You have got to be carefully taught: attitudes to gender roles among school children in Indonesia

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Abstract

Mapping the attitudes to gender roles among children and understanding how these attitudes are shaped, are useful instruments for policy makers seeking to design effective strategies to achieve gender equity in post-Suharto Indonesia. Using data from the Indonesian *Gender in School Textbooks study* and the *Gender and Reproductive Health Survey* conducted across 4 provinces in 2011, we the extent to which gender role socialization at home and through formal schooling influences the degree of egalitarian attitudes among students. The paper begins by providing a brief overview of gender depictions in Indonesian school textbooks. It then maps and contrasts the prevailing parental gender role socialisation in the home and attitudes to gender roles among a group of Year 6 (n=1,722) and Year 12 (n= 6,555) respondents. Our findings suggest that 1) both the dominant discourse of gender roles in school textbooks and the prevailing family environment where school students are raised, continue to reflect the male breadwinner ideals, 2) controlling for school types, province, sex, and religion in a multilevel framework, the family home environment is a significant predictor of each student's degree of egalitarian outlook. In particular, we found that the number of domestic tasks shared by parents was positively associated with a child's egalitarian outlook. Such results are supportive of the proposition that while Indonesian women are making remarkable progress in their public participation, they continue to face the less malleable traditional division of labour within the family. Such findings, coupled with the results indicating divergent attitudes to gender roles among the boys and girls in the sample, are indicative of future conflicts in gender relations. Policies designed to promote egalitarianism among school students should strive to effect changes in gender roles in the home, and investigate ways to particularly promote gender equity among boys and within the religious school curriculum.

Keywords: gender roles socialisation, traditional gender roles and attitudes, Indonesia, school textbooks, parents' and children's household tasks.

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1. The Indonesian Gender Norms: the State, Home and School

Following the collapse of the New Order government in 1998 the Reform Era opened a promise of full democracy and respect for citizens' rights. Recognition of gender equity was part of the call for reform promoted by almost all political actors. Since that change the Indonesian state has formulated and passed gender progressive laws, policies and programs. For example: 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 development of NGOs throughout 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.

Since the Reform Era, specially during the leadership of Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Joko Widodo (Jokowi) a significant progress has been made in assigning female Cabinet Ministers responsible in non-gendered stereotype roles, for example in foreign affairs, trade, finance, maritime affairs and fisheries, forestry and environment, health, and state-own business. Before their presidency, female Cabinet Ministers would only be assigned as Ministry of Social Affair, the Office of Women's Empowerment and heads of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board. Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono-SBY (Kompas, 2009) and Joko Widodo (Jokowi) considered gender balance in appointing ministers for their cabinet. 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.

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 complained how her 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 textbook has not changed compared to when she was in year one thirty years earlier. 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 overhauled by replacing the old misperception and gender roles with more progressive ideas that promote gender equality. Indraswari (2009) also emphasised the need to reform curricula not supporting 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 website (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 fixed 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 responsibilities, 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 expect 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 textbooks 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.

In the homes of many Indonesians, parents are frequently not aware that they are socialising stereotypical gender roles and gender norms to their children. The home also may not provide good gender role models and still strongly demonstrate the male breadwinner model and female relegation to domestic manager and care giver to the family and extended family. The girl child is trained to conform to feminine gender roles and play. The girl child is expected 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 reinforce skills in domestic sphere as compared to public sphere. Girls are also taught to be "*nrimo*", that is, to accept their fate whatever it may be (Utomo, 2005: 70).

Boys on the other hand also start 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. From an early age the girl child is trained to stay close and play around the house; while boys to some extent can explore the world outside the house while playing with friends in sport matches and waring games (*main perang-perangan*) as well as riding bikes.

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, textbooks and teachers who promote gender equity. Religious teachers both in school or home base; religious preachers giving sermon at Friday prayers and at various religious gathering (for example, Women's Koranic 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 is 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 life and pass it on to the next generation. A vicious circle has to be ended to achieve gender equity.

> 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 disadvantaged…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 perform her best in both worlds, at home and at the workplace. 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). The same condition applied to gender norms in Indonesia where the breadwinner model strongly persist, though increasingly women participate in the labour market. In his gender equity theory, McDonald (2000a and 2000b) reassured that movement to gender equity is much more rapid in the public sphere than in the private or domestic sphere. This can also be observed in the Indonesian setting. The irony is that while in the west working women are somewhat supported by family policy such as: subsidised, affordable and quality childcare; work-family friendly workplace; maternal and paternal paid leave and child benefit policies (Gornick and Meyers, 2009; Strazdins et al. 2006a,b,c), not so for Indonesia. The only universal family policy that exists in Indonesia is paid maternal leave for 3 months for government employees and it varies in private sectors. Recently in Jakarta childcare facilities and breastfeeding rooms have been established in a few ministerial offices and UN offices.

The way forward with this study is that in the near future Indonesia can adopt progressive gender roles in both public and domestic spheres through gender roles socialisation in the family and schools. 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 domestic duties and child rearing; education and work; working relation status; equal rights to leaderships in bureaucracy, society, religious activities and politics; as well as being treated equally in all aspects 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.

The main root of gender roles construction started in the family as family is the agent for preserving traditions and cultural values. The state regulates the education system and schools that reinforced gender socialisation of children. The state has an authority to regulate gender roles through laws and regulations that promote gender equity, this in turn influenced gender roles construction in school. In the long term process, educated children exposed to progressive gender norms may influence traditional gender roles socialised through the family. This will challenged the older generation's traditional gender roles to slowly adapt the progressive gender roles brought home by their educated children. Thus two important agents that form gender roles of children are family and schools-education system. The authors strongly belief that gender equality can be achieved if an understanding that women and men have the same rights is taught from the beginning of primary school and if roles that are more gender-neutral are observed by children in their own homes.

Children's impressions of what the roles of men and women are, are formed early in life by observing the gendered division of activities and behaviour within their own home (Evertsson 2006). When examining the influence of parental behaviour on children's attitudes towards

gender it is useful to separate out and examine separately attitudes which relate to gendered division of labour within the home (private sphere) and the role of women in the public sphere. It is well known that while attitudes towards gender in the public sphere have undergone rapid change in recent decades in many countries around the world, including Indonesia, attitudes towards women's role in the home has been more resistant to change. The aim of this paper is to examine to what extent gender roles socialization at home and through formal schooling may influence the degree of egalitarian attitudes among students. The paper begins by providing a brief overview of gender roles depictions in Indonesian school textbooks. The paper then maps and contrasts the prevailing parental gender role socialisation in the home and attitudes to gender roles among a group of Year 6 and Year 12 respondents in public school and Islamic school.

2. Methodology, Data Sources and Analysis

Content Analysis of Gender Depiction in Primary and Secondary School Textbooks

As schools are also a strong agent for gender roles socialization, in the first stage of our study, we conduct a content analysis of the Indonesian national curriculum and textbooks of primary and secondary schools. The content analysis analysed gender roles of girls and women, and boys and men in both public and domestic sphere. Overall we analysed 85 primary and secondary textbooks from 15 different publishers. Before selecting the books, we have checked all school textbooks accredited and endorsed by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and conduct telephone interviews of teachers in the four provinces about school textbooks that they used. We analysed Years 1, 6, 9, and 12 school textbooks and include six types of books: Bahasa Indonesia Language; English Language; Science and Biology; Social Sciences; Islamic Religion; and Sport and Healthy Living. These books contain gender roles depiction in both texts and pictures or photos used.

Using a gender analysis module analysing depiction of gender roles in public and domestic sphere, the authors and Indonesian research team conduct individual gender analysis of the school textbooks. Data analysed for each book, is then compiled and analysed using simple mathematics and presented in bar charts. Each researcher also took separate notes to both the content and pictures found throughout the books and recorded the details. Pictures from the books were grouped into those presenting gender progressive roles, gender neutral roles and gender traditional roles.

The 2011 Indonesian Gender and Reproductive Health Survey

In the second stage a cross-sectional survey of Year 6 students (n=1,836, males =49%; girls=51%) and Year 12 students (n=6,555, males =48.6% ; females=51.3%) was conducted in Jakarta, West Java, West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi. We named the survey the 2010 Indonesia Gender and Reproductively Health Survey. In the selected schools, all students in Years 6 and 12 participated in the survey and filled in the self-administered questionnaire in class. The research team gave instructions and stayed in class so that students could ask questions if they did not understand.

These four provinces were deliberately chosen because they have contrasting economic, geographic, socio-cultural, and population characteristics. Jakarta, the capital city, is paradigm of

'modern' Indonesia. West Java is a large province that shares some of its border with Jakarta. Although it has performed relatively well in facets of human development, the province has pockets of disadvantaged districts and population struggling to achieve quality education. West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi are two provinces in Eastern Indonesia that are relatively less developed compared to the provinces in Java.

The sampling of students was randomized in several stages. At the first stage, two districts were selected in each of the four provinces except for Jakarta, one district in a rural area and one in an urban area. At second stage, two general schools and two Islamic religious schools were selected in each district that represented the best school and an average performing school. As a result, in each province 16 schools were selected. In this study, we used information from 1,772 Year 6 students, and 6,502 Year 12 students who have valid answers to the relevant dependent and independent variables used in the analysis.

The Analysis
The analysis of the Survey data in this paper is performed only for students whose parents were both alive at the time of the survey. The students' questionnaire Gender and Reproductive Health Survey includes a series of questions on students' attitudes to gender roles and on division of responsibilities in their home. We begin our analysis by using descriptive statistics to examine the prevailing patterns of gender roles socialisation in the students' family. Students were given a list containing 12 tasks and were asked whether their father or mother perform each of the specified tasks.

Based on the response to these series of statements, each respondent were then assigned a parental role score. The higher the score, the more egalitarian is the socialisation environment in the home. An egalitarian home environment is for example when student reports that the father performs non-conventional tasks for males such as cooking, looking after children, or looking after sick family members. The parental role score ranges from 0 to 13.

Once we map the prevailing patterns of parental allocation of responsibilities, we tabulate the students' responses to a series of questions aimed to reflect their own attitudes to gender roles. The responses are agree, disagree, and don't know. Here, we use 17 items in among the 19 statements listed to generate a gender role attitudes score for each respondent. A higher score reflects a more egalitarian outlook. The attitudes to gender role score have a possible range from -17 to 17.

Following the tabulation, we move forward to examine the predictors of egalitarian outlook among the respondents in a multivariate framework. Our dependent variable is the gender role score outlined above. Our control variables are parental role scores, sex, school type, school quality, urban dummy, and religion. We run regressions separately for males and females respondents in the Year 6 and Year 12 samples. In this paper we report our findings based on the results of OLS and logistic regressions.

3. Results

Gender Depiction in Primary and Secondary School Textbooks

Gender Depiction in the Public Sphere

The results of the primary and secondary school textbooks content analysis demonstrate a significant divide of gender roles in public and domestic spheres. In the public sphere (Figure 1), defined as having job outside the homes is more depicted as male dominated especially in Year 6 with the highest depiction, and significantly lower in Year 9, 12 and 1. In contrast female role in public sphere though lowly noted can be seen in Year 1 and to a lesser degree in Year 9. Depiction of gender equity in public sphere decreases as the school grade increases.

Photos and pictures used in the textbooks describing of male working in offices and as breadwinner can be found consistently throughout the books. For example a picture of 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. Photos of male medical doctors are commonly used in the school textbooks. Another example is a picture of a medical doctor giving briefing in a local health centre to a group of women. 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). Another picture describes Dr. Heru examining a boy taken to see him by his mother and sister, hence, here again taking children to see the doctor is also females' role (Darisman, M. et al. 2007:5).

Depiction of progressive female working as professionals is under represented. Nevertheless photos and pictures of female professional working as dentist (Panut et al., 2006:9); scientist (Kadaryanto et al., 2007:145); office staff (*Sudarti and Grace, 2007:78)* and news reader (*Sudarti and Grace, 2007:158)* is evident. Ideally representation of females and males working together in an office setting (Hardiyanti, A. 2006: 75) or a science lab (Kadaryanto et al., 2007:145) should be more included in text books.

Gender Depiction in the Domestic Sphere

Figure 2 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 Year 6 and 1.Male participation in the domestic sphere is lowly represented in Year 1, 6 and 9, in this case, Year 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 Year 6 and lowest in Year 12.

Photos and pictures of extreme female domination depictions in the domestic sphere are found in all grades. In these pictures and photos, women are shown as conducting domestic chores including: cooking and washing clothes; house cleaning; groceries shopping; looking after the

sick - children and elderly (Darisman, 2007b:20); caring for children; taking children to the doctor or dropping children to school. Depictions of domestic duties are dominated by women, with the highest stereotyping evident in Year 6 and Year 1 textbooks. Depictions of women doing domestic duties and providing care are strongly evident in everyday life of Indonesian women and girls (Utomo, 2005).

We also found pictures showing girls but not boys being taught domestic duties (Nurcholis, 2007: 34) as well as looking after elderly (Darisman, 2007a: 53) and the sick (Darisman, 2007b:20). The dominance of images such as this underscore the difficulties faced in reforming the domestic sphere so that it is not targeted to women and girls only.

Even science textbooks can display very traditional gender roles using, for example, a picture of women cooking to explain about sources of heat (Panut et. al. 2006, 49). In another science book illustration, throughout the book, the author uses a group of three friends consisting of two female students (Geni and Eca) and a male student (Sakti) .Geni is depicted as a girl who mostly states facts or asking questions and sometimes does silly things like touching a hot pan or not turning the light off at night. In contrast Eca is always asking questions while Sakti has the role of the competent student who always knows the right answers and explains them to his classmates (Rachmat, 2007:154).   Illustration of female students (Geni and Eca) as being not as knowledgeable as the male student (Sakti) works against developing and forming an understanding of progressive gender norms among students.

Other pictures also convey strong messages that women have to be responsible for domestic chores and caring (Lianawati, H. 2006: 7; Nurcholis and Mafrukhi, 2007: 115). Several depictions in the books of men relaxing over a cup of tea or reading the newspaper were found (Nurcholis and Mafrukhi, 2007: 84) in contrast to no depictions of women relaxing in the same way.

Providing positive gender messages, we found a picture showing a father looking after a toddler (Lianawati, H. 2006: 7) and pictures of men working around the house. But men and boys conventionally are depicted working in household activities outside the house while women and girls are depicted as performing all the domestic duties within the house (Nurcholis and Mafrukhi, 2007: 115; Rusmiyati et al. 31). These pictures and illustrations foster students' perceptions that the domain of women and girls revolve around domestic activities while men and boys work beyond the home and control the public sphere.

The stories and pictures used in English Language textbooks were more progressive than texts in other subjects in terms of delivering gender equality messages. For example, there is a picture showing that a boy can make *gado-gado*, an Indonesian salad and work together with a girl (Mukarto, 2007: 71) and picture of a father and son preparing dinner giving time for the mother to relax (Mukarto, 2007: 78).

Figure 1

Depiction of gender in the public sphere in primary and secondary textbooks: Bahasa Indonesia, English, Science and Biology, Social Sciences, Islamic Religion, and Sport and Healthy Living, 2009
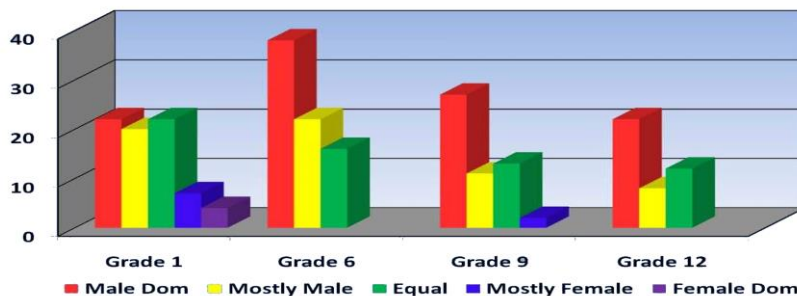
Source: The 2008 Indonesian Gender and Reproductive Health Textbook Analysis Study
Note: Left to right, male dominated (Orange bar-score of 1/dominated by males and yellow bar-2/mostly males) to female dominated (blue bar score of 4/mostly female and purple bar-5/dominated by females), score of 3 (green bar) refers to gender equity.

Figure 1

Depiction of gender in the domestic sphere in primary and secondary textbooks: Bahasa Indonesia, English, Science and Biology, Social Sciences, Islamic Religion, and Sport and Healthy Living, 2009
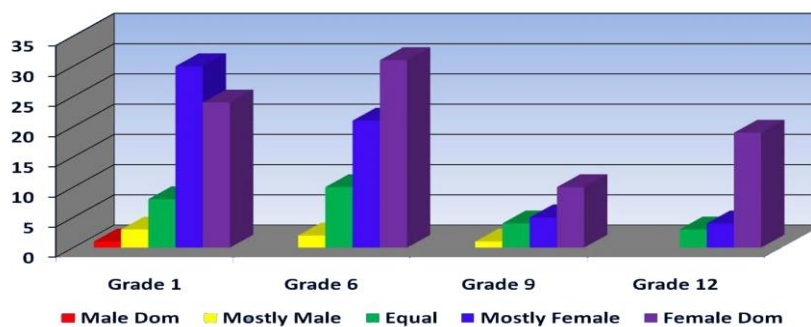

Source: The 2008 Indonesian Gender and Reproductive Health Textbook Analysis Study
Note: Left to right, male dominated (Orange bar-score of 1/dominated by males and yellow bar-2/mostly males) to female dominated (blue bar score of 4/mostly female and purple bar-5/dominated by females), score of 3 (green bar) refers to gender equity.

Gender Role Attitudes of Year 6 and Year 12 Students

Table 1 outlines the percentage of students agreeing to the 19 statements on gender roles and gender bias. Seventeen of these statements were intended to measure the students' perceptions of and attitudes to gender roles and were subsequently used to construct attitudes to gender role scores for each respondent. Two of the statements measure the respondents' perceptions of gender bias in school textbooks.

Four interesting patterns emerged from the table. The first one is that at both level of schooling, girls are more egalitarian than boys in their responses. For example, 41 per cent of the Year 6 and 35 per cent of the Year 12 boys agreed that the head of the student council must be boys. The corresponding percentages for girls were 21 per cent and 19 per cent respectively. More than half of males while only a third of female agreed that "There are more men than women in the technology sector field" and that "Religious leader must be males". Males were twice more likely than females to agree to "Indonesians prefer to work with a male boss than a female boss". On the contrary, females were twice than males agreeing to "The world would be better place when women become leader". Further examination of the data also supported this finding as the mean of the attitudes of gender role score is found to be higher for girls compared to boys.

Second, the Year 12 students are relatively more egalitarian in their outlook than the Year 6 group. This could be explained by the assumption that as they are more aware of alternatives to the traditional stereotypes, older students tend to be less 'naive' in their gender roles outlook. For example "Men should also be good in caring for their children" and "Men should also participate in doing housework". Third, the male breadwinner model remains reliably supported by the majority of the respondents. Here, the support for married women's employment is highest among Year 12 female students. In contrast to almost half of the Year 6 male respondents and Year 12 male respondents. Fourth, the majority of the respondents do not feel that there is a bias in terms of the frequency of representation of either sex in textbooks' discussions and pictures.

Egalitarian Index: Predictors of Attitudes to Gender Roles

In our analysis, we construct an egalitarian index to reflect each respondent attitude to gender roles based on his or her response to 17 of the statements listed in Table 1. The range of egalitarian index is from -17 to +17, the higher the score, the more egalitarian is the respondent's attitudes to gender roles. Figure 3 outlines the histograms of scores for both Year 6 and Year 12 samples. The histograms portray that attitudes to gender roles greatly vary from one student to another. Some students were very 'traditional' in their responses (having a score in the minus range), while some students scored relatively highly hence more egalitarian in their responses.
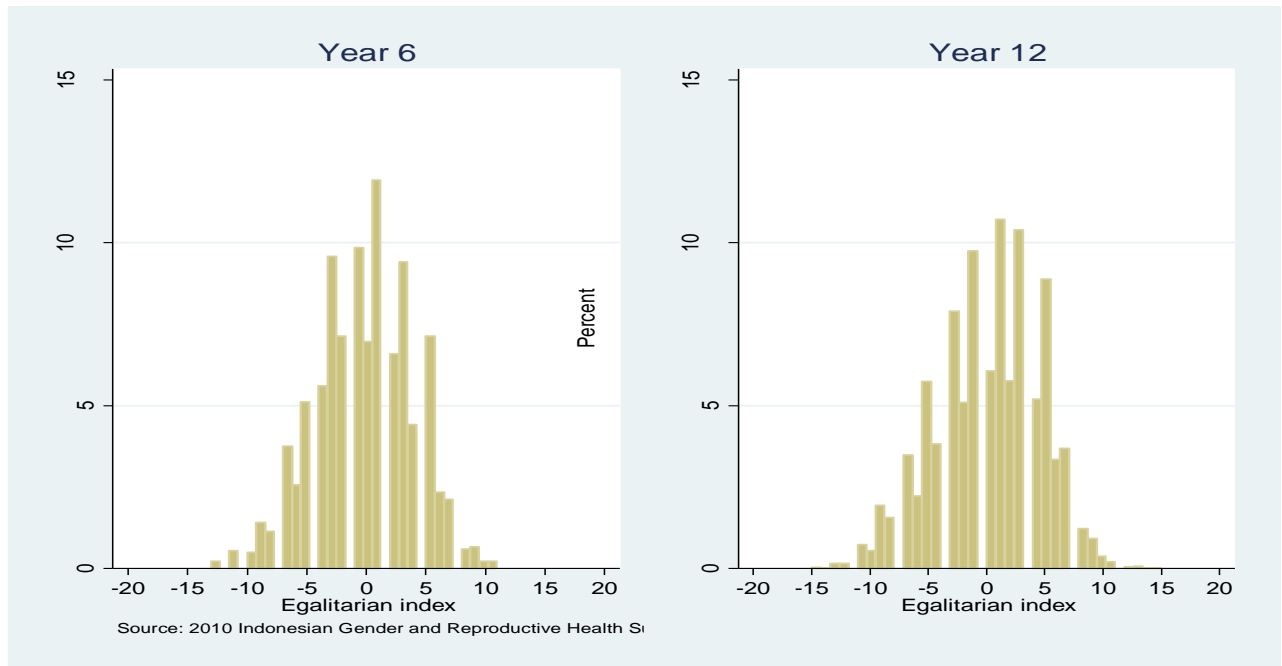
The Mean (SD) of egalitarian index for Year 6 and Year 12 were -0.27(4.1) and 0.16(4.5), respectively. Among Year 6, the mean (SD) of egalitarian index for male and female were -1.3(4.03) and 0.7(3.8), respectively. Year 12 students also had similar pattern of egalitarian index. In fact, the mean (SD) of egalitarian score for male and female were -1.4(4.4) and 1.4(4.1). The differences in egalitarian score between male and female were statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) in both years. These findings suggest that females are more egalitarian than males. This result is consistent with the perception of gender attitude [showed in Table 1].

Table 1 Percentage of respondents agreeing to selected statements by sex and school year

|	Year 6 (%)		Year 12 (%)	
	Males (Ref.)	Females	Males (Ref.)	Females
A father's job is to earn money for the family, and a mother's job is to look after family	95.4	95.1	83.4	76.5[a]
There are more men than women in the technology sector	54.7	30.8[a]	49.1	29.4[a]
There are more women than men in the arts sector	47.5	58.0[a]	22.4	28.6[a]
Men should also participate in doing housework	41.6	46.8[c]	64.2	71.6[a]
In my opinion, having a male or a female principal makes no difference	89.8	91.6	66.8	76.6[a]
In difficult financial situations, boys are prioritised over girls to receive further education	23.5	10.0[a]	42.2	16.4[a]
In employment, more attractive women get better chances than those who are less attractive	6.9	5.1	15.7	8.1[a]
Indonesians prefer to work with a male boss than a female boss	39.2	17.4[a]	31.1	22.3[a]
The world will be a better place when women become leaders	6.7	16.7[a]	1.9	5.3[a]
A wife does not need to work if her husband is working	47.8	34.8[a]	41.1	21.7[a]
Men should also be good in caring for their children	89.7	90.4	94.5	96.2[b]
Religious leaders must be males	52.2	29.7[a]	45.1	30.6[a]
Community leaders can include women	69.9	78.4[a]	65.5	80.1[a]
The Head of Student Council must be a boy	41.3	20.8[a]	35.6	18.9[a]
A housewife does not need permission by her husband if she wants to go out	16.6	11.9[b]	5.6	3.5[a]
A housewife does not need permission by her husband if she wants to do a women's health check up	30.5	18.4[a]	15.2	8.8[a]
A housewife does not need permission by her husband if she wants to purchase furniture	13.9	9.2[b]	4.5	3.8[c]
Textbooks in Indonesia talk more about boys than girls*	36.1	13.8[a]	16.5	8.3[a]
Textbooks in Indonesia contains more pictures of boys than girls*	33.7	10.9[a]	16.6	10.7[a]

Notes: * Statement not used to construct attitudes to gender role scores; a: $p<0.001$; b: $p<0.01$; c: $p<0.05$

Figure 2 Distribution of egalitarian index

Source: 2010 Indonesian Gender and Reproductive Health Survey

Comparing egalitarian index score by gender across province for Year 6 and Year 12 is shown in Figure 4. Generally, for Year 6, the difference in egalitarian across provinces was insignificant for both males and females, except for Jakarta and West Java. The mean (SD) egalitarian index score for both males and females in Jakarta was higher compared to those in West Java [Males: -1.08(4.3) vs -1.25(3.5), p<0.05; Females: 1.1(3.7) vs. 0.3(3.7), p<0.05). Similarly, for Year 12, the difference in egalitarian index score across provinces was insignificant for both males and females, except for Jakarta and West Java. The mean (SD) egalitarian index score for both males and females in Jakarta were higher than those in West Java [Males: -1.2(4.3) vs -1.9(4.5), p<0.01; Females: 1.7(3.7) vs. 1.1(3.7), p<0.01). In addition, female in West Nusa Tenggara had lower egalitarian index than those in Jakarta (1.7(3.7) vs. 1.2(4.1), p<0.01). The results indicate that students in Jakarta are more egalitarian than those in West Java and West Nusa Tenggara.

Figure 3 Egalitarian attitude scores by province and gender

Source: 2010 Indonesian Gender and Reproductive Health Survey
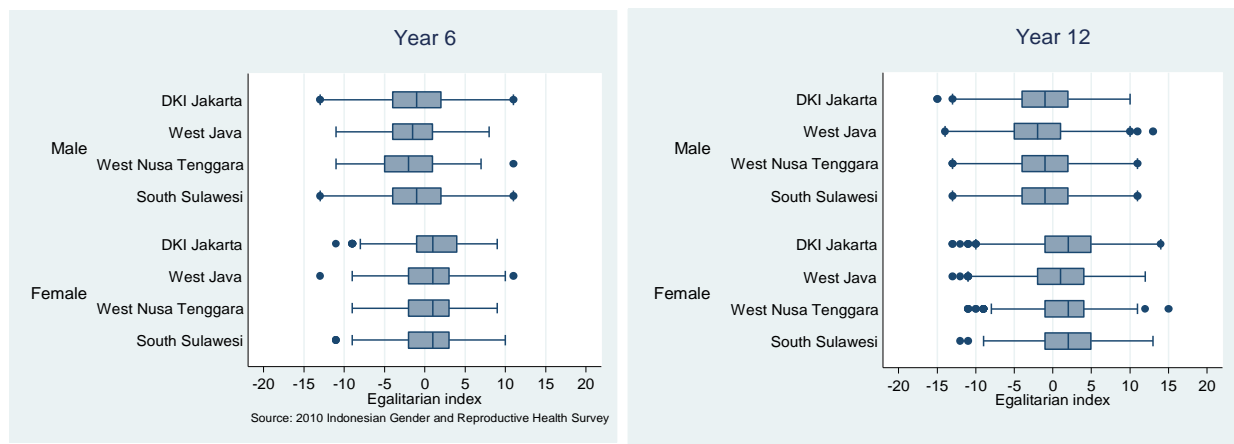
The egalitarian index of students in public school was higher than those of students in Islamic Religious school (Figure 5). In fact, for year 6, the mean (SD) of egalitarian score for male student in public and Islamic school were -0.6(3.9) and -2.3(3.9) with p-value<0.001; and the mean (SD) of egalitarian score for female student in public and Islamic school were 1.3 (3.5) and 0.03(4.1), with p-value<0.001 (Figure 5a). Similarly, for year 12: the mean (SD) of egalitarian score for male student in public and Islamic school were -1.0(4.5) and -2.0(4.0) with p-value<0.001; and the mean (SD) of egalitarian score for female student in public and Islamic school were 1.9 (4.4) and 0.5(3.9), with p-value<0.001 (Figure 5b).

Figure 4 Gender equality attitudes by religious and gender

Source: 2010 Indonesian Gender and Reproductive Health Survey
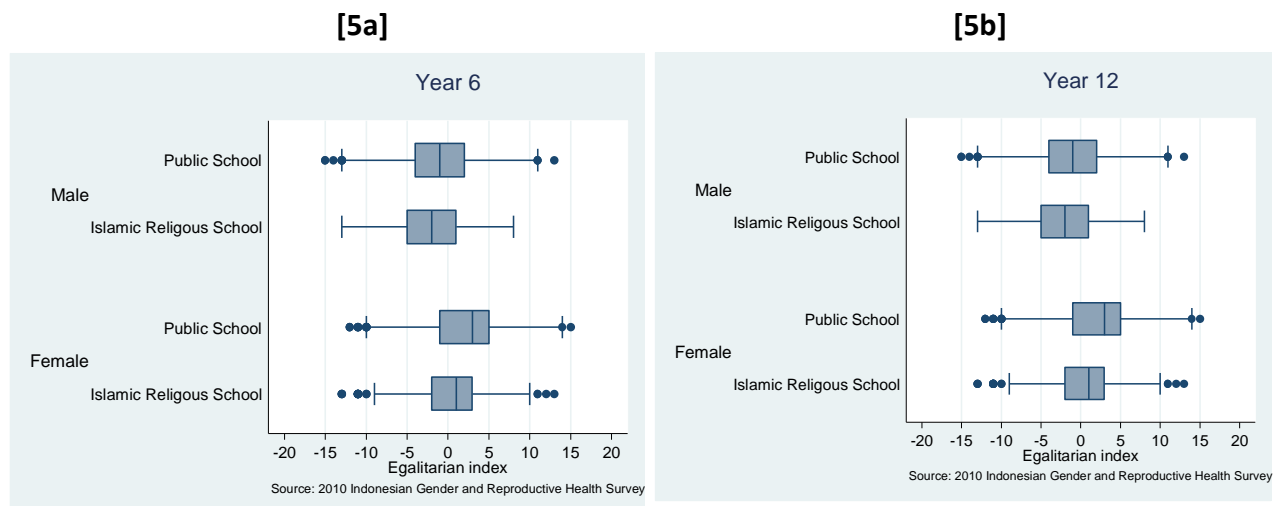
Who Does What in Your home? Mother's and Father's Gender Roles

Figure 6 (Year 6) and Figure 7 (Year 12) depicts the prevailing parental gender roles in the respondents' home. The left figure indicates distinguished role of each parent, while the right figure shows the percentage of each task that mother and father shared together. The findings of individual tasks that mother verses father conducted by themselves (the left figures) indicate a notable presence of gender segregation of household responsibilities embedded within the male breadwinner ideals.

It appears that the male breadwinner model remain a strong force in gender role socialisation for these groups of students. For example, in the Year 6 sample, while 98 per cent of the fathers were working to earn a living, only 34 per cent of the mothers were also working. Similarly, for the Year 12 sample, the corresponding figures are 95 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. The proportion of mothers in paid employment is higher in the Year 12 sample than in Year 6 sample, perhaps due to the possibility that mothers of the Year 12 respondents had older children and were less likely to be constrained by child caring responsibilities.

Overall, the parental sharing of household responsibilities remains somewhat conventional. While the fathers and mothers tend to maintain family relations together, the students' reports on who does the rest of the tasks are reflective of the stereotypical gender division of household labour.

Fathers are more likely than mothers to do tasks such as working in paid employment, fixing broken tiles, paying for bills, clean the garden, and participate in neighbourhood meetings. In contrast, mothers are more likely than fathers to do tasks such as looking after sick family members, cleaning the house, shopping for daily needs, maintain neighbourhood relations and cooking. Among all the

listed activities, cooking is the one activity that a father is least likely to perform. On the other hand, fixing a broken roof tiles is the one activity that a mother is least likely to perform.

Initial comparisons of the Year 6 and Year 12 responses seem to suggest that the parents of the Year 12 students are more 'egalitarian '. For example, 43 per cent of the Year 12 sample reported that their fathers looked after their children in contrast to only 22 per cent of the Year 6 sample who reported so. However, this could be interpreted in a different way. It is likely that 17 year olds are more receptive of what is going on around them at home than the younger Year 6 students. Relative to the older group, the younger group of students is presumably more rigid in their responses as they are more likely to have a strong understanding of traditional gender roles.

The right figures (Figure 6 (Year 6) and Figure 7 (Year 12)) shows the percentage of each task both parents conducted together. Parents of Year 6 students shared the following tasks together (percentage ranging from 30% to 45%): developing neighbor relationship, developing family relationship, taking care when someone is sick and work to earns a living were top five tasks that parents often shared. Contrary, cooking, shopping (traditional role of mother), fixing broken roof tiles were less likely to be a shared tasks between parents. The exact pattern of parents' tasks sharing was found among Year 12 students, only the percentage were higher (ranged from 41% to 72%). Contrary, parents' of Year 12 students were less likely to share tasks in cooking, shopping, cleaning (traditional role of mother) and fixing broken roof tiles.

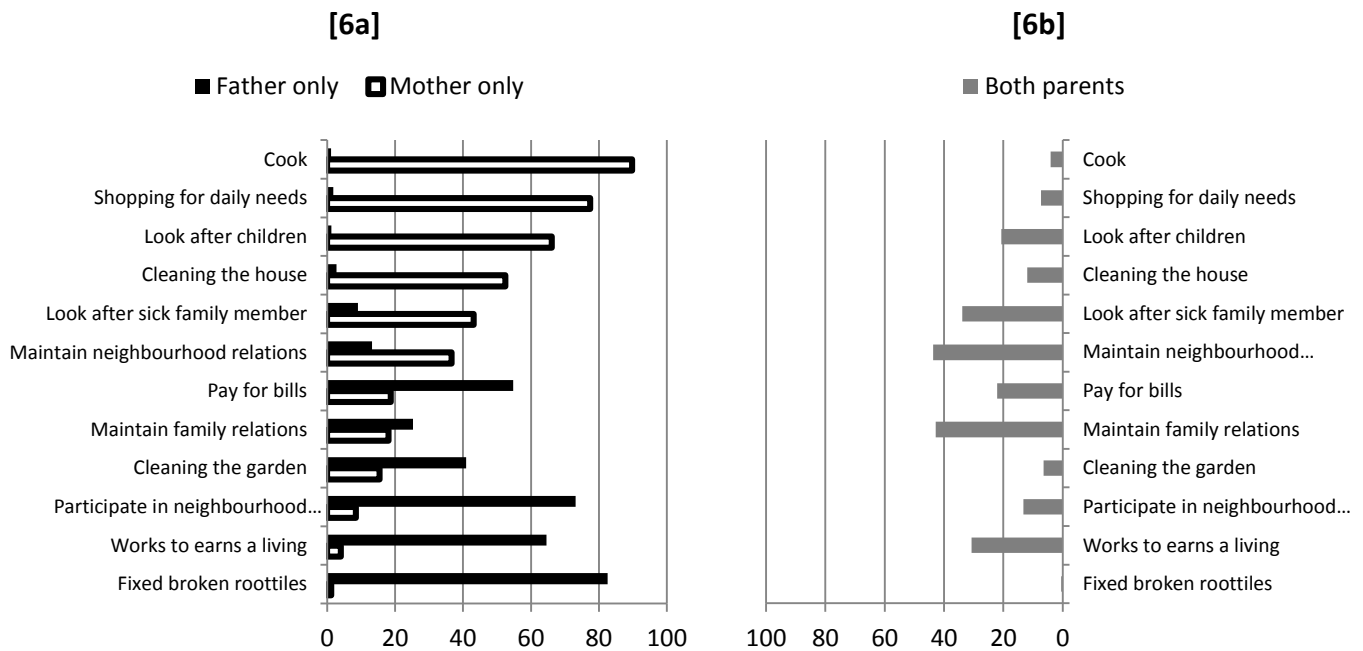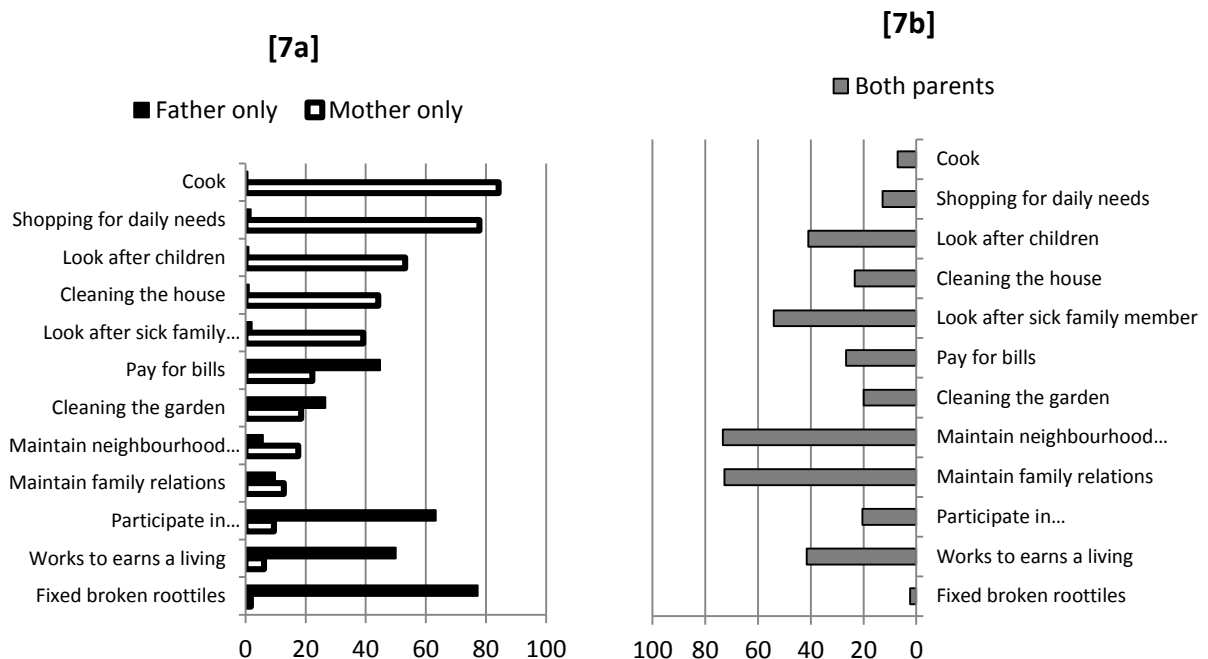**Figure 5 Distribution of domestic tasks within household-Year 6**

Figure 6 Distribution of domestic tasks within household-Year 12

To explore further the cooperation of parents in doing household task, the number of tasks that parent were cooperative is shown in Figure 8(a) (Year 6 students' report). Note there are two distinguished features in this figure. First, male and female differently reported the number of cooperative task between parents. Indeed, the girls were more likely to report that their parents were cooperative than boys from more than five tasks. Significantly, over one third of them said that their parents were cooperative in zero task. Second, the shape distribution of cooperative tasks was right-skewed. It is less likely that parents are cooperative in doing more than nine tasks in household.

Similarly, the number of tasks that parent were cooperative is shown in Figure 8(b) (Year 12 students' report). As can be seen, the number of cooperative task significantly shifted on the right. There was no significant difference between male and female student. However, most of them agreed that their parent were cooperative from three to six tasks. Specifically, nearly 15% of students said that their parents were cooperative in doing zero task, while few of them reported their parents were cooperative in doing more than eleven tasks.

Figure 7 Distribution of number domestic tasks that both parent cooperatively participated-Year 6
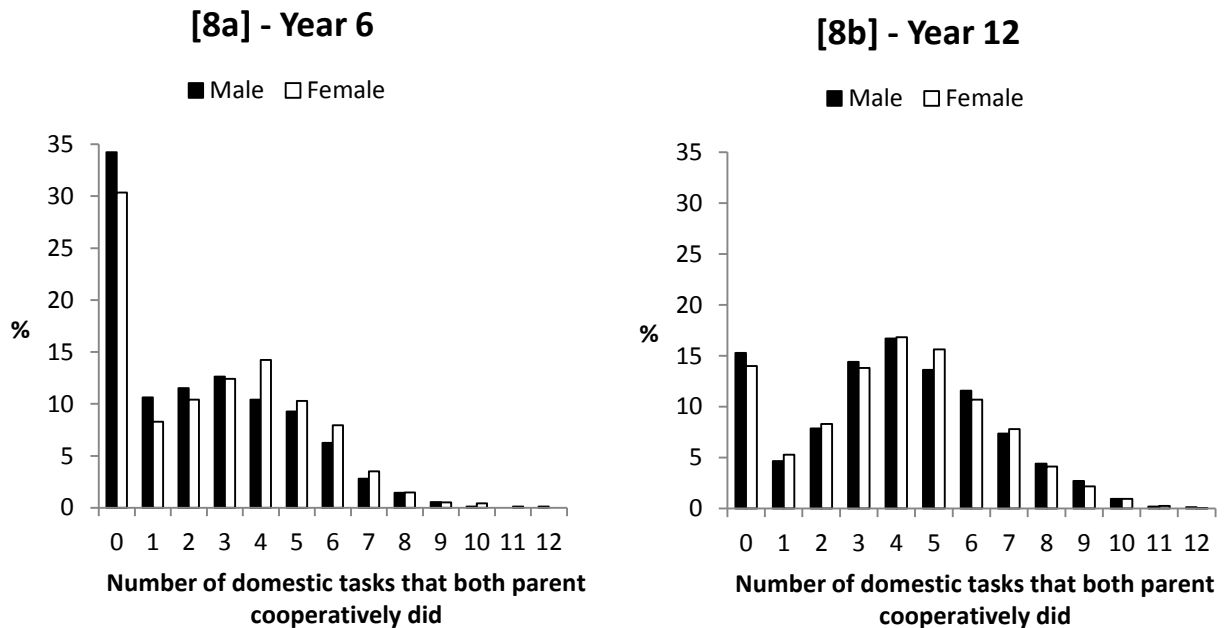
Along with egalitarian index, the paper used other dummy dependent variables based on two statements: First, *"Men should also participate in doing housework"* (Agree=1 and Disagree=0). Second, *"Community leader can include women"* (Agree=1 and Disagree=0). We excluded someone who did not provide information or do not know the answer.

Table 2 compares main characteristics between egalitarian and non –egalitarian student in both Year 6 and Year 12.

For Year 6: *"Men should also participate in doing housework"*: There was significant difference between genders. Female was more likely egalitarian than male (54 vs 46%, p<0.05). The prevalence of egalitarian are different across province (P<0.001). Jakarta students accounted for more than one third, while South Sulawesi contributed only 15% of total egalitarian. In term of school types, public school students were more likely to be egalitarian than Islamic religious school (66 vs. 35%, p<0.001).The difference in egalitarian between egalitarian and non-egalitarian was insignificant across parents' employment status. Egalitarians were younger than non-egalitarian (11.6 vs. 11.7 (years), t-test, p<0.02). Egalitarian was more likely to have higher number of task that parent cooperated than non-egalitarian (3.0 vs. 2.1, p<0.001). Similarly, the pattern of difference between egalitarian and non-egalitarian are similar if the dummy dependent variable using the statement of *"Community leader can include women"*.

For Year 12: *"Men should also participate in doing housework:* In the line with year 6 students, females were more likely being egalitarian than non-egalitarian (60% vs. 53%; p<0.001); whereas males were less likely to be egalitarian (40% vs. 47%). The prevalence of egalitarian for Westst Java and Jakarta were more than one third and nearly one-third, respectively. In contrast, one third of none-egalitarian was in South Sulawesi. The difference between egalitarian and non-egalitarian was significant over provinces (p<0.001).

Unlikely as in Year 6, egalitarian had a higher prevalence of both parent work than non-egalitarian (45% vs. 39%); whereas, non-egalitarian students had higher prevalence of only the father who works in the family than egalitarian (50% vs 44%). Egalitarian was more likely to have higher number of task that

parent cooperated than non-egalitarian (4.2 vs. 3.2, $p<0.001$). Similarly, the pattern of difference between egalitarian and non-egalitarian are similar if the dummy dependent variable using the statement of *"Community leader can include women"*.

Table 2 Demographic characteristics of egalitarians: for year 6 and year 12

Independent variables	Year 6						Year 12					
	Men should also participate in doing housework			Community leader can include women			Men should also participate in doing housework			Community leader can include women		
	Yes (% OR Mean(SD) (n=741)	No (% OR Mean(SD) (n=741)	P-value	Yes (% OR Mean(SD) (n=1129)	No (% OR Mean(SD) (n=389)	P-value	Yes (% OR Mean(SD) (n=741)	No (% OR Mean(SD) (n=741)	P-value	Yes (% OR Mean(SD) (n=1129)	No (% OR Mean(SD) (n=389)	P-value
Gender			*			***			***			***
Male	45.8	51.0		45.2	56.3		40.3	47.0		38.2	56.2	
Female	54.2	49.0		54.8	43.7		59.7	53.0		61.8	43.9	
Provinces			***			***			***			***
DKI Jakarta	34.7	24.9		36.2	18.0		27.9	20.6		28.6	19.6	
West Java	29.7	24.0		25.2	29.6		31.7	20.3		29.1	26.5	
West Nusa Tenggara	20.9	25.9		20.5	27.3		23.1	28.3		22.3	31.2	
South Sulawesi	14.7	25.2		18.2	25.2		17.4	30.8		20.0	22.7	
School type			**			***						***
Public School	65.5	51.9		62.5	45.8		59.4	56.2		61.5	48.7	
Islamic Religious School	34.5	48.1		37.5	54.2		40.6	43.8		38.5	51.3	
School category									*			***
Top performing	57.3	54.8		57.2	51.4		59.4	56.0		62.4	50.1	
Average	42.7	45.2		42.8	48.6		40.6	44.0		37.6	49.9	
Employment of parents									***			***
Both parent work	51.2	50.4		49.4	54.4		45.2	39.3		44.4	40.3	
Mother work, father not work	3.8	3.4		3.7	4.4		5.8	4.4		5.4	6.2	
Mother not work, father work	43.2	43.4		45.1	38.0		43.7	50.3		45.3	46.1	
Both not work	1.8	2.8		1.9	3.1		5.2	6.0		4.9	7.4	
Age of respondent (years)	11.6 (1.0)	11.7 (0.7)	*	11.6(0.7)	11.9(1.2)	***	17.3(0/7)	17.4(0.7)	***	17.3(0.7)	17.5(0.7)	***
Number cooperated task by parent (Range: 0-13)	3.0 (2.4)	2.1(2.2)	***	2.8(2.4)	1.9(2.2)	***	4.2(2.6)	3.2(2.2)	***	4.2(2.5)	3.4(2.6)	***

Notes: Yes=Egalitarian; No=Not egalitarian; *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01, * P<0.05

Regression results

What factors predict egalitarian attitudes for children? In order to answer this research question, OLS and logistic regression analyses of egalitarian attitudes on a number of independent variables are estimated for Year 6 and year-12 students separately (Table 3 and Table 4). In each class, three dependent variables were used: egalitarian attitude scores (continuous variable), private sphere attitude- *Men should also participate in doing housework* (dummy variable) and public sphere - *Community leader can include women* (dummy variable). Accordingly, we applied OLS regression for the first dependent variable, and logistic regression for the second and third dependent variable. The estimated results for OLS regression were presented in coefficient form, while the estimated results for logistic regression were presented in odds ratio.

Predictors of egalitarian attitudes for Year 6students are presented in Table 3:

Egalitarian score attitudes-Model1: The results (Model1) show that female students were more likely egalitarian than male students. A higher number of tasks that both parents were cooperative increased egalitarian attitudes score. Students from public schools were more egalitarian than those from Islamic Religious schools. DKI Jakarta students were more egalitarian than those from West Nusa Tenggara. We did not find significant evidence between school categories and gender-role attitudes for Year 6 students.

Private sphere: "*Men should also participate in doing housework"*- Model 2. The results consistently show that the number of domestic task that parents were cooperative doing increased egalitarian attitudes among Year6 students. In addition, students from West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi were less likely being gender equality than those from DKI Jakarta.

Public sphere: "*Community leader can include women*"- Model 3: It consistently shows that show that female students were more likely egalitarian than male students (p<0.1). The results of model 3 also suggest that students who came from West Java and South Sulawesi were less egalitarian than those from DKI Jakarta. Interaction term between province and gender shows that girl students from DKI Jakarta and West Java were more egalitarian than those from South Sulawesi. Also the results indicate that girl students from a top performance school were less egalitarian than those from an average school.

Table 3 Predictors of egalitarian-Year 6

| | OLS (Coef.) | Logistic regression (Odds ratio) | |
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender (Female=1; Male=0)	1.12*	1.70	2.27*
	(0.64)	(0.62)	(1.02)
Age of respondent (years)	0.26	1.20	6.06
	(2.57)	(1.70)	(9.74)
Age square (year^2)	-0.01	0.99	0.92
	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Number of cooperated tasks (0-12)	0.23***	1.17***	1.11***
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Province (DKI Jakarta: Ref.)			
West Java	-0.27	0.89	0.44***
	(0.35)	(0.17)	(0.10)
West Nusa Tenggara	-0.87**	0.64**	0.68
	(0.38)	(0.13)	(0.17)
South Sulawesi	-0.16	0.41***	0.53**
	(0.41)	(0.09)	(0.13)
Public school (Islamic Religious school: Ref.)	1.47***	1.39**	1.40*
	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.24)
Top performance school (Average school: Ref.)	0.15	1.02	1.24*
	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.16)
Interaction term: Province X Gender			
DKI Jakarta X Female	0.33	1.21	2.45**
	(0.54)	(0.37)	(0.93)
West Java X Female	-0.30	1.18	2.10**
	(0.52)	(0.36)	(0.73)
West Nusa Tenggara X Female	0.98*	1.07	0.85
	(0.55)	(0.34)	(0.30)
South Sulawesi X Female (Ref.)			
Interaction term: school category X gender			
Top performance school X Female	0.44	0.73	0.59**
	(0.37)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Constant	-3.78	0.15	0.00
	(15.23)	(1.29)	(0.00)
Observations	1,837	1,672	1,518
R-squared	0.12		

*Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Predictors of egalitarian attitudes for year-12 students are presented in Table 4:

Egalitarian score attitudes-Model1**:** The results show female students were more egalitarian than male students (p<0.001). The higher number of tasks that both parents were cooperative increased children's egalitarian attitudes score. Students from DKI Jakarta were more likely to hold egalitarian attitudes than those from West Java. Students from Public schools were more egalitarian than those from Islamic Religious schools. Although we did not find significant difference in gender-role attitude score between top performance and average school, we found that female students from the top performance school were less egalitarian than those in the average school.

Private sphere: "*Men should also participate in doing housework"*- Model 2. The results of model 2 consistently show that the number of domestic tasks that parent was cooperative doing household tasks increased children's egalitarian attitudes. Students from West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi were less likely being gender equality than those from DKI Jakarta; whereas students from West Java seem to be more egalitarian than those from DKI Jakarta. Specifically, the interaction term between regions and gender shows that female students from DKI Jakarta and West Nusa Tenggara were more egalitarian than those from South Sulawesi. In addition, female student from top performance schools were less egalitarian than those from average schools, though there were no difference in egalitarian attitudes between top performance and average schools.

Public sphere: "*Community leader can include women*"- Model 3: The results of Model 3 also indicate that female students were more egalitarian than male students in term of public sphere. The number of domestic tasks that parents were cooperative doing increased egalitarian attitudes. Results also suggest that students from West Java, West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi were less egalitarian than those from DKI Jakarta. Students from public school were more likely egalitarian than those from Islamic religious school (Odds ratio: 1.54, p<0.001). Furthermore, the results also suggest that student from the top performance school were more egalitarian than those from the average school (Odds ratio: 1.5, p<0.001).

Table 4 Predictors of egalitarian-Year 12

	OLS (Coef.)	Logistic regression (odd ratio)	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender (Female=1; Male=0)	3.28***	1.40	1.98***
	(0.37)	(0.30)	(0.50)
Age of respondent (years)	0.23	1.97	0.49*
	(0.42)	(1.33)	(0.18)
Age square (year^2)	-0.01	0.98	1.01
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Number of cooperated tasks (0-12)	0.34***	1.18***	1.11***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Province (DKI Jakarta: Ref.)			
West Java	-0.66***	1.28*	0.77*
	(0.23)	(0.17)	(0.11)
West Nusa Tenggara	0.07	0.58***	0.52***
	(0.22)	(0.07)	(0.07)
South Sulawesi	0.19	0.53***	0.69**
	(0.23)	(0.07)	(0.10)
Public school (Islamic Religious school: Ref.)	0.73***	0.93	1.54***
	(0.16)	(0.09)	(0.15)
Top performance school (Average school: Ref.)	-0.05	1.09	1.50***
	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.11)
Interaction term: Province X Gender			
DKI Jakarta X Female	0.37	1.46**	1.21
	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.26)
West Java X Female	0.43	1.28	1.38
	(0.30)	(0.22)	(0.28)
West Nusa Tenggara X Female	-0.12	1.70***	1.42*
	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.28)
South Sulawesi X Female *(Ref.)*	-	-	-
Interaction term: school category X gender			
Top performance school X Female	-0.46**	0.77**	0.88
	(0.21)	(0.10)	(0.13)
Constant	-3.09		
	(3.98)		
Observations	6,533	6,010	5,878
R-squared	0.16		

*Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

4. Discussion and conclusions

The analysis presented in this paper presents snapshots of gender depiction in primary and secondary school textbooks; gender role attitudes among school students and students' perception of their own parents' household division of labour. This comprehensive approach of analysing various sources of gender roles provide understanding whether what is taught in school using textbooks based on government formulated curricula reflects gender equity consistent with equitable household division of labour. Using this approach we can then understand whether students' attitude to gender roles is more traditional or egalitarian. In doing so, we compared male and female students; Year 6 and Year 12 students; general and Islamic religious schools, and according to provinces. The four selected provinces have distinct economic and cultural backgrounds. Jakarta and West Java are more modern compared to West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi which apply strong Islamic religious culture. Mapping the attitudes of gender roles among young people and understanding how these attitudes are shaped are useful instruments for policy makers seeking to design effective strategies to achieve gender equity in Indonesia.

The results of this study suggest that the prevailing gender depiction in primary and secondary schools textbook delivered substantial traditional gender roles where the male breadwinner model is still strongly and continuously conveyed. The public sphere is more depicted as male dominated especially in Year 6 with the highest depiction, but significantly lower in Year 12. In contrast female role in public sphere though lowly noted can be seen in Year 1 and to a lesser degree in Year 9. Depiction of gender equity in public sphere decreases as the school grade increases. Domination of public sphere by male is also depicted by pictures and photos used throughout the text. For example medical doctors are portrayed as male, though in some cases dentists were depicted as female. Students with high achievement and more knowledgeable were male compared to female. Nevertheless in few instances, photos or pictures are used of women and men working together in an office or lab. If the aim of the education system is to produce students with egalitarian gender norms and understanding, then more progressive text and photos/pictures of female and male working together in offices and science labs should be provided. This includes having text as well as photos/pictures of female working in male dominated jobs.

In the domestic sphere, women and girls are described as conducting: 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 females and male participation is rare. Depiction of gender equity in the domestic sphere is much lower compared to the public sphere, with highest represented in Year 6 and lowest in Year 12. Similar depiction of women and girls doing the domestic chores is frequently portrayed in photos and pictures. Only very few images show a father looking after his toddler or participating in household chores. The irony is that men and boys are depicted conducting household chores outside the house like cleaning the garden, washing car or bike in contrast to women and girls engaging in domestic chores inside the house like cleaning, washing and cooking.

Students' attitudes to gender roles are still demonstrating traditional gender roles. Though, female students are more egalitarian than male students in both Year 6 and Year 12 and Year 12 students as expected, hold more egalitarian attitudes compared to Year 6 students.
In the family environment, students' reported that their parent is still universally practicing traditional gender division of labour, though it is less so for Year 12 students' family.

In the homes, fathers are more likely than mothers to do tasks such as working in paid employment, fixing broken tiles, paying bills, cleaning the garden, and participating in neighbourhood meetings. In

contrast, mothers are more likely than fathers to do tasks such as looking after sick family members, cleaning the house, shopping for daily needs, maintain neighbourhood relations and cooking. The least likely household chores that mother and father do is fixing broken tiles and cooking respectively. This is strongly consistent with traditional gender depiction found in the textbooks analysis.

Analysis of the same type of household chores most likely done by mother and father include: maintaining neighbourhood and family relations; caring of the sick; paying household bills; work to earn a living and for Year 12 parents, the list is added to looking after children. These roles can be labelled as egalitarian gender roles in the students' home environment. Further analysis revealed that the more egalitarian gender roles performed by parents, the more likely it is for the students to have egalitarian gender values.

In short, the survey results showed that female students and Year 12 students are more likely to have an egalitarian gender outlook compared to male and Year 6 students. The same pattern is also observed for general schools compared to Islamic Religious schools and for Jakarta and West Java compared to West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi.

The study concludes that both school environment as an extension of the state, where students are educated, and the home environment where children spend the majority of their time, continue to reflect powerful male breadwinner ideals. Such results are evidence of the proposition that while Indonesian women are making remarkable progress in their public participation, the traditional division of labour within the family is more resistant to change. Such findings, coupled with the results indicating divergent attitudes to gender roles among the boys and girls in the sample, are indicative of future conflicts in gender relations. Policies designed to promote egalitarianism among school students should continue to strive to affect changes in gender roles socialisation in the home and investigate ways to promote gender equity particularly among boys and within the religious school curriculum.

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