Gender role socialisation refers to a process where individuals learn the socially accepted norms and values of their gender roles. Since a very young age, children are immersed in this process of socialisation through their family, schools, and the media. Understanding and mapping young people’s perceptions of gender roles is a crucial first step prior to designing policy initiatives targeting gender equity in Indonesia.

This policy brief provides an overview and predictors of attitudes to gender roles among Year 6 and Year 12 students. Using data from the Indonesian Gender and Reproductive Health Survey, we seek to explore a series of pertinent research questions. The first question targets the issue of socialisation and examines the students’ socialisation environment in their family home. The second question explores students’ perceptions and attitudes to gender roles. The last question asks to what extent gender roles socialisation at home influence the degree of egalitarian attitudes among students.

Data and methods

The Gender and Reproductive health survey was carried out across 4 provinces: West Java, Jakarta, South Sulawesi, and West Nusa Tenggara. This chapter utilises data from the students’ sample of the second stage of the survey. This school-based survey was self-completed by 1,722 Year 6 students in 32 schools, and 6,555 Year 12 students in 32 high schools. The detailed sampling process of the school included in this survey and the sample characteristics are depicted in the Data Sources section in the Introduction of this book. The analysis in this chapter is only performed 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. For example, this will be the case when the student reported 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 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 we report our findings based on the results of multilevel regressions.
Results

Who does what in your home?

Figure 1 depicts the prevailing parental gender roles in the respondents’ home. The findings 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 so. Similarly, for the Year 12 sample, the corresponding figures are 95 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 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 base their answers on what they think were the socially correct way of answering.

Figure 1. Who does what in your home? Percentage of respondents saying that their mother or father perform a specific task at home
A number of interesting patterns emerged from the table. The first one is that at both levels 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 and 19 per cent respectively. Further examination of the data also supported this finding as the mean of the attitudes of gender role scores is found to be higher for girls compared to boys.

**Attitudes to gender roles**

Table 1 outlines the percentage of students agreeing to the 19 statements on gender roles and gender bias in education. 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.

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Second, the Year 12 students are relatively more egalitarian in their outlook than the Year 6 group. As mentioned earlier, 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.

Third, the male breadwinner model remains staunchly 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, only 12 per cent of the Year 12 female respondents agreed with the statement that a wife does not need to work if her husband is working. 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.

**Predictors of attitudes to gender roles**

In our analysis, we construct a score to reflect each respondent attitude to gender roles based on his or her response to 17 of the statements listed in Table 1. The higher the score, the more egalitarian is the respondent’s attitudes to gender roles. Figure 2 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.

What are the factors that differentiate one student’s attitudes to gender roles to another? Using a multilevel multivariate analysis we examine a number of predictors of the respondents’ attitudes to gender roles score. For the Year 6 sample, we found that being a female student, having more egalitarian parental gender roles environment at home, and studying in a non-religious school are positively associated with having an egalitarian outlook.

For the Year 12 sample, we found that being a female student, having more egalitarian parental gender roles environment at home, being a non-Muslim, studying in a non-religious school, and studying in a school located in an urban area are positively associated with having an egalitarian outlook.
Table 1 Percentage of respondents agreeing to a series of statements on gender roles and gender equity issues by sex and year groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>% Agreeing to the statement</th>
<th>Year 6</th>
<th>Year 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A father's job is to earn money for the family, and a mother's job is to look after family</td>
<td>92.1 92.7 83.4 76.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are more men than women in the technology sector</td>
<td>54.0 31.1 48.7 29.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are more women than men in the arts sector</td>
<td>47.1 58.3 22.0 28.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men should also participate in doing housework</td>
<td>38.4 42.8 64.2 71.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In my opinion, having a male or a female principal makes no difference</td>
<td>90.2 92.2 66.7 76.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In difficult financial situations, boys are prioritised over girls to receive further education</td>
<td>23.6 10.1 41.5 16.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In employment, more attractive women get better chances than those who are less attractive</td>
<td>6.9 4.8 15.6 7.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesians prefer to work with a male boss than a female boss</td>
<td>38.9 16.9 30.5 22.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The world will be a better place when women become leaders</td>
<td>6.9 16.7 2.1 5.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A wife does not need to work if her husband is working</td>
<td>46.6 35.0 40.3 21.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious leaders must be males</td>
<td>35.9 13.9 16.1 8.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textbooks in Indonesia talks more about boys than girls*</td>
<td>32.9 11.1 16.5 11.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textbook in Indonesia contains more pictures of boys than girls*</td>
<td>52.2 29.1 44.8 30.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community leaders can include women</td>
<td>58.0 66.0 65.5 80.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Head of Student Council must be a boy</td>
<td>40.6 20.6 35.1 18.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A housewife does not need permission by her husband if she wants to go out</td>
<td>16.2 11.9 5.8 3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A housewife does not need permission by her husband if she wants to do a women's health check up</td>
<td>30.1 18.3 15.0 9.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A housewife does not need permission by her husband if she wants to purchase furniture</td>
<td>14.0 8.9 4.6 3.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Statement not used to construct attitudes to gender role scores

Figure 2 Histograms of attitudes to gender role scores
Concluding remarks

The analysis presented in this chapter presents snapshots of gender role attitudes among school students and of the students’ perception of their own parents’ household division of labour. 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 family environment where school students are raised continues to reflect the male breadwinner ideals. Such results are supportive of the proposition that while Indonesian women are making remarkable progress in their public participation, they continue to face the traditional division of labour within the family as it is more resistant to change. Such finding, 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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Description of the Study: Integrating Gender and Reproductive Health Issues in the Indonesian National School Curricula

In the first stage of this two-stage study, content analysis of more than 300 primary and secondary school textbooks was undertaken on issues relating to reproductive and sexual health education and gender. The second stage was a school-based survey conducted in Jakarta, West Java, West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi.

For the content analysis the team analysed the national Curriculum to see if reproductive health was specifically mentioned and searched for relevant words that indicating content relevant to reproductive health issues. After identifying in grades, subjects and semesters where reproductive and sexual health information is given, textbooks based on the curriculum from various publishers were selected. School textbooks analysed included: Sport and Healthy Living (PENJASKES); Science and Biology; Social Sciences and Islamic Religion. An evaluation module was developed for the analysis of 13 fields of reproductive and sexual health. These were: genital hygiene; STDs; HIV and AIDS; female reproductive problems; male reproductive health problems; pregnancy and delivery; human growth and development; reproductive technology; social aspects of reproductive health; moving towards liberal culture and its consequences; family institution; violence and sexual crimes and religious aspects of reproductive health. The coverage of each topic and the accuracy of the materials provided in the textbook were evaluated by the team.

A content analysis was also performed using a gender content analysis. Areas evaluated included: public and domestic spheres; education and gender; social leadership roles; arts; technology; roles in environmental sustainability; violence and photos or pictures used in the textbooks. All fields were evaluated according to whether the material was male or female dominated; mostly male or female content; and degree of equality between males and females.

Gender analysis was conducted by evaluating the text and pictures used in Sport and Healthy Living (PENJASKES); Science and Biology; Social Sciences and Islamic Religion, Bahasa Indonesia and English Language school textbooks for year 1, 6, 9 and 12. In the second stage a survey of Year 6 (N=1837) and Year 12 students (N=6555), teachers (N=521) and school principals (N=59) in Jakarta, West Java, West Nusa Tenggara and South Sulawesi was conducted (N=8972) to evaluate respondents’ understanding regarding reproductive health and gender. The sampling of schools was performed in several stages. First, in every province two districts were selected, one urban and one rural. Two public schools and two religious schools were selected in each selected district that represented the best school and a medium performing school. Thus in every province, 16 schools were selected. 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 may ask questions if they don’t understand. Following the survey, qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted among school teachers and principals, local religious leaders and policy makers. A series of policy briefs will be developed from this study. The research team was led by Dr. Iwu Dwisetyani Utomo and Prof. Peter McDonald.

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