STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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HITTING OUR HEADS ON THE GLASS CEILING: WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

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THE PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN INDONESIA (1990-2008)

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Abstrak: *Partisipasi perempuan dalam kepemimpinan dan pengambilan keputusan dalam beragam sektor di Indonesia masih jauh berada di belakang kaum laki-laki. Situasi ini terus berlanjut, walaupun Indonesia telah mengalami pemilihan presiden perempuan, anggota parlemen perempuan, dan pengangkatan menteri-menteri perempuan. Pemilihan mereka melahirkan kesan bahwa perempuan memiliki akses yang sama dalam ruang publik, menolak keberadaan "langit-langit kaca" (*glass ceiling*) yang tak dapat ditembus.*

Artikel ini menggambarkan representasi perempuan dalam kepemimpinan dan pengambilan keputusan di madrasah dan perguruan tinggi Islam berdasarkan data dari dua aktivitas Learning Assistance Program for Islamic Schools (LAPIS): LAPIS-ELOIS (Equality of Learning Outcomes in Islamic Schools) dan LAPIS-PGMI (Teacher Education for Madrasah).

ELOIS adalah hasil kerja sama antara Pemerintah Indonesia, diwakili oleh Kementerian Agama (Kemenag), dan Pemerintah Australia, diwakili oleh AusAID di bawah LAPIS. ELOIS dirancang untuk meningkatkan kualitas madrasah swasta di Jawa Timur, Jawa Tengah, Nusa Tenggara Barat, dan Sulawesi Selatan, yang berjalan dari 2007 sampai 2010. ELOIS memiliki data mengenai 259 kepala sekolah madrasah, di mana jumlah kepala sekolah perempuan lebih tinggi dibanding laki-laki.

Harus dicatat di sini bahwa data tersebut tidak dapat secara langsung dikomparasikan dengan data kepala sekolah lintas provinsi (negeri maupun swasta) yang dimiliki Education Management and Information System (EMIS) Kemenag. Data ELOIS hanya meliputi sampel tertentu, dan ELOIS sendiri secara khusus menargetkan madrasah dengan percampuran pemimpin laki-laki dan perempuan.

Untuk guru, data ELOIS menunjukkan bahwa para guru di tingkat sekolah dasar, khususnya di madrasah ibtidaiyah, kebanyakan adalah perempuan. Namun,

data tersebut tidak sepenuhnya tepat. Proporsi terbesar guru perempuan dalam wilayah ELOIS hanya dapat ditemukan di Sulawesi Selatan, sementara di wilayah lain guru laki-laki lebih banyak.

PGMI juga merupakan sub-aktivitas LAPIS. Seperti ELOIS, PGMI adalah hasil kerja sama antara Pemerintah Indonesia, yang diwakili oleh Kemenag, dengan Pemerintah Australia, yang diwakili oleh AusAID di bawah LAPIS. PGMI didesain untuk meningkatkan kualitas madrasah swasta dengan mengembangkan kualitas lulusan yang akan bekerja di madrasah ibtidaiyah di masa depan.

Analisis tentang partisipasi perempuan dalam pelatihan pembangunan kapasitas PGMI menunjukkan jumlah perempuan yang lebih rendah dibandingkan laki-laki. Alasannya adalah bahwa untuk berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan PGMI, para pengajar diharuskan memenuhi sejumlah kriteria seperti staf full-time di dalam fakultas-fakultas terpilih. Analisis terhadap data yang ada dapat menjelaskan mengapa partisipasi perempuan lebih rendah dari pada laki-laki.

Kedua data ELOIS dan PGMI berguna untuk menggambarkan bagaimana status perempuan yang lebih rendah menghalangi kemampuan mereka untuk berpartisipasi dalam aktivitas-aktivitas yang akan meningkatkan karier mereka, seperti pelatihan peningkatan kapasitas perempuan. Aktivitas-aktivitas tersebut dilakukan menurut status, sehingga banyak perempuan tidak mampu mengakses peluang-peluang yang ada karena status mereka yang lebih lemah.

Inti permasalahannya sesungguhnya terletak dalam kebijakan yang tidak responsif gender. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa dengan mengidentifikasi strategi-strategi yang dapat mendukung peningkatan peran dan kapasitas perempuan, di antaranya regulasi pengarusutamaan gender dalam pendidikan, implementasi penganggaran yang responsif gender, kebijakan-kebijakan dan strategi-strategi yang menghentikan diskriminasi di tempat kerja, dan seleksi berdasarkan keunggulan di semua lapangan kerja.

Selain itu, lembaga-lembaga donor harus mengubah kebijakan mereka. Membatasi partisipasi untuk staf-staf dalam eselon tertentu akan mendiskriminasi perempuan. Tidak mungkin memang untuk melibatkan semua orang. Namun, jika perubahan tidak dibuat, perempuan akan selalu berada di luar peran-peran pengambilan keputusan. Sebagaimana ditunjukkan artikel ini, kebijakan affirmative action yang mempromosikan perempuan-perempuan yang potensial terbukti membantu perempuan untuk berkembang.

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خلاصة: مشاركة المرأة في القيادة وصنع القرار في مختلف القطاعات في إندونيسيا لا يزال بعيدا وراء الرجال. استمر هذا الوضع ، على الرغم من أن إندونيسيا شهدت الانتخابات الرئاسية أنثى ، ونواب النساء ، وتعيين وزيرات.اختيار الانطباع وتاريخ وصول المرأة على قدم المساواة في الأماكن العامة ، وتنكر وجود "السقف الزجاجي")السقف الزجاجي) التي لا يمكن اختراقها.

توضح هذه المقالة تمثيل المرأة في القيادة وصنع القرار في المدارس والجامعات الإسلامية استنادا إلى بيانات من النشاطين تعلم برنامج مساعدة للمدارس الإسلامية (اللازورد) : طبقة ELOIS (المساواة في نتائج التعلم في المدارس الإسلامية) وطبقة PGMI (معلم التربية والتعليم عن المدارس الدينية).

ELOIS هو نتيجة للتعاون بين الحكومة الإندونيسية ، ممثلة في وزارة الشؤون الدينية (Kemenag) ، والحكومة الأسترالية ، التي تمثلها المعونة الأسترالية تحت اللازورد. تصميم ELOIS لتحسين نوعية المدارس الإسلامية خاصة في جاوا الشرقية وجاوى الوسطى ، وغرب نوسا تينجارا وسولاويسي الجنوبية ، التي تدير ٢٠٠٧ حتى ٢٠١٠. ELOIS لديها بيانات عن ٢٥٩ مدرسة مديري المدرسة ، حيث بلغ عدد مديرات أعلى من الرجال.

وتجدر الإشارة هنا إلى أن هذه البيانات لا يمكن المقارنة المباشرة مع مديري المدارس البيانات فيما بين المحافظات (العامة والخاصة) التي تملكها إدارة التربية والتعليم ونظام المعلومات (نظام إدارة معلومات التعليم) .ELOIS Kemenag البيانات لا تغطي سوى عينة معينة ، وخاصة قادة ELOIS تستهدف على وجه التحديد من المدارس مع الاختلاط بين

الرجال والنساء.

للمعلمين، وأظهرت بيانات ELOIS أن المعلمين في المرحلة الابتدائية ، لا سيما في المدرسة المدرسة الابتدائية ، معظمهم من النساء. ومع ذلك ، فإن البيانات غير صحيحة تماما. لا يمكن إلا أن أكبر نسبة من المدرسات في المنطقة يمكن العثور عليها في جنوب سولاويزي ELOIS، بينما في المناطق الأخرى المعلمين الذكور أكثر من ذلك.

PGMI هو أيضا نشاط دون طبقة. كما PGMI،ELOIS هو نتيجة للتعاون بين الحكومة الاندونيسية ممثلة Kemenag ، مع الحكومة الأسترالية ، التي تمثلها المعونة الأسترالية تحت اللازورد. تصميم PGMI لتحسين نوعية المدارس الإسلامية خاصة مع النامية نوعية الخريجين الذين سيعملون في المدرسة الابتدائية في المستقبل.

وأظهر تحليل لمشاركة المرأة في التدريب وبناء القدرات PGMI انخفاض عدد النساء أكثر من الرجال. والسبب هو أنه من أجل المشاركة في أنشطة PGMI ، يطلب من المعلمين لتلبية معايير معينة مثل العاملين بدوام كامل في الكليات المحددة. تحليل البيانات الموجودة ليشرح لماذا مشاركة المرأة في أقل من الذكور.

كل البيانات و PGMI ELOIS مفيدة لتوضيح كيفية انخفاض مركز المرأة تعيق قدرتها على المشاركة في الأنشطة التي من شأنها تعزيز مسيرتهم المهنية ، مثل التدريب لبناء قدرات المرأة. ويقوم بهذه الأنشطة وفقا للحالة ، بحيث كثير من النساء غير قادرين على الوصول إلى الفرص المتاحة بسبب حالة ضعف هم.

جوهر المشكلة يكمن في الواقع في السياسات التي لا تستجيب لنوع الجنس. هذه المقالة يخلص إلى أنه من خلال تحديد الاستراتيجيات التي يمكن أن تدعم زيادة دور وقدرات المرأة ، بما في ذلك تنظيم إدماج المرأة في التعليم ، وتنفيذ سياسات تستجيب بين الجنسين ، ووضع الميزانيات والاستراتيجيات اللازمة لوضع حد للتمييز في مكان العمل ، والاختيار على أساس التميز في جميع الوظائف.

وبالإضافة إلى ذلك ، يجب أن الوكالات المانحة تغيير سياساتها. يحد من مشاركة للموظفين في مراتب معينة من شأنه أن تميز ضد المرأة. ومن المستحيل حقا أن نشرك الجميع. ومع ذلك ، إذا لم يتم إجراء تغييرات ، وستكون المرأة دائما خارج أدوار صنع القرار. كما يتضح من هذه المادة ، وسياسات العمل الإيجابي التي تعزز من إمكانيات المرأة معروضة لمساعدة النساء على تطوير.

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Hitting our Heads on the Glass Ceiling: Women and Leadership in Education in Indonesia

Women's participation in leadership and decision making in various sectors in Indonesia is still far behind that of man. This situation continues despite the election of a female President, female members of parliament, and the appointment of female ministers. Their election creates the impression that women have equal access to the public space, and in so doing denies the existence of the mostly impenetrable 'glass ceiling.' The election of a female president in 2001 did not result in major advances for women. Feminists regard President Megawati insensitive to gender issues and unable to see how often privilege is conferred based on family connections, social glass, gender, and membership of the dominant cultural and social groups.

Asian nations are proud of their 'Asian values' and this is often used as an excuse to fail to fulfill international human rights standards. That there is some progress towards the achievement of these standards is because of the existence of cultural aspects but not due to the acceptance of universal principles.[1] Many Asian nations are very proud that they have more female political leaders than Western countries. The leadership of women such as Indira Gandhi Nehru, Benazir Bhutto, Begum Khalidah Rahman, Corazon Aquino, Megawati Soekarnoputri, and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo has often been the result of social factors such as marriage into families with sound political credentials or being the daughter of such political figures as Soekarno, Nehru, and Bhutto. Thus, the existence of these female leaders has become more of a hindrance than an inspiration towards women's improved participation in public and political life because their leadership was based on maintaining the status quo rather than challenging it. Their life experiences are far removed from that of the typical Asian woman.

Despite the election of a female president in Indonesia, in 2004, it ranked 80th out of 140 countries on the Gender Development Index (GDI) (United Nations Development Program 2007-2008).[2] Women may live longer than men, but their literacy level is 92.3% of that of men; they do not have the same access to education with participation at 95.5% of that of men at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels; and maternal mortality is still around 300 per 100,000 births. Women's income is half of that of men (0.46%), although their participation in the labor force is almost the same.[3] Women are clustered in stereotyped occupations while men are involved in decision-making, leadership, and managerial tasks from the highest to the lowest levels.[4]

Indonesia ranks low on the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) that measures levels of political, public, and economic participation. This is largely due to poor representation of women in decision-making.5 Participation of women in legislative and executive bodies has also not yet reached the lowest level of 305 as proclaimed by the United Nations. Results of the 2004 General Election show significant gaps in legislative representation, with women only occupying 9.7% of the parliamentary seats compared to men who dominate the house of People's Advisory Assembly (MPR) by 90.3%. The situation is mirrored in the House of People's Representative (DPR), with a composition of female and male representatives 8.8%: 91.2% respectively. In the Supreme Court (Mahkamah Agung), women's position is slightly better, although still far from ideal. There are 8 female Supreme Court judges and 39 male ones (17%:83%). In the recent elections, we have witnessed increased awareness of women voters because according to the 2008 Election Law, women make up the highest proportion of the electorate. The Ministry of Women's Empowerment, Non-Government Organizations (NGO's), and Muslim women's organizations such as Muslimat-NU and Aisyiyah have actively been encouraging political parties to meet the 30% quota of women candidates through affirmative action strategies.

The higher the rank in the civil service, the greater the gender gap.[6] In the New Order period, women only occupied symbolic posts in the cabinet, such as those of Minister of Women's Empowerment and Minister of Social Affairs. In the Reformation Era, there are four female ministers each with distinguished achievements in managing state issues. They are the Minister of Finance, Minister of Trade and Industry, Minister of Health Affairs, and Minister Women's Empowerment. There is also a

female Deputy Governor of the Bank of Indonesia (the central bank) and a female Chief Executive Officer of PERTAMINA (National Oil and Gas Company).

At all levels in the education sector, women occupy far fewer managerial positions than men. There are only three female presidents from the hundreds of universities, both state and private, including Islamic universities across Indonesia. Since the 1950s, there has only been one female president of a State Islamic Institute (IAIN), Prof. Dr. Andi Rasdiyanah at the IAIN Alauddin, Makassar. After her, there have been no female university presidents among the 40 state and hundreds of private Islamic universities/institutes. The State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga has developed a gender mainstreaming strategic plan since 2005, which was initiated by the Women's Study Centre. Strong and consistent commitment from the president and the senate of the university towards gender equality made a 'breakthrough' with the appointment of three female deans among seven deans (close to a 40% ratio).

It is within this context that the topic of women and leadership in Islamic education emerges as one in need of discussion. This paper begins by describing the present situation at the *madrasah* level in areas that participate in LAPIS-ELOIS activities and identifies the personal, cultural, and religious factors that contribute to women's under-representation in leadership and decision-making roles. Women's participation in leadership and decision making in Islamic universities involved in LAPIS-PGMI is discussed using data from consortium institutions. The range of factors contributing to the imbalance are discussed before turning to the policy issues that continue to contribute to gender disparity in leadership and decision making. The paper concludes by identifying some directions for action.

Women's Leadership in *Madrasah*: A snapshot

It is urgent to discuss women's leadership in *madrasah* since it has been proven that elementary and secondary education are effective venues to introduce social values. In institutions such as these, knowledge and values of tolerance, empathy, and respect for differences (in religion, ethnicity, social class, gender, and disability) can be taught. Ideally, schools, including *madrasah*, must demonstrate inclusivity within the school curriculum (overt curriculum) in school cultures oriented to social culture, politics, and the economical development of the community.[7]

Giroux's theories of education as articulated in *Theory and Resistance in Education*[8] cited in Hidayati, argues that hidden curriculum such as norms and values, and unconsciousness behaviors are gently transmitted through class interaction processes. The hidden curriculum emphasizes passive and obedient behaviors and attitudes in teacher-student interactions in classrooms, and in other aspects of school life such as interactions between school principals and committees. Management systems, organizational structures, recruitment, promotion/appointment, and delegation of duties can influence student perceptions and behaviors, including their perceptions and beliefs about gender roles and status.[9] Women's leadership is related to gender role socialization processes in the community and in these processes, schools are effective mechanisms for social reproduction.

A number of studies have been carried out into gender gaps in State Islamic Higher Education Institutions (STAIN) State Islamic Institutes (IAIN), and State Islamic Universities (UIN) management structures and these will be discussed further on using data from LAPIS-PGMI. The following section focuses on gender gaps in leadership and decision making prevalent in *madrasah*. Data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA)'s 2004 Education Management Information System (EMIS) in several regions shows the following situation in regions involved in LAPIS-ELOIS activities.

Table 1: Principals of *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* by sex (2004) (Public and private)

Region	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Yogyakarta	20	15.8	126	84.2	146	100
East Java	670	9.5	7.034	90.5	7704	100
West Nusa Tenggara	86	17.5	490	82.5	576	100
South Sulawesi	212	38.8	337	61.2	549	100

Source: EMIS MoRA RI, 2004

As illustrated above, in most locations less than 20% of the number of principals in *madrasah idtidayah* (primary level) are women with the exception of South Sulawesi where females comprise almost 40% of principal positions. Moving towards higher levels of education, the number of females in leadership and decision-making positions reduces further.

Table 2: Principals of *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* by sex (2004) (Public and private)

Region	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Yogyakarta	9	10.5	76	89.5	85	100
East Java	128	5.3	2.283	94.7	2411	100
West Nusa Tenggara	18	3.2	539	96.8	557	100
South Sulawesi	134	26.5	371	73.5	505	100

Source: EMIS MoRA RI, 2004

As shown in Table 2, the highest proportion of female *madrasah tsanawiyah* (junior secondary) principals is also in South Sulawesi with 26.5%, followed by Yogyakarta with 10.5%. In contrast, the lowest proportion is in West Nusa Tenggara with 3.2% and East Java with 5.3%. Some possible explanations for this specifically related to Bugis culture will be discussed below.

Leadership of Madrasah *participating in LAPIS-ELOIS*

Equality of Learning Outcomes in Islamic Schools (ELOIS) is the result of collaboration between the Government of Indonesia, represented by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the Government of Australia, represented by AusAID under the Learning Assistance Program in Islamic Schools (LAPIS). ELOIS is designed to improve the quality of private *madrasah* in East and Central Java, West Nusa Tenggara, and South Sulawesi, and will operate from 2007 to 2010. The ELOIS database provides information on 259 *madrasah* principals.[10]

Table 3: Number of *Madrasah* principals assisted by ELOIS-LAPIS (2007-2010) (Public and private)

Region	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Yogyakarta	1	16.6	5	83.3	6	100
Surabaya	11	21.5	40	78.4	51	100
Mataram	12	23.5	39	76.4	51	100
Makassar	18	35.2	33	64.7	51	100
Watampone	17	50	17	50	34	100
Malang	8	26.6	24	73.4	32	100
Semarang	7	25.9	27	74.1	34	100
Total	74		185		259	100

Source: LAPIS-ELOIS database, 2007

The ELOIS database shows higher numbers of female principals compared to the MoRA EMIS data and this is because ELOIS has specifically targeted *madrasah* with a mix of female and male leaders. Please note that the data are not directly comparable given that MoRA's database shows principals across the province (public and private), while ELOIS's database covers a specific sample. For example:

- Selection of assisted *madrasah* in Yogyakarta (Central Java) is based on 2006 earthquake victim *madrasah* data in Bantul. When ELOIS started, these six *madrasah* were led by male principals. However, during ELOIS, *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah al-Maarif Giriloyo* appointed a female principal for the first time.
- ELOIS assisted *Madrasah* in East Java might indicate some improvements over the period 2004-2007. MoRA EMIS data shows 9.5% of *madrasah ibtidaiyah* and 5.3% of *madrasah tsanawiyah* with female principals. It is unknown if improvements occurred because of authentic ranking due to the different timeframe between 2004 and 2007 or because the cities selected as program sites (Surabaya and Malang in East Java) have higher education averages compared to others, particularly in the 'horseshoe' regions of Jember to Banyuwangi (East Java).
- ELOIS-LAPIS requires gender equality at the *madrasah* management level and this also influenced the sample selection of assisted *madrasah*.

In any case, in all locations with the exception Watampone and Makassar (South Sulawesi), the chances of a woman becoming the principal of a *madrasah* are less than 30%. This is surprising since South Sulawesi is usually portrayed as a region with a strong patriarchal tradition and religiously conservative. Indeed, a comparison of the GDI and GEM for each of the provinces reveals the following information.

Table 4: GDI and GEM for LAPIS-ELOIS regions (2002)

Region	GDI Ranking	GEM ranking
Yogyakarta	2	4
East Java	19	7
NTB	29	20
South Sulawesi	15	23

Source: BPS, Bappenas & UNDP, 2004

Given the data above, Yogyakarta provides the best conditions for women. Women in South Sulawesi have a higher literacy rate compared to women in Yogyakarta, but females in Yogyakarta stay at school longer averaging 9 years compared to 7.3 years in South Sulawesi. Yogyakarta has significantly more female members of parliament (9.1% compared to 2.7%), yet South Sulawesi has far more women occupying senior official, managerial, and technical positions (46.2% compared to 37.4%). As foreshadowed earlier, culture appears to be an explanation for this situation and this will be discussed in more detail below.

Tachers of madrasah *in LAPIS-ELOIS*

It is generally assumed that most teachers in elementary education, particularly in *madrasah ibtidaiyah,* are women. This is not entirely correct. The largest proportion of female teachers in ELOIS regions can be found in South Sulawesi, while in other regions male teachers are in the majority, as seen as in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Population of *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* Teachers in 2004
(public and private)

Region	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Yogyakarta	666	46.2	775	53.8	1,441	100
East Java	31,336	37.4	52,269	62.6	83,605	100
West Nusa Tenggara	2,976	46.5	3,413	53.4	6,389	100
South Sulawesi	2,651	68.9	1,194	31.0	3,845	100

Source: MoRA EMIS Data, 2004

In Sulawesi, there are more female principals because there are also more female teachers and because of this, there are also more – 20 – female supervisors. In other regions, the percentage of male and female teachers is almost equal, except in East Java, where the percentage of female teachers is slightly higher than 30%, which is the desired minimum for women's participation in Indonesia.

Women and leadership in Islamic higher education

The participation of women in leadership and decision-making positions in Islamic higher education is the same as in the schooling

sector as a whole. Teacher Education in Madrasah (PGMI) is also one of LAPIS's sub-activities. Like LAPIS-ELOIS, LAPIS-PGMI is the result of collaboration between the Government of Indonesia, represented by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the Government of Australia, represented by AusAID under the Learning Assistance Program in Islamic Schools (LAPIS). LAPIS-PGMI is designed to improve the quality of private *madrasah* by improving the quality of teaching graduates who will be *madrasah ibtidaiyah*'s future employees. The analysis of the data about women participation in LAPIS-PGMI capacity building training reveals that fewer women than men were deriving benefit from the capacity building training LAPIS-PGMI provided.[11]

Figure 1: Total workshop participation by sex in LAPIS-PGMI February to January 2008
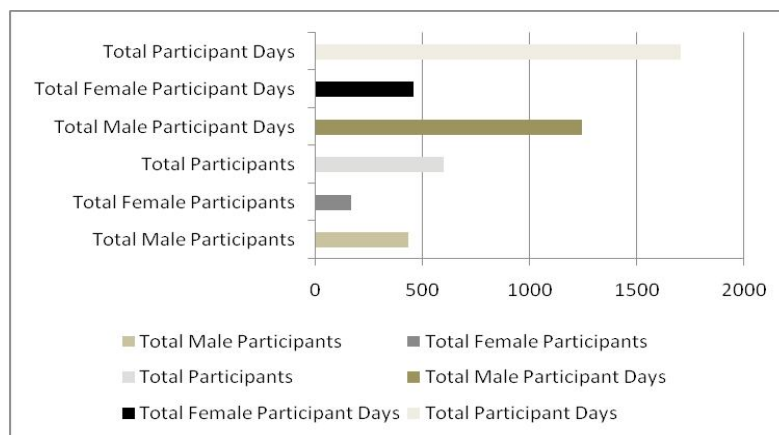
Source: Edwards & Wardani, 2008

Women not only participated less, they also participated fewer days. The reason for this was that in order to participate in PGMI activities, lecturers needed to fulfill a number of criteria such as being full-time staff members within selected faculties.[12] Management workshops included only participants who already had leadership and decision-making roles, and given women's lower status within the LAPIS-PGMI targeted institutions, their participation was, of course, very low as well. The above analysis of the data led to a survey of all the LAPIS-PGMI consortium institutions to discover why women participation was lower than that of men. The following table shows women's status within the LAPIS-PGMI consortium institutions.

Table 6: Status within LAPIS-PGMI consortium institutions by sex (2008)

		Sunan Ampel		UIN Makassar		UMUH Ponorogo		STAIN Ponorogo		IAIN Mataram		UIN Alauddin Makassar		UNISMA Malang		TOTAL	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Assistant Lecturer	IIIA	2	3	2	1	13	4	10	3	6	6	2	3	0	0	35	20
	IIIB	7	2	7	3	4	0	15	4	36	17	5	3	2	0	76	29
Lecturer	IIIC	12	4	16	4	2	0	16	9	18	2	8	5	2	0	74	24
	IIID	12	7	11	4	1	0	10	1	19	2	18	8	3	0	74	22
Head Lecturer	IVA	16	1	5	0	2	0	5	2	10	8	15	6	9	1	62	18
	IVB	11	1	0	0	0	0	6	1	6	1	11	1	0	0	34	4
	IVC	6	0	0	0	3	0	6	0	2	0	9	0	0	0	26	0
Head Teacher (Professor)	IVD	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	0	5	2
	IVE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	4	0
Total		67	18	41	12	25	4	68	20	98	37	75	27	16	1	390	119
Total staff		85		53		29		88		135		102		17		509	
% female		21.2%		22.6%		13.8%		22.7%		27.4%		26.5%		5.9%		23.40%	

Source: LAPIS-PGMI Data Dosen Institusi Konsorsium July-November 2008 in Edwards and Wardani (2008a)

A comparison of the participation data with the eligibility data shows that despite their low number, female participants' representation was higher than their proportional representation among eligible staff. This demonstrated that female staff members were eager to participate in activities to advance their careers.

Because women occupy low-level positions, the benefits they might derive from status, such as from participation in activities that will lead to seniority and subsequently to leadership and decision-making positions are limited as well. That is why new strategies are needed to ensure that women are given opportunities to participate in activities that may lead to career advancement.

As a result of the above, interviews were conducted with five prominent local feminists in an effort to understand some of the reasons for women's lower status within the consortium institutions.[13] The interview data are summarized below.

All respondents identified the patriarchal culture within the institutions as presenting a barrier to women's success. Male dominance in decision-making, masculine models of leadership and values, and the undervaluing of women as important participants in the decision-making process effectively blocked women's advancement within the institutions. Women have few opportunities to participate in capacity building trainings to

help them develop new skills. Women felt they were discouraged from aspiring to leadership roles because their culture places a higher value on women's domestic and caring roles. Islam was also seen to contribute to women's lower status within institutions and in the public sphere in general. In addition, lack of support from husbands and other family members restricted their ability to engage in leadership roles. Women's own aspirations were seen as holding them back as well because they were perceived to lack a vision for their futures.

Respondents saw that the Women's Studies Centres (PSW/PSG) played a key role as agents of change in their institutions. However, they are under-resourced and their status within each institution varies. Their capacity to lead change is therefore minimal. Each institution needs strong gender activists/focal points, and these people need to be linked to strong gender networks. Within the university, decision-makers' support was deemed necessary, while senates at institutional and faculty levels were seen as important in supporting gender equality and women's access to and participation in leadership and decision making. On a personal level, women need to be supported at home by their husbands including a more equitable sharing of domestic roles and responsibilities and attitudinal shifts for this were needed as well. An open-minded understanding of religion was seen as necessary too. Interviewees thought that women need to develop their skills to manage their emotions and their relationships and need encouragement to aspire to leadership roles within the universities.

Networking was seen to be of great importance to support women to aspire to leadership roles. Self-esteem, motivation building, management, organizational capacity, social marketing, effective participation, advocacy, women/gender in Islam, locating funding opportunities, and understanding grass-roots gender-based issues were identified as skills that women could develop to support their leadership capacities. Skills were also needed to manage conflict through specific capacity building training in interpersonal behavior and conflict management.

The LAPIS-PGMI Women and Leadership in Islamic Education National Summit was proposed as an outcome of the above analysis and represented a systematic approach to address the issues. A detailed examination of the key – personal, cultural, and religious – factors that contribute to women's under-representation in leadership and decision-making roles in Islamic education are discussed before turning to state policies as key factors in restricting women.

Factors that influence the Gender Gap in leadership and decision making in Islamic education

The gender disparity in leadership in *madrasah* is the same as elsewhere in higher education. Dzuhayatin records a chain of factors contributing to low levels of women leadership in IAIN/UIN/STAIN.[14] Leadership in education institutions requires a number of academic prerequisites. A similar problem can be found in *madrasah* where the rank and credit points of most female teacher's jobs are lower than those of men, except in South Sulawesi. Several internal factors (personal) and external factors (culture, religion, and government policy) influence women's low participation in leadership positions, both in higher education and in *madrasah*.

Internal and personal factors

There is a general perception that women lack the motivation to pursue their careers and to optimize available promotional opportunities. As was shown in the LAPIS-PGMI data above, women's participation in capacity building training exceeded their level of representation as eligible staff. However, Indonesian women are undeniably officially regulated around their roles as homemakers as stipulated in the State Guidance of 1984. The term 'state ibus'[15] succinctly captures women's position under the New Order Regime. Women are the central agents in stabilizing family life in order to strengthen the nation. Women are also believed not to want to occupy more senior positions than those of their husbands as this is believed to cause unhappiness within the marriage and a threat to the security and sanctity of family life. Rivalry between husband and wife should be avoided to prevent family breakdowns and eventually the dissolution of the community and the nation. The changing political regimes after the reformation movement in 1998 have not substantially changed this notion.

Women are also believed to lack confidence in their own leadership abilities and capacities.[16] Wahyuni, therefore, argues that women are reluctant to enter public life and senior positions because:

- of perceptions that politics and leadership are part of the men's world women are unwilling to join because they are full of intrigue and violence;
- many women do not like to join organizations;

- women do not optimally use their potential, preferring domestic/ household tasks;
- women lack confidence and are not mentally and psychologically prepared to enter the policy and decision makers' world.[17]

What the above arguments share is that their own characteristics are responsible for women's failure to advance, rather than being the result of socialization processes, social reproduction, and social constructions of gender as well as systematic and structural gender bias.[18]

Cultural factors

In anthropology, culture is defined as a '*way of life*' of a community (group of people) including a shared set of knowledge and values such as those related to the roles, value, and status of women and men. Indonesian culture is generally regarded as patriarchal and patrilineal, although a few ethnic groups in Indonesia are considered to be matrilineal. In patriarchal cultures, masculinity and male traits are at the centre of social norms, including in lines of kinship, inheritance, leadership, and power. In matrilineal societies, women are at the center of social norms with requisite advantages.

The problem Indonesian women face is that while modernization offers equal access and participation, cultural norms have not evolved or developed accordingly. Walby reminds us that patriarchal culture does not completely disappear when public access and participation are open for women, but patriarchy will seek formats to control women.[19] When women enter the public sector, patriarchal culture keeps women's domestic domain under its control. This argument is supported by others such as Peggy Antrobus, and field researchers like Wahyuni.[20]

Antrobus argues that the socialization of patriarchy as an ideology lies at the centre of the creation of the asymmetrical relations between men and women. It operates in both the domestic and the public domains. Early socialization starts 'in the households and continues to be reproduced and reinforced in the public domain through institutions such as the family, schools, the market, the state, the judiciary, religious institutions, and the media'[21] Various cultural factors like biased and misogynistic tendencies in gender constructions negatively influence the levels of women's leadership. Masculinity and femininity are still understood as given behaviors, characteristics, and attitudes that have implications for women and men's

social roles and positions. Man's rationality and physical strength are thought to be better suited for competition in the public domain than women's weaker constitutions.

On the other hand, women's femininity and 'emotional' character are supposedly more suited to reproductive and domestic tasks. These paradigms are replete with misogynistic perspectives that underestimate women's capacities. The late al-Maududi was a popular conservative Muslim thinker in the 1980s who argued that women are tragic creatures because of their bodily functions. He believed that menstruation and women's reproductive functions, such as pregnancy, and child bearing make them physiologically unsuitable for other jobs and activities than giving birth to their children and domestic tasks.[22] These views still find support in Indonesia.

Patriarchal culture is dynamic and crosscuts with other social aspects, such as ethnicity, economy, and kinship, which makes it impossible for women to achieve higher posts than men. Walby calls the feminization of domestic roles 'domestic patriarchy.' Domestic roles are still considered women's gender roles, although jobs traditionally taken by women have been commercialized, such as chef at hotels and restaurants, tailors or designers and hairdressers and others. Consequently, women working outside of their homes, such as teachers and other professionals carry a double responsibility. For instance, female lecturers at IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta recorded about things they had to do between morning and midnight, while male lecturers only have about 18 daily activities.[27] Male lecturers have the freedom to engage in academic duties three times a day, after *Subuh* (morning), *Ashar* (afternoon) and *Isya'* (night) prayers. Female lecturers only have time to do their academic duties, such as reading and writing journal articles, after 9 pm and after having finished their domestic duties without having had a proper break.[23] These tasks are necessary for their career advancement, yet many women cannot realistically achieve these levels of performance and therefore they relinquish their motivation because of their workloads. Paige Porter summarizes this dilemma as follows, 'As long as it is believed that it is only women and not men who 'have to choose' between their job and their family, the gendering of the power structure will continue to be represented in some form.'[24]

The trend can also be seen in schools assisted by LAPIS-ELOIS in South Sulawesi, where female teachers and principals occupy higher

positions than men. There are two possible explanations put forward here tentatively:

- *First*, class hierarchy in Bugis culture is still strong and this means that respect is not only based on gender, but also on social position. Women who belong to a noble family will automatically gain higher positions than men of lower status. Although a bit different, in East Java, the social position of women with '*nasab*/descent' relationships with a *kyai* of a large *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) will more easily access vertical mobility within the community in areas such as political parties and education, especially if their education was under their family foundation.
- *Second,* women's concentration in *madrasah ibtidaiyah* may have arisen from the cultural and religious perceptions that women are their children's 'first school'. These kind of phenomena need to be studied further.

Nobility and decent, and social and hierarchical positions present obstacles in some cultures but advantages in others for both women and men. There are also other social hierarchical issues, which potentially turn into obstacles for women to reach leadership positions. The only female *madrasah* principal in the ELOIS program refused to become the leader of the Madrasah Principal Working Group/*Kelompok Kerja Kepala Madrasah* (KKKM) because she thought that someone more senior (older in age) would be more suited. Such perceptions are influenced by Javanese culture, which emphasizes respect for seniority, regardless of gender. Unsurprisingly, most senior *madrasah* principals are men.

Economic power is an advantage in the promotion of women's leadership. Women from rich families can influence others through making donations. This is commonly found in political parties and similar groups.

At present, women's public participation still revolves around three 'N's:
- *Nasab*, descent/kinship with male figure (nobles, *kyai*, and others);
- *Nisob*, economic power that can buy a position or even leadership;
- *Nasib*, woman who is seriously in her fight for improvement and becomes a leader.

The third category is rarely found in Indonesia where female public figures are dominated by *Nasab* such as Megawati Soekarnoputri, Meutia Hatta, Kanjeng Ratu Hemas, Ratu Atut. As mentioned previously, this has recently improved with women holding key positions in finance, trade and industry, health, and women's empowerment.

Influence of Islamic norms on Women's Leadership

Gender bias in Indonesia is maintained in part because of religion. A religion that carries messages of justice has the capacity to strengthen cultural systems. Over time, *samawi* religions have become integrated into the dynamics of their adherents' social life. Religious teaching can act as a catalyst of cultural change towards higher awareness and humanity, but it may also be used to maintain the status quo and to block modernization and the universal awareness of human rights.

Leadership remains a debate among Muslim scholars and intellectuals. There are at least three groups currently exerting influence in Indonesia:
1.   Conservatives
2.   Modernists
3.   Contemporary Muslim intellectuals

Each group is described in the sections below.

Conservative

The conservative group believes that women cannot become leaders under any circumstances.[25] This opinion is based on the interpretation of the expression '*qawwam*' in the Quranic verse an-Nisa': 34. The group did not use 'cause of descend/*sababul nuzul*' as interpretation aspect of the Qur'an. Muslim scholars, such as Ibn Abbas and Az-Zamahsyari, interpret '*qawwam*' as 'leader, authority, educator, and protector' while Ath-Thabari translates it as 'person responsible for women's issues'. They also use a hadith from Abu Bakar that explains that: 'A group will not advantage if it is led by a woman.'[26] Included in this category are classical scholars who follow the '*alamiyah*' (natural) conception of male and female potential as an unchangeable 'gift'. There are also contemporary scholars who hold on to this opinion, including Abu A'la al Maududi.

Modernist

Modernists argue that women can become state and other public leaders, as long as it is collective power. The group refers to the story of Queen Bilqis in the Qur'an who wisely ruled the state of Syaba' until the creation of '*baldatun thoyyibatun wa rabbun ghofur*'. However, this group believes that the leadership in the family should be in the husband's hands, based on the Quranic verse an-Nisa': 34 'where man is woman's leader because of their advantage among others and because of the income he earns'. The book *Adabul-Mar'ah fil Islam* published by Majelis Tarjih PP Muhammadiyah mentions the same perspective. The book says that a woman as a wife must obey and respect her husband. However, on the other hand, it also explains that a woman should conduct *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar*, including become *camat*/head of subdistrict, mayor, judge, etc.[27]

Contemporary Muslim intellectuals

Contemporary Muslim intellectuals commonly referred to as 'neo-modernists' and 'progressives' are also considered to be liberalists. This group combines normative approaches from the middle ages with modern ones derived from sociology, anthropology, psychology, etc. This group conducts Islamic studies on contemporary issues, such as human rights, democracy, and woman's rights. Some of them are *salaf* scholars, such as the Sudanese' Mahmood Muhammada Thoha, who gave a new interpretation of the differences between verses received in Mecca and Medina. He said that verses originating in Mecca contain Islamic universal teachings about justice, equality, tolerance, and humanity whereas the Medina verses are contextual intended to lead Islamic followers to attain these universal objectives.

This group believes that in case of a gap between Quranic verses and reality, universal verses should prevail.[28] Another approach developed by Fazlur Rahman emphasizes the importance of considering the 'social context' of the Qur'an and the Sunnah in order to draw conclusions on legal issues.[29] Amina Wadud used a similar hermeneutic approach to understand the Quranic verses about men and women to be able to use them as the foundation for relations that are more equal. The most fundamental argument is that as individuals, women have the same capacities as men. There is no term found in the Qur'an that women are to function as reproductive creatures whose exclusive role is to be a

mother and a housewife. Her capacity of bearing children is a gift from God to ensure the continuity of the human race. Thus, women are equally responsible to the *risalah* (God's orders) as men but it is essential that they are willing to bear children because only women are endowed with a womb.[30]

In general, modernist scholars recognize the validity of women's leadership by referring to Bilqis, the Queen of Sheba and the absence of Quranic verses that prohibit this kind of leadership.[31] The modernists classify Abu Bakar's hadith as a contextual one related to social issues (*umurud-dunya*), where its understanding should be synchronized with existing social reality. If the hadith's validity is not supported by existing social reality, it should be reinterpreted. If this is not done, the message of the hadith will be fossilized and have lost its meaning. When constraints to women's leadership, such as strength, rationality, and education no longer exist, there will be no more Syar'i reason to prohibit them from becoming leaders. [32]

Modernists argue that leadership is not given, but part of gender capacity which belongs to men and women through equal education and learning. There are, therefore, men and women with extraordinary leadership capacities and others who lack them. Progressive groups tend to put more emphasis on individual leadership capacity rather than on gender identity.

Unresponsive state gender policy

Women's leadership issues in Indonesia in all sectors including education are influenced by state policy. State policy can be categorized as gender neutral, gender biased, gender blind, or gender responsive.

A gender-neutral policy assumes that men and women have to be treated equally. Thus, all rules and requirements of recruitment, job promotion, and transfer must be equal. In theory, neutral policy reflects justice, although in practice it potentially creates injustice, particularly toward women. This is because gender-neutral policy leaves existing divisions of resources and responsibilities intact. For instance, in general, women cannot participate in various career supporting activities, such as attending training and indulge in scientific writing, because they must manage domestic tasks, like childcare, housekeeping, etc. Contrarily, men are less restricted by such duties. Therefore, women's status within

an organization is usually lower than that of men and this impacts on promotion and leadership.

Gender biased policy actually boils down to discrimination because it is based on stereotypic gender assumptions. Many companies require male employees for specialist information technology positions. This limits women's ability to develop careers outside of gender-stereotyped areas. Garment, electronics, and computer manufacturers recruit more female employees because they assume that women are more careful than men are. Such policies are disadvantageous to women and men alike because they narrow the choices and opportunities of both.

Gender blind policies are those interventions, which appear neutral as they are couched in abstract, generic categories, but are implicitly male biased. For example, policies for promotion that include community activities such as leading prayers in the Mosque are gender blind because women are unable to perform this activity.

A gender responsive policy is a policy that considers men and women as having different gender roles. A gender responsive policy attempts to harmonize gender and professional roles to reduce gender gaps. It attempts to make provisions for the reality of women's lives and acknowledges the greater roles that women have in childcare and other responsibilities through strategies such as flexible working hours and affirmative action policies so that women may participate in official trainings and other activities required for their career and job advancement. Examples include the provision of childcare facilities at the office or allowing and making special provisions for female workers to bring very young children to trainings by providing transport and accommodation for babysitters.

Policy problems

One of the main hindrances to effective gender responsive policy making is the lack of up-to-date sex-disaggregated data within national, regional, and district government systems. During a workshop in February 2009, a key official from MoRA presented data from 2002. When challenged about the currency of his data, he replied that it was the most recent data MoRA had. In fact, the most recent data is from 2005/2006, however this data are also not being used routinely in decision making; there are other problems with both their currency and their accuracy. Recent research data obtained by Ida Rosyidah (unpub.)[33] has shown a number of issues with data collection, summary, and reporting, which are summarized below.

Data is commonly collected at district and provincial levels and forwarded to the central office for collation, summary, and integration into the central database. Problems arise because the data is sometimes incomplete or inaccurate. It is possible that errors are also made in transferring or copying the data into the central system. A lack of organizational systems makes retrieval of these data difficult.

Data is collected from a range of sources and the volume of material makes it difficult to transfer it into an integrated database. It is reported that sometimes the computer software used to collate data differs in different locations.

Data about *madrasah* students and staff are not always disaggregated by sex. This should be a routine matter; however, there appears to be institutional reluctance to accept the necessity of such data collection. Often where sex-disaggregated data is collected, it is not always reported as such. Given the lack of recent sex-disaggregated data, policy making within MoRA itself is gender blind. Sex disaggregated data is a necessary precursor to effective policy development. Policies can only be implemented when they are adequately resourced and given the dearth of accurate data, present policymaking accuracy can best be described as 'hit and miss'.

Policy making that would improve women's lives

This discussion does intend to provide a 'shopping list' of relevant government policies with which readers are already familiar. It is clear that Indonesia has a number of policies to support the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The quota for women's representation in political parties has set the benchmark at 30% participation for women in a range of decision-making groups. This figure is universally understood as the number that is necessary to support change. One of the main issues is the failure of government departments at a variety of levels to successfully implement and adequately resource existing gender policy.

Regulation on gender mainstreaming in education

Some recent policy initiatives that will be important in the near future to advance gender equality include Ministry of National Education (MoNE) Ministerial Regulation No 84/2008 on Gender Mainstreaming in Education. This regulation is relevant to MoNE (Ministry of National Education), local government, and higher education. In particular, it

specifies objectives, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation at central, provincial, district, and education unit levels. It requires that sufficient funds are allocated to ensure that gender mainstreaming is implemented. Whilst 'sufficient funds' are not specifically defined in this document, the previous Presidential Instruction Inpres 9/2000, nominated 5% as the amount that government budgets at all levels should allocate to gender mainstreaming. The objectives of Regulation 84/2008 include 'achieving gender responsive budget management.' Budgetary reporting is also required six-monthly from districts to provinces, provinces to the MoNE and to the Minister.

Gender responsive budgeting

In addition to the above, Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation (MoHA) No 15/2008 requires gender mainstreaming throughout planning, implementation, budgeting, monitoring, and evaluation at decentralized levels of government. Ministry of Finance (MoF) Decree No. 105/2008 refers to gender budgets analysis. The MoF will trial gender budgeting processes within 7 ministries in 2009. One of the trialing ministries is MoNE. By 2011, the Terms of Reference for all ministries requesting budgets from the MoF have to include gender budgets analyses. The importance of gender advocates in learning the tools of gender budgets analysis can therefore not be overstated.

Whilst MoRA presently does not have specific regulations about gender mainstreaming, with the exception of regulation Surat Keputusan no. 15/2000 (Decision Letter) about the establishment of the Gender *Pokja* (working group) there are certainly none that specifically promote gender mainstreaming in education.

Regardless of the above advances, there is still a dearth of policymaking guided by recent sex-disaggregated data and research. Policymaking needs to focus on the areas that affect women's lives, for example, merit selection policies and processes, and gender-based discrimination in the workplace. These are topics familiar to most women engaged in paid employment, yet there seems to be reluctance for these to be discussed openly in public.

Discrimination against women at work

The report by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), *Discrimination in the World of Work, A brief look at the situation in Indonesia*

describes some of the ways that discrimination against women and girls was perpetuated in the workplace. In particular, the authors referred to disparities in remuneration, the dearth of women in decision-making roles in the civil service as well as in representative government roles, and structural obstacles that limit the participation of women in, and their benefit from, paid work. In 2004, the ILO conducted workshops in East Java with young people as part of the Youth Employment Network activities. The consultations involved 706 young people and a number of them described their personal experiences with gender-based harassment and discrimination. Physical appearance and dress were regarded common forms of discrimination. 'Women are refused to get jobs if they wear the veil (*jilbab*)', some participants reported. Young people also said that very often, the boss required young female employees to wear a mini skirt. This practice discriminates against young women and their cultural practices'[35]

ELOIS recently conducted Most Significant Change Workshops in Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and Mataram. Female and male students participated in the workshops and participants considered the stories of one female and one male student from Surabaya as the Most Significant Change stories from that location. A number of stories from students focused on the issue of gender-based discrimination and the accompanying harassment for non-compliance with social norms. This excerpt is from a Nurul, a student participant from Mataram.

> The community of Bagik Polak in the *kecamatan* of Labuapi is 100% Muslim. They obey the teachings of religion. The influence of religious figures, especially teachers is still dominant in the community with the result that other practices advocated by role models are not always accepted. From before until now, women in the village have been susceptible to unfavorable evaluation by the community if they went out at night, even for something good and important. For example, school activities at night such as Guides (Pramuka), evening lectures, or study groups. Often parents do not allow girls to participate with the reason that girls are not allowed to go out at night. However, now, thanks to God, there have been many changes thanks to the activities of ELOIS in our *madrasah*. Because of the activities we carried out in the socialization of Madrasah Based Management (MBM), since about a year we are capable of giving our opinion about activities in the *madrasah* and some parents have taken part in socialization activities.
>
> At the moment, modifications are taking place little by little concerning girls not being allowed to participate in Guides (Pramuka). Now the

opposite position applies. Now more opportunity is given to girls and
views have changed, as evidenced by the increase in the number of students
that participate in those activities who previously did not do so.

For the future, I hope that ELOIS activities will reach more parents and
more importantly it is best if religious teachers and figures are included.
(Nurul, 23 March 2009, Mataram MSC workshop- translated from
Indonesian)[36]

Despite widespread knowledge about gender-based harassment and
discrimination among Indonesian society at all levels[37], little action has
been taken to redress many of these issues. Students well understand gender
based harassment and discrimination and experience it in places where they
should feel safe. Yet, policy makers remain reluctant to attempt to address
many of the issues. What is needed is contemporary research that opens
up the topic for public comment and discussion leading to policymaking
and practical strategies to allow victims, who are predominantly female,
to resolve issues that, for them, make work and school an unpleasant and
sometimes terrifying experience.

However, the topic largely remains outside the public discourse and
this is due to Indonesian sensibility that denies their existence, despite
common knowledge that gender-based harassment occurs on a daily
basis in many workplaces and other locations. Whilst the topic remains
unvoiced, victims do not have the language to discuss their experiences,
let alone to seek recourse. Perpetrators may be unaware of the effect their
behavior has on their victims, while others are fully aware of the power
they exert over others. In other countries, policies to address these issues
are called Equal Employment Opportunity policies (EEO).

Merit based selection

In other countries, merit-based selection processes have been effective
to enable women (and men) to compete on a (more) level playing field.
The process effectively opens up all positions, particularly those in the civil
services to those who are qualified. An article in *the Jakarta Post* by a civil
servant[38] succinctly summarized the problem as follows:

The next factor is the lack of a merit system, due to poor career planning
and development, especially with regard to the employment of the right
person on the right post within structural positions in the bureaucracy.
This will influence the bureaucrats' motivation to work. Someone equipped

with certain skills is unable to forecast how his or her future career will end up, since sometimes competency is not the only reference.

The final factor is the semi feudalistic corporate culture that prevails in the bureaucracy, which hinders dialogue mechanisms among the rank and file. Dialogue mechanisms are actually required to invent new and creative methods to help improve public services'.

In practice, this means that candidates are assessed for their suitability for duties by using a competitive selection process. The Australian Public Service Commission[39] describes merit-based selection as:

- the assessment is based on the relationship between the candidates' work-related qualities and the work-related qualities genuinely required for the duties;
- the assessment focuses on the relative capacity of the candidates to achieve outcomes related to the duties; and
- the assessment is the primary consideration in making the decision.

Examples of work-related qualities that may be taken into account in making an assessment include: skills and abilities; qualifications, training, and competencies; standard of work performance; capacity to produce outcomes from effective performance at the level required; relevant personal qualities; demonstrated potential for further development; and ability to contribute to team performance.

It could be argued, that presently, opportunities for women and men to compete against a set of objective criteria do not yet exist. Whilst existing criteria appear to be gender neutral, they are in fact gender blind. This is because the unwritten rules and criteria for promotion favor male networks. Obviously, Indonesia will need to develop its own understandings of merit-based selection and support it with policies and processes to ensure effective implementation.

Opening up positions to merit will support women's greater access to leadership positions. However, women themselves will have to overcome their own cultural beliefs that make them often give up potential leadership opportunities when there is a man present. This is something that ELOIS has witnessed over the past two years.

The most significant change story below is from a female student from Surabaya who describes the issues from the perspective of Putri, a student enrolled at a *madrasah tsanawiyah*.

Before ELOIS was implemented in our school, there was a gap between the rights and the positions of males and females that was very distinguished. For example, in doing group tasks, students will usually group themselves based on gender. Male students will form their own groups and so do female students. Males do this since they feel more superior to others and should be granted respect. Men consider they are superior and more appropriate to lead than women; however, women feel disrespect and then, gender gap occurs among students that irritate their interaction. Therefore, after ELOIS came to our school, students realize that their positions are equal and male students do not disrespect female students. Female students are free to express their opinion since they feel their right is recognized.

Another example is in organizing class and student council (OSIS/*Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah*). Before ELOIS, there male students dominated the organization, from the President/*Ketua* to the decision making process. However, after ELOIS came to our school, female students were eager to run for OSIS or class president. Since 2007-2008 two female students have been nominated OSIS President. Thus, the school organization is more dominated by females, although it does not ignore male students and when female students are elected for presidency, all students can accept peacefully and take candidates' capabilities, intellectual, organizational and competition skills into account, rather than gender issue. (Putri, 20 March 2009, Surabaya MSC workshop- translated from Indonesian)[40]

The above provides a succinct summary of merit-based selection – selection is made based on the candidate's capabilities and skills rather than on his/her biological sex. So if a teenage girl in a *madrasah* can work this out –why can't the senior government decision makers do so as well?

Selection criteria for capacity building training

Donors and others need to be aware of the impacts on women of their own policymaking about participation in capacity building training. Limiting participation to staff members in particular echelons effectively discriminates against women. Obviously, it is not possible to include everyone; however, unless moves are made to address the issues, women will always remain outside decision and leadership roles. There is a case here for affirmative action policies that promote potential leaders and support their inclusion in opportunities that might help them to advance. Donors need to take the challenge of developing innovative strategies seriously to advance and promote women's participation in leadership and decision making.

Women themselves

Women themselves need to make changes. Paige Porter conducted a study on women and leadership in education in Australia. Her main ideas are used below to illustrate some of the changes that need to be made in order for women to achieve power in organizations:

- Get into the right formal positions, this means no more letting men have the leadership roles just because they are older and because culture dictates that this is what must happen.
- Assume financial responsibilities, this means that women need to apply the financial management skills of the home to the workplace.
- Get the necessary expertise and skills through education training and development, this means that husbands, partners, and families will have to share in the task of caring for children so that women can advance their education. There are also implications for organizations that will be discussed below.
- Take opportunities to take on organizational initiatives, this means the boss is not likely to notice your skills unless you actively put yourself forward. Nice girls sit back and wait to be noticed, however, you run the risk of never being noticed if you do this.
- Form strategic alliances, this means developing your own professional networks and working with women with similar interests and ambitions.[41]

Directions for action

This paper concludes by identifying some directions for action. First and foremost, institutions need to develop their capacity to collect, analyse, and report sex-disaggregated data. Anyone with a concern for gender equality needs to take the lead in this and create a demand for current sex-disaggregated data to inform policy development. Actions can include applying gender analysis to organizational data that presently exists and exposing the gaps and questions that remain unanswered.

Second, MoRA needs to follow the lead of MoNE and develop its own regulations for gender mainstreaming in education. Whilst regulations do not always guarantee action, they are a good place to start. By putting gender budgets on the agenda within regulation no. 84/2008, MoNE has effectively opened another door and field of analysis that reinforce arguments for gender equality.

Third, there needs to be gender-based research that reveals non-discussables like gender-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace. This needs to occur at a number of different levels within a range of institutions. The identification of gender-based harassment and the various forms it takes is a necessary precursor to developing effective policies and strategies to address the issue. Effective strategies that have worked in other countries include grievance procedures, victim support, and counseling for perpetrators. If needed, sanctions and penalties can be applied to perpetrators.

Fourth, merit-based selection for all government positions needs to be accompanied by leadership training for women. The main failure of capacity building strategies in the religious education sector (and indeed other government sectors) is that in order to participate in leadership training, one already has to be in a leadership position. Given the present organizational structures and men's dominance, only very few women have access to leadership and other capacity building training that would advance their careers.

Fifth, the work on the national level on gender responsive budgets analysis will be advanced between now and at least 2011. Those interested in advancing gender equality need to be planning how they are going to engage with this topic and ensure that they take the opportunity to engage with key decision makers about making budgets and policies more gender responsive.

Sixth, women need to position themselves strategically, participate in relevant education and training opportunities, and take the initiative.

Endnote

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18. Sylvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy*, (London. Blackwell, 1990), pp. 91-92.

19   Ibid, pp. 179-180.

20. Peggy Antrobus, *The Global Women's Movement: Origins, Issues and Strategies*, (London: Zed Books, 2004(.

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23. Ibid, 1994.

24. Porter, P, *Women and leadership in education: The construction of gender in the workplace.* 1994 Buntine Oration. The Australian College of Education. 1994: 19.

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