Schoolgirls in Indonesia: Ethnicity, Religion and Education

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines major historical and political events during New Order Era (Suharto's regime) and the Reformation Era. These two eras have shaped and continue to shape ethnic and religious identities of Indonesian in contemporary Indonesia. Using four conceptual frameworks of gender, ethnicity, religion and schooling, individual and collective experiences of Indonesian schoolgirls are scrutinized. Indonesian schoolgirls negotiate ethnic and religious practices and traditions as well as global flows of culture, creating new identities. Local cultures are capable of negotiating with the global flows which creates hybridity (Nilan & Feixa, 2006). Nilan's (2006) study in Indonesia shows that Muslim youth in Indonesia can negotiate their Muslimness with the global flows. With several high schools in Indonesia currently pioneering a program of being one of an 'international standard senior high school' to improve education quality and competitiveness in senior high school level, both nationally and internationally, schoolgirls in Indonesia continue to negotiate their identities producing 'hybrid' identities.

Keywords: Indonesian schoolgirls, ethnicity, religion, education

A. Cultural Politics in Indonesia: New Order Era/Suharto's Regime (1965 – 1998) and The Reformasi Era (1998 – Present)

With more than 13,000 islands, 200 million people, 50 ethnic groups, and 200 regional languages, Indonesia has remarkable cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and religious diversity (Bjork, 2003; Hoon, 2006). Two major historical and political events namely the New Order Era under Suharto's Regime and the Reformasi Era have shaped and continue to shape ethnic and religious identities of Indonesians in contemporary Indonesia. The New Order started when General Suharto lead 'an

attempted lefties coup and counter coup' in September 30, 1965 where President Sukarno was replaced by General Suharto (Williams, 1991). President Suharto then ruled Indonesia for more than thirty two years (1965 – 1998) and introduced the concept of Orde Baru or New Order. One of the key concepts of the New Order society was 'its obsessions with securing a certain kind of social orderliness, hierarchy, and centralized control which intend on propagating unitary narratives of Indonesian nation, history, culture, and individual identity' (Bodden, 1999, p. 155).

As an example, the Indonesian national identity within the official political discourse is seen as homogenous unitary. Such a discourse does not consider the cultural plurality in ways of being Indonesians. This national identity must also conform to the rules of centralized control which is the government. An example of the implementation of this key concept, according to Hoon (2006, p. 151), is that Indonesian citizens irrespective of their ethnicity, religion, class, gender were all imagined within 'a constructed homogeneous national identity called Pancasila to maintain order and stability'.

The five principles of Pancasila were considered powerful enough to unite the Indonesian nation and national identity. However, Hoon (2006, p. 151) explains that this national identity never successfully managed to accommodate the presence of ethnic minorities including the Chinese. In 1967, a special regulation concerning the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia was enacted (Tan, 1991, p. 116) which disadvantaged the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. Examples of this disadvantaging regulation included the following (i) those with Chinese names were urged to change them to Indonesian names (ii) Chinese religious behaviour should only be expressed privately and (iii) the government decided to close "Chinese schools" because some of these "Chinese schools" use Chinese as the medium of instruction instead of Indonesian (Tan, 1991, p. 117). This failure in accommodating the pluralism in Indonesian society, which continued for more than thirty two years, created conflicting issues where the 'Chinese Indonesian and other ethnic minorities are still looked upon by the other indigenous Indonesian ethnicities such as Javanese as a nationality apart and they think of themselves as a separate group although they shared history and cultural experiences' (Blusse, 1991, p. 1). Thus Pancasila, which was claimed to be managing the diversity among different ethnicities, was found to be the mechanism which itself manipulated diversity (Hasan, 2008).

The year 1998 in Indonesian's history is marked by a significant change which is popular as 'Reformasi' (Choi, 2004; Budiman, 2008; Hasan, 2008; Nordholt, 2008). During this year, Indonesians witnessed the downfall of President Suharto (Budiman, 2008; p. 73) which also marked the downfall of New Order regime and the beginning of Reformasi (Nordholt, 2008, p.2). Nordholt (2008, p. 2) explains that 'Pancasila lost its hegemonic authority and was challenged by a wave of alternative religious, ethnic, and regional identity politics thus 'Reformasi' becomes intensified'. This era opened up new challenges such as 'the resurgence of identity politics across Indonesia' (Hoon, 2006, p. 150).

It also brought the possibility of opening up new alternatives in managing pluralism in contemporary Indonesia. For example the acknowledgement of the centrality of local custom (adat) in village-level reform shows that Reformasi opened up a political space for the replacement of once nationally uniform institutions (Accciaiolli, 2001, p. 88). Furthermore, there was a change of the regulation towards the ethnic Chinese as one of the minor ethnicities in Indonesia who were disadvantaged by the New Order. 'Chinese media, Chinese organizations and 'Chinese language' schools were permitted (Suryadinata, 2004, p. 2).

During Wahid's presidency (1999-2001), a presidential decree which banned Chinese from celebrating their traditional holidays, was annulled (Suryadinata, 2004, p. 2). In Reformasi Era, Chinese were seen celebrating their New Year together with the presence of President Wahid. However, within these new possibilities and challenges of opening up new identity politics, riots characterized as ethnic or religious attacks occurred in West Sumba, Jakarta, West Timor, South Sulawesi, and East Java which were only a few clashes that immediately preceded Poso (a town in Central Sulawesi)'s incident (Aragon, 2001, p. 48).

These riots often caused deaths of innocent people such as children because of small clash or misunderstanding between religions such as between Muslims and Christians, for example. A small minor quarrel between a Christian bus driver and a Muslim passenger in Ambon town in January 1999 ended up in a bloody and enduring conflict ruining the peaceful coexistence between both faiths that has been sustained for generations (Brauchler, 2003, pp. 123-124). Furthermore, Brauchler (2003, p. 124) explains that 'even if religion itself was not the cause of

the unrest, the people involved in the conflict very soon grouped around religion as the main identity marker'. Thus religion became a significant marker in Indonesian identity in that it had the potential to create tension between the different ethnic and religious groups.

While the cultural and political contexts of the New Order Era and the Reformasi Era are important in understanding identity formation in contemporary Indonesia, equally important is the notion of globalization. Globalization is generally understood as movements of ideas, culture, goods and people across borders. Globalization is multidirectional. Events and development in one region of the world affects other regions. For example, what happens in China influences developments in Indonesia and vice-versa, or events in Southeast Asia shapes developments in Europe or in America and vice-versa. Indonesians negotiate not only local or indigenous cultures (such as Javanese of Central Java, Aranese of South Sulawesi, Balinese of Bali, Mollucan of Ambon) but also cultures through global flows.

The concept of one National Indonesian culture (conforming to Pancasila) does not hold true anymore if lived experiences of individuals negotiating different local and global cultures are considered. While there are similarities among the different cultures from the existing 50 ethic groups, there are also differences among these 'local' cultures. Therefore, during the New Order Era, rather than enriching the national identity for Indonesia through the different cultures, globalization is used as a mean to fight against the central control of the government (Vickers & Fisher, 1999).

National identity during the New Order Era (1965 – 1998) was homogenized and Indonesian citizens irrespective of their ethnicity, religion, class, gender were all imagined within 'a constructed homogeneous national identity called to maintain order and stability'. Principles such as belief in one God, humanity, unity, democracy and social justice among all the people of Indonesia were seen to maintain a harmonious relationship among local ethnics such as Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, and so on irrespective of their religion and ethnicity. For example, the first principle of Pancasila, "God is One" means that the Indonesian can choose between the five religions recognized by the state: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism or Hinduism, each with its own department within the Ministry of Religion (Siegel, 2000, p. 22).

However, discrimination still occurs in this Era. Non indigenous ethnicity such as The Chinese and The Arabs were considered 'alien minority' (Ang in Shiach, 1999, p. 548). As an example, Ang (in Shiach, 1999) recalls that when she was a child she was told by other kids, usually Javanese kids, to go back to her own country, China (p. 550). Ang was confused with this disturbing utterance thinking that Indonesia was her country. In a study in Sukabumi, the younger generation of the ethnic Chinese see themselves as different from the ethnic Indonesian (Tan, 1991, p. 124). This does not mean that the ethnic Chinese is oppressed within the New Order. The role of ethnic Chinese in Indonesian economy is still perceived by the ethnic Indonesian majority as very powerful which creates the stereotype that the ethnic Chinese are wealthy and benefited from all the facilities provided in the New Order (Tan, 1991). Thus, it becomes one of the 'resentment' of the ethnic Indonesian towards the ethnic Chinese (Tan, 1991, p. 125).

One uniqueness of 'Peranakan' Chinese (a term used by people of Chinese descent born and bred in South-east Asia) identity in Indonesia is that it always has been a thoroughly hybrid identity with Malay, Hokkien and Dutch cultures. This can be seen from the ability of the ethnic Chinese in their language skills whether in school or in more informal settings. While being able to write in Chinese characters, they are also able to write in Malay and Dutch languages (Ang in Shiach, 1999, p. 548). As stated above, a significant change marked by the downfall of Suharto and the beginning of Reformasi happened in 1998. The New Order was challenged by a wave of alternative religious, ethnic and regional identity. Riots characterized as ethnics or religious attacks occurred in many parts of Indonesia following the downfall of the hegemonic Pancasila which once was believed to homogenize and unite the Indonesian within a national identity. Because of the popular demand for regional autonomy within the island in Indonesia, town in central Sulawesi called Poso held an election for the regency's administrative post. However this election turned into a riot, which coalesced around religious (Protestant, or even Christians, versus Muslim) rather than simply ethnicity issues (Pamona versus Bugis and Javanese) (Aragon, 2001, p. 48).

The fighting between Pamona affiliated Protestants and the Bugis-affiliated Muslims began where the Christians found themselves unable to get their candidates elected, saw their neighbourhoods burned and were unable to gain Security (Aragon, 2001, p. 34).

Acciaioli (2001) points out that one of the reason which cause the violence between ethno-religious identities in Indonesia is the failure to recognize the heterogeneity of local communities during the New Order era. These communities were structured in a homogenous community which fails to accommodate the ethnic and religious differences. A confrontation between a Christian Ambonese public transport driver with a Bugis Muslim youth in a transport terminal had left the Muslim convinced that the Christian had decided that the only way to address the problem is to rid the province of Muslim migrants (p. 5). Thus, there is a failure in recognizing the heterogeneity of the community in Ambon. Ethnic and religious conflicts also take place on the internet. Muslims and Christians of the Moluccas, an ethnic area in Ambon, created 'war' through their internet sites and postings (Brauchler, 2003).

Through this 'virtual community', the Christians and the Muslims, instead of using internet as a safe place to communicate, used the internet to taunt each other (Brauchler, 2003). The mocking between these two religious believers such as 'Jihat makan tahi' ('Jihad eating shit') and 'anjing anjing piaraan Kristen RMS' ('dogs of Christian faith RMS') were posted in their mailing. The changing climate of cultural and political practices in Indonesia in the new era of Refromasi has resulted in new possibilities and challenges for local and non-indigenous ethnicities and cultures. In the midst of this new era, the current President, urges teachers 'to safeguard' (Antara, 2003, p. 1) youth from the impacts of globalization such as hedonism and limitless freedom. According to President Yudhoyono, unlimited freedom does not fit into the cultural and religious values of Indonesia. Yet, various studies indicate that Indonesian youth especially now negotiate global popular culture in their daily lives in creating 'hybrid' identities.

For example, Indonesian-Muslim young girls (Muslimah) in Indonesia use halal cosmetics and hair products produced overseas. Even the usage of mobile phones, IPods and other technology device are personalized with Islamic iconography and Koran verses (Nilan in Nilan & Feixa, 2006).

The changes happened during Reformasi era are also inextricably linked to Indonesia's radical decentralization that is not working well (Searle, 2002, p. 1). After the downfall of President Suharto, centralized government was challenged with decentralization. There are issues during the changes because Indonesians are still adapting with the changes. In the education sector, a new curriculum named

the Competence-Based Curriculum (CBC) was introduced in 2000. This new curriculum is in line with the current Indonesia's education reform goal. It is aimed to design a program to prepare pupil for the job market, delegate control of the schools to local level to redistribute power as well as create greater sensitivity to local cultures (Utomo, 2005).

However, the implementation of this curriculum within schools is through long, sometimes conflicting processes. As an example, teachers within local schools are facing difficulties in the implementation of CBC due to the fact that teachers claimed to know what CBC is, but in actual classroom implementation of CBC, these teachers were lost (Utomo, 2005). They prefer to return to the forme curriculum with which they were more comfortable teaching. Another example shows that interviews conducted with students of a junior high school in Indonesia illustrate the skills students achieve in classes do not improve their chances of securing future employment (Bjork, 2003). This example also confirms the difficulties of implementing the new curriculum in schools in Indonesia.

B. Conceptual Framework: Gender, Ethnicity and Religion And Schooling

This section discusses the three interrelated concepts in this study, namely gender, ethnicity and religion as well as schooling. The issues of gender, ethnicity and religion are elaborated in two parts, the ways in which these concepts are played out within Indonesia, and how these concepts are understood within the research literature. I draw on Indonesian studies (Choi, 2004; Budiman, 2008; Hasan, 2008; Nordholt, 2008; Suryadinata, 2004), Indonesian feminists (Blackwood, 2005, Sears, 1996; Wieringa, 2001; Blackburn; 2004), and education theories (Spivak, 2008; Giroux, 1996; Hollins, 1996) in order to critically discuss these interrelated key issues.

B.1. Gender, Ethnicity and Religion in Indonesia: Individual and Collective Experiences

The complex scenarios of historical and political events and global social forces have shaped and continue to shape gender, ethnic and religious identities of Indonesians. In understanding Indonesian girls' ethnic identities, ways of being women as theorised by postcolonial feminists (Brah, 1996, 2002; Mohanty, 2007; Narayan, 2000) is important. Individual/personal and collective experiences are

important in understanding identities. Shared experiences of individuals are historically and culturally located within a nation (Yuval-Davies, 1997). In the Indonesian context, shared collective experiences of belonging to a particular ethnic community are just as important as individual experiences.

For example, Indonesian-Javanese are situated within the construction of Javanese history and cultures where there are shared gendered, cultural and religious traditions. Such cultural practices and traditions shape the ways in which they see themselves and how others perceive them as Javanese. This is the collective experience that the Javanese share or have in common. The collective experiences for the Indonesian-Chinese and other ethnic groups are also located within the historical and cultural context of the collective. Other aspects of social dimensions including gender and religion are also linked to identity processes. Global flows of culture are also important in understanding Indonesian schoolgirls' identities. Indonesian schoolgirls in negotiating ethnic and religious practices and traditions, and global flows of culture are creating new identities. I am interested in the markers of these new 'hybrid' identities. The notion of hybridity is an important concept used in research on youth ethnicity and religion (Faas, 2009). Nilan and Feixa (2006) draw on the work of Homi Bhabha in providing a postcolonial definition of hybridity stating that ethnicity and culture are not fixed but negotiated (Bhabha, 1994 in Nilan & Feixa, 2006).

Bhabha argues that it is not a simple matter of two cultures combining to result in a new identity. Hybrid identities are the result of processes of negotiations with different ways in the identity process. Nilan and Feixa (2006, p. 2) highlight the important of globalisation in the creation of hybrid identities. Cultural interactions between the local and the global, the hegemonic and the subaltern, the centre and the periphery as well as cultural transactions that reflects how global cultures are assimilated in the locality, and how non-Western cultures impact upon the West (p. 2).

As noted earlier, the global flows of economy and cultures negotiated within the regional and national culture in Indonesia. The local is implicated in the global and the global implicated in the local. This negotiation of conflicting elements between ethnic cultures in Indonesia and global flows of culture (see introduction) create new identities or hybrid identities. Nilan (2006) looked at hybrid youth popular culture products and practices within the lives of devoted Islamic young

people in Indonesia (Nilan, 2006). She explored the experiences of young Muslim from South Sulawesi and Central Java in negotiating their local identity with global cultural practices in their lives. She found that even though Muslimah (Muslim young girls) in South Sulawesi and Central Java preserve traditional culture and religious faith, they do not feel that they are missing out on the trends of globalisation.

They appropriated the traditional culture and religious faith with globalisation trends. An example is that young Muslim women/Muslimah can celebrate their birthdays by having halal 'strawberry chocolate birthday' cake which does not violate the laws of traditional Islamic faith. Another example was given earlier, where Indonesian-Muslim youth personalise mobile phones, IPods and other technology devices with Islamic iconography and Koran verses (Nilan, 2006). The notions of gender, ethnicity and religion are inextricably linked within the discussion of individual and collective experiences, and global cultures in the Indonesian context. I am interested in understanding how these different social dimensions are played out in Indonesian schoolgirls' identity practices.

B.2. Globalization and Young Girls

Most studies on female youth are conducted within the 'center' or 'core' Western cultures. Studies of the experiences of 'Third World' immigrant girls in such contexts are widely explored within the context of globalization (see Moras, 2009; Grewal, 2009; Dolby & Rizvi, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2005; Shain, 2003). One of the definitions of globalization is 'regional and worldwide interdependence' (Wiley, 2004) which involves interaction of a new order and intensity (Appadurai, 2001). Furthermore, Wiley (2004) states that recent globalization accelerates the interactions among people, money, commodities, media within the global and local flow. In the context of The New Order Era in Indonesia, the National culture accepted local and foreign cultures which would enrich National culture on the condition that accepting foreign cultures must be selective. Foreign cultures can bring negative impacts or even threaten the National culture.

According to Rhea (2000) globalization is seen as accompanied by a flood of cultural products, information, and ideas in one direction, from rich countries to poor which threatens the diversity of particular cultures, political systems and identities. However, Nilan and Feixa (2006) argue that local cultures are capable of negotiating with the global flows which creates hybridity. Nilan's (2006) study

in Indonesia shows that Muslim youth in Indonesia can negotiate their Muslimness with the global flows. Many studies have been done regarding globalization and identity. Moras (2009) and Dolby and Rizvi (2008) examined the identity of immigrants such as African American and Latino (Moras, 2009) working in a foreign country such as the USA. The interplay of work, technology and consumer culture is discussed in the hybridized identity of these youths (Dolby & Rizvi, 2008). A study of the experiences of Asian young female is located within an England school (Shain, 2003) reveals the strategies that Asian girls employ to deal with their schooling experience in England.

Their experiences are shaped by multiplicity of factors including gender, class, ethnicity, religion and their regional location, resulting in the different groups of the gang girls, the survivors, the rebels, and the faith girls (p. 125). There are a few studies examine youth from countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Japan (see Joseph, 2003; Nilan & Feixa, 2006; Beazley, 2003). These studies investigate how young boys and girls negotiate the complexity of having their national and regional identity while accepting foreign culture which enters their lifestyle. The negotiation between conflicting identities within the lifestyle of these youth creates new experiences, hybridized identity. A research done in Sendai, Japan produces a new vocabulary, 'adolecnic' which describes the relationship of two youth in Japan with their involvement in using cell phones (Holden, 2006, p. 72).

The flow of cell phones as a global technology used by youth influence their lifestyle as well as their identity. Studies of ways of being a devout Muslim in Central Kalimantan and Java with the challenges of the global flow in this globalization era (Nilan, 2006) and ways of being Tikyan street children in Jogjakarta (Beazley, 2003) are also observed. From the examples of research above, it can be concluded that there is space for research on youth Indonesia, especially young girls, looking at their hybrid identities. Looking at discourses of femininities which operates within the Indonesian context is essential. The next section provides an explanation of femininities constructed by the New Order era as well as the Reformasi era. B.3. Gender in Indonesia

The discourses about gender and sexuality produced by contemporary Islamic scholars and the postcolonial state of Indonesia create an image of innate gender differences in which modern Indonesian women are oriented toward

domestic and wifely tasks as well as career women and productive workers in a global economy, while Indonesian men are encouraged to be head of households and be active leaders in public domain (Blackwood, 2005, p. 869, Sears, 1996; Wieringa, 2001). During the New Order era (from 1965 to the early 1990's) women were constructed as having the nurturing and reproductive role in the private sphere (Asian Development Bank, 2002, p. 45, Prawansa in Robinson & Bessell, 2002; Marcoes-Natsir in Oey-Gardiner & Bianpoen, 2000). Dzuhayatin (in Hefner, 2001, p. 264) further claims that in the New Order era, which lasted for more than thirty two years, women had been 'instructed to accept a single ideal type of femininity and masculinity (constructed by and for the regime which was based on homogeneous and restrictive representation of women's role and identity'). This typical image of a domesticated woman has changed over time and is different in present times is a central image of social order and stability (Brenner, 1999, p. 37) of the homogenous national identity (see introduction, Hoon, 2006) of Indonesia. As an example, although the most powerful women's organizations such as PKK and Dharma Wanita are established and supported by the government, women's issues still predominantly concern their position as wives and mothers (Prawansa in Robinson and Bessell, 2002, p. 71) thus this become a powerless organization of women which tend to re-subordinate women rather to emancipate them (Wieringa, 2001, p. 17). Women Muslim organization in Indonesia such as Aisiyah also follows the traditional gender division of labour where men (Muhammadiyah, Men's Muslim organisation which operates alongside Aisyiyah) relate to the public sphere which includes politics, organisational policies and issues of religious laws, while women (Aisyiyah) are restricted to the home and to stereotypical activities of education and health (Marcoes-Natsir in Oey-Gardiner & Bianpoen, 2000; p. 136). Towards the end of the New Order, the notion of the Indonesian 'modern woman' emerged in the public spaces. However, there is still a patriarchal understanding of the 'modern' woman. This notion of the 'modern women' assigned to Indonesian women in the mid 1980s gives women a double burden of managing the family as well as handling a career outside the household (Adamson, 1997, p. 11). Besides being the nurturer of their family, women are still expected to maintain the domestic tasks and should not let their careers interfere significantly with these functions (Brenner, 1999, p. 24). However, this stereotypical image of 'modern women' is understood differently within different ethnic groups. For example, the Minangkabau ethnicity in West Sumatra still holds a strong matrilineal system

where 'husbands are "guests" in their wives' houses' (Blackburn, 2004, p. 8). Nevertheless, Minangkabau men still have their position because family and community decision are made by these men. The Reformasi Era (1998 until present) brought about some significant policy changes in relation to women and development such as moving beyond the role of nurturing and reproductive activities in the private sphere. It also impacted on the educational and social opportunities for women. For example, the Reformasi era brought changes in the political arena where more well-educated women were available and they were more likely to form and lead parties such as Megawati (Blackburn, 2004, p. 109). Megawati became the fourth President of Indonesia. The Rifka Annisa Women Crisis Centre, the first established women's crisis centre in Indonesia, challenges the established tradition that position women at the behest of men (Mas'oed et al., in Hefner 2001, p. 131). This group works to promote women's rights and work ethics. Thus, this women's NGO provides alternatives of the 'model women' created by the New Order, where being married or single, willing to have or not to have children, choosing a career or being a housewife, are all issues that should be resolved on the basis of women's own choices. Not even the husband or the state who has the right to assert control over a woman's body or mind (Dzuhayatin in Hefner, 2001, p. 265). Majority of the studies on Indonesian women focus on the major ethnic and religion in Indonesia, Javanese-Muslim women. With a move towards a more liberal mode of the state, the articulate and knowledgeable urban middle-class women of Java represent Indonesian women. Rural and poorer women from more remote regions are excluded from studies because it is the elite and middle-class women who are more politically astute and vocal, and frequently claim to represent all women (Schild in Blackburn, 2004, p. 109). Most studies on Indonesian women focus on middle-class Javanese-Muslim women. Furthermore, Blackburn (2004) argues that the women's movement in Indonesia 'cannot be regarded as representing the full range of women in spite of Indonesia's diversity (p. 12)' because farm workers, women in remote areas, and women of Chinese ethnicity and other minority groups for example, are poorly represented in the studies of women in Indonesia. Issues about Chinese women are usually embedded (in a small percentage of the study) in studies about Chinese ethnicity in Indonesia (see Wolff, 1997; Suryadinata, 2004). There has been some research on young women in Indonesia in a schooling context that looks at the education rights of these girls (Muthali'in, 2001; Blackburn, 2004; Srimulyani, 2007). Srimulyani points out that one of the accesses for young girls, especially young Muslim girls in

education is through pesantren, an Islamic girl school in Indonesia. Because the majority population of Indonesia are Muslim, there are almost equal numbers of young girls who go to public school and private school such as pesantren. Female students have more rules compared to male students studying in pesantren. Gender bias is still observed in the primary education of young girls in Java and Bali (Muthali'in, 2001).

This gender bias is noticed though subjects, textbooks, and even the pedagogy. For example, illustration in elementary through senior high school textbook assigned domestic chores such as cooking and taking care of children to women and young girls (p. 105).. In addition, Blackburn (2004) explains that the outcome of schooling for Indonesian girls are to improve the 'moral tone' (p. 56) and status of Indonesian society by becoming suitable mothers and wives for male leaders and combat social evil. The notions of gender, ethnicity and religion are inextricably linked within the discussion of individual and collective experiences, and global cultures in the Indonesian context. The next section explores the 'ethno-religious' identity and the ways in which individual and collective experiences are important in the Indonesian context.

B.4. Ethnicity and religion in Indonesia

'Ethno-religious' identity is an important concept in researching the ethnicity and religiosity of youth in a community as 'ethno-religious' identity is one of the dimensions of contemporary youth identities (Nilan, 2006, Shain, 2003). To understand girls' experiences in school, it is important to take account the identities background of the girls such as ethnicity, race, class, religion and region. Previous research have taken for granted this various identity markers such as ethnicity and religion in researching youth. They tend to focus on certain subgroup such as Muslims or Sikhs (Shain, 2003).

The inextricable link between ethnicity and religion in Indonesia is explained in this section along with other research on the intertwined relation between ethnicity and religion from other countries. As stated in the introduction, the National identity during the New Order era which homogenized Indonesian citizens irrespective of their ethnicity, religion, class, gender was challenged by the changes and new ideas in the Reformasi Era. Ethno-religious conflicts rise in regions in Indonesia. In Central Kalimantan, for example, a conflict between indigenous Dayaks and immigrant Madurese happened in 2001. There was a

cultural stereotyping of Madurese people 'as arrogant, exclusive, and violent' by Dayaks (Searle, 2002). These cultural stereotyping exists for most of the ethnics in Indonesia. The collective experiences of being Maduranese or Dayaks give certain stereotypings to these particular ethnicities. Chinese people also experience major changes in the Reformasi Era. Chinese Indonesian youths become exposed to new ideas after the fall of Suharto. They wanted rapid changes and erase racial discrimination against Chinese ethnicity. However, they were concerned because their problems were not dealt properly by the government (Suryadinata, 2001).

They are also in dilemmas because of their political orientations whereby some youth wanted to work within the Chinese Indonesian community and others wanted to form non-ethnic ones. During the Reformasi era, Chinese celebrate their freedom and ability to express their ethnicity and feelings in public as well as suggesting aspiration for their positioning in the community.

In the globalization context, Indonesia's cultural aspects which hold religious values and social norms held by the society is important because cultural development contributes to the image of Indonesia as a country reforming in the globalization era (Junarsin, 2009, p. 112). Furthermore, Junarsin (2009) argues that within this global flow, cultural clash such as the conflict between Western ideas with Islamic view may happen. However, these different ideas can be negotiated through assimilation process (Nilan & feixa, 2006) for example, which produces 'hybrid' culture and identity. A broader example of ethno-religious' identity study is a study of the ethnic and political dimension of hybridity among majority and Turkish youth in Germany and England (Faas, 2009).

This study looks into the interplay of different dimensions of contemporary youth identities which 'produces different forms of hybrid identities' (p. 317). The ethnic dimension of youth identities in Britain and Germany also involves the religiosity of the youth. Thus, ethno-religious identity is one of the factors to consider when researching youth identity in the twentieth century (p. 318). The research reveals that most youth in school in England and Germany have had no singular identity but employed hybrid Turkish British/German, Swabian German, and German European identities (p. 317). This study is important for my study because it reveals that the concept of multiple identities in the experiences of youth in schools in England involves the interplay of ethnicity and religion.

Research conducted in Lebanon, which is a unique country described as 'a crossroad civilization, a buffer zone between Christianity and Islam, a point of contact between East and West' (p. 457) reveals that 'Lebanon's identity itself is highly contested by the different ethno-religious communities that makes up its population' (Kraidy, 1999, p. 457). Young middle-class Maronites (an ethnic in Lebanon) negotiate their identities by using the tactics of 'consumption, mimicry, and nomadism (p. 471)' in order to produce 'the hybrid fabric of their cultural identities' (p. 471). The themes in negotiating multiple identities is an important aspect because identifying themes in a certain situation and location can illustrate the process of hybridization in one's experience.

C. Indonesian Schollgirls: Hybrid Identities

Schooling and education are situated contexts to understand issues of identity, culture, representation, and agency (Giroux, 1996; p. 60). Schools are shaped by specific cultural practices and values and reflect the norms of a particular society for which they have been developed (Hollins, 1996). For example, education and schooling in Indonesia is one of the situated contexts to scrutinize the concept of 'Indonesian women', 'Indonesian young girls', 'modern Indonesian women' (Muthali'in, 2001, Blackburn, 2004, Smith-Hefner, 2005). During the Suharto's regime, Javanese-Muslim students in a state sponsored religious education were instructed 'proper' gender roles and behaviour such as an ideal wives/mother's primary responsibilities are at home whereas fathers' are the provider of the family (Smith-Hefner, 2005). Furthermore, interactions such as shaking hands or touching parts of the body with unrelated members of the opposite sex are sinful. These instructions were given in religious classes as well as religious extracurricular that the students receive from school.

Young girls in Indonesian schools are located within contemporary Indonesia where the New Order Era and the Reformasi Era have shaped and continue to shape ethnic and religious identities of Indonesians. The significant change from Pancasila with its hegemonic authority and homogenous unitary was challenged by a wave of alternative religious, ethnic, and regional identity politics during the Reformasi Era. This provides spaces for negotiating the complexity of different local cultural identities as well as global flows of cultures. Several high schools in Indonesia are currently pioneering a program of being one of an

'international standard senior high school' to improve education quality and competitiveness in senior high school level, both nationally and internationally (Suwardani, 2009). This new program introduced by the government involves the improvement of all elements of the institution from the policy to the implementation process. The curriculum, headmasters, teachers, students and school facilities attempt to advance towards the standard of an 'international high school'. Ongoing research (see Suwardani, 2009, Rohmah, 2009, Gaylord, 2008) have been conducted to find out how schools and institutions across Indonesia are dealing with this new program. One of the findings suggests that there are many problems regarding to the teaching of English within this new program in Surakarta, Central Java (Rohmah, 2009). Another finding from a research conducted in Bali reveals that headmasters and teachers should put more efforts in building networking, providing professional teaching as well as mastering new technologies such as using power points for presentation and using the internet in the teaching and learning process (Suwardani, 2009).

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