, they are bound by Pakistani social perceptions about their roles. For example, it is considered unsuitable for women to meet the same men several times, even in the context of work. This severely constrains women's public and professional lives, limiting career opportunities and potential advancement. They have to "uphold the honour of the family, community and almost everyone else through a strict maintenance of an honour code defined often by males" (Shah, 2010, p. 38). Thus, Pakistani women can only become top educational leaders in women-only colleges. In other contexts, they take subordinate positions to avoid challenging the male-designated accepted norm of men's superiority.

In contrast to the Pakistani situation described by Shah, my daily experiences in Indonesia suggested that Indonesian Muslim women have more freedom in their involvement in public spaces. Other researchers studying women and gender in Indonesia appear to agree (e.g., Adamson, 2007; Berninghausen & Kerstan, 1992;

Jones, 2004; Sullivan, 1983; Woodcroft-Lee, 1983), and this has been addressed in the previous section. However, although Indonesian women are free to be involved in public life, the government nonetheless encourages participation in programmes which promulgate domesticity as explored earlier in this chapter.

A number of scholars consider that many Muslims have misused the mission of the Qur'an as it relates to women. Engineer (1992) believes that the Qur'an is "comparatively liberal in its treatment of women" but observes that:

Social attitudes are so pervasive that even progressive scriptural norms become affected and are thus interpreted in a way that reflects prevailing mental attitudes. Thus, male-dominated societies often harnessed even just and egalitarian norms laid down for women in divine scriptures to perpetuate their hold. (Engineer, 1992, p. 1)

This shows how patriarchy reinforces men's superiority by appropriating religious texts such as the Qur'an that might otherwise suggest social justice practices should prevail, in their efforts to control women. This is the prevailing mental attitude, the patriarchal habitus.

Thus, verse 4:34 of the Qur'an is commonly used by Muslims to emphasise men's privilege over women (Engineer, 1992; Subhan, 1999; Syed, 2004). The complete verse reads as follows:

Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means.

Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient (to Allah and to their husbands), and guard in the husband's absence what Allah orders them to guard (e.g. their chastity, their husband's property). As to those women on whose part you see ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly, if it is useful); but if they return to obedience, seek not against them means (of annoyance). Surely Allah is Ever Most High, Most Great.

(Al-Hilali & Khan, n.d.)

Many Muslims could argue that the above Qur'an verse shows that men have privileges over women and therefore women must entirely submit themselves to

the control of men; in other words, women are the property of men. This might especially be the interpretation made by many Indonesian Muslims because of different connotations of the Arabic words translated as *the maintainers and protectors*.

The Qur'an as translated by the Department of Religion of Indonesia provides a slightly different translation of verse 4:34. My focus is on the first line of the verse. The English translation says: "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means "; for the Arabic words: "ar-rejalu qawwaamuna alaan nisaa-i bima fazzalal laahu baazahum alaa bazin wa bima aanfaquu min amwalihim" (Syed, 2004, p. 50). However, the words "ar-rejalu qawwaamuna alaan nisaa-i" translated as men are the protectors and maintainers of women, changed into the Indonesian version to men are the leaders of women (Departemen Agama RI, 1986).

Muslim experts seem to have different opinions when interpreting verse 4:34, as seen in the above example of translations. Subhan (1999) advises that we need to understand the *asbab nuzul*, the *reason* a verse was revealed. If God wanted man to be the leader of woman, Subhan (1999) argues, the phrase should be "men have to become the leaders of women" instead of "men are the leaders of women". Engineer (1992) also argues that because the Qur'an comprises contextual and normative statements, we need to exactly understand how a verse was revealed at that time. Engineer (1999) believes that the Qur'an is a complement to reason, and vice versa, and that as an instrument religion can be used or misused (Engineer, 1999). In exploring the Qur'an, he further argues that one must consider it from two angles: either normative, that is, statements that can be applied for all time because they transcend time and place; or contextual, that is, those only related to that particular time and place. This is important so that the misinterpretation of the Qur'an regarding women's status can be eliminated (Engineer, 1992).

So, Engineer (1992) argues that verse 4:34 should be understood from the social context at the time of its revelation. The excellence of men as husbands is thus

only in terms of husbands' function to earn a living. In relation to the word "excel" in "Allah has made one of them to excel the other," Maulana Usmani (in Engineer, 1992) points out that this can be read as a general statement that "men have certain qualities which women do not have and women have certain qualities that men do not have, without one gender enjoying superiority over the others" (p. 51). These interpretations all point to the socially constructed nature of gender relations and how they can be made to suit a particular point of view or agenda, as argued by Macey (1999) earlier in this chapter.

The verse 4:34 is significant to my study, as a likely basis for the practices that become barriers to women's participation in higher leadership positions, even in an educational institution in Indonesia. To some extent, this verse also causes controversy about whether a woman could become Indonesia's president, because Indonesian Muslims have long believed that men only are leaders. This eventually became an embodied disposition and formed part of Javanese Muslims' habitus, leading to the perception that men might think of themselves as being in control of women and children at home, and able to command leadership and obedience from women in the workplace and other public spheres.

2.4 Perceptions of and reasons for choosing teaching as a career

Alphonse (2013) argues that in the United States there is no difference between jobs held by women in 2013 and in the 1950s when the position of secretary had been the most common job, followed by jobs traditionally dominated by women such as "housekeepers, teachers, retail sales, healthcare workers, and restaurant workers" (p. 2). These are all jobs involved with looking after or nurturing other people, thus similar to women's role as wife and mother. A possible explanation for this is that these were the only jobs open to women. Even in the 1960s, as Alphonse (2013) reports, women worked in the fields of service jobs because they "*were not allowed to rise in the ranks*" (p. 2, my emphasis). This suggests the persistence of social perceptions about women's domestic roles and the types of jobs suitable for them. Within six decades these kinds of perceptions seem to have

become the norm in American society, and perhaps in many other societies in the world. Alphonse's (2013) review of women's jobs in 1950s resonates with Friedan's (1963) description of women having to look after everybody else first (see subsection 2.2.2 in this chapter). In 2013, this role was replicated.

Women's involvement in traditional paid jobs open to them connects strongly to assumptions about who women can be. Stalker (1998), talking about the division of female and male jobs in the context of women and education in America, points out that such division "reinforces gender stereotypes" (p. 224). Teaching, for example, is thus chosen by women in many part of the world as their paid employment (Bain & Cummings, 2000). The study conducted by Cubillo and Brown (2003), in the United Kingdom and internationally, also shows that there are large numbers of women in the teaching force. So, teaching has been perceived by the majority of societies as suitable for women, argued Cubillo and Brown (2003), because teaching is an extension of caring and nurturing roles. Moreover, in the United Kingdom in the 19th century, for example, teaching was regarded as a respectable job for women (Tamboukou, 2000). This could be the reason British women entered teaching.

A reason many women from different parts of the world enter teaching as a career is because it provides "more flexible working conditions" (Bain & Cummings, 2000, p. 494), in which women can concentrate on their prime role of wife and mother. Jobs such as "nursing, library science, and education" (Bain & Cummings, 2000, p. 493) allow women to have basically two full-time jobs at the same time, at home and in the workplace. Bain and Cummings' (2000) argument especially emphasises the work situation in worldwide academia in which "the relative flexibility of work, which enables the scheduling of particular tasks (teaching, research, and service) to accommodate the differential needs of workers, would seem to be favourable [to women's career enhancement]" (p. 495), because it allows them to fulfil their expected roles; but they still note that women are "significantly underrepresented in the academic profession" (Bain & Cummings, 2000, p. 494).

Teaching as a career, however, is also of interest to men in association with their parenting role (Blakemore & Low, 1984; Watt & Richardson, 2012).. Blakemore and Low's (1984) study of first year United States college students as fresh graduates from high schools, which used the human capital approach, showed that "family oriented [students] have a greater tendency to select an education major [because] the teaching profession provides liberal amounts of non-work time that can be used to invest in child or family quality" (pp. 160-161). A similar result comes from the study done by Watt and Richardson (2012). Their study, using the FIT-Choice programme⁸ to find out why people who had "prestigious and highly paid careers" (p. 185) moved into teaching, revealed that one of the factors influencing students' career choice was "time for family" (p. 188). So, there has been a steady perception of teaching relating to time, so that people in teaching might still have more time for their families. However, somewhat ironically, when people work as teachers they soon find that they take work home and they do more hours, such as teaching preparation and marking, than their teaching schedule would suggest. Therefore, teachers are unlikely to have more family time even though they are at home.

Other than entering teaching with the thought of having more time for family and/or time flexibility, other people enter teaching because of the notion of high social status. As noted earlier (Tamboukou, (2000), the idea of teaching as a profession that is respected can also be traced in Javanese culture. The notion of respect first came from Hinduism and the notion of "guru" has been long used in the Indonesian and Javanese vocabularies. The term "guru" is an abbreviation of *digugu lan ditiru; an excellent role model*. In Indonesia, students in primary and secondary schools have to memorise several national songs. One is "Hymne guru" (the Hymn for teachers), created during the Suharto era, which states that a teacher is an unsung hero. This is sung every week. This song can also be considered as Suharto's manipulation of the Islamic philosophy that teachers are

⁸ Factors Influencing Teaching Choice

to be respected, as God, heads of nations and parents are respected (Sarsito, 2006), as explained earlier in this chapter. From Islamic teaching, Shah (2006) highlights that “[t]he aim of Islamic education is to develop *humans* through knowledge to enable them to follow the path of righteousness, and to become useful members of the *Ummah* [people] and the society” (Shah, 2006, p. 367, original emphasis). This righteousness is sought through knowledge. Muslims who have knowledge must share it with other people. This relates to teaching, and therefore “[t]he emphasis on the importance of teaching/learning underpins the high status of teachers and educational leaders” (Shah, 2006, p. 368). Referring to some verses in the Qur’an, Shah (2006) further explains that a teacher has similar authority and status as a parent, who has “the highest authority in the Islamic social system” (p. 370).

Second, the notion of respect for teachers, especially in Java, was reinforced when Indonesia was a Dutch colony. In his study of older Javanese working in teaching at that time, Williams (1991) interviewed a retired Javanese teacher who noted that he had the “higher degrees of respect offered to [indigenous] teachers during the Dutch colonial era” (Williams, 1991, p. 168). As a coloniser, the Dutch demanded the same deference Javanese people paid to their high ranking officials. (Brownlee, 1998). So, when indigenous teachers as the colonised taught Dutch students as the colonisers, it gave these teachers high social equal status in a hierarchical situation. It would seem that such perceptions about teacher status have been internalised by Javanese people and Indonesians at large. Respect for teachers has been their worldview (*habitus*).

It is evident that in other parts of the world, the *habitus* of respecting teachers and its impact on creating high social status might have also influenced parents’ views on the teaching profession. An example from New Zealand shows that Irwin’s (1997) career in teaching had been nurtured since she was young. She was expected to be highly educated and become a lecturer:

Over the years, I have come to know that the decision to become an academic was not mine alone. My mother, Kath Cameron, her mother, Horiana Laughton, and my family helped choose my career path for me. (Irwin, 1997, p. 52)

Family expectations, however, may be crucial in understanding how habitus operates in this profession as a choice for women. Irwin's strong disposition towards teaching, the result of her upbringing and connection with extended family since she was young, influenced her thinking about her career choice and place of work. Irwin found out that the university environment was meant for her, because she could keep her mind "challenged and active" (Irwin, 1997, p. 60), and she could share her knowledge. Irwin's career path experience is similar to the experiences of 31 high-flyer Malaysian women professors in a study by Ismail and Rasdi (2006). These women's success in academia and their desire to excel were the result of their exposure to an environment conducive to learning since they were young. They noted that family was an important contributor as they supported the career paths of these women professors. The studies of Cubillo and Brown (2003), and Hall (1996) also indicate that parents had an important role in the success of women in their careers. However, both studies in the United Kingdom show that it was the fathers who were more supportive of their daughters' achieving their careers. This might imply that the mothers tended to hold the traditional idea of women's place being at home, while the fathers were more aware of the importance of women having careers, as a personal need. This situation is different from my own situation where my mother was the one who fully supported me to get a tertiary degree and a career. Referring to the notion of habitus, it can be said that family is the smallest social field in which dispositions as the result of the interaction within a family influence the individual habitus (Waterson, 2002), which I explore in Chapter 3.

In the following section I explore gender and leadership perceptions in different parts of the world, especially in higher education settings.

2.5 Gender and senior leadership worldwide

The following paragraphs explore especially the barriers women encounter in seeking leadership positions. It begins by exploring women's experiences in leadership positions worldwide, in the context of non-educational institutions and primary to secondary school level; it continues to the context of higher education leaderships, and then focuses on Indonesian women's leadership positions. It concludes with a brief exploration of leadership styles perceived by some researchers.

2.5.1 Glass ceiling in various workplaces

Many researchers argue that although more women are involved in paid employment in various sectors, senior leadership or managers' positions are still dominated by men, both in education and non-educational workplaces, not only in the western world, for example, New Zealand (Airini et al., 2011; Court, 1992, 1994, 1997), Australia and New Zealand (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010), Britain (Evetts, 1997; Hall, 1996; Marshall, 1995; White, 1995), and America (Bain & Cummings, 2000); but in many other parts of the world as well, for example, the Solomon Islands (Akao, 2010), Indonesia (Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1998), Pakistan (Shah, 2009, 2010), and the Pacific Islands (Strachan, Akao, Kilavanwa, & Warsal, 2010). Social perception of senior leadership roles as male occupations might also link to the assumptions of gender roles which have been performed for generations so that these assumptions influence the way many people think of this role. Therefore, senior leadership or senior management, as argued by Hakim (2006), is considered a "male occupation" (p. 280) which hinders many women. Similar to the study of Bain and Cummings (2000), the women in Hakim's (2006) study tend to prefer occupations such as teaching or other female types of occupations socially perceived as suitable for them.

The numbers of men occupying the senior leadership roles perhaps implies that because women do not see other women in these roles, they do not see it as something they can aspire to. With men in these roles, they are more likely to

appoint other men for senior leadership roles and perpetuate this practice (Kanter, 1979). Based on her preference theory, Hakim (2006) considers teaching as one of the jobs included in the adaptive group lifestyle preference. This is explored later in this sub-section. Teaching is seen as a job that is in line with female roles, because of the nature of teaching requiring caring and nurturing, attributes normally associated with women. These assumptions would link to Bourdieu's (2002) notion of habitus which I explore in Chapter 3.

An example of the status quo of men in management is described by Kanter (1979) in her research on an American company she called Indsco corporate headquarters, in which top positions were held by men. Reviewing this situation, Kanter (1979) argues that the men as leaders who are in power tend to seek people who are accountable and trustworthy. She points out that in such bureaucratic corporations the men as managers "tend to carefully guard power and privilege for those who fit in, for those they see as "their kind"" (Kanter, 1979, p. 24), the men "demand that the newcomers to top positions be loyal, that they accept authority, and that they conform to a prescribed pattern of behaviour" (Kanter, 1979, p. 24). In other words, this is the kind of trust that the male top leaders expect from other men as the insiders (Kanter, 1979). Hakim (2006) refers to the prescribed pattern of behaviour as "the 'male' stereotype of the career" (p. 281, original emphasis), which is

an occupation or activity that is pursued continuously, with long full-time hours, and with a high level of dedication, virtually to the exclusion of a major investment of time and energy in family work and family life. (Hakim, 2006, p. 281)

In addition, Hakim (2006) argues that senior management duties are seen as suitable for men because this kind of job can include (long distance and unpredictable) travelling, or being away at certain time from home base for office-related duties. Hakim's argument (2006) on managerial duties as the male stereotype of career resonates with Evetts' research (1997) on women in engineering careers, and Kanter's study (1979) at a company called Indsco. Both of them argue that in both institutions it was only people with single-minded attachment who could focus on career and reach the top positions in their

institutions. The above quotation from Hakim (2006) – long full-time hours, dedication, exclusion of major investment of time in family life – seems to relate to the notion of single-minded attachment on career, argued by Evetts (1997) and Kanter (1979).

Considering the requirement demanded of staff by male senior managers, it means that the men want to have other men as “their kind”, as Kanter (1979) argues

Because of the *situation* in which managers function, because of the position of managers in the corporate structure, social similarity tends to become extremely important to them. The structure sets in motion forces leading to the replication of managers as the same kind of social individuals. And people at the top reproduce themselves in kind. (p. 25, original emphasis)

Therefore, it is not surprising that senior leadership positions are held by men who, in circumstances described above, want to have other men in the positions. This status quo of male leaders seems to have been preserved for a long time, and therefore, women as “outsiders” (Kanter, 1979) seem to face difficulties to approach these positions. In the case of Indsco, the men see women as not able to approach the top because they are considered not as showing single-minded attachment (Kanter, 1979). Examples of women with their experiences in gaining senior leadership positions in non-educational contexts are given in the following paragraphs.

Drawing from a larger qualitative research study, Marshall (1995) provides the experiences of 12 women with the average age of 40 who came from various non-educational employment, occupational, and family backgrounds, and had been in middle and senior level management positions. She found that organisational barriers were the causes of women quitting their positions. The barriers were, among others, about dealing with male managers or people in power, because it was a difficult situation for the women to cope with; the women then realised when they entered management that managerial positions are male-dominated. Marshall’s (1995) study thus, to some extent, might also support Kanter’s (1979)

argument that in managerial occupations women tend to be isolated because they are the outsiders in the eyes of the men who protect their power.

White (1995) also noted the low number of women occupying managers' positions in the United Kingdom. On the basis of the 1990 Hansard Society report issued in London, White (1995) describes that within 40 years of the 1950s the number of women in the workforce increased from one-third to half, possibly because there had been a change in the structure of British employment, from manufacturing to service sector. Thus women with suitable employment skills thus were needed for the labour force. However, the number of women in top positions was still low. White (1995) interviewed 48 women in top positions in commerce, industry, law and accountancy, covering the topics of childhood, personality, work history and non-work or family issues, her study shows, among other things, that some of the women "had made an early commitment to their working lives" (White, 1995, p. 10); for example, by the mean age of 33, these women had made a decision "to have a child and to take minimum maternity leave, or to remain childless" (p. 10); but women who had children experienced conflict between family and career. Some of them resolved the conflict by changing their workplace or by becoming self-employed. Some others remained in their career. These successful career women with families, concludes White (1995), were focussed on career enhancement, full-time work, and continuous work. They prioritised their work by "fitting their domestic responsibilities around work" (White, 1995, p. 13). These women did not have enough time for their families, but they endeavoured to have quality time with their families. She further argues that "[w]hat appears to be important [for these women] is the quality of role involvement rather than role occupancy *per se*" (White, 1995, p. 13). The successful career women in White's study might fit the description of people who are in the category of having single-minded attachment as described by Kanter (1979) and Evetts (1997), in a sense that women with families prioritise their careers over their family commitments, to be successful leaders. It implies that these women changed their balance for themselves. They were in more control of how their lives operated. They could have used childcare facilities

and/or hired helpers (Fitzgerald & Wilkinson, 2010). So, borrowing the terms from Kanter (1979) we can see that especially women with families work hard to become the insiders of the male world of top leadership.

In educational contexts, senior leadership/managerial roles tend to be occupied by men as well. The reviews from the following examples are the accounts of women in power from primary and secondary schools worldwide.

Court's studies (1992, 1994, 1997) on six women teachers/leaders from primary and secondary schools in New Zealand showed that although teaching was considered as feminised work, the majority of senior leadership roles were occupied by men in these schools. These six women leaders found difficulties at work and at home due to the construction of gender roles linked to the "cult of domesticity" (Court, 1997, p. 18). Court's study is similar to the study of Akao (2010) about women in leadership in the Solomon Islands, a developing country and a neighbouring country to the east of Indonesia. Akao's study is quite important to review because of cultural similarities between the Solomon Islands and Indonesia as developing countries.

Akao (2010) reveals that in secondary schools in the Solomon Islands the majority of administrative positions are held by men. Using the 2006 statistics from MEHRD (the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development), Akao (2010) noted that only three out of 103 secondary principals were women. Although she noticed that to some degree some women held positions as decision-makers, when it was time for making decisions, these women "were left out" (Akao, 2010, p. 122). This resonates with Kanter's (1979) argument that as decision-makers men guard their power by relying on other men as the insiders. Therefore, it is not a surprise to see the women in Akao's study (2010) were left out, because they were outsiders.

There are similarities between Akao's study (2010) and my own study (Amalo, 2003) examining the experiences of women teachers as leaders in East Java, Indonesia as described in Chapter 1. In her study, Akao (2010) points out several

factors experienced by the eight women leaders, including women's confidence, their work and family balance, gender discrimination, violence at home, and lack of professional development in leadership. The first two factors are similar to the findings of my 2003 study. These five factors, mentioned by Akao (2010), are summarised and explored further as follows.

First, confidence was affected by cultural conditioning, resulting in the women principals being hesitant when assigning duties to male teachers. This hesitancy was the result of cultural understanding inculcated from an early age which said that women were subservient to men. This finding of women's perceived inferiority to men is similar to what I found in my 2003 study about the perceptions of women in Javanese culture and the Islamic understanding that men are leaders and women are followers.

Second, the women juggled between family and work, compromising both roles. Citing the work of Strachan (2007) in New Zealand and Evetts (1994) in Great Britain, Akao (2010) compared the work conditions of these developed countries and the developing Melanesian countries. In both of these developed countries, it was relatively easy for women to leave jobs to care for their young children and then to return to work when they felt ready to leave their children with somebody else. In the United Kingdom, many women can focus on taking care of their babies because of the long period of extended maternity leave when compared to the maternity leave in Indonesia (12 weeks). Women in employment in the United Kingdom may have extended maternity leave up to 29 weeks when they have worked for at least two years (Earnshaw, 1998). The United States has a regulation of shorter maternity leave (Magid, 2007), but it seems to depend on the regulation of each workplace in relation to its policy regarding women and maternity leave (see, for example, Zernike, 2011). My 2003 study revealed that even when women are holding leadership positions in their workplace, the culture expects that it is their prime duty to take care of their families and therefore they have to balance family and work.

Third, there was discrimination in terms of job opportunities. Strachan (2007) argues that teaching is seen as a respectable profession and both Melanesian women and men are keen to be in this kind of employment (as cited in Akao, 2010). Therefore, Akao (2010) argues that Melanesian women cannot easily leave their jobs to attend for their young children because of the limited opportunities to get a job in the first place. Another related form of discrimination deals with the Solomon Islands' policy in education. It does not feature gender equity so that discrimination against women easily occurs in schools where they work as leaders.

Fourth, domestic violence results from patriarchal attitudes. The women in Akao's study were supported by their husbands to take on paid employment and move into leadership roles. However, Akao (2010) also suggested that domestic violence constitutes a barrier to women's participation in leadership roles when women ignore their domestic responsibilities. Akao explains that "women are conditioned to be submissive and silent [and therefore] they do not retaliate when they are hit by their brothers or husbands" (Akao, 2010, p. 129) when they put aside their domestic duties. This case is similar to the experiences of women in Palestine, where physical violence against women from their husbands is accepted as normal (Españoly, 1997) whenever husbands think that their wives do not fulfil their wishes. In Indonesia, similarly, domestic violence could occur because of an understanding of Islam that, coupled with (Javanese) culture, supports the notion of male privileges.

Fifth, women's lack of professional development results in fewer opportunities for women to take on responsibilities that involved educational decision-making. Because men dominated the leadership roles, women had less opportunity to be involved in leadership and professional development.

Akao's (2010) study shows that cultural reproduction of ideas, values and practices are there embedded in the Solomon Islands' people, and attach to the way they see women in educational leadership. In relation to this cultural reproduction, Corner (1997) suggests that because of their socialisation in their

families the majority of women lack experiences in decision making and leadership. Corner (1997) states that the majority of women in the Asia Pacific region had learnt from an early age to be passive because everybody else in their families had made decisions for them, especially their male siblings.

Strachan et al. (2010) support the finding that the profession of teaching in developing countries is not a job that is considered to belong to women; rather, within the teaching workforce “women are the minority” (p. 67). They argue that “[o]nce women are in leadership positions, gender, culture and religion play an important role in how their leadership is experienced and practised” (Strachan et al., 2010, p. 68). This is particularly so in Melanesian countries. They continue to argue:

In the developing world, societal constructs of gender are deeply embedded in culture. Gender and culture do not exist in isolation – they are interwoven. Men and women learn and practice a set of scripts within their feminine and masculine roles as part of their socialisation. (Strachan et al., 2010, p. 68)

This situation is common not only in developing countries such as Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea, but also in other developing countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, South Africa and Pakistan. The literature canvassed for this doctoral thesis suggests similarities across countries regarding gender, culture and religion.

Strachan et al. (2010) found similarities in the functions of Christianity and Islam in their study of Pacific people. They argue that “women’s leadership in education in strong religious countries cannot be separated from their role in the family and the community” (p. 70). They further argue that religion has the role of comforting the women during their hard times in their leadership, but it is also problematic because it positions women as subordinated to men and does not “challenge the inequalities in attitudes, systems and social structures” (Strachan et al., 2010, p. 71). Pacific people, argued Strachan et al. (2010), are “collective people” (p. 71) and therefore in everyday activities, family and relatives are

available to help women, especially with child care. They receive support from family and relatives, and therefore this is considered as “lowering a barrier to their participation in the workforce” (Strachan et al., 2010, p. 71). This is similar to the situation in Pakistan (Shah, 2009). However, Melanesian women still face difficulties in balancing their career and family commitment. Strachan et al. (2010) point out:

When women participate in educational leadership they take their families with them and when they go home they take their work with them. Support from partners is critical to their survival as educational leaders. To maintain that support, they must not neglect their womanly duties. (p. 71)

If women neglect what men see as their domestic duties, violence is a common response in Melanesian society (Strachan et al., 2010). And while such violence occurs both in developed and developing countries, there are differences in degree. In developed countries, violence tends to be manifested in the form of emotional “workplace bullying” (p. 71), while in developing countries, violence is more likely to be physical. So, violence against women can occur anywhere, whether in the domestic area or in workplaces in various degrees. Women might play safe in order not to challenge the men, the power brokers. In Pakistan, for example, to prevent the challenges to occupy senior leadership positions, Shah (2009) argues, women often leave top leadership positions to their male counterparts.

In another study, Shah (2010) argues:

How a particular society perceives and constructs educational leadership is influenced by the dominant cultural and belief systems prevailing in that society or community. In Muslim societies, education and educational leadership are influenced by the religious teachings derived from the sacred texts, as is the case with many other belief systems. (pp. 29-30)

Again, Shah’s argument reinforces the notion that religion is the bedrock of culture (Winter, 2006). Since the literature suggests that educational leadership is influenced by cultural norms in any given context, it is entirely possible that Javanese culture and religious beliefs influence how professional women see their

career prospects, particularly in relation to senior positions in any organisation.

Shah's (2010) study, women said things like

I am a wife and mother first. The Qur'an says that it is my first responsibility to look after my family. I accept that, but at times it stretches me to the limit! Even when I have to work late in office, I cannot miss any of my domestic duties – I am a woman. (p. 34)

Women in her cultural context were influenced by both religion and culture. The embodiment of religious teaching in the primary role of married woman is evident in the above comment. Shah (2010) argues, "emphasis on the domestic role of woman is culturally produced and not a religious proclamation" (p. 35). Her argument might link to my study, in which I suspect that the barriers Indonesian women encounter when enhancing their career into senior leadership positions are built on the cultural understanding of the role of women in their society. Women might not be challenged to have senior leadership positions because of the cultural and religious values they internalise. If women are in paid work, they tend to prioritise their families because of the internalisation of these values.

Lumby (2013), in a study of 82 South African women school principals' experiences, highlights that single women in her study had the luxury of being able to be career-focused rather than family-focused, with the freedom to make their own decisions. In addition, 52 women with partners felt that they were supported for their leadership roles in the sense that their partners helped them with domestic responsibilities although in smaller portion; but only a small number of men helped with childcare. This leads to the argument that married women who are leaders might encounter barriers from families. For example, women could not fulfil the demand of working long hours. Lumby (2013) suggests that a better provision of early childhood care might help women with family to go on with their leadership roles in their workplaces. In relation to Lumby's (2013) statement about early childhood provision, Lorber (2010) argues that "[f]amily-friendly workplaces have for a long time provided flextime, parental leaves, on-site child care, and referral services for care of children and the elderly" (p. 35). The provision of childcare facilities in the workplace can also be

seen as the effort to make it family friendly. Early childhood education could help women with young children be able to have paid employment as it has been applied in New Zealand, for example. There is a free 20 hours for early childhood education for three to five years old children (see New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013).

From the feminist point of view, difficulties or barriers encountered by women in gaining senior leadership positions as such described above by Kanter (1979), Marshall (1995), White (1995), Court (1992, 1994, 1997), Akao (2010), Strachan et.al. (2010), Shah (2009, 2010), and Lumby (2013), have become known as the “glass ceiling” (Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Guillaume & Pochic, 2009; Hall, 1996; Lorber, 2010; White, 1995). Glass ceiling, Lorber (2010) argues, is a concept related to the notion that “women have motivation, ambition, and capacity for positions of power and prestige, but hidden barriers keep them from reaching the top” (Lorber, 2010, p. 34). These hidden barriers can be included as the invisible rules pointed out by Arini et.al. (2011) discussed later in this chapter, or inexplicit regularities mentioned by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) in the context of field and habitus I explore in Chapter 3. Such hidden barriers include male expectations of behaviour that often ignore any home or family considerations. So, women “are bounced between two powerful cultural commitments – their children and their work” (Lorber, 2010, p. 35) when they are involved in workplaces which Lorber (2010) considers as not family friendly. Cubillo and Brown (2003) have the view that there are two types of glass barriers: glass ceiling as barriers women meet in the context of their workplace in relation to opportunities to gain senior leadership roles, and glass wall as barriers women meet in relation to the cultural perception of the society they live in. Glass wall could perhaps be described within the study of Hakim (2006), to some extent, as follows.

Hakim (2006), in discussing why women seem not to get top jobs, suggests it may be due to preference theory as

A new theory for explaining and predicting women’s choices between market work and family work, a theory that is historically-informed, empirically-based, multidisciplinary,

prospective rather than retrospective in orientation, and applicable in all rich modern society. (p. 286)

On the basis of preference theory and her research, which took samples from the United States and Britain, she argues that among the three classifications of work-lifestyle preferences (home-centred, adaptive, or work-centred), women are concentrated in the adaptive group (60%). Adaptive women in preference theory are those who want to be involved in paid employment but also want to fulfil their family commitments; however, these women do not attempt 100% to fulfil both commitments. Hakim (2006) further argues that for this group of women, occupations which provide flexible time for fulfilling their family commitments are preferred. Her argument provides one of the answers why fewer women are in senior managerial or leadership positions and that more men are still occupying these positions. In terms of glass wall, these women in adaptive group face the barriers as the result of cultural values internalisation which limits their views on having careers.

Research conducted in relation to women and leadership in higher education shows that there are opportunities for women to take up leadership positions. However, a number of factors seem to impede women from achieving such positions as easily as their male colleagues. Aspects of the glass ceiling and glass wall, such as higher education culture and societal perceptions of women's place and roles, are going to be the focus of discussion in the following section.

2.5.2 Higher education leadership positions

Glass-ceiling and glass wall issues are also present in higher level of educational institutions. Higher education was long been considered as a male domain (e.g., Fitzgerald, 2007; Forster, 2000; Gerdes, 2003; Kjeldal, Rindfleish, & Sheridan, 2005; Viefers, Christie, & Fariba, 2006), and, therefore, many women who wish to have a career in the academic environment may need to adjust to and/or adopt the existing cultures of higher education. This relates to Kanter's (1979) argument on the reproduction of men leaders in their image which also exists in higher education institutions.

Fitzgerald (2007), for example, argues that in the period 1871 – 1961 universities in New Zealand adopted “the patriarchal traditions of the British universities that linked the Academy with men's scholarly and professional worlds” (p. 117), caused women as students and academics faced “structural inequalities” (p. 118). This situation seems to be similar to the structures of the universities in Indonesia, especially the first university founded in the colonisation of Dutch in 1849 with the name of School of Medicine for Javanese (Stake, 2000).

From the Indonesian history that I learned at schools, men were sent to Holland to further study and be prepared for establishing the academy in Jakarta, Indonesia. It is certain that these men brought with them the western culture and adopted its systems for the School of Medicine for Javanese. It could also be the case that the systems were in line with the existing patriarchal Javanese culture and therefore those systems were maintained since then and had influenced the establishment of other higher education institutions in Indonesia.

Glass ceilings in New Zealand universities might also mean that women experienced “invisible rules” (Airini et al., 2011, p. 50) practised at these higher education institutions which hindered women academics from reaching senior leadership positions. Airini et.al. (2011), studying 26 women leaders from eight universities in New Zealand, conclude that invisible rules refer to the notion that there were things in the institutions which were done in certain ways in spite of

the written academic rules. Since invisible rules might also feature in the professional work of women in Taman Ilmu, it might be useful to see if it applies to my interview data.

Glass ceiling phenomenon in a Sweden university was evident in a study by Viefers, Christie, and Ferdos (2006) who conducted a qualitative case study with only three women in a large physics faculty in a university in Sweden. They found out the small number of women professors, 5 out of the total 52, although the university applies the Swedish Equal Opportunities legislation for its long-term plan on recruitment. There was no woman in senior researcher positions. According to Viefers et.al. (2006), professors and senior researchers hold important positions at Swedish universities because they are responsible for winning the research grants for supporting the research groups. Time was considered as the first and most challenging aspect for women in achieving senior management/leadership. Professors at the university in question have duties as follows:

Professors are expected to network with bosses in industry (mainly male), elicit funds from granting bodies run for the most part by men, attend large numbers of conferences in various parts of the world where most of the delegates are men, lead a research school and manage, if not teach, in under-graduate and post-graduate programmes. (Viefers, Christie, & Ferdos, 2006, p. 18)

Viefers et.al. (2006) suggest that these kinds of duties are suitable for men who have partners at home who take care of domestic duties and emergencies. They argue that these university duties are not suitable for married women due to societal expectations of good wives and mothers. The second challenge to women's participation in managerial duties in Viefers et al.'s (2006) study is the low self-confidence. One of the reasons could come from the equal employment policy. One woman was offered the position without competing, which led to her doubting of her real competence in that position. Equal Employment Opportunity might bring some advantages for women, but at the same time it also provide some drawback for women as implied that it may cause low self-confidence.

In Australia, glass ceilings appear to still exist in academia although equal employment opportunity legislation has been enacted. Employing a dialogic approach, Kjeldal, Rindfleish and Sheridan (2005) explored the lived experiences of three women academics in business school, especially to bring in the obstacles for women advancing their career in academia as gendered practices in their educational institutions. One of the obstacles women faced in their academic environment is the existence of out-group and in-group informal networks. Kjeldal et.al. (2005) argue that informal networks cause gender inequality in the workplace. The informal networks once again show how people in power want to have their kind in managerial work (Kanter, 1979), and this network could be seen as the invisible rules at work (Airini et al., 2011) as well.

In Nigeria, Aladejana and Aladejana's (2005) research on women in higher education found that the majority of women were seen as culturally and socially as "the weaker sex and that their roles are that of child-bearing, raising a home and cooking" (p. 69). The social and cultural practices that go with the belief made it possible for many men to dominate higher education institutions, including in leadership roles. Aladejana and Aladejana's research shows that within 20 higher education institutions, women occupied only 11.55% of the leadership positions. They listed six main areas as the barriers for women, from largest to smallest barriers:

- Cultural stereotype of professional roles.
- Male dominant culture in Nigeria.
- Marital and extended family problems.
- Lack of acceptance by male subordinates.
- Minor assaults by male subordinates.
- Religious sentiments.

(Aladejana & Aladejana, 2005, p. 72)

The barriers listed by Aladejana and Aladejana (2005) seem to be similar with those from different parts of the world that have been discussed earlier in this chapter. So, there are glass wall and glass ceiling barriers for women in advancing their careers in African academia.

A comparable argument comes from Gerdes (2003), whose research deals with stress and other problems encountered by women in the workplace in the United States of America. She concludes that in the United States, traditionally higher education is a male domain, which may explain why few females hold top leadership positions. She further argues that it is very difficult for women to succeed in leadership positions in workplaces dominated by men's working ethos. This ethos tends to assume that someone else takes care of domestic responsibilities so that workers can stay late at work or bring work home. In other words, they can devote a lot of time to their job. Such workplaces could distress women who also have family and home responsibilities and cannot work comparable hours, reflecting Forster's (2000) comment that when men go to work they tend to leave behind family matters, but women do not, as described as follows.

As it is widely accepted that men do not have the obligation of taking care of home matters, men in higher education might create academic rules that match their experience. This may bring tension for women in academia, because, like many other women as illustrated in the literature discussed earlier, often have a double burden of office work and family care. Their career advancement might therefore be limited by structural, socio-cultural barriers and work/family conflicts (Forster, 2000) that does not seem to be the same for men in such occupations. One of Forster's (2000) research participants, for example, clearly illustrated this difference when she commented that:

Women have always got part of their brain organising the child-care or the shopping and I think the men just switch off when they leave the house. I think they can come into work and just give their one hundred per cent because they still have someone at home who is doing the family organisation. (Forster, 2000, p. 9)

The above observation indicates that men generally do not need to spend time worrying about domestic tasks, because their wives are taking care of them. This situation may influence male decision-makers in the policy they make for their institutions, and it may lead to women being blocked in their career advancement

if they cannot fulfil the male organisational norm (Burke, 1999). For example, structural barriers may come from the university system of career promotions if the requirement depends only on publications. Women may lag behind men in promotion if they cannot devote more time to publish because of their work/family commitments (Forster, 2000). It appears that on both sides of the world women are the ones who are considered primarily responsible for looking after their families, and men can focus on their job solely because they are not primarily responsible for managing home and family. This also supports the work of a number of researchers arguing that in patriarchal societies across the world it is the women who are responsible for caring for the families and nurturing their children (Engineer, 1994; Shah, 2010).

While experiences of women in developed and/or developing countries have been described above, the policy context has not always been explicit. In Indonesia, for example, Hasibuan-Sedyono (1998) noted that women's participation in public affairs were encouraged by the government (see also Woodcroft-Lee, 1983, earlier in this chapter). Hasibuan-Sedyono (1998) noted that legally women have access to any employment, although this is not always what happens in practice. She discovered that senior managerial positions were still given to men, often because of the expectation that women were unlikely to be able to work full time because of maternity leave and other family responsibilities. Because women were seen as physically weaker than men, some jobs such as security roles were deemed unsuitable. There were also differences in pay scales, because women's earnings were seen as being supplementary to the family's income, thus maintaining the role of the male as major breadwinner. All of these policies and practices demonstrate ways in which social practices can become internalised and serve particular interests, while marginalising others. It shows the persistence of social reproduction on gender roles, causing the existence of glass-ceiling for women to enhance their careers. It also implies that there is a dissonance between the policy and practice in Indonesia.

Hasibuan-Sedyono (1998) sees the main causes of such discrimination as “the influence of traditional social attitudes and customs [because] the woman is still expected to be wife and mother, to keep house and bring up the children” (p. 86), and commonly-held perceptions about who has the best qualities and characteristics for public roles. Hasibuan-Sedyono (1998) also argues that social perceptions trap women into choosing between domesticity and a career. She noted, with regard to women’s leadership involvement in Indonesian higher education, that in 1990 there were altogether 20.2% of women lecturers in Indonesian higher education institutions, of which 5.6% were presidents and 7% were deans (Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1998).

The low numbers of women in higher leadership positions is also evident in the Indonesian parliament. In 2005, The Population Research Bureau’s research indicated Indonesian women made up only 11% of the parliament in 2004. Statistical data from the same source (Population Reference Bureau, 2005) also noted that there was an increased enrolment of girls in secondary school, with 100% enrolled 2000 – 2003. In 2010, the report shows that women made up 18% of the parliament, whereas the number of enrolled girls in 2005-2010 is 99% (Population Reference Bureau, 2011). However, the number of women occupying higher leadership positions at work was still low. It refers to the available 2005 numerical data of Indonesian government employees shows that women are completely under-represented in senior positions in the civil services (Badan Kepegawaian Negara (National Civil Service Agency), 2005). Based on the numerical data, Figure 2 on the following page shows the 2005 statistical data regarding the number of women and men in the positions ranging from Echelon I (highest level in public service) to V (lowest level), which shows that the higher the position, the less likely women were to occupy that position.

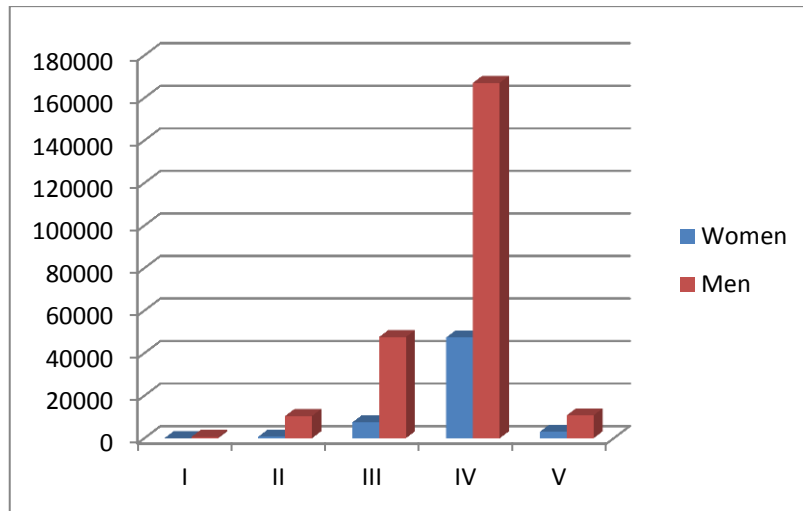


Figure 2. Women and men in the Indonesian civil service echelon in 2005

While 2013 statistics shows an increase of the number of women in the echelons, although there is a decrease in number of the men. However, in general the number of women is still low. This is represented in Figure 3.

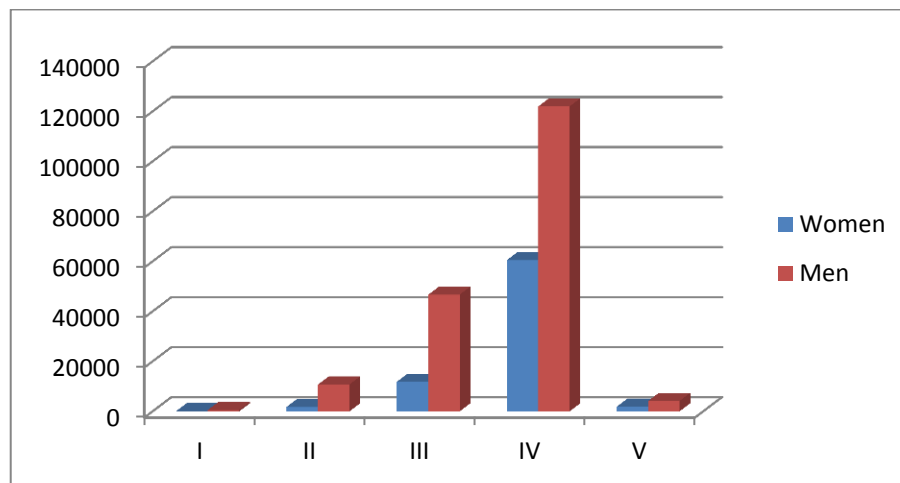


Figure 3. Women and men in the Indonesian civil service echelon in 2013

Both graphs demonstrate the imbalance of women's and men's participation in the public service in Indonesia. It contrasts with the intentions of the provisions of the Indonesian constitutional law stating that women and men have the same rights for having paid employment. One possible implication from the figures is that women's involvement in paid work may be affected by the strongly patriarchal,

cultural, social and religious practices of Indonesia in general and East Java in particular. This resonates with Allen and Macey (1995 in Macey, 1999), who argue that religion is a very powerful tool in the construction of social and political goals. In Indonesia, it seems that the majority of people use Islamic teachings to limit women's participation in the public sphere. The low number of women in leadership positions can thus be seen as an outcome of lower participation rates in further education, especially as academic staff, which in turn result from the combined effect of cultural norms and religious beliefs.

Thus, social practices which designate specific gender roles give Indonesian Muslim men a means of controlling women in all aspects of life. These practices reproduce a society that privileges the role of men as powerful and women as subservient. This in turn, is more likely to serve the interests of men more than women. Gherardi (1995) observes that gender,

has something to do with organization and with organizational culture [and] organizations are not distinct from society, and that they internally reflect the patriarchal system of their environment. (pp. 9-16)

This point may indeed be important for my study to consider. Marsh (1994 in Shah, 2006, p. 364) argued that "cultures reflect different values and patterns of behaviour." Every institution has its own distinctive culture built up by the people who established and work within the institution. For example, when I first entered my workplace, I soon picked up the values and appropriate behaviours unconsciously and took them for granted. I learned how we did things so that I could function both personally and professionally. For example, I accepted the view that male colleagues were leaders and that staying beyond office hours to complete tasks was normal. I did not actively seek a leadership position for two reasons. Firstly, I felt subordinate to others working in the engineering field of education; secondly, I was not a core subject teacher; I taught English which was not the core subject of what students learned, as a result I felt that I did not have the same voice as my other female colleagues who taught core subjects. This, in hindsight, feels like a double subordination.

There are considerable parallels between the social beliefs about women in Indonesia and in other countries. For example, Burke's research (1999) on women who graduated from a Canadian business university explored marital and parental status effects on the women's careers, work, and "psychological wellbeing outcomes" (p. 159). It showed that family can limit the careers of managerial and professional women, because "women with children devote fewer hours per week to work, are less job involved, have careers as lower priority and spend more hours per week in household responsibilities" (Burke, 1999, p. 162). He then argues that women encounter more barriers if they trail behind the men in terms of their full presence in the workplace, saying that it is unlikely that those women were ever "able to compete with their male colleagues on an equal footing [although] positive changes can be made" (Burke, 1999, p. 162).

Research by Ismail and Rasdi (2006) on Malaysian women who had attained high status in the academic world concluded that these women were able to achieve the positions, because, in addition to their ability and background, they had very supportive families and husbands. Ismail and Rasdi (2006) emphasise that family support "indeed facilitates the multiple roles of women as a wife, mother, and professional" (p. 166). It is true that many women involved in paid jobs are supported by their families or husbands; however, women are still responsible for looking after children, their husbands, and the home. It is a double burden for women who have to think of their domestic roles and their workplace demands. Ismail and Rasdi (2006) argue that this double burden is seldom experienced by Malaysian men.

It may be concluded that the perception of female gender roles are similar in the major parts of the world. This causes women with families difficult to achieve senior leadership positions because there are some criteria that do not fit them. The invisible rules are major hindrance for women to enhance their career, in their educational institutions, especially because power tends to be held by the men who establish criteria of senior leadership or managerial duties as benefitting and suitable for them.

2.5.3 Perception of feminine and masculine attributes of leadership style

Court (2002), drawing on several studies such as Loden (1985), Roger (1988), and Rosener (1990), concludes that there are different attributes concerning feminine and masculine leadership. She argues that feminine leadership tends to be “cooperative, team working, intuitive/rational, focused on high performance, emphatic and collaborative”, while masculine leadership is “competitive, hierarchical, rational, unemotional, analytic, strategic and controlling” (Court, 2002, p. 111). Similar views come from Cubillo and Brown (2003) and also from Grogan and Shakeshaft (2011) stating that the majority of women “use a collegial approach and enjoy working with and through others” (p. 63).

Collaboration as a leadership style tends to, according to more recent studies, correspond to distributed leadership (such as: Brooks & Kensler, 2011; Grogan & Shakeshaft, 2011; Spillane, 2006). Bennett, Wise, Woods, and Harvey (2003) argue that the concept of distributed leadership is similar to the notion of collegiality. Brooks and Kensler (2011) define distributed leadership as follows:

distributed leadership ... emphasizes the way that leaders and followers interact in situations, how various artifacts mediate these interactions, and how the behaviour of leaders and followers evolves over time. (p. 56)

It is interesting that in the Javanese context, a similar kind of distributed leadership has been employed by Javanese farmers since the 1950s as a “system of mutual aid (gotong royong)” to facilitate “the simultaneous cultivation of ... dispersed fields” (Koentjaraningrat, 1960, p. 107). Distributed leadership is also implied in the educational philosophy adopted by Ki Hajar Dewantara, an educator from Java who proposed the idea of an educational leader who is: *ing ngarsa sung tulada, ing madya mangun karsa, tut wuri handayani*, broadly translated into English as *in front to give examples, in the middle to encourage, in the back to monitor and to advise*. I learned the phrase when I was at school. As students we were only instructed to memorise the phrase without really knowing the meaning behind the phrase. What we understood was that Ki Hajar Dewantara was a great educator who was commemorated every year as an Indonesian hero.

Now I can see those principles enacted, and I can see they resonate with educational theory, and may suggest ways for my institution to develop its leadership capabilities.

2.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter I have reviewed literature on gender in relation to patriarchy, Islamic teaching, the Indonesian government's agenda for women under Suharto, and ideas about teaching, and leadership. All of these show how entrenched patriarchal beliefs can develop through concerted and historical social practices. The discussion covered Javanese culture and traditions which contribute to the formation of the habitus of Javanese. This chapter has also discussed how gendered practices and beliefs can adversely affect women's career aspirations in relation to leadership.

I have also examined international literature on the positions of women in teaching, and leadership and management; with the emphasis on tertiary leadership and management. Studies in several parts of the world result in the idea that many societies perceive the role of women is domestic and therefore women with careers in educational leadership might encounter barriers, termed as glass ceiling, in their educational institutions. However, many women in the studies can break through the glass ceiling (Hall, 1996) because they have strategies to cope the barriers.

Societal perceptions, reinforced by Indonesian state policies over about 30 years, have therefore strongly influenced the perception of the majority of Indonesians that family welfare is the responsibility of women as mothers. Since I and those participating in my research grew up in Suharto's regime, it could be argued that we have unconsciously adopted the beliefs promulgated about women's roles through general state policies and women's organisations such as PKK (the Family Welfare Movement) and through the activities and cultural practices of families and religious observances. This provided a model for how Suharto wanted people in all walks of life to behave and understand women's roles and

purposes. The widely accepted concept of women's noble roles of wife and mother has served to limit women's potential, by obstructing married women in pursuing or having a career.

Women's ways of seeing the world affects their practices in the fields in which they are involved, and this will be discussed in Chapter 7. In the meantime, the following chapter explores the concept of habitus as the analytic lens for this study.

CHAPTER THREE: HABITUS

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss habitus, a concept used by Bourdieu (e.g., 1977, 2002), which I intend to use as the conceptual framework for the analysis of research data findings. I begin with a brief history of habitus. In several parts I use aspects of my personal stories in order to illustrate the concept of habitus.

3.2 Development of the concept of habitus

The development of habitus as a concept used by Bourdieu can be traced back to at least two roots (see, e.g., Nash, 1999; Reed-Danahay, 2004): from Aristotle and Mauss. What follows is an explanation of the roots of habitus which is relevant to my study, beginning with Aristotle.

3.2.1 Aristotelian concept

In *The Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle (2004) used the Greek word “hexis” in relation to his description of moral excellence. Nash (1999) adds that hexis can be understood as “a disposition to act” (p. 174). One example of moral excellence described by Aristotle (2004) is the state of becoming strong or brave as the result of gaining a disposition to act based on the experience of doing things that make people strong or brave. Mahmood (2005) applies this idea of moral excellence in the context of Islamic prayer.

In her study on Islamic revival in Egypt, Mahmood (2005) presents the Aristotelian concept of habitus in discussing the moral formation of disciplining oneself to the ritual performance of Islamic prayer. Mahmood (2005) iterates that Muslims are obliged to pray five times a day. This practice is so ingrained that if a Muslim fails to do this, it can create anxiety and a sense of incompleteness. The ritual around prayer has become common practice in terms of the time of day, and how it is carried out. When praying has become part of a Muslim’s moral conduct, not fulfilling the obligation of prayer can cause an uncomfortable feeling, like

something is missing. In this sense, citing Lapidus, Mahmood (2005) describes that habitus is understood as an “inner quality developed as a result of outer practice which makes practice a perfect ability of the soul of the actor” (p. 137). This means that what has been learned by Muslims through practice will become their engrained daily habit. Such practices eventually leave a deep mark internally.

In relation to Muslims’ ritual of praying, the perfection comes from practising the ritual (as the outer practice) that in the end becomes embodied in the person (as the inner quality). In the context of Muslim women in Indonesia, their roles as wives and mothers may exemplify this argument. Not fulfilling these roles according to custom may make women anxious, because these ideals have been deeply inscribed as part of their relationship with God and society. And therefore, habitus as embodied disposition affects not only the way these women think and act in both domestic and public spheres but also the way men think and behave towards women. In relation to the Aristotelian view of habitus, it can be said that the disposition to become good wives and mothers enables them to achieve moral excellence in society.

3.2.2 Mauss’ concept

Habitus was used by Mauss (1979) in association with the movement of the body. Reed-Danahay (2004) refers to this bodily movement as “customary habits of moving the body that were socially constructed [and that] were connected to modes of life and manners” (Reed-Danahay, 2004, p. 105). This bodily movement varies within societies and may represent some taught behaviours or manners of a society (Reed-Danahay, 2004). One way of applying Mauss’(1979) concept of habitus to Javanese tradition is to consider the way Javanese people show respect to others, illustrated in the following paragraphs.

When Javanese people talk to elders or to people whom they respect, they usually bow by lowering their shoulders several times during the conversation. They also make this gesture when they pass older people. Javanese children are usually taught this body gesture from a very young age. When they forget to do it,

they are reminded that they have been impolite. In my childhood, I was reminded by my parents every time I forgot to bow when I walked between my parents and their guests. I was reminded in front of the guests, which, I believe, was to show their guests that my parents taught their children good manners as expected by the Javanese culture, although we are not Javanese. Because I was reminded many times during my childhood, in the end I automatically lowered my shoulders when passing in the middle of older people who were in a conversation. Sometimes I even did it when living in another culture, like New Zealand. I unconsciously lowered my shoulders when I walked between older people, or people that I respect, involved in a conversation. So, this is a customary habit of body gesture (Mauss, 1979; Reed-Danahay, 2004), constructed by Javanese people to show politeness.

This socially constructed gesture, discussed in Chapter 2, has been practised for centuries by successive Javanese generations. The current version of the shoulder bow may be a vestige of the Mataram era practice and shows how ideas about manners are deeply ingrained in the Javanese tradition. The account of Kartini, mentioned in Chapter 2, was an example of how respect was demonstrated in a Javanese aristocratic family. Kartini's younger siblings had to perform the gesture of putting both hands together and positioning them below the nose every time they spoke and ended a sentence (Kartini, 1995). This practice may link to Reed-Danahay's (2004) argument that,

as a result of their socialisation, members of a social group come to acquire a set of dispositions which reflect the central structural elements ... of their society, and therefore behave in ways which necessarily reproduce those structural elements, although in a modified form. (p. 185)

So, Javanese traditional ways of showing respect to elders or people in power across gender divides can be understood as the reproduction of the embodied values practised from the Mataram era, modified through generations, and it has been practised up to this date. To this end, it is a demonstration of Mauss' idea of habitus as an embodied movement.

As such, this idea of social construction of meaning and gesture is the forerunner of Bourdieu's view (Nash, 1990; Reed-Danahay, 2004). He extended the concept from bodily movement into an embodiment of values and norms that influence not only the body but also the mind. Nash (1999), however, argues that "Bourdieu's intellectual style has some dubious characteristics, among them his well-known dislike of definitions, which makes a critical approach to his work all the more necessary if anything worthwhile is to be gained" (p. 176). One of the examples of Nash' argument regarding Bourdieu's intellectual style characteristics is the many "definitions" of habitus throughout his writings in books and journals. This is discussed in the following section, in which I start with the understanding of habitus defined by Bourdieu (1977) as dispositions, and I then explore the function of the properties of habitus, that is capital and field.

3.3 Bourdieu's concept of habitus

Habitus has been used in a range of contexts in western settings, for example, in education (Harker, 1984; Jawitz, 2009; Reay, 1995, 2004; Reay, David, & Ball, 2001; Tranter, 2006; Wilkinson, 2010), martial arts (Delamont & Stephens, 2008), fashion (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006), and family lifestyles (Tomanovic, 2004). It has also been used in western research in Indonesian setting, for example, in the context of Muslim women and political party (Rinaldo, 2008), in the contexts of anthropology (Retsikas, 2010; Waterson, 2002); and a co-authored research study in the context of Indonesian male youth (Nilan, Demartoto, & Wibowo, 2011). As far as I know, there is none in the context of Javanese women and leadership in the tertiary sector.

Bourdieu introduces habitus from the context of sociology. He uses the habitus as an attempt to "describe and analyse the genesis of one's person," because he believes that an "individual is moulded by social structure" (Mahar, Harker, & Wilkes, 1990, p. 33). This relates to my assumption that led me to conduct this study: it is the Javanese culture, a combination of traditions and religious beliefs, which may specifically contribute to women not achieving senior leadership positions in tertiary educational contexts such as Taman Ilmu (see Chapter 1). So,

through habitus and field, Bourdieu explores social life and practice. He argues that social life cannot be examined only from people's behaviour or interpreted only in relation to an individual's decisions (Jenkins, 1992). He believed that both are needed for analysing social life.

Habitus, according to Bourdieu (1977), is,

systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices. (p. 72, original emphasis)

There are three aspects of habitus in the above definition. They are dispositions, structures, and generation, explored in the following paragraphs.

Dispositions

In the context of Bourdieu's use of the notion of dispositions, Codd (1990) illustrates them as "capacities, tendencies, abilities to recognise and to act" (p. 139). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) describe dispositions as "categories of perception and appreciation" (p. 11). At other time, Bourdieu (1977) describes dispositions as,

the result of an organising action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination. (p. 214)

In relation to the above description of dispositions, Reed-Danahay (2004) points out that Bourdieu links the concept of habitus with dispositions to show that "dispositions were socially produced" (p. 107), and therefore Reay (1995) argues that dispositions reflect "the social context in which they were acquired" (p. 357). In other words, dispositions reflect the social field people are involving. Jenkins (1992) states that people develop dispositions through experiences they gather from their involvement with their environment. Waterson (2002) argues that dispositions are:

The values internalised and embodied by individual actors, in processes of socialisation into a culture which begin early in life, and are in large part absorbed without needing to be consciously articulated. (p. 219)

In other words, dispositions are constructed through social and cultural experiences (Tranter, 2006), and thus dispositions are obtained through the internalisation and embodiment of these experiences or values, which may occur through generations (Waterson, 2002). Bourdieu (1986) refers to these social and cultural experiences as “capital,” which is explored later in this chapter.

This embodiment of values takes place from a very early age, as people interact with their social field (Tranter, 2006; Waterson, 2002), and within families (Allard, 2005). A family is an important social milieu — it is a micro level of the social field (Mutch, 2006) and is a place where values become internalised. Bourdieu (1996) has argued that “[t]he family plays a decisive role in the maintenance of the social order It is one of the key sites of the accumulation of capital in its different forms and its transmission between the generations” (p. 23)

Thus, especially my family and then my school experiences were the sources of values, which I internalised, becoming my individual habitus. Robbins (1991) argues that the first socialisation occurs within one’s family, and formal socialisation occurs later when one is involved in education. If we believe that the family is our first socialiser, Robbins’ (1991) observation that we receive our cultural identity from our family links to Bourdieu’s (1996) argument that “the family is ... socially constructed” (p. 21).

To put Bourdieu’s arguments into a cultural context, an Indonesian example is the saying *Buah jatuh tidak jauh dari pohonnya* (broadly translated as *Fruit falls close to its tree*), which refers to how behaviours, attitudes and values are transferred to children (the fruit) from the parents (the tree). As with most families, we “receive” our “cultural identity” from those who raise us, and internalise the values our caregivers have in turn internalised from their parents and elders.

My habitus, like other people's, is a product of family history, as Bourdieu (2002) notes that "the habitus is not something natural, inborn: being a product of history, that is of social experience and education ... [it's] not a fate, not a destiny" (p. 29). This is different from what Javanese women have been led to believe about their fate – as wives and mothers – as a destiny (see Sitepu, 1996, in Chapter 2). This primacy of the family in forming habitus is argued by Berger and Luckmann (1967):

The significance of family habitus lies in the fact that children do not internalize the everyday world as one of many possible worlds, but as the only possible one, at least in the early part of childhood. (in Tomanovic, 2004, p. 356)

Reflecting on my personal experience, my childhood world was constituted by my family, discussed in Chapter 1, where marriage and a wife serving her husband was naturalised so that I assumed everybody did the same. For me, this "only world" assumption was embodied in me over a relatively long time which affected my way of thinking from childhood up to early marriage. Family values thus strongly formed my individual habitus in the fields within which I participated. As I discussed in Chapter 1, my mother's experiences at home and her words influenced my individual habitus to get a tertiary qualification and get a paid job. But my family habitus that is embodied in me could gradually change because of the fact that there are other possible worlds out there, for example, Islam and Muslim people and their practices. Therefore, I could argue that this individual habitus continues to develop from birth. As Bourdieu (1992) described, habitus has "an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions" (p. 55). So, when we encounter new people, social groups, contexts and environment, we are likely to internalise new values that help us negotiate and belong to the new situations and contexts. As explained in Chapter 1, my experience of moving into my husband's family environment, and my involvement with my workplace, meant I had to negotiate these new social fields and adapt my individual habitus, in order to be accepted by the new environments. I learned how to behave in my husband's East Javanese family. I took on the values of my workplace so that I could properly belong. These two experiences

are examples of the way habitus shifts according to context, because habitus has the capacity for altering how I think, perceive, express, and act within my new environments.

Structures

Lingard and Christie's (2003) argument links to Robbins' in that habitus is described "as the subjective incorporation or internalization of social structure, has the effect of making the social world seem natural and its practices 'taken for granted'" (p. 320). This taken-for-granted practice, for example, can be drawn from my experience of wearing Muslim dress and head cover. Within my environment in Indonesia, I did not consider that I was an oppressed Muslim woman. I was like a fish in water – comfortable. I was happy to wear this type of dress because many other Muslim women and colleagues also wore it, but I was like a fish out of water when I studied abroad and where cultural practices differed. Habitus, according to Bourdieu (1977), is "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (p. 72). The idea of structure links back to the earlier illustration about dispositions, because Bourdieu (1977) points out dispositions are close to the meaning of structure. In my understanding, habitus has the characteristics to structure and to be structured, as pointed out by Wacquant (2006) earlier in this section that habitus is structured by patterned social forces and in turn structures the individual within that social structure. Both phrases, *structured structures and structuring structures*, are interrelated to each other. Moreover, as structured structures, habitus is related to past history (Bourdieu, 2002). Habitus then, because of the infinite capacities to generate and regenerate, might develop because of the past history and the generational capacity to yield another level of habitus. It could be considered as scaffolding.

In my own thinking, based on the experiences I narrated in earlier sections, my belief in my mother's words functioned as dispositions that influenced my individual habitus. In this case, the habitus functions as structured structure in which habitus led me to keep focussed on academic achievement. I had the thought that one must have a tertiary degree to get a paid job. However, the experiences I gained from the wider social world made my habitus develop, and thus all in my early habitus became the foundation for decisions I made in my life. This relates to habitus as further structuring my thoughts and actions.

So, habitus, according to Bourdieu (2002), is "very important and indispensable to understand truly and adequately human action" (p. 27). In support, Wacquant (2006) argues that habitus is structured by patterned social forces and in turn structure the individual within that social structure. Furthermore, habitus can be understood as "the way one perceives and experiences the world" (Tranter, 2006, p. 14), and which "provides a *basis* for the generation of practice (Jenkins, 1992, p. 78, his emphasis).

Generation

The word "generation," in this sense, may have two connotations. The first is that "generation" is the production of something. Thus habitus is the source from which people perform their actions. "Generation" can also be understood as the repeated action of the elders, passed on to their younger people, so that practice, custom and belief are reinforced through generations. So, habitus influences the way people think and behave, and practice is generated through habitus. Together, they form both social practice and social belief. In the case of Javanese beliefs about women's main roles, both women and men appear to have internalised this belief from older generations and custom and habits. In other words, they have an embodied disposition towards the roles of women in their culture.

The internalisation and embodiment of dispositions are due to the interactions between people and their social field, because it is through a social group's behaviours, attitudes, actions and beliefs that habitus develops (Bourdieu, 2002;

Tranter, 2006; Waterson, 2002). As a tool, habitus suits my research on analysing social phenomena and I used it as conceptual lens to examine the lives of Muslim women involved in a specific educational institution.

However, habitus works well when there are other circumstances, such as capital and field. These three terms are important, in that one fills in the others. Therefore, capital and then field are discussed next.

3.3.1 Capital

One term that is closely related to habitus is “capital.” Bourdieu identifies that there are three kinds of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Capital, argues Bourdieu,

takes time to accumulate ... to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible. (pp. 241-242)

This accumulation can be seen in my own story, as I became acculturated into my husband’s way of viewing the social world of women and men’s roles. In my study, two of the forms of capital might be mostly discussed: cultural capital and social capital.

Cultural capital

Bourdieu (1986) classifies cultural capital into three states: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised. An embodied state cultural capital relates to the common understanding of culture, and according to Bourdieu (1986), can be developed “quite unconsciously” (p. 245). How I understand embodied state of cultural capital can be drawn from an example that people born within the Javanese culture would take it for granted that they use different words of similar meaning to address different people based on seniority. Thus, Bourdieu (1986) argues that it is “external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into habitus” (1986).

An objectified state cultural capital refers to physical goods, for example paintings, which Bourdieu (1986) refers to “the knowledge of and familiarity with prestigious forms of cultural expression”.

An institutionalised state cultural capital refers to “academic qualification” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 247). For example, the Bachelor of Honours degree I obtained from the teachers’ college in Indonesia and the Master’s degree from the University of Waikato are my institutionalised state of cultural capitals.

Social capital

Another form of capital is social capital. Social capital, Bourdieu (1986) argues, is, the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to ... membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of ... “a credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word”. (p. 249)

Entwistle and Rocamora (2006) believe that in ordinary language use social capital suggests ideas of connection. In relation to my experiences, for example, I consider my involvement with my Muslim in-laws required me to obtain the social capital of this family in order for me to be a member of the family. Social capital that each individual obtains is dependent on their involvement with social fields. Capital and habitus have meanings when they are used in the context of a field. This is explored next.

3.3.2 Field

Bourdieu (2002) suggests that the concept of habitus works well as a tool for social analysis if the researcher understands how to apply the concept with its properties, that is, capital and field. Habitus, capital and field make up the practices people perform in their social world (Jenkins, 1992; Reay, 2004).

In relation to “field,” Bourdieu defines habitus as follows:

It is a socialised body. A structured body, a body which has incorporated the immanent structures of a world or of a particular sector of that world – a field – and which structures

the perception of that world as well as action in that world.
(Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 81)

My understanding of the word “body,” in this sense, is that it can refer to either people or to an institution. So, when people or an institution engages in a social field, people’s way of thinking or the institution’s way of operating in everyday matters is in line with the practices in that social field, because each of them is involved in this social field. People encounter many social fields in their lives, beginning from family as the primary social field, to workplaces as the wider social fields, for example.

“Field” is then described by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) as a game with “regularities, that are not explicit or codified” (p. 98), and by Webb et al. (2002) as “structured contexts which shape and produce these processes and practices,” which include “a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles” (2002, quoted in McLeod, 2005, p. 14). In other words, these terms suggest that “how things happen around here” is a result of informal social practices that become rules over time.

The notions of habitus and field are particularly significant to my study. In the smallest social institution, a family, there are rules that tend to be obeyed by the members of a family. In a wider social institution, there are also rules and conventions that govern practices. An educational institution constitutes a field in which there are rules and conventions, which every member of the institution unconsciously follows in order to play the game of that institution. Relating to my study, the women research participants to some extent could be aware of “inexplicit regularities” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), or the invisible rules (Airini et al., 2011), in their workplace which made it difficult for them to aspire to achieve senior leadership positions. Therefore, it could be said that the social capital the women possess leads the way to how they play the game in the social field of their workplace.

In the case of my personal experience, moving to my husband's family house was like moving to a new social field, with new inequalities and struggles. Entwistle and Rocamora (2006) state that,

to perform effectively within any field one needs to have accumulated the appropriate capital and mastered the field's habitus ... Capital in Bourdieu's sense refers to skills, knowledge and connections, exchanged within the field to establish and reproduce one's position. (p. 746)

In my case, the appropriate capital was social capital defined by Entwistle and Rocamora (2006) as connection between people in a social field. They further argue that "a high amount of social capital allows one to move freely within the social network of field participants" (p. 740). However, I initially had little social capital in my new social field of my husband's family, and this inevitably caused tensions when I entered it. As discussed in Chapter 1. Bourdieu (1993) argues:

In any field we shall find a struggle ... between the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition. (p. 72)

This was evident when I married and moved into my husband's big family. As I mentioned earlier, I converted to Islam, then married a Muslim man and moved into his family house. Moving into an unfamiliar situation was not easy for me, especially when dealing with my husband's family values and expectations of me as a wife. Many times I cried due to the differences I encountered in this new environment.

Field, argues Bourdieu (1998a) further, is "a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and others who are dominated" (p. 40). In this kind of field, there are inequalities and struggles between people involved in it. Bourdieu (1993) claims:

In order for a field to function, there have to be stakes and people prepared to play the game, endowed with the *habitus* that implies knowledge and recognition of the immanent laws of the field, the stakes, and so on. (p. 72, his emphasis)

So, Bourdieu equates a field to a game. In my own experience, I can see that my own family is an example of the micro level of a social field. When I go outside my home and get involved within my neighbourhood, it means that I am involved in a wider social field. In my hometown, for instance, every home in one short row of a street belongs to a neighbourhood women's organisation called *Dasa Wisma*. In this organisation we have the head of Dasa Wisma, the secretary, the treasurer, and the members. These people may set the rules of the game and manage how it is played by its members. This serves to affect how the women in my neighbourhood understand their roles. I was the member of Dasa Wisma. I followed every activity conducted in our neighbourhood once a month. As the member I obeyed the rule of the game, for example, contributed some money every month for the organisation. As a member I also noticed how several women in power wanted to insist their ideas without acknowledging members' voice.

What I would like to emphasise from Dasa Wisma organisation is that in this small scale of organisation as a social field, I see several women who dominate and many women who are dominated. Even in the smallest scale of social field, the family, there are inequalities and struggles. In the Dasa Wisma organisation, there are similarities in terms of interests and shared knowledge that bring us together as one organisation, even while some have more positioned power than others. We are the players in the game of Dasa Wisma. It also shows that by linking together, notions of habitus can be reinforced, because people feel comfortable in the presence of others who think as they do. Bourdieu (1993), for example, argued that "all the agents that are involved in a field share a certain number of fundamental interests" (1993, p. 73). Social space, Bourdieu (1990) explains,

is so constructed that agents who occupy similar or close positions are placed in similar conditions and submitted to similar conditioning, and have every chance of having similar

dispositions and interests, and thus of producing practices that are themselves similar. (p. 128)

Bourdieu's comment can be understood in Taman Ilmu's context, as staff developing similar understandings and practices related to how things are done, how work is distributed, what matters, and how to negotiate this shared professional space. These practices and understandings come to be taken-for-granted. Bourdieu (1990) argues that practice occurs when habitus interacts with capital and field. In other words, they collectively understand how things should be and understand what is valued. This is discussed further in relation to institutional habitus in the academic field, which is in the following section.

3.3.2.1 Higher education field

The workplace is another field many people encounter. A workplace can be considered a field, as “a structured system of social positions — occupied either by individuals or institutions — the nature of which defines the situation for their occupants” (Jenkins, 1992, p. 85).

A workplace has a distinctive institutional habitus; McDonough (cited in Reay et al., 2001) argues that an institutional habitus is “a complex amalgam of agency and structure and could be understood as the impact of a cultural group or social class on an individual's behaviour, as it is mediated through an organisation” (para. 1.3). With regard to higher education, Thomas (2002) argues that “institutional habitus should be understood as more than the culture of the educational institution; it refers to relational issues and priorities, which are deeply embedded and sub-consciously informing practice” (p. 431).

An academic field is thus “a complex amalgam” of different “individual habitus, and collective habitus” (Jawitz, 2009). The engineering field of study could thus have a bearing in habitus in which the founders of Taman Ilmu might think of strengthening the male-centerdness (see Johnson, 2005, in Chapter 2) in a study field considered as male domain. Jawitz further argues that “the field of higher education itself contains several fields, such as those associated with the

disciplines or professions, in which particular forms of capital are valued” (Jawitz, 2009, p. 2). In a higher education institution, the institutionalised state of cultural capital is valued because people applying for teaching positions must have the minimal requirement of certain degrees.

Reay (2004) insists that habitus is a concept that can be used as “a way of interrogating the data” (p. 440). This is important for my study because I am exploring my research participants’ worldview regarding women occupying senior leadership positions. Furthermore, I am interested in using some terms and description Entwistle and Rocamora used (2006) because I found their understanding of habitus, field, and capital in the context of fashion particularly useful. They have provided me with ideas about I might explore the notions of habitus, capital and field regarding my participants’ workplace Their use of habitus, capital and field in the context of the field of fashion is discussed next.

London Fashion Week (LFW) is a key event in British field of fashion (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006). It is an example of how key people in fashion are brought together into this field. Field, according to Entwistle and Rocamora (2006), is “an abstraction defining differentiated positions and position-takings within a particular social arena” (p. 735), and the field of fashion is “a system of relation ... [and] has its own players” (p. 738). They further describe that players belong to LFW (insiders) easily gain access to the event; and few other people (outsiders) are granted access to this physically enclosed event which means that it has a boundary. Entwistle and Rocamora (2006) say:

The main boundary that is erected between the inside and outside of the field of fashion as realized during LFW is the long gate supervised by two keepers in uniforms who only let in those armed with a pass. Insiders march confidently towards the gate in the knowledge that they will not be stopped while outsiders are left standing outside (p. 739).

So, as described above, a field seems to have gatekeepers from whom people can get access. I believe that different fields have different kind of gatekeepers but they all have similar responsibilities, that is, to decide who can enter the field in question. Entwistle and Rocamora (2006) describe further the function of a pass in the form of tickets in LFW:

By brandishing a ticket for a show, one indicates insider status. ... However, not all tickets are created equally. There are tickets for seats and tickets for standing. ... Seat tickets are more valuable and come with a row number. Standing tickets mean waiting in the standing queue. ... *The seating plan around the catwalk maps out the power relations between players within the field. ... One's position within one's respective field of practice is built into the system of rows. On the front row sit the most important participants. ...* Beyond the front row are allocated seats for less important players. The furthest reaches are designated as 'standing', and in this area are those without much power and influence. (pp. 741-745, my emphasis)

The above description, of different types of tickets and seating, indicates that people in a field have different positions, such as important and less important, dominate and dominated. By holding different types of tickets people locate their own positions in a field. The ticket in this case is a capital, another necessary term that is used in conjunction with the field of fashion. Fashion capital is used by Entwistle and Rocamora (2006) in relation to LFW, which comprises economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Social capital in this context refers to connection. They further argue

A high amount of social capital allows one to move freely within the social network of field participants. In the field of fashion, social capital is essential to the acquisition of tickets to shows (knowing who to contact and how; in our case, the PR agencies of designers, using our research and connections to buyers and journalists). A high degree of social capital buys one access to after-show parties, or to the designers themselves. (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006, p. 740)

What I understand from the above description of social capital is that it is an important capital for people to be involved in a field. Possessing the social capital means that people know the rule of the game, and they know who the main

players are. As I indicated earlier, I experienced difficulties when I entered the social field of my husband's family with a limited social capital. I did not exactly know how to behave in that family's social, religious and cultural practices. I believe that if I had had a high amount of social capital, it would have been easily to access my husband's family environment.

In conclusion, a higher education institution embodies an academic field. As all other fields, in the academic field there are positions and positions taking; there are people who dominate and people who are dominated; there are rules to obey whether they are explicit or implicit. In order to become members of an academic field, different amounts of capital could be possessed. Lecturers need cultural capital and social capital; lecturers must have tickets to enter the field.

3.4 Habitus of Javanese research participants

As I have suggested earlier, the habitus of Javanese people is most likely to have been formed from the internalisation of values practised by Javanese people since ancient times. These values are the combination or amalgamation of various cultures and traditions, including religions, over time. In Chapter 2, I discussed several factors that contribute to Javanese social practices. These internalised values and beliefs might influence how my research participants perceive their social world and affect their involvement in it. These factors are rooted in a patriarchal society and result in some practices that marginalise women, including Javanese beliefs about gender roles, Qur'anic interpretations, and Javanese language conventions. These factors are also strengthened by a number of government policies relating to women's roles and participation in the public sphere. These factors are likely to influence women's aspirations regarding leadership roles in their academic fields, and this possibility is examined in my study.

3.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter I have explored the idea of habitus and its related concepts of field, capital and practice. I have also described some of my individual experiences,

where they are relevant. Habitus directs people, players, in their social practices, even though they may be unaware of its presence. A social field can be understood as functioning somewhat like a “game.” Any game may be full of tension and contradiction, because the players come from different habitus and have different interests but have to abide by the rules in order to successfully contribute to a shared goal. The habitus of individuals in a geographically close social space shares some similarities with how games operate.

In terms of my study, I am arguing that because my participants come from the shared social space (as mothers and professional women with degrees), they are likely to share similarities within the social practices of their workplace and the wider social fabric of East Java. Dispositions as the result of their involvement in their social space made up their habitus, “the way they see and experience the world” (Tranter, 2006, p. 14), influences their practices in the fields they encounter. In this case, it is their families, social environment, and their workplaces. The influential elements are rooted in the Javanese patriarchal culture and influence everyday practice in any field.

The notion of field, capital and habitus that I was interested to employ in discussing my research findings came especially from the work of Entwistle and Rocamora (2006), although they were highlighting the notion of field, capital and habitus from the world of fashion. Some part of their description and discussion provided me with a better context of how I relate it to my study.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this methodology chapter, I discuss the qualitative research approach that I used for collecting and analysing data for my study. In order to answer the research question of my study, I needed to consider a methodology to accommodate the study's purpose. Methodology is "the philosophy or general principle which guides the research" (Dawson, 2009, p. 23). It can also be understood as "a research strategy that translates ontological and epistemological principles into guidelines that show how research is to be conducted" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 30). In other words, the guidelines of the methodology depend on the choice of ontology and the epistemology of the research. Once the appropriate methodology has been selected, decisions can be made on research designs and instruments for gaining the research data, and then analysing the data. In this chapter, I first discuss the research paradigm I have adopted. This has a relationship with the ontology and epistemology of the research, which I explore in the following section. Second, I discuss the research method or design that I used in my data collection. In this case, I used case study design, in which the data are obtained from interviewing, document analysis and general/surface observation of the institution under study. I used the concept of habitus in interrogating data. I then describe ethical considerations, and finish the chapter with an account of my data analysis process.

4.2 Qualitative research paradigm

To complete the research objective and to answer the research question that I proposed for my study, I employed a paradigm within qualitative research. This paradigm relates to the aim of my study, that is, to explore the real life of women working as lecturers in a higher education institution in Indonesia. In our daily lives, Guba (1990) states, we are guided by many paradigms; in the context of academic research paradigms are to guide "disciplined inquiry" (Guba, 1990, p. 18). So paradigms are "the basic belief systems [that] determine what inquiry is

and how it is to be practised” (Guba, 1990, p. 18). Duffy and Chenail (2008), state that paradigms “organize how people see the world and act within it” (p.23). In support, Mertens (2010) adds that a paradigm is “composed of certain philosophical assumptions that guide and direct thinking and action” (p. 7). In essence, a paradigm can be understood as “a way of looking at the world” (Mertens, 2010, p. 7).

My qualitative research paradigm relies on my “ideological orientation” and how I understand “the role of social sciences in the community” (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 12), because “our assumptions, interests, and purposes shape which methodology we choose” (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). In order to decide which research methodology is used, we need to relate our methodology to the ontological and epistemological assumptions that we hold. Blaike (2007) points out that the choice of a particular paradigm or perspective derives from being aware of one’s ontological and epistemological assumptions, that is, the “particular ways of looking at the world as well as ideas about how it can be understood” (p. 3). Therefore, to understand and choose which paradigm suited the aim of my research, I needed to consider three aspects related to ontology, epistemology and methodology (Duffy & Chenail, 2008; Guba, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Skeggs, 1994), which cannot be separated from each other but must be considered as a package (Sarantakos, 2005). The three aspects of ontology, epistemology, and methodology which I used to suit the choice of research paradigms are as follows.

First, ontology deals with the researcher’s assumption about the nature of reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108); it is “a belief about how the world is defined and who people are” (Duffy & Chenail, 2008, p. 23), or “the assumptions one is willing to make about the nature of reality” (Skeggs, 1994, p. 77). Second, epistemology deals with how the researcher acquires the knowledge of reality or “how things really are [and] how things really work” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108), or “how the world is known and understood and how people come to believe in the ideas that they hold as important” (Duffy & Chenail, 2008, p. 23); or, as Skeggs (1994) comments, “the assumptions that one makes about this

process depend on how one conceives of reality (ontology)” (p.77). Third, methodology deals with how the researcher uses the methods in relation to the ontological and epistemological assumptions that suit the paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108), and with “what procedures or strategies should be used to learn about people and the world” (Duffy & Chenail, 2008, p. 23); it is how “we find things out”, and the answer “depends on what decisions have been made about ontology and epistemology” (Skeggs, 1994, p. 77).

With these ideas in mind, and as noted in first and third chapters, I began my study with the belief that individuals are constructed by social forces. Therefore, I based my study on the ontology of constructionism. Constructionism deals with:

the way in which individuals are constituted by the social world; the way in which the world of language and symbols come to dwell within us; the way in which we use them to construct our sense of self and our sense of the world around us. (Taylor & Ussher, 2001, p. 295)

To find out how I could explore the reality in question, that is, the real life of women working as lecturers in a higher education institution in Indonesia, within this ontological perception, I used interpretivist epistemology. Interpretivism focuses on:

the interpretation of meaningful human expressions — be they written, verbal, and/or physical. The two key concepts here are human action and social action. Human actions are those expressions people make based on reasons, intentions, and motivations. The concept of social must be added because the meanings ascribed to human actions, both by the actors and the interpreters, are determined by, and can only be understood within, a social context or within a web of social meanings. (Smith, 1992, p.102)

These kinds of ontology and epistemology are consistent with phenomenological qualitative research (Mertens, 2010; Sarantakos, 2005), which allow researchers to focus on particular events or situations in the world and interpret people’s experiences of social phenomena (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

Thus interpretivist qualitative research suited my research aim. I could not use a quantitative research paradigm such as positivism because of its limitations when

I wanted to work with people “in contexts where variables cannot and should not be controlled” (Sarantakos, 2005). A positivist quantitative perspective understands research to be laboratory controlled, to be objective and to create grand narratives based on numerical data (Holliday, 2002; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). In contrast, the aim of my research was not to test a theory or hypothesis, nor to focus on numbers or statistical data. Rather, my research “sought to generate phenomenological data from which an understanding might be developed” (Taylor & Ussher, 2001, p. 296).

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) list some strengths of qualitative research which demonstrate why it is appropriate to my purpose. They include:

- Data are being collected in naturalistic settings: My data, as I mentioned, came from three types of data collection instruments – from real people, real situations, and real documents.
- It describes complex phenomena: I considered my research focus a complex phenomenon because it was to do with people’s views of their private and professional lives.
- It is useful for studying a limited number of cases in depth: As it was my intention to obtain such an understanding of the researched stories, I employed qualitative research.

However, they also point out some weaknesses of qualitative research, suggesting that firstly, findings from such studies may not generalise to other people or other settings. Secondly, analysing qualitative data is often time consuming. Thirdly, a researcher’s personal biases and idiosyncrasies can easily influence the findings (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). I needed to be particularly aware of the third caveat which several researchers relate it to the notion of lack of rigour that I explore later in this chapter.

To some extent, the above concerns are valid, but considering the aim of my study the qualitative framework fits best. I have already made transparent my biases and background. I also needed to collect insightful data through interviews in order to gain thick and rich descriptions of the participants’ perceptions. I developed semi-

structured conversations, asking my research participants questions without rigidly following a sequence of prepared questions. Because each participant is different and has had different experiences, “it makes sense to treat each one of them differently” (Gomm, 2004, p. 174). However, as I have said earlier, my research data were collected not only from interviewing, but also from documents and direct observation obtained from the case study institution. This is further explained in the section on case study design later in this chapter.

So, my intention to explore women lecturers’ collective experiences, based on my assumption that individuals’ thoughts, acts, and behaviour are socially constructed, suited an interpretivist approach. I interpreted my research participants’ views by using habitus as a lens to understand their everyday lives as individuals and as professionals.

In the following sections, I outline the methods I used in my research project. I focused on a case study group of lecturers from different departments in a single institution, Taman Ilmu, a pseudonym. This will now be discussed.

4.2.1 Case study research design

Case study can be used for a number of purposes (Merriam, 1998), in both quantitative research and qualitative research. In education, case study is “more likely to be qualitative” (Merriam, 1998, p. 19). According to Merriam (1998), a case study design in education is used to:

gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in text rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation. (p. 19)

Discussing case study, Stake (1995) argues that:

The real business of case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different

from, but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself. (p. 8)

Both statements can be directly related to the aim of my study. I wanted to explore, in detail, my case study group's perceptions of women and senior leadership positions in order to really understand what was going on in Taman Ilmu. Amerson (2011) suggests that by using case study research method, a researcher "report[s] data from a real-life context in a truthful and unbiased manner" (p. 427). Therefore, I used a case study design, and I used particular instruments to collect and analyse my research data. Yin (2003) points out that case study data can be collected from many sources, but he highlights six sources of evidence: "documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artefacts" (p. 83).

Different researchers have taken different types of data collection for their case study research (see, for example, Amerson, 2011; Pollock, Horn, Costanza, & Sayre, 2009; Strachan et al., 1995). To collect data from the case institution for the purpose of my study, I used interviews and observation as sources of data that I needed to generate further; and documents from Taman Ilmu as the source that already existed (Rapley, 2007). In terms of general observation, I observed daily interaction in Taman Ilmu. The analysis of documents and observations are presented in Chapter 6, where I describe the institution and regulations related to staff recruitment and especially to women's right to maternity leave and the eligibility for lecturers to occupy senior leadership positions.

Interview data were gained from 12 women lecturers and four men in senior managerial positions. Interviewing the four managers was important because it provided a cross-check with the stories from the women lecturers about constraints they had experienced in their workplace.

Vogt, Gardner and Haeffele (2012) include the questionnaire as a data collection instrument. They argue:

Case study research is a classic example of employing combined and iterative methods. By their very nature, case

studies utilize multiple methods to gather data from a variety of sources: interviews, observations, archives, questionnaires [I]n case study research, data analysis begins almost immediately and early findings serve to continuously refine both the research questions and the data collection process. (Vogt, Gardner, & Haefele, 2012, p. 110)

However, survey instruments would not have allowed me to probe the participants' thinking. A survey would have gathered more general data, but would not have accessed the particular conditions within which my participants lived and worked. My preference for using interviews is supported by at least two other reasons, that interviewing is commonly used in interpretive research (Merriam, 1998), and that it focuses on understanding the meaning of a conversation and "the complexity of human life" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 35).

Some researchers suggest that case study has a number of weaknesses. These include: perceived lack of rigour; provision of little basis for scientific generalisation; extensive time requirement; and the generation of massive, unreadable documentation (Yin, 2009). These claims, however, come from the perspective of quantitative research. Rigour in qualitative research would mean "using 'systematic' and 'accountable methods'" (Ackerly & True, 2010, p. 4); and it is "the principled development of strategy to suit the scenario being studied" (Holliday, 2002, p. 8). Accountable methods means that the researcher needs to use several methods as triangulation, so that the researcher could prevent potential biases (Bowen, 2009; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), I kept in mind these ideas during the data collection and analysis phases of the research. Triangulation can thus be seen as one of the attempts to make case study rigour (Kyburz-Graber, 2004). Moreover, Kyburz-Graber (2004) confirms that case study is "a challenging and exciting process" (Kyburz-Graber, 2004, p. 36) when researchers employ a sound procedure which is

extremely demanding and requires cooperation between various partners for triangulation purposes and between the researchers in the data analysis and interpretation phases as well as when evidence is drawn and findings are generalized. (Kyburz-Graber, 2004, p. 63)

Although I was the only researcher for my study, I used a high proportion of data to provide sound findings and discussions, by writing a report based on research data I collected from the research participants and from the institution.

A number of factors may be involved in conducting research using a case study qualitative approach as Hancock and Algozzine (2006) point out:

- The conducting of interviews, scheduling of observations, and/or reviewing of documents
- Having abundant time and resources
- Exploring an issue which may involve a host of factors
- Aiming at obtaining words rather than numbers in data collection
- Exploring a situation from the views of the researched
- Collection and analysis of the data by the researcher alone

Although I did not have abundant time and the resources were limited, the other criteria suited my research goal; that is, I wanted to explore a group of people's views about a specific phenomenon: the lack of women in senior leadership positions in higher education in Indonesia. To do so, as I have mentioned earlier, I intended to collect data by using interviews, observation and document reviews.

I employed case study design for collecting data because the purpose of my research is to understand why women are not well represented in senior leadership positions in tertiary education contexts in Indonesia. By using one case study institution, I was exploring "the perspectives of a particular set of informants on their experiences" (Biklen & Casella, 2007). In my case, I sought to understand my research participants' views on their experiences of their public and private social worlds, or social "fields" (Bourdieu, 1985), and how these experiences had influenced the way they made decisions regarding employment and careers.

A thorough analysis of a case study may produce generalisations that have the potential to be applied to similar cases (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, in Reinharz, 1992). However, the aim of my research was not to produce generalisation from my case study, but particularization as argued by Stake (1995)

earlier in this chapter. My aim is to explore what hindered women from occupying senior leadership positions in Taman Ilmu. This is in line with the ontology and epistemology I employed within the phenomenological qualitative research as I have discussed earlier in this chapter, in which I focussed on a particular situation by interpreting people's experience (Mertens, 2010; Sarantakos, 2005; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). A case study method suited my study aim because it focused on the exploration of the detailed information obtained from a small number of participants in one specific educational institution context.

4.2.1.1 Methods of information gathering

4.2.1.1.1 Interviewing

Interviewing is one of the data collection methods I used in my case study. It is “a way of finding out what others feel and think about their worlds” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 1), and is in some ways similar to everyday conversations. However, Rubin and Rubin (1995) differentiate interviews from everyday conversations in the following ways:

1. Interviews are a tool of research to learn how the individual interview participant feels, thinks and experiences the world examined through the questions. Through the process of analysis the result is made public in the research report.
2. Qualitative interviews start with questions from the researcher for the interviewee to respond to.
3. The content, flow and choices of topics may change to correspond with the interview participant's understanding, feelings and experiences.
4. The interviewer needs to listen attentively to be able to grasp the key words and identify the gaps in responses, in order to probe for deeper explanations.

I followed the above principles when I conducted the interviews with my research participants. Interviewing was used to “locate individuals in their overall life

experience as well as their broader socio-historical backgrounds within which they live” (Armstrong, 1987, p. 10), and to better understand their particular social life within my case study educational institution (Dex, 1991). Therefore, I conducted individual interviews in order to obtain a precise picture of each participant’s way of seeing their professional and personal worlds (Gomm, 2004). Furthermore, face-to-face interactions with my participants during interviews provided me with “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) about their involvement with their social fields. Thick description in qualitative approaches emphasises “interpretation and nuance; researchers address interview ... with an intensive focus, seeking a detailed analysis of process and/or meanings” (Sprague, 2005, p. 119). In other words, it is the task of researchers to obtain “descriptions [in order to] have relevant and precise material from which to draw interpretation” (Kvale, 1996, p. 33). Thus, in the context of my study, interviewing helped me unravel social practices by exploring how my participants understood particular facets of their lives (Petrie, 2005) by obtaining stories or descriptions from my participants and then drawing the interpretation from the collected data.

Some underpinning rules that applied to my study also feature in feminist research philosophy. The first is that my research is “to give insights into gendered social existence” (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002, p. 147). Second, the outcome of my research should bring positive social change (Reinharz, 1992), or should “be useful for effective transformation of gendered injustice and subordination” (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002, p. 147). Third, my research approach conceptualises “taken-for-granted male power” (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002, p. 147) both in the home and at the educational institution. My interview data were collected in order to better understand the forces operating on these women in their career experiences in an institution in which equal opportunity career advancement had been taken for granted. By examining the experiences and perceptions of women in such a workplace, I can better understand how this taken-for-granted ideal differed from the reality. In turn, this new knowledge may suggest actions the case study institution could develop to better link the ideal goal stated in the Indonesian Constitution 1945 with the reality.

Therefore, I hope that stories gained from the research participants can work together to form a larger story (Merriam, 1998) reflecting these women's positions in Javanese society and in their workplace. This may exemplify the situation for other women in East Javanese workplaces, because it is argued that "an interview is a window on a time and a social world that is experienced one person at a time, one incident at a time" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 11); it is possible that my findings may become a window through which women's workplace experiences can be understood better across a range of contexts.

4.2.1.1.2 Documents and observations

Bowen (2009) states that documents include "texts (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention" (p. 27). Document analysis is usually used together with other methods, in my case the interviews and observation as "a means of triangulation" (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). Swanborn (2010) explains that methods of data collection for the purpose of triangulation at least consist of observation, interviewing and documentary analysis. Documents I obtained from Taman Ilmu were provided to supplement research data and also to verify my research findings (Bowen, 2009). Furthermore, documents were assessed in the sense of being selective, that is, "covering only some aspects of the topic" (Bowen, 2009, p. 33), because as I have mentioned that it functioned as supplement and verification for my research findings from the interview data. However, documents of Taman Ilmu were not well filed and this caused difficulties for me to access a variety of documents rather than those I have used in this thesis. In general, observations that I conducted in Taman Ilmu led me to find out data from the available documents rather than to gain more data from the interviews.

Documents were collected from internal as well as external sources. The external sources related to the regulation of recruitment of Civil Service Employees and their responsibilities and rights as civil servants. The internal documents related to data of the numbers of lecturers and their civil service ranks, including those in leadership positions in Taman Ilmu. Analysis of all documents is presented in

Chapter 5. I made some direct observations of the workplace in the intervals between the interviews I conducted with the research participants of my study. For example, I observed the teaching and learning processes of this academic workplace and took note on incidents that occurred in that particular period which added to my analysis of the available documents. However, both observation and document analysis were mostly conducted in the first month after I got an access to Taman Ilmu from the head of institution. Early observation and document analysis would prevent me from data accumulation to analyse, considering that I would have interview data to transcribe as well.

4.3 Ethics

My study explores the perceptions and accounts of a particular group of women and men in one educational institution regarding views and aspirations about gaining senior leadership roles in their workplace. Researchers argue that ethics must be considered when the research involves human participants in order not to harm them (for example, Fontana & Frey, 2000; Hammersley & Traianou, 2012b; Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2001; Yin, 2009), and, in some cases, not to harm the researcher either (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012b). Hammersley and Traianou (2012b) define ethics as “a set of principles that embody or exemplify what is good or right, or allow us to identify what is bad or wrong” (p. 16). In other words, ethical issues deal with judging what is considered right or wrong when conducting research with humans. The researcher needs to be concerned with the “extrinsic values relevant to qualitative research: minimisation of harm, respect for autonomy, and the protection of privacy” (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012b, p. 56). Especially because I conducted a case study in one educational institution, several ethical concerns were considered to protect my research participants when interview data were being collected (Yin, 2009). These concerns are in line with the ethical conduct in human research regulation of the University of Waikato (The University of Waikato, 2005). I received ethical approval from the University in 2006 to conduct my research (see Appendix 1). In the following section I explain the ethical points necessitated in my study which

are grouped into the ethical principles of autonomy, beneficence, and justice (Orb et al., 2001).

1. **Autonomy** - respecting the rights of research participants (Orb et al., 2001).

Access to research participants was obtained from the head of Taman Ilmu. A formal letter was sent to the head of Taman Ilmu in order to get an approval of my purpose to conduct a study in this tertiary educational institution (see Appendix 2). Upon receiving the reply, I then went to see him to further explain my step-by-step plan to conduct the study. At this meeting, I asked his approval to approach the research participant candidates. The research participants were selected from the list of lecturers I obtained from one of the offices in Taman Ilmu. I chose the lecturers who taught the main subjects which were related to engineering. I approached the lecturers from the senior staff, considering that their long periods of working in Taman Ilmu would provide them with adequate views on teaching and leadership issues. However, for the male participants, I had decided that I would interview four men in senior leadership positions, the head of Taman Ilmu, the deputy-head of academic affairs, and two heads of departments. These people were those whom I considered “strongly involved in the phenomenon under study” (Swanborn, 2010, p. 74).

First of all, the participants received my research written information from the pamphlets (see Appendix 3), which I handed to them the first time I met them. This gave them time to consider whether they wished to be involved in my research. This was to respect the autonomy of the research participants (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012a; Orb et al., 2001). The pamphlet was written in English and therefore to confirm that the information about research background, aims, design, access and ethics were clearly understood I clarified it in the Indonesian language. I was also ready to answer their queries. Once they agreed to participate in my study, I gave them the interview questions (see Appendix 5) so that they were quite clear about the kinds of things I wanted to ask them, and that there were no surprises. The pamphlets and verbal explanation were meant for the

participants to be informed as to how I would conduct my research and to give their consent.

I handed the consent form to each research participant. Providing and explaining the consent form was also important because my participants were not familiar with this practice. I explained further that it was the regulation of the University of Waikato I needed to explain that it is both a common practice in western research and a regulation of the University of Waikato that when a researcher conducts a research project involving people, the participants need to give their informed consent to be involved in the research and to be aware of what it would involve. The lecturers as my research participants might not be aware of giving consent because they conducted research dealing with non-human subjects. They all signed the consent form I provided for them (Appendix 4).

Although it was clearly written in the pamphlet that participants might withdraw from their participation in the research, I explained it again to them and said that participants had the right to refuse to answer any questions and the right to withdraw from the research at any time prior to interview data were analysed. However, I put a restriction that they could withdraw within 1 month of their participation, because I had only limited time to collect my research data and I would need time to find substitute participants. But nobody withdrew from their participation in my research.

2. Beneficence – “doing goods for others and preventing harm” (Orb et al., 2001).

According to Hammersley and Traianou (2012b) harms may include: “[d]amage to reputation or status, or to relations with significant others, for example through the disclosure of information that was previously unknown to some relevant audience” (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012b, p. 62). Based on point 13 (3) Ethical Conduct of the University of Waikato, harm would include “pain, stress, emotional distress, fatigue, embarrassment, and exploitation” (The University of Waikato, 2005). In order to minimise harm, there were several considerations I took in dealing with my participants.

Confidentiality was one of the considerations of minimising harm. In the case of my study, the risk was that participants could be identified and their comments could create problems for them in their workplace. This risk was reduced as much as possible by the following considerations:

- Participants and institution were given pseudonyms to protect privacy and their confidentiality.
- No-one except the researcher had access to interview data.

Participants were told that detailed information from this research would be used only for academic purposes, that is, for the thesis and related seminars or subsequent journal articles, which would be conducted with respect to protection of the institution and the research participants' privacy and the "no harm" issues. Protection of privacy and confidentiality also meant that sometimes I could not provide full descriptions of the institution and the research participants.

During the collection of interview data, I was also aware of countering conflicts of interest by always focussing on the purpose of my research study. As stated above, the collection of data would be used only for the purpose of my study. Transcripts of data were given to each participant so that they could read and comment on my transcription of their data. One woman out of 16 participants commented on a small part which she clarified further so that I could get the right meaning of what she intended to express. The other 15 participants did not have any objections or further comment after reading the interview transcriptions. All research participants agreed to let me use the interview data for my study purpose.

3. **Justice** – “equal share and fairness ... [to avoid] exploitation and abuse of participants” (Orb et al., 2001, p. 95)

Regarding the cultural and social issues, I was a cultural insider and therefore in some ways it was perhaps easier for me to interact with the participants, in the sense of sharing. Coming from the same culture made it easy for me and the participants to understand each other better when we communicated. One of the benefits for me as an insider was that I could use the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) when interviewing them. I maintained a position where the participants and I might share our ideas, but with an emphasis on their story-sharing for my research purpose. However, at the same time, I was also an outsider in that I was from another institution and thus to some extent a stranger for my research participants and their institution.

In several cases I could not meet the participants as scheduled because of some official or individual circumstances. I would then reschedule the interview meetings as agreed by them. This was to prevent the exploitation or abuse of the research participants. It was also to show respect to the participants in some ways.

4.4 Interviewing process and interview data analysis

4.4.1 Prior steps in approaching the institution and the research participants

On arriving in Indonesia I visited Taman Ilmu to meet the head of the institution, to introduce myself as a University of Waikato student and to explain my intention to conduct research in this institution. This was an important first move since he was the person through whom I could access my research participants (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). I asked for his approval to conduct interviews with 12 female lecturers and four male lecturers in senior leadership positions, to collect some documents of the institution that related to my study, and to make some observations around Taman Ilmu. I realised that I would need to be careful with my speech. I would need to show my respect to him. I knew that people in senior leadership have the same status as one's elders, and that they demand

respect for the senior from the younger. To some extent, I felt this gap. It was not like when I talked to an older person in New Zealand, for example, where I could feel that we were equal. In my culture I had to address people with certain terms, *Bapak* Idris, or *Ibu* Syafitri, like the English “Mr” or “Mrs”, but with a slight difference. Mr or Mrs is followed by a family name, whereas *Bapak* or *Ibu* is followed by a first name. However, I could not just call them by names. This is an example of how the habitus of Indonesians has been constructed by the language we use to address people. Moreover, the Javanese language’s hierarchical usages significantly affect how people communicate with each other, which influences the way we communicate in Indonesian language as the lingua franca. In other words, there is an embodied disposition to behave politely when communicating with seniors or elders, or the perceived elite, although we communicate in Indonesian language. Body gesture also plays an important role when we communicate face-by-face. The shoulder bow, as I noted in Chapter 3, was always there in my body gesture when I spoke to people in high leadership positions.

This meeting also meant I could remind him of a letter I had sent prior to my arrival (see Appendix 2). I also brought research information pamphlets with me for distribution to candidates considering participation in my research at Taman Ilmu. I handed in the pamphlet for them to read when I met them personally. The pamphlet clarified my study and the goals of research, the rights of participants involved in my research, and other information related to my research (see Appendix 3). At this meeting with the head of the institution, I also handed him a pamphlet because he was one of my research participants in a senior leadership position.

I explained that I would like to interview each participant twice. The first round would have two meetings. The first was for the interview and the second was for further confirmation. It was not only to confirm that the participants had read and approved the interview transcript, but also if necessary to clarify matters arising from the initial interview. I was relieved that he was willing to participate, because, as the head of the institution, he could be regarded as an “elite participant”

(Mutch, 2006; Odendahl & Shaw, 2002). He wanted to be interviewed last. I understood that he was busy at that time of the year. In practice, it was difficult for us to find a time. Several times when I visited his office he was not available because of sudden unexpected tasks. I was finally able to interview him very late one afternoon.

Next, I visited the other potential research candidates. I had obtained their names from the list of teaching staff in Taman Ilmu. First, I attempted to select female candidates from the first twelve on a list of Taman Ilmu's lecturers. However, not all of those women were available at that time of the year because some were on leave. I eventually made arrangements with twelve female lecturers dealing with engineering subjects from different departments who wanted to participate in my study. The male participants were in senior leadership positions, from different departments, and the head of Taman Ilmu himself. It was not easy either to find the candidates because I arrived in the middle of a semester break. It took two weeks to find the lecturers and explain the purpose of the interviews. The interviews occurred when the lecturers were available after the teaching recess.

Accessing the other participants could also produce a barrier. Coming from the same culture, as an insider, sometimes I could not separate myself from my habitual cultural position and found it difficult to meet with some participants as equals. When a person was in a senior managerial position or was senior in terms of length of service in this institution, this was difficult. For example, one participant made me wait for about two hours and intermittently came out to see me to tell me to wait a little bit longer. A staff member who knew that I was waiting for this person told me to be patient, signalling that this person frequently behaved this way. I understood that because I was in the position of needing this participant, I had to patiently wait. I did not give up.

In terms of habitus, perhaps this person believed that seniority means authority and power. This person, it seemed, wanted to explicitly show this to me by this behaviour. This belief about seniority and authority is common in Javanese

culture. While I finally completed the interview, I felt that this display of authority had affected the flow of the interview. For example, the flow was affected by the way the participant replied to my interview questions. The answers from this person were not as explicit as those given by other participants. This constrained my asking for further explanation, or probing. So, in this case I could not conduct an interview where there was an equal position between the researcher and the researched (Reinharz, 1992).

4.4.2 Interviewing

The interviews on average took about 90 minutes, and some were longer because of interruptions precipitated by room and timing issues such as having to use a shared office when no other space was available, or having to undertake interviews in gaps in teaching schedules so participants could keep an eye on students in laboratory settings in adjacent rooms. Second, several women seemed to want to share information on topics not immediately relevant to my study; for example, a woman talked about why she preferred to choose private schools for her children. When this happened I did not want to break abruptly into their story but had to wait until I had a chance to bring the conversation back to the intended focus. In several cases, I also responded to their “other” story when the participants signalled that they needed my responses.

Men as managers were usually available in their offices and therefore I went to their offices to interview them. Visiting these men in their offices suggested the level of respect they would expect as managers. It was also culturally not acceptable to ask them to use other spaces. However, interviewing my participants in shared offices led to interruptions, either by colleagues who came into the office for a while (they left when they knew that we were holding an interview), or people who needed the managers’ signatures or something else related to their leadership roles.

Most interviews were conducted within the scheduled time. I transcribed all the first interviews in the Indonesian language, and this took about three hours each. I

then returned the transcripts to the participants together with a formal letter for reviewing the transcript (Appendix 6). However, I knew how busy they were and feared that I might not get the feedback from them in due time. So, at the time I met each participant to return their transcript, I asked if they would like to read the transcript while I was there. If not, I came back later.

Once they were happy with the transcripts and we had clarified any matters related to the research questions, I sought more information about particular points they raised so that I could gain more detail. Some participants read the transcripts right away and added further comments to the transcripts while reading.

Overall, I felt that I had represented their views in the transcripts well because at least one participant commented that the transcript represented the way they remembered the interview. So, I felt affirmed that I was being faithful to what they had said. By checking the transcripts with the participants, I ensured that I had transcribed the exact words of the interview. The opportunity given to the participants to re-read the transcripts helped reaffirm the reliability and validity of the interview data (Kervin, Vialle, Herrington, & Okely, 2006) in the Indonesian language.

On returning to New Zealand, I translated each data set into English and analysed it. I translated all data in Indonesian language into English by myself in order to maintain the validity and reliability of the data, as suggested by Twinn (1997). Twinn (1997) examines the implication on translation between languages (Cantonese to both English and Chinese) on the research area of nursing. It showed that the production of different translations conducted by two translators might affect the reliability and validity of data analysis. She notes the importance of using one translator to maximise the reliability of data analysis. She also comments on the problem of translating terms for which when there was no English equivalent. In my study, when some of the participants expressed some terms in Javanese language, I sought advice from a third person about the meaning of those terms and noted them in the Indonesian language, before I translated them into English. Another reason for translating the Indonesian interview data into English by myself was to minimise the possibility of breaking the confidentiality that I had promised the participants in return for them allowing me to use their stories.

The process of data analysing is described after my brief elaboration of habitus. Habitus as I have already outlined is the worldview derived from how people come to embody dispositions. Many dispositions develop from an early age through the socialisation practices of one's family; and, to recap, a disposition is a value or belief that people learn from their involvement with the social world.

4.4.3 Interview data analysis

4.4.3.1 Habitus as my analytical lens

This concept is very important to my study in an educational institution, because the institution constituted a field, with some people who were dominant and others who were dominated. In other words, in this male-centred educational institution, women are considered not as equal as their male colleagues because of the habitus each individual brings to this institution; and these habituses together form a distinctive institutional habitus. Therefore, using habitus as a lens helps me

understand why so few women had leadership roles in this institution. As argued by Reay (2004) that habitus can be used as a tool to interrogate research data. In this sense, when analysing my interview data, I referred to the notion of habitus, capital, field and practice as needed.

Habitus has been a significant concept for analysing my research findings, because I am exploring the nature of gendered social conditions affecting women's negotiation of their public careers and private domestic roles in Java. In other words, I am examining how habitus affected my participants' thoughts and behaviour in their social fields. In the context of my study, I differentiate my participants' social fields into micro, meso and macro fields. The micro field is the familial environment, the meso field is the workplace under study, while the macro field includes both the wider Javanese cultural practices and the government policies. In my study, I am looking at how habitus influences the women's aspirations and expectations of the role that they prioritise in the micro field; and how habitus directs what they should do or should not do, which affects the way the women think and act in their meso social field. This discussion of the micro, meso and macro social field is important because field involves dominant and subordinate actors. This is crucial to my discussion. The interrelation between habitus, field and capital in my study is discussed in Chapter 7, where I also use Entwistle and Rocamora's (2006) description of habitus, field and capital, discussed in Chapter 3, to explain the phenomena of my research findings.

4.4.3.2 Thematic analysis

I used thematic analysis to make sense of the interview data (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor, & Tindall, 1994), because qualitative research aims at providing rich findings (Patton, 1990). Boyatzis (1998) argues that thematic analysis is merely a process that works with qualitative data, but Braun and Clark (2006) advocate that it is a method in its own right that can be used across a range of approaches. In other words, they argue that thematic analysis is not attached to any qualitative methodology. I used thematic analysis to explore my interview data without constraining my ability to derive deep meaning from what

participants told me. I have used thematic analysis within my interpretivist paradigm or perspective, and refer to Braun and Clarke's (2006) and Attride-Stirling's (2001) thematic analysis principles, even though they used different terms in their analyses. In terms of handling interview data, Braun and Clarke (2006) differentiate them into data corpus (the entire interview data), data set (those which are used in the analysis), data item (individual interview), and data extract (individual coded data). Attride-Sterling (2001) did not use these differentiation terms but called her thematic analysis a "thematic network" because it demonstrates a cobweb-like structure (Attride-Stirling, 2001). She argues that a thematic network serves "as an organizing principle and an illustrative tool in the interpretation of the text, facilitating disclosure for the researcher and understanding for the reader" (Attride-Stirling, 2001, pp. 389-390). She identifies three types of themes generated from the analysis: global themes, organising themes, and basic themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). On the other hand, Braun and Clarke (2006) called the results of analysis themes and subthemes. In my data analysis, I used the terms data corpus, data set, data extract, data item, and also global themes, organising themes, and basic themes where applicable.

To begin the analysis, I separated data corpus into two: one was interview data from the women, and the other one from the men. I read all interview data (data corpus) and coded them. For example, when the women said that their families had to come first, I coded this with 'domestic first'. A theme, Gomm (2004) says, is "something about the way the minds of interviewees are organised" (p. 196), or, according to Ryan and Bernard (2003) an "abstract (and often fuzzy) [construct] that link[s] ... expressions found in texts" (p. 87). Themes may be identified through repetitions found in one data set. An example is as follows:

My duties as a *housewife* and a mother must come first and then I am supported to work outside home. It is my husband's demand that I must fulfil all *home duties* before going to work. If I do not do what he expects from me, he will make an ultimatum: "It's either you or I who work". So, I prioritise my *home job* to be able to keep my job. [mei VII.6-9]

The notions of *housewife*, *home duties*, and *home job* indicate repetitions and therefore can be categorised under the ‘domestic first’ theme. From my research data corpus I started by identifying 12 main themes emerging from the women’s data set that eventually became three organising themes, as in Figure 3 in this chapter. From the men’s data set I started with seven themes that became three organising themes, as in figure 4.

A theme can also be identified through similarities and differences (Ryan & Bernard, 2003), or through “comparisons and contrasts between the different respondents” (Gomm, 2004, p. 189). Therefore, in analysing my interview data, I used these identifications to find the themes. Themes were also derived from latent and manifest content analysis. Latent deals with what is implied in the participant’s account, while manifest deals with what is visible from the account (Boyatzis, 1998). The next step was to decide which themes could be the basic themes, the organising themes, and the global themes.

Themes cannot be thought of as simply emerging from data because it is the researcher who decides the themes to be reported (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data must be analysed because they do not “speak for themselves” (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002, p. 160). Data analysis can be understood as visualising patterns in the form of thematic network (Attride-Stirling, 2001), making sense and giving shape to the interview data, and controlling the amount of data that will be used to fit the aim of the research (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). The themes that I generated from my research data and my habitus lens are explored in the next chapter.

4.4.3.2.1 My thematic analysis process

My thematic analysis began with classifying the participants’ data into groups based on the interview questions, using aspects of La Pelle’s (2004) method of organising data. She used computer software Qualitative Data Analysis to organise and analyse her research data. I used Microsoft Word to organise my data corpus to create tables in order to be easy to retrieve words or sentences from

the data set. I conducted two separate analyses, one for the women, and another one for the men. I analysed my data manually because of the relatively small number of participants and thus I did not deal with a large data corpus. I also considered that if I used a specific computer software program for analysing my data, it would mean that I had to learn to operate a more complicated system and this would require more skill. Instead, I used Microsoft Word tables to arrange each research question and the participants' answers. For example, my first interview question is: "I would like to find out a little about your background. To what extent do you think your background influenced the work you are doing at present?" All the women's answers to this question went into one table, and the men's answers into another table headed by the question. The following table is an example of the first step of organising my interview data.

Table 1. Organisation of interview data: Sample

	Interview Question/Participant Response
Participants	I would like to find out a little about your background. To what extent do you think your background influenced your line of study and the work you are doing at present?
Syafitri	Teaching has been my dream since I was at college. I decided to become a lecturer because I was thinking about my future: marriage and family. As a wife and mother, I would have duties to carry out.
Nunik	I believe that everybody wants to get a job, although no one can predict or decide the kind of job a person will have. In my opinion, having a job does not guarantee that a woman can organise time for family commitments. That's the barrier. My sister ... had to resign from the job because she had to take care of her family. Most people consider that it is good for women to become lecturers.
Atik	My dream was not in teaching, but I was aware that I would become a lecturer when I applied for a position in Taman Ilmu. Nobody in my family is a teacher. However, my husband supports me very much to work in Taman Ilmu. He knew that I am a person who easily gets bored and angry. He doesn't mind me working as long as I still have much time for my family.

Microsoft Word table helped me to easily arrange data to other steps. For example, the second step is that I numbered the phrases of each participant's account as in the following table:

Table 2. Example of coding responses

I would like to find out a little about your background. To what extent do you think your background influenced your line of study and the work you are doing at present?
Teaching has been my dream since I was at college. [sya I.1]
I decided to become a lecturer because I was thinking about my future: marriage and family. [sya I.2]
As a wife and mother, I would have duties to carry out. [sya I.3]

As an organising principle, I used abbreviated names, by taking the first three letters of the name, and numbered important phrases. For example, for 'Syafitri', I wrote 'sya'. Numbering data helped me with selecting and grouping phrases for coding by referring to the research question and the literature. For example:

I had never imagined that I would become a lecturer [ran I.8]

Teaching was not my career option [end I.6]

I did not dream of becoming a lecturer, but teaching was the career option I had after marriage [han I.5]

The above are initially coded as 'alternative choice'. However, it is worth noting that many times I needed to check the original data to ensure that the selections represented the idea of the coding. Using Microsoft Word also benefitted me in terms of retrieving phrases from data corpus.

My thematic analysis is drawn in Figure 4 from women's accounts and in Figure 5 from men's accounts on the next pages. In Figure 4, three global themes which describe different aspects of social field and habitus at work emerged from the women's accounts. For example, career path is the primary theme. The second is

the obligation women feel to juggle work to fit the expectations of their primary role as wife and mother. The third deals with the women and their workplace. In Figure 5, three global themes were identified from the men's accounts: career path, the institutional life, and their own lives as heads of their families.

The thematic analysis was a meticulous and time-consuming process. This meant that the categorisation of the final themes was arrived at after considerable layers of analysis. These layers of analysis unpicked the data through the habitus lens, which helped me understand the nature of participants' work and domestic lives. The final themes in Figure 3 and Figure 4 occurred as the result of reshuffling the order so that I could more clearly represent the key layers of these themes. In turn, this helped me make sense of why so few women were represented in leadership roles in Taman Ilmu.

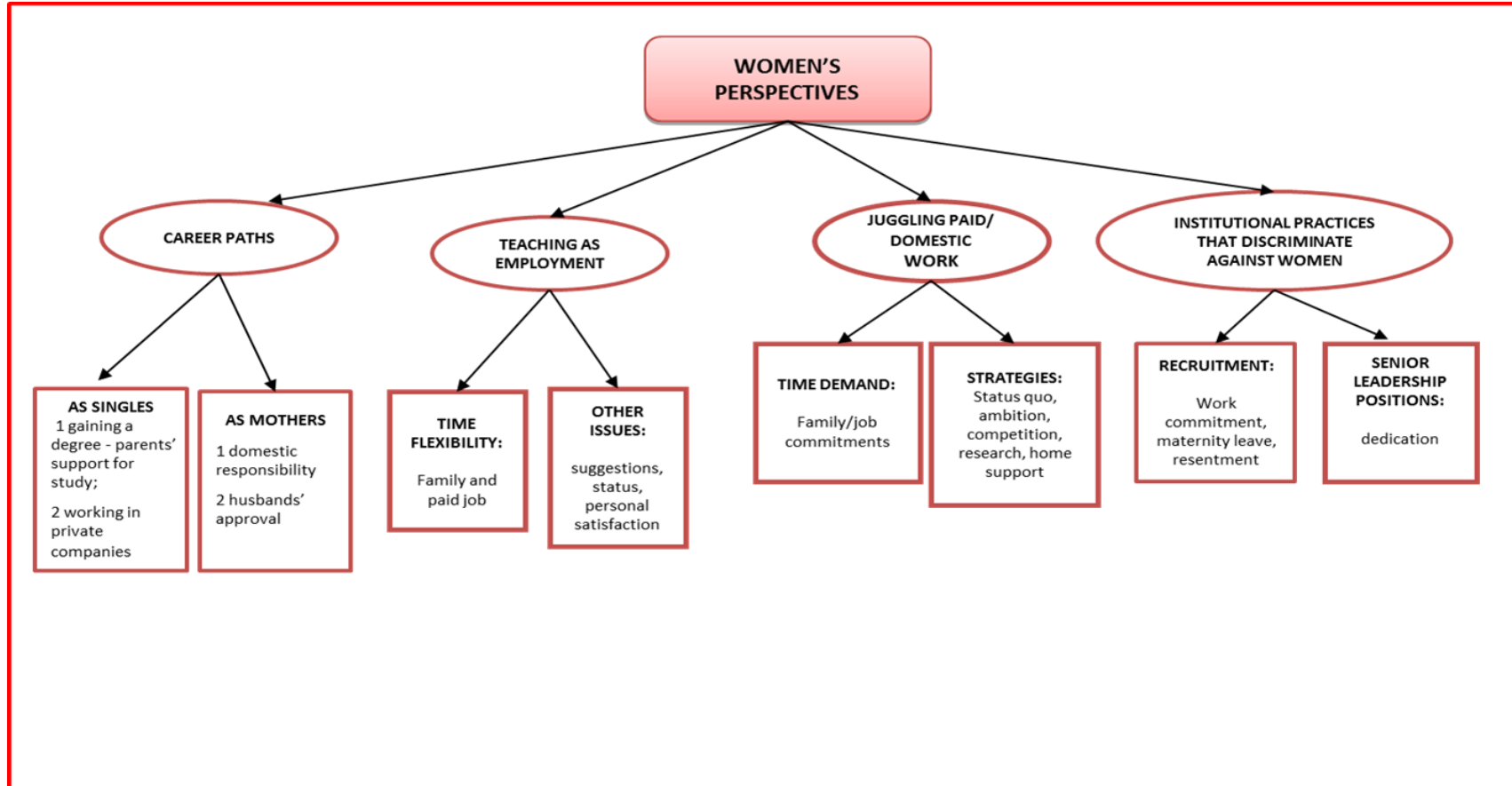


Figure 4. Thematic analysis of women's data set

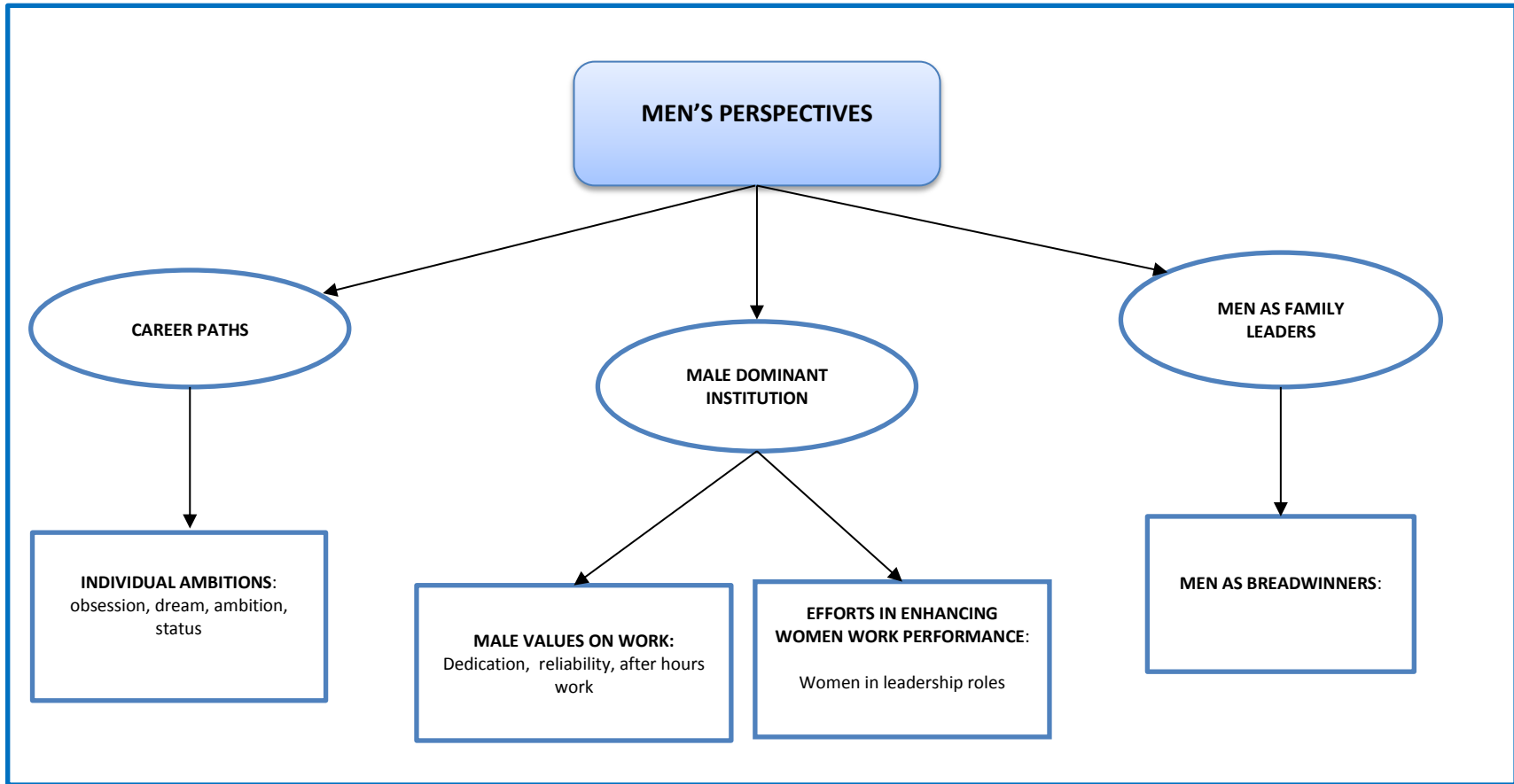


Figure 5. Thematic analysis of men's data set

4.5 Chapter summary

In this methodology chapter, I started with exploring the ontology, epistemology and methodology within the qualitative research paradigm. My ontological view was based on constructionism, arguing that individuals were constructed by social forces. This view was best explored by using epistemological view of interpretivism, which focuses on “the interpretation of meaningful human expressions” (Smith, 1992, p. 102). To find out my enquiries, I use case study in qualitative research design. It was briefly explored that there were advantages and disadvantages of using case study and qualitative research.

Methods of gathering data from Taman Ilmu as my case study institution included interviewing, observation, and document analysis. In collecting research data I carefully referred to the research ethics, which I had discussed in this chapter.

Descriptions and procedures on how I conducted interviews and observation, and collected documents from Taman Ilmu were provided. I also discussed how I analysed the interview data, provided some examples, and ended the chapter by providing two thematic analysis diagrams, from the women’s accounts and from the men’s accounts, as the result of my data analysis.

In the next chapter, I provide the result of observation and document analysis from Taman Ilmu, and general details of my research participants.

CHAPTER FIVE: SETTING THE INSTITUTIONAL SCENE

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the situation of the case institution, based on direct observations and information in the documents of Taman Ilmu, including the external document on the regulation of civil service employees (Djarmika & Marsono, 1990; Nainggolan, 1982), and several internal documents. I also describe the background of each research participant, based on interviews and the information from the documents.

5.2 The case institution

The case institution, *Taman Ilmu* (its pseudonym), began with an intake of less than 150 students over 30 years ago. The number of female students was 10% of the total students. During the first years of its operation, Taman Ilmu mostly had outsourced part-time lecturers from the surrounding universities for conducting teaching and learning activities. It gradually recruited permanent teaching staff. Taman Ilmu offers several qualifications in engineering studies that students need to complete in three to four years, ranging from Diploma to Bachelor degrees.

The Board of Managers of Taman Ilmu consists of a Head and three deputies, who are in charge of Academic Affairs, Home Affairs, and Students Affairs. The Head of Taman Ilmu is nominated by the Senate and elected by lecturers and administrative staff in Taman Ilmu. The elected head then has the right to choose the deputy heads. The Board of Managers had not included any woman up to the time I collected data for my research.

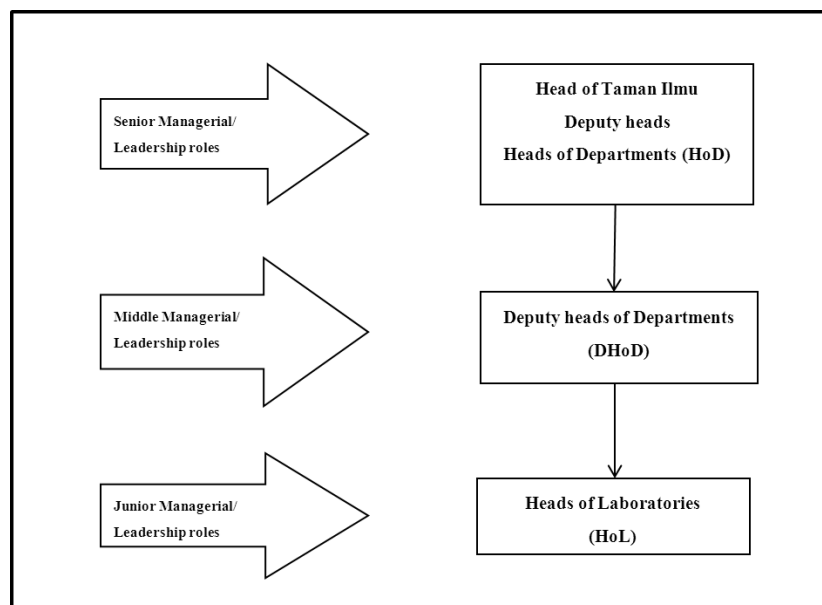
Since its inception, Taman Ilmu has increased the number of departments, and at the time of collecting my research data, there were several departments dealing with engineering and information technology. It has also increased the number of students and staff. Over two decades the number of students approached 2000 students, of which 25% were female students. Over the same period the number of women lecturers increased slowly, from about six women to 31 women. At the time when I conducted my research, there were 25% women lecturers out of all

teaching staff. Most recruited lecturers were fresh graduates with an engineering background. Nobody had obtained teaching qualifications when they were completing their engineering degrees. Most female and male lecturers have school-aged children.

5.2.1 Classification of leadership levels

Table 3 describes the levels of leadership, which I classify into senior, middle, and lower leadership roles. Positions at the level of senior leadership roles consist of the Head and Deputy Head of Taman Ilmu, and the Head of Departments. People in these positions are those included in the board of managers' meeting in Taman Ilmu.

Table 3. Levels of leadership roles in Taman Ilmu



5.3 Recruitment and system of teaching in Taman Ilmu

Based on my analysis of the external document of Taman Ilmu, any person of an age below 40 years can become a civil service employee, with some requirements such as not being involved with any political party. This requirement of not involving oneself in a political party shows the restriction the government enforces for the harmonisation of the state, as put into force by Suharto (see Chapter 2, under the section of “Women’s organisations within the Indonesian patriarchal governance”). In any other case, there is no differentiation in regulation between women and men employees. The only regulation specifically for women is for maternity leave (Djarmika & Marsono, 1990; Nainggolan, 1982), summarised later in this chapter.

During Taman Ilmu’s earlier operational years, the pattern of recruitment was through word of mouth. This pattern is commonly accepted, as it is stated in the regulations of civil service employees that an institution does not need to announce publicly when it needs to recruit only a small number of new employees (Djarmika & Marsono, 1990, pp. 58-59). Applicants heard about vacancies from their friends or acquaintances already teaching there. Over time, Taman Ilmu has been more publicly advertising to recruit staff. Every lecturer is trusted to teach as if they were already professionals, since nobody is mentoring new lecturers. A new lecturer has to undertake a week’s training on teaching methodology. No further training is available. Every new staff member becomes a permanent full-time lecturer once all the official requirements have been completed. It usually takes one year for this process.

Taman Ilmu organises its programmes and teaching along relatively common lines:

1. Students in each department are grouped into classes according to their choice of field of study.
2. Students in one class learn the same subjects for one semester. It is different from the learning system conducted by the University of Waikato, for example, where students choose their majors and learn the subjects with other

students with the same choices of subjects. In Taman Ilmu, subjects of a study programme have been tailored and students are obliged to take up all subjects and complete the credits within each semester during the range of study times. Students stay with the same classmates until they complete their credits.

3. Each class consists of 30 students.
4. Lecturers teach the same class for one semester. Consequently, a lecturer has a one-week teaching timetable with time and space. Sometimes, one lecturer has a responsibility for teaching two subjects of study. In one semester of 16 weeks, a lecturer is usually responsible for teaching six classes, on average. Each class has between two to four hours of face-to-face teaching time. One session of teaching is equivalent to 50 minutes of teaching. Teaching load for a lecturer is between 12 – 24 hours per week.
5. Every class has a class representative, who is responsible for mediating between students and lecturers or administrative staff.
6. Sometimes flexibility is accepted but only in emergency situations. Lecturers may postpone teaching a class in emergencies, such as through family circumstances, sick leave, training, or when required to perform other duties from Taman Ilmu. Lecturers can communicate these cancelations via text to students' cell phones. Later, the lecturer and class representative negotiate a substitute time for the postponed class.

5.4 Salary and Promotion

Taman Ilmu follows the salary system of the government of Indonesia; that is, every civil servant is paid according to their rank. The ranks in civil service are classified from I to IV, each with a division from (a) to (d). A lecturer, with a Bachelor of Honours degree, who starts working in a higher education institution, is in the rank of IIIa. Every civil servant is paid according to the educational background and length of employment in the civil service. Different ranks have different salary payments. Although the system does not differentiate whether the payee is a woman or a man, women lecturers in Taman Ilmu seem to get lower salary. Table 4 shows the numbers of women and men according to the ranks in Taman Ilmu in two dates that are three years apart, Year X and Year Y. I have

removed the original dates to keep the institution anonymous. It shows the higher the rank the fewer the women. Women occupy lower ranks (IIIa - IIIId). The number of men in higher ranks could mean that men get promotion more easily rather than women. I provide the graphic representation of Table 4 in Figure 6 to clearly demonstrate the difference between women and men according to their civil service ranks in Taman Ilmu.

Table 4. Numbers of women and men as lecturers in Taman Ilmu

Ranks	Year X		Total	Year Y		Total
	Women	Men		Women	Men	
IIIa	13	38	51	6	31	37
IIIb	7	6	13	5	6	11
IIIc	7	22	29	11	15	26
IIId	3	10	13	5	14	19
IVa	1	10	11	2	16	18
IVb	0	2	2	1	7	8
IVc	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total	31	88	119	30	91	121

Source of figures:
List of ranks of lecturers of Taman Ilmu
in certain years provided by Human Resources staff

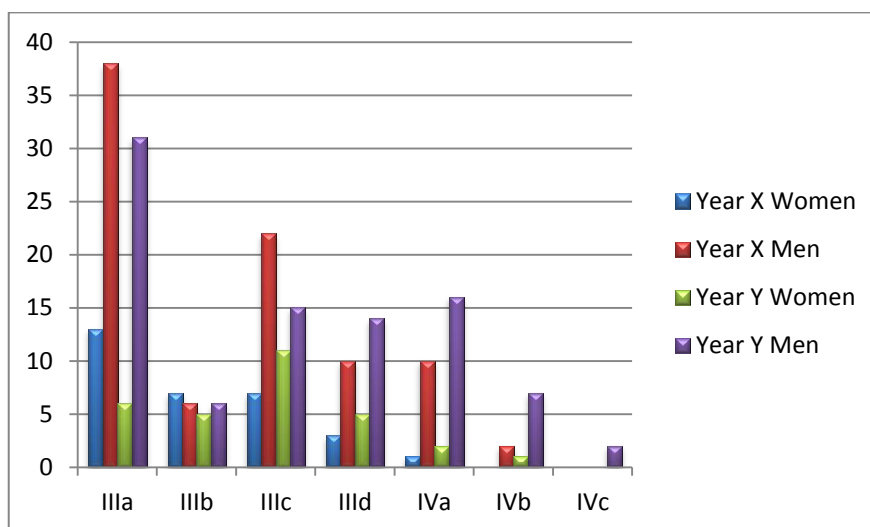


Figure 6. Graphic representation of Table 4.

Promotion between ranks for civil servants working as lecturers in higher education is based on the accumulation of credit points obtained from three educational activities: education and teaching, research, and community service, within a certain range of time. This system benefits teaching staff who have many teaching hours and are active in conducting research and community service, such as managing short workshops on computer related applications, or conducting short technical training courses for the public. This also means that lecturers can be promoted as soon as they gain the required credit points. The figures in Table 4 could also mean that more men were able to conduct research and community service along with teaching duties. According to the regulation of rank promotion, a lecturer would be able to be promoted to a higher rank within two years when credit points from those three educational activities are completed. This would mean that a lecturer from the rank of IIIa could gain a rank of IVa in eight years.

Lecturers holding senior managerial positions must have at least a rank of IVa. However, in spite of the eligibility of ranks for occupying senior leadership position, women are still occupying lower positions. Table 5 on the following page illustrates the numbers of female lecturers in lower to middle leadership positions (within the range of IIIa to IIIId) compared to males. The total number shows that there is imbalance between women and men in leadership positions. These figures demonstrate that female lecturers were still occupying lower leadership roles, although there was an increased number from Year X to Year Y. Figure 7 is the graphic representation of Table 5.

Table 5. Lecturers in leadership positions

Ranks	Year X		Total	Year Y		Total
	Women	Men		Women	Men	
IIIa	1	11	12	0	8	8
IIIb	3	4	7	4	2	6
IIIc	5	16	21	7	4	11
IIId	1	5	6	3	7	10
IVa	1	9	10	1	8	9
IVb	0	2	2	1	4	5
Total	11	47	58	16	33	49
Total (%)	19%	81%	100%	33%	67%	100%

Source of figures: List of lecturers in leadership positions of Taman Ilmu in certain years provided by Human Resources staff

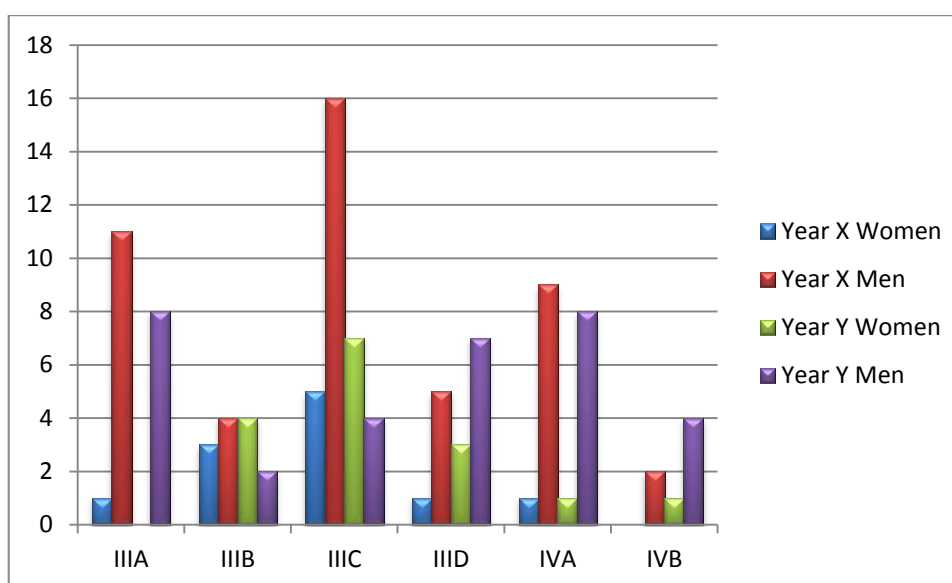


Figure 7. Graphic representation of Table 5.

5.5 Maternity leave

Women can have maternity leave up to three months, which must be taken one month prior to giving birth, and another two months after giving birth. During the maternity leave, women have the right to receive full salary. They must return to work after the maternity leave is over. Maternity leave is available for women up

to their third child. Maternity leave is also an important aspect in my study, because my research participants mentioned it regarding women's absence in the workplace. This is discussed in Chapter 6 and 7.

5.6 Research participants

This section briefly profiles my research participants. The women participants were selected from the list of lecturers in Taman Ilmu. They all had worked longer than five years in Taman Ilmu. The men were selected based on their leadership positions in Taman Ilmu.

5.6.1 Female lecturers

Syafitri had worked in Taman Ilmu for less than ten years at the time we did the interview. She enjoyed working as a lecturer, because teaching was her only ambition when she was in tertiary college. Teaching in Taman Ilmu was her first experience in a paid job. She had primary school children of her own and was helped in the home by paid home helpers who looked after the children and the home. Having more than one home-helper is common in Java especially when the family has young children. Other than teaching in Taman Ilmu, she was actively involved in the community. She came from a family of teachers: both her parents had worked in civil service institutions and her husband worked in a private educational company. She came from a big family.

Nunik had been working in several educational institutions as a part-time lecturer when eventually she decided to have a permanent paid job in Taman Ilmu. At the time of the interview, she had been working for more than 10 years. At that moment she was a head of laboratory. She enjoyed teaching in a state education institution, although in the first few months of her working in Taman Ilmu, she did not receive her civil service salary. However, she got the accumulated salary several months later. She had secondary and primary school children of her own. She also had a live-in home helper, and her husband worked in a private company.

Atik had been working in Taman Ilmu for more than ten years. She married and entered Taman Ilmu at about the same time. She was also in a lower leadership

position. She could go to Taman Ilmu and spend almost all the office hours there because she had several live-in home helpers. At the time of interview, she had primary school children. Her husband worked in a private company. She came from a small family; her father had worked in a civil service institution, and her mother was a housewife. At the time of interview she was a head of laboratory.

Hani had been working for more than ten years in Taman Ilmu. This was her first paid job. At first she wanted to work in a private company, other than teaching. She worked after she married. When she entered Taman Ilmu, she had school-aged children and was helped by home helpers. Her husband worked in a private company and had to often leave home for several days at a time.

Wiwik had worked as an outsourced employee in a private company. Because of her employment status, she was thinking of a permanent paid job and a secured one. She did not have much experience in teaching, other than some tutoring experience for junior students in her tertiary educational institution. She had school-aged children and had home helpers. She was a deputy head of department at the time of the interview. Her husband worked in a private company. Her father worked in a civil service institution and her mother had worked part time in a private company.

Kuntum had worked in a private company after she graduated from the university. She then married and changed her job to teaching. She finally applied to become a permanent lecturer in Taman Ilmu. She had school-aged children and had some home helpers.

Meinar worked in a private company until she had children. She then applied for a teaching position in Taman Ilmu and became a permanent lecturer. She had school-aged children and several home helpers. She had not planned to become a lecturer, but after some time working at Taman Ilmu she thought that teaching was enjoyable. Her husband worked in a civil service institution. Her mother was a housewife, and her father had worked in a civil service institution. She came from a large family, just like a number of other participants.

Ratih had been working at Taman Ilmu for less than 10 years. She had worked in a private company for one and a half years before entering the workplace. She quit when she had her first child, but then she did not feel right staying at home without developing her ability and knowledge. It was difficult to find a job, especially because she needed to find one in the town. Then she heard from her friend that Taman Ilmu needed some lecturers, and she applied for a teaching position. She had a live-in home helper. Her children were primary school students, her husband worked in a private company, and her parents had a home business. She had sisters and brothers.

Ratnasari had been working at Taman Ilmu for more than 10 years. Before working there, she had worked in a private company in which she needed to leave home early in the morning and arrived home late in the afternoon. She was in a position of head of laboratory at the time of interview. She had school-aged children and was helped by a home helper. She had female siblings. Her mother was a housewife, while her father had worked in a civil service institution.

Dewiyana had been working at Taman Ilmu for more than 10 years. She did not intend to work after finishing her degree and getting married. However, her friend told her that Taman Ilmu needed some teachers and she applied for a teaching position. When she was at college, she had considered working after she graduated, but she did not think of it again once she married and started her family. However, there was a chance to work in Taman Ilmu and she applied for a teaching position. She had some home helpers that she could leave her school children with. Her husband worked in a private university, her mother was a housewife, and her father worked in a civil service institution. She came from a large family.

Yamida had been working at Taman Ilmu for less than 10 years. She got her degree then got married. She did want to have a job but the home situation did not allow her to work. She had a baby and nobody could be trusted to take care of her baby. Her financial situation was not sufficient to hire a good servant, because at that time she was just getting married. When her baby was 10 months old, she got a job as a part-time teacher in a private education institution. She got a chance to

further her study and then she applied for a teaching position in Taman Ilmu. She decided to work in Taman Ilmu because her husband also worked there. It was with the thought that it would ease her activity and mobility. She had a home helper at the time of the interview. At the time of interview she had a responsibility as head of laboratory.

Endah had been working at Taman Ilmu for less than 10 years. After she had her degree, she had an administrative job in a factory from 8 am to 4 pm. When she had her second baby, she quit her job. Then she applied for a teaching position in Taman Ilmu, although she had not planned to become a teacher. But eventually she thought that she could enjoy her teaching job in Taman Ilmu. Her husband got the information of recruitment from a friend. She was a head of laboratory. She had a home helper. Her husband worked in a private university. She came from a large family. Her mother and father both worked in a different civil service institution.

Table 6 illustrates the experiences of the women participants in paid employment.

Table 6. List of women's previous work experiences

Names	Previous work experience		
	Working in private company	Teaching in private university	No paid-job
1 Syafitri			√
2 Nunik	√	√	
3 Atik			√
4 Hani			√
5 Wiwik	√		
6 Kuntum	√	√	
7 Meinar	√		
8 Ratih	√		
9 Ratnasari	√		
10 Dewiyana			√
11 Yamida		√	
12 Endah	√		

Table 6 shows that by far the greater number of women had paid employment in either private companies or private universities before joining Taman Ilmu. Four women who did not have a paid job before their current one, they had been at home caring for their children.

5.6.2 Male lecturers in senior leadership positions

Idris had been working at Taman Ilmu for more than 10 years. He thought that his involvement as a teacher was the way he should live life. He saw a chance to develop his scientific curiosity in this institute. He had the opinion that everybody could become a teacher, and that one should sometimes share one's knowledge to others. His wife was involved in teaching in a tertiary education institution. Working in Taman Ilmu was his first paid employment. At the time of my research data collection he was the head of Taman Ilmu.

Prayoga had been working at Taman Ilmu for more than 10 years. His dream was to become a scientist and he saw a chance to make his dream come true through working in this institution. His wife worked as a lecturer in a tertiary education institution. Working in Taman Ilmu was also his first paid employment. He was in the position of deputy head.

Irawan had been working at Taman Ilmu for more than 10 years. Then he had a scholarship to further his study. His wife worked as a lecturer in another tertiary education institution and held a leadership position. He had previously been employed before entering Taman Ilmu. At that time he was a head of department.

Zakaria had been working at Taman Ilmu for more than 10 years. Before coming to this institution, he had several jobs that he did not enjoy. He heard that Taman Ilmu was recruiting some teaching staff, so he applied for one position. He said that teaching was what he liked. He preferred working as a civil servant, and although the salary was not enough for living, there was a pension when he retired. At the time of interview his wife did not have a paid job. They were thinking of her having a home business. Later he was thinking that she might have a paid job. He was a head of department.

Table 7 lists the length of work and leadership positions in Taman Ilmu for women and also for the men participants. The first twelve are the female participants followed by four male participants.

Table 7. Details of all research participants

Pseudonym		Length of work		Leadership position	
		< 10 yrs	>10 yrs	yes	no
1	Syafitri	✓			✓
2	Nunik		✓	✓	
3	Atik		✓	✓	
4	Hani		✓		✓
5	Wiwik	✓		✓	
6	Kuntum	✓			✓
7	Meinar		✓		✓
8	Ratih	✓			✓
9	Ratnasari		✓	✓	
10	Dewiyana		✓		✓
11	Yamida	✓		✓	
12	Endah	✓		✓	
13	IDRIS		✓	✓	
14	PRAYOGA		✓	✓	
15	IRAWAN		✓	✓	
16	ZAKARIA		✓	✓	

Table 7 summarises all participants' length of service in Taman Ilmu and lists their leadership roles at the time of interview. It shows that three women out of 12 who had been working for more than ten years were not in leadership positions. But three other women who had been working for less than ten years occupied leadership positions. However, 50% of the women participants had no leadership positions at all. It does not mean that those who were not in leadership positions had previously not been in the positions.

5.7 Chapter summary

In this chapter I described the case study institution, Taman Ilmu, in terms of the study program and departments available there. I also described the number of students and lecturers, and the system of recruitment of the teaching staff, and several regulations in Taman Ilmu. In the final part of this chapter I described the research participants' backgrounds.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

To address my research question about constraints on women taking up leadership positions in a tertiary institution, I used a thematic network, or cobweb pattern of analysis, as discussed in the methodology chapter. I conducted separate analyses of data from the women and the men. As I stated earlier, I used habitus as the analytical lens. This chapter starts with findings derived from the women's data set, followed by the men's data set. In the following paragraphs I outline the key areas or themes from both data sets.

Women's perspectives is the heading for the findings related to women. The first theme is *Women's career paths* which covers women's expectations about paid employment before and after marriage. This is quite significant because, to some extent, there were similarities and also differences with the pathway the men took in terms of their studies and paid jobs. The second theme, *Teaching as employment*, is about how the women saw teaching as their alternative paid employment after having a family. The third theme, *Juggling paid and domestic work*, relates to the major barrier the women encountered when working in Taman Ilmu but also the strategies the women developed to keep their jobs in Taman Ilmu. It is about how the women saw themselves in relation to their paid jobs and their obligations to family – and especially children – when they were in a marriage relationship, and how the women saw their work and career ladder in Taman Ilmu. The fourth theme, *Institutional practices that appear to discriminate against women at Taman Ilmu*, deals with women's views on the small number of women recruited as teaching staff at Taman Ilmu, and the factors that they perceived as barriers to women achieving senior leadership positions, from their own viewpoints as married women and from the situation of Taman Ilmu.

Although my main concern is to raise women's voice through my study, I also include views from several men in senior leadership positions to present a complete picture of the institutional habitus of Taman Ilmu. Collectively, these men's comments may represent the dominant view of Taman Ilmu because there

were more men than women as lecturers. The significant point about presenting the men's view is to compare and contrast women's views with the way the institution operates its work organisation; in other words, it is a significant part of my study to find out the attitude of the men towards their female colleagues in Taman Ilmu and towards the opportunities for these women to occupy senior leadership positions.

The men's data set, entitled *Men's perspectives*, comprises three major themes: *Men's career paths* which is about individual fulfilment of the motivation of having a career for the men; *A male dominant institution*, which is about male values with respect to paid work and the institution's efforts to make the women stay longer during office hours; and *Husband as family leader in the home*, which is about the personal side of the men as leaders and the breadwinners of the families, especially regarding their views towards their wives and paid employment.

6.2 Women's perspectives

There are four major themes discussed in this section as follows.

6.2.1 Women's career paths

This section comprises two major themes of career paths of the women, that is, before they married and after they became mothers.

6.2.1.1 Career paths of women before marriage

Data from the interviews show that all 12 women that I interviewed indicated that they had studied engineering, a male domain field of study (Stalker, 1998), because they had been interested in subjects such as mathematics and physics since they were in primary school. At high school, all of them studied mathematics and sciences. For some of the women, further study in engineering subjects in higher education was not their first option. For example, some had wanted to study in medicine, psychology or agriculture. However, for a number of reasons, such as funding or there being no such faculties available in the universities close to their hometowns, they took their second option of study,

engineering. These women completed their tertiary education at well-known state universities in Indonesia. There is always high competition to win the seats at the state universities, with applicants required to sit an entrance test to be able to study in them. The test is held every academic year because there are increasing numbers of applicants every year but few places are available at all state universities. This suggests that these women who then applied for teaching positions in Taman Ilmu were an academically able group. They had been competitive to enter Taman Ilmu as well.

The women had various reasons for studying in the field of engineering which was an unusual choice for women to complete a tertiary degree at the time these women went into universities. Dewiyana, for example, recounted there were only 10-20% of female students in her class of 50 students. She said:

I was interested in studying in the field of engineering because I have never liked to memorize words. Numerical expressions are preferable. [dew VIII.1]

Similar to Dewiyana, Endah did not like to memorise words either. Hani argued that studying in the field of engineering for her was “*to look for a better opportunity based on the situation at that time. Jobs in engineering were widely open*” [han VIII.1] when compared to other kinds of jobs for tertiary graduates. Syafitri said: “*I like science so I prefer engineering for my tertiary study*” [sya VIII/1]. Five other women gave similar reasons to Syafitri.

In addition, these women’s wish to study in engineering was supported by their parents, in terms of encouragement and finance. All the women had been brought up in a family environment in which institutionalised state cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) was highly acknowledged. As briefly discussed in Chapter 3, Bourdieu (1986) classifies academic qualification as institutionalised state cultural capital. The women’s parents were aware that gaining such cultural capital – that is, their tertiary academic qualifications – for their daughters was important for their future. This could be drawn from the story of Hani, whose parents insisted that:

At least what I would earn was for my personal needs. When married, I don’t need to use the family budget provided by husband. [han IX.6]

This could mean that she would independently use her own money without having to discuss it with her husband for approval. Dewiyana supported that a woman must have a paid job because:

Our government does not provide social welfare. [dew VII.3]

If a wife had a paid job, in the case that she could not depend any longer on her husband, for whatever reason, she could survive. This could also be one of the reasons why parents supported their daughters to have a sufficient education to get a well-paid job.

All 12 women expected to have paid employment, preferably in private companies in Indonesia, once they graduated from their engineering studies. Private companies were considered to provide much higher salaries than state companies. Data from my previous research (Amalo, 2003) showed that the salary for working in a private company for a bachelor's degree graduate was much higher than the salary for working in a state company. Furthermore, for an unmarried woman to get a paid work after graduation is expected. Endah said:

It is commonly accepted that when a woman has completed her degree, she will seek a job. [end I.1]

This comment may represent the concept of doxa, an unquestionable and natural belief (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992) that many women followed as it was the social practice in the sense that unmarried daughters paid respect to their parents who had provided the money for their education. In addition, Ratnasari said:

Having a job is a must because I have spent time, effort and money for a four-year study. [ran I.4]

Both examples imply the cause and effect statements of the fulfilment of social expectation put on unmarried daughters. Women who married after completing their degrees seemed not to be expected to gain paid employment. This is explained later in the section concerning about women and motherhood.

Of the 12 women that I interviewed, only Syafitri had been thinking of involving herself in teaching, since she was still single. Syafitri said:

Teaching has been in my mind since I was at college. My parents are teachers. I never thought of working in other types of employment because of the duration of

long working hours. The close example at that time was my elder sister. I saw that she could arrange time for teaching and for her family. I also saw that my parents could take care of their children well because as teachers they have the knowledge of educating their children. I decided to become a lecturer because I was also thinking about my future: marriage and family. As a wife and mother, I would have duties to carry out. [sya I.1, VII.1-2]

So, the idea of teaching came from her family which strongly influenced her thoughts about her future family commitment and work commitment. None of the other eleven women had thought of teaching as their career, although some had parents or extended families who were teachers. Ratih commented:

I had never imagined that I would become a lecturer, but I adapted to the teaching job and have been enjoying it very much. [rai I.3]

Similar comments came from the other ten women. Kuntum, who was also still single when she started her career, eventually had similar thoughts to Syafitri.

Kuntum enjoyed doing an outside job because:

I don't like working in an office where I have to sit all day behind the desk. When I graduated from an engineering college, I applied for a job in a male environment company, and I was the only woman at that time. [kun I.1]

But she then said:

However, I was thinking of my future as a housewife and a mother, and decided that [field work] was not a kind of work suitable for a mother. I then thought of the common perception in society that women usually work in offices wearing nice suits; whereas in that company, I wore a boiler suit like the rest of the workers who were all men. [kun I.2-3]

Her comment suggests that as a woman her identity was restricted to wife and mother. This is in tension with her upbringing that from a younger age she was taught that it was really important to have a degree and have a career. Kuntum worked in a non-traditional job for women. Her identity was as a woman with a career. However, becoming a wife and mother led to her thinking that she was not allowed to be in boiler suit anymore. She ignored the job which appealed to her personally, in which she did not feel that she was different from the men. But the status of wife and mother equals different. This shows how habitus works. It structures her thoughts. Kuntum did not go against the societal perception; she preferred to conform to the societal expectation about Javanese married women.

She shifted into teaching after she married and then followed her husband who was assigned to work in another town.

As was said previously, all women planned to have paid employment when they graduated from their tertiary education. However, four out of 12 women did not go into paid employment because they married immediately after completing their degree and stayed at home during the period of having babies. For example, Dewiyana said:

When I was at college, I planned to have paid work after completing my degree. But I married after I graduated and then had a baby, so I had no further plan to work.... I had to adjust with the situation and condition. [dew I.2]

Her comment implies that she must have decided to become a good wife and mother as socially expected, and it is a common perception that a married woman stays at home. Moreover, because she had not been in paid employment, she did not have any work experience, which perhaps made it easier for her to decide that she would stay at home once married. However, later when she had an opportunity for involving in paid employment, she took it, because paid work in teaching was approved of by her husband. This was also the case with Yamida, who also married after completing her tertiary education. After having children and staying at home for several years, she eventually thought of working as a lecturer in a private education institution. In her opinion:

Teaching is a reasonable job for women. When working in a company, it requires a woman to be away from home from morning to late afternoon. [yam I.6]

Again, as represented in Yamida's comment, it shows that time flexibility – that is, shorter time to be away from home – was the reason for women taking employment in teaching, in order to balance their personal needs to work and to some extent to have a career, and their obligation to their families.

Five out of 12 women had a previous non-teaching career in private companies. At some stage before they became mothers, these women decided to find alternative jobs that could accommodate what they saw as their prime role, as wives and mothers, and their personal wish to have a paid job. This is described in the following section.

6.2.1.2 Career paths of women as mothers

Most data extracts in this theme refer to how dispositions, internalised through the cultural values passed through generations, influence the participants' worldviews, affecting how they think, behave and act in relation to their domestic sphere and public sphere involvement regarding their paid employment. In other words, this theme describes how habitus works through the internalisation of societal values which makes the women believe of their domestic roles and their husbands' approval for working.

6.2.1.2.1 Women's perceptions that their primary role is domestic

The accounts of the majority of the women research participants suggested that through embodying cultural and religious values, these women naturally thought of their families first. "Naturally" is important here, because it shows how these women had internalised values of good wives and mothers, and these socially constructed values worked in the background as their habitus. This habitus influenced these women's thinking about their most important role being in their domestic sphere rather than in their paid work. So, the women wanted to fulfil their roles as mothers, but at the same time they also wanted to fulfil their own wish to have a paid job. Syafitri's comment is an example of this expectation:

And I understand that in Islamic teaching a woman may work. Working is mubah, an activity that may be done. But a woman's main duty is to become a mother. I need to choose which one to prioritise, so that I would not ignore my obligation for my family but I could still apply my knowledge and also help my husband to earn money for our family. [sya I.2; I.4]

Such a perception of women's role was additionally strengthened by advice from parents. For example, while Syafitri's father was happy to know that she had become a lecturer in Taman Ilmu; he also reminded her not to ignore her responsibility for taking care of her husband and children. Several other women had similar comments on parents' advice to them as women with paid employment, who must not ignore their primary duty as wives and mothers.

Parents' advice was important for these women and represented a strong influence on these women's understanding about who they could be as women.

The enculturation of Javanese values through wider social expectations added to these women's beliefs about obedience and respect — first to their parents, and later to husbands. For example, Hani followed her parents' advice that she needed to think of family matters over her own desire to work. She said:

My parents are from a village and the priority is to have a family. Working is a second option. It is essential to have a family and to get together as a family in the same place. I guess they have had much experience. I obey them unquestioningly. [han I.7, I.9]

It is possible to see her behaviour as an example of doxa (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992), because Hani did not challenge her parents' view about a married woman's obligation to her family. Hani's obedience to what her parents expected from her was described in the following instance:

I had actually applied for positions in several companies. But then, considering that I had to be with my husband wherever his work placed him, I took the job in Taman Ilmu. [han I.5]

Hani's comment could imply that obedience and respect had been drilled into women from an early age. Taking a job in the same town could also be seen as how Hani respected her parents' advice and also how she respected her husband as the leader of the family. Hani was aware of her position in the family, and this shows her internalisation of the social expectation of being the good wife. Hani said:

At first, I did not enjoy my early teaching job in Taman Ilmu. Moreover, I was surprised the first time I received the salary, it was one-tenth of that of my friends who worked in private companies. [han II.1]

Hani's comment represents the other women's views about the small salary they received from becoming civil service lecturers. However, none of them quit this civil service job, because they might have seen the personal benefit of teaching in Taman Ilmu.

In relation to the above comment on the small salaries of civil service lecturers, Nunik reflected on the first time she worked at Taman Ilmu:

In early years nobody wanted to become a government lecturer. Then, because it was difficult to find a job and there was an increase in the civil servant salary, there were more female and male applicants. [nun VI.1]

Her comment implies that size of salary could influence people's decision to become state lecturers. However, women participants may not have thought about salary as their main concern; rather they were thinking of how they could continue to be in paid employment and, for some women, how to enhance a career ladder in Taman Ilmu.

Kuntum had a similar experience to Hani. She had to move towns to follow her husband, whose work caused him to move from one place to another place. Kuntum said:

We then moved again because my husband was transferred into the present location and I applied for a teaching position in Taman Ilmu. [kun I.8]

Her comment implies that she was satisfied with her teaching job, although it was not the kind of job she was looking for before she married, and therefore when she moved again to the recent place she did not look for other kinds of jobs but teaching. And the respect that women paid to their husbands might cause women to consider that their husbands' settled career was much more important than their own paid jobs. The women believed that their husbands were the breadwinners while they were responsible for home and family, so the women would not disturb their husbands with family or children's matters.

Although women were responsible for domestic jobs, their responsibilities went beyond the home. For example, Kuntum said:

My children need my full attention and I need to drive them to some after school private courses. I would really know exactly when they leave home for extra tuition after school and when they are home. So, I need to drive them myself. [kun IV.4]

Kuntum's comment indicates that even though a woman might have paid employment, she continued to be responsible for her children, no matter where she was. Men could seldom be expected to collect children from school or other places during their office time. Therefore, the women in Taman Ilmu had to juggle such responsibilities with their work commitments. To emphasise, this kind of responsibility does not impinge on a man's work hours – he is seldom disturbed by family commitments when he is at the office or even at home. Meinar's comment illustrates some of these tensions and roles when she said:

As mother I have obligations which cannot be done by a father, such as cooking and helping my children with their studies and homework. [mei VII.1]

This comment shows Meinar had deeply internalised the notion of the good mother and that responsibility for the children was hers, which had been emphasised in the teaching of Islam as well.

Another related account representing the image of the good mother came from Endah, who said that she managed to get home in time to welcome her children from school and argued that:

A working mother needs to be at home around five in the afternoon because the majority of people would expect women to be at home around this time of the day. [end I.13]

Because of this, Endah needed to leave the office earlier than many others, particularly men. As a consequence, she felt that:

I am not a good employee. [end I.10]

This comment indicates that, to some extent, there could be a conflict between the image of the good mother and that of the good employee that Endah and most of the women participants might be aware of but felt unable to reconcile.

The above five examples suggest how these women have embodied and internalised the expectations of the role of a married woman. There were at least two factors contributing to this embodiment. One of the factors is that these women had grown up and lived surrounded by government-sponsored images. For example, according to the state promotion of the important role of mothers, among others, Indonesian women are the educator and cultivator of the younger generation (Bianpoen, 1996; Sullivan, 1983). The second factor is the internalisation of the Javanese cultural expectations of the ideal mother through the examples of their mothers and other women in their immediate environment. These strong forces had contributed to their habitus about the roles of women in their family and society. They had come to internalise ideals and values which became the embodied dispositions for the women to deal with their social fields.

A further example of these embodied values can be found in the account of Yamida, who cancelled her initial desire to work after completing her tertiary degree, when marriage and having children meant she felt obliged to stay at home. Yamida had married and soon had her first baby. She planned to have a paid job after graduation because:

My parents had made many efforts to send me to college and they will be much happier to see their daughter working in a suitable paid job. [Yam I.3]

But she found herself having to conform to the social expectations of womanhood, in spite of her parents' efforts to help her gain a qualification to pursue a career and, by implication, financial independence and, thus, greater cultural capital. Parents wanted their daughters to be able to have a paid job and possibly a career, but establishing such a career would be constrained by their situation once they married and had children, because from then on these women had to focus on their families. So, having a family meant that Yamida had to choose which to prioritise. However, once she had an opportunity to be in paid employment, she took that chance and this was approved of by her husband. Yamida's story shows three aspects that reinforce the idea of habitus. The first was the importance of institutionalised state cultural capital. She needed higher education qualification to gain better paid employment. The second was the internalisation of the idea of the good wife and mother, so that she had to ignore her own desire to have a paid job. The last was the internalisation of values of obeying and respecting her husband, and therefore she was dependent on her husband. Another force at work is that which also reinforced the dependence of women on men.

One more aspect of women's perception that their roles are domestic can be drawn from their comments about earning money from their jobs. It is a common phenomenon that nowadays, especially in Indonesia, husbands' salaries are not sufficient to support a family therefore their wives also work in paid employment. However, it would seem that a woman's income is supplementary to a husband's. For example, one woman talked about "helping my husband" to earn a living, implies her subordinate status to her husband. Responses such as "*meeting economic needs*" [mei VI.5], "*my husband's inadequate salary*" [han VII.1], and "*[no] social welfare [from the government]*" [dew VII.3], show that a wife might

be seen as needing to help her husband to support their family's economic needs. However, it was not seen as acceptable to say that married women were earning money for living, which would mean that they were on equal footing with their husbands. This also implies that their husbands might consider the women's paid employment not as a career but simply as a way of gaining more income for their family, as the men clearly wanted their wives to prioritise their families. This understanding underpins the societal expectations of roles and positions and power structures, even though the realities of people's lives might contradict that. From a feminist perspective, such a situation demonstrates women's lack of agency and status. It shows who is in power and who is powerless. Because their salary is not seen as the primary income in the family this could reinforce the lower status of these women as employees; and it is possible that these women seemed not to have a strong desire to enhance their career, let alone to achieve a senior leadership position.

The above issues I provided in this section were those which restricted women's ability to focus on their paid employment and to enhance their careers. These women had a double burden. On the one hand, the society allowed them to enter paid employment but, on the other hand, they were bound by social expectation that they would be good wives and mothers first. Their own family habitus was affected by, and influenced, how society and these women conformed to the norms of Javanese culture. Within their families, these women were also expected to respect and obey their husbands: for example, when they wanted to find paid employment as discussed in the following section.

6.2.1.2.2 Women need to have their husband's approval for working

All women participants indicated that their paid employment as lecturers was supported by their husbands, but their responses also illustrated how cultural beliefs shaped Javanese assumptions about women's and men's roles in a marriage. In this relationship, a wife seems need to put her husband's wishes above her own needs, even when her husband approves her taking paid employment. The interview data showed that along with their approval of their wives' working, men expected that women continued to put their domestic roles

first. This approval therefore could be considered as a conditional agreement, which could be revoked at any time. Atik explained it thus:

My husband doesn't mind me working as long as I still have much time for my family. [ati VII.1]

And Syafitri's husband said:

You may work but don't ignore your family obligations. [sya VII.1]

Meinar stated:

My duties as a housewife and a mother must come first and then I am supported to work outside home. It is my husband's wish that I must fulfil all home duties before going to work. [mei VII.3]

The above three comments are various degrees of examples of husbands' wishes on their wives' commitment to their families. Atik's husband seemed to be less concerned about Atik's presence at home; however, he still showed the male values. Syafitri's husband reminded her not to forget her obligations to her family, while Meinar's husband demanded her to always prioritise her family commitments. One more example came from Dewiyana. Although her husband might not say straight out that he wanted her responsible for their children, what he did implies his demands. Dewiyana said:

My husband goes to bed whenever he wants to. It's my responsibility to make sure that my children are sleeping before I can go to sleep at night. [dew II.4]

It implies that even though Dewiyana had the double burden of family and paid work, her husband put all family responsibilities in her hands. All four comments were examples of how the husbands' privileged position and their internalisation of married woman's role as the carer for home and family were reinforced. So, husbands' approval for their wives' working can be considered as conditional, because the majority of husbands did not share the family responsibilities between them. Meinar highlighted the control men have over their wives in terms of her responsibility to their family. She said:

If I don't do what he expects from me, he will make an ultimatum: "It's either you or I who work". So, I prioritise my home job to be able to keep my job. [mei VII.3]

The incident of her husband's ultimatum related to what had once happened when Meinar was at her previous paid employment and held a position as decision-maker. She said:

One day I was conducting a meeting and inviting some people from other companies. My son was suddenly sick but I couldn't leave the meeting at once. My husband felt I gave higher priority to my work although it was only a coincidence. He could not accept it. [mei III.3]

The ultimatum might mean that although Meinar's husband agreed to her involvement in paid work, working long hours without being able to leave work to take care of sick children was not what he meant. It might imply that Meinar's husband expected her domestic role to take precedence, no matter what she was doing at her office at that very moment. This incident made Meinar think about quitting her job and finding another job that could accommodate personal and family needs.

Syafitri described a similar occurrence. She pointed out the Islamic view that whatever a wife does, she must get prior approval from her husband, and this linked to the overwhelming response from women that they would obey their husbands' will before fulfilling their office duties or training. For example, one day Syafitri had to join a training session held by her workplace. Her husband had long planned a family vacation and told her to cancel the training, and she did. She said:

The managers were angry with me, but this was the risk that I had to accept. In my view, the anger did not mean anything to me as long as I obeyed my husband. [sya VII.10]

Syafitri further expressed:

In a famil, the leader is the man as it is stated by God. When the wife obeys the husband it doesn't mean that it is a weakness but it is to steer the family life to achieve the goal. [sya X.2]

Two other women mentioned their acceptance of the need for their husbands' approval and, to some extent, their submission to their husbands. They also cited religious reasons. Atik said:

Husband's approval of working is very important because when a husband agrees to his wife working, it means that 'Insya Allah' [with the permission of God] all works that we do will be eased. A wife needs a 'ridho' [approval] from her

husband to do anything, because if my husband does not ridho, there will be something bad happen to me. I believe that. [ati X.1]

And referring to the incident she once had when working in a private company,

Meinar said:

Obeying a husband is a must, as it is stated in Islam; at that time he didn't want me to have a career because of our children. It was not because he was selfish and didn't want me to work. I think it is reasonable. [mei X.2]

So, Meinar accepted the ultimatum as reasonable. This is an example of a Muslim woman's acceptance of her destiny to become a wife and mother. Furthermore, the internalisation of Islamic teachings on good wife and mother was also evident. This comment could imply that her husband was not himself familiar with caring for their young children, and therefore a mother should be there when children were in need of parents' attention.

The above examples show how habitus played out in these women's careers, highlighting the strong practice of hierarchical status between husband and wife that disadvantaged women's involvement in paid employment. These women's comments show strong belief in the religious principle that wives need their husbands' approval for what they want to do in everyday life. Not asking for approval could result in a feeling of guilt. This implies the hierarchical nature of the relationship between husbands and wives. No woman could enhance her career because of the conflicting and often demanding expectations of husband, family and society. From the point of view of the workplace, the women's decisions disadvantaged the institution and could lead to their exclusion from the institution's tasks and duties. This is discussed later in the section of the men's data. In essence, the women were in a no-win situation.

Contrary to the above comments, several women did not entirely submit to seeking approval on everything they wanted to do. Hani, Kuntum, Wiwik and Dewiyana had different views about their husbands' approval. They considered their relation to their husbands as a partnership. They support each other when either the wife or the husband had to leave home for office duties. Hani said:

According to my opinion, it is important to have husband's approval on wife's working, because we are doing a balancing for family. I know that from the first

time, my husband's work was not a settled one. He would go to other cities. He would seldom be at home. ... It is indeed not about 'approval'. We had the win-win solution: if my husband was seldom at home, so what work should I have? The work that I took should balance this situation. [han X.2-3]

She continued:

My working was not the only one that needs his approval. There are some things that I need my husband's approval because they need his consideration, that is, the ones that are crucial. But, for example, if he goes away for one week, I do lots of things and it is impossible to get his approval. So, approvals were sought in the beginning and the rest was mine to decide. When I know that I have to go out of town, I will ask for his approval so that he can stay at home and does not plan to leave town. I think it's like a partnership. [han X.4-5]

Hani's comment shows that, to some extent, her husband's approval tended to be in the forms of discussions to achieve mutual agreements about doing something for the home and family. Kuntum made a similar comment:

From the beginning there must be a commitment between a husband and a wife to be. He needs to trust her, and there must be an agreement between them that his wife will have a paid job, and wife's attention to home and family is not 100% covered. However, she will try to fulfil all demands for home and family, although it is not a promise. [kun X.2]

By seeking her husband's approval from the beginning of their marriage, Kuntum clearly stated that she wanted something for herself. She was involved in teaching because her husband liked her to work in the area of teaching. So, on the one hand, Kuntum clearly stated that she wanted paid employment, but on the other hand, she also paid attention to her husband's wish for her to be involved in teaching, especially because of the status of teacher/lecturer in their society.

Dewiyana would also make it clear to her husband what she wanted and knew how to counter any queries about her domestic duties. Dewiyana said that when she needed to go outside the hometown to join seminars or workshops, she would say to her husband:

I have taken care of your children for a long time and now I want to have a break and have some fun. [dew VII.8]

Her husband approved her going. So, Dewiyana found ways to make things work for herself, in this case, without necessarily letting her husband know her exact purpose of leaving the children with him. She said further:

The husband's approval for the wife's working is important because in my opinion we are partners, this is separated from the religious matters. If he approves, it means that he will help me when I am busy. That is the consequence of approving. [dew X.1]

To some extent, Dewiyana showed her resistance to her husband's idea of women's domestic roles. She had continued working outside the home – that is, in Taman Ilmu – even though she was aware that her husband wanted her to stay at home. Dewiyana spoke about her husband's expectations of her:

He thinks I must stay at home. He objects to my working. He wants a wife who stays at home, but capable of managing all home matters, which I think is impossible. A wife needs to socialise herself to be able to have sufficient knowledge to manage her home well. [dew VII.3-4]

Comments from these three women exemplify a form of resistance of habitus in which each woman made strategies that worked for themselves, instead of being passive women and just obeying their husbands' will. In addition, Meinar found out that teaching in Taman Ilmu would accommodate her needs, even though she would need her husband's approval to perform certain workplace duties. For example, Meinar said:

Our workplace sometimes requires staff to have meetings in another town. Because there are schedules for such meetings, I can prepare it before the time. I will tell my husband about the meeting. If he allows me to go, I will go. If he doesn't, I won't go. [mei VII.4]

This shows how an obligation to respect and obey husbands had been drummed into her as she grew up (habitus). This internalisation of respect and obedience results in her cancellation of duties assigned by the workplace, because she saw workplace duties were secondary to her husband's expectations.

The above comments from six women participants show while in some way these women respected their husbands, each seems to have different understandings for the word “approve.” Syafitri, Meinar, and Atik related it to Islamic teaching, but Hani, Kuntum and Dewiyana related it to how they thought husbands' approval would work better for achieving their needs. Respect, and to some extent submission to husbands, must have been there, embodied in them, as discussed earlier in this chapter, but it was enacted in different ways.

In addition, even at the workplace, some women could not escape their societally imposed subordinate role. One of the women, whose husband worked in the same institution, said:

I cannot fully develop myself. People always relate me to my husband. They do not consider me as an individual, apart from my husband. [identifier withheld]

This woman could have been aware that her status as a wife would make it impossible for her to occupy a higher leadership position when her husband occupied a lower position in Taman Ilmu. Below is an example of adherence to the husband/wife expectations inherent in their dispositions regarding women's roles in life compared to those of men:

I can accept this fact [as having subordination status from my husband] and I don't mind if, for my entire working life, I can only become a lecturer without occupying any higher leadership position. [identifier withheld]

One way of interpreting this is through a feminist lens. It appears that the patriarchal practice was strongly exhibited in this case, in which this woman could not have equal status to her husband, not at home, nor in the workplace.

6.2.2 Teaching as employment

Women participants gave a number of reasons for taking up tertiary teaching as a career. They chose teaching because they felt it was possible to work as a lecturer at Taman Ilmu and still care for their families. This section covers time flexibility, and other issues influenced women's decision to take up teaching.

6.2.2.1 Time-flexibility

The women in my study perceived teaching as a job which still allowed them to look after their families. This means that within their office hours, they might have time to leave Taman Ilmu for a while to meet some family commitment then return to the institution to finish their duties and tasks; or they might come to work later and go home earlier when they had finished their office work. For example, Ratnasari said:

I have had work experience in a private company where I had to leave home early in the morning and arrive home late in the afternoon. [ran I.2]

However,
I felt guilty if I left my children all day. [ran I.3]

Her decision to quit her previous job in a private company and work at this institution seemed to be the right one for her, because she was able to keep in touch with her young children between her teaching schedules. Her main reason of working at Taman Ilmu was the time flexibility she expected from teaching, so that she could easily move between office and the home.

Several women came to Taman Ilmu with the idea that teaching was a kind of part-time work because of what they saw as flexible hours; this could reflect a societal belief. For example, Meinar said:

It was my home situation as a mother and wife that made me decide to become a lecturer in Taman Ilmu a job that can be considered as part-time. Teaching was not in my mind, but I just enjoy it. [mei I.4-5]

Atik, who got married and then started working in Taman Ilmu almost at the same time, commented:

My intention for working was not in teaching, but I was aware that I would become a lecturer when I applied for a position in Taman Ilmu. Nobody in my family is a teacher. [ati I.4]

The teaching experience in Taman Ilmu caused her to have the idea that:

Working in Taman Ilmu also means that I can have enough time to be around my family which I believe that if I work in a private company I will have less time for my family. I see that my husband who works in a private company is much busier than I am. [ati I.2-3]

The comment from Atik also implies that time flexibility in teaching benefitted her as a married woman, in terms of opportunity to pay attention to her primary roles as mothers and wives. Atik said:

I can have enough time to be around my family. I believe that if I worked in a private company I would have less time for my family. [ati I.2]

Atik's comment must have related to her experience that she could stay at Taman Ilmu between work hours 8:00 am to 4:00 pm and go home immediately at the end of the work hours, or perhaps that she could come after 8:00 am and leave Taman Ilmu before 4:00 pm when she did not have classes to teach. The majority

of women in my research indicated similar views about time management and family versus work commitments.

Endah said:

You know that I can come to the institution any time I like. I come when I have teaching schedules. I can re-arrange my teaching schedule. At least I do not ignore my obligation to teach, and I can still fulfil other obligations for my family. [end I.8-9]

Endah tried to use her flexible work hours to her advantage, to accommodate both domestic and career responsibilities. Ten participant women had similar comments about how their flexible work hours helped them balance their career and family needs. They did not ignore their obligation to teach their classes, but they had time to take care of their families too by adjusting the teaching schedule with their individual family needs. For example, Ratnasari said:

I checked my children between my teaching hours. [ran I.5]

Wiwik said:

... However, I am in love with my workplace. Especially because I have children, the pace of work can be arranged when I need to take care of sick children. I can ask for a leave or just tell the students that the schedule is postponed for that day. I think flexibility in time is favourable when we do teaching. [wiw II.3]

Dewiyana said:

Working as a lecturer in Taman Ilmu benefits me in terms of time flexibility. What I mean is ... the office hours are from 8 am to 4 pm. I can start my working day at 10 am and finish at 6 pm. When there are projects to finish, I can stay here until 10 pm., so, we can arrange the time by ourselves. But it doesn't mean that those are the only job I am carrying out. I think as lecturers we have similar workload, but it is more flexible to arrange the time. [dew II.1-2]

Women research participants found that they could self-arrange the work time to meet commitments to both family and paid job. Sometimes when they were not able to be at the office, they could add several hours to their work hours on another day.

However, this situation caused conflict, too. On the one hand, the women liked working in Taman Ilmu because they could arrange their teaching time in line with their family needs; on the other hand, they realised that they were not able to stay during office hours in their workplace the way men could. In addition, these

women saw that there were female colleagues who abused the system. They came only to teach and did not stay during office hours, and many women participants did not agree with this kind of work arrangement. The work pattern of women who came only to teach influenced the managers in generalising the work performance of their female colleagues as a whole.

It might be concluded that these women participants went into teaching because of the flexible hours they could have in Taman Ilmu. These women's reasons for taking up teaching included their husbands' perception of their privilege in the family, so that these women thought that full responsibility for home and family were theirs. Men as husbands did not feel this degree of domestic responsibility.

Several other issues appear to have influenced these women's decision to go into teaching. This is the next topic.

6.2.2.2 Other issues influenced women's decision to take up teaching

There are three other issues found from the interview data that influenced the women participants' decision to be involved in teaching at Taman Ilmu; they are, suggestions from others to take up teaching, their perceptions on the status of civil service lecturers, and work as a source of personal satisfaction.

6.2.2.2.1 Suggestions

To some extent, the women's preference for teaching was influenced by advice from parents or friends who were themselves teachers or lecturers. The families and extended families of Syafitri and Endah were mainly teachers. Endah had been a tutor when she was studying. She wanted to work in a private company so that she could have a career as an executive, and this was what she did before she married. However, she resigned when she had children because she wanted to give her full attention to her children. Working at a private company meant that she worked full time and would not have time for her children, she added. After some time at home, she then thought about teaching, so she consulted her parents, who were teachers. It turned out that she found great satisfaction as a lecturer in Taman Ilmu. Endah said:

My previous work experience made me realise that working in Taman Ilmu as a lecturer was the best decision. I enjoy my work as a lecturer here. I believe that Taman Ilmu is meant for me to have a career. [end I.6-7]

Kuntum and Dewiyana had friends who were lecturers, who suggested that they become teachers. Kuntum said:

After marriage, I started to look for jobs that would be suitable for a married woman. My female seniors from college who had become lecturers said that I had better become a lecturer too, because by becoming a lecturer, a woman still had time to look after the home and family. I had no idea what it was like to work as a lecturer. I heard that as a lecturer I needed to learn continuously. It turns out that teaching is enjoyable besides its time flexibility. When I teach, it means I recollect my knowledge and remember what I have learned, and I learn new knowledge too. I have tried to become a lecturer and I like it. [kun I.4-5]

Although Kuntum was not familiar with teaching and seemed not sure how to deal with teaching, she seemed not to hesitate to go into teaching as suggested by her seniors as she found she could balance her family commitment with her work commitment, and that strengthened her motivation to stay teaching and apply for a teaching position in Taman Ilmu when she followed her husband, who was re-located by his employer.

Nunik – who married, had children, completed her degree and then worked in a private company – found that she could not balance her time between her family and her paid job:

I realised that part-time jobs would not lead me to a career path. [nun II.4]

Therefore, she then worked as a part-time lecturer in several private universities around her town and eventually worked in Taman Ilmu as a full-time lecturer.

Nunik further said:

In my opinion, having a job does not guarantee that a woman can organise time for family commitments. That's the barrier. [nun I.2]

She reflected on the experience of her sister, who finally quit her job and stayed at home because:

The distance between her home and work was far enough so when she left home her children were still sleeping and when she got home they were already asleep. She never had time to meet her children. Finally she ended up as a housewife. [nun I.4]

Therefore, Nunik said:

We are different. Most people consider it is good for women to become lecturers. [nun I.5]

This comment implies that Nunik had considered societal perception on teaching as a better paid job for married women because of the way they could balance domestic and work commitments.

Hani and Wiwik were encouraged by their parents to become lecturers. It can be argued that, to some extent, these women's upbringing contributed to their final decision to be involved in teaching, because of the examples and suggestions they had been given. Moreover, having paid employment in teaching was also supported by their husbands. Husbands' approval for the kind of paid employment the women took seems to be a strong motivation for these women to go into the profession of teaching. Paying attention to their husbands' wishes would also enable the women to gain approval for their paid employment and career. The women, their husbands, and their parents might have considered teaching desirable as the women's paid job because of its social status.

6.2.2.2 Status of civil service lecturers

Another reason for choosing teaching as a career was status. The status accorded to a civil service lecturer was a cause for satisfaction to the women participants even while the salary did not match the social status. Teaching has a high social status in Indonesian society. It is also a very respectable job, as was noted in the literature chapter. Although government teaching staff has lower salaries than those in private companies, the status of the civil service lecturer encourages people to take this job, because lecturers may convert their status into symbolic capital, that is, they receive high respect from the society. This appeared to reflect the wider Javanese attitude to such jobs. Wiwik expressed her view:

The first thought of working here is the status of a lecturer. Being a lecturer was not my desire. Working as a lecturer in the government educational sector as a civil servant is more secure than working in the private sector. My husband agreed with my idea [of working as a civil service lecturer]. [wiw I.1, I.10-11]

Three advantages of working as a government lecturer were mentioned by Wiwik: status, security, and her husband's approval of her becoming a lecturer. Other women participants seemed to have similar view regarding the status of government lecturers and their husbands' approval to working as lecturers. For example, Kuntum said:

And the status of a lecturer is more respectable than other clerical occupations. So, my husband likes me to work as a lecturer. [kun VII.4]

The above two comments indicate that because they lived in a society that had internalised the notion of teaching as a respectable job, and that working in civil service would also mean that the job was secured for life, these women participants seemed to be content with their work options.

6.2.2.2.3 Work as a source of personal satisfaction

Eight out of twelve women in my research had been in paid employment before they came to Taman Ilmu. Many of them had worked in private companies in fields that used their skills and abilities as demonstrated in their tertiary qualifications. So they used their qualifications as their cultural capital to achieve their personal employment goals.

Meinar's statement showed that her decision to change her previous career and enter Taman Ilmu benefitted her in her desire for a paid job, although her husband expected that she quit her job and took care of her baby who was often sick. She said:

I thought it was a shame if I didn't work. I have spent my effort and time to study. [mei I.3]

This is another example of how Meinar contested the habitus about good wife and mother because of her wish to have a career.

A further comment made by Meinar shows how working in Taman Ilmu fulfilled her personal desire for paid employment, although it was hard to satisfy both commitments, that is, family and career. She said:

Ideally, if we work there should be somebody else who can handle home matters. So we can leave home and come to the office free from thoughts about home. But

women ... as I myself ... I cannot entirely focus on my job. Therefore I anticipate my work. I know my home situation and therefore I won't make myself too busy with office duties. [mei VI.9-10]

This comment implied that Meinar clearly sees how difficult it is for women to juggle two jobs, and do both well. Her husband wanted her at home for this kind of responsibility. However, for Meinar, going to work was a personal desire to use her skills and abilities outside the home, but she was compromised by the expectation of both roles. So, the internalisation of the good wife and mother is burdensome for women. In relation to Meinar's comment, Syafitri emphasised it from the religious beliefs:

And I understand that in Islamic teaching a woman may work. Working is mubah, an activity that may be done. But a woman's main duty is to become a mother. [sya I.2]

Although Syafitri believed that women's main duty was to become a mother, she preferred to have paid employment in teaching. It means that she could not ignore her personal needs. The other women participants might have similar views on fulfilling their personal needs. They kept their teaching jobs in Taman Ilmu. Wiwik commented:

After working here for some time, I was aware that Taman Ilmu was meant for me. It is difficult for me to leave this workplace. This means that I would not follow my husband when he was transferred to work in another town. [wiw II.1]

So, women kept their paid work in Taman Ilmu because they found personal satisfaction in balancing their family commitments and performing their careers, juggling their family commitments and their paid employment. So, they kept balancing between the barriers they found in their workplace with strategies to cope the barriers in Taman Ilmu. This is in the next section.

6.2.3 Juggling paid and domestic work

The women thought that working in Taman Ilmu could help them achieve paid and domestic work in two ways. Firstly, they could have some degree of flexibility in performing their teaching duties, as I have discussed earlier in the previous section, which would suit their focus on domestic affairs; and secondly, they all seemed to find personal satisfaction from working in Taman Ilmu.

However, they needed to juggle both worlds. Time demands were seen as the main barrier to the women's full participation in their workplace, but they made strategies to balance their teaching jobs with their domestic commitments.

6.2.3.1 Time demands as the main barrier to women's full participation in Taman Ilmu

While the interview data showed that the majority of the women participants came to teaching with the thought of teaching as part-time job, it proved to be not so. To some extent, teaching duties in Taman Ilmu were not comparable to teaching part-time in a private university, or teaching at school levels in which teachers could leave when the school was over for the day, as many of the women, and the Indonesian society, had thought. As mentioned earlier, working as lecturers in Taman Ilmu means that they had duties in teaching, researching, and working with the community. Society might not have the idea that people involved in teaching would have such duties, because of the long-held perception that when one finishes teaching for the day one can leave the workplace. This is represented by the comment of Dewiyana who said:

My husband agreed to my decision to work. He regarded my working as part of having fun because he sometimes found me doing nothing at home. He did not imagine that I would need to be entirely involved in the workplace. [dew I.5]

Although they were all full-time lecturers, Dewiyana was one of the 25% of the female participants who came four days per week to Taman Ilmu and stayed there during office hours. Another 25% came three days per week, and the rest (50%) came five days per week. Dewiyana must have been aware of her obligation to attend work full time despite the fact that she might not have been able to be at Taman Ilmu five days in a week. However, she managed to finish her tasks, for example, marking students' assignments, students' mid-semester and final semester examinations which were all completed at Taman Ilmu. Several other women did the same thing. They would rather have time at home for their families or for leisure. However, the majority of women would prefer to complete their tasks at home, for various reasons, such as they felt comfortable about finishing office duties and tasks at home because they could then supervise their children as well.

6.2.3.2 Strategies women used to juggle work and home commitments

This sub-section discusses the following issues:

- Women participants' acceptance of the status quo.
- Their ambitions.
- Their refusal to be drawn into competition for senior leadership roles.
- Their interest in conducting research.

6.2.3.2.1 Women's acceptance of the status quo

Eight of the twelve women participants insisted that they did not want to occupy higher or senior leadership positions. There were reasons for their unwillingness to hold senior leadership roles. For example, Atik said:

I think the job was too stressful and I am a person that can't cope with stress. [ati III.2.]

Hani commented:

I am not a type of person who is capable of handling the management matters. A manager job is so boring. [han III.2]

Meinar pointed out:

Holding a higher position would involve unscheduled leaving town for several days on official duties. It is impossible for me to fulfil that obligation; it is too risky. [mei III.1]

These women were aware of not being able to work in the same way as the men did. They had rationalised that they could not take on a higher or senior leadership role because their responsibilities as a wife and mother would be too compromised, or they would suffer too much stress.

Several women who were in lower leadership positions at the time of data gathering were happy with their existing leadership positions, and cited a number of reasons. For this, for example, Dewiyana, one of the women in a lower level leadership role, compared the duties of a head of laboratory and the head of the institution:

Becoming a head of laboratory has been my highest position. I believe that the job is far more interesting. [dew III.3]

Moreover, Dewiyana said:

The people in a laboratory are more homogenised. A head of department has to deal with many kinds of people and problems. [dew III.4].

Similar views were expressed by Yamida, Atik and Meinar. In relation to the situation in the laboratory that she was responsible for, Atik said:

This is a very supportive laboratory environment because all members have the same vision towards developing the laboratory. [ati III.5]

Meinar said:

I was offered some management positions but on considering all those home-related concerns I did not accept the offers. The managers were very unhappy, but I asked for apology and explained my reason of not accepting the offer. I accepted the managers' anger. That's fine. I am happy with my current duty. [mei V.5]

Wiwik was doubtful about her leadership ability:

I accepted my present position because I only wanted to help my [male] colleague who is a friend of mine. If I had a higher position, the question is, would I be capable of carrying out the duties? [wiw III.1]

Yamida's account implied that she enjoyed being in a lower leadership role. She would probably not attempt to go on to higher roles. She said:

I'm happy with my current duty as Head of Laboratory. I just manage a small room with some members of the laboratory. I wish that I could be the head of laboratory forever. [yam II.6]

The above four comments imply that these women accepted that having a status in a lower leadership position is sufficient for them. Although they might have thought about occupying a higher leadership position, they were not convinced that they wanted these positions. The following comment from Meinar shows her ambivalence.

I accept the reality that I can only become the head of laboratory as the highest position for me. Indeed, frankly speaking, as a human being I have dreams and ambitions. So, here I am. I shouldn't have an attitude like this, an apathetic person. That's not good. [mei III.6, III.11, III.13]

Meinar admitted the barrier she had in enhancing her career ladder in Taman Ilmu. There seems a tension between her personal wish and family commitment. She compromised herself on the job at Taman Ilmu, by setting a ceiling to her advancement.

She further said:

I was appointed by my department into the current leadership position. I met the criteria of seniority and of being a lecturer who had not held such a position before. I would have refused it but I was the only one who met the criteria at the time. I would have refused the job if I could. But I finally realised that I could still handle the job without having to spend all my time at our workplace. [mei III.7-9]

Meinar had previous experience of holding a position of decision-maker in a private company. This made her reluctant to hold the position of head of laboratory in Taman Ilmu. However, she found out that she could still balance commitments of both family and work.

Hani thought that she would not be selected for a senior leadership position, because her male colleagues, who were studying abroad towards doctoral degrees, would soon complete their degrees and become a valuable asset for Taman Ilmu. She likened her female colleagues to the housekeepers of the institution:

We will always be here in our workplace. There will be a steady teaching and learning process. The male colleagues are the people for the institutional development and prestige. So, the institution performance looks good, and the 'home' keeps going well too. [han III.7]

Hani's comment shows how the idea of women's domestic function was brought into the workplace. On the one hand, she was aware that male colleagues with doctoral degrees would gain more professional status than most women in the institution. On the other hand, she also illustrated the idea of women's subservience to men in Taman Ilmu. This was a further proof of how the internalisation of gender roles had influenced her thoughts and affected her practices in the workplace.

The other four of the twelve women wanted to achieve a senior leadership position, although they acknowledged the difficulties. Kuntum said:

I might want to have a leadership position when my children do not need my full attention any more. [kun III.1]

For married women, having young children impeded their leadership aspirations. Nunik said:

I think everybody in Taman Ilmu wants to have a leadership position, but it depends on the person whether s/he is ready to take it or not, to be elected or not. I mean that in Taman Ilmu everyone is eligible to propose for a position. It's like

when we make a proposal for the items we need for our teaching process. We submit the list ... and some item would be deleted. So, other people will become our evaluator. I think every lecturer, a woman or a man, wants to become a leader. [nun III.1-2]

Nunik might realise that every lecturer in Taman Ilmu is eligible for occupying a leadership position. However, she might see that her female colleagues would get less opportunity than the males because of the system operating in Taman Ilmu.

Nunik further pointed out:

So, it's not my right to take a position. The management will decide who deserves the position. I cannot say what I want to do. I certainly cannot predict it. If I am selected for a position then I will arrange my programme. It's not that we have the programme and are then selected. It is like creating a tool, and when the tool is ready then we have the programme. [nun III.4]

To some degree, her comment merely reflects the condition of role assignment in Taman Ilmu; that is, there are certain criteria for the selection process, as explained in Chapter 5. However, her comment may also demonstrate a certain lack of initiative. It is the others who make the decisions and she does as she is told. It also a symptom of the deference to others women appear to have. There are others who are more important. This relates to Bourdieu's notion of the field, where there are people who dominate and who are dominated. In this case, Nunik is the one who is in a dominated position.

6.2.3.2.2 Ambition

Some women showed willingness to occupy a senior leadership position. They thought they would be more motivated when their children were older. Ratih's view is representative of this viewpoint:

Yes, I am keen on taking up a senior management position. It's a challenge for me. But it doesn't mean that I have to get one. I like challenges but I am not ambitious. If I cannot reach my dreams, that's all right because I have another role as a mother of my children. [rai III.1-2]

Dewiyana demonstrated a similar unambitious stance:

I don't have other skills besides what I have now in certain subjects of teaching. But whenever I am appointed for a duty other than teaching, I will do my best. [dew V.1]

The comments from these women, that they were interested in occupying senior leadership positions in a passive way, reflected their internalised dispositions as a result of their socialisation within family and society at large. As has been reviewed, many Indonesian girls grew up in an environment which encouraged gender difference and therefore the Javanese philosophy of women as “kanca wingking” (friend in the back) of men when they are in marriage, or the practices that it is boys who are familiarised with leaderships in homes and families, indicate that women’s subordination existed both within the family and within the society.

Syafitri knew that she might not be able to be in a senior leadership position in her workplace, because a male colleague had warned her of this. She said:

The first time I worked in Taman Ilmu there was a statement from a male lecturer who said, “as a woman don’t you dream of becoming a leader here”. [sya IV.1]

In this case, two points could be drawn from Syafitri’s comment. The first is that in this male dominated institution, the men were acting as the gate keepers of Taman Ilmu, let alone the positions of senior managers. It could also mean that the majority of men assumed that senior leadership area belonged to men, as they understood it from their culture entwined with the teaching of Islam. Syafitri was aware of women’s expected position in Taman Ilmu; she had been warned about not to aspire to senior leadership roles by her male colleague. She was not angry towards this reality on woman’s barrier on taking a senior leadership role in Taman Ilmu, because she had found a way to realising her wish of leadership role. She was involved in a women only community group, where she took a leadership role. She said:

Just to let you know, I am the leader of a women’s Islamic organisation. I conduct dakwah⁹ and trainings for Muslim mothers and I write pamphlets and brochures on Islamic awareness. [sya III.3]

Syafitri’s comment implies that in this way she might have thought that she did not go against her belief, internalised from understanding the Islamic teaching,

⁹ Islamic preaching

that a leader must be a man. At the same time she did not want to challenge the male values of this institution, as she replied:

I want to share my knowledge with my colleagues and students. [sya IV.2]

So her internalisation of values (habitus) that men were leaders influenced her thinking and decision-making. Other women expressed a similar wish to be in a job which allowed them to share knowledge and saw this as more important than occupying leadership positions.

6.2.3.2.3 Refusing to be drawn into competition

Being competitive was not the way women participants wanted to go. Six out of twelve women mentioned that they did not want to compete for higher leadership positions. This included four women who said they would like to reach higher leadership positions. They emphasised that they did not want to compete and expressed this explicitly or implicitly. They liked the idea of revolving leadership. For example, Ratnasari said explicitly about competition:

I am a person who cannot compete with others. Lecturers may have the leadership position, such as Head of Department, but then after the period of leadership, one will return to a lecturer position again. But in private companies, one has to promote one's career ladder and it means there will be competition between one another. So, this is the right place for me to have a career without having to compete. [ran III.7]

Kuntum implied the same thing:

I will not mind if another woman who is more capable of leadership than I am takes up the position. [kun III.2]

Rather than having to compete to gain higher leadership roles, these women seemed to prefer the notion of trust. They preferred to have a position when there was trust from their colleagues. Ratnasari's account represents this:

If I am trusted by our colleagues then selected for a position, it's all right. If my colleagues trust me for a leadership position it means that I will be supported. But if I put myself as a candidate it means that I have to fight for a position by myself. [ran III.3-4]

Or as Endah said:

If I am given an amanah (appointment) by the members of my department to become a leader, I will accept it. But I don't want to fight for it. If my colleagues trust me to lead, I will carry it out. [end III.2]

The last two comments imply that if they were appointed because of trust they received from others, it would mean that their colleagues acknowledged their pace of work and dedication to Taman Ilmu and therefore they deserved the positions. The women were aware of the game the men play at Taman Ilmu, but they chose not to play.

6.2.3.2.4 Research

Research was another significant theme that arose from the interview data. When women were unable to occupy higher leadership positions, doing research could be seen as a way for them to enhance their professional development. Research could also be considered as developing their professional networking, as well as their professional knowledge. Hani commented:

I would prefer to conduct some research and do some presentations in Indonesia or abroad. It is not only the research that is interesting, but also that I can go everywhere, which makes it interesting. It is a chance to leave home for a while. [han III.8]

However, Hani also commented that her husband allowing her to attend a seminar outside her hometown would depend on “*home situation, such as nobody is sick*” [han III.7]. It implies that her husband did not entirely support her as a professional. He expected her to deal with all home matters, although in the previous section of “husband approval for working” she commented that there was a mutual agreement between her and her husband.

Syafitri said:

Rather than taking up managerial positions, I would really like to focus on conducting research. I have conducted some research, but I felt that it required most of my time. [sya III.2]

Atik said:

Now I enjoy myself having a position as the Head of Laboratory. I can conduct some research of my interest with the other members of the laboratory. I really enjoy managing this laboratory because I am responsible for equipment related to my research interest. As a lecturer, I am also responsible for guiding some students on conducting their final projects within my research interest. All those jobs are carried out in the laboratory. [ati III.4]

So, women saw participating in research as an opportunity to deal with their intellectual curiosity and intellectual fulfilment. Doing research could also advantage women more than achieving leadership positions, because research could be worked on at home, and the seminars occurred only occasionally. This is an example of how women resisted their habitus, embodied dispositions of values, which inclined them to believe that family comes first. To some extent, they knew that they needed time for themselves. However, from the men's comments about their female colleagues and research, it was found out that they did not see that their female colleagues were interested in conducting research. Therefore, it could be assumed that in some stages, the men did not really pay attention to what their female colleagues did in terms of their involvement in Taman Ilmu. Given the common assumptions about who men and women can be, the men did not think that the women's work counted as much. In other words, these women were invisible to the men.

Apart from talking about her interest in research, the comment from Atik also reflects the leadership style she held; that is, a leadership where she works not in front of people but with people, or in this case, with students and colleagues in her laboratory. Some other women who were in the positions of head of laboratory had similar ideas of leadership.

6.2.3.2.5 Importance of home support

All women participants indicated that they had at least one home-helper. Some came for several hours daily and others lived in the home. All the women enjoyed having a home helper because all housework was done by their helpers. Besides doing housework, home-helpers also took care of young children at home. Atik, for example, had two live-in helpers, who made it easy for her to stay in Taman Ilmu during work hours. She trusted her home and children to both of them during office hours, because the helpers had been working for her for quite a few years. However, Atik insisted that:

Either my husband or I must stay at home when the other needs to leave home for some time". [ati VII.2]

It implies that Atik and her husband wanted to have quality time with their family rather than leaving their children entirely to the home helpers, and that her husband supported Atik's career. She could stay in Taman Ilmu during office hours and sometimes after hours.

Sometimes the role of home-helper was extensive. For example, Nunik said:

Our home was always tidy although I came home late evening. I really depended on my loyal servant who could be trusted to manage my home and take care of my three children. It was also because of my servant that I could leave my children for one year training on my subject of teaching. I trusted my nine-month baby with my servant. [nun VII.2]

So, it was to Nunik's advantage to have such a reliable home-helper. This made it possible for her to stay at work rather than come home during the day. However, she was also aware that she could not ignore her home and family because it was her husband's preference that she had a paid job in teaching. In other words, he dictated what sort of job she could have.

Ratih and Wiwik were able to focus on their work at Taman Ilmu because besides having home-helpers, they were also helped by their mothers to take care of the home and children, and therefore much time could be dedicated to Taman Ilmu.

Dewiyana related her home-helper with her career. She said:

My home-helper is important and I consider her as my partner. We cooperate together. Without her I am less efficient in the office. There is a definite time a home helper may stay and work for me. She may take some useful courses such as sewing during her staying with me. When she has got some useful skills, she may leave my home to return to her village and I will look for another home-helper. We always keep our relationship well. [dew XIII.1]

Her comment implies that Dewiyana applied the give and take system in managing her home-helper so that both of them benefitted from their cooperation. On the one hand, she could concentrate on her job; on the other hand, she was supporting other women to go beyond home helper job. So, she was nurturing other women to be more capable for finding better jobs.

In conclusion, in this section I discuss the notion of dutiful wife and mother as the first barrier to women's full participation in Taman Ilmu. I also discuss how these women thought of strategies to keep their jobs. In the following final section

of the findings from the women's data, two sub-themes are provided, about how the women regarded the recruitment of more female lecturers and the opportunity of women to take senior leadership roles.

6.2.4 Institutional practices that appear to discriminate against women at Taman Ilmu

Two factors are illustrated with regard to women's comments on practices in Taman Ilmu which could be seen as discriminating against women lecturers: recruitment practices and leadership position opportunities.

6.2.4.1 Fewer female teaching staff recruited

The women research participants considered there were a number of causes of low recruitment of women (see lecturers' data in Chapter 5): work commitment, inadequate maternity leave, and resentment.

6.2.4.1.1 Work commitment

Women participants thought that many other women lecturers could not commit fully to their work because they understood the pull of their dual roles – as wife/mother and career women. Therefore, they understood the institution's policy to recruit few women as lecturers. For example, Atik said:

Personally I don't object to Taman Ilmu recruiting more qualified women, but there are things that women as housewives cannot ignore. If family commitments can be ignored, I agree to have more women. But I think everywhere the situation is the same. I am aware that management might be reluctant to recruit more women as lecturers because, as far as I know, in early years of teaching staff recruitment, the managers finally decided not to employ women as lecturers because they couldn't work as expected. [ati VI.1-2]

This comment implies the men's expectations about what the work entailed. There seems no elbow room for negotiating the conditions of women's dual role. Five other women gave similar comments on the expectations of work commitments in Taman Ilmu. In addition, Meinar insisted that:

I agree that Taman Ilmu should recruit more women to the teaching staff but only if they are committed to the job. Take for example myself. If I have decided to work, it means that home matters must not be ignored but at the same time the job and duties should also be performed well. [mei VI.6]

Both comments indicate that the women involved in teaching at Taman Ilmu acknowledged the heavy burden for them to really work as expected by the workplace. To some extent, they admitted that male colleagues were more committed to work. However, women would prefer to have female teaching staff, although the managers that I interviewed had the opinion that women were not good teachers. For example, Wiwik said:

Women's performance is better than men in the classroom. [wiw IV.19]

Yamida said:

Women are more patient when teaching, able to communicate better with students, and have better personal approach towards students. [yam VI.4]

But several women participants criticised other women who came to Taman Ilmu only to teach because they were all full-time lecturers. Wiwik commented:

In my opinion, some women who come only to teach only think of their personal needs and do not think of our workplace's needs" [wiw IV.19]

Ratih supported:

Yes, it's a problem here in Taman Ilmu that some colleagues only come to teach. If we look at our profession as lecturer, it's not enough to come and teach only. [rai VI.8]

Nunik insisted:

The fact that lecturers do not have to come every day has been the tradition of this workplace, except if the lecturers have additional managerial duties. They need to come every day and are expected to become the examples. [nun VI.5]

In addition, Meinar said:

According to the rule they must come every day because they receive a monthly-based salary. It's not only women though who just come here when they have teaching scheduled. The men do that too. [mei VI.12].

However, the managers consider that many more women than men were in this work pattern. This is further explored in the section on men's perspectives.

6.2.4.1.2 Inadequate maternity leave

The majority of women participants also agreed on one significant point regarding how few women were recruited by Taman Ilmu, that is, pregnancy. It was said that Taman Ilmu had recruited a number of women when it first opened, although male lecturers outnumbered females. The staff profile at Taman Ilmu shows a large cohort of people between 25 to 46 years of age with school-aged children. Women between 28 to 35 years of age comprise 50% of the female lecturers. But when it was time to recruit teaching staff, the managers often said that they did not want to employ women because they were likely to get pregnant.

Nunik said that the possibility of pregnancy was the only reason why Taman Ilmu did not recruit more women. Syafitri commented:

It might be that more and more women apply for maternity leave. I think this is natural. Our workplace should allow women to take maternity leave. Taman Ilmu should have thought of this situation and included this in its policies. It is not wrong to recruit female lecturers. Leaders should have human concerns. They need to consider women's nature and women have their rights to work. In my view, such statements inhibit women having a job, Yes they sometimes need to take maternity leave. But this is not unacceptable. The men as leaders are acting as if they do not have wives. Would they agree that after giving birth their wives instantly go back to work? [sya VI.2-4]

In other words, Syafitri criticised the prevailing attitude of those in management in Taman Ilmu. She pointed out that there was the regulation that women could take maternity leave, and that the managers of Taman Ilmu should have understood this regulation. Men, especially, were thinking about the advancement of this institution and wanted women to dedicate their time entirely to this institution. Men seemed to ignore women's double burden.

In the institutional meeting, Wiwik commented that male colleagues had suggested that the institution recruit only men for the teaching staff. According to Wiwik, the reason the men wanted to recruit men only was that:

Single women tended to decrease their pace of work after getting married [and having children] and that Taman Ilmu needed people who could dedicate their time and effort for its development. [wiw VI.3]

It was not just the men who had this perspective. Many women had bought into it themselves, which demonstrated how strong the habitus was. In this context, these

women were not supporting other women, because even though they were in the institution themselves —and benefitting from how it allowed them to work— they were probably preventing other women from enjoying the ability to organise their work and family commitments. This was because some women think that they should have dedicated their time to this institution, taking on the prevalent male attitude about career versus family work. Nine other women had similar concerns about pregnancy and women's recruitment.

In relation to women's maternity leave, Hani was aware that:

Many female colleagues in our workplace cannot be counted on for duties other than teaching [and] this made Taman Ilmu busy rearranging teaching schedules and finding relievers among the teaching staff who already had overloaded schedules. [han VI.1]

Ratih, who was in the recruitment team, saw that Taman Ilmu's recruitment of young mothers would result in maternity leave issues. She understood why Taman Ilmu did not want to recruit women any longer, because:

Women may become pregnant at the same time and disrupt teaching schedules and place a burden on other staff. [rai VI.6]

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, this institution recruited males and females fresh from graduating for its teaching staff. Currently, many women understood why the institution preferred not to recruit many women, although women would prefer to have more females as lecturers. This is not an easily resolved issue.

However, Endah argued:

The managers of Taman Ilmu exaggerated it as if all women took maternity leave at the same time. There is a time when women take maternity leave, and there is a time when women have small children. [end VI.4]

She thought:

In general, men work to get money or prestige. I would suggest that if in the recruitment process both the woman and the man are qualified for the teaching position, I would prefer to have the woman to join our teaching staff. [end VI.2]

She was aware that women were given second priority in the process of recruitment. In addition, Wiwik, who was a member of the recruitment team of

her department, said that the issue of not recruiting women came from her female colleagues too:

The women suggested that we had better recruit males only. They were aware that our department was developing its vision and reliable people would be needed. The newly recruited lecturers were expected to support a stronger workforce that could be counted on. [wiw VI.1-2]

So, many women in Taman Ilmu had the view that women lecturers were not reliable and as a result could not be counted on. Therefore, women were increasingly marginalised by not being supported by other women, and male values in this institution were strengthened. At the same time, women and men were blaming women for focusing on the very things that the society expected them to put first.

6.2.4.1.3 Resentment at women's marginalisation

Although they accepted their situation, some things still made women participants angry. For example, Ratih considered it unfair when male colleagues were prioritised for training programmes or projects. She insisted that a woman with a financially settled husband was seldom given the opportunity to be involved in such programmes and projects. She said that:

It's not fair because in this institution there's no difference in duties, but the rights are different. That's what I see occurring in this workplace. [rai VI.3]

She indicated that while routine duties were the same, women were not given the right to accept or decline additional projects as the men were. Endah, one of the women participants, commented that workplace duties were not assigned to women because some males complained about some women's work ethos:

I cannot deny that a number of women colleagues do not work hard enough to the minimum effort to be considered 'good employees'. [end II.3]

There was no formal appraisal. Men simply observed and developed negative perceptions. They seem to accuse all women of having a poor work ethos and therefore disadvantaging all women in the institution. Relating women's work ethos to leadership roles, Yamida argued that from her perspective:

Women have not shown their full commitment to the institution. I'm not certain whether women are able to become the highest leader of the institution because up to this time, no woman is occupying that position. [yam IV.2-3]

She was also aware that:

In becoming a leader one needs to show commitment especially in time. [yam IV.4]

Women could not do this because they were having to balance two jobs – their professional one and their domestic one. Women were more compromised than the male colleagues. Women's marginalisation was aggravated by individual inability to further their study because they thought of their primary duties to families, and their husbands did not approve of them being away from home, especially if undertaking the study meant the women had to move to another town.

Many men benefitted from this situation. Hani noted:

However, I notice that there is a stereotype, an unwritten rule, that senior positions are held by lecturers who have obtained doctoral degrees from abroad. I think it is because of keeping the prestige of the institution. [han IV.3]

Hani's comment implies that women may not be able to occupy senior leadership positions because they did not have an opportunity to do further study, let alone to study abroad.

6.2.4.2 Women's perspectives on female suitability for senior leadership

Five women talked about the possibility of their female colleagues taking up senior leadership roles, but many women talked about the advantages of having male colleagues rather than female colleagues in Taman Ilmu. Yamida said:

If a woman takes up leadership positions it means that she must be available any time for unpredictable duties such as meetings, out of town duties, and preparing project proposals. [yam IV.6]

Therefore, she said:

This requirement is not suitable for women. It is not a woman's job because people expect that a woman has to be at home in the late afternoon to look after her family. [yam IV.7]

Many other women agreed with this condition. Five women signalled that they wanted a managerial position but had to wait until they no longer had young children. Yamida and some other women saw that employing men was for the benefit of Taman Ilmu. Compared to women, men were highly committed to their

work in terms of time availability. Men could dedicate themselves to the advancement of Taman Ilmu because:

Male lecturers who have families would not be bothered by such 'female' duties because they have wives to look after all home duties. [yam VI.3]

That is why, as Meinar said in the previous section, ideally a woman also had somebody to be in charge of managing the home so that a woman in paid employment could leave home without thinking about her family and home duties.

Another example which shows that male values were operating in Taman Ilmu can be drawn from the following account. Kuntum said:

Men can be asked to stay longer in Taman Ilmu when there are events such as competitions that need lecturers' 24 hours availability. They can even stay several nights in the institution without going home to their family. [kun VI.6]

Wiwik supported this view and insisted that managerial duties in Taman Ilmu were too heavy for married women to carry out because too often there was a sudden task to be finished on that very day. She argued:

Such tasks are OK for the men who do not need to think of home duties. [wiw IV.6]

Her comment showed that men are not burdened with being or feeling responsible for family duties. They are free to make decisions that are work-focussed rather than family-focussed. Women still had to think of their family commitment when they went to work. In support, Atik insisted that when a woman wanted to have a senior leadership role, she had better think of whether she was able to manage her family and work commitments, and whether she had time for herself. Atik proposed that a leader should be qualified in terms of skills, intelligence and ability to lead, but what she was more concerned with was the unpredictable tasks that needed effort and time:

Not everyone can carry out such duties, especially women, because they will need to work after hours. I think this kind of job is not suitable for women. [ati IV.4, I.12]

However, she herself had contested the idea of the inability of women to gain higher leadership positions. She had had an experience in a middle leadership role, and several research participants acknowledged her dedication to her job. She gave up the position because she felt it was a stressful role, although there were

several factors that enabled her to occupy this position and to do her job well. First of all, she had a husband who supported her to advance her career by sharing the home responsibility, especially in taking care of their children. She also had several home helpers, whom she could trust, which allowed her to be available at Taman Ilmu. She knew that it was difficult for other women to go home late at night, although they all had home helpers too. So, this comes back to the internalisation of the social values of how women can be. And above all, family encouragement to follow a career was much less common than encouragement to be a good wife and mother. Consequently, habitus as embodiment of Javanese values could be seen as the barrier preventing these women in Taman Ilmu from achieving senior leadership positions. Because of this cultural and institutional barrier, Yamida concluded that:

I think that head and vice heads of institution must be men. [yam IV.8].

Yamida seems to look from the practical side of assuming senior leadership role. She did not look at gender perception or Muslim view whether male colleagues were more eligible to become leaders in Taman Ilmu. Three women talked about leaders from an Islamic viewpoint. Syafitri believed that a woman is capable of becoming a leader,

as long as the leader is not a ruler or a state decision-maker, a woman may become a leader, for example a CEO in a company, or head of an institution. [sya XII.1]

Kuntum insists:

Yes I know that in our religion there is the understanding that a leader is a man, but in Islam there were also female leaders: Katijah, the wife of Prophet Muhammad, for example. [kun XII.1]

However, Atik says:

From the religious view, it is men to be leaders because based on the family, the leader is the man. So men are familiar to lead family, people or others, although, between quotation marks, there might be women who could lead. [ati XII.6]

Atik's comment was based on her observation that male colleagues' performance in senior leadership roles was good. There were male characteristics mentioned as the benefit in becoming leaders of Taman Ilmu, such as more rational in thinking,

and possessing ability to control emotion. So, controlling emotion and being rational were considered to be male traits and important for leadership.

Women's leadership could be seen positively, even though there is an element of gender stereotyping in the comment below. Dewiyana says:

Leaders carry out heavy burdens, but women may become leaders, nothing is wrong with that because they have special style to lead. In my opinion, there are levels where it is better to have women as leaders. For example, up to the level of head of department; because women are kind and nurturing. I haven't had a female head of institution, so that I cannot compare them [dew XII.2].

Dewiyana further comments:

On the department level, I observed that there is a big difference between the leadership style of men and women. Women are much more nurturing. So I think there are strata in Taman Ilmu where women may occupy leadership positions because they are needed for several positions. Women are more nurturing, men tend to compete [dew XII.3].

So, women participants might tend to see all women as essentially nurturing. If women are to be able to aspire to leadership positions, some way to challenge the essentialism of this perception will be needed.

6.3 Men's perspectives

6.3.1 Men's career paths

6.3.1.1 Individual ambitions

The four men I interviewed did not originally think of going into teaching, although Irawan and Zakaria, had worked as tutors when they were studying at tertiary level. Idris had wanted to become an engineer and Prayoga a scientist. Irawan and Zakaria worked in companies after they graduated. The men's decisions to enter Taman Ilmu seemed to be based on their individual ambitions.

Idris said:

When I was at college, my friends and I were so obsessive about learning new things. However, we could seldom use the computers, or specific equipment which was the only one at that time. Here, in Taman Ilmu, we have many. I then was informed about this institution, which was being built, and the rumour was that it would be supported with a range of good equipment. I did hope that I could make use of the equipment to contribute more into my field of study. [idr 1.2-4]

Other than fulfilling their ambitions, these men could perhaps see the opportunity to make their institutionalised state cultural capital into economic capital (see Chapter 3). Making their cultural capital into economic capital could also mean fulfilling their parents' wish, as was the case of the women participants, but with the difference that men were expected to be ready to become breadwinners of their own families. For Irawan and Zakaria, who had had job experiences, they might see better career prospects in Taman Ilmu and a more steady economic capital, since working in Taman Ilmu would mean that they secured a permanent job.

Above all, these men seem to be aiming at the symbolic capital they would gain when working at the state engineering educational institution. Although the salary of a civil service lecturer is relatively small, people gain social status and respect from the position. These men appeared to have been aware of this symbolic capital, as they had not hesitated to take the teaching job. Irawan commented:

I became acquainted with Taman Ilmu because I was sent many times by my workplace to Taman Ilmu. I had been working for about one year when I was going to further my study. At that time, the Head of Taman Ilmu asked me whether I would like to work in Taman Ilmu after finishing my study. I certainly accepted the offer. [irw 1.1-2]

In addition, his familiarity with teaching as a career might also have been a factor in his taking up the offer, as he noted:

My elder siblings are teachers, my parents were teachers. My wife's family work background is also teachers. My wife works in teaching, her uncle, and her father were teachers. So, teaching is not an alien field for me. I have never thought of becoming a teacher. But I had been a tutor when I was studying in tertiary education. [irw 1.3]

The symbolic capital he would get and his familiarity with being a tutor when he was studying at the university also made Zakaria confident to take the teaching position in Taman Ilmu. He gave his reason:

When I graduated from the university with a Bachelor of Honours in Science, I worked for a company, but I did not enjoy working there. I then heard that there was a vacancy for a lecturer in the field of my study and I applied for the position. I like teaching very much and therefore working as a lecturer and having the status of a civil servant is something I was looking for. [zak 1.2-3]

In contrast with the women's comments, these men's explanation of their decisions to take up teaching in Taman Ilmu did not indicate that they were thinking of fitting their jobs to their family matters. Their career trajectory was different from the career trajectories of the women, and hence it is important to discuss both career trajectories in the discussion chapter. This relates to how gender perception constructed the men and women's thinking about having a career. These men had internalised their maleness in the Javanese environment.

The following section illustrates values that operate in the organisation of Taman Ilmu.

6.3.2 A male dominant institution

This second organising theme reports on how the men talked about their female colleagues' work performance. The men's comments indicated that women's role in the home was most important, and therefore, unsurprisingly, gender differences were brought into the institution.

6.3.2.1 Male perceptions of women's work performance at Taman Ilmu

Men talked about their work values in relation to their colleagues' work performance, especially that of their female colleagues. Words like *dedication*, *full-time*, *reliability*, and *after hours work* disparaged women's work performance as the men did not see it demonstrating these characteristics.

Lack of dedication was mentioned by all four men, as they talked about the work performance of their female colleagues. Irawan's statement may represent the men's opinions:

Talking about our female colleagues in Taman Ilmu, I regret that in general the effort of women in Taman Ilmu is erratic. They joined the staff when they were single and showed high effort contributing much of their time to the institution. After the women married, they contributed less time to their work. It is because women have a double burden. [irw 5.1]

This double burden could be eased by the men advocating for changes to the institution's practices. For instance, having a crèche on site, praising women for what they bring to their work, and not berating them for what they leave out.

Irawan further said:

In our culture, women must obey that their nature is at home, and therefore working outside home is a secondary matter. When they have done all home duties, then they are able to think of their office duties. So, they are different from male colleagues. I have observed that many women are in this pattern of work, and that few women could dedicate all their time to their work. [irw 5.2]

The comment from Irawan signalled that with this idea in his mind, and perhaps from the other men as well, married women in Taman Ilmu were marginalised by their male colleagues' views regarding women's domestic focus and constrained dedication to their jobs. The word "different" would mean that Irawan emphasised gender differences and regarded women not as their kind (see Kanter, 1979, in Chapter 2). Relating to the notion of dedication, the men insisted on the four basic duties that had to be accomplished by lecturers. Prayoga said:

The duties of a lecturer include teaching, doing some administrative duties, conducting research, and providing community service. I wonder whether women could fulfil these duties, as they obviously are working in a limited time frame. [pra 5.2]

Zakaria added to the above statement:

Ideally, one needs to fulfil this obligation. However, some colleagues only come to fulfil the obligation of teaching and this is not right. If we have entered the world of teaching, it means that we must fulfil other obligation as well. [zak 5.1]

These comments imply that because many married women amongst their colleagues did not stay during the office hours in Taman Ilmu, they were not productive. The men – who perhaps were usually focussing on one thing only, that is, their work commitment – might not think that the conditioning of women's double burden would mean that women had to juggle two jobs and that they had to find ways to do both. Limited time and lack of dedication were the excuses made by these leaders to further exclude women from teaching staff recruitment.

Prayoga explained:

We have evaluated lecturers' overall performance. Some input from departments were brought to the Board of Manager's meeting. The evaluation looks at the lecturers' work performance, the time they dedicate to jobs and duties, and individual responses to duties and jobs. I notice that many female lecturers come to the workplace in the afternoon to teach their classes and go home as soon as possible. I do not deny that some male lecturers show similar work characteristics, but many women tend to be in this work pattern [pra 5.1-2]

However, it seemed that the institution did not make follow ups to enhance the work performance of the lecturers. Although some male lecturers did not stay all day in Taman Ilmu, their absence had not really caught the attention of the managers. Therefore, it could be said that men as the dominant group in Taman Ilmu wanted to maintain the male work values; they decided the rules of the game. Women were marginalised because they could not participate in playing the game. Women's voices and perceptions were not heard as if they were doing their jobs in silence.

Another story of women's marginalisation came from Idris who commented on an event which only occurred to female lecturers:

There was a story of some female colleagues who were appointed to teach visiting-students. There were some complaints about the women for not being able to answer the questions about some aspects of the practical subject, and therefore the women were considered incapable of teaching these technical subjects. I can understand this, because there might be time limitation for these women for preparing the teaching material well. When women finish teaching and go home, they only think of their children. So they don't have time to do other. When we talk about practice, one should be active enough to conduct some try out before the real class practice and be ready for guiding the practice to the students. So, it's mainly the time which makes many women not able to fully participate in Taman Ilmu. [idr 8.1-4]

There was a mismatch between the women participants' views and the men participants' views about women as lecturers. As has been discussed under the section of women's perspectives, several women participants would rather have female lecturers rather than males because of female's nurturing characteristics. However, the men had the opinion that it seemed not to be sufficient to take the nurture characteristics as an indication that women were more suitable for teaching, but they would really demand the women to have time for their job in Taman Ilmu. Furthermore, reflecting on this case, it might indicate that the institution did not provide any attempts to solve this matter. Complaints were accepted, but no further action was taken by the institution. The blame was laid on the women's domestic commitment. The following comment from Irawan also shows the marginalisation of women in Taman Ilmu. Irawan said:

Some women have been involved in extra duties but despite the fact that the women need extra hours to finish the duties, they need to go home to their families at the usual time. Management does not want to take the risk of delaying some

jobs and therefore prefers to assign jobs to men. We can do nothing. We cannot force women to have extra work. [irw 5.8]

It may not be possible to require women to perform extra hours work. However, the men as managers could have thought of ways to include women in many institutional activities, so that, borrowing Kanter's (1979) words, women would not be regarded as strangers in this workplace. They could also have reorganised the way extra duties were organised. In this male domain institution, work performance was measured through the lens of men as the players of the institution game. Irawan's two comments below about the work performance of one female colleague reveal the institutional habitus of Taman Ilmu. At the same time, these comments show that it was male values that operated in Taman Ilmu, especially in management.

One of our female colleagues who had been responsible for middle level positions showed a good effort towards managing her department. What I appreciate is that she could work overtime. Although she is a woman, she did not like to see the female members of the department too busy with their families. She also once agreed not to recruit women for teaching staff. She understood that a total commitment is required. From our observation, many times women cannot be assigned for extra work. She finally agreed that we would not recruit women, because she realised that she needed men to fully contribute their time in her department. She needed reliable and competent people. [irw 4.3-4]

This comment suggests Irawan believes that reliability and competency in Taman Ilmu only belong to the men. Irawan's comment shows that he regarded this woman as one of the men. All other women, therefore, rendered unreliable and incompetent because they had the potential to be married, if they are single when enter Taman Ilmu, or to have children. One of the requirements of being reliable and competent could also come from the notion of after hours working, which for many women could be impossible because of family and societal expectation on women as wives and mothers. Therefore, the following comments from Irawan could again show the habitus of managerial work in Taman Ilmu. Irawan said:

There is no rule prohibiting lecturers from coming only to teach. But the government's rule on educational matters states that the minimum teaching load of a lecturer is 12 credits; however, there is no rule of length of stay for a lecturer in one working day. We cannot say that a lecturer must stay from 8 am to 4 pm. Male colleagues can work after hours and therefore they are given extra non-teaching duties, such as giving guidance to students who were involved in many

kinds of competitions and helping managers prepare project proposals. This cannot be expected from the women. [irw 5.4-5]

Again, his comment indicates that the institutional habitus of Taman Ilmu is hegemonic male, because activities were measured from the lens of men, from the convenience of masculine work habits. There could be activities assigned to women that they could do during office hours. Some women did not stay full time during office hours in Taman Ilmu, because they did other non-contact official tasks and duties at home. The number of tasks and duties assigned to women might not be similar to those held by their male colleagues, as had been noted by Ratih, in the section of women's perspectives, about the unfairness of projects assignments and noted by the men when they talked about the way women's perceived lack of responsibility and reliability affected the distribution of tasks and duties in Taman Ilmu. And therefore, once again, many women were marginalised by the practices, or the rules of the game, that favour males.

The following section provides the stories of how the men attempted to make women stay longer during work hours in Taman Ilmu.

6.3.2.2 Institution's effort to enhance colleagues work performance

All the men indicated that Taman Ilmu had provided a number of activities to motivate lecturers, especially women, to stay during office hours. This indication was different from the women's accounts because they felt that they were marginalised by their male colleagues. The feeling of marginalisation could come from the fact that this institutional effort was a one-sided decision in which the men did not consult female teaching staff on what incentives might be most helpful for them. Idris said:

Taman Ilmu has had some effort to develop lecturers' capacity. Our workplace is only a place for them to reach their success. If they are able to write a lot of papers, conduct much research and then get patented, the benefits are for them individually. [idr 5.6]

And Prayoga also said:

The management has recently provided financial rewards to lecturers who dedicate their time and effort for Taman Ilmu, but only a few women enjoy this reward. [pra 5.4]

Success, according to male values, was marked by writing papers, conducting research, and obtaining financial rewards. Women were not counted on although several women talked about enjoying research. The men might not consider that other activities related to teaching and development could also be included as ways to success. The men tended to see leadership roles from a narrow focus, and therefore they might not succeed in making the women stay during office hours. Financial rewards might not attract women's interest because, as has been noted earlier, money might not be their main reason for working; rather, some women wanted to share their knowledge. Therefore, the above comment showed a one-sided strategy and a lack of good communication between leaders and members of Taman Ilmu. The following comment is further evidence of the lack of communication between leaders and members:

If the members of Taman Ilmu want some improvement, it means that both sides need to have an agreement. I don't think that the management will take the risk to assign people they are not sure able to carry out the job. [pra 5.11]

This statement contradicts Prayoga's own statement, mentioned earlier, when he said that institution had provided some facilities for women to be actively involved. This decision was unilateral, but then he wanted both sides' agreement. The other three men also asserted that success entailed writing papers, conducting research, and getting financial rewards. There is again a mismatch between what had been said by several women that they liked to conduct research, while these men did not see the women were involved in this activity.

6.3.2.2.1 Women's access to senior leadership roles

The interview data revealed the men's views on women's opportunities to achieve senior leadership positions by the notions such as *time constraints*, *competition*, *unreliability/incompetency*, *lack of support*, and *lower leadership positions*.

The research findings showed senior leadership roles in Taman Ilmu were the domain of the men. Men were easily able to occupy middle or senior leadership positions in comparison to women because of the men's dedication to Taman Ilmu. Irawan critiqued his female colleagues' work performance:

The women started with good performance. When they were at the selection process they were better than the men. The recruitment test showed they were good at their knowledge of the required subjects. But after they married, Taman Ilmu can no longer use them other than teaching. So we finally decided who we need, men or women, before we recruit more staff. [irw 4.5]

In support, Idris commented on women who did not show any eagerness to occupy senior leadership roles:

Taman Ilmu tends to have male heads of institution. Only a few women can fully dedicate their time for the institution but they seem to stay away from senior leadership positions. I think they did not dare to propose arguments with their male colleagues when we have board of managers' meeting. I am also disappointed regarding women's participation in Taman Ilmu. Frankly speaking, in my opinion, many women entered this workplace with the hope that they would not be bothered with jobs and duties. I was aware of this when the institution offered some leadership positions to some women. The women did not respond to the offer. The reason was simple and I understood it: 'we are more focussing on our family.' I think they realised that they would have to come early to the office and go home late. [idr 2.1-3]

With this view, Idris would reinforce the status quo of women's involvement in leadership roles. The following comment shows he would be unlikely to challenge the habitus of Taman Ilmu:

I do not want to ask women to participate, because I am aware of how hard it is for women to work beyond office hours. I have a wife. I have a small family. If I need to go home late on the day and my wife also needs to go home late, I cannot imagine that. So, it's not a matter of pro or contra. I just think that women are better not to be involved because the situation does not make it possible for women to participate. [idr 3.5]

For Idris the rules were clear. Here male values were the rule, and if women wanted to be involved, they needed to follow the rule. This is an example of the notion of the dominate and the dominated in a field. In this case, the men as the dominate are the leaders and women as the dominated are the followers.

Another expectation that women must follow if they wanted to be leaders was being competitive. For Prayoga, competition was very important when one wanted a senior leadership position. He said:

In my view, men and women have equal opportunity to be in management roles. But I observe that not many female colleagues have the spirit to compete for higher management positions. Their willingness to compete is low. During the years of working in Taman Ilmu, I am not aware of any woman competing for

management position although there are definitely some women who are capable of occupying these management positions. [pra 4.1, 4.5]

This observation could be linked to some of the women's responses, presented earlier, which showed that some women wanted to gain senior leadership roles in a passive way, by appointment and trust rather by competition. However, when women did not show continuous effort to make their colleagues see their ability in leadership, Irawan insisted that they would not be selected. He said:

A woman in Taman Ilmu can have any leadership position. What matters is that to have a position, a person needs supporters. To get supported, one needs to show dedication to the workplace. If they provide little contribution to the workplace, for example only come to teach, I am certain that they will not get support. [irw 4.1]

In addition Prayoga insisted:

But there are at least two issues related to women's involvement. The first issue is time. The second issue is religious beliefs. Both issues could be raised by male members of Taman Ilmu in opposing women's involvement in management. In Islam it is said that leaders must be men. But it doesn't mean that I have the same view. I personally will not differentiate the opportunity for men and women. But when Taman Ilmu holds elections, the members will decide. I cannot guarantee that people won't use this issue. [pra 3.1-2]

So, as the majority of the members of Taman Ilmu were men, women might become marginalised when the issue of leaders was raised because of the Islamic belief, although the findings from the women participants revealed that most women believed that women could be leaders too. And therefore, rather than finding ways to empower women to hold senior leadership positions, this hegemonic male institution considered that women would be better consigned to lower leadership positions. According to Prayoga:

Laboratory organisation might be a place for women to actively participate in it. I think there's the greater chance for women to take part in laboratories where they can arrange time as flexible as possible. They could make a plan for five or ten years in advanced with the equipment available in each laboratory. They could have the vision for how the laboratory is developed. [pra 5.6]

His comment implies that on the one hand, in this kind of institution, men seemed to want to dominate and women were considered as second-class citizens. Men acted as the agency in this academic field and also as the gatekeepers of this institution. They were the ones who decided the rules of the game in Taman Ilmu,

as shown in the comment of Prayoga. However, on the other hand, Prayoga's comment shows that he cared about enhancing female colleagues' participation in Taman Ilmu. He seemed to understand how hard it was for women to be available during office hours, but no action had been taken so far.

6.3.3 Husband as family leader in the home

This is the final theme of the analysis. This organizing theme is about how the men see their wives in terms of the women's paid employment. The men's opinion reflects how they see their female colleagues' work performance or career ladder.

6.3.3.1 Husband as breadwinner

When asked about their own family situation, the men held different views. Three of them appear to be very sympathetic to their wives' work. Idris allowed his wife to work as a lecturer because of the good environment and social status. He said:

I agree to my wife working. I am a Muslim, my religion is Islam, but I am sure bringing up children and mother's working can go together. The mother doesn't need to stay at home all day. I know that educating children is not a simple duty, but a mother might still have energy left from educating children that can be used to work outside the home. She has a smaller amount of time to offer the workplace compared to me. That's why I cannot force our female colleagues work full time. [idr 6.1, 6.3]

His comment shows that having a double-burden for a woman is commonly acceptable. His comment also implies that although he was aware of the majority of Muslims' perception of a wife's responsibility for home and family, he did not entirely conform to that perception. He supported his wife's paid employment. Idris was not the only male manager who supported his wife's paid employment. Prayoga commented on his wife's paid employment:

I support my wife's paid employment. I am proud of her. She is independent in some ways. I am proud to tell others that my wife has a paid job. My mother stays at home and reflecting on her situation, I prefer to have a wife who is in paid employment. She is involved in wider society and definitely is open-minded. [pra 6.1]

His comment could mean that the support he gave to his wife would include support in her enhancing her career and becoming independent. It seems that they have an equal relationship.

Irawan emphasised his wife's work and the leadership roles she was holding:

My wife is a lecturer in another university. She does teaching, research and community service. At present, she is the head of a research institute operating under a faculty of the university. She is a very busy woman, who is at work from morning to late afternoon, and often to late evening. I understand that she is as busy as I am. This is not a normal situation for Indonesian couples who work outside the home. But I support her working. I understand how she spends her time at work because I know her job and I know what she is doing at work. [irw 7.1-2]

He said further:

I have often come home before my wife returns from work. I take care of our children particularly when they have homework or after school activities and I wait for my wife to ring and I pick her up. We meet together as a whole family only at night time, but I can accept that situation. [irw 6.1]

Irawan's comment implies the support he gave to his wife's career. He did not only give emotional support, but he also shared in looking after their family. Supporting a wife's career in the way Irawan provided for his wife can be considered as an unusual support, because as the findings have shown, the majority of husbands usually showed emotional rather than physical support to their working wives.

Zakaria has a different perception on his wife's working; he takes a more traditional view:

I like my wife to stay at home, because she has greater responsibility for our children. I have mine too, to educate our children. We are thinking of my wife having a home business in the future. When children are already at school, she can establish a business operating from home. The purpose is to provide her an activity to do at home and to make her own money. But I would really like my wife to stay at home. [zak 7.2]

The above comments showed that the most supportive husband was Irawan, who let his wife to have a career and enjoy her work. Her coming home late was not a big matter for Irawan. Prayoga seems to have similar views on his wife's career. However, Idris wanted his wife to be at home to look after their children and she

may not work after hours. Zakaria seemed to be the most dominant husband, as he expected his wife not to leave the home for a paid job.

In relation to his wife's leadership role, Idris commented:

Being a leader is related to a talent. I don't see my wife having a talent to lead because she has been working as long as I have worked, but there's no indication for her which leads to a position. She also doesn't have any experience which makes it possible for her to take a position. She spent her working time with research and writing books, it's a typical life of a lecturer. Perhaps it is her nature. Every day she is busy with writing, researching and teaching. This makes her extra busy. It seems that she is content with her days. She enjoys her field trips, taking samples, conducting some research and writing reports. She has gained some travel grants to go abroad to join seminars. She is so happy talking about her experiences going abroad. Indeed it is her dream to go abroad by writing some paper and getting some grants to make her possible to travel to some places. If she was offered a leadership position, she was not likely to take it because so far she has never thought of becoming a leader. [idr 7.1-4]

Idris' comment implied that he adheres to the belief that leaders are born. In addition, he seems to know his wife quite well in the sense of what she wants and what she does in her workplace. He must have supported her career substantially, as Prayoga and Irawan did, because he let her travel to conferences around the world.

6.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I described themes drawn from both the women and men's interview data analyses. The first theme started in this first section was related to the women's study backgrounds in engineering and their own wish to have a paid job after completing their degrees. It was then followed by women's alternative jobs when they were married and especially became mothers. Women were expected to fulfil the obligatory roles of wives and mothers rather than focussing on their career.

To maintain their role as mothers, these women looked for a paid work that enabled them to balance their family and work lives, that is, teaching which was seen as if it was a part-time job. This was in the second theme. These women had followed their society's worldview that teaching was identical with part-time job. This was their early thought when entering Taman Ilmu.

The third theme dealt with how these women had to juggle between work demand and family commitments. The women interviewed in this study saw teaching in Taman Ilmu as the way to combine domestic responsibilities with a career, because in this institution there were flexible work times. However, the findings not only indicated that time seemed to be the major barrier for these women to fulfil their work responsibility, but also showed that they had strategies to maintain both work and family commitments. In other words, these women actively sought to manage the contradictions in their work and family lives, and some even found ways to circumvent the restrictions placed on them. They gained a personal satisfaction from their paid work. To some extent, professional satisfaction could mean that they kept their teaching jobs and some kept their leadership positions as low as possible because they were aware that higher leadership roles would entail more tasks and might require them to work after hours. Many women were satisfied with their professional status quo and enjoyed their work in Taman Ilmu. One of the strategies was to have relatives staying at home, or to have home helpers. However, their availability did not entirely help these women to set aside their thoughts of home and children during their working hours. This shows how strong the habitus played out in the lives of my research participants and influenced how they acted in their domestic and public spheres, although some women had contested their habitus.

The final theme of the first section was about women and their workplace demands. I characterised the values operating in the institution I studied as masculine, which then resulted in the marginalisation of the women participants. The values that these women gained by being involved in this other social field, and the values they internalised from their micro social field, affected how they behaved in their private and public spaces. Barriers presented by families and the institution prevented these women from taking up senior leadership positions. This is another example of how habitus works.

Because these women could manipulate their work responsibilities to accommodate what they needed to deal with at home, coupled with the status and respect they received from other people by being a lecturer, they might consider

this sufficient. These women seemed to feel secure in their current positions, either as lecturers or lecturers with lower leadership roles. Furthermore, working as civil service lecturers guaranteed their jobs for life. This kind of situation could therefore be another barrier to their advancement into their leadership roles, at least in the short term. It might happen that several years later when their children would no longer be these women's responsibility, they would start to climb their career ladder, although Taman Ilmu's work ethos might still make the women lecturers difficult to climb the ladder.

It could be concluded from the first section of this chapter that the women participating in my research made efforts to fulfil their professional needs. Even though at the time of interviews they were not aspiring to senior leadership positions, they found other ways to manifest their own professional needs. In terms of the habitus of women's consideration of their primary roles, these women were aware of difficulties they might encounter when they were in senior leadership positions. Some of them seemed to resist this situation by finding ways to keep their paid employment, including current tasks and duties. So, Javanese culture, which emphasises women's primary responsibility for family or children matters, coupled with the religious belief that women are responsible for children's education, together caused tension for women as mothers who still wanted to have paid employment.

The second section of this chapter dealt with the men's perspectives. The first theme of this section described the men's career paths which were quite different from the women's career paths. The second theme of this section showed that male values dominated Taman Ilmu. It examined how these men valued work performance which resulted in fewer opportunities for women to occupy senior leadership positions. On the one hand, women considered these values a heavy burden which must be carried out if they wanted to gain senior leadership roles. On the other hand, male colleagues made the rule that a number of important managerial duties should be performed after hours because during the office-hours the male managers had to perform their teaching duties. This entailed a preference against recruiting women for teaching positions. Institutional standards based on

the male values operating in this educational institution functioned as barriers for women who might wish to gain senior leadership positions. Again, it can be said that the embodiment of internal values or habitus, coupled with the values of their workplace (social capital), restrained women's further movement in the direction of senior leadership roles (practice). The final theme described perceptions of the men's positions as the leaders of their families. Their perceptions also related to their personal views on their wives' involvement in paid jobs.

It could be concluded that the internalisation of men as breadwinners and leaders of the family, in the micro social field, was brought into the wider social field, that is, Taman Ilmu. The internalisation of women as responsible for domestic matters and subordinate positions, in their micro social field, was also brought into Taman Ilmu. Therefore, on the one hand, dispositions embodied in their state of thinking and action formed the institutional habitus of Taman Ilmu; on the other hand, these dispositions reinforced the institutional habitus.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I interpret the findings presented in Chapter 6. As discussed in Chapter 5, I used a phenomenological qualitative paradigm for my research methodology. Within this paradigm, I based my research methodological assumptions on constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology to answer the research question presented in Chapter 1: *Are there constraints on women gaining senior leadership roles in an engineering higher education institution in Indonesia?* In line with a constructivist ontological view, I assumed that people's beliefs, attitudes and behaviour are socially constructed. In line with an interpretivist epistemological view, people's views of the world are best understood through interpretation of their stories. Habitus was used as my research theoretical lens because my ontological and epistemological assumptions were best examined through that lens, as noted earlier in Chapter 4 page 128 that the use of habitus in relation to the fields under study is crucial.

The discussion in this chapter is based on the underpinning concepts drawn from the findings, that is, the taken-for-granted cultural understanding of differential gender roles for women and men in Indonesia, and the impact this has on women participants' decisions regarding their involvement in careers and paid employment. From the findings, I concluded that the women participants faced three sets of expectations in their involvement with the macro, meso and micro levels of social fields. In my study, the macro level of social field is understood as the interweaving of Javanese beliefs and traditions with religious beliefs and the politics of the government of Indonesia regarding women's participation as citizens. Therefore, the macro level of social field greatly influences the meso and micro levels of social field. In the context of my study, it is difficult to differentiate between culture and religion because, as noted by Winter (2006), religion is part of culture, and it can be used for many purposes (Ihromi, 1975). The interweaving of Javanese culture and Islam had been internalised by my research participants as taken for granted practices and therefore as the accepted

norm within the Javanese community. The meso level of social field deals with the action and interaction between my research participants and others in Taman Ilmu as an academic workplace, to which every member of Taman Ilmu brought their individual habitus. The micro level of social field concerns the relationship between my research participants with their families. The three sets of expectations discussed respectively in the following sections come from their home, their education, and their workplace. The first discussion, expectations from home, deals with the social values of women as homemakers that the women had internalised through living with their parents. When the women married, they brought these social values with them and found these ideas were shared by their husbands. The second discussion, expectation from education, is about the tension the women experienced between fulfilling their parents' wishes that they would be highly educated and involved in paid employment; but also that they would have a family and need to prioritise their family over their career. The third discussion, expectations from the workplace, explores the situation the women faced with a male work ethos in their workplace and the expectations this had on their ability to function in leadership positions. There were certain criteria which the women found difficult to follow especially when they wanted to attain senior leadership roles. In addition, both women and men brought their individual habitus about their domestic/public roles into the workplace which added to the complexity of their work situation.

7.2 Expectations from home

In Chapter 3, I discussed the notion of habitus as a system of dispositions understood as the background of people's "being, seeing, acting and thinking" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 7). Tranter (2006), studying the relationship between marginalised students and the education system in Australia, states that dispositions are constructed through social and cultural experiences.

Waterson (2002), studying the concept of habitus in relation to local religions in Toraja highlands in Indonesia, adds that dispositions are obtained through internalisation and embodiment from an early age by experiences which take place through the individual's interaction with social fields. An individual

interacts first with her family, the micro social field she learns from. As she grows older she interacts with wider social fields, for example, schools, neighbourhood, tertiary education institutions and workplaces. These interactions with the macro level of social fields become the experiences that she accumulates and internalises, and become embodied dispositions which influence her habitus, or her way of being, and her behaviour, perception and action.

As explored in Chapter 3 and discussed further in Chapter 5, in relation to the concept of habitus as the research theoretical lens, family is the first informal socialiser of cultural values (Allard, 2005; Nash, 1999; Robbins, 1991). Dispositions on gender roles that have been internalised from a young age in the family make people in Indonesia believe that women's roles are as homemakers. So, Waterson's (2002) view that dispositions are accumulated experiences from an early age is relevant to this context. The habitus attached to what girls do becomes internalised quite early in life. For example, from an early age young girls become familiar with helping their mothers with home chores like setting the table, preparing food, and looking after younger siblings (Mulder, 1993). They are deliberately taught that this is their role. In other words, gender roles are ingrained in the girls' minds to be mothers. Sitepu (1996) argues that women as mothers perpetuate and reproduce this belief in their daughters. This means that it is very difficult for girls and women to resist the view that husbands and children's needs are their primary attention. Their own needs, to some extent, must be ignored for the sake of their families. Sitepu (1996) also argues that through this reproduction of ideas and values, the majority of Javanese women see marriage as a destiny, and this affects decisions they make concerning their own life patterns. Her research participants, as a case in point, had all decided not to seek paid employment. Instead, they became wives and mothers who stayed at home for their families.

My research findings support Sitepu's argument (1996) to some extent. All participants in my study were married and the majority had young children. Generally, the parents of these women and men had contributed to their internalisation of gender roles; and furthermore, the expectation of marriage as

their destiny. This notion of marriage as a destiny can limit women's aspirations regarding careers. Ihromi (1994) insists that cultural and religious beliefs and practices restrict the freedom of women to participate in many aspects of life. In the case of the women in my study, their marriage tended to restrict their intention to explore possibilities regarding their own future, including the kind of paid employment that they would take. To some extent, this supports Shah's (2010) argument that in most Muslim countries, religion is used to constrain women participation in public spaces.

This insistent indoctrination about the notion of good wives and mothers appeared to have strongly influenced the individual dispositions/habitus of the women in my study as it did in Tranter's (2006). The women participants' dispositions, constructed as the result of the interactions and experiences which occurred between the macro and micro levels of social field from an early age, made up their individual habitus. Although the interview data showed that only one woman spoke explicitly about her marriage as a destiny, and the choice of career she considered suitable for an educated and married woman with children, this exemplifies how habitus works regarding how dispositions and beliefs about her future roles are internalised as a married woman within her family. All of the women participants were married. In addition, as noted, these women grew up at a time Suharto drew on social and religious values to continuously indoctrinate women towards their responsibility to their future generation. Women were considered as loyal and supportive of their husbands, homemakers, educators of the children, and members of Indonesian citizens (Bianpoen, 1996; Brenner, 1998; Sullivan, 1983, 1994).

Furthermore, as I theorised in Chapter 2, Islam emphasises the high respect accorded to parents because of their noble duty as the educators of the younger generation (Shah, 2006). Suharto included this religious teaching to emphasise that educating their children was one of the main duties of Indonesian women. The importance of parents educating their children in the Qur'an seems to be used by Muslim patriarchal societies to emphasise a mother's prime role. Engineer (1994) argues that patriarchal societies use religion to perpetuate male domination.

The women participants' exposure to this macro level of social field of Indonesian society resulted in their feeling obliged to fulfil the notion of good wife and mother. In other words, they felt unable to delegate this role to anyone but a home helper, who was also female. This is another example of how early age socialisation within a family and a wider community, in the micro and macro levels of social field can have powerful influences in forming a woman's perceptions of who she is and what she is. Within their family context, their own mothers had modelled the concept of a dutiful wife and mother (the micro level of social field) and this was endorsed by people with whom they interacted in the community (the macro level of social field).

This finding, on the internalisation of the notion of good wives and mothers, contributes to the international literature on the persistence of women's domestication (Ford & Harding, 2010; Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Russo, 1976) that has been practised for centuries. Russo (1976), for example, insists that in the context of the Western world women can have paid employment as long as they also commit to their home and family. This is not expected of men to the same extent. The women participants in my study were reminded by their parents that their home and family commitments should be their priority rather than their paid employment. This is another aspect which had become part of the habitus of the women participants about the image of good married women. This image of the 'good married women' is arguably a considerable constraint on their taking on senior managerial roles in Taman Ilmu. However, while these women espoused the view that their role was to be at home, they were in paid employment and therefore experienced tension and conflict in their attempts to fulfil both.

Jones (2004) showed that the majority of Javanese husbands like to have wives who stay at home, and that women must do their best to pay attention to their husbands' needs. Even though the women research participants had husbands who supported them working, they were still expected to be the prime carer of children and to look after their husband's needs before their own and their careers. However, alongside this expectation these women also had some degree of freedom to fulfil their personal needs to have paid employment. Some women had

even been supported by their husbands not only in the form of encouragement but also in sharing their family responsibilities. In this aspect, my findings differ from those of Court (1997). The women administrators in her study had husbands who encouraged them to work, but did not share responsibility at home. The women in my study were supported by their husbands through the assistance of home-helpers. Even though they would not physically help they ensured that the tasks were done through budgeting for home help. All women had at least one home-helper. Although I did not probe when we had the interviews who paid for the home-helpers, it is a common practice in Javanese well off families that the husbands provide the budget for primary needs at home. Thus, there was a change in the social expectations of modern Javanese women, at least for the well-educated and relatively well-off women in my study. They were not confined to domestication with the functions of cooking, beautifying themselves, and having children (Munir, 2002), or sphere restricted to the well, the mattress, and the kitchen (Kodir, 2007). Their involvement in paid employment was socially accepted. The findings are in line with the study of Woodcroft-Lee (1983) emphasising the freedom of Javanese women to be highly educated and have paid jobs.

The women participants who had married immediately after completing their tertiary level qualifications followed the Javanese social norm by staying home once they were married. This relates to the idea of *doxa*, a concept used by Bourdieu, where they acquiesced to the social expectation (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992). However, marriage was also the choice the women had made after they completed their tertiary education. This refers to what has been argued by Sitepu (1996) that marriage is a destiny for the majority of Javanese women and the women participants followed this conformity. The findings about gender roles thus support the literature about the pervasiveness and acceptance of these gender roles, not only by women but also by men.

A study by Wafiroh (2007) reveals that many Indonesians measure the success of women by their home and family situations. The women in her study sacrificed their wishes to further their studies in tertiary education level, because they

preferred to get married. I found that even though the women participants in my study were married and had children they had been able to pursue their tertiary level education before they married. I assume that this was possible because these women appeared to be from relatively privileged backgrounds, where education was valued. They had parents who supported them psychologically and financially to pursue their tertiary level education. These parents equipped these women with necessary skills and knowledge, in Bourdieu's term (1986), cultural capital, before the women moved further into marriage and/or paid employment.

The findings so far have been interpreted through the habitus lens showing that the women participants' embodiment of dispositions began at an early age internalised through their involvement with their micro and macro level of social field (Mutch, 2006; Tranter, 2006; Waterson, 2002). The habitus of the women was structured by the patterned social structure and in turn the habitus structures the women's worldview (Mahar et al., 1990; Wacquant, 2006). For the women research participants, becoming a wife and mother was the most important aspect of their life. So, habitus greatly influenced the way these women thought and acted as women, wives and mothers.

7.3 Expectations from education

Societal expectation can be seen as the main contributor to women's embodiment of their gender roles, internalised within their families' beliefs about a dutiful wife and mother and reinforced by the wider society in the macro level of social field, particularly when we examine Suharto's agenda regarding the role of women in Indonesian society. This necessarily caused internal tension for them, because along with the idea of marriage and the notion of good wife and mother the women's parents had also encouraged them to be highly educated in a male-dominated field and to have a career. This idea of domestic roles and professional roles created considerable tension for the women. In other words, there was a contradiction between the domestic and work expectations that eventually created stress when the women had families and were also involved in paid work.

In Chapter 2, I theorised that in Indonesia boys have more opportunity to be highly educated than their female siblings because of the widely held belief that boys will later become the breadwinners for their families (Pyle, 1985). Indonesian statistics for educational achievement in 2000 illustrate that the number of illiterate women above 10 years old was double the number of men above 10 years old (Supiandi, 2001). However, my research findings show a different picture. This is probably because these women participants were a specialised sample for my case study research. All had achieved qualifications to the same level as their male siblings, if they had male siblings, or to the same level as their male colleagues. This shows that there was equity in education between women and men. These women's parents seemed not to allocate education opportunities for their children on the basis of gender even while assigning domestic roles along gender lines. So, the women participants' parents supported their daughters in attaining institutionalised-state cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), in the form of higher education qualifications, whether or not these parents had sons to be educated. To some extent, the findings support the study of Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992) of Javanese women's progress in the area of Yogyakarta, Central Java, which found that the women could pursue higher education and a career. However, the women in their study could have studied and worked in female domain fields because around that time the majority of women in Indonesia seemed to prefer to work in areas of employment socially accepted as belonging to women. I drew this from my experience when I went to the teachers' college. There were only male students in the department of engineering. In Taman Ilmu however, there are women engineers, so the career options for women appear to be widening.

Underpinning the parents' advocacy of tertiary study for their daughters was the belief that they had to be able to support themselves. The parents wanted these women to have qualifications and skills that would enable them to survive, should they need to support themselves and perhaps their families as well. Perhaps this is intended to help these women survive economically since the Indonesian government does not provide social welfare for the people, as pointed out by Dewiyana, one of the women participants. Having a paid job was "a must",

according to the women participants' parents. These exceptional parents were aware that their daughters were likely to get married and have children, but at the same time they encouraged them to gain education. Although these women's parents were Javanese and accepted that women's main role was as wife and mother, they helped them financially with their education. Furthermore, although 50% of the mothers of the women were housewives without a paid job, this did not prevent them wanting their daughters to be highly educated and later to have a career. I can speculate that even though many of my participants' mothers did not have paid employment, they supported their daughters to further their study because their experiences might be similar to that of my own mother, who knew that being a housewife without having money that she had earned herself was a serious inconvenience. This could be one of several reasons the women participants' mothers encouraged their daughters to be educated and have paid employment.

Cubillo and Brown (2003) and Hall (1996) found that the women in their studies were greatly supported by their fathers in education and career at a later stage. My research findings showed that both parents, rather than fathers only, encouraged the women to complete tertiary education. However, the interview data revealed that, within this micro level of social field, mothers had the most influence in encouraging their daughters to be educated and employed. It can be assumed that the women were closer to their mothers. The closeness of children to mothers is possibly because the hierarchical relationship of fathers and children in Javanese culture causes a gap between them, with mothers acting in the mediating role. It can also be related to the fact that because mothers are responsible for educating their children, it makes them closer to their children, as Mulder (1993) found, claiming that Javanese mothers "become the centre figure[s] of the home" (p. 69).

Several women expressed gratitude to parents who encouraged and financially supported them to complete tertiary education. Clearly their parents were aware of their obligations to their children, as stated in the Indonesian Marriage Law 1974, that parents are responsible for ensuring their children receive an education; and in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945, that education is the right

of every citizen of Indonesia, with no gender distinctions. The Indonesian government provides a number of public primary and secondary schools, and tertiary education institutions. Parents however are required to contribute some funding towards their children's education. This means that the higher the level of education the children receive, the greater the funding provided by parents. This is a cultural practice, a social expectation and a social acceptance, which has been carried out for generations and therefore has become accepted and regarded as natural (*doxa*). It is not expected that children will work part-time to support their education.

In my study, the parents of the women wanted to finance their daughters' tertiary education because they wanted their daughters to reap the benefits of being highly educated, such as gaining better paid employment. For example, Yamida said that her parents had made many efforts to send her to college so that she could find a suitable paid job. As noted in Chapter 2, Brenner (1996) claimed that working outside the home so long as they also look after their children is a normal practice for Javanese women and accepted by the majority of society, but family comes first. My research findings support this claim in that all women had thought of having a paid job once they completed their tertiary education and found work appropriate to their tertiary level qualifications. Their reason for changing jobs to become teachers was because they were faced with being the main caregivers and felt the weight of their expected domestic role.

The women in my study also differed from those described Blakemore and Low (1984), and Watt and Richardson (2012) who found that family-oriented male and female students preferred to study in the field of education, whereas my participants gained qualifications in engineering, which is traditionally a male preserve field (Stalker, 1998). One of the highly gendered patterns about work for women in the literature has been that many women focus on attaining education degrees because teaching was seen to be an acceptable occupation for a woman since it fitted within the nurturing role expected of women generally. However, the women in my study took up engineering, which is not traditionally seen as a common occupation for women. These women's parents seemed to have given

them freedom to pursue higher education in an area of interest to them and to encourage them to take up careers in their area. It was only after marriage that the women in the study took on teaching roles because they thought these would give them more discretionary time to be at home. To some extent, this finding supports the study of Bain and Cummings (2000) that women tend to look for jobs which provide work flexibility, such as teaching.

Because they were highly educated, the women participants were also expected by their society and by their families to have paid employment, as pointed out earlier in this chapter. Half of the women had their parents' or friends' suggestions to be involved in teaching as their career came when the women participants started to have children. The idea of teaching engineering as their career came not only from women who had previously been in paid employment but also from women who had immediately married after graduation and had babies, as all the women in my study were in paid employment as teaching staff in Taman Ilmu. It appears that they must have resisted the idea of women having only domestic jobs after getting married. However, their reasons for having a paid job in Taman Ilmu indicate that they wanted not only to have a job but a job that fitted with their domestic expectations and responsibilities.

It appeared from the findings that all the women participants had a similar idea when they joined Taman Ilmu, that teaching was a job that could accommodate their desire for paid employment and their responsibilities for their families. This differs markedly from Irwin's (1997) background when she joined the university in New Zealand, or the background of the high-flying Malaysian women academics in the study by Ismail and Rasdi (2006). Irwin (1997) points out that being a lecturer had been nurtured in her because she had a family and extended family whose background was in teaching or education. Therefore she felt that

The university environment was for me. I wanted to be there to keep my mind challenged and active; to be aware of the latest developments in my field and to contribute them.
(Irwin, 1997, p. 60)

For Irwin, the university environment was like water to a fish. She felt it was her world. Dispositions as the result of family's socialisation of becoming a lecturer

had influenced her habitus of envisaging herself as having a career in teaching. She enjoyed being a lecturer, even when she had children. In contrast, the majority of the women in my study did not feel confident the first time they entered teaching in Taman Ilmu, because teaching was not their initial choice of paid employment, nor did they have any prior experience of teaching, except as students. Their comments showed that it was only when they learned by experience how to function in this role that they could balance both family and work commitments and feel comfortable about teaching. In other words, after having children, five women considered parents or friends' suggestion (see subsection 6.2.2.2.1) to take up teaching to keep their wish to have a career. Several others considered husbands' wish to take up teaching as their career. It seemed that they made adjustments before enjoying their teaching career.

Strong dispositions towards teaching were also shown by 31 high-flyer Malaysian women professors in the study by Ismail and Rasdi (2006). These women's success in academia and their desire to excel were the result of their exposure to education since they were young. Their home environment and their formal learning environment provided a strong basis for their academic excellence. Family was an important contributor to the success of these women professors. In contrast, in my study none of the women participants' parents had encouraged them to be teachers, although Syafitri had begun to consider teaching when she was studying at tertiary college. Her parents did not encourage her to become a teacher, but to some degree supported her intention to become a lecturer. Parental encouragement for further education and careers is a background factor common to all of the women participants.

Furthermore, the findings showed that the women and the men participants had different career aspirations. For women the career needed to involve the ability to balance their family and work commitments, and teaching provided an opportunity for this. None of them stated that they had been dissatisfied with their previous jobs. The men, in contrast, had not necessarily thought about balancing their career and family commitments because all of them had wives who were responsible for the family needs. The concept of parental leave is not part of

Indonesian employment regulation. Maternity leave is the only available form of parental leave (Djatmika & Marsono, 1990). This kind of parental leave is likely to reinforce the internalisation of men as breadwinners and the understanding that it is the responsibility of their wives to attend to family needs.

The career trajectories of the men were different from the women's. The majority of the women who had worked in private companies had wanted to leave their positions and find other work when they felt it was time for them to be more focused on family matters. All four men, regardless of the type of their previous paid work, seemed to prioritise the benefits of having a good job and high social status when working at Taman Ilmu. For the women who had worked in private companies, working in Taman Ilmu meant a decrease in salary, although they would still enjoy a higher social status as lecturers. Apart from the fulfilment of individual dreams to work in such an environment, it seems likely the men would have thought of gaining the symbolic capital too (Bourdieu, 1986). However, none of the men mentioned thinking about having a job that suited their family situation. This relates to the study conducted by Forster (2000), particularly regarding a comment made by one of his research participants:

Women have always got part of their brain organising the child-care or the shopping and I think the men just switch off when they leave the house. I think they can come into work and just give their one hundred per cent because they still have someone at home who is doing the family organisation.
(p. 9)

It appears that in both developed and developing countries women are the ones who are considered primarily responsible for looking after their families. This also means that men can focus on their job solely because they are not primarily responsible for managing home and family. This also supports the work of a number of researchers arguing that in patriarchal societies across the world it is the women who are responsible for caring for the families and nurturing their children (Engineer, 1994; Shah, 2010).

Literature about Javanese culture, in Chapter 2, also shows that because of male privilege, a woman is understood to be a husband's partner, rather than a person in her own right. Her role is to stand behind her husband (Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1998;

Munir, 2002). Women's responsibility is to deal with cooking, caring for and nurturing the children, and serving their husbands well. This is evidence that the female partner is ascribed the primary care role, and also of the strong practice of the notion that the man is the breadwinner, so it is he who must be able to work outside the home at any time, whereas a wife can be in paid work but must also be around home as soon as work is done for the day. These findings also show that the internalisation of cultural values is stronger than the understanding of Islamic teaching that the family is the responsibility of both husband and wife (Engineer, 1994), although a mother and a father probably have different roles in educating their children. These ideas all provide the strong basis for women's and men's understandings of their roles in their families. Ultimately, as is shown by the aspirations of my women participants, this highly gendered domestic roles for women a barrier to their career aspirations.

So the internalisation of the notion of good women as wives and mothers and parents' encouragement of their daughters to get education and then to get better paid employment together constitute a built-in conflict for the women participants. On the one hand, the women's educational qualifications led them to seek well paid employment in a chosen field, but on the other hand, they could not continue their chosen career because they could not find a way to fulfil commitments to both work and family.

To some degree, the findings on this topic differ from the literature regarding career women with small children, especially in countries where women outside the home is not only accepted but supported through childcare provisions. Women can more easily decide to take leave from their jobs and later return to the workforce, perhaps as part-time employees (Marshall, 1995).

In some developing countries, for example in the Solomon Islands (Akao, 2010), such a work arrangement is quite impossible. Because of the limited availability of paid employment, women with children would be unlikely to retain their employment if they asked to take leave to care for their families. This may also be the case in Indonesia. Because of the high rate of unemployment and also because taking extended leave to care for children is extremely difficult, women cannot

easily quit jobs and then return after some time. Employers do not have such a policy to enable women to take a break for raising their children. In other words, a company's policy obstructs women from extending maternity leave beyond 12 weeks and still having a job to come back to. Companies comply with the state regulation about women's maternity leave, for which women may take leave from four weeks before to eight weeks after giving birth, but further leave seems to be extremely difficult. The regulation for maternity leave for civil service employees states that women may extend their unpaid maternity leave (Djarmika & Marsono, 1990).

However, from my observation, this regulation does not appear to be normal practice in the case of returning to their jobs after extended leave. So, work conditions in Indonesia make it difficult for women to stay at home more than three months to prepare for and rear their children. This could be one of the reasons why several women in my study quit their previous job when they had babies. As mothers they wanted to take care of their babies. When their babies were old enough to be left with extended families or home-helpers was the time these women would seek another alternative job that could better balance both domestic and paid work commitments. Several other married women who had stayed on working in the companies for some time must have taken maternity leave and had somebody else to take care of their babies when it was time for them to return to work. Only when these women felt that they needed to pay more attention to children's needs had they quit their previous jobs.

Earnshaw (1998) points out that in the United Kingdom a woman employee who has worked for two years is entitled to an extended maternity leave up to 29 weeks after giving birth. If she is not able to resume work on time because of illness, she is entitled to another four-week leave, provided that she has a medical certificate to submit to her employer. This condition of maternity leave would allow women with babies to focus on their children during the critical months of their babies' development. However, working women in Indonesia have only eight weeks maternity leave after they give birth, which is not enough time to attend to the baby's critical development.

Another issue is that child-care centres are not popular or available in many cities and towns in Indonesia. Therefore, as the findings revealed, all women participants had at least one home-helper, and sometimes their own extended families also helped with child minding. Shah (2010) points out that according to strict Islamic orders Muslim women are not obliged to do home chores. In Java, the availability of home-helpers has been in place for generations. In modern times, women from villages come to work for families in cities and towns to stay with the families and save money. In addition, nowadays the villagers prefer to work as home-helpers outside Indonesia, for example in Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong, referred to as *Tenaga Kerja Wanita* (TKW), the Women's Labour Force, because they make much more money than when they work in Indonesia doing similar jobs or tasks. In the case of the women participants in my study, their husbands approved hiring home-helpers, which implies that these men supported their wives to have paid employment. However, this situation cannot be generalised as common in Indonesia. The women participants were privileged because they came from a specific social class.

Hani, one of the women participants in my study, raised the issue of the need for a crèche in Taman Ilmu to make possible female colleagues' full participation, notwithstanding the fact that it is common for the women in Taman Ilmu to have home-helpers. From my observation, even if women do find a crèche then using this service costs more than hiring two home-helpers. While a home-helper can do various housework tasks and provide childcare at the same time and free the women participants from having to do home chores, a crèche can only care for the children during certain hours of the day. This could be another reason the women in my study preferred to have home-helpers, even though they could not leave family and home matters entirely to them. The availability of home-helpers benefitted the women participants, in the sense that it allowed the women participants to be involved in paid employment, and to some extent, it allowed them to stay longer during the working day in Taman Ilmu.

From a feminist point of view, Fitzgerald and Wilkinson (2010) argue that the use of women as home-helpers "also points to the growing division between groups of

women, in which well paid, professional women's employment is sustained by the invisible labour of other, far less well paid, women" (p. 70). It means that one class of women can take advantage of another class of women. This can also be the case of the relationship between the women participants with their home-helpers. It may be argued that, to some extent, both sides need each other, as argued by one female participant, Dewiyana. She was dependent on her home-helper to be able to stay during office hours in Taman Ilmu. However, she also informally educated her home-helper in the hope that when she returned to her village she could use her new knowledge to manage her family better, and to contribute to the betterment of the women in her village. Another case can be drawn from Nunik. She was able to leave her baby for a year to conduct further study abroad. So, there must have been a high degree of trust and loyalty between her and her home-helper. The lives of home-helpers would be interesting to explore. It could be conducted in a separate study because it is beyond the scope of my research.

Consequently, from the above discussion, I can argue that the women in the paid workforce are not supported by the government of Indonesia. This is because it does not support for childcare matters when women are at work. New Zealand, for example, has the policy of 20 hours free use of child-care centres for parents with three to five year old children (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2013). This helps women take on paid employment even when their children are pre-school. In the case of Taman Ilmu, if it provided facilities for childcare for its members, it would be likely that women with young children could contribute more time to Taman Ilmu.

7.4 Expectations from Taman Ilmu as an academic workplace

Senior leadership roles in Taman Ilmu were held by men. This means that "the rules of the game" (Mahar et al., 1990) in Taman Ilmu were most likely based on male work values. At no time since its inception up to the collection of my research data had Taman Ilmu had a woman in a senior leadership position. Although both groups of research participants were of the opinion that senior

leadership positions in Taman Ilmu were accessible to women and men, the fact was that no woman had been in any senior leadership role. Taman Ilmu as an academic field had some unwritten criteria, or “invisible rules” (Airini et al., 2011, p. 50) which did not benefit women. For example, the male managers considered dedication as the key for lecturers to be able to reach senior leadership positions. Mahar et al. (1990) also point out that within a field there are explicit and implicit rules of the game which need to be understood by the members of the field in order to be able to participate in the game. So, the invisible or implicit rules are always there, and in the case of Taman Ilmu it seems that the invisible rules are stronger than the written documented regulation stating, among others, that any lecturer holding the rank of IIIId is eligible for positions of senior leadership.

Data from a Taman Ilmu document provided by the Human Resource Office (see Table 4 in Chapter 5) showed that one woman had reached the civil service rank of IIIId but she had not been involved in a senior leadership role. The ranks for lecturers in civil service relate to the salary and also relate to what positions in academic life they are eligible for. According to the Statute of Taman Ilmu, one of the requirements for occupying senior leadership position was that the lecturer has been involved in a middle level managerial role. It showed that this woman’s highest leadership was as head of laboratory, a lower level of leadership position. So, she was not likely to be eligible for a senior leadership position, and she had to gain one more step into the middle level of leadership position before she could probably reach the top position. Dedication to working at Taman Ilmu, according to a definition which was decided by men, can be regarded as creating one version of the glass ceiling that the women encountered in their workplace.

One of the significant aspects of such dedication was time commitment. People in senior leadership roles or managerial roles had to be able to work overtime and this requirement would necessarily make female colleagues ineligible. This means that the men in those positions wanted their female colleagues to adhere to the same work patterns as they did. Although the men admitted women had a double burden, they nonetheless expected that female and male lecturers would show similar commitments of time for Taman Ilmu with no consideration of the

women's dual roles having impact on her work. In other words, Taman Ilmu was managed by the male-oriented work ethos, such as working after hours and visibility during office hours. Dedication was a quality attributed only to the male lecturers solely because of their availability to work after hours and therefore there were more opportunities for the men to occupy senior leadership positions. This visibility emerged as a strong reason for the male managers excluding their female colleagues from managerial work.

Not all women participants came only to teach their classes and left Taman Ilmu as soon as possible, as assumed by the male managers. The women substituted their teaching schedule when they were not available at the usual time due to off-campus duties assigned by Taman Ilmu or for individual emergencies, as noted from my observation (see Chapter 5). However, it could be that women were thinking of working hours in teaching as physical contact, and other teaching duties were done at home, such as evaluating their students' mid-semester and final semester examinations, and daily homework and laboratory work. The findings indicated the majority of women participants preferred to do some of these tasks at home, but some preferred to complete all tasks during their office hours because, for example, Endah said that home was the place to relax with her family.

The findings also revealed that it was not pregnancy or maternity leave that made the managers unwilling to recruit more women to join the teaching staff of Taman Ilmu, but rather what happened after maternity leave. In other words, these women wanted to focus on the welfare of their babies. There were no protocols on the assigning of smaller teaching loads in Taman Ilmu, or any other mechanism for adapting to these women's circumstances. Women "not being there" was interpreted to mean that not only were they not visible at work, but that they were not working at all.

As noted earlier, Irawan insisted that single women's work performance was different from that of married women with young children. Women with young children tended to decrease their pace of work (irw 4.5). This implies that the change in work performance must have differed enough for the managers to

notice it. However, it seemed that the managers had assumed that all of their female colleagues were very much in this work pattern. An example of the result of this assumption was that the managers did not want to recruit more women to join the teaching staff of Taman Ilmu, thus discriminating against women as employees. Atik's recognition that recruiting women as teaching staff did not benefit Taman Ilmu indicates that she understood the expected collective habitus of Taman Ilmu, and thought that it would be better to recruit men because it better suited the production of that habitus. Thus she did not appear to challenge this collective habitus. Perhaps too, this kind of attitude also served to disadvantage women in Taman Ilmu.

To some extent, assumptions made by the managers of Taman Ilmu could be related to the case of "pregnancy discrimination" in the United Kingdom, proposed by Magid (2007). In this case, assumptions made by the employers about pregnant working women, such as that they do not have a steady working commitment, affected not only the women in question but also disadvantaged other women employees who, because they were women too, were seen as the same. So, assumptions made by the managers in Taman Ilmu about married women with children potentially disadvantage other female lecturers too. For example, Irawan commented that several women could not be given for extra duties (irw 5.8), and Idris said that although several women had been asked to take up senior leadership positions as deputy heads of Taman Ilmu, they did not want to take these positions (idr 2.3). These two incidents had caused the managers to assume that all women could not be appointed for tasks requiring longer hours of work on the premises or for senior leadership roles.

Women might also be excluded because of the individual views of the men regarding their support for their wives' career. So, male work ethos became the collective habitus of Taman Ilmu with regard to how men generalised the expected work performance of their female colleagues. Although Zakaria, for instance, had a wife who stayed at home, he also had the view that his female colleagues should have fully participated in Taman Ilmu. Perhaps he did not see

the connection between women who had paid employment and cared for children, and those who stayed at home and cared for children.

The change in women's work performance can probably be seen from several angles. The first is that the women felt it necessary to focus on their main responsibility of attending to their children's needs, as expected by society. The second point is that several of the women might not yet have a trusted home-helper so these women could not leave the care of their young children completely in the hands of the home-helpers, perhaps as noted by Jones (2004) that home-helpers in Java commonly came from rural villages and were low in education. This could have caused some women in my study feel that they were morally responsible for their young children education at home. For example, Ratnasari commented that she would feel it necessary to check her children at home during the office hours.

Another barrier to women's careers was a lack of extended family nearby. Indonesians are similar to Pacific people who are usually regarded as "collective people" (Strachan et al., 2010). In such communities, it is common to have extended families to help family with child care. However, in my study, the majority of the women came from different places. They were seldom accompanied by an extended family in the town where they worked. Perhaps too, the women modelled their practices on their female colleagues who also did not stay full time during office hours, but take work home with them.

The fourth point is that no action was taken by the managers of Taman Ilmu regarding women's reduced attendance. The women took advantage on focusing on their family's needs by leaving Taman Ilmu before the end of the working day or coming in only for teaching, but working from home. The findings revealed that indeed several women were thinking about their inability to physically stay in Taman Ilmu during office hours. Endah – by commenting that she was not a good employee (end I.10) – appeared to link presence at work with getting the job done. The women thus saw themselves as inadequate employees as they could not be at work the same way the men could.

Competitiveness was another aspect of the invisible rules that operated in Taman Ilmu. There was a contradiction between the way women approached a leadership role and the way the managers wanted them to react to such opportunities. The women and the men had different ways of looking at leadership. The women showed that they were likely to use feminine attributes of leadership, one of which was collaboration (Court, 2002). Competitiveness, which for the men was important for gaining a leadership position, is included in the masculine attributes of leadership (Court, 2002). Furthermore, competitiveness might be not in the women's way of leading, because it is likely that from a young age the women had been socialised to play passive roles. This finding relates to the argument of Corner (1997) that because of their socialisation the majority of women lack experiences in decision making and leadership. In relation to the women in her research in the Asia Pacific region, Corner (1997) claims that they had learnt from an early age to be passive because everybody else in their family had made decisions for them, especially their male siblings. Corner's argument is similar to the view of Espanioly (1997), that Palestinian women have learned that their place is at home and to do with domestic roles, and that they "learn to withdraw from violence and not to take action against it, thus creating a basis for the feeling of helplessness which they feel in a later phase of their lives" (pp. 587-588). So, the Palestinian women in Espanioly's study had not learnt to be as aggressive as their brothers had, but they had learnt to accept.

From my observation of Muslim families in Indonesia, sons are given a leadership role from an early age. The first son of the family usually takes the role of an *imam* (leader) when the father is not available for leading prayer with the whole family. The findings also resonate with the literature about Javanese women who were regarded as the partners who stand behind their husbands (Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1998; Munir, 2002). This implies that husbands made decisions and women often accepted them unquestioningly. This, once again, refers to the notion of family as the socialiser of culture and values obtained from the macro level of the social field; and this kind of situation cannot be generalised for all women in all cultures. In New Zealand, for example, Irwin (1997) writes that her familial habitus greatly influenced her own habitus to achieve her dream of

becoming a lecturer. She did not easily give up when faced with academic barriers to her progress; rather, she found ways to cope with difficulties she faced. She did not just accept or have a passive stance regarding a career path. And neither did the women in Ismail and Rasdi's study (2006). All women in their study had a detailed plan for their career ladder in the academic sphere, and it seems that competitiveness was part of what they had to deal with within their academic environment. In relation to the women research participants in my study, although they probably had learned to be passive within their familial habitus, their involvement with the wider social field could also change their habitus. I cannot say that they were not competitive in every way, but in approaching senior leadership positions they did not demonstrate their competitiveness.

The male managers of Taman Ilmu appeared to exclude women from the decision-makers of the "academic fraternity" (Irwin, 1997), because they had unconsciously focused on the widely held social perception in East Java about women's domestic responsibility. This finding supports the argument stated by Evetts (1997), that only women "with a single-minded focus on career were likely to climb to this level" (p. 232). Thus it is not likely that women with children in Taman Ilmu could gain senior leadership roles while they juggled their job and family commitments. The men's perception that their female colleagues were not reliable and could not be counted on for extra duties that often required lecturers to stay and work after hours in Taman Ilmu, eventually led their female colleagues into a marginalised position. This had led to a bias in the recruitment for leadership positions. Their male colleagues had reaped the benefits of the managers' views about women. The managers highly appreciated lecturers' physical attendance. So, visibility is important (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006). The male lecturers were viewed as reliable and the ones who could be counted on. More men were therefore recruited for teaching positions. It can be argued that the operation of Taman Ilmu as an academic field was based on the male norm, which relates to Kanter's argument (1979) that "managers choose others that can be 'trusted.' And thus they reproduce themselves in their kind" (p. 29). In relation to my research findings, it is evident that the managers chose other men to be included in managerial duties, because for the managers it was men who could be

trusted. Trust in this sense means “total dedication and non-diffuse loyalty” (Kanter, 1979, p. 29); and managers appeared to exclude women from managerial duties because women “are seen as incapable of such a single-minded attachment” (Kanter, 1979, p. 29), of total dedication and loyalty to their job. Furthermore, choosing male lecturers for managerial duties was implied in the comment of one of the male managers. Idris indicated that female colleagues would not dare to propose arguments with male colleagues in the board of managers’ meetings because they perhaps see themselves as subservient to men’s ideas and practices, since this is how the men view the women and their positions in the organisation.

Another invisible rule in Taman Ilmu, based on the Islamic belief that only men are leaders, can be seen as another glass ceiling for the women’s career ladder. It is evident that the majority of Indonesian society hold the belief that leaders are men, especially from the understanding of the Qur’an verse 4:34 stating that men are leaders, as has been explored in Chapter 2. As the majority of the members in Taman Ilmu were Muslims, it was likely that this factor affected the potential of women lecturers to hold higher leadership positions there. This is another contradiction for women’s entry into senior leadership positions. On the one hand, women could theoretically have held the highest leadership in Taman Ilmu, but, on the other hand, common religious beliefs as well as inflexibility in work arrangements and what counts as work could be a barrier to their participation. So, religious beliefs could contribute to women’s marginalisation in Taman Ilmu.

However, few women raised the issues relating to the Qur’an verse 4:34. The majority of women who considered that men had to be the leaders of Taman Ilmu saw it pragmatically. First, the women thought that their male colleagues were more committed than women to full-time work and could dedicate their entire time to Taman Ilmu without having to think about attending to family needs as the women did when they were at work. This again resonates with the argument of Evetts (1997), that men were seen as single-mindedly focused on career. Second, men were also seen as being able to go easily to work because they had wives at home to attend to family needs. So, mobility was seen by the women as important.

Third, men were seen as more rational than women and able to lead without involving their emotions.

One more aspect relating to the Islamic belief in Indonesia is that although the majority of Indonesians are followers of Islam, Indonesian society has more open attitudes towards women's involvement in the public sphere (Brenner, 1996), when compared to other Muslim nations, such as Saudi Arabia. The findings of my research are therefore in contrast to the literature regarding the situation in Pakistan (Shah, 2010), where Muslim women can only become leaders in single-sex schools, have limited areas to move around in, and are obliged to uphold the honour of their families by not meeting face-to-face with men who are not relatives. My research found that the women participants, like other Indonesian women, were able to move freely in the public sphere where they joined seminars or attended to family needs, for example, by driving their children to school. In Taman Ilmu female lecturers were able to become heads of laboratories or heads of departments, which meant that they were in charge of male colleagues. It means that gender segregation was not practised there in terms of women and men having face-to-face communication.

However, my research did reveal that symbolic violence occurred in Taman Ilmu. Bourdieu (2001) defines symbolic violence as “a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition ... recognition or even feeling” (pp. 1-2). Bourdieu points out that masculine domination is included in this symbolic violence. In my study, this symbolic violence was in the form of a male colleague's reminder that women should not be the highest leaders of Taman Ilmu. This reminder could be related to the issue of religious belief and/or the issue of women's subordination in Javanese culture. The exclusion of women from certain duties and tasks in Taman Ilmu or the exclusion of women from teaching staff recruitment could also be considered as symbolic violence.

Seen through the lens of habitus, in its relation to the concept of field (Bourdieu, 1993), in this meso level of social field there were people who dominated, mostly men, and there were people who were dominated, mostly women. In this

academic workplace there were also the gatekeepers of Taman Ilmu. Certainly, men in leadership positions with decision-making capacities, or the men in power, were the gatekeepers. Relating my research findings to the notion of Bourdieu's field, I refer to the work of Entwistle and Rocamora (2006) who studied field and its relation to a fashion show event in London, as reviewed in Chapter 3. Lecturers who entered Taman Ilmu were similar to the people entering the fashion show event. The pass these lecturers had to provide when they entered the academic field of Taman Ilmu was their institutionalised cultural capital in the form of their certificates of qualifications. It has a similar function as the tickets to enter the fashion field (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006). Taman Ilmu, and its surrounding environment, was like the area of the fashion show encircled by the gates, which meant that only people with certain qualifications could enter the field. There were gatekeepers the women and men lecturers had to pass in order to enter Taman Ilmu. Once they were inside this academic field they became players of the game; however, they needed to understand the rule of the game of Taman Ilmu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

As shown in Entwistle and Rocamora's (2006) study, there are two groups of people interested in the fashion show: one group consists of people who understand the rules of the game, while the other group comprises the spectators who are only able to see what has been going on during the show. The case is the same with the lecturers in Taman Ilmu. Most women who entered Taman Ilmu had the role of spectators, who could do nothing more than watch what happened there. Their male colleagues were more privileged, because they got attention from Taman Ilmu due to their understanding of the rule of its game. The rule of the game included the invisible rules of dedication in time commitment and competitiveness, so that in this field the men could become the players of the game, while women were marginalised because they were not able to be such competent players as their male colleagues.

7.5 Do women want to hold senior leadership positions?

To answer the above question, two aspects are going to be discussed in this final section. First, is the view of the women regarding senior leadership roles in Taman Ilmu. The second is the women's status quo in Taman Ilmu.

7.5.1 Women's views of the senior leadership roles in Taman Ilmu

Although some thought women were capable of being senior managers, the women participants did not believe that they could occupy the positions, because they saw that managers had to deal with duties and tasks that were unpredictable, or, borrowing the term used by Kanter (1979), with "conditions of uncertainty" (p. 26). The uncertainty of managerial work did not suit women's situation, in which they had to balance time for family and work, and were expected to be at home before the other members of their families returned. So, the women needed to have duties and tasks which could be planned ahead to suit their schedule. The women believed that was the reason why the managers preferred to have male colleagues for managerial work. Kanter (1979) argues that:

It is the uncertainty quotient in managerial work ... that causes management to be so socially restricting; to develop tight inner circles excluding social strangers; to keep control in the hands of socially homogeneous peers; to stress conformity and insist upon diffuse, unbounded loyalty; and to prefer ease of communication and thus social certainty over the strains of dealing with people who are "different". (p. 26)

My research findings support the above argument. The men excluded the women because they could probably be regarded as the social strangers, in an environment in which their female colleagues could not work as the men expected them to and thus could not be regarded as their kind (Kanter, 1979). The men preferred socially homogenous peers; that is, their male colleagues, people with single-minded attachment (Evetts, 1997; Kanter, 1979)

Another view of the senior leadership role is that it required the person to be mobile and therefore it was not suitable for married women with young children. Hakim (2006) points out that senior management work may include "travel,

sometimes long distance, frequently on an unpredictable time-table, and periodically for extended periods of time away from the home base” (p. 281). Unscheduled duties often arose in Taman Ilmu. For the women participants this was a barrier to their seeking senior leadership roles.

Another barrier to the women occupying senior leadership position was that they could not undertake further study, unlike their male colleagues. These women needed to look after their children and therefore it was hard for them to get a further degree when they had to go away from home for a period of time. The inability for women to further their study and therefore their inability to compete with the men in terms of gaining higher education was expressed by Hani. She said that women would always stand by in Taman Ilmu to keep the teaching and learning process runs well. The male colleagues with higher education qualification would be the ones who kept developing Taman Ilmu and kept the prestige of Taman Ilmu (han III.7). Nevertheless, one woman participant in the study, Nunik, could manage to further her study by leaving her baby to somebody else at home for one year. Therefore, it could be assumed that possibilities for women to further their education would depend on the kind of support they had from home and their own belief that this was acceptable.

7.5.2 Acceptance of the status quo by women at Taman Ilmu

The women participants felt that senior leadership roles in their current form were not suitable for them, and therefore they focussed primarily on their duties as lecturers and their involvement with research. Research could be seen as an activity that could be done by these women in their own time, and in their homes. The findings also showed that as individuals the women would have preferred to have other women as lecturers, because they thought that female lecturers were closer than males to students, more nurturing, and had good communication with their students (yam VI.4), so more women could be recruited. The wish of women participants to keep their job in lower leadership roles was also in line with the managers’ view that it was better for their female colleagues to occupy lower leadership positions, as these positions gave the women a degree of freedom

which allowed them to arrange their duties within the limited time available to them. Women were satisfied with their lower leadership roles and did not want to get higher positions. They wanted to retain the status quo; however, they saw that their male colleagues were advancing in their profession while they were constrained by the womanly duties (Strachan et al., 2010) of their main responsibility for home and family, and therefore they had less opportunity to advance their education and careers. However, they were philosophical and accepting of this situation. This again is in line with what has been raised by Evetts (2007), who argues that “only women and men with a single-minded focus on career were likely to climb to [the level of decision-makers]” (p. 232).

My study found that the women participants were not yet motivated to occupy senior leadership positions; however, it is possible that this was because of the age of their children at that time. When these women are less responsible for their family and children, it would probably be the right time for them to think of their career ladder. Kuntum, one of the women participants in my study, commented that she would be likely to gain a senior leadership position when her children did not need her full attention any more (kun III.1). There could still be issues of men as the natural leaders, but seniority in civil service ranks might provide possibilities for women in senior leadership roles, given that, as stated in the Statutes of Taman Ilmu, in order to be eligible to occupy the positions of head of institution, a lecturer must have achieved the rank of IVa. The implications of seniority could mean that women could be motivated to finish higher degrees, that they could be encouraged to take up the roles by mentoring each other, and that there could be changes in the work culture of Taman Ilmu. Quoting Bourdieu (1983), Mahar et al. (1990) point out that any field is a field of struggle, where ideas compete. At the moment all women participants accept the rules of the game of Taman Ilmu as defined by those who are in positions of power. It is possible that women might change their perception later when they were more senior.

7.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter I discussed three issues from my research findings regarding the research question whether there are constraints on women gaining senior

leadership roles in an engineering higher education institution in Indonesia. There were constraints the women participants in my study encountered on approaching senior leadership positions in Taman Ilmu. The constraints came from the macro, meso, and micro levels of the social field within which the women participants were involved. I have found that the women in my study had to deal with expectations coming from their families, the wider community, and Taman Ilmu as their academic workplace. In each social field, these women found tensions and contradictions because of their personal habitus and the expectations that these women had to fulfil as daughters, wives, mothers, and lecturers. In the micro level of social field, the women interacted with their families. In the macro level social field, they interacted with East Java culture, as a mixture between Javanese traditions, Islamic teaching and beliefs, and the government intervention on women's participation in the public sphere. At the meso level of social field, these women interacted with Taman Ilmu as an academic field.

From the micro level of social field, these women had internalised that they all would become wives and mothers. They were given examples from their mothers to become good Muslim women as future wives and mothers. However, their parents emphasised the importance of education for these women. They were all highly educated in the field of engineering. 70% of the women in my study had previously had paid employment in the field that was in line with their qualification. However, because they married and had babies, eventually they went into teaching in Taman Ilmu. 30% of the women stayed at home and later went into Taman Ilmu. All women had thought of having paid employment when they were at tertiary colleges, but the 30% of women did not make it because they preferred to get married and decided to stay at home. Nevertheless, they eventually sought paid employment when they were ready to leave their children with somebody else at home. There were conflicts and contradictions for the women in terms of how they wanted to be good wives and mothers, and their own wish to be involved in paid employment. Their parents also encouraged them to be financially independent.

These women went into teaching with the hope that a career in teaching could balance their family and work commitments. They assumed that working as lecturers in Taman Ilmu was equal to working part-time, although they were all full-time lecturers of Taman Ilmu. Therefore, greater tensions and contradiction occur at this meso level of social field. My study was different from the studies by Irwin (1997) and by Ismail and Rasdi (2006) which noted there were strong dispositions to become successful academicians. Therefore, I conclude that the women in my study had not yet worked continuously and full-time as those in the study of White (1995). The women in my study did not display “high career centrality” (White, 1995, p. 14), because they did not fit their family commitments within their professional job, instead they fitted their professional job within their family commitments.

Expectations from Taman Ilmu contradict the women’s expectations for working, to some degree. In terms of taking up senior leadership positions, the majority of women did not see themselves as capable of occupying those positions. One of the reasons was that they preferred to focus on their family commitments. However, these women found that their current positions as heads of laboratories, the lower level of leadership positions, were satisfying roles for them. They would prefer to do research rather than occupy a higher leadership position, because they saw these positions as time-consuming and not attractive for women with young children. It may be predicted that when these women are less responsible for their family commitments, they will be able to maximise their effort to be better employees, and perhaps occupy higher leadership positions. However, leadership in Taman Ilmu seems to be narrowly defined. It is possible to look at leadership more broadly. Not being able to occupy a (higher) leadership position does not mean that these women did not show good leadership as lecturers. Many of them who regarded research as more comfortable for them to carry out showed their academic leadership. They liked to do research and write papers, and join seminars and workshops. Moreover, one of the women, Syafitri for example, showed her leadership role in the community. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the women in my study did not want a leadership role, but they did not want to have leadership roles in Taman Ilmu. Experiences in leadership roles in the

community and the academic leadership would eventually help these women if they sought leadership roles in Taman Ilmu.

Furthermore, the issue of inability of the women participants to further their study to get higher qualification, and therefore be unlikely to gain higher leadership roles, would be important to address. The women's opportunities to study were constrained by the reality that they had to attend to their children, while from the perspective of their professional career, they needed to upgrade their knowledge and qualifications.

In terms of the research participant's views of men as leaders, although they did not say much about Islamic views, it is entirely possible that because religion and culture were intertwined, participants did not differentiate between which one was culture, which one was religion. These all had been internalised by the participants and influenced their habitus, the way they saw the world. The macro level of social field had structured the dispositions of the research participants in my study in such a way that it was the natural state of things.

Taman Ilmu was indeed a male hegemonic institution, because the rules of the game were decided by men and for the comfort of men. Female colleagues with babies were regarded as problems by the male managers, because these women could not dedicate their time to Taman Ilmu. While there were similar structures that impaired women from taking extended maternity leave in several tertiary education workplaces in Indonesia, in my situation, for example, I have been allowed to complete my doctorate but I am bonded to work for a time afterwards in recompense. Perhaps Taman Ilmu could learn from my example for furthering my qualifications and apply similar bonding requirements for extended maternity leave.

Dedication was an invisible powerful rule in Taman Ilmu. The way it was viewed marginalised female lecturers. Moreover, it seemed that men wanted to keep their male centredness (Johnson, 2005) in senior leadership roles, as I discussed earlier in this chapter ; Idris' comment that women would not have dared to argue with

male colleagues in meetings (idr.2.1-3) implies that male managers kept their view that as managers women should be as competitive as men.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Bourdieu considered habitus as systems of dispositions, and structured structures and structuring structures. In relation to my research findings, it can be said that dispositions, as the result of my research participants' interaction with the macro and micro levels of their social field, had made up their habitus, which influenced their participation at the meso level of social field, being Taman Ilmu. The macro social field structured the individual habitus of the research participants. In this case, the habitus functioned as the structured structures. In turn, their individual habitus functioned as the structuring structures of the social field. So, habitus influenced the practice my research participants performed in relation to their social fields. For example, in the micro level, they had internalised about their future of becoming wives and mothers; they internalised their responsibilities for families and especially children. They internalised their responsibilities that demanded that after graduating from a tertiary education institution they would have needed to get paid employment. On the meso level, they had internalised the idea that teaching was a part-time job although they were all full-time lecturers of Taman Ilmu.

There were two other issues important to mention. Firstly, in this chapter, I have used the term symbolic violence that Bourdieu (2001) relates to the notion of masculine domination. However, I did not explore further the concept of masculine domination, because the focus of my study was on the use of the concept of habitus as a lens to explore Javanese culture and women leadership roles. Secondly, I have used feminist ideas in some places, but I preferred to focus on habitus rather than using a feminist lens to explore my study. To me, the use of habitus is more appropriate in terms of the context of my study.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

In this case study research I have explored factors that constrained women research participants from moving up a career ladder into senior leadership position in Taman Ilmu, a male-oriented academic workplace in the island of Java, Indonesia. The case study involved 12 women lecturers and four men in managerial positions who participated in two interviews that I conducted in Indonesia. The study also involved document analysis and a general observation on Taman Ilmu. The impetus for my study came from my personal experiences from childhood to married life. It also came from my experiences working in teaching and from the studies that I conducted in New Zealand. I was curious about the scarcity of women in senior leadership roles in several institutions that I was familiar with, and also with the perception of the majority of Muslims in Indonesia that women cannot be leaders. The study I conducted in the University of Waikato for my master's degree reinforced my curiosity about women as leaders in educational institutions.

My research was to find out whether there were barriers that prevented women gaining senior leadership roles in an engineering higher education institution in Indonesia. This chapter presents the summary of the findings, limitations of the research, implications of the study on policy and practice, recommendations for further research, and my study contribution to the field of educational leadership.

8.2 Summary of research findings

The strong theme emerging from my study is that Javanese socio-cultural practices deeply influenced the way the women participants saw themselves – principally as wives and mothers – and that these practices restricted their full involvement in Taman Ilmu, although they were all full-time permanent lecturers. At the time of my research data collection, five women research participants were occupying junior leadership roles as heads of laboratory. Only one woman was in a middle level leadership role: she was in the position of deputy head of

department. So, 50% of the women participants were in lower leadership roles at the time of research data collection.

The concept of habitus that I used came from Bourdieu's work. Bourdieu's habitus is associated with the embodiment of dispositions, acquired through one's interaction with one's social fields, and is related to other concepts such as capital and field. As my theoretical lens, the concept of habitus has helped me to theorise the absence of women in senior leadership positions in Taman Ilmu. I used a qualitative research paradigm – together with constructivist ontology, interpretive epistemology, and a thematic analysis method – and upon analysis of my interview data found that there were socio-cultural aspects which, coupled with religious beliefs and Indonesian government policies, were impediments to women reaching senior leadership positions. Therefore, it was unsurprising that there were few women in Taman Ilmu who were seriously motivated to attain senior leadership roles.

The key source of these barriers to women's participation in senior leadership roles was the internalisation of gender roles which had strongly influenced the women participants' perceptions of who they were within their domestic and public spheres. The findings thus revealed that there were expectations from the macro, meso, and micro levels of the social field that contradicted each other and created tensions for the women. These contradictions and tensions had been in place ever since the women lived with their parents up to their employment as lecturers in Taman Ilmu. In this academic workplace the contradictions and tensions were amplified because every lecturer took their individual habitus with them into the academic workplace, and together these made the collective habitus of Taman Ilmu. However, the collective habitus of the women participants seemed to be different from that of the male managers. The women juggled their domestic responsibilities of home and family with their duties and tasks in the workplace. Meanwhile the men focussed solely on their duties, performance and tasks in Taman Ilmu.

The female research participants were a specialised group of Indonesian women, coming from families that did not differentiate in terms of education for their

children, whether girls or boys. All parents supported their daughters to have paid work. The women themselves wanted to have a paid job, which many of them saw as necessary to fulfil their own desire. Most of them had been employed before they came to work as lecturers in Taman Ilmu. Some of them had ambitions and goals to achieve when they were in their previous jobs. However, through the influence of cultural expectations (Habitus, as an amalgam of personal and wider social fields) these Javanese women eventually succumbed to the belief that married women were primarily responsible for family life, especially taking care of children. This habitus is so strong that it limited the women's ascent of career ladders in Taman Ilmu.

Most of the women participants had young children. This attempt to juggle work and home to satisfy the cultural demands on married women with children, created more friction for the women in dealing with the meso level of social field that is Taman Ilmu. The women's efforts at juggling family and work commitments resulted in them not being at work as often as the men – they took their work home with them. This resulted in the male managers at Taman Ilmu assuming that their female colleagues lacked dedication because of their “invisibility” at work. They interpreted this as being unreliable. So, the male managers made many generalisations about the women co-workers. Perhaps this links closely to the hiring practices of the institution, where men were more often selected for managerial jobs over women.

Although the women participants who were leaders seemed to be quite satisfied with their lower level of leadership positions, several women signalled that they would want to occupy senior leadership positions, but only when their children were older. Several others would prefer doing research. Occupying lower leadership roles as heads of laboratory and conducting research were two options that were likely to go together, because conducting research within their laboratories would mean that they would do research with lecturers who had similar research interests. Several women who were not in leadership positions indicated that lower leadership roles were as much as they aspired to achieve.

The notion of habitus enabled me to understand the predicament of these women, the predicament of the men, and the predicament of the institution. This is, because habitus is an insidious influence on how everybody thinks and acts, making it difficult to conceive of another way of thinking or acting. Nonetheless, according to Bourdieu, habitus is not unchangeable. Therefore, what my study suggests is that providing opportunities for women to take on senior leadership roles in such an institutional context is worth the effort, to change the women's views (their habitus) on status quo in Taman Ilmu.

8.3 Limitations of this research

I am aware that my research study was conducted in one institution and with a small number of participants. Therefore, generalisability is difficult to assume. My study was conducted in a certain time and certain place with the general cohort aged between 28 and 40 years. Data from older staff could produce different results, as could a project undertaken three years from now. As my research data was a snapshot of one period rather than being longitudinal, changes might occur beyond that time.

Moreover, the need to ensure confidentiality and anonymity for the participants limited my report in a number of ways. I could not provide data on the exact age of the participants' children. I could not mention the exact field of teaching of each participant, or the exact length of time they had worked in their institution. I had to be careful to disguise the participants' identity so that whoever read my report would not identify any of the participants.

My focus of research was interviewing 12 women and four men in one case institution. I did not probe when they talked about parents, or home-helpers. The contribution of those individuals to the lives of women participants, in particular, could not, however, be ignored once data were analysed. However, because of the limited time of data collection, I was not able to widen my research questions to include those support groups.

In conducting the research, I was an insider, in the sense that I come from the same culture as my participants. Therefore, my personal experiences might

influence the way I understand my participants' accounts. As an insider, many times I did not probe the participants' stories sufficiently because at the time of interviewing I felt as if I understood what they meant by their stories. However, when I was analysing the interview data, questions came up because of the lack of probes which required me to ask for further clarification from the participants.

In analysing the interview data, I used habitus as a lens for understanding the participants' views. Another person interpreting similar interview data with a different lens might reach a different result. This is therefore a singular, interpretive study.

Apart from the above limitations, employing the qualitative case study method meant I was able to collect rich data from this institution, from the interviews with the participants, the observation of the institution, and the documents that were available in this institution. By using these three kinds of sources, together with the habitus lens, I was able to explore and understand the participants' views regarding their individual backgrounds and how these that influenced their participation in their workplace.

8.4 Implications of the study for policy and practice

There are several implications of the study, as follows.

First, my study may benefit the formulation of gender policy in tertiary education institutions or government departments in Indonesia. My workplace could even learn from this. Although up to this date I am not aware of such gender policy in Indonesia, my study could be used as an input for further policy regarding the involvement of women in any workplaces.

Then, recruitment of women into senior leadership roles in Taman Ilmu might encourage greater awareness of women's needs and some modification of the universal application of male values which currently operates in this institution. There are precedents for such change. For instance, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Zernike, 2011), eventually paid attention to gender equity matters, providing day care facilities on campus. This made it possible for women with

babies to have one year parental leave, but come back to work and have their children close by.

Finally, my study could also be used to inform policy regarding professional development, especially of the women in Taman Ilmu. Professional development through leadership training is important. However, the most important thing is that, in the near future, the women in Taman Ilmu need to further their studies to get doctoral degrees. Further study is essential because the current regulation 17/2013 of the Indonesian Minister of Empowerment for State Apparatus requires that lecturers promoted into the rank of IVa must hold a doctoral degree. As I have shown in Chapter 5, the range of civil service ranks for a lecturer is from IIIa to IVd. Therefore, people in power in Taman Ilmu could think of a way to further the women's academic qualification by providing a sandwich programme, in which the women do not need to leave their families for years to study overseas, rather they can further their studies at their own pace, in their hometown. This new regulation could be seen as a motivation for women to further their studies. However, it must be noted that these women would need to be relieved of some duties and tasks in the institution while they were studying. A special room for them to study will also need to be provided, with adequate computer and internet connection for easy communication with their supervisors by using SKYPE, for example. Cooperation between educational institutions in Indonesia is suggested. Cooperation with overseas educational institutions to provide online studies could also be considered.

8.5 Recommendation for further research

There are several areas that could be the focus of further studies:

- A study could be conducted on the trajectories of the women research participants' mothers, to find out what led them to encourage their daughters to pursue higher education and a career; and/or a study on the role of home-helpers in the ability of women to pursue professional careers, and the impact of their work on the home-helpers' own lives.

- Extended research could be done with husbands and wives of my research participants to compare their views on similar matters; or a longitudinal study of lecturers who are single when they start working and then get married and have children.
- Research could be conducted in different kinds of institutions, different cultures (for example, the matrilineal culture of the Minangkabau on the island of Sumatera) and different religious beliefs to compare and contrast differences and similarities between institutions when dealing with career women.
- It is also my interest to conduct research to explore the experiences of women and men in senior leadership positions in various institutions to find out the benefits and disadvantages they have experienced, and to find out the typical leadership style they adapt for their leadership practice. Through discussions with the participants about the results of such research we could probably find ways for an effective leadership style that is “Indonesian-ish”, as I briefly described in Chapter 2 when I discussed distributed leadership.

8.6 Thesis contribution

My thesis contributes to educational leadership literature in developing countries, especially in the context of Indonesian Muslim women and leadership. It also contributes to the literature on habitus in relation to educational leadership and especially in relation to the habitus of the Javanese.

8.7 Epilogue

There are several points I would like to say in the epilogue of my thesis.

Firstly, I have been keeping in touch with some of the women participants. I have heard that some women in Taman Ilmu have succeeded in climbing their career ladder. From the women’s stories, I concluded that those who had been able to take higher leadership roles since the time of my research data collection were women who had signalled that they wanted to be in senior leadership positions in Taman Ilmu. One whom I contact frequently has achieved the position of deputy

head of institution. She had this opportunity because she had several relatives to help her manage her home and children. I also understand that now her children are more independent. She also said that managerial duties were easier to carry out when she shared them with other deputies, although she was responsible for the final result. The first time she became a deputy, she tried to finish all managerial duties by herself and it was a difficult time for her. So, she learned to be a better leader and delegate.

Secondly, as I have indicated in Chapter 1, conducting this study and research was motivated partly by my own queries about Muslim women and leadership positions, particularly the notion that men are leaders, a belief held by the majority of Muslims. The personal is political. I have used this study to answer my queries about women and leadership positions. My research findings will therefore inform how I support the development of women in particular to take on leadership roles since I am going to be the head of a teaching and professional development centre for lecturers. My research findings may also help all lecturers develop a more balanced view of work, qualifications improvement and family commitments. This will be particularly important considering that they will be required to have doctoral degree once they are promoted into the civil service rank of IVa. The centre could be a place where my female colleagues could meet to share ideas and knowledge for their own development, both personal and professional.

I might have never been aware of gender discrimination if I had not moved away from my comfort zone, my Javanese environment in Indonesia. I began to understand the impact of patriarchy on female lecturers in the educational institution, and to realise that because of the absence of female colleagues in leadership positions all matters were managed according to male rules and practices. A striking example was the expectation that employees would work after hours. This is likely to cause difficulties for women with children, who are also expected to be in charge of them and fully responsible for all domestic affairs.

Thirdly, by being a lecturer with higher qualification, I would hope to have easier access to projects of the Indonesian Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, and to the women's organisations which I have mentioned in Chapter

3: Dasa Wisma, PKK, and Dharma Wanita. These are the areas in which I believe women lecturers and I could contribute to our community.

Finally, my doctoral study has been my preliminary effort to understand the concept of habitus, field, capital and practice. Other people could probably understand it differently, from different angles, different perspectives, and different experiences. To me, learning about habitus has helped me to open my mind and better understand about people around me, and why they behave and act as they do. I am hoping that the knowledge I have gained from my study is leading me to be a better person, around my family and the wider society. Gaining my doctoral degree, my institutionalised state cultural capital, would mean the beginning of my journey into the future. In addition, gaining my doctoral degree will mean that I am eligible for further rank promotion into IVa, and thus personally contribute to the furthering of women in leadership positions in Indonesian society and educational institutions.

In the pamphlet I distributed to my research participants, I inserted the image of a Koru, as one of the symbols of Maori community, in which it

represents the fern frond as it opens bringing new life and purity to the world. It also represents peace, tranquillity and spirituality along with a strong sense of re-growth or new beginnings (Campbell, n.d.).

It implies my hope of new beginnings for me and for women lecturers to look at the world with upgraded perspectives. As women we can have a career without needing to ignore our obligation to our families. The constitutional law of Indonesia clearly states that every citizen has the same right to get employment. The Qur'an implies that no imbalances of how Muslim women and men have their rights, but each of them have slightly different duties in their marriage relationship.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Ethical Approval

Dean's Office
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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

MEMORANDUM

To: Elizabeth Amalo
c.c. Dr Noeline Wright

From: Dr Rosemary De Luca (Chairperson)
For School of Education Research Ethics Committee

Date: 21 December 2006

Subject: Research Ethics Application

The School of Education Research Ethics Committee considered your application for ethical approval for the research proposal:

*Women and Leadership in Higher Education in Indonesia:
Understanding the Socio-Cultural and Organisational Issues*

I am pleased to advise that your application has received ethical approval.

Please be aware that you will need to apply to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Professor Doug Sutton, for approval to embargo your thesis.

The Committee wishes you all the best with your research.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Rosemary De Luca'.

Dr Rosemary De Luca
Chairperson
School of Education Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 2 Letter to the Head of Institution

Date:
To
The Head of (Institution's name)
(City)

Approval for conducting research interviews

Dear _____

As informed that my study is dealing with women and their career development in educational leadership context, I am proposing a case study to find out how women teaching in this institution can enhance their career for the benefit of the institution and for themselves. Therefore, I would like to seek your approval to conduct the interviews with some women and men as teaching staff in this institution, to obtain accessible documents, and to do some observations around the institution.

I am planning to interview twelve women from a range of ranks and positions. I have not yet decided on the names of the women that I will invite to become my research participants. I will do this when I go home. I would also invite you to become the research participant along with the deputy of academic affairs and at least two heads of departments. I will meet them individually face-to-face as I will do to the women.

The research purpose is to gain insight on the societal and institutional culture that might influence institutional policy and women's career development. I expect that my research study will contribute some ideas for the benefit of the institution.

I wish to start the interview process around 20th February 2007.

I look forward to a favourable response.

Elizabeth A. Amalo
Doctoral Student
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School of Education
The Waikato University
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Dr. Noeline Wright
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Appendix 3 Invitation pamphlet

[first page of invitation pamphlet]

Researcher
Elizabeth Anggraeni Amalo
PhD student
Department of Professional Studies
in Education
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**THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO**
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

INVITATION

**to participate in
a doctoral research study**

Research title
**Women and Leadership in higher
education in Indonesia:
Understanding the socio-
cultural and organisational issues**

The spiral is a Koru, represents the fern frond as it opens bringing new life and purity to the world. It also represents peace, tranquility and spirituality along with a strong sense of re-growth or new beginnings

Note: The research title in this pamphlet was the first version of my working research title.
Acknowledgment: The Koru and text were retrieved from <http://www.boneart.co.nz> and used with the approval of Don Campbell, dated 21 January 2014.

Research Background

Studies show more Indonesian women have entered the workforce in recent years. However, women's involvement in the workforce appears to be heavily influenced by cultural issues. These may prevent them taking up leadership roles in higher education. Indeed many factors seem to contribute to women's ability and willingness to take up genuine leadership positions. This PhD research is interested in the implications of this issue and the possibilities of increasing the number of women in leadership positions in Indonesia.

Research aims

To find out why many women are apparently reluctant to assume genuine leadership positions in higher education and to explore to what extent institutional policies affect women in taking up leadership positions.

Research design

- Qualitative methodology
- In-depth interviews with about 15 people
- Interviews will be recorded and transcribed

Research access & ethics

The research aims to minimise potential harm to research participants by ensuring confidentiality and other good research practices:

- Participants are fully informed about the nature of the research.
- Participants have the right to refuse to answer any research question.
- Participants have the right to modify the interview transcript.
- Participants and institution will be given pseudonyms.
- All procedures are consistent with the *Handbook on Ethical Conduct of Research* of the University of Waikato.
- Participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time prior to analysis of the research data.

Use of information and findings

- Interview information will be kept secure and used only for the purpose of the thesis and related seminars, reports and journal articles.
- A general report will be provided for the institution which does not include accounts of any individual.

Consent of participants

Each participant needs to sign a consent form provided by the researcher. This is standard practice in such research and a requirement of the University of Waikato.

PhD supervisors

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Appendix 4 Consent Form

Consent Form

I _____ consent to participate in the research conducted by Elizabeth Anggraeni Amalo, as the requirement to complete her study in a doctoral program (PhD) at the University of Waikato.

I understand that the research procedures will be as follows:

1. Two individual interviews, which will be recorded and transcribed.
2. Transcripts will be corrected by the participant.
3. Follow up discussion, if necessary, will be via email.

I agree that my name and the name of the institution will not be used in the research report. Instead pseudonyms will be used.

I understand that the interview will become part of the thesis and subsequent journal publications or related seminars.

I understand that I can withdraw from the research one week after the first interview transcript is given to me up to ____ 2007.

If I need to further add or eliminate some parts of the interview, I can contact Elizabeth Amalo during her stay in our workplace or at the University of Waikato via email.

(City), (date)

Sign : _____

Full name : _____

Email : _____

I will have Elizabeth Amalo provide a pseudonym for me.

Appendix 5 Interview Questions

For women

1. I would like to find out a little about your background. To what extent do you think your background influenced your line of study and the work you are doing at present?
2. To what extent do you enjoy your work here? Why? What are the best and worst things about it?
3. Would you like to have a different role in the future? Do you think you will achieve this role?
4. What do you think is the biggest barrier to women attaining leadership positions in this workplace?
5. In terms of higher leadership positions in your workplace, which position would you aspire to? What are the reasons you prefer this position?
6. Do you think Taman Ilmu needs to recruit more women as lecturers?
7. Does your husband support you working in paid job and having a career?
8. Do you have anything else to say?

For men

1. I would like to find out a little about your background. To what extent do you think your background influenced the work you are doing at present?
2. Thinking about our workplace, do you think the number of women in leadership roles is too few, about right, or too many?
3. Would you promote women to higher leadership positions such as head of department or vice-director?
4. What do you think is the biggest barrier to women attaining leadership positions in this workplace?
5. Would you like to recruit more women as lecturers?
6. How do you see your wife's working?
7. Would you support her to take up leadership positions?
8. Do you have anything else to say?

Appendix 6 Interview Transcript Feedback

(City), (date)

Dear _____

This is the transcript of the first/second interview which was conducted on _____. You have the right to correct, add, or eliminate parts of the interview. If you make some corrections, I will send you the updated transcript for approval. If I have not heard from you by _____ I will assume that you are comfortable for me to use the data from the interview.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Elizabeth A. Amalo

Appendix 7 The Qur'an verses

Verse 4:124

And whoever does righteous good deeds,
male or female,
and is a (true) believer [in the Oneness of Allah (Muslim)],
such will enter Paradise and not the least injustice,
even to the size of a speck on the back of a date-stone,
will be done to them.

Verse 40:40

Whosoever does an evil deed,
will not be requited except the like thereof;
and whosoever does a righteous deed,
whether male or female and is true believer
(in the Oneness of Allah),
such will enter Paradise,
where they will be provided therein
(with all things in abundance) without limit.

Verse 9:71

The believers, men and women,
are Auliya (helpers, supporters, friends, protectors) of one another;
they enjoin (on the people) Al-Ma'ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all that Islam orders one to
do),
and forbid (people) from Al-Munkar (i.e. polytheism and disbelief of all kinds, and all that Islam
has forbidden;
they perform As-Salat [prayer], and give the Zakat [donation],
and obey Allah and His Messenger.
Allah will have His Mercy on them,
Surely Allah is All-Mighty, All-Wise.

Verses 4: 7 – 12

There is a share for men and a share for women
from what is left by parents and those nearest related,
whether the properties be small or large – a legal share . [7]

And when the relatives and the orphans and the poor are present
at the time of division,
give them out of the property,
and speak to them words of kindness and justice. [8]

And let those executors and guardians
have the same fear in their minds
as they would have in their own,
if they had left weak offspring behind.
So, let them fear Allah and speak right words.[9]

Verily, those who unjustly eat up the property of orphans,
they eat up only fire into their bellies,
and they will be burnt in the blazing Fire! [10]

Allah commands you as regards your children's (inheritance):
to the male a portion equal to that of two females;
if (there are) only daughters, two or more,
Their share is two thirds of the inheritance;
if only one, her share is a half.
For parents, a sixth share of inheritance to each if
the deceased left children;
if no children, and the parents are the only heirs,
the mother has a third;
if the deceased left brothers (or sisters),
the mother has a sixth.
(The distribution in all cases is) after
the payment of legacies he may have bequeathed or debts.
You know not which of them, whether your parents or your children,
are nearest to you in benefit;
(these fixed shares) are ordained by Allah.
And Allah is Ever All-Knower, All-Wise. [11]

In that which your wives leave,
your share is a half if they have no child;
but if they leave a child,
you get a fourth of that which they leave
after payment of legacies that they may have bequeathed or debts.
In that which you leave,

your wives share is a fourth if you leave no child;
but if you leave a child,
they get an eighth of that which you leave
after payment of legacies that you may have bequeathed or debts.
If the man or woman whose inheritance is in question
has left neither ascendants nor descendants,
but has left a brother or a sister,
each one of the two get a sixth;
but if more than two, they share in a third,
after payment of legacies he (or she)
may have bequeathed or debts,
so that no loss is caused (to anyone).
This is a commandment from Allah;
And Allah is Ever All-Knowing, Most-Forbearing. [12]

Verses 4: 176

They ask you for a legal verdict.
Say: Allah directs (thus) about those who leave
neither descendants or ascendants as heirs.
If it is a man that dies leaving a sister, but no child,
she shall have half the inheritance.
If (such a deceased was) a woman, who left no child,
her brother takes her inheritance.
If there are two sisters, they shall have two thirds
of the inheritance;
If there are brothers and sisters,
The male will have twice the share of the female.
(Thus) des Allah make clear to you (His Law)
lest you go astray.
And Allah is the All-Knower of everything.

(Al-Hilali & Khan, n.d.)