Gender depiction in Indonesian school text books: progress or deterioration

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Gender definition and understanding: the Indonesian setting

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles ascribed to males and females. These roles are learned, change over time, and vary widely within and across cultures. Socially learned gender is an acquired identity. In developing curriculum materials that are more gender sensitive and integrate reproductive health education, the following approach to gender will be used. "Gender is a set of social and cultural practices that influence the lives of all women and men in the way that it organises society and interacts with other social institutions" (Riley 2006:110-11).

The way forward with this study is that it is aim that in the near future Indonesian schools, curriculum, and text books would adopt a progressive gender roles in describing the relationship between women and men. In this study the research team defined **progressive gender roles** as a stage where the promotion of gender equity can be achieved and where both women and men can have an equal opportunity: in sharing the domestic duties and child rearing; education and work; work relation; equal rights to leaderships in bureaucracy, society, religious activities and politics; as well as being treated equally in all aspect of life. The understanding of progressive gender roles also refer to that women and girls are not treated subordinately in any way and not seen as being an object to sexuality.

Indonesia has ratified the most important international conventions that promotes principles of gender equality and the empowerment of women. These include the 1979 CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women), the 1994 ICPD (International Conference on Population and Development), Beijing Platform of Action and MDGs (Mellinium Development Goals). In August 2007, the UN praised Indonesia for the proliferation of Law No 21/2007 on Human Trafficking, Law No 12/2006 on Citizenship (children from Indonesian mothers whose fathers are non-citizens have the right of dual citizenship until they reach 18 years old), and Law No 23/2004 on Domestic Violence (Wardhani, 2007). After the reform era specially during the leadership of Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono a significant leap occurred in assigning female Cabinet Ministers responsible in non-gendered stereotype role tasks, for example, Ministry of Finance-Sri Mulyani; Ministry of Trade-Marie Pangestu and Ministry of Health-Siti Fadilah Sapari. Before his presidency, female Cabinet Ministers would only be assigned as Minister of Social Affair, the Office of Women's Empowerment and heads of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board. Interestingly when planning and organising for his new his new presidential term (2009-2015) cabinet, the president elected Soesilo

Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) will consider gender balance in appointing ministers (Kompas, 2009). Only after the sixth president and after 64 years of independence, the importance of gender balance in appointing cabinet ministers was explicitly announced by SBY.

Nevertheless, development does not yield equal benefits for women and men. Important government positions and parliamentary membership are still strongly dominated by men (Siregar, 2006). The incidence of violence against women and sexual harassment and crimes against women and the girl child remain high. Gender gaps in education and wages persist and there are many laws that contain disadvantageous gender biases. In regards to women's right over their own body it has been for a few years now that amendment on the Health Law 23/1992 which includes abortion law has not been finalised and it is still under conflicting discussion in the house of parliament. This is strongly disadvantaging women as in the amended abortion law, abortion is illegal unless it is endangering the life of the mother. Thus women experiencing unwanted pregnancy whether in a marital union or out of wedlock often turns to self abort methods by drinking traditional *jamu* or taking off the counter abortifacients medication. When the self abort attempts are not successful then women would turn to unsafe abortion practices provided by traditional healer that can be fatal to their lives (Utomo B. et al, 2000; Widyantoro and Lestari, 2004).

In addition to the above problems, an important new consideration in regards to gender inequality in Indonesia is the rise of fundamentalist Islam and its impact on young people (Farha, 2009; Utomo and McDonald 2009), the lost of Megawati Soekarnoputri (presidencial candidate) in filing a case to the Higher Constitution Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi*) against the corrupted votes for the 2009 Presidential Election, the lost of Khofifah Indar Parawangsa, previous minister for State Ministry of Women Empowerment and head of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board, as governor of Surabaya and the implementation of Syariah law restricting women's mobility in more then 56 districts in Indonesia (Utomo 2006). Another concern is related to the new established law against **pornography and pornographic actions**. The draft bill has been backed by fundamentalist Islamic groups through huge organized demonstrations of support in the streets of Jakarta. However, the bill has been attacked by feminist groups as imposing restrictions upon women and upon the way that they dress. They say that the law would be open to considerable local interpretation making women vulnerable to arrest in one region for wearing what would be considered normal attire in another region (Utomo and McDonald), 2009).

The authors agreed that formal education system (K-12 curricula) provides an excellent opportunity to promote gender equality and rights among the rising generations. Integration of an understanding of gender equality into school curricula would directly address the inequitable values being supported by the conservative forces of fundamentalist religion and patriarchal value systems. There have been many small-scale research and case studies on gender in Indonesia (Utomo and Hatmadji 2004; Robinson and Bessell, 2002; Gardiner-Oey, 2000) but none have attempted to *link research directly with the promotion of progressive curricula for primary and secondary schools nationwide*.[1]

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[1] Studies on gender in Indonesia have mostly concentrated on reproductive health and gender (Siregar and Pudjani 2004; Djafar 2004); violence against women (Idrus 2006; Solichach and Silawati 2004; Adioetomo and Djaja 2004); trafficking of women and children and female migrant workers (Parjoko and Maesuroh 2004; Soeprobo and Wiyono 2004; Susilo 2004; Utomo 2004).

At present, the state, home and school do not see the importance of promoting gender progressive norms to the young citizens whether through formal or informal education. These institutions if any leave the responsibility of education on gender equality and rights to each other. Though after 1998-the reform era, the state have demonstrated establishing laws, policies and program that are more gender progressive. For example to name a few: the endorsement of Presidential Decree No. 9/2000 on gender mainstreaming in all policy, programs and developmental projects; the zero tolerance on violence against women; gender budgeting; one door policy on gender being the responsibility of the Office of Women's Empowerment; the establishment of special division at the Policy Department handling cases of female victims of domestic violence, sexual violence and rape; sporadic developement of NGOs through out the region working on women related issues and reproductive health; male participation in family planning and gender research training division under the National Family Planning Coordinating Board.

Concerns about the stereotyping of gender roles in the Indonesian school curriculum and text books have been discussed in Jakarta Post by three Indonesian feminist scholars. Yoyoh Hafidz (2008) first complaint how his son who was in year one still uses text books with gender patriarchy module describing the role of the father working outside the house and the mother looking after the domestic duties and cooking. She was struck by the fact that the content of her son's text book has not changed compared to when she was in year one thirty years ago. Her strongest concern is that the long-standing content of the curriculum can shape children understanding that women can do better in the domestic sphere compared to the public sphere. She urged that the curriculum should be overhaul by replacing the old misperception and gender roles with a more progressive one that promote gender equality. Indraswari (2009) also emphasised the importance to reform the school's curricula that is not supporting the understanding of equal opportunity and responsibility in both domestic and public spheres. She quoted some examples that she found from the e-book available in the Department of National Education's webite (http://bse.depdiknas.go.id):

> Bahasa Kita Bahasa Indonesia (Our language is Indonesian), written by Muhamad Jaruki and published online in 2008, contains a short piece of text describing "mother's activities" stating "Mother goes to the market. She buys tomatoes for soup at the new market. Eating soup makes us healthy" (page 124). In a Math textbook for second graders titled Matematika 2 (Math 2), written by Wiyanto Purnomosidi and Endang Supadminingsih and published online by the same department, an exercise for students asks: "Mother starts cooking at 5 a.m. She finishes cooking at 6 a.m. How long does she cook for?" (page 46). The same book continues with father's activities, "Father leaves for the office at 6 a.m.. He arrives home at 3 pm. How long does he work for?" (page 48), (Jakarta Post, 2009).

The above quotation defined fix gender division of labour where the mother's activities is inside the house though she is also described as going outside the home to the market, which is also part of her domestic responsiblities, while father is the one that works in the office. Interestingly depiction of stereotype gender roles is found not just in social science as many would expected but also in math subject. Yulia Immajati (2009) addressed six gender inequalities that need to be reformed in the Indonesian education system, this include: stereotyping; subordination; multiple burden; discrimination; marginalization and violence. She stressed the importance to review and reform gender-biased policies and practices in education and sexist curricula content, as well as reform gender bias in recommended text books and provide gender-balanced guidelines to textbook publishers. Ideally she stated, mainstreaming gender in the curricula and introducing a new subject on gender issues can be the way to progress forward. Nevertheless designing a new subject on gender issues would not be possible

as students are already well over burden with the huge amount of subjects that they have to study, but mainstreaming gender equality across all subjects would be possible.

Indonesian women are expected to be the manager of the household taking care of the domestic chores, bearing and rearing children, creating a harmonious home environment, gook cook and good in bed. If the marriage experienced difficulties or the children are having educational and social problems, it is the wife who is at fault. No matter how autonomous she might be seen in her domestic roles, she would have to consult her husband for all her decisions regarding her family and even her own body.

The Indonesian socially constructed woman's 'gendered body' is strongly putting Indonesian women more at risks of harmful sexual practices including HIV/AIDS. The body is a powerful symbolic form, a surface on which the central rules, hierarchies, and even metaphysical commitments of a culture are inscribed and thus reinforced through the concrete language of the body (Bordo, 1993). These cultural tenets threaten a healthy reproductive and sexual life for Indonesian women. Vaginal practices defined as ways to make the vagina dry and tight (*peret*) by washing, ingesting herbal mixture (Jamu), insertion (using the Madura Stick), cleansing (*gurah vagina; Ozonisation of the Vagina*), steaming (*vagina spa/kendedes*) and surgical operation to bring the vagina to its virginal state are practised by some women to please their husbands or sexual partners so that he would not have any other sexual affairs or to keep him away from other women due to her economic dependency (Utomo and Hull et al. 2006). Some men use various sexual gadgets and implants to demonstrate their masculinity and to enhance their sexual pleasure. Both of these practices are very dangerous for the vagina as trying to make the vagina dry can disturb the Ph level as well as damage the vagina wall when conducting sexual intercourse making the women more susceptible to STDs/HIV/AIDS. Penis implants and the use of male sexual gadgets practiced by men to enhance masculinity can also seriously damage the vagina walls (Hull and Budiharsana, 2001). The above cultural values and sexual practices are believed to be conducted by women and men due to the inherent gender inequality and patriarchy ideology where men are in a position of power in exercising their sexuality but have a negative impact on women's reproductive health and susceptibility towards STDs/ HIV/AIDS.

In a society where sexual double standard exist, value on virginity for female highly guarded, universal norms of marriage and having children, women beared more burden in conforming to these norms. Starting from young, a girl child is trained to groom herself, behave with grace and good manner, skilful in domestic duties so that she would become a good wife. If then later she stay single then she would be harasses and labelled by the society as being "*perawan tua*" (old maid). The stigma also rest on her parents as they have a daughter who are not marketable for marriage (*tidak laku*). To end her status of being single, families and friends would try to find her a prospective husband, whom if she wed not because that she loves him but to safe her family status from social pressure and stigmas. The lives of single women are seen as incomplete regardless of her success in education and or career. This makes social life of single women more restricted, awkward and uncomfortable.

In the homes of many Indonesian, most often parents are not aware that they are socialising stereotype traditional gender roles and gender norms to their children. The home also may not provide good gender role models and still strongly demonstrated the breadwinner model and female role as domestic manager and care givers of the family and extended family. The girl child is trained to conform to feminine gender roles and play, introduce to play with dolls and soft toys, dressed in pink and laces and provided with toys related to "house play" (*main rumah-rumahan*) and kitchen utensils. These toys and role plays

are in accordance and reinforce of being skilful in domestic sphere as compared to public sphere. Girls are also taught to be "*nrimo*", that is, for accepting their fate whatever it may be (Utomo, 2005: 70). Boys on the other hand also started their training early to be associated with toys that are more masculine in nature such as cars; bikes; weapons and army; jungle and animal kingdom; kites; and various sport activities. Since very early the girl child is trained to be close and play around the house; while boys to some extend can explore the world outside the house while playing with his friends in sport matches and wars (*main perang-perangan*) as well as riding their bike.

To create a society that values gender equity and rights, the understanding of progressive gender roles have to start very early in the home and education system including religious teaching. The state can play a significant role by enforcing that schools provide gender progressive curriculum, text books and teachers who promote gender equity. Religious teachers at school or home base; religious preachers giving sermons at Friday prayers and at various religious gathering (for example, Women's Kuranic Reciting Group; Youth Religious Group) have to promote progressive gender religious norms and values. In the absence of education either at home or at school, religious teaching and sermons, children are at risk of influence from a variety of less desirable sources. This is alarming as students are prone to expose to traditional gender roles and values which they will adopt and carry through their adult live and pass it on to the next generation. A vicious circle that has to be ended- if gender equity would want to be achieved.

This study

The research team consists of Australian and Indonesian researchers. In planning for the research, the team conducted a two-day workshop in Jakarta (March 2008) to reach agreement on the procedure of choosing and evaluating the primary and secondary school text books. Four major subject areas where depiction of gender roles is commonly portrayed were chosen. These were ***Bahasa Indonesia*** and ***English, Islamic Religion, Science-including Biology***, ***Social Sciences***, and ***Sport and Healthy Living (Pendidikan Kesegaran Jasmani, Olah Raga dan Kesehatan)***. The educational levels chosen to be evaluated are ***Years 1, 6, 9 and 12***.

After documenting the list of school text books approved for usage by the Department of National Education and Culture and interviewing school principals and teachers from various schools in the study areas (Jakarta, West Java, West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi) and listing the most popular publishers, more than 85 textbooks were selected by the research team. When choosing the schools and asking what type of books does the school use and which publishers were chosen as well as how the school committee decided on the books, the socio economic status of the school was taken into account. Schools with low, medium and high social economic status were approached by the Indonesian research team as well as the most popular and better schools (*Sekolah Unggulan*). The latter is determined by the Department of National Education and Culture by using standardised criteria for appointing a school entitled to a certain certification.

The books were purchased (a laborious process) by the first author and the Indonesia-based researchers and distributed to each member of the research team. Various book stores and whole sale book stores were explored and visited. After the books have been selected, the research team then met again for a two-day workshop in July 2008 to develop a module that scores gender depiction.

The development of the gender assessment module took a few stages. The first module was developed in May 2008, after the first workshop (see Figure 1, Attached) but the team agreed that it should be revised as the assessment module was not able to capture the information that was needed, specifically on description of gender depictions. In this modul, gender was evaluated in a much broader context and combined with the reproductive health analysis. Nevertheless during the pretesting illustration analysis using Figure 1 which analised pictures and illustrations used in the text books, the following gender stereotypes themes emerged: the division of public and domestic spheres, social leadership, success in arts and technology, gender roles in environment sustainability, violent behaviour, sporting activities and games that children engaged. The above themes were then used to develop the Gender assessment module for primary and secondary school text books (see Figure 2, Attached). This paper is based from analysis of the text books.

Analysis

Four sets of books were used by four research teams: the ADSRI-ANU team (Utomo, McDonald and Hull); The UIN team (Rosyidah, Hartimah and Makruf); Idrus and Sadli. Each member of the research team independently analyse each book by using individual modul form. The form is stored in a website, thus researchers can directly fill each analysis in the website (http://adsriit.anu.edu.au/indon/). The website was designed and developed by Paul Kirk, IT and website designer at ADSRI with supervision from Hull and Utomo. The data is managed using Excel worksheet (http://adsriit.anu.edu.au/indon/export/) which identify: the researcher; date of entry; starting and finishing time used; and answer to the questions. Each answer is recorded in a separate column. To be able to access the website, each researcher is allocated a PIN. The data as a whole can only be accessed by Utomo and Kirk. The data is then analyse using simple mathematics and presented in bar charts and graphs.

Each researcher also took separate notes to both the content and pictures found through out the books and record the details text and pictures from the books were grouped into those presenting gender progressive roles, gender neutral roles and gender traditional roles. Notes were also taken of page numbers and picture illustrations.

The politic of text books selection by schools

Preliminary findings of how schools decide on what books are used for their students are as follows. The books are determined by schools through teacher discussion and teachers will select books based on the content of the book and the price of the book. This is determined by the socio-economic condition of the students. The school will choose the books based on a list of books that are already accredited by the Department of National Education and Culture then the school decides on the books that should be used by the students, the school then approaches the publishers and buys the books from the publishers. The school then sells the books to the students and receives profit from the transaction. The school also receives a discount from the publishers. Funding accumulated from the book sales as well as from the publishers is used for running and maintaining the school.

Recently the state developed a policy where government funding is provided annually to schools which are considered as having low-middle socio-economic status. Through this policy, the government

provided funding to be used for improving the learning environment and the accessibility of textbooks to students. The Policy Committee (*Bantuan Operational Sekolah*-School Operational Funding), as a condition of receipt of this funding, ruled that schools could not sell books directly to students. To overcome this policy, the schools then developed a new strategy where the schools organised book bazaars and invited publishers to sell books directly to the students. Provided with a list of books that have to be used by students, the students then buy the books from the publishers.

Recently the government developed a new policy on ***E-text book*** (Electronic text books) which is still under discussion because of limited internet access for schools not to mention students. Only a small proportion of students have internet access and only a limited number of students has access to a computer.

To support the E-text book policy, the government has purchased the intellectual rights of school textbooks from the publishers. Each book is priced by the government as equal to Rp. 150 million rupiah (A$ 17 000). It is argued that it is more expensive for students to download the books and then print them as compared to purchasing a printed coloured book.

Theoretical Framework: progressive gender equity in public and domestic sphere

> In no known cases has a gender stratification system categorically disadvantaged men relative to women. Most societies fall along a continuum of gender inequality, between the extremes of equality and extensive female disadvantage…To say that a system of gender inequality exists is fundamentally another way of saying that, in millions of daily interactions between people, women are repeatedly and systematically disadvantaged and devalued relative to men, in a wide variety of different contexts (Chafetz, 1990: 14).

In every known society, there are socially constructed expectations of females and males. These socially constructed expectations defined roles of females and males; divisions of labour between them; responsibilities; obligations; rights (Mason, 1997:58) and social sanctions. Unfortunately regardless of the nations' economic development, it is quite universal that females beared more burden of dealing with pregnancy, childbirth, child care and childrearing, household domestic chores and care giver of the family, extended family and society. With the socially constructed expectations, working women suffered incredibly as she has to performed her best in both worlds, at her workplace and at home.

From generation to generation, gender norms are taught and socialised through the family, schools and social institutions. Before the late 1960s when feminist activism remerged (Chafetz, 1990), the impact is incredible as most would conform to the stereotypical roles of how to be a woman (feminine) and how to be a man (masculine). To understand the interplay of gender roles through feminist theories, there are various theories dealing with gender relations developed by feminist scholars. In her book, Chafetz (1990) stated that coercive theories emphasised the importance of capitalism and patriarchy systems in sustaining gender inequality. The focus of capitalism is maximising profits by employing cheap labour. In this case the cheap labour and low wage workers is designated towards women. In this system which adhere to patriarchy ideology, women are primary defines as mother meaning that it is their commitment to do unpaid laborious domestic and family chores, while men are define as the primary family breadwinners who can fully concentrate on their pay employment outside the homes producing maximum value for capitalism. The gender wage gap favouring men, support capitalism and maintain women's economic dependence on men, and thus also maintaining family institution and society. In

return women as wives provide services in the homes to their husbands who are income earners of the family. As household consumers, women too support capitalism. Patriarchy ideology that supports women as mothers and men as the breadwinners is a win-win solution for men as men have the best of both worlds, work status and high paying income from the labour market as well as domestic services provided by the wives in the domestic sphere.

In her theoretical framework, Chafetz (1990) analysed how feminist theories operate in the macro, mezzo and micro level. She stated that the above theory operates at the macro level. She also relates how theory at the macro and micro level relate to each other. Exchange theory explain how gender inequality produced at the macro level influences direct gender relations between men and women specifically between husbands and wives at the micro level. The exchange theory argues that in sustain relationship between a man and a woman, each would have to contribute to the other approximately equal values. Unfortunately at the macro level, men have more access to valuable economical resources which then makes women more depended on them. In exchange, women would then serve and compliance to men. Because husband has more access to valuable resources, husband has more power than his spouse and thus would exercise his power and leadership role in the household.

Both of the above theories can be categorised as the male-breadwinner and female-caregiver model oriented towards the traditional gendered division of work where the emphasise on childcare is placed upon mothers, strong inequality in work-family balance and the labour market, as the public sphere is dominated by males and domestic sphere by females. In explaining how a society would reach equality in both the public and domestic sphere, the gendered divisions of labour evolution documented and established by a British Sociologist Rosemary Crompton (1999, cited in Gornick and Meyer, 2009) and modified by Gornick and Meyers (2009, Figure 1.1: 15, see Figure 3) can clearly define the stages. In this module the gendered division of labour is divided into four stages:
1. Male-breadwinner – female-caregiver;
2. Dual-earner – female part-time caregiver;
3. Dual earner state-caregiver or dual-earner – marketized-caregiver;
4. Dual-earner – dual-caregiver.

To understand the transition between each stage, the status of gender equality and how institutions functions is described, each gendered divisions of labour in each of the stages would then be evaluated against three main important areas of concern: parents' time with children; work-family balance and gender equality in the labour market.

Ideally every society would implement the dual-earner/dual caregiver where both women and men have equal opportunity in the labour market, can tailor their work time schedule according to family's needs and where both husband and wife shared the burden of caring and conducting domestic duties. Nevertheless the dual-earner/dual-caregiver stage would be very difficult to achieve to some extend even in the most developed countries. With the global economic recession, would employers enforce work policy that is flexible for workers who have small children? How would employers maximised the economic capital and how would families juggle between work and family in the 24 hours competitive labour market economy?

Figure 3. Gendered Division of Labour

Studies in Australia have focused on juggling between work and family and its impact on mental health and well being (Strazdins et al. 2007; 2006a; 2006b; 2004; Strazdins and Bammer 2004). Studies results showed that women in full-time job suffer psychologically in trying to juggle between work and family. In regard to physical and mental health, as well as in time pressure and family relationships, father performed worst when they are not employed and performed best when they are in full-time employment. This is the direct opposite with mothers as they performed worst when they are in full-time employment in trying to juggle between work and family. Mothers in part-time employment have better physical and mental health as well as being able to cope with work-family issues (Baxter J., Gray M., Alexander M., Strazdins L., and Bittman M.). But can they actualise their career development maximally? Mothers may also tailor their job search locality to suit with family condition and making them less mobile; limiting their work opportunities with only family- friendly employers (Gangl and Ziefle, 2009); and might be missing out on opportunity cost when they try to renter full time employment.

In his gender equity theory, McDonald (2000a and 2000b), emphasised that movement to gender equity is much more rapid in the public sphere than in the private or domestic sphere. In this case women can only achieve at a high level in the public sphere only if they are supported in the private sphere. Subsidised, affordable and quality childcare, work-family friendly workplace, maternal and paternal paid leave and child benefit policies are some examples of policies that need to be in place if gender equity in the labour market would want to be achieved. Society would also be brought to an understanding about the importance of the state responsible to produce quality children and that children are not solely the responsibility of parents as they would be the next generation running the nation's economy and development. Incoherence between the public and domestic spheres leads some women not to marry or to have children and it can also lead to marriage breakdown. A condition that can disturb marriage and family institutions, the basis of our society.

The Indonesian gendered divisions of labour: public and domestic sphere

In Indonesia, the public sphere is moving increasingly towards progressive gender equity. This is demonstrated as mentioned earlier by policies and laws established relating to women's empowerment; increasing women's education and labour force participation in both national bureaucracy and private business; and women leaderships and political roles in none female stereotype fields. Nevertheless the progress of change in the domestic sphere is not as progressive as compared to the public sphere as the breadwinner model where father is financially responsible for his family wellbeing and mothers being the domestic manager and responsible for the well being and development of the children is still the norm. The breadwinner model is also strongly supported by the Islamic norms, values and beliefs and supported by the domestic portrayals of women in the society through Indonesian printed media, films and soap operas.

Market advertisements related to the domestic sphere is strongly targeted, demonstrated and used by women. For example advertisement on cooking products; household products and detergents; baby formula and vitamins for children, special formula for pregnant mothers, milk for women over 50 years old as well as family planning advertisements. To compliance to males' need of female beauty, the market produced hundreds of advertisements on female beauty products and cosmetics; skin whitening solution and creams; *jamus* for the vagina and beauty salons to maintain silky facial skin and slim body;

women's magazines both popular and specifically for Muslim women with *haute couture* fashion for the elite market and fashion combining the use of headscarf and professional female working outfit (Hoesterey, 2008); the beautification of female Muslim head scrafs with lots of fashion flowers and jewelleries, Muslim accessories and attires.

Indonesian films and soap operas portray strong domestic roles for women and rewarded feminine characteristics of female roles. Exaggerations of femininity is demonstrated having female characterisation as weak and demonstrating emotions with lots of tears, passive, indecisive, subordinate to men, experiencing a lot of domestic problems and struggling to make ends meet for the family survival. Nevertheless females are also portray as being aggressive and mean toward others especially women and the girl child; lower economic status girl child, step daughter, mother in-law and discriminative towards daughter in-law. In Witt's US base study (2000) on "The influence of television on children's gender role socialisation", highlighted that children who are exposed to television viewing of female characterisation of being weak, indecisive and subordinate to man, and who also see these characteristics among females in their daily life encounters would likely believe that females should behave this way. On the other hand positive and strong males portrayal in Indonesian films and soap operas illustrated men as being the head of the household, income earner, protector and provider of the family, decision makers, social and religious leaders in the society, leading in neighbourhood watch (*ronda malam*), participate in neighbourhood clean-up and maintenance (*kerja bakti*) and very mobile in their action. In Indonesia, men are described more positively compared to women. The portrayal of male superiority characters are also described in other countries, for example America. Moreover, it is staggering that male characters still dominate television, movies, and other media for young children. This was concluded by Kelly and Smith (2006: 10) from analysing 101 G-rated US films released from the 1990s till early 2000.

The strong traditional gender roles continuously delivered by the society, religious institutions, and the media have made women to be trapped of trying to be *Every*thing to *Every*body as Hariet Braiker (1987) identified as a ***Type E woman.*** By multitasking and trying to excel of being the caregiver of the family, extended family and the society, working in paid jobs, grooming and maintaining her beauty and be everything to everybody, woman bears the consequences on her physical and mental health. As the demands made by the family, society and work increases, women have to continuously struggle with the ***time pressures***. Most often working women would be in a continuous conflict stage of no win situation. If she decided to concentrates and prioritises on her career, she feels guilty of not dedicating herself to her family. In contrast if she prioritises and dedicates her time for her husband or boyfriend or children she would loose her opportunity for career development and advancement (Braiker, 1987: 1).

The Indonesian gender situation can relate strongly to the imbalance progress of gender equity in public and domestic spheres. Due to the stagnation and no progress of gender progressive roles and norms in the domestic sphere, women participation in the public sphere is not optimum as women are still carrying the double burden and pressed with time pressure. For women who are lucky enough to have support from their extended family or having domestic helpers and baby sitters to take over their responsibilities while their working outside the home, their success is supported by other women as well but not by men, as extended family member/s and domestic helpers conducting childcare responsibilities are girls and women.

The stereotyping of gender roles in both public and domestic spheres are clearly found in the textbooks that we analysed, in Bahasa Indonesia, English Language, Science, Social Sciences, Islamic Religion and Sport and Healthy Living books. Though the severity of gender depiction varies from one field to the others as well as by the level of the books, either whether the book is for primary or secondary education.

The Handbook for Achieving Gender Equity through Education edited by Klein et al. (2007), very deeply analysed how gender equity can be achieved in and through school. The importance of how education through school can have a great impact on students' gender identity as well as achievement, strategies and practices for promoting gender equity from early through postsecondary education is well documented using very comprehensives studies and literatures. The importance of early childhood education on the formation of gender identity and expectation as well as the development of the whole child is elaborated. Through interaction with mother, father, other relatives or caregivers, teachers, peers, socioeconomic status, cultural and religious norms and ethnicity as well as interaction in play influence children's sets of expectations, how they should think, act, and feel with respect to what is gender-appropriate (Robinson &Diaz, 2006, cited in Klein et al., 2007:610).

Preliminary findings: Depiction of gender roles and norms in the Indonesian school text books

The following Figure 4 demonstrates the 85 school textbooks that we have analysed by the publisher of the books. In total we have analysed books from 15 publishers, having two dominant publishers of Yusdhistira (22.64 %) and Erlangga (18.87 %). These two publishers are quite popular and the books published by them is relatively affordable. Publishers used standard curriculum design developed by the Department of National Education and Culture, but the content of the book varies, some as can be seen later in the analysis described the content in detail, used fine quality papers, printing and colour photos, while others do not have such high quality. The quality materials that the books used would then determined the price of the books which in general can cost ranging from A$ 3 to A$ 8.

Figure 4   Books by publishers, Indonesia, 2007
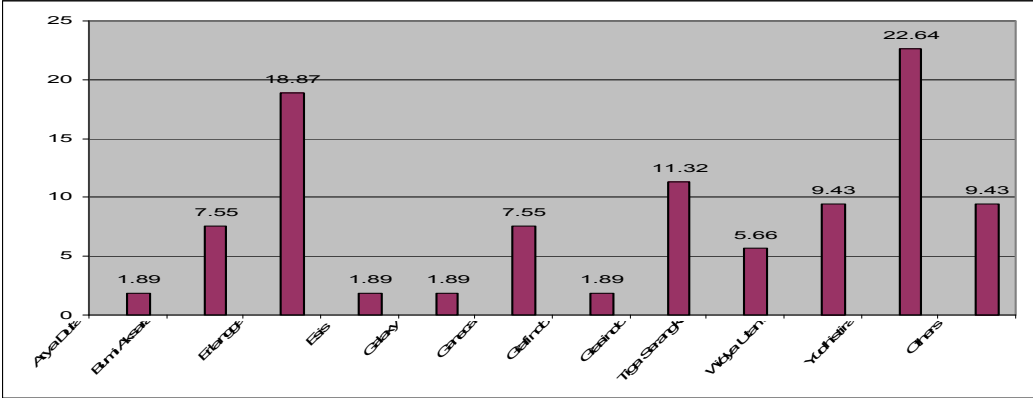
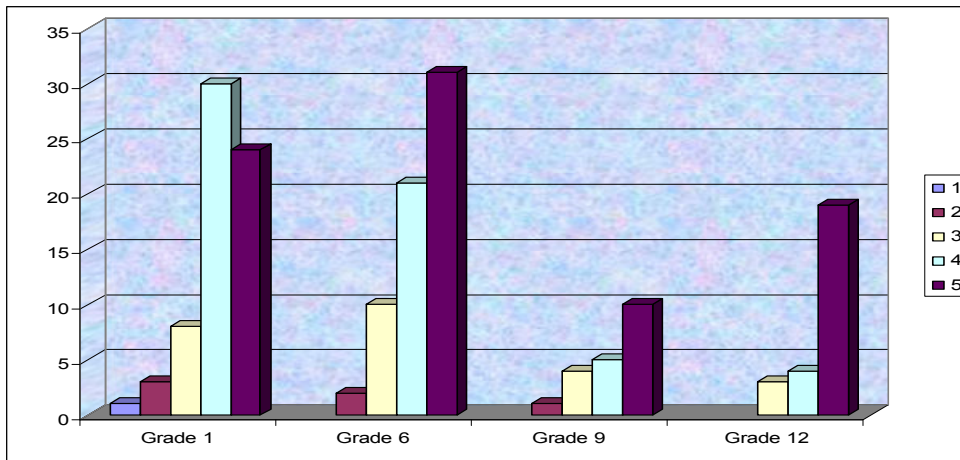Source: The 2008 Indonesian gender and reproductive health textbook analysis project

Figure 5. Depiction of public sphere in primary and secondary textbooks, *Bahasa Indonesia*, English, Science and Biology, Social Sciences, Islamic Religion, and Sport and Healthy Living, 2009
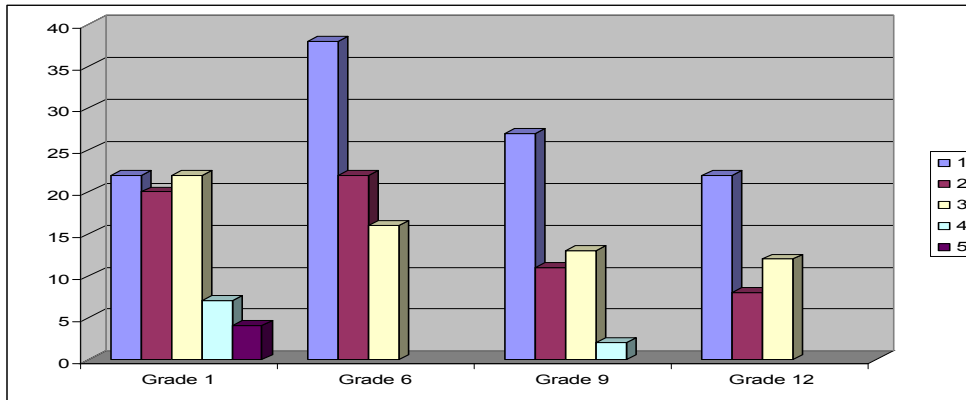
Source: The 2008 Indonesian gender and reproductive health textbook analysis project
Note: Left to right, male dominated (score of 1/dominated by males and 2/mostly males) to female dominated (score of 4/mostly female and 5/dominated by females), score of 3 refers to gender equity.

Figure 6. Depiction of domestic sphere in primary and secondary textbooks, *Bahasa Indonesia*, English, Science and Biology, Social Sciences, Islamic Religion, and Sport and Healthy Living, 2009

Source: The 2008 Indonesian gender and reproductive health textbook analysis project
Note: Left to right, male dominated (score of 1/dominated by males and 2/mostly males) to female dominated (score of 4/mostly female and 5/dominated by females), score of 3 refers to gender equity.

Public Sphere: male domination

Figure 5 and 6 illustrate gender depiction of the textbooks in public and domestic spheres. As hypothesed, the public sphere is described as having moved more progressively compared to the domestic sphere. As we can see from the bar chart in Figure 5, public sphere defined as having job outside the homes is more depicted as male dominated especially in grade 6 with the highest depiction, and significantly lower in grade 9, 12 and 1. In contrast female role in public sphere though lowly noted can be seen in grade 1 and to a lesser degree in grade 9 (light green and purple bars). Depiction of gender equity in public sphere decreases as the school grade increases (yellow bars).

The following pictures are some of the examples of illustrations used in the textbooks. The first photo is Mr. Iskandar invited to give a talk at his son's school, Mr. Iskandar worked as a marketing staff at the state own telecommunication office in Jakarta (TELKOM) and he is explaining about his work, about telephone, facsimile, and e-mails (Nurcholis and Mafrukhi, 2007: 11). The big question that should be raised is that why should the example be Mr. Iskandar as there are many women who also work in the marketing field. The portrayal of male working in offices and as breadwinner can be stated as consistent through out the books. The second and third photos are males medical doctor. With Picture 2, the students are instructed to write a text about what the medical doctor is briefing and read the text in front of the class. Interestingly those who listen to the doctor's briefing is all mothers—an extension of female traditional role of looking after the health of her family (Darisman, M. et al. 2007: 92). Picture 3 describes Dr. Heru examining his patient, hence, here again taking children to see the doctor is also females' role (Darisman, M. et al. 2007:5).

Picture 4 through 7 depicted females working as professionals which is under represented. Nevertheless female professionals representation in this case is very progressive as they are working as dentist; scientist; office staff and news reader. Ideally representation of females and males working together in an office setting as portrayed in Picture 8 (similar to Picture 5), should be more included in text books.

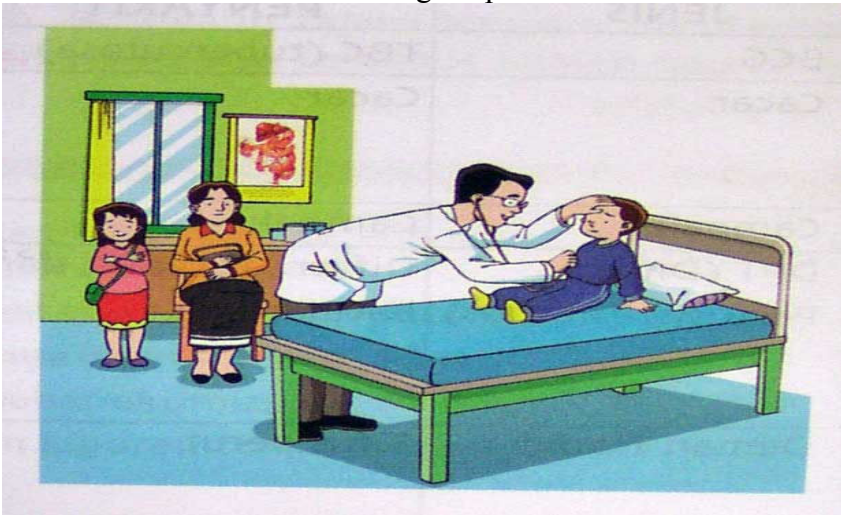Picture 1. Mr Iskandar, Anto's father invited to give a talk on telecommunication at his school
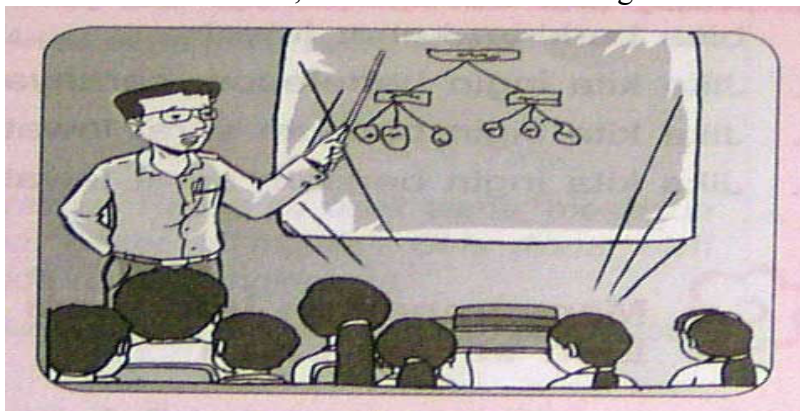
Source: Nurcholis and Mafrukhi, 2007:11.

Picture 2. Male doctor briefing mothers

Source: Darisman, M. et al. 2007a:92

Picture 3. Male doctor examining his patient

Source: Darisman, M. et al. 2007:5

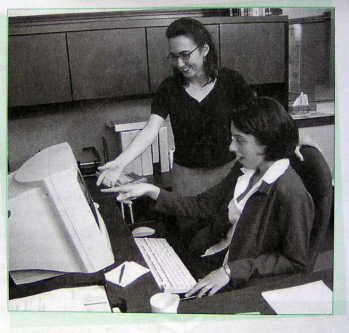Picture 4. Female dentist examining her patient

Source: Panut et al., 2006:9

Picture 5. Female scientist working with her co-male scientist

Source: Kadaryanto et al., 2007:145

Picture 6. Professional females' office staff

Source: Sudarti and Grace, 2007:78

Picture 7. Female news reader

Source: Sudarti and Grace, 2007:158.

Picture 8. Female and male professionals working in an office

Source: Hardiyanti, A. 2006: 75.

Domestic Sphere: Women's and Girl's Duties

Figure 6 demonstrates who are more described as conducting domestic chores including: cooking and washing clothes; house cleaning; groceries shopping; looking after the sick - children and elderly; caring of children; and taking children to the doctor or dropping children to school. As expected domestic duties are dominated by female, with the highest stereotyping demonstrated in grade 6 and 1(light green and purple bars). Male participation in the domestic sphere is lowly represented in grade 1, 6 and 9 (light purple and red bars), in this case, grade 1 demonstrating the highest male participation. Depiction of gender equity in the domestic sphere (yellow bars) is much lower compared to the public sphere, with highest represented in grade 6 and lowest in grade 12.

Picture 9, transferring stereotypical domestic roles from grandmother to granddaughter is presented in the text books, also messages about teaching granddaughter to care and served grandmother (Picture 10) and many other similar description and messages may have a positive and negative impact on learning about gender equity in conducting caring and domestic duties. Messages of descriptions about looking after the sick, mother and daughter looking after husband/father may have the same consequences (Picture 11). Positive because it may teaches children to look after aged person, negative because why is it emphasised that daughter and granddaughter is the one having this responsibility, son and grandson should also be included in serving and caring for parents and grandparents. The persistent of teaching domestic duties and passing it on to granddaughter underscore the difficulties encounter when trying to reform domestic sphere so that it is not targeted to women and girls only.

From the other photos (Pictures 12-18), strong messages provided in these pictures are very clear that female has to be responsible for cooking, washing, cleaning, and caring for the baby and children. Picture 14 is one of many descriptions about how males can have time relaxing over a cup of coffee or reading newspapers in contrast to no descriptions or photos of this sort of activities among women. Very strong gender equity messages in some of the photos are that father too can look after toddler (picture 12) and can work around the house (Picture 13, 15, 16, 17 and 18). Nevertheless representations of such photos and descriptions are not balanced compared to traditional gender roles of female domestication. Interestingly, consistently found in the text books is how cleaning inside the house and cleaning outside the house is divided strictly between women and girls compared to men and boys (Picture 16 and 17). Descriptions and photos of such can also strengthen the understanding of students that women and girls have more responsibilities within the domestic sphere.

From the analysis, it is noted that English books are quite progressive in delivering gender equality messages, for example Picture 19 stating that a boy can also make *gado*-gado, an Indonesian steam vegetables salad mixed with peanut sauce and Picture 20, where father and son prepared dinner and giving time to mother to relax. Nevertheless, very sadly as one would assumed that the stereotyping of having women cooking in the kitchen would not be used in Science book, Picture 21 demonstrates that scientific explanation can also use very traditional gender role module. Thus the progress of science and technology still linked to traditional domestication of female duties.

Social Leaderships and Technology: Description of Male Dominated

Figure 7. Text books content of social leadership, primary and secondary school, Indonesia, 2008
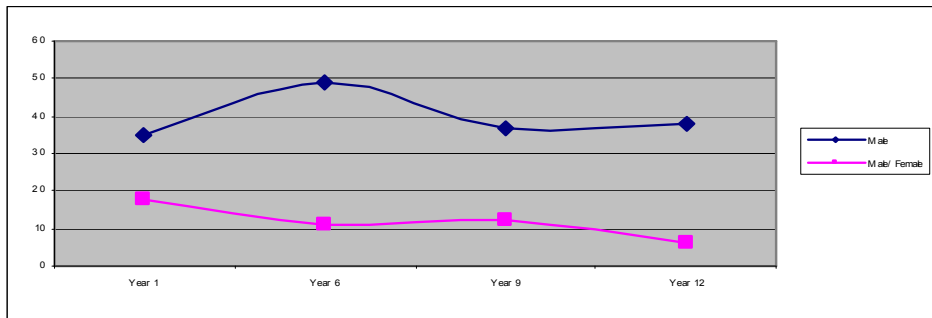

Figure 8. . Text books content on technology, primary and secondary school, Indonesia, 2008
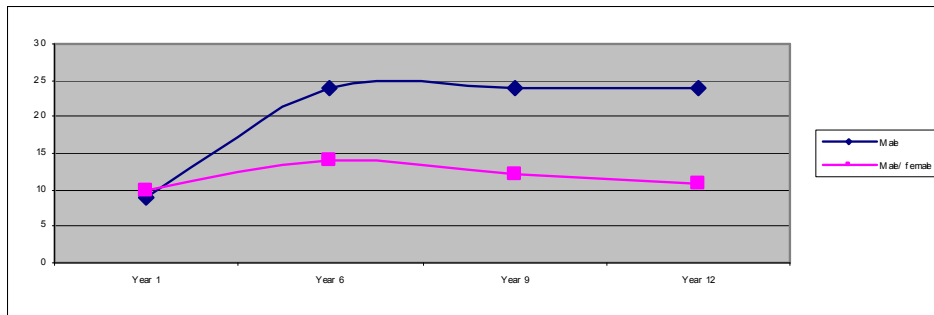

Figure 9. Text books content on art, primary and secondary school, Indonesia, 2008
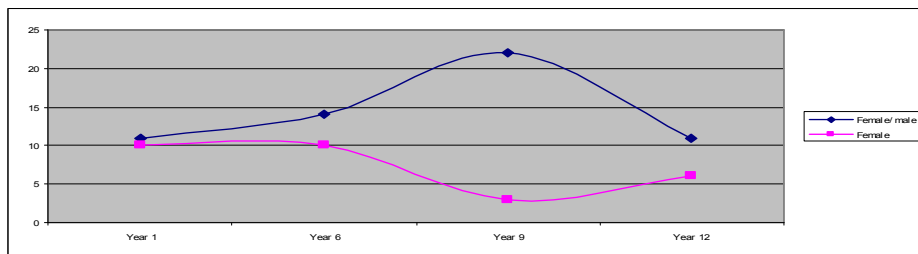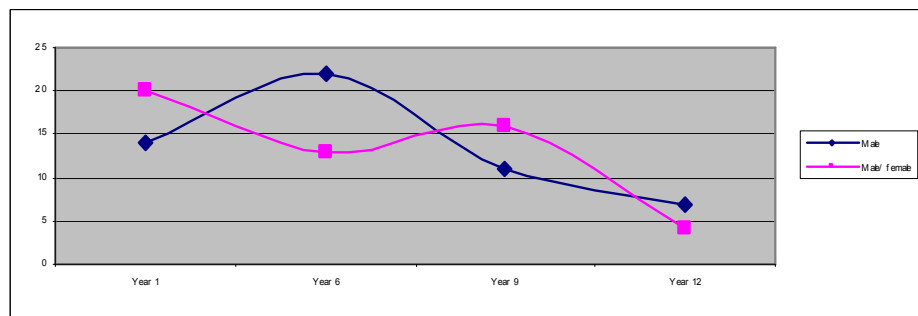

Figure 10. Text books content on environment, primary and secondary school, Indonesia, 2008

Source: The 2008 Indonesian gender and reproductive health textbook analysis project

Figure 7, 8, 9, and 10 represent the text books content on social leadership, technology, arts and environment. Questions asked: Are depictions of social leadership roles dominated by males? Is "Success" in technology predominated biased to males?; Is "Success" in arts predominately biased to females?; Are key roles in work in environment sustainability attributed mainly to males?. Answers to all of this question is fix, either "Yes" or "No" as our research team wanted to capture whether the content of the books depicted gender inequity when describing the above field.

As presented, in social leadership (Figure 7) and technology (Figure 8) there is no question that the text books described and depicted both role and field as dominated by males (blue lines). Though there are many female social leaders, women activists, politicians, previous president, ministers and bureaucrats as well as scientists who has received international award and female astronaut in Indonesia, these were under represented in the school text books that have been analysed. Portrayal of Indonesian females leadership in text books other than Kartini and Dewi Sartika, Indonesian pioneer feminists who fight for the right to education for girls and women empowerment, are Siti Padilla Safari (Ministry of Health-Picture 20) and Josepha Aleman (Papuan woman fighting against Freeport-Picture 21). International female leaderships and scientists are also under represented, among the few, a story about Rosaline Franklin who first made DNA photo from X rays was presented in one of the science text book (Picture 22).

The Field of Arts: More Male Representations

We hypothesed that the field of arts would be more represented by female, but in the text books representation of people in the field of arts (Figure 9) were more presented by males (blue line). Interestingly in the field of environment sustainability and maintenance (*kerja bakti*) (Figure 10), female were more represented in year 1 and slightly lower in year nine, while men were depicted as leading *kerja bakti* and with a peak of representation compared to other grades in year 6. In this case men were described in the books as conducting neighbourhood clean up and maintenances, cleaning the gutters, collecting garbage, fixing and making wooden bridges, while women were preparing and providing the drinks and foods for the men. Boys were also described as helping with the male tasks while the girls helped with the food preparations. Thus it can be noted that, traditional role of males working outside the homes even for voluntary and community type of work while females actively prepare for the foods and drink is persistently pass to the younger generation of boys and girls. To note, it is males' good deed contribution to the community that is underline and not females' voluntary work.
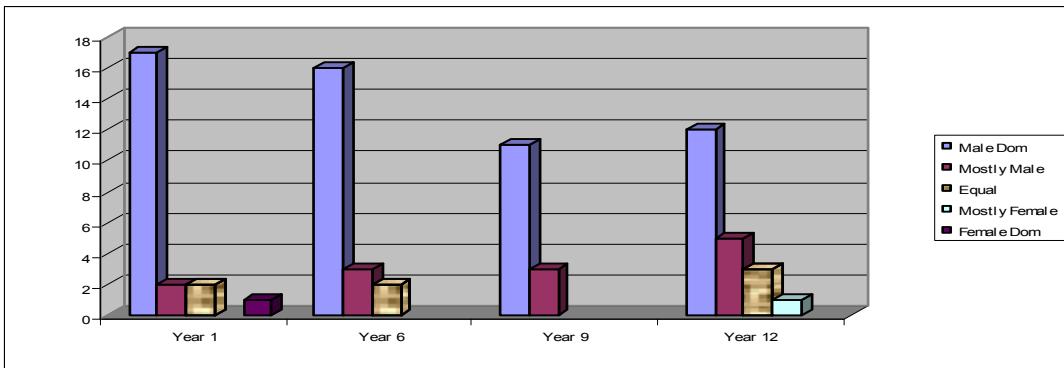
Perpetrators and Victims of Violent Behaviours: Moving Towards Gender Equity?

Figure 11. Text books content on violent behaviours, primary and secondary school, Indonesia, 2008
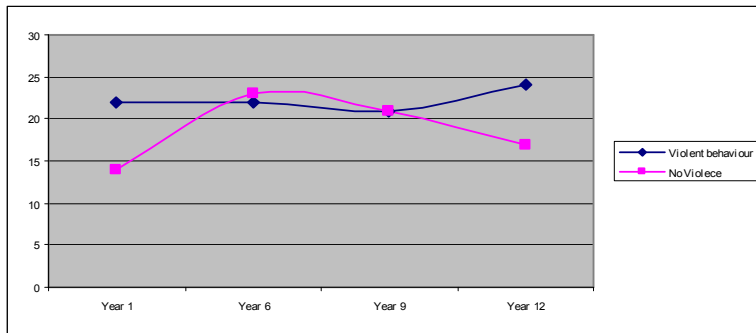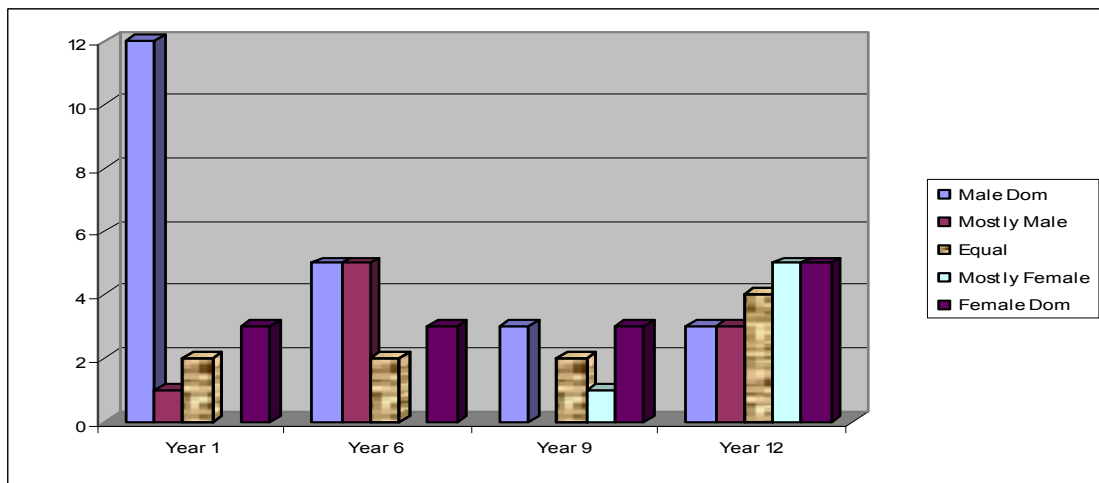

Source: The 2008 Indonesian gender and reproductive health textbook analysis project

Figure 12. Text books content of perpetrators of violent behaviour, primary and secondary school, Indonesia, 2008

Source: The 2008 Indonesian gender and reproductive health textbook analysis project

Figure 13. Text books content of victims of violent behaviour, primary and secondary school, Indonesia, 2008

Source: The 2008 Indonesian gender and reproductive health textbook analysis project

Figure 11, 12, and 13 illustrate how violent behaviours are presented or used in the text books. Violent behaviours are not highly presented in the books (the blue line in Figure 11). Though the peak of violent behaviour illustration was in year 12. Nevertheless violent behaviour represented in year 12 is positive because it relates to educating students about domestic violence, including child abuse. Data on violence against women was also presented. This move of including domestic violence in the text books is quite progressive as a few years ago domestic violence was not included in the curriculum. The perpetrators (Figure 12) and the victims (Figure 13) of the violent behaviours are dominated by men (light purple bars) as many illustrations show how boys were having fights with other boys. Though females victims were significantly lower compared to males, the highest representations was in year 12 (light green and dark purple bars), again this correspond with the introduction of domestic violence in the text books.

Conclusion)
Preliminary findings from the text books' analysis has demonstrated that text books from Year 1 to Year 12 are heavily gender biased even though, starting at Year 6, simple messages on sexual harassment and gender violence have been incorporated. Nevertheless elementary school books specifically portrayed stereotypical gender roles where women and girls are responsible for domestic duties while men and boys are depicted as responsible for chores outside the home. Men and boys are strongly portrayed doing voluntary public work (cleaning the neighbourhood, building village bridges and cleaning the gutter), while women are portrayed as preparing food and drink for the neighbourhood activity (*kerja bakti*) but no credit is given to women for performing these tasks. Men are the income earners while the emphasis for women is upon their caring roles, looking after the children, taking the children to the doctor/dentist (for immunization and when they are sick) as well as caring for the sick regardless of their age (children, aged parents).

National heroes included in social sciences text books are all men except one found in the English textbook (female Papuan who fought on environmental issues). Children's activities are also strongly segregated by gender where boys tend to be illustrated as being active in sports and playing with mechanical toys. Girls in contrast are illustrated as playing with dolls and teddy bears, celebrating birthday parties, liking art and active in musical exercises (*senam irama*). Intellectually, it is rare that girls are illustrated as leading in the field of science and technology. It is hypothesized that stereotypical gender roles can be unlearned and girls as well as women can be taught to be more autonomous if social institutions especially family environment, schools, religious institutions, the state and political environment are socializing gender progressive norms.

Overall, there is very little discussion of gender in the texts. Even where it might be appropriate to discuss gender relations in *Sociology, Islamic Religion* or *Bahasa Indonesia*, the authors ignore the issues of gender in their subjects. Yet at the same time, it seems that the authors have attempted to present women in photographs and drawings (with the notable exception of sport text books) and occasionally women are included in some of the descriptions of experts in science. By and large, however, there were few descriptions of women role models in most of the sociology, literature or religion books analysed.

Another problem that needs discussion is why so many of the texts use western photos for things that are just as common or relevant in Indonesia? To find so many western faces in the English texts may be thought of as reasonable (though not necessary), but when the books are about science, biology (eg the discussion of genetics), and social studies, it would be apropriate to make the effort to get more appropriate photos from across Indonesia.

Other important issues that need to be addressed are as follows:

First, there is a need to ensure that the social science texts in years 6, 9 and 12 have explicit gender content in ways that will promote critical discussion, practical content, and cross-cultural sensitivity. None of the books does justice to the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of Indonesian society, and the ways this forms particular gender issues needing resolution.

Second, while visual depiction of women in social roles is important, it is also important to ensure that children from different parts of Indonesia are able to identify with these role models. That means more use of Indonesian photographs instead of photos from America or Japan off the internet, more variety of social class images from across the archipelago, and more specific efforts to bring out the participation of women in sporting activities.

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Note: http://adsriit.anu.edu.au/indon/export is the Gender and reproductive health website where the module for analysis is stored and researchers can access and enter the analysis.

Attachment

Figure 1 Gender assessment module for primary and secondary school text books in Indonesia, 2008

Review Form for Analysis of School Textbooks

f Reviewer:

itle:

Eg. 1 SD, 6 SD, 9 SMP, 12 SMA):

Evaluation of	Value					
	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Gender content						
	Low			High		
1. Depiction of women and men in varied roles in pictures or photos is gender equitable						
2. Degree of equity in depiction of roles for women and men in narratives or stories						
3. use of gender-sensitive language to describe social institutions and roles						
4. Males and females are depicted as having gender neutral activities – ie not following stereotypes						
5. Boys and girls are depicted as working together with respect and cooperation						
6. Avoids stereotypes in depicting emotional lives of boys and girls						
7. Avoids stereotypes in portraying intellectual skills of boys/men and girls/women.						
Reproductive Health						
1. Contents reflect a clear understanding of the reproductive life including changes over age groups (signs of puberty, age for first pregnancy)						
2. Depiction of male and female reproductive and sexual life in a realistic fashion (eg. Equitable relationship, sexual relationship, bargaining power re. sex)						
3. Discussion of risk behaviour found in sexual behaviours in adolescence (eg. STDs, HIV/AIDS, drug, unwanted pregnancy)						
4. Age appropriate information on sexual behaviours						
5. Age appropriate information on reproductive health care						

Detailed comments on the book

Page: Example

Figure 2. Gender assessment module for primary and secondary school text books in Indonesia, 2008

Name of reviewer:
Type of school (public or religious):
Grade/level of school:
Curricula for school:
Author/s:
Year published:

	Looking at the overall content of the book						
No.		N/A	Male Dominated	Mostly Male Content	Equal	Female Dominated	Mostly Female Content
1.	Gendered social roles in **public sphere** dominated by one sex						
2.	Gendered social roles in **domestic sphere** dominated by one sex						
3.	Gendered roles (teachers, principals) in **educational institutions** (schools) dominated by sex						
4.	Gendered roles (students) in **educational institutions** (schools) dominated by sex						
5.	Are depictions of **social leadership** roles dominated/exclusively by males?	N/A		Yes		No	
6.	**Is "Success" in arts** predominantly biased to females?	N/A		Yes		No	
7.	**Is "Success" in technology** predominantly biased to males?	N/A		Yes		No	
8.	Are key roles in work on environmental sustainability atrritubuted to males?	N/A		Yes		No	
9.	Is there any depiction of violent behaviour in the book?	N/A		Yes		No	
10.	If yes to 9: Are gendered roles of perpetrators mainly male or female?	N/A		Yes		No	
11.	If yes to 9: Are gendered roles of victims mainly male or female?	N/A		Yes		No	
	Looking specifically at photos, pictures:						
12.	Do the photos or pictures depict **sex-biased participation in key social roles** or do they show **sex-equal participation** in roles?	N/A		Bias		Equal	

13.	Do depictions of **play** involve sex-based role expectations?	N/A		Yes		No	
14.	Is there a depiction of **sporting activities in photos or pictures?**	N/A		Yes		No	
15.							
16.	Is there depiction of **violent behaviour** in the photos or pictures?	N/A		Yes		No	
17.	If yes to 16: Are gendered roles of perpetrators mainly male or female?						
18.	If yes to 16: Are gendered roles of victims mainly male or female?						
19.	Are the gendered images of the **photos and pictures integrated** well with the text?	N/A		Yes		No	
20.	**Overall assessment of the gender content of the book:** on a 1 to 10 scale of **least to most gender equal**	Score					

Picture 9, transferring stereotypical domestic roles from grandmother to granddaughter

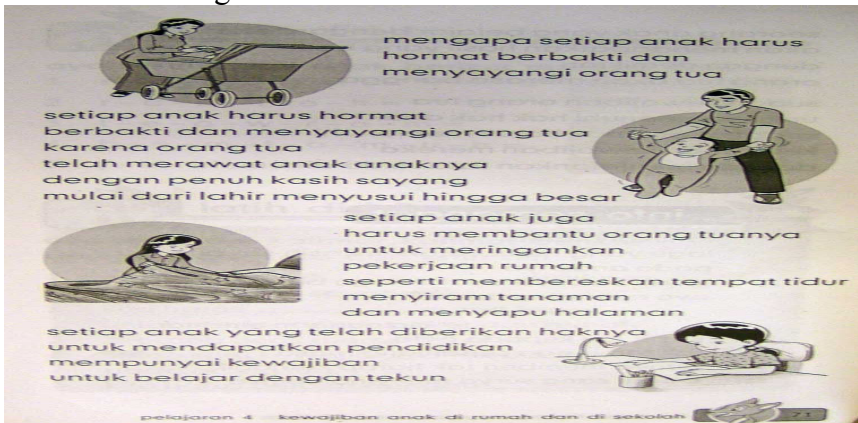Picture 10 Grandmother being served a cup of tea by granddaughter
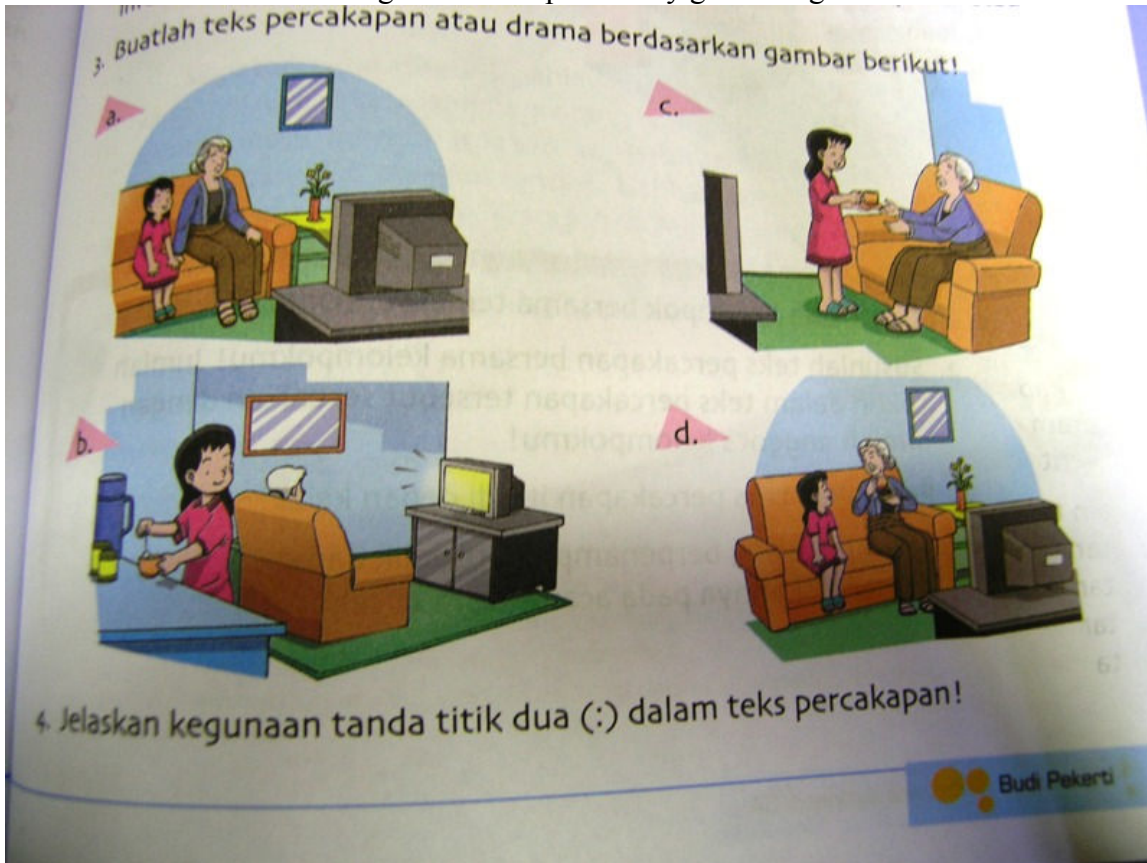
Source: Darisman, 2007a: 53.

Picture 11 Mother and daughter looking after the sick husband/father
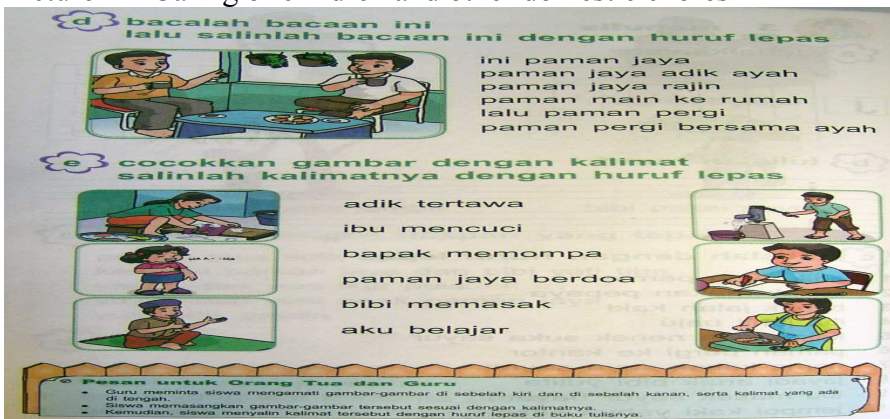
Picture 12 Caring of children chores I

Source: Lianawati, H. 2006. 71.

Picture 13 Caring of children and other domestic chores II

Source: Nurcholis and Mafrukhi, 2007: 115.

Picture 14 Caring of children and other domestic chores III

Source: Nurcholis and Mafrukhi, 2007: 84.

Picture 15 Domestic chores IV

Source: Rusmiyati et al. 31.

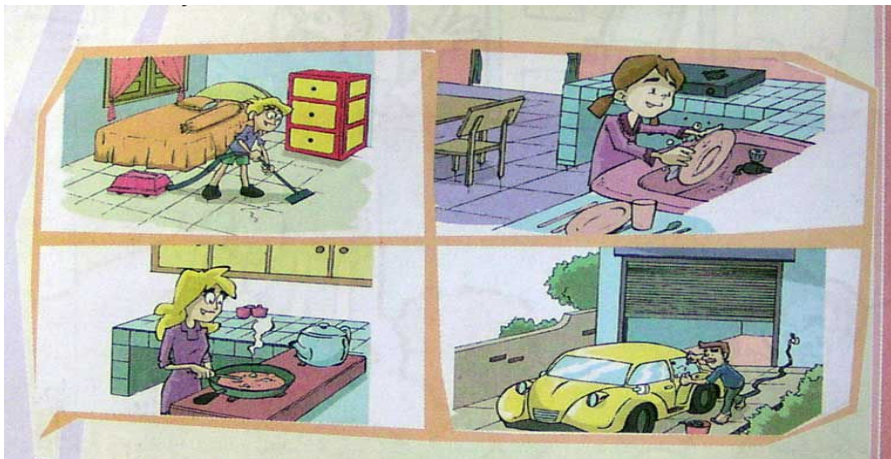Picture 16 Domestic chores IV

Source: Rusmiyati et al. 52.

Picture 17 Helping others, respect and domestic chores V

Source: Nurcholis and Mafrukhi, 2007:68.

Picture 18 Domestic chores VI

Source: Kurniawan, R. and Pratiwi, N., 2006: 60.

Picture 19 Progressive gender roles in domestic sphere

Source: Mukarto, 2007: 71.

Picture 20 Progressive gender roles in domestic sphere

Source: Mukarto, 2007: 78.

Picture 19 Explanation about sources of heat in Science textbook, female domestication in the kitchen, cooking as an example?

Source: Panut et. al. 2006, 49.