MOTHERING, HOMEMAKING, AND STUDYING: INDONESIAN WOMEN STUDENTS IN AUSTRALIA

Sofkhatin Khumaidah
Dosen Jurusan Tarbiyah dan Kepala P3M STAIN Jember

Abstrak

Menjadi mahasiswa penerima beasiswa ke luar negeri terdengar begitu menyenangkan karena kesempatan belajar dengan gratis di negeri maju yang tentunya dilengkapi dengan fasilitas yang serba modern dan lengkap. Namun, apakah kesempatan emas tersebut bisa dimanfaatkan semaksimal mungkin oleh mahasiswa perempuan yang sudah berkeluarga, apalagi membawa keluarga mereka ke negeri tempat mereka belajar? Penelitian ini mengangkat pengalaman perempuan-perempuan yang mendapat beasiswa belajar ke Australia dalam menjalani kehidupan mereka sebagai mahasiswi yang hidup dengan keluarga mereka tanpa bantuan pembantu maupun keluarga besar[1]. Penelitian ini menggunakan metodologi feminist standpoint yang sangat menentang paradigma positivisme dengan klaim ke'obyektif'an nya. Jadi peneliti menyatakan terus terang bahwa penelitian ini memang berpihak kepada perempuan, karena suara perempuan telah lama tidak terrepresentasikan (silenced) terutama dalam proses pembentukan ilmu pengetahuan. Kesimpulan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa konstruk peran gender sudah sangat dalam terinternalisasi ke dalam diri hampir setiap perempuan subyek sehingga banyak konsekwensi merugikan yang harus mereka hadapi. Misal nya, mereka sering kesulitan menentukan mata kuliah yang akan diambil, karena tidak jarang mata kuliah yang diminati dan penting bagi mereka ternyata tidak bisa mereka program, karena jadwal yang tidak memungkinkan mereka untuk membagi waktu dengan tanggung jawab mereka terhadap anak dan keluarga. Mereka juga sering memutuskan untuk mengesampingkan ambisi akademik dan profesional mereka demi peran domestik yang harus mereka jalani.

Kata Kunci : *Mothering, Homemaking and Studying*

1 It is impossible to take with them their servant and/or extended family members to Australia to help them take care of their children and do the household chores.-, because it is a very high cost which is not affordable for the students.

INTRODUCTION

Many times, women students got troubles in managing times for having a class which is really interesting for them and relevant with their needs. It is common to hear their complaint that when they wanted to take a certain class, they could not have it, because of their domestic, reproductive and/or care responsibilities. They got the schedule crashed with their domestic and/or care responsibilities. Consequently, they often sacrifice their academic interest. It is just one of the many evidences about married women students, especially who have their family with them in Australia. It shows the dominant perception of gender that women's domain is essentially domestic and that her importance and power within this sphere are undisputed (ICMC, 2003). The perception comes mostly from religious tradition which has been framed in patriarchal culture (Subhan, 2002; Umar, 2003; 2007; Alimin, 2004; Murniati, 2004). Within such religious tradition, gender inequality is considered a divine creation rather than a social construction, which means the inequality should be taken for granted rather than questioned. This seems to be compatible with Durkheim's and Karl Marx's conclusion (Nuruzzaman et al, 2004) that religions have been used to construct gender role.

Mernissi (1991), Umar (2003; 2007) and Subhan (2002) describe three theological concepts which are believed to be the sources of gender inequality; the origin of the creation of woman and man, woman's position in the original sin, and the function of the existence of man and woman in which woman's existence is complementary. These theological concepts seem to be an important determinant of the subordinate position of women in Indonesia, because the majority (88.22%) of Indonesians are muslims[2] who mostly believe the concepts (Umar, 2003; 2007; Subhan, 2002; Alimin, 2004), while for the Christian community, the concepts are clearly mentioned explicitly in their Bible (Genesis 2:21-23; Genesis 3: 1-6; Genesis 2: 18). This, consequently, shapes the perceptions of gender roles in which many people probably would say, at least, that a woman is not a good woman if she is not good at her role as helper to support her husband's position as the breadwinner[3], as a leader in the family, or even as a public figure outside the home. In turn, domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, ironing, and tidying up the house become the responsibilities of the helper, even though she also spends much of her time in a career in the public sphere.

2 Sources: http://www.multied.com/NationbyNation/Indonesia/Population.html and http://jakarta.usembassy.gov/bhs/Laporan/laporan%20kebebasan%20beragama%202005-1.html

3 The term 'breadwinner' in Western countries is a common sense which does not need special explanation, but here in Indonesia, in which the term is not well-known, nor widely-used, I would like to describe it. It refers to a person in a family, usually the husband, who holds the responsibility as the carrier and the shoulder for the dependants in the family to lay on.

In line with this, the upper-middle class professional women tend to have the problem of gender equality (Zulminarni, 2006). For instance, women academics experience their work lives and the work-family balance differently from men. They get double burden of their role in domestic and public spheres, whereas men do not (Miller & Hollenshead, 2005). I would argue that the dominant gender order is behind this. The inequality has been produced by the different roles given and expected to men and women by the society; women with their roles in domestic sphere and men in public one. From the vast majority of practices I have ever seen, and from the works of feminists across countries I have ever read, I am of the conviction that this is the dominant gender order in the world. It is true enough when Giddens (2006, p.461) contends to say 'gender socialisation is very powerful'. Indeed, the increasing inclusion of women in public sphere does not mean the increasing involvement of men in domestic one.

In short, the socially constructed gender roles really locate women under the 'glass ceiling'[4], which prevents them from flourishing and achieving high positions, and 'glass wall'[5], which confines them to certain areas and hinders them from the socially-constructed masculine world.

Nevertheless, it is not known yet, whether or not the problem of gender role is experienced by Indonesian female overseas students who have their family with them. It is well-known in Indonesia that middle and upper-middle class families employ (a) servant(s) to do their home-chores. However, if women choose to study overseas, they do not have access to servants, and this raises the issue of who will do the domestic work. This issue, due to the overriding gender order described previously, potentially contributes to the problem of balancing work (study) and family, especially for female students.

So far, there has been very little research investigating the experiences of overseas students in relation to their roles as mothers and/or wives. There is research on mature students, but not the overseas ones (LeFevre, 1972; Suitor, 1987; Redding and Dowling, 1992). Some studies focused on overseas students, but not on the mature married ones (Barker, 1993; Bhalalusesa, 1998; Crawley, 2002; Maundeni, 2002; Aspland (n.d.); Rosenthal et al., 2006). However, Durojaiye and Donald (1984) studied overseas mature married female students, mostly from

4 The term 'glass ceiling' here is adapted from Hymowitz and Schellhardt in Holmes (2007, p.8), which refers to "the invisible barriers that seem to prevent women being promoted to upper management.

5 Inspired by the term 'glass ceiling', I have my own term 'glass wall' to refer to the invisible barriers that seems to prevent women's moving or mutation to other jobs, fields, or any other parallel 'locus' which is perceived culturally to be men's.

Nigeria, who were studying in UK. They found that in their efforts of advancement, the women, in many cases, had the support of their extended family, which might make their career path easier. But, at the same time, they were also hindered by their family system in terms of their cultural norms. These women, however, were not accompanied by their family during their study.

My project, with its subjects from Indonesia who were studying in Australia, is expected to contribute to the available literature on married women overseas students who were accompanied by their family during their overseas study.

Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this research project is to explore the experiences of the Indonesian women overseas students who have family with them in South Australia. The project focuses on their experiences as wives and mothers in relation to their status as students. In particular, it addresses issues to do with the gendered division of labour and balancing family and study.

Delimitation and Limitation of the Study

The delimitation of this study include; firstly, it is restricted to the Indonesian women students at Flinders University, who have their family with them in South Australia. Secondly, the experiences explored in this study were analysed from a gender perspective. Thirdly, due to the limited time and funds, only five women students were interviewed. They were selected through a range of circumstances in order to cover as wide a range of experiences as possible. These include a student who had; child/ren under 5 years without her husband accompanying her, child/ren under 5 years and husband with her with childcare service, child/ren under five years and husband with her without childcare service, child/ren five years or up and husband with her, husband with her without child/ren, but the husband is also a student.

The study recognizes its limitation that as some parts of the subjects' experiences are possibly more private than others, the subjects probably did not want to share them with the researcher. Furthermore, some of them might feel afraid of being identified as having unequal relationship with their spouse, which may be perceived by them as a conventional/old-fashioned family; so that they might try to avoid telling experiences that indicate such an image.

The Significance of the Study

This research will contribute to the existing knowledge, especially regarding the married women students studying overseas. It is also expected to give useful information to the overseas students, especially women, who have had or want to have their families with them. Last but not least, the study should have the potential to influence the decision makers in universities and scholarship providers.

RESEARCH METHOD

It is the research questions and purposes that determine what methodology and method to employ, but the epistemolgy -the understanding of 'how we know what we know'- informs the researcher in choosing the design (Crotty, 1998, p. 8). Below is my philosophical stance, feminist standpoint, which informed me to take the methodology of feminist standpoint, then what design to use. Finally, I will discuss data collection and analysis.

The Epistemology of Feminist Standpoint

Feminist standpoint challenges the notion of objectivity in traditional research and considers it masculinist (Harding,1987). Feminists contend that traditional epistemologies exclude women from the possibility of being agents of knowledge (Hartsock, 1998; Harding, 1987; Burns and Walker, 2005; Longino, 1993; Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002; Brooks and Hesse-Biber, 2007). In other words, science has taken only men's experiences into account and has been built from men's perspective. Knowledge is socially situated (Wise and Stanley, 1993; Haraway, 1989; Harding, 2004; Hekman, 2004). Logically, if it is accepted that knowledge has been situated from the male perspectives or in certain values agreed by certain knowledge communities, it would also be appropriate to situate knowledge from women's perspectives. Feminist research defines what is in need of scientific explanation from the perspectives of women's experiences (Harding, 1987; Burns and Walker, 2005; Brooks and Hesse-Biber, 2007), because experience is constituted by gender and other categories of social difference (Bar On, 1993).

Regardless of the pros and cons, some scholars essentialize women in standpoint epistemology, and insist that only women can do research on women (Burns and Walker, 2005). In line with this, Harding (1987) asserts that women's understanding of their own gendered oppression (their standpoint) has made them have a different perspective on social reality. She also argues that rationality is

gendered. Similarly, Gilligan (in Crotty, 1998) believes that women and men perceive the world differently. Thus, the subjectivity of the researcher must play a crucial role in her interpretation. A central theme of a feminist standpoint conceptions is the notion of 'women speaking their truth" resulting in new knowledge of gendered social lives (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002).

This study adopts feminist standpoint epistemology because it takes account of the researcher's subjectivity. I have the same background as the subjects of my study. We are overseas students from Indonesia who are accompanied by our family during our study in Australia. We share relatively similar cultures, and thus I am able to understand the subjetct' experiences.

Feminist Standpoint Methodology

I would argue that feminist standpoint methodology was best suited to this study by virtue of its three methodological features (Harding, 1987). Firstly, a focus on women's experiences, new empirical and theoretical resources. To date, there are no studies of women students that explore their experiences of bringing their families to Australia. My study would like to fill this gap. Secondly, feminist standpoint methodology enables a transformation of social science's new purposes for women. My study provides for women explanations of social phenomena which are felt problematic from the perspectives of women's experiences. Last, it is "new subject matter of inquiry; locating the researcher in the same critical plane as the researched" (p.8). As the researcher, I may often explicitly inform the reader about my position such as my gender, my class, my culture, my gender assumptions, my beliefs, and my behaviours in framing the picture that I try to draw.

Case Study

I have chosen to use case studies as a way of presenting and analysing the data, because they represent 'what it is like' to be in a particular situation, to grasp the close up reality and 'thick description' of participants' lived experience of, thoughts about, and feelings for a situation (Cohen, et al, 2007). Case study is used to gain in-depth and rich understanding of the subjects, focusing on process rather than outcome, on discovery rather than confirmation (Burns, 2000). They are set in temporal, geographical, organizational, institutional and other context that enable boundaries to be drawn around the case (Hitchcock and Huges, 1995), but it can help researchers to understand other similar cases, phenomena or situations (Robson as cited in Cohen, et al, 2007).

This study with its specific context of Indonesian women students at Flinders University, South Australia, is expected to provide insights for understanding similar situations.

Data Collection

Due to the focus of the study which was potentially related to the privacy of the subjects, the data collection did not involve observation which is often utilised in case studies. Instead, it used interviews which were informal conversational (Patton in Cohen, 2007). It was expected that the subjects would willingly express their feeling, opinions and attitudes with me, because, as stated by Patton in Cohen (2007), the questions in informal conversational interviews had high level of salience and relevance; they could correspond to individuals and circumstances. The condition that the researcher shares similar cultural experiences with the subjects made this possible. To help the process of analysis, recording, transcribing, and notes were needed.

Data Analysis

The analysis was done both during and after completing the data collection. Creswell (2005) asserts that the process of analysing and collecting data might be simultaneous and the phases of data collection and analysis are also iterative. According to Bogdan and Biklen (2003), on-going analysis includes narrowing the study, determining the type of study, developing analytic questions, planning data collection session based on the previous data, writing comments on the context, writing memos about what are learned, trying out ideas and themes on subjects, exploring the literature in the field, playing with metaphors, analogies and concepts, and using visual devices. The last one, using visual devises, was not adopted, because I was afraid it could make the interviewees feel insecure to tell their personal experiences. Final analysis deals with coding based on setting, situation, perspectives held by subjects, process, activity, event, relationship and social structure.

RESEARCH RESULTS

My study resulted in some differences from, as well as similarities with, the previous research. Durojaiye and Donald (1984) portrayed a picture of "the mature women overseas students as career-oriented, ambitious, professional teachers" (p. 67), whereas my study found that the women students from Indonesia who took their students in Australia set aside their personal ambition for the sake of

balancing family and study. It is the hindrance by their family system in terms of their cultural norms that seems to draw a line between Durojaiye and Donald's study and mine. Tapologo Maundeni's (2002) study matched with my study in terms of the women's responsibility of childbearing and rearing which resulted in different opportunities in education compared to men. While, Bhalalusesa's (1998) point of maintaining family is really supported by the results of my study which demonstrates the demand of gender constructions to the women students who have their family with them.

However, there are some differences between the previous studies and mine. The previous studies did not involve feminist standpoint as their epistemology and/or methodology to which my project subscribes. They also did not focus on overseas women students who are accompanied by their family during their study, which my research did.

The results show that many of the interviewees decided to take the scholarship overseas only if they were allowed to bring along their family with them so they could be close to their family all the time in order to do the motherhood responsibility and gave opportunity for their children, to have a worthy experience of living and studying in an English speaking country. Gender construction (Subhan, 2002; ICMC, 2003) and conservative interpretations of religious teaching (Umar, 2003 and 2007; Subhan, 2002; Alimin, 2004; Murniati, 2004) drove them not to be apart from their family, especially for caring, regardless of the consequences for their status as fulltime overseas students. In addition, gender streotype that women are psychologically and physically weak (Holmes, 2007), easily deceived and tempted was also a crucial reason of having their husband with them.

The female students admitted that they psychologically felt significant benefits from their togetherness with their families. Being able to fulfil the perceived motherhood responsibilities resulted in the feelings of contented, happiness, and peacefulness, which might psychologically contribute to the success of the interviewees' study. This cannot be separated from the gender construction (Subhan, 2002; ICMC, 2003) and traditional religious interpretations (Umar, 2003 and 2007; Subhan, 2002; Alimin, 2004; Fauzia et al, 2004; Murniati, 2004) in which; a good mother and wife should be caring for their family and that child care is women's exclusive responsibility.

However, most of the women students had to experience a shock and to adjust with the gendered division of labour which was strongly played out in their families which had rarely been realised previously because they were used to have

servant/s and/or supports from their extended families in their home countries. In turn, the consequences were their difficulties in balancing family and study.

In terms of gendered division of labour, this study confirms the current societal discourses and research results which still posit females as the primary carers (Hochschild, 1989, 1997; Williams, 2000). It also represents William's (in Crompton, 2007) claim that the ideology of domesticity is still alive. The women students were culturally demanded to do most of the household chores and caring, with minimum or without support from their husband, except one of them whose children have been teenagers.

This gendered division of labour has led to the problems of family-study balance. The female students balanced their family and study by lowering their academic standard and choosing a class based on the mode (intensive class[6]), not interest, especially those who had children under five years old. It is important to know that actually, they wanted to enroll in regular class because of the benefits of language immersion in a regular basis. It is true that continuing beliefs about women's responsibility for their families play a part in determining to what extent the women students participate in and focus on their study. Being expected to be the primary home makers and child carer, the mature women students experienced a struggle in their family-study balance. This often involved emotional labour and made them set aside their personal ambition. An interesting finding is that setting aside their personal ambition seems to be considered a virtuous proof of being a good woman (wife and/or mother).

RECOMMENDATIONS

To the universities, I recommend that they provide double mode of class, regular and intensive class, for every subject being offered. This will facilitate those who want to make a choice based on their interest, need, and feasability. This is based on the finding that many mature women students chose a class based on its mode, intensive class, not because of their interest in the subject, even though they idealised regular class for the benefits of language immersion in regular basis. Thus, the ideal class of overseas students is actually the subject is interesting and conducted in regular class, not intensive, because of the langauge benefits.

The second recommendation is regarding the support from the scholarship provider and the university to the students' families. Since 2007, the AusAid has not given family rates allowance to the awardees enrolled in 2007 onwards. This

6 Intensive class mode allowed students to manage their time more easily because, instead of being conducted on a regular basis, it was usually conducted on a certain period or set of times which was arranged in agreement with the students.

seems to be a hindrance for married women students, especially who already have child/ren, to take scholarship overseas, because it is financially difficult to support family in Australia without financial suppport from the sponsor.

It would be interesting if further research investigate mature male students' experiences in balancing family and study, as my study found that mature women students experienced difficulties in balancing family and study. Then, we will know if women academics experience their work-family balance differently from men, as men are not expected to be home makers (Miller and Hollenshead, 2005) and "Women academics experience their work lives and the work/family balance differently from men" (Miller, 2005, p.2).

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